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VOL. I

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WOODBROOKE STUDIES

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNI, EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS

BY

A. MINGANA

WITH INTRODUCTIONS

BY

RENDEL HARRIS



VOLUME I

1. BARṢALĪBI'S TREATISE AGAINST THE MELCHITES
2. GENUINE AND APOCRYPHAL WORKS OF IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH
3. A JEREMIAH APOCRYPHON
4. A NEW LIFE OF JOHN THE BAPTIST
5. SOME UNCANONICAL PSALMS

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TO

MR. EDWARD CADBURY

WHOSE GENEROSITY AND ENCOURAGEMENT

HAS MADE POSSIBLE THE PUBLICATION

OF THE "WOODBROOKE STUDIES"

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The "Woodbrooke Studies" will consist of texts and translations of Christian documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshūni drawn from the manuscripts forming part of my own collection, which, for the time being, is in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Selly Oak, Birmingham.[1]

These Studies will appear first in serial form in the columns of the "Bulletin of the John Rylands Library," which is published twice during the course of the year, in the months of January and July. At the end of each year they will be issued in a separate volume uniform with the present initial issue.

Dr. Rendel Harris has kindly consented to write an introduction to each treatise in the series.

I find it impossible adequately to express my feelings of grateful appreciation of the generosity of Mr. Edward Cadbury, whose financial assistance and encouragement has made possible the publication of these studies; and for that reason I take the liberty of dedicating to him this first-fruit of his generous encouragement.

To my colleague, Dr. Henry Guppy, the editor of the "Bulletin," I offer my sincere thanks for his painstaking interest in the editing and publication of these Studies.

A. MINGANA.

The John Rylands Library,
Manchester.

[1] The history of the collection will be dealt with in the introduction to the catalogue of it, upon which I am at present engaged.

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FASC. 1.

(i) *A Treatise of Barṣalībi against the Melchites.*
(ii) *Genuine and Apocryphal Works of Ignatius of Antioch.*

INTRODUCTIONS.

BY RENDEL HARRIS.

I.

A TREATISE OF BAR ṢALIBI AGAINST THE MELCHITES.

WE have been advised by our Master (whose name is Peace and whose admonitions are all of the nature of Benedictions) that we ought not to waste our time gathering grapes of thorns or searching for figs among thistles; his words and warnings, no doubt, include in their scope our literary occupations as well as our theological studies or our philanthropic activities. Here, as elsewhere, wasted time and unremunerative labour are under His ban; and it may, therefore, well be asked whether it is wise to spend our slender residue of years over extinct literatures, forgotten writers and churches that are near to disappearance (ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ, as the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews would say, in view of the inveterascence which came under his own observation).

We have before us a treatise by one who was once a great leader in the religious life and thought of the Syrian Church; but his name

is scarcely known in the West, and the church of which he was the leader has practically perished, its literature has ceased and has become the dryest of dry roots ; persecution has accomplished a disintegration which piety was insufficient to prevent. How many people know, or care to know, about Bar Ṣalibi and his writings ? Why should we try to recall the author or search the dust heap of his literary remains for grains of possible gold ?

When we have asked ourselves that question, there is one direction in which we immediately receive an encouraging response. Bar Ṣalibi was not only a great ecclesiastic in a church that had passed its zenith, he was also a great scholar in the time of decline of the Syriac literature, and being a scholar as well as an administrator, he had a great library, which he knew how to use as well as to value. Alas ! that it has perished ! It had many ancient works of great worth, not only the original writings of Syrian fathers, but early translations made from Greek writers which have disappeared in the West. For instance, it is almost certain that he had a copy of the *Diatessaron* or *Gospel Harmony* of Tatian, to which he refers and from which he quotes ; he had also a copy of a work of Hippolytus of Rome, called *Heads against Gaius* which was lost in the West ; its value can be inferred from its theme when the heads of the contention referred to are defined. There was a certain Gaius, who in the second or third century exercised his critical faculties, exactly as scholars are doing in the twentieth Christian aeon, over the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and its irreconcilability with the authorship of the Apocalypse. Bar Ṣalibi gives us many quotations from the lost Gaius, and helps us to see that this early devotee of Higher Criticism was not, as Lightfoot supposed, a mere phantom, a creation by Hippolytus of a straw-man for subsequent demolition, but a real man of flesh and blood, with a powerful intellectual apparatus attached to his anatomy.

The greatest of Bar Ṣalibi's works, both in compass and in variety is his commentary on the Scriptures covering the whole space from Genesis to Revelation, and filled with patristic matter both Eastern and Western. Complete copies are very rare, and we have the good fortune to possess the whole in one of our Woodbrooke MSS. It was this commentator's work that first drew the attention of Western scholars ; the portion of the commentary which deals with the Four Gospels was done into Latin by Dudley Loftus, in the seventeenth

century, from a MS. in Trinity College, Dublin ; and in recent times the commentary on the Apocalypse, Acts and Catholic epistles, and in part the Gospels has been edited by Sedlaçek in the series of *Scriptores Syri*. If we may judge from the parallel case of his successor Bar Hebraeus, there will, before long, be many theses presented for doctor's degrees in German Universities, from the commentaries of Bar Ṣalibi.

The treatise which we present in the following pages has no special scriptural interest ; it is ecclesiastical rather than Biblical ; but it has a value of its own, inasmuch as the controversy which it reflects throws a good deal of light on the relations of the Greek and Eastern churches in Bar Ṣalibi's own day. It will bring vividly before us the facts of the subdivision of the Syrian churches and its three branches, in the days before the Roman church had invaded the area, and, in the interests of unity, made three divisions into six. We shall have before us the Nestorian or East Syrian Church with its God-and-Man doctrine of Christ, its noble protest against the deification of the Blessed Virgin, and its unparalleled record in the Mission fields of the far East ; next to them we shall have the Jacobite or West Syrian Church with its God-Man Christology, or as it is called by the wise, its Monophysite theology, its exaltation of the Virgin to celestial rank, and its defect of missionary zeal. Between the two lies a slender group of Syrian believers who have succumbed to the claims of the Greek theology of Antioch and Constantinople, securing their orthodoxy on the one hand by the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, which made other Syrian churches excommunicate on one side or the other, and at the same time obtaining protection as well as patronage by attachment to the State church and the Imperial city. They are known as Melchites, or Royalists, and if few in number and confined to Palestine and North Syria for the most part, are an aggressive minority with the Ruling State and Dominant Greek Church at their back.

We shall not hear much of the Nestorians in our tract ; they are too far East to be troublesome or troubled ; it is the little Melchite community that provokes the controversy reflected in the following pages of Bar Ṣalibi ; the little man that is trying to put its arms round its big brother, and to annex him ; in reality a half-anonymous monk, one Rabban 'Isho', who seems to have been reconciled to the Greek Church and its theology and rituals, and who will have the great Bar Ṣalibi in his embrace, and will prove to him that he is both insignificant

and wrong, a terrible combination. We shall see presently the chief points of the appeal ; but it is as well to be forewarned, lest disappointment ensue. The matters discussed will not strike us as being of any great importance. Probably the reader will say, as he watches the two dogs over their bone of contention (as indeed happens commonly in ecclesiastical strife), that, if this is Christianity, then I have little chance of being a Christian. The trivialities of ritual will have proper attention, the supposed decencies of liturgical usage and the like ; we shall know all about the war, and what they killed (or excommunicated) each other for. When we have finished our study, we can set the infinitely little on one side, and estimate the value of what is left. We shall probably be impressed with the adroitness of Bar Ṣalibi, but still more with his noble Christian spirit and temper, worthy of the Patriarch of half the East ; and, even if we do not feel drawn to his Monophyite doctrine, we shall be glad that he held it too tenaciously and too intelligently to be allured to its abandonment, by the bait of a personal attachment to, and promotion in a State church, which he knew to be a focus of increasing impurity, and political corruption.

Now let us very briefly analyse the discussion of which Bar Ṣalibi's portion is before us. Rabban 'Isho' has written to Bar Ṣalibi, a reunion tract to which the latter replies in ten chapters. The first condition of re-union is that the Jacobites must learn how to cross themselves with two fingers, as do the Greeks and Latins ; and they must give up the practice of crossing themselves with one finger, which is a dangerous illustration of the Monophysite doctrine. They must also change the direction in which the crossing is exhibited, and no longer operate from left to right. Further, in making such changes, Bar Ṣalibi will find that he has gone over to the majority. The suggestion provokes a noble protest from Bar Ṣalibi : " May we not be in the right with two or three ? " The discussion is continued over one finger or two fingers, and right-to-left or left-to-right crossing. It becomes very tedious, but the tedium is relieved by the theological implication. A spirited reply is made to the question whether Bar Ṣalibi really believes the Greeks to hold the doctrine of two natures in Christ. Whether they believe in two natures in Christ or not, they believe most assuredly in serving two masters, Truth and Untruth. From Bar Ṣalibi's point of view, that is the real heresy. He tells a tale of a philosopher, who,

like the Vicar of Bray in the popular English song, changed his faith with every successive king. But, at last, unlike the profane Vicar, he realized that one must not change one's faith with the colour of the times, and besought people to "Pity the salt that has lost its savour!" The argument over the two natures is resumed. Rabban 'Isho' is at his best when he argues for the comprehension of inconsistent beliefs in one corporate body; did not the Apostle tell us not to judge another man's servant? Did he not say "Pray for one another," and not "Anathematize one another"?

Bar Ṣalibi has great reply to this seducing doctrine; he points out that the Court Party at Constantinople do not practise the toleration which they invoke; they expel our people from their city, burn their books, and suppress our Meeting-places. Away from the city, they rebaptize our people as heretics whom Rabban 'Isho' proposes to annex as believers. And such is their doctrine of toleration and the persons to whom it is applied, that, suppressing the Jacobites, they have actually permitted the Moslems to build a Mosque in the city. One may judge the value of their charity, by the range of its application. It passes by the Syrian Christian and embraces the Moslem unbeliever.

Bar Ṣalibi goes on to point out that, although it is inconsistent on the part of the Melchites and their friends to curse and bless in this way, yet after all the power and faculty of judgment is Christian, and it follows that there is also in the Church a power of excommunication. St. Paul is clear on the right of anathema. A spirited defence is made of the Jacobite position from the side of Ecclesiastical History. Rabban 'Isho' proceeds in favour of his doctrine that Christians are not to judge Christians, but that it is better to live at peace with everybody. Bar Ṣalibi now turns the tables on his adversary; he discloses the state of morals in the Imperial City and in the prominent church of the city, and shows what peace with anybody and everybody means. He has now taken the Puritan position, and refuses fellowship with murderers, adulterers, liars, and thieves.

The light that is turned on the church of Constantinople is a fierce light indeed. He talks of an emasculated clergy, and of adulterous and vicious practices which naturally are associated with such contraventions of nature. "Like priest, like people;" the city is full of outrage and villany.

The argument now turns to the order of the Liturgy and the ex-

quisite arrangement made by the Greeks for lections and for the tones to which the psalms and hymns are sung; how beautiful to see such universal order and harmony!

Bar Ṣalibi has a good deal to say on these matters, but he carefully points out that the church was antecedent to its musical services, and that the creed was before the metrical canons. In the beginning they had only the reading and interpretation of the Scriptures. The use of lustful melodies had not arrived. The Sirens had not come into the church. It was better to preach, teach, and convert, than to invent melodies like the Sirens, bray like asses, sing like nightingales or swans, and then finish up the day with such feasting as makes the occasion of sin.

The glory of the new Rome is now emphasized by the Melchite. He quotes an apocryphal prophecy of Jeremiah about the Latter House, and the Latter City. This prophecy, he says, refers to Constantinople. Bar Ṣalibi disputes his text, and denies his interpretation. Who goes to this supposed New Jerusalem to worship? They go there to grub, and to buy and sell. Do they boast of their sanctities and relics, the rod of Moses and the ark in which it was laid, the picture of Christ on Veronica's handkerchief and the Virgin's robe, the right hand of John the Baptist, which they use in consecrations, etc. Bar Ṣalibi makes short work of these relics and the use to which the Greeks put them.

The argument now passes over to the question of authority in the Church: according to Rabban 'Isho', there is primacy in the church, and that primacy has been located by God with the Greeks. There is a prescription against Christians, just as there is against heretics. We were there before you.

Bar Ṣalibi wonders why, from this point of view, the Jews were displaced. He returns to his argument for the sanctity of two or three in the name of Truth. The argument now turns on the power and wealth which God has given to the Greeks, Mammon being called in as the chief witness to the divine election of the Greeks, and *per contra* of the divine reprobation (relatively) of the poverty-stricken Syrians. Bar Ṣalibi has little difficulty in proving that

> "Gold and Grace did never yet agree!
> Religion always sides with poverty!"

Mammon the prosperous leaves the witness box, and Lazarus and a crowd of poor folks occupy it. Bar Ṣalibi comes into the box himself and holds up the Gospel. The case for the social and wealthy Mammon collapses. The argument is varied now from wealth to numbers. You Jacobites are very few; a handful in Edessa, another handful in Melitene. Evidently they have been uprooted by God, and have lost their first acceptance and favour. It is otherwise with the Greeks, who are a prickly shrub that bears a beautiful rose.

Bar Ṣalibi wishes to have a further definition of the rose of the Greeks. In what sense does Constantinople blossom like the rose? Is it their elaborate liturgy? The true rose is meditation and prayer, holiness, chastity, perfection. Does the Greek shrub bear these? A further discussion is made on the sign of the Cross, and on the addition which the Syrians make to the Trisagion of the words "who was crucified for us." The Greeks interpret the Trisagion of the Trinity, Sanctus es Deus (= the Father), Sanctus es omnipotens (= the Son), Sanctus es immortalis (= the Spirit)? The Syrians refer all three classes of the Trisagion to the Son, and can, therefore, properly add "qui crucifixus es pro nobis."

It is rather difficult to follow the argument which Bar Ṣalibi makes for the Monophysite use of the Trisagion *plus* the added phrase *qui crucifixus es pro nobis*.

It is an interesting study to observe how the Trisagion came to be regarded as a definition of the Trinity, and so to be inconsistent with the addition *qui crucifixus es pro nobis*. In the first instance it was Jesus and his Glory that were sought for in the sixth chapter of Isaiah, while the same chapter yielded the convincing anti-Judaic testimony in regard to the blinded eyes and hardened hearts of the chosen people. Of the antiquity of this testimony there can be no doubt, seeing it is employed by Jesus, according to the Gospel of Mark (Mark iv. 12) and by Paul in the closing sentences of the Acts of the Apostles, according to Luke (Acts xxviii. 26, 27). In the Fourth Gospel, we have this testimony expanded by the statement that "Isaiah said this when he saw his Glory and spake of him." This can only mean that there has been an identification of Jesus with the Lord Sabaoth or, in a sense that is common in the Targums, with the Divine Glory. Thus it was not the Trinity that the early Christians looked for in the

Trisagion, but Jesus in Glory. In that sense it was quite proper to add "qui crucifixus es pro nobis." The addition could be made without any risk of a charge of Patripassianism or Pneumatopassianism. But what might be good theology in the first stratum of the deposit of belief might be quite the opposite when a further plane of theological definition had been reached. Bar Ṣalibi retains what appears to be an early position in Christology ; it may, however, be doubted whether the Monophysites consistently did the same. In a Liturgy attributed to Ignatius, which Renaudot published, and which is supposed to have Monophysite leanings, we find the following Trinitarian interpretation and use of the Trisagion :

> Sanctus enim es, Deus Pater,
> Sanctus etiam unigenitus Filius tuus
> Sanctus etiam Spiritus tuus.

We cannot, however, infer that in this Liturgy there once stood the ascription of *crucifixus* along with the adoration of the Seraphim. We will hand Bar Ṣalibi over to the students of liturgiology and see what they will make of him. There is no doubt more to be said on the matter, in proportion as we know less.

His concluding appeals to the Greeks to cease from persecuting the Syrians and the Armenians, to whom they are doing more harm than the Turks themselves, are written in an excellent spirit and like a true father in Israel. He concludes by a challenge to his opponents generally to meet him in a public discussion, when he proposes to clear up any remaining difficulties. We do not know whether this debate ever came off ; *a priori* we should have our doubts of its success ; in fact, the greater the success, the less in many cases the actual good resulting. Nothing so much narrows and dries up the heart as controversy does ; it must be admitted, however, that no controversial writer shows less sign of the threatened narrowness and dryness than our good Syrian father.

II.

Genuine and Apocryphal Works of Ignatius of Antioch.

The above treatise is followed by some stray documents, which profess to be related in some way to the person of Ignatius of Antioch, the martyr bishop of that great city. Around his name,

as in the parallel case of Clement of Rome, there accumulated so much spurious matter, in the shape of interpolations and additions, that it is not to be wondered at, if in the first ages of the Renaissance of Criticism, doubts should have arisen whether any of the Ignatian matter could be referred to his time, place, or person. In our own time the author of *Supernatural Religion*, Mr. W. R. Cassels, declared roundly that "the whole of the literature ascribed to Ignatius is, in fact, such a tissue of fraud and imposture, . . . that even if any small original element exist referrible to Ignatius, it is impossible to define it"; and made Dr. Lightfoot very angry by his statement.

We are afraid that the contributions which we are making to Ignatian literature will have to be classed with the Ignatian Apocrypha, rather than with what Lightfoot shows to be canonical Ignatiana. Our first document, for instance, professes to be an actual epistle of Ignatius, who is carefully defined, against misunderstanding or possible confusion with later Patriarchs of his name, by the titles which belong to the first of the line, the designation of him as the *God-bearer* or the punning Syriac title of *Nurāna*, or the *Fiery* = *Ignatius*. Even if the epistle should be condemned contemptuously as an obvious product of a later rhetorician, we shall be able to show that there are traces of genuine Ignatian expressions in the text. This leads us to the reflection that a possible motive for the composition, assuming it to be spurious, lies in the undoubted fact that a genuine letter, and perhaps more than a single letter, from Ignatius to the Church at Antioch, is actually missing. The proof of this is interesting and fairly complete.

In writing to the Church at Philadelphia, Ignatius remarks that report has reached him that matters had taken a favourable turn in the Church at Antioch: he begs the Philadelphians to appoint *an ambassador to take a message* of congratulation to the Antiochenes. This must mean a written communication either from Ignatius or from the Philadelphian Church. The following is the text of the passage:—

Ign., *ad Philad.*, c. 10.

> "Seeing that in answer to your prayer and to the tender sympathy which ye have in Christ Jesus, it hath been reported

to me that the Church which is in Antioch of Syria hath peace, it is becoming for you, as a Church of God, to appoint a deacon to go thither as God's ambassador, that he may congratulate them when they are assembled together, and may glorify the Name."

Ignatius goes on to say that the good news had been brought to him by Philo, a deacon from Cilicia and by Rhaius Agathopus, who had followed him from Syria. Lightfoot suggests, from the language of Ignatius' letter to the Church at Smyrna, that he had already left Smyrna when the messengers from Antioch arrived, and that they then followed him to Troas. Assuming this to be the case, it is almost unthinkable that Philo and his companion should have had no letter to carry back from Ignatius himself, or that Ignatius should have advised the churches to which he was writing to despatch messengers and congratulatory messages on their own account, while he himself remained silent. There must be a letter or letters from Ignatius to Antioch, whether the Philadelphians and Smyrnaeans assisted and joined in the correspondence or not. The natural thing to happen would be that Philo and Rhaius should immediately turn back and carry with them the felicitations of the bishop to his own Church. Other communications require time and special official messengers The message to the Smyrnaeans from Ignatius is as follows :—

Ign., *ad Smyrn.*, c. 11.

"Your prayer sped forth unto the Church which is in Antioch of Syria . . . it is meet that your Church should appoint for the honour of God, *an ambassador of God*, that he may go as far as Syria, and congratulate them because they are at peace, and have recovered their proper stature, and their proper bulk hath been restored to them. It seemed, to me, therefore, a fitting thing that ye should send *one of your own people with a letter*, that he might join with them in giving glory for the calm which by God's will had overtaken them, and because they were already reaching a haven through your prayers."

Similar advice is given to Polycarp, as the bishop of Smyrna, and the suggested ambassador from Church to Church is described playfully as God's courier : the following is the passage :—

Ign., *ad. Polyc.*, c. 7.

> "Seeing that the Church which is in Antioch of Syria hath peace, as it hath been reported to us, through your prayers, I myself also have been the more comforted, since God hath banished my care. . . . It becometh thee, most blessed Polycarp, to call together a goodly council, and to elect *some one among you*, who is very dear to you, and zealous also, who shall be fit *to bear the name of God's courier*,—to appoint him, I say, that he may go to Syria, and glorify your zealous love unto the glory of God."

It appears, then, that two separate embasssies, and two separate letters are asked for by Ignatius. It is out of the question to suppose that he had himself nothing to say to the Church at Antioch. What he did say has disappeared.

Now what was the matter at Antioch, for it is clear that there has been a storm either in the Church or against it?

Lightfoot takes it for granted that the persecution which made Ignatius its central object, had also affected the Church. In consequence many of the members had relapsed, and now there was good news of their return. Philo and his companions were, says Lightfoot, "doubtless the bearers of the good news that the persecution at Antioch had ceased." This may be the correct explanation, but there are some things which suggest that there was trouble inside the Church as well as outside it and around it. Lightfoot further remarks that the Church at Antioch "had been previously weakened and diminished by the dispersion and defections consequent on persecution." That would explain the reference to the restored dimension of the Church; but we must keep our eyes open for an alternative reason for the diminution of the Church membership. The document which we are here printing is an exhortation to priests and deacons to practise personal piety and not to be led away into immoral actions. It may be nothing more than a general exhortation addressed to all clergy; but there are some passages in it which seem to suggest an individual priest who has fallen into sin; the supposed letter suddenly becomes in the highest degree eloquent and personal. An appeal is made which begins with:

> "Who envied you, O chaste one, and made you a fornicator?"

and the supposed faithless priest is addressed as

> "You dear and beloved ram who became the prey of a wolf!"

The person addressed has become a pagan, and is now "a mediator to idols:" and so on, with much eloquence and force of personal appeal, which the reader must estimate for himself. If it should be judged that the supposed faithless priest to whom the appeal is made has a real existence, the possibility will have to be reckoned with that there has been a factious and perhaps an immoral person among the leadership of the Antiochene Church, who may even be a rival and contemporary of Ignatius himself. This is, of course, a speculation which may not find support. In that case we should fall back upon Lightfoot's theory, that the persecution under Trajan had been general, as well as personal and particular.

Now let us turn to the text of our document and see what we can pick up in the way of Scriptural references and possible local allusions. First of all we notice that in one passage, the writer quotes the Gospel in a harmonized form. At the beginning of the letter the impious priest is compared to the salt that has lost its savour. "If the salt has lost its savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is thenceforth good for nothing, neither for the land nor the dung, but it is cast out and trodden underfoot by men." This is a harmonization of Matthew and Luke. If we examine the Tatian Harmony, either in the Arabic of Ciasca, or in the old Dutch version of Dr. Plooij, we shall find that we have an independent harmonization, which does not appear to be derived from the Syriac of Tatian.

The next thing we notice is that he is acquainted with one of the greatest of all Syriac writings, the *Odes of Solomon*. He opens his address to the Antiochene clergy, by appealing to them to

> "wipe off the dirt from your hearts."

This is almost exactly the language of the beautiful 13th Ode of Solomon:

> "Wipe the dirt from off your faces,
> And love his holiness and clothe yourselves therewith."

There is one expression in our tract which is distinctly Ignatian: the writer says:

> "We cannot avoid answering for all those he confided to our care; the souls redeemed by the innocent *blood of God*, and he gave us a covenant that we should worship him and shepherd his flock."

At first sight this looks like Monophysite language, but we remember that it is also Ignatian. In the epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians, in the opening chapter, the saint speaks of the Ephesian Church as

ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ,

"kindling into living fire" (so Lightfoot) "by the blood of God."

There is, however, an objection to the description of the term "blood of God," as Ignatian. It is well known that it is implied in the language of St. Paul to the elders of the Church at Ephesus (Acts xx. 28) who are admonished to "feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood;" and on comparing the language of our tract, we see the reflection of the "shepherds of the flock" to which St. Paul refers. So it is just as likely that the expression is Pre-Ignatian as Ignatian, and perhaps we ought to describe both the Ignatian expression and the language of our tract as Pauline.

On the other hand we have the similar expression in the opening of the Syriac Didascalia, where Christians are spoken of as "partakers in the sprinkling of the pure and precious blood of the Great God, Jesus the Christ." This has a very Monophysite appearance, and shows, at all events, that the term "Blood of God" is not theologically colourless.

The next point that interests us, is that our supposed Ignatius is made responsible for the Wednesday and Friday fasts of the early Church, and the question must be asked whether there is an element of truth in the suggestion. It is not negatived by the observation that our document has the week-day fasts in an accentuated form, at least for the clergy the problem is to determine if the fasts in question are possibly of Antiochian origin. Of their antiquity there is no doubt, for they are in the *Teaching of the Apostles:* nor can it well be denied that they are originally anti-Judaic, since the *Teaching* says: "Let not your fasts be with the hypocrites, for they fast Monday and Thursday, but do you fast Wednesday and Friday." The hypocrites are here the Jews and Judaisers. No reason appears for the choice

of the particular days ; nor does there appear in the Ignatian letters any reference of the kind ; what does appear, however, is the anti-Judaic displacement of the Sabbath by the Sunday, as Christians are described as " no longer Sabbatizing, but living with the Lord's Day in place of the Sabbath." Thus the anti-Judaic element in the *Teaching* has its parallel in Ignatius.

At this point a curious parallel comes to light, for which we must now turn to our second document, the supposed *Canon of Ignatius.* In this Canon there is a clear indication of the establishment of the weekly fasts, with an anti-Judaic reference. For instance, we have the curious statement that " we observe the night of Friday, because in it our Lord was seized *by the Jews.*" It is further stated that on the night of Saturday they broke the legs of the robbers, in order that the Sabbath might not begin for them (which must mean the Jews), and that they might not be condemned in the eyes of the law (which must mean the Jewish law). Our Canon is, therefore, anti-Judaic, like the *Teaching of the Apostles* and the Ignatian letters. It cannot, however, be derived directly from the *Teaching.* Nor can it be derived directly from the seventh book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which works over the instructions of the *Teaching.* For here the anti-Judaic reference has disappeared, and the fast-days are kept in commemoration of the Betrayal and the Crucifixion. There is, however, some similarity of treatment ; each writer has the problem of explaining the change in the fast-days from the Jewish customs, but the explanations are not the same. We conclude that the Canonist is working on an independent line, and we cannot confirm his reference to Ignatius as his authority.

Now let us see what can be made out of the explanations furnished by the Canonist. First of all we have the Last Supper referred to the night of Wednesday in the Passion week ; next we are told that our Lord was seized by the Jews on the night of Friday ; then that he descended into Sheol on the night of Saturday. We are to observe (which must in this connection mean, we are to fast) on Wednesday night and Friday night, and we are not to observe (that is, we are not to fast) on Saturday. There is much confusion here, which cannot be got rid of by reading " vigil " for " night," and making the vigil anticipate the next day. For the Last Supper cannot be put on Thursday, in this hypothesis, without putting the arrest on Saturday, and the descent

into Hades on Sunday. The arrest of our Lord and his binding by the Jews must take place the same day as the Last Supper. To date the Last Supper on Wednesday by the Oriental hypothesis of making the day begin at sunset, would require that the Supper took place before sundown on Thursday, which is absurd. We cannot make the "night of Wednesday" into the "afternoon of Thursday." So we conclude that the Canonist has lost his reckoning; his statements are inconsistent with the evangelical tradition.

The reader will have noticed a reference to the patronage of Simon and John of the Church of Antioch, to which Ignatius is supposed to be writing. These two apostles, Peter and John, are invited to join in the lamentation over an apostate priest. It is certainly peculiar to have St. John associated with St. Peter in the presidency of the Church at Antioch. But there can be no mistake as to the intention of the writer, since, a little later, the unfaithful steward is addressed as a brother of Simon and John. Where shall we find parallel statements connecting these two apostles with the Church of Antioch?

While these pages were passing through the press two more Ignatiana were brought to light. The first is another recension of the Canon which we have discussed; the second is a genuine fragment of the Epistle to the Ephesians, which does not appear in the collection of Lightfoot. So we have one more fragment of the lost Syrian Version recovered.

PREFACES, EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS.

By A. MINGANA.

(i) A Treatise of Barṣalībi against the Melchites.

Prefatory Note.

I GIVE in the following pages the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of a very rare treatise of Dionysius Barṣalībi, the well-known West Syrian or Jacobite writer who died in A.D. 1171. The treatise is indeed so rare that not even a reference to it is found in Baumstark,[1] and no acquaintance with its existence is shown by the early Syrian bibliographer who wrote a complete list of Barṣalībi's works.[2]

The treatise is in the form of a discussion with, or rather a long address to, a certain Rabban 'Ishō', a West Syrian monk of some importance, who had evidently shown some leniency towards the Melchites, and was about to leave, or had already left, his own community to join them. He had written a long letter to Barṣalībi on this subject, and it is this lost letter that has given birth to the present treatise. Barṣalībi analyses verbatim his opponent's missive, and refutes it. As the author does not give any clear indication where his own sentence ends and that of his adversary begins, I have experienced some difficulty in following his argumentation; but I believe that I have succeeded in overcoming the obstacles thrown in our way in this matter, but not without sacrificing to the altar of clearness my predilection for literal translations.

I have, therefore, been compelled to mark in the translation Rabban 'Ishō''s text by the words: "You write" which are not in the text, and here and there I have added words and even complete phrases in order to make it easier for the English reader to follow the author's too concise, too disconnected, and sometimes obscure reasoning.

[1] *Gesch. der Syr. Lit.*, pp. 295-298.
[2] Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii, 210-211.

The "Greeks" assailed by Barṣalībi are better known to us under the name of Melchites, who in the West Syrian Orthodox Church are generally styled "Chalcedonians," although the appellation "Melchites" is also very often ascribed to them.

The Syriac MS. in which the treatise is found constitutes an integral part of my own collection of Syriac MSS., in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, where it has the class-mark Syriac MS. Mingana 4. It was copied in A.D. 1895 by Deacon Matthew, from a very ancient MS. preserved in Ṭūr 'Abdīn, near the monastery of Dair uz-za'farān, the residence of the monophysite Patriarchs of Antioch. Because of the rarity of the MS. I have deemed it advisable to give a complete facsimile of its text, and refer in the footnotes of the translation to some lexicographical and grammatical errors made either by the first or by the second copyist. An index of proper names will be found at the end of the work.

TRANSLATION.

We will further write the ten chapters composed by Dionysius, metropolitan of Amed, who is the illustrious Jacob Bar Ṣalībi, against Rabban 'Ishō'.

The humble Dionysius, the servant of God, offers you his greetings and his prayers, O Rabban 'Ishō'; may you be in the keeping of Providence!

Any work from which spring good and gain for the souls of both the speaker and the attentive hearer, is not to be hindered or silenced. These words we write at the beginning of our discourse to you, as we have read your conciliatory treatise which stands between truth and falsehood in order not to hurt anybody's feelings. In another place we will deal with the worldly questions that it raises. So far as the spiritual questions which give life to the souls are concerned, it is more advantageous to strive after undiluted truth and avoid ambiguity, especially in our dealings with those people who twist the facts and mix straw with corn, water with wine, and all kinds of impure alloys with gold. The Apostle of the Gentiles has said: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good, and abstain from any form of evil."[1] See how Paul teaches us to prove and examine everything, and hold fast

[1] 1 Thes. v. 21-22.

that which is good before God, and flee from all bad things and false teaching, as from nests of snakes.

We are also shown how a man can learn with certitude where truth lies : he must either follow one who is universally acknowledged to be wise and learn little by little from him, as Philip taught the eunuch of the Queen of Sheba,[1] or he must read studiously the Books of the Spirit and acquire from them the knowledge of truth. He who believes that he has attained truth from hearsay, or from the ravings of a seducer, or from the sight of an occurrence that happens to be in harmony with his beliefs, does not lean on truth but on a broken reed, on a shadow only. But it is time now to embark on our subject.

Chapter I.

On the Sign of the Cross.

You wrote to us that neither from nature nor from any book did you learn to cross yourself with two fingers, but that you are following in this the habit of the Greeks, of the Franks, and of twenty-four other peoples such as the Iberians, Alans, Russians, Hungarians and others who cross themselves with two fingers. This, O Rabban 'Ishō', we will answer in the following manner :

An intelligent man like you should weigh his words in the balance of justice before uttering them. If you have not acquired a subject from a book, nor learned it from nature, the two sources which embrace all the universe, how then can you neglect the truth of both book and nature, and follow something that is not based on any real foundation ? The Book says : " Remove not the eternal landmark ; "[2] now if the landmark is nature and book, in rejecting them both we naturally trespass on the boundaries of truth. Christ did not destroy the law but fulfilled it,[3] and we[4] contend that we are not to follow nature and the law, but to step in strange paths ! Do we not fear then a rebuke from David who says : " When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers."[5] Among the peoples whom you have mentioned there is injustice,

[1] See Acts viii. 27. The author identifies Sheba with Ethiopia.
[2] Prov. xxii. 28 and xxiii. 10 (Peshiṭta).
[3] Cf. Matt. v. 17. [4] *Sic* Cod. [5] Ps. l. 18.

murder, immorality and many other abominations; should we follow them in these? Sound judgement forbids it. Even those people whom you have mentioned, if they do not prove the truth they hold from nature and book, no one will ever induce himself to listen to them, and their own followers will forsake them. But we who are right and possessors of the truth, will demonstrate to you that we are walking in the path of nature and book, and that is why we make the sign of the cross with one finger only.

First, nature teaches us that the cross to which Christ was attached was not composed of double pieces of wood stretched in its perpendicular and horizontal side, as a symbol to the two fingers used by the Greeks in crossing themselves, but had only one piece of wood on each side. Further, the rod of Moses which was a symbol of the cross, was one and not two like that symbolized by two fingers. Finally, the crosses made of silver, brass and wood, and those found on the walls are not fashioned by the peoples you mentioned in double perpendicular and horizontal lines, but in one line only as the symbol of one finger. These arguments from nature will suffice, and we will now enumerate the arguments from book.

That universal Doctor, John Chrysostom, clearly shows this in saying thus in the fifty-third discourse of his commentary on Matthew: "(Paul's saying) 'Ye are bought with a price,'"[1] signifies the price paid on your behalf, and it does not fit you to be the servants of any man. (Paul) alludes by the word "Price" to the cross; you should not make the sign of the cross with the finger in a simple way, but you should first make it with will and with great faith; and then if you print it in this way on your forehead, no vile demon will be able to prevail against you."[2] See how the Doctor speaks of one finger only and not of two or three. If we were to cross ourselves with two fingers he would have said "with the fingers" or "with two fingers." Further, when the Apostle Thomas wished to test the resurrection of the One who was crucified, he only desired to put his finger into the

[1] I Cor. vii. 23.

[2] Here is the whole passage: "*Pretio*, inquit, empti estis; *ne sitis servi hominum.* Cogita, inquit, pretium pro te numeratum, atque nullius hominis eris servus; pretium vero crucem vocat: neque enim simpliciter illam digito efformare oportet, sed prius voluntate et multa fide. Si hoc modo illam in facie tua depinxeris, nullus impurorum dæmonum contra te stare poterit." *Pat. Gr.*, lviii. 557.

print of the nails, because he said : "Except I put my finger into the print of the nails, I will not believe."[1] And when our Lord revealed Himself to him, He said, "Reach hither thy finger."[2] See how the Book mentioned one finger only in the first and the second instances, and not two or several.

From these we may learn that the act of making the sign of the cross upon oneself or upon the holy elements is not done with two fingers but with one only. The Greeks, however, who believe in two natures in Christ say : "We make the sign of the cross with two fingers because there are two natures in Christ." Against this we wrote at length in our controversial treatise against them ; here it will suffice us to say : If the natures in Christ are as separate from each other as two fingers are, they have no unity, and the Doctors of the Church who say that the Word was united to His flesh as fire is to iron, are in error. Further, two fingers, although separate from each other, are really one in substance (οὐσία), and thus, in the contention of the Greeks, the eternal Son of the Father would be one in substance with the flesh which is created and subject to time ; and this is blasphemy.

We will further rebut the Greeks as follows : the cross teaches us that Christ, the Son, was attached to it in the flesh, while in His divinity He was neither extended nor attached ; but with two fingers you show that He was extended on the cross and crucified in His two natures. You are thus Theopaschites, because with the human nature you crucify God also. As to us, we believe that as Christ is one, and the cross is one, the sign also of the cross is to be made with one finger only ; and this we have learned from both nature and book.

You write : "The sacrament of the sign of the cross consists in the Word of God who became flesh and came down from heaven to earth, and removed mankind from the left hand and darkness to the right hand and light."

We do not drive away darkness with light, as you write, because we make the sign of the cross from right to left ; everyone knows that darkness is the very antithesis of light, and that if the latter is mixed up in the former it becomes swallowed up in it in the same way as the bitterness of a little brackish water in a jug[3] of sweet water, or

[1] John xx. 25. [2] John xx. 27.
[3] Read *Mnaiḳitha* for *mainoḳtha*.

that of a little myrrh or wormwood in a considerable quantity of honey. Let us admit that light drives away darkness, how can the left hand drive away the right? Our Lord has said that He will set the sheep on His right hand and the goats on His left;[1] in this our Saviour demonstrated that the right cannot expel the left, but those who make the sign of the cross from right to left, move, out of their own free will, from the right hand to the left which is that of the goats, and are counted with the robber who was on our Lord's left. But see how in the consecration of the elements and in the final prayers of the service the Greeks make the sign of the cross like us, from left to right, and in this way they contradict themselves.

You wrote: "twenty-four peoples use two fingers," but your number did not reach even ten. Do not listen, therefore, to some deceivers who say that we have with us twenty-four peoples. Further, truth is not always with the majority. Consider that there are seventy different peoples, and that those who follow the gospel are less numerous than those who are still pagan; and no one pretends that because of their higher number, the pagans have greater right than we have. In the time of Abraham and Moses there was only one people, that of the Hebrews, who worshipped God, and the rest worshipped idols, and no one says that because of that the worshippers of idols had greater right than the single people of the Hebrews. This suffices for this chapter.

Chapter II.

Also on the Sign of the Cross.

You wrote: "What is the meaning of our making the sign of the cross with one finger? Could we possibly have greater right than all others? Christ ordered that every word should be established at the mouth of two or three witnesses,[2] and in our case there are more than three."

If your words are true, it follows than wherever there are several people holding an opinion, they have more truth than one people; and this leads us, as we wrote in the first chapter, to the assumption that the Gentiles had more truth than the Jews, and that Abraham was

[1] Matt. xxv. 33. [2] Matt. xviii. 16.

in error because he was the only one who worshipped God, and the numerous men, his contemporaries, who worshipped idols, were right. Our Lord's sentence: "At the mouth of two witnesses or three every word is established," has not the meaning that you attribute to it; it bears exclusively on the fact that the testimony of a single witness should not be accepted against a culprit, lest he should be testifying falsely against him out of spite; when, however, there are two or three witnesses, they could not testify against him in a biased way, but only truly and rightly.

You write: "Is it not more advantageous that a man should cross himself in beginning with the right side, which is the side of light, and then pass this light over his face and with it drive away darkness, than to cross himself from the side of darkness and pass it over his face?"

If darkness and light are defined by the right hand moving horizontally, tell me what is meant by the first act we do in crossing ourselves, which consists in moving our hand in a perpendicular way from our head downwards? You might say that the top movement means light and the bottom one darkness, and that a man first takes light and comes down to darkness, and then takes light again to another darkness. The Greeks would have thus two lights and two darknesses, and would begin with light and end with darkness. This theory of yours is not a happy one, and the single cross is not light in one of its horizontal sides and darkness in the other, but it is light in both of its sides. It is also advantageous that the end of all our works should be on the right hand, that is to say, good, and it is thus better to end the sign of the cross with the side of the right hand, and not with the side of the left which is, according to the words of our Lord, that of the goats.

Further, we maintain that the cross of the Greeks has not only two lines in its horizontal side, but four lines. In the first act of crossing themselves they form their cross from top to bottom with two fingers, and then in making the horizontal part of the cross, they form it, also with two fingers, from right to left, and finally they return backwards to the right. The horizontal part of their cross has then two lines, nay, even four lines, in counting the two fingers. Those who, as you put it, had driven away the darkness of the left by the light of the right, return now from the light right to the dark left, and take over its darkness which they carry to the right, so that they become involved

in thick darkness in both their right and left. If they were consistent with themselves, since they form their cross from right to left, they should have crossed themselves with the left hand, because in this way their cross would have been more natural and it would not have been necessary for them to move their hand twice over.

Our ecclesiastical historians are in accord with their ecclesiastical historians in what they wrote concerning the Emperor Constantine, that at the hour of the day in which the sun was hottest, he saw in heaven a column of light in the shape of a cross, on which there were the words "By this sign thou shalt conquer," and after the pattern which he saw he fashioned the cross. Now what do the Greeks say about that column? Was it in the shape of double columns, like the two fingers, or in the shape of one column? If in the shape of double columns, two of which stretched perpendicularly and two horizontally, why is not the fact mentioned in any ecclesiastical history? If the column of light was in the shape of one column only, corresponding with one finger, why should we not have greater right[1] than the Greeks? And why should we not make the sign of the cross on ourselves with one finger[2] only, and from left to right as we, and not as they, do?

In administering the baptism even the Greeks make the sign of the cross on the child with a collyrium-pencil which has one point only and not two points, which would correspond with the two fingers, and move also the instrument from left to right as we do, and not from right to left. Had they not done so in this case even their cross would not have been straight but twisted.

You write: "As we heard and saw, all the Fathers and Doctors whose names I mentioned, whether they be Frankish, or Egyptian, or Greek, make the sign of the cross with two fingers; and we have never heard that any of them has made it with one finger."

You have not attained yet the age of seventy years, and consequently you could not have seen Athanasius the Great, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and others. We might believe you when you say that you *heard*, but who can believe you that you *saw?* You should not, therefore, have written that you *saw*. If you mean that you saw their books, how did you then write

[1] Read *Sharrīrīnan* for *Sharririn* (copyist's inadvertence).
[2] Read *Ṣib'a* for *Ṣliba*.

previously that you had not learned this either from book or from nature? Is it because you forgot what you wrote previously that you assert now that all of them made the sign of the cross with two fingers? If you have heard and seen, tell us in which book and in which treatise? So far as we are concerned we have already quoted you John Chrysostom, the glory of the Greeks, who refutes them and corroborates us.

You write: "Since the Armenians profess one nature in Christ, why are they not ordered to make the sign of the cross with one finger only?"

Some of the Armenians make the sign of the cross with two fingers, some of them with three fingers, and some of them with all their hand, like the Franks. It is only those among them who are ignorant and mixed with the Greeks, who make the sign of the cross with two fingers; but who can hold a discussion with illiterate and insensible people, except those who wish to throw their pearls into the depth of the sea? Further, the Armenians did not remain united with us long enough to learn all the Christian sacramental customs; after having accepted the dogma of one nature in the Word that became flesh, they left us and went after their own. They are somewhat inconsistent with their belief; on the one hand they believe in one Lord, and in one nature in the Word who became flesh, and on the other they believe in two natures in Him, a proposition which they would readily reject, were they but told that it is implied in the act of making the sign of the cross with two fingers.

You write: "We who make the sign of the cross with two fingers, do we believe in two natures in Christ? God forbid that this should ever happen."

If you do not believe in two natures after the union, how then do you make the sign of the cross with two fingers? In your mouth you believe something,[1] and with your hand which makes the sign of the cross you believe something else. The Greeks at any rate assert that the two fingers symbolize the two natures in Christ. If this is not so, show us then the sacrament of the two fingers. How can you mix up two incompatible propositions in saying "We believe like the orthodox Syrians, and we make the sign of the cross like the Greeks?"

[1] Remove the *dalath* before *middaim*.

This amounts to saying, "We accept truth and untruth." No man can serve two masters;[1] if we have the truth with us, you cannot follow the others, and if the others have the truth, we are liars; and if you pretend that both of us are right, who will believe you? How can that section of Christians who believes in one nature that became flesh, and the other in two natures, and how can that section of them who makes the sign of the cross with one finger and the other who makes it with two fingers, be in harmony with each other and be equally right?

You write: "We should not reject the Greeks because they believe in two natures, since apart from us and the Armenians, and a few Franks, all Christians believe in two natures in Christ."

It is narrated that a philosopher used to change his faith with every rising king. When eventually he repented and realized that it was not good to forsake truth and change with the times, he wrote: "Pity the salt which has lost its savour." O brother, no one in your position should say that he does not reject the Greeks; if they are right and should not be rejected, your own people are, therefore, wrong and should be rejected; and if the Syrians are rejected, no one will believe you also, because you are a Syrian from us and not from our enemies; but tell us now, if you know, which are the two natures in which the Greeks believe? The Franks and some others call natures the Word God and the body with a soul which He united to Himself, but the Greeks think otherwise, and their story on this subject is a long one, and not even yet quite clear; if it ever becomes clear, I know and I am convinced that you will never accept any Melchite. Further, how did you assert that all Christians believe in two natures except us and the Armenians, while the Egyptians, Nubians, Abyssinians, the majority of the Indians,[2] and the country of Libya which in the time of Dioscorus was composed of one thousand and five hundred parishes,[3] accept the faith of St. Cyril and St. Dioscorus, and of the great Severus.

[1] Matt. vi., 24.

[2] The word *Indian* in the mouth of a West Syrian writer often designates the Ḥimyarites, or Southern Arabs. See my *Spread of Christianity in India*, 1926, pp. 11-14.

[3] Lit. *thrones, chairs.* The word *Kursya* commonly refers to episcopal sees, but who could believe that there were 1500 bishoprics in Libya?

Even the Greeks when brought face to face with the words of Athanasius the Great and Cyril the Wise are put to shame and believe like them in one nature of the Word who became flesh ;[1] this is written in their books and they believe in it like ourselves, but they explain away the expression "one nature" and say afterwards "two natures" contrary to the teaching of the Doctors, and give a meaning of their own to the words used by Cyril the Great, and pretend that he really meant two natures, and this in spite of the fact that those Arabs and Persians of the East and the South who are Christians[2] understand like us the doctrine of one nature in the Word who became flesh, and they are known to be Arabs or Persians by the fact that they are not versed in any other language but Arabic and Persian. Let now the subject end here.

Chapter III.

On his hidden Falsehood that has been Exposed and on how he is a Protagonist of the Believers in two Natures.

You write : "Why should we have greater truth than all ? We do not agree with them in the matter of two natures, but we should not reject them and consider them as heretics."

See how this discloses your intention to favour those who differ from us in their faith. I will now ask you a question : Are the Syrians right or are they wrong ? If they are wrong, why do you not reject them completely ? And if they are right, why do you not reject the Chalcedonians ? If you refuse to believe in two natures, you should reject also the truth of the orthodox Syrians. As light is opposed to darkness, and good health to illness, so that they are mutually repellent and cannot remain concomitantly in one place, so also the one who believes in two natures in Christ after the union is opposed to the one who believes in one nature in the Word who became flesh. You will not contradict that the two are opposed to each other, how then do you pretend that you do not believe in two natures like them,

[1] *I.e.*, presumably in one Christ, in one Son. Neither in the fifth nor in the twelfth century had the Christological terms of *person* and *nature* both in Greek and in Syriac the fixed meaning that we give them in our days.

[2] There was a considerable number of Monophysites in West Persia, and a still more considerable one among the Arabs.

and at the same time not reject them? You are like the one who holds the two ends of a rope and is unable to climb up with any of them.

You write: "Why should we not accept them? The Apostle said: 'Who art thou that judgest the servant of another? To his own lord he standeth or falleth.'[1] He also said: 'Pray for one another,'[2] and he did not say 'anathematize.'"

Your words would have been very true, if only the Chalcedonians would listen to you. For your sake we shall compromise and accept them: but come now to Melitene which is not under their power and see how they tear at our people like wolves. Anyone who through his unstability and weakness falls (and joins them), they baptize again, and they openly call us[3] heretics and untruthful, and out of their own free will they do not allow anyone to enter their churches. I remonstrated several times with them, but because of their arrogance they did not desist. Were it not for a reason that I will not disclose, and for the fact that they would have been sneered at by outsiders, I would have revealed their falsehood, and they would have been despised by all; but mendacity often succeeds.

Now repair in your imagination to the city of their pride. You will see that it contains a mosque for the Mohammedans, but it has no church for the Syrians and the Armenians. Do they do this out of their good nature or out of their wickedness? By their actions they show that the faith of the Mohammedans is better than the orthodox faith of ours.

About a hundred years ago, in the time of Ignatius of Melitene, we had a church in Constantinople, but impelled by Satan they took possession of it, and their Patriarch of that time ordered our books that were in it and the church vestry, and the holy chrism, to be burnt in the middle of the bazaars. In that very night that Patriarch was struck by a sudden illness and lost his life. What do you say about these? Glory be to the one who deprived them of their power![4] If they had the power they would not have left a single Christian alive, as their fathers did in the times of yore.

As to the quotation that you brought forth to the effect "Who

[1] Rom. xiv. 4. [2] Cf. Col. i. 3, 9; iii. 1; Heb. xiii. 18.

[3] Possibly read *lan* for *laih*.

[4] Through the Mohammedan Arabs and Saljūḳs.

art thou that judgest the servant of another," it has not the significance that you attribute to it, and it has not been said of the heretics. If it were, we should not be allowed to bring an accusation against the Jews and the pagans, or to reprove the immoral people and the adulterers, or to punish the criminals, the sedition-mongers, the robbers, and the murderers. Will the Apostle come in these cases and tell us: "Who are you that judge these who are the servants of another?" but for the tranquillity of your conscience I am going to disclose for you the mind of the Apostle.

The Jews who had believed in Christ used to keep also the law of Moses, and not to eat the food that that law considered to be unclean; but the Gentiles who had believed in Christ used to eat everything. A disturbance arose on this account between Jewish Christians and Christians. Paul then rose, strong in truth, against the Jews who had believed, and he maintained that food does not bring men nearer to God nor farther from Him; why do you force, therefore, the Gentiles to observe the old law? and he further added: "He that is weak eateth herbs."[1] He meant by these words that as you Jews are weak in faith you distinguish between this and that food (as a weak stomach does) with regard to herbs, but he who is strong in faith eats everything and despises distinctions between foods; "let not him which eateth not judge the Christian that eateth, for God hath received him;"[2] that is to say, He has made him to be related to Him and not to the law;[3] you, therefore, O Jew, why do you judge him? He is the servant of God, how dare you then judge him? If he standeth, that is to say by faith, he is to his Lord and not to you; and if he falleth, as you believe, because he does not observe the legal distinction between the foods, he is also to his own Lord. This is in short terms the meaning of the sentence of the Apostle.

As to your other point, that we are commanded to pray for one another, it does not mean that we are commanded to pray for a man to go astray from the truth of the faith and walk in error; nor are we commanded to pray for this particular person in relation with that particular person, but only to pray in such general terms as: O God, call all men and bring them to Thyself. As to your saying "Paul

[1] Rom. xiv. 2. [2] Rom. xiv. 3.
[3] Put a *lamadh* before *namōsa*.

did not say: anathematize;" but Paul did say: "If somebody should preach unto you other than that which we preached unto you, let him be anathema."[1] What answer do you want us now to give to Paul? He said: "Let him be anathema," and you say that we should not anathematize.

Three hundred and eighteen bishops assembled once and defined the Catholic faith in the Father and the Son, and reached in the *Credo* as far as the passage "And in the Holy Ghost," and they anathematized Arius and Sabellius. Then one hundred and fifty others gathered together in Constantinople, completed the *Credo*, and said, "And in one Holy Ghost the Lord and vivifier of all, who proceeds from the Father," etc., till the end of the *Credo;* and they anathematized the Macedonians. Then again two hundred and fifty bishops assembled at Ephesus in the time of the Emperor Theodosius and of the Patriarch Cyril, but they did not write a new profession of faith nor did they add anything to the *Credo in unum Deum*, but they said that the faith of the two previous Councils was sufficient; and they enacted in the Synod a Canon of anathemas and curses against anyone who would introduce a new faith, or would add anything to it, or diminish anything from it; and after anathematizing Nestorius and his teachers,[2] they went back.

Then after a time the Emperor Marcian assembled that unholy Council of Chalcedon. The Fathers of it, however, did not follow in the steps of the Fathers who had preceded them, but through the pressure brought upon them by the wicked Emperor, and by his accursed wife, Pulcheria, and by other heretics who were present there, such as Theodoret, they trespassed against the anathema of the Council of Ephesus, and wrote a new *Credo* which begins: "We believe in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, and in the incarnation of the Son." They thus made the Trinity a quaternity; and then they defined the two natures.

Now if the Greeks are anathematized, it is the Fathers of the first Council who anathematize them; what blame then attaches to us from it? Where did you hear in the faith of the ancients the mention of the two natures, which the Greeks have added? *Et Cetera.*

[1] Gal. i. 8.

[2] Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

CHAPTER IV.

On the wicked Rites and Habits of the Greeks.

Let us see what Rabban Isho' writes on this subject: "We (Syrians) constitute ourselves the judges of Christians; some of them we make pagans and some others heretics. What would be better for us to do would be to live in peace with everybody."

Peace is a very beautiful and praiseworthy thing, O honourable one, but not all peace; this is known from the sentence uttered by our Saviour; "I am come not to cast peace on the earth but sword; for I am come to set a father at variance against his son, and a daughter against her mother."[1] Learn, therefore, that peace with immoral passions and with the enemies of truth drives us away from God. The theologian[2] says: "A just war is better than a peace which separates from God." Examine well the saying of this Doctor who teaches us that peace with everybody is not advantageous.

Now who makes the Christians pagan except themselves? A pagan is much better than a[3] Christian who forsakes the true faith and follows strange religions, and is unjust, immoral, adulterous, a murderer, a liar, or a breaker of the law. Go now to the Capital[4] of which you are so proud and see how much immorality prevails in it, and what is still more terrible, how they call immorality "father."[5] Bring also to it with you foodstuffs of any kind[6] and see how they will steal them from you and swear that they have not done so.

Let it be also known to you that the word "Greek" is expressed in their language by "Hellenios," which further means "pagan." What blame attaches to us from a fact to which they themselves bear witness that their true names are "Hellenes" and "Hellenism," which mean "pagan" and "paganism" respectively? The name "Romans"[7] does not belong to them but to the Franks, and it is derived from the name of "Rome" their town, and Romulus, their

[1] Matt. x. 35.

[2] Gregory Nazianzen. Here is the whole passage: "Melius enim est laudabile bellum pace a Deo disjungente." *Pat. Gr.*, xxxv. 487.

[3] Read *aina* for *aikanna*.

[4] Constantinople.

[5] An obscene expression of this kind still survives in the vulgar parlance of North Syria and Cilicia.

[6] Read *meddaim* for *mādain*.

[7] Cf. Arabic *rūm*.

ancient king; and the Greeks unjustly stole it from them. What does the word "heresy" mean except "heterodoxy," or holding of another theological opinion? He, therefore, who adds to, or subtracts from, the theological opinion of the ancients is an heretic. So far as we are concerned we love so dearly our ancient Fathers because of the good habits and good laws which they have; now what good habits do the Greeks possess? Is it the habit of eating fish and drinking wine in Lent? Or is it that other habit of theirs by which they rebel against God, and make men like women, in emasculating them, and defile themselves with many abominations? What is still more terrible is that they ordain such men priests and bishops. Paul has said: "I permit not a woman to teach," [1] and what is the difference between a woman and a neutered man? on the whole the difference is not very great. They have other perverse habits about which we wrote at length elsewhere.

Which is the law that is observed to-day in their Capital? Not one. There is in it nothing but iniquity, injustice and theft; the strong in it beat the weak, and the rich plunder the poor; their soldiers enter anywhere they fancy, plunder and rob and misconduct themselves with the wives of other men, who fear even to speak to them.

You wrote: "They have arranged rites of prayers, canons and Gospel lessons for every festival, and have given eleven lessons to Easter; and what they read here is read in every other Church of theirs. They have also composed *Canons* and *Cathismata* and *stichera*, and have written a book which turns on eight *echadia*." [2]

If one is obliged to follow them for the sake of these rites which you have mentioned, the Hebrew people had also similar rites; indeed the Torah was not read by everybody, but only by the elders and the priests, and the prophetical Books were only read on some special days, and what was read in Jerusalem was also read in every country in which Jews were found, and their sacrifices were offered in one [3] place. David in his days set up twenty-four singers, every two

[1] 1 Tim. ii. 12.

[2] i.e. tones, tunes. The author refers here to the Melchite *Octoechus*. Further, *Canons*, *Cathismata* and *Stichera* are well-known prayers of the same community.

[3] Read *bḥadh* for *biyadh*.

of whom used to sing two hours and were followed by a relay of two others. *Coclions* (= Cyclii) and various kinds of tones never ceased to be in use in the Temple; and the Jews possessed other enactments and rites of a similar kind. Why then we Christians do not follow the Jews? For crucifying the Son they were humbled in spite of their tunes and rites. It is not through *catechismata* and *stichera* that one will enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but by means of good works and pious deeds: "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom."[1]

If the Gospel of the Syrians was different from that of the Greeks, the former might have been blamed. But when the Gospel is one, no harm and wrong can possibly attach to anyone who reads this or that lesson from it on a special occasion. Look at the community of Muḥammad, their *munādis* or *mu'adhdhins*, when they cry, have the same words here and anywhere else, and none of them adds anything to them or subtracts anything from them, but no Christian praises them for this rite. Lo the Syrians also have arranged their prayers in eight tones, and they perform two *echadia* every week. Sundays are consecrated to the festival of the Resurrection; Mondays and Tuesdays are devoted to prayers for repentance; Wednesdays are to the Mother of God, to the martyrs and the dead; Thursdays to the Apostles and Doctors, to the Mother of God, to the martyrs, and to the dead; Fridays to the Cross; and Saturdays to the Mother of God, to the martyrs and the dead.

The Syrians perform also every month the eight *echadia* like the Greeks; and they have further *Ḳabbelai Mār*[2] with the rest of the *Ḳālé*, while the *M'irāné* with the rest of the *itdakhraith* are even supererogatory, and it was only the wealth of the devotions of the Syrian Fathers that induced them to arrange them as a rite in this way. See now how the Greeks have no special prayers for the night, apart from what they regularly recite in the morning and in the evening, at night, and in the day-time; but the Syrians who are endowed with great wealth of devotions have also the *Shuḥlāph—Ḳāla* which was recited by the ancients, the *Madhrāshé*, the *Ma'nyātha*, the *takhshpātha*, the *ba'wātha*, with the rest of the *Ḳālé* of *itdakhraith*,

[1] Prov. ix. 10.

[2] This and the following words are names of prayers in the West Syrian breviary.

the Greek and Syriac *Canons*,[1] and the *'Inyāné*. The fact that people of every country pray differently, and have something which singles them out from the rest, goes to their credit, first because it indicates the wealth of their devotions and spiritual vigour, and secondly because it is a sign of the incomprehensibility of God who wishes to be glorified in different ways in different countries and towns.

Now you examine our Service Books and our *penḳyātha*:[2] if you find in them mistakes or heresies, blame and rebuke us ; but if they tell the undiluted truth, why should they be blasphemous in their different *bāté* and *Ḳīnātha?* The Greeks also have different *Canons*, *Stichera*, and *Cathismata* in different countries, and I myself saw in the books of the Melchites *Canons* which were at Antioch recited for the saints, but which were not so used in Melitene, and some others were substituted in their place ; and the same thing happens with them in other countries, as it happens also with the Franks, the Armenians and other Christians. Tones and words vary with countries and persons.

What harm is there in the simple service of *Maksa?* It contains "multum in parvo," and has been arranged for the sick, and at one time, for the nuns. Now that it has been established everywhere you see that it possesses driving force, and fulfils all the requirements of the prayers directed to the Mother of God, to the Apostles, to the Fathers, to the Prophets, to the Martyrs, to repentance, and to the dead. "Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."[3]

Let it also be known to you that the *Canons*, the *Cathismata* and the rest have entered into the Church as something supererogatory. This is known from the fact that in the days of the Doctors, there was only reading and interpretation of the scripture in the Churches, and there were not found in it melodies and harmonious modulations which create lust in the hearers. When Bardaiṣān became insane and composed the *Ḳinta*,[4] St. Ephrem was obliged to multiply the *madhrāsha*[5]

[1] The West Syrian Service Books have two kinds of *Canons ;* some are called "Syrian" and some others "Greek."

[2] *Penḳītha* is the name of the West Syrian Breviary.

[3] Matt. vii. 21.

[4] Here : musical tunes and melodies with metrical compositions.

[5] Here : didactic composition in poetry.

through which he destroyed Bardaiṣān's lustful *Ḳināṯha*. And Mar Severus recited *ma'nyāṯha* against the poets and against the *'onyāṯha* of the Greek Sustius.[1] And John Chrysostom arranged the *stichera* against the Arians who had composed *'onyāṯha* through which they used to deceive the simple folk. The same may also be said of the *Canons*, etc., which really did harm to the Church, since they have been in it the cause[2] of the cessation of the reading and interpretation of scripture and the art of preaching. Show me if in the time of the Apostles there were musical tones and *'onyāṯha*, apart from the reading and interpretation of scripture and the art of teaching and preaching.

You write: In the *penḳiyāṯha*[3] of the office of Lent it is said: "Moses, Elijah and Daniel fasted;" and in the office of Palm Sunday it is written: "The children glorified Him," etc.; and in the office of the Passion Week there is: "Blessed is Thy passion, O Lord."

Let it be known to you that the Syrian writers showed the mystery of every festival in the words of the office which they wrote for it, and they wove all its history in the *Ḳīnāṯha*, in order to teach the hearers the mystery of the festival. It was quite legitimate for them to have written the office of the festivals and commemorations in a way that its prayers were directed only to penitence, but they wished to put variety in the ritual. If, for instance, the Fathers had not said in the breviary of the time of Lent that so-and-so had fasted, others would not have imitated the ancients and fasted; if they had not explained how the wound of the sinners was healed, those who had the wound of sin would not have had recourse to any medical treatment and to penitence; if they had not told how our Lord entered Jerusalem and was praised by children, the children would not have striven to emulate their praise; if they had not concerned themselves with Zechariah, David, Ezechiel and the Prophets, one would not have known who prophesied about the Christ that he would ride on a she-ass and enter the Holy City; if they had not written about Abraham, and his son, no one would ever have known that Abraham was the figure

[1] *Sic* Cod. Is he the neo-Platonic bishop *Synesius* (375-430) who wrote several hymns in Greek? or is he Methodius the hymn-writer who died about 311?

[2] Read *b'illathhon* for *millathhon*.

[3] Office books, breviary.

of the Father, and Isaac that of the Son, who was offered as a sacrifice for us ; that Cain was the figure of the Jews, and Abel the figure of Christ who was murdered ; and that the vineyard was the symbol of the synagogue of the Jews.

Now knowledge and not ignorance is necessary for the understanding of all these. The *Ḥdhau 'Ammé*[1] has been said by St. Ephrem, and he derived it from the prophet who said " Rejoice and be glad because your Saviour is mighty."[2] The *Train Talmīdhe*[3] is derived from the Gospel. You say that these two prayers have no driving power and no savour. If there is no driving power in the prophets and in the Apostles whose very words have been borrowed by the Fathers in the composition of these prayers, we will admit that the former have not got them either ; but if the prophets and the Apostles are believed in and accepted by all Christians, we must also accept the Fathers and not rebel against the truth. *Et cetera.*

Chapter V.

On how tones and melodies do not bring any profit to those who sing them and those who hear them.

Now let us come to the remaining part of what you wrote on this subject : " To-day that you are the Father of the Syrians and the son of . . . the rest of your encomium it is not necessary to quote—collect all the service books of the Church and write from them all one good book of *Octoechus.*[4]

What you have mentioned has been arranged by the ancient Fathers in the matter[5] of *Ma'niyātha* and the service of nocturns, as we have stated above. The Church, however, is in no need of them, and I would suggest to you and to every God-fearing man that instead of canticles and prayers containing musical melodies which bring no profit to the singer nor to the hearer, to make use of the Books of the Old and New Testaments and the writings of the Fathers, and to read a chapter from each one of them at every festival. Both the reader and the hearer will derive profit from these lessons. Be

[1] Beginning of a prayer which means : " Peoples rejoice."
[2] Cf. Is. lx. 16 and lxv. 18, etc.
[3] Beginning of a prayer which means : " Two disciples."
[4] Lit. *eight echadia.*
[5] Read *bsharba* for *bsharka.*

concerned with this good work rather than *Canons*. The Apostle Peter said : "Be ready to give answer to every man that asketh you a reason concerning the hope of your faith ;"[1] and the Apostle Paul said : "In the Church I had rather speak five words with my understanding than ten thousand words."[2] And : "Cry with thy throat, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and show my people their transgression, and the children of Israel their sins."[3] It is not good to forsake the words of God and do good worldly service at the altar.

You see how the Prophets and the Apostles exhort us to read, interpret, preach and teach the mysteries of the faith, and convert any one who is against us, and not to sing and to contrive musical melodies like sirens, nor to bray like asses, nor to utter sweet sounds like nightingales, nor to sing like swans, nor to coo like doves, nor should we institute to-day a feast for so-and-so, and to-morrow another feast for so-and-so, and in this open our stomachs to excessive food, and broaden our gullets to drink, and thus pander to the proclivities of our alimentary desires and minister to occasions of sin and say : "To-day is a feast, we must therefore eat and drink." To pagans belong festivities, songs, dances, banquets and drink, and to Christians fasting, prayer, and reading of scripture. In their festivities the Greeks resemble, therefore, those who are outside our sheepfold.

Let it be also known to you that musical tunes and melodies with *Canons*, *stichera* and the rest of them have come down to the Greeks from outsiders, that is to say from the pagan Odysseus who having experienced the sweetness of the song of sirens which dwelt in the sea of Scylla, perceived a desire to learn it ; and because these sirens sang men used frequently to throw themselves into the sea, bewitched as they were by their song, and were eaten by them. Odysseus, however, resorted to a stratagem : he plugged with wax the ears of the sailors, and some men tied him and his companions with chains of iron, and they floated on the sea. When the sirens saw them they began to sing songs of various melodies, but those men whose ears were plugged did not hear the sweetness of the song, and those who were attached with chains of iron could not throw themselves into the sea because of their being strongly tied, and so they little by little learned the melodies and introduced[4] them to mankind. Examine, then, the origin of the

[1] 1 Peter iii. 15.
[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 19.
[3] Is. lviii. 1.
[4] Change the *yodh* into a *wāw*.

melodies. It is really the sirens which have to take pride rather than the Greeks.

You say: "It is not fair to make other Christians heretics, and to call ourselves orthodox people."

If Christians were such as they, what would you be yourself? If you answer that you are a Christian, rise up and go to them and see what they will call you. If they are not heretics, then the Syrians are. If you pretend that both sides are right, no one from either side will believe you, neither from our side nor from the side of the adversaries. They call us heretical Jacobites, and we call them Chalcedonians, Nestorians, and heretics. If you have enough power in you like your namesake Joshua,[1] son of Nun, to reconcile them with one another, we ourselves will help you in everything. But what union is there between light and darkness? Many believed that it would be good to join the adversaries, but this has proved a stumbling block to them and finally their downfall. When Ahab had pity on Benhadad and saved his life, God got angry with him and with his people, and he was rejected from power, and Hazael[2] killed him.[3]

You write: "My heart does not allow me to anathematize anyone, not even Nestorius and his companions. If I do not accept them it is solely because they are alien to, and rejected from, the Church of God."

I am tempted to be amazed at your simplicity, O brother, how it easily contradicts itself. You contended that your heart[4] does not allow you to anathematize Nestorius and his companions, and you have at the same time unknowingly anathematized him. Anathema is a separation from God, and when you have separated them from the Church and rejected and denounced them, you have anathematized them. Do you then believe that anathema means anything else? The word "anathema" is used in two meanings. The first meaning is found in the sentence of Moses: "every 'anathema'[5] which is

[1] In Syriac *Isho'* renders both "Jesus" and "Joshua."

[2] For Samuel of the MS.

[3] Cf. 1 Kings xx. 31 sqq.; 2 Kings viii. 15. "Him" means Benhadad.

[4] Read *libbākh* for *lākh*.

[5] In Syriac the same word *hirma* is used in the Scriptural passages used below, and means both "anathema" and "offering, vow, sacrifice." This distinction is a favourite theme of some Jacobite writers. See Pseudo-Philoxenus in my *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, 1925, p. 61.

'anathematized' by a man."[1] Here "anathema" means "vow": i.e. every vow vowed by a man. The second kind of anathema is that spoken of by Paul: "He who does not love our Lord Jesus Christ let him be anathema."[2] The first "anathema" means "vow" and "sacrifice," and the second anathema means "separation from God" and "rejection from the Church of God." This last kind of anathema is the one used by the Doctors against the heretics.

You write: "The Greeks have a heavenly King, and God gave them also an earthly king, how can they not be proud?"

It is written that we cannot serve two masters,[3] O brother. If they call God their King, they are deprived of an earthly king; and if they seek the earthly one, they forsake the heavenly one. This is also known by what God said to Samuel: In asking for an earthly king, the Jews "have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me," Creator and God, "that I should not reign over them."[4] You see how[5] God Himself decreed by His words that any one who has an earthly king is deprived of the heavenly one. We follow the words of God, and do not contend that a man has two kings; if it was so he would be bound to "love the one and hate the other, and hold to one and despise the other."

Every pride in an earthly kingdom is from the evil one; it is he who overcomes the passions and lays the body under the power of the soul who is a king. Further, other Christian peoples have also kings, and they do not for that take pride in their souls, and the Persians and the Arabs have all kings, and we could not say that they have greater right than we have. The true kingdom is that which is established in orderliness and virtue, as in the times of Constantine, Theodosius and the rest of the Roman kings, that is to say the kings of the Franks.[6] Now look back at the kings of the Greeks of our days, how they commit adultery and fornication more than the pagan kings. When they are ordered not to take two wives, they take them. And enter their Metropolis, and you will see in a love of money, which is the root of all evil,[7] and coveteousness which is

[1] Num. xxx. 2. [2] 1 Cor. xvi. 22. [3] Matt. vi. 24.
[4] 1 Sam. viii. 7. [5] Eliminate one *aikanna*.
[6] The author is at some pains to distinguish between "Romans" whom "he calls Franks" (Arab. *Rūmanīyūn*, Syr. *Rōmāyé*), and "Byzantines" (Arab. *Rūm*, Syr. *Rōmāyé*, *Yaunāyé*) whom he calls "Greeks."
[7] 1 Tim. vi. 10.

idolatry,[1] and unbounded adultery, not only among laymen and laywomen, but also among the clergy. No king, no head, and no superior can stop them. Their bishops are likewise covetous, and they pile up gold like stones, and they enjoy material things, and wear fine linen and purple instead of wool.[2] They ride also on powerful mules and bathe in the public baths like women, and relish different kinds of food. Faith without works and good conduct is dead.[3] *Et cetera.*

Chapter VI.

Against the Pride of the Chalcedonians, and on the Building of their Capital.

Let us proceed now with haste and examine the fallacy of the Greeks on this subject.

You write: "The beautiful Metropolis which Jeremiah has foreseen when lamenting over Jerusalem is our Metropolis. God showed him her towers, her beauty, her ramparts, and her buildings and said to him: 'Do not weep over Jerusalem, lo I have found a house better than Jerusalem, and I will bring all people and all tongues to its glory;'[4] and it happened as he said."

To whom shall we now speak, and on whom shall we pour our wrath? On those who foolishly utter fallacies like these, or on people[5] who listen to them? In what passage did Jeremiah prophesy about Constantinople, and who is the commentator who understood it in that sense? Jeremiah was taken to Egypt; and according to some people, he even composed his Lamentations over Jerusalem in Egypt. It is not written in the Lamentations that he prophesied about the Metropolis, nor about a town that would stand on its site. If they are so untruthful in palpable subjects like this, how much more will they be so on the subject of faith which is thinner that a hair?

[1] Col. iii. 5.

[2] Or: sackcloth. A wool garment is an emblem of poverty and penitence. Cf. the word *Ṣūfi* (from which the Mohammedan *Ṣūfis*, and *Ṣūfism*) which means "woolly" from *Ṣūf* "wool."

[3] Jas. ii. 17.

[4] There is no such passage in the *Lamentations.*

[5] Read *aw 'al* for *akh-d.*

They raved also another falsehood to the effect that it was Euphemia the martyr who gave them the articles of faith of the Council of Chalcedon. In this they show that they have received their faith from a dead woman; and to this effect they even hang in their Churches the picture of something which is unreal. The fact is that the Council assembled in the temple of Euphemia, and the *Tomos* of the unholy Leo and the other book containing the articles of faith were laid in the font of the saint; but it is nowhere written that the saint rose from the dead and confirmed them; what they are uttering is pure lie, and their powerful pillars, and the enemies of the truth, such as Joannes Damascenus, Theophilus, and Theodore of Ḥarrān did not write these lies, I mean the untruth concerning Jeremiah and Euphemia, because they knew that they were lies. Damascenus, however, indulged in another falsehood in writing that a child rose up to heaven and heard the angels say: "*Sanctus es Deus, Sanctus es Omnipotens, Sanctus es Immortalis*," without the addition: *Qui crucifixus es pro nobis.*[1] Against this we wrote at length (in another book) and we reproved him and showed that "no man hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven."[2] We rebuked them that their faith has come down to them from a woman, and that their *trisagion* has emanated from a child not yet in his full senses, and not from an angel or a man in his full senses. You, however, believe not the untruth[3] that they have uttered against the Armenians.

Constantinople was built in the time of Manasseh by the brothers Byzantion, and it was a pagan town, which had no fame till the days of Constantine who repaired to it and enlarged it.

You say that it is written: "I will bring to it all peoples and tongues for worship," to which we will answer: not the Christian, but the pagan, peoples. We have heard that peoples and tongues went to Jerusalem for worship; and to the town you are mentioning no one ever went for worship, but only on business. Further, when did Christians ever repair to it for the sake of honour? They went to it only to grub, and to buy and sell. It is frequented mostly by Persians, Arabs, and barbarous and godless peoples, such as Ḳumanians

[1] See the story in Joannes Damascenus, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, cap. liv., vol. i., p. 219 (edit. Lequien).

[2] John iii. 13.

[3] Which untruth?

and Hungarians, who have enriched it with gold, silver and precious stones. Lo, Bagdad, Cairo, and other towns of the kingdom of the Arabs are richer in gold, silver and precious stones, and we do not say that they have more truth than we have.

Listen now to Gregory, how he rebukes those who are rich in gold: "Against those who have gold and silver, we have a pure speech; against those who have churches, we possess the One who dwells in them; against those who have temples, we possess God and we are His living temples; and against those who have multitudes, we have angels."

You write: "God has gathered together and brought to it prophets, apostles, and martyrs, so that none of them is outside it."

This also is untrue. James, the brother of our Lord, is buried in Jerusalem, and James, son of Zebedee, is in the west, south of the city of Rome; Peter and Paul are in Rome, and John, son of Zebedee is buried in Ephesus, where also is the mother of God. The Apostle Thomas was buried in India, and his bones were transferred to Edessa. Ezechiel and the three children[1] are in Babylonia with Daniel, and the prophet Isaiah is in Jerusalem. The rest of the prophets and apostles are likewise in all directions, and all are not in the Metropolis. As to St. Basil, all the Emperors strove to transfer his bones from Cæsarea to the Metropolis, but they did not succeed. The great Meletius[2] was transferred from the Metropolis to Antioch. As to the wood of the Holy Cross, it was in Jerusalem, and in the time of Shahrbaraz and Chosrau it was carried to Persia, and in their time also it was brought back and sawn in the middle, and half of it reached the Metropolis.

You write: "And also the rod of Moses and the staff of Aaron, and the ark."

O deceivers and liars! How they deceive the simple folk to make them accept their teaching! In the ark were the rod, the staff, and the golden pot holding the manna. This ark and all the sacraments that it contained Jeremiah took out and hid in a cave: and from that day up to now no one has ever known their exact place. We know this from the Book of Maccabees and from other Doctors.

[1] Lit. Companions of Hananiah.
[2] Meletius of Antioch who died in 381.

You write: "And also the twelve baskets, and the veronica, and the robe of the mother of God."

From the time of the Economy of Christ to that of Constantine, there are more than three hundred years, and in that time kings were pagan, and Christianity was not yet in plain light; who, therefore, collected the above sacred objects for the Greeks? So they are also liars in this matter; they have neither the baskets, nor the crown of thorns—for which they have fabricated one of nails—nor the swaddling clothes of Christ, as they rave. It is possible that the existence there of the veronica is true, but who stole the robe of the mother of God and brought it to them, and left the Virgin naked? Fie, the madness! All the sacred objects were in Jerusalem, but when the Jews transgressed the commandments and the law, they were taken in captivity, and Jerusalem was destroyed; the ark also and the tables of the Covenant were carried away by the Philistines: their pride, therefore, in these things is that of ignorant and not of intelligent men.

As to the right hand of John the Baptist by which they sanctify the holy chrism, do not follow blindly after children, O brother! Tell me this: when Herodias took the head of John the Baptist in a charger,[1] what profit did she get out of this gift? Was it not a loss that she sustained? It is the good actions of a man that give him the right to be worthy of John's fellowship, and not the fact that he possesses great things for which he does not care. To a pig pearls and muck are on the same level. Many asses of merchants carry precious things from which they derive no profit whatever.

Concerning John the Baptist, Theodoret, the helper of the Greeks, wrote that in the days of Julian the Apostate, pagans took[2] his bones from the urn and burned them.[3] John of Asia[4] also wrote that in the time of Justinian one of the prefects of Palestine who was like a pagan

[1] Mark vi. 28.

[2] Add a *wāu* to the verb.

[3] Here is the whole passage of Theodoret; "Sebastae vero, quae et ipsa ejusdem est gentis, Joannis Baptistae arcam aperuerunt, et, ossibus combustis, cinerem dissiparunt." *Pat. Gr.*, lxxxii. 1091.

[4] It is the Syrian historian John of Ephesus. I failed to see this passage in the fragments that have come down to us from the great historical work of this Syrian writer, as published by Land (*Anecdota Syriaca*, ii., 289-329, and 385-391) and by Cureton (*The Third Part of Eccl. Hist. of John Bishop of Ephesus*, 1853).

in his conduct, sent a right hand to the Metropolis and said that it was John the Baptist's. Many were suspicious about it and said that it could not be true. It was, however, accepted by the Emperor and the people as true.[1] Where is it written that the holy chrism should be sanctified by the right hand of John? The Greeks that are amongst us rave that they mix the blood of Christ with the holy chrism. The Apostles and the Doctors have ordered that the holy chrism should be composed of different elements and be sanctified by the prayers of the bishops and the people, and these pretend that it contains the blood of Christ; which is untrue. This would make them resemble the Jews who said: "His blood be on us and on our children."[2] And they are being baptized by this same blood!

If the holy chrism is sanctified by a dead right hand, they are, therefore, being baptized by a dead man; because although St. John be living to God, he is so in his soul, while in his body he is so far dead, and he has not yet resuscitated. How can the right hand of a dead man sanctify the holy chrism? Why! this is not a great affair, since their ordination also emanates from a dead man! Indeed they used to receive for some time their bishops from Rome, but when trouble arose between them and the Franks, Rome did not give them any bishop; and it was after many frays and bickerings that they gave them a bishop, but when the messengers who were bringing him reached the city of Heraclea in Thrace, he fell ill and died. They were then in great pain and sorrow, and fearing lest the Romans should require the ordination of another bishop from them, they resorted to a stratagem and brought a man and laid the hand of the dead bishop on his head and ordained him. They decreed also that in future it is the bishop of Thrace that shall lay the right hand on the head of all the bishops of the Capital. This custom they observe

[1] Concerning the recent opening of the new Museum of Constantinople the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* writes, under the date of 24 January, 1927, as follows: "Some interesting reliquaries are displayed, including—from Byzantine times—a gold and jewelled section of the cranium of the traditional head of St. John the Baptist, and a gold forearm showing part of the bones of the back of the Saint's hand. They were taken from a Christian Church by Mohammed the Conqueror, and have been preserved in the Treasury ever since."

Manchester Guardian, 2 February, 1927.

[2] Matt. xxvii. 25.

down to our own days, and on it we have written elsewhere in several places.

You write: "So far as we are concerned whom have we but SS. Barṣauma and Aaron?"

What shall we say to a mind glued to earthly things? As to us we have our beloved,[1] the Lord of heaven and earth; it is He, the Lord of heaven and earth and holy sacraments who said: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;"[2] and who spoke through the prophet: I do not count heaven and earth, "where is the house ye build unto me?"[3] and who proclaimed in the mouth of Isaiah: "To whom shall we look and in whom shall I dwell except him who is peaceful and humble," and fears my word.[4] You will see, if you reflect, whom we have! He is indeed St. Barṣauma! Listen also to St. John Chrysostom how he rises against those who take pride in such things; he said in the eighty-second chapter of his commentary on Matthew: "How many men there are now who say 'We wish to see the face of Christ, His image, His dresses, and His shoes;' but lo you are seeing Him, and you are holding Him; you are eating Him, and you are wishing to see His dresses! He did not give Himself to you in order that you may only see Him, but that you may also touch Him, eat Him, and receive Him in yourself."[5]

What would you say about this quotation? Did it not confute and destroy all that you wrote? Did it not put an end to all the pride of the Greeks? Do not err, therefore, after them, but follow in the steps of your fathers. *Et cetera.*

[1] Or possibly: O our beloved!

[2] Matt. xviii. 20.

[3] Isa. lxvi. 1, with slight changes.

[4] Isa. lxvi. 2, with slight changes.

[5] Here is the whole passage: "Quot sunt qui modo dicunt: vellem ejus formam, typum, vestimenta, calceamenta, videre? Ecce illum vides, ipsum tangis, ipsum comedis; et tu quidem vestimenta videre cupis; ipse vero seipsum tibi dat, non videndum modo, sed tangendum, comedendum, intus accipiendum." *Pat. Gr.*, lviii. 743.

Chapter VII.

On the fact that he made the Greeks the head of all Christians.

Let us go on with our investigation of the words of this writer[1] and see how he inclines to all winds, and how he possesses zeal and kindness, but not in the sense in which the Apostle intended these to be.

You write: "Why should we blame them? If they blame us it is because we did not obey them when they were right. It is written: "The superiors of the peoples are their superiors."[2]

How well has Esau[3] been tested and his hidden mind disclosed! In everything that you have propounded you have shown[4] that you are not holding your faith from conviction but out of hypocrisy. On the one hand you persuade us not to blame those who out of their own free will have trampled on the anathemas of the Synod of Ephesus and decreed another canon. On the other hand you gave them authority to blame us on the score that they are our superiors and directors. Show us where you get the information that they have that precedence of us which would entitle them to blame us, and be our superiors. If you say that it is because they were evangelized before us, we demonstrated in our previous letter to you[5] that their evangelization did not precede ours. If you pretend that they are our superiors because some of their books have been translated by us, we have proved decisively that all the Doctors of the Church are not Greek.

As the Jews do not scorn the Christians because it is from their people that the Books of the Prophets and Apostles have emanated, so also the Greeks should not blame us on this score. If as you say they are our superiors, and they have consequently right to blame us because we did not listen to them, the Jews will hold them by their throats and say: "We are older than you, and we are your superiors and directors; you took the Books from us;[6] come and become like

[1] I.e. Rabban 'Isho'.

[2] Or: those who blame the peoples are their superiors. Cf. Luke xxii. 25.

[3] He refers to his adversary.

[4] Eliminate the *wāw* before the verb.

[5] This letter seems to be lost.

[6] Read *minnan* for *minkhon*.

us ; if we blame you, it is our duty to do so ; you Greeks should never rebuke us for the fact that we crucified the Christ." What are these old women's tales, and what is this useless discussion!

You write : "That Council (of Chalcedon) which had six hundred and thirty-six Fathers, and from which two were driven out."

I am amazed at the way you have accepted as true the falsehood of liars. Who saw (the Fathers of that Council) and counted them as amounting to such a number ? Who read their unofficial proceedings and deliberations ? As for us we read everything in books and we know what was done and spoken there, and how long the Council lasted ; we have also written with us the names of all the bishops who assembled in it, and those who subscribed to it by proxy, and the number of all them amounts only to three hundred and sixty-three. To what extent can the deceivers lie ! They believe that it is by the magnitude of the number of the Fathers that truth is made manifest. Three hundred and seventy bishops assembled in the town of Madecolinus [1] subscribed to the wickedness of Arius, and wished [2] to throw away Athanasius the Great, because he did not agree with them.

Now what do you say ? Had the high number of men in this case greater right than one man, or had this one man, Athanasius, greater right than all of them ? Learned men even among the Greeks testify that Athanasius was right. Picture, therefore, in your mind and know that Dioscorus and the bishops who were with him had likewise [3] greater right than the other three hundred who out of their fear of the king and for the love of their sees [4] put their signatures to the *Tomos* of Leo. Abraham was in his days the only one who served God, the rest being idol-worshippers. But listen to what the holy Theologian [5] says : "Three men who gather together in the name of God, are more numerous before His eyes than several myriads who deny His Godhead. Would you honour all the Canaanites more than one Abraham, or the Sodomites more than one Lot, or the Midianites more than one Moses ?" And he added afterwards :

[1] Sic cod. ; it is Mediolanum (Milan).
[2] Read *Ṣbau* for *Ṣba*.
[3] Read *aph* for *aphain*.
[4] Or *chairs* ; see Pseudo-Philoxenus in my *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, 1925, p. 63.
[5] i.e. Gregory Nazianzen.

"No; this could not be, could not be. God was not pleased with a great number of people. You count the myriads, but God counts those who are saved; you (count) the earth that cannot be measured, but I will (count) the vessels of election."[1]

You further write: "Those *Ḳānōné*[2] which are called *Ḳoḳlia* are invented by the Jews."

Show us the *Canon* which was invented by the Jews. It is said that the Jews invented not the *Ḳānōné* but the *tishbḥātha* to the tunes of which the *Ḳānōné* have been invented, and which serve as the foundations of their intonations. As to whether the *Ḳoḳlia* are from the Hebrews, I heard that it is the *tishbḥātha*, that is to say the *mazmōre*, that they sing with different melodies. Ponder well over what you write, and then begin to discuss.

You condescended also to say that the Greeks took the kingdom of the Romans by stratagem.

When did it happen that a kingdom has been stolen? It is God who removes kings and raises up kings. He removed the kingdom from the Franks[3] and bestowed it on the Greeks. That a kingdom, however, is stolen without the wish of God is known from the fact that Absalom stole the kingdom from his father David, and the people leaned towards him. That a king does rise without the order of God is also borne out by the prophet who testifies and says: "He reigned but not by me, and he governed but not by my will."[4] Wicked kings reign by the tacit permission of God; this occurs especially when iniquity is on the increase among the people. If God gave the kingdom to the Greeks, it follows that it is He who also gave it to the Arabs and the Turks for such a long time. The fact, however, is not so, and the subject is different from the one that concerns us.

You write: "The foreign[5] merchants who go in and out of the

[1] Here is the whole passage: ". . . tres in nomine Domini congregatos plures apud Deum censeri quam multos divinitatem abnegantes. An tu universos etiam Chananaeos Abrahamo uni antepones? An Sodomitas uni Lot? An Madianitas Moysi? . . . Non est ita, non, inquam ita est. Non in pluribus beneplacitum est Deo (1 Cor. x. 5). Tu quidem myriades numeras, at Deus eos qui salutem consequuntur; tu infinitum pulverem, ego electionis vasa." *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi. 467.

[2] Names of ritual prayers = *Canons*.

[3] i.e. the Romans.

[4] Hos. viii. 4.

[5] Lit. of different tongue.

Metropolis testify that there is no kingdom, no government, no wealth, and no charity similar to that of the Greeks ; and we Syrians consider them as nothing."

Your saying that the Greeks are praised by outsiders and not by Christians is prophetical ; we mean by outsiders Persians, Arabs, and Turks. Earthly people think of earthly things. The Greeks are not praised by just, pious, and orthodox people, but by grubbing and robbing merchants. And in what do these praise them ? In the fact that there is no kingdom, no government, and no wealth like theirs.

Alexander has not been praised in any (sacred or ecclesiastical) book because his government embraced three ends of the inhabited globe, and his kingdom extended to nearly all the earth, and his wealth increased like stones. The kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar and that of Sennacherib, Pharaoh, and others was also very great, but in what did these pagans excel in their kingdom and government ? Is it in their piety and holiness ? There is no man of sound judgment who thinks so. Do not praise, therefore, the Greeks for something that is shameful before the eyes of God. The ancients, prophets and Apostles, have not been praised for their government, kingdom and wealth, but for their trials, privations, poverty and wants.

You say : " There is no charity like theirs." This is also untrue. Where is the one who has been fed[1] in the bazaars of their Capital ? Indeed how many needy and destitute people walk in its bazaars ? Some Christians who had gone there because of their poverty told[2] us that they have no mercy at all,[3] and that when they wish to eat bread they close their doors and bolt them, and the poor man hoarsens his voice in crying and sighing from hunger, and no man gives him bread. Here we will end this subject.

CHAPTER VIII.

On how He Blames His Co-religionists and is Proud of the Greeks.

You write : " We (Syrians) were the first in our evangelization and the Greeks the last, and God gave us kingdom, power,

[1] Read *ettzīn* for *ezdben*. [2] Add a *waw* to the verb.
[3] Read *dsakh* for *nsakh*.

ecclesiastical see,[1] and honour, because we were the first to believe in Him, but now He has greatly humbled us."

O brother, open your eyes and see, incline your ear and listen, and you will not cling much to earthly things. Christ did not promise the Christians earthly things sticking with mud, but He promised them heavenly things. "Seek the things that are above, and set your mind on the things that are above where Christ is."[2] It is the pagans who glory in an earthly kingdom and have earthly possessions; if we Christians wish to fix our minds on the latter, by what would we be distinguished from pagans? Have you not heard your Lord say: "My kingdom is not of this world; if it were then would my servants fight for me."[3] And: "Where I am, there shall also my servant be."[4] If we are, therefore, the servants of Christ, we should prepare ourselves for our journey to His heavenly kingdom, and not seek to reign here like other people who have no hope.

To which of the Apostles, who were the first to be evangelized, did God give in this world, kingdom, government, and wealth? On the contrary, they toured the world in want, privation, poverty, and need. Has not the Son of God Himself plainly declared that He "hath not where to lay His head."[5] Peter and John said to the man that was lame: "Silver and gold have we none, but in the name of Jesus rise and walk."[6] The Lord of all did not bestow any worldly honours, nor any earthly kingdom, which in reality is nothing, on all these saints who forsook everything and followed him. If every poor man were despised[7] before God and wrong in his faith, and if the man who[8] has wealth and kingdom were right in his faith, it would have been high time for you to despise Lazarus, the poor, full of sores, and to extol the rich man who was "clothed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously;"[9] it would have also been good opportunity for you to praise the faith of the sons of Hagar[10] who reigned in the earth from end to end, and are prosperous in the world, while the Christians are lowly, wretched, under subjection, and poor.

Listen to your Lord who says: "If the world hateth you, know

[1] Allusion to the Patriarchal See of Antioch.
[2] Col. iii. 1-2. [3] John xviii. 36. [4] John xii. 26.
[5] Matt. viii. 20. [6] Acts iii. 6.
[7] Remove the waw before *shīt*. [8] Add a *wāw* to *hāu*.
[9] Cf. Luke xvi. 19 sq. [10] The Arabs.

ye that it hath hated me before you."[1] And: "If ye were of the world, the world would love its own."[2] And: "If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you."[3] And: "Ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice."[4] And: "Love of this world is enmity against God."[5] What do you say against all these? Your Lord has shown that it is the one who possesses neither kingdom nor government who is accepted by Him. He who is here in subjection and strong in faith is going to[6] rejoice in the kingdom of heaven which will never perish.

You write: "There are no Syrians except with you in Melitene and in Edessa. There are very few of them with us."

Now Rabban 'Isho' comes back to us like a mighty teacher, and believing that the Syrians are uprooted more than any other people, he asks us why.

If you say that that is their condition because of their sins, we will retort that there are to-day many pagans and Jews who have kindled and kindle the wrath of God more than the Syrians, yet they are strong in power and prosperous in wealth, and their number is so high that it cannot be reckoned. Tell me also why are the prophets that rose in this world now uprooted, while the Jewish people who crucified the Son is still prosperous everywhere. Where are the Fathers, the just men, and the pontiffs? Where are the Apostles, the evangelists, the solitaries, the martyrs, and the confessors? If all these are uprooted because of their sins or for a similar reason,[7] so also consider the Syrians; but if it is because God loved them that He took them to Him, you should also assert the same in the case of the Syrians.

Now listen to what Jeremiah says: "Now that the just have gone to their rest, and the prophets have died, and we have left the land, we have nothing but the mighty one and His law."[8] That just king Josiah also did not last long in power, and it has been said about him: "The just man goes to his rest before the wrath."[9] You see that the wheat is always gathered in the barns while the chaff is abandoned.

[1] John xv. 18. [2] John xv. 19. [3] John xv. 20.
[4] John xvi. 20. [5] Rom. viii. 7 (Syr.).
[6] Remove the *waw* before *'thīdh.*
[7] Add the words *hraitha* or *ddhamya.*
[8] This quotation is from the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*Pat. Syr.*, ii. 1230).
[9] Is. lvii. i.

You write: "Why should we (Syrians) be proud because we were evangelized first? The Christ has said: 'Many shall be last that are first, and first that are last.'"[1]

We did not take pride because we were evangelized first; but we simply asked you the reason why the Greeks scorn us after you had made them our superiors and directors! We have not received our faith from them; the Books have not come down from them to us, and their language is not more ancient than ours. Further, in Lord Jesus "there is no Greek, no barbarian, no bondman, and no freeman, but Christ is all and in all."[2] He who works with Him is accepted by Him. The proof which you put forward runs counter to what you intended: you say that we who are first became the last, but see how in the same sequence you added: "and the last shall be first;" the Syrians who in your sentence were the last became the first in relation to the Greeks.

You write: "A prickly shrub that gives a beautiful rose, how can its master uproot it?"

It is sufficient for it that its name is a "prickly shrub."[3] There are many prickly shrubs which have no roses but are full of thorns, and their end is fire. Before the Council of Chalcedon the Greeks were not prickly shrubs, but a tree that bore fruits. After they tore the robe of Christ and divided it into duality of natures, the rose of the "first" was taken away from them, in a way similar to that of the Jews from whom priesthood and Books have been taken and given to a people that would yield fruits. The Jews were like the fig tree of tender branches;[4] as long as they kept the commandments and discarded sin, they were planted in the angle of the heavenly abode, but when they sinned and transgressed the commandments, the vineyard, that is to say, the people, was uprooted, and the vine and its branches were burnt, and the fig tree was cut to pieces from its roots by the axe of Vespasian and cast into the fire of dispersion.

Why did you not say to the master of the vineyard, as you would have doubtless wished to have done: let the "prickly shrub" be

[1] Matt. xix. 30. [2] Col. iii. 11.

[3] The author is playing here on the Syriac word *sanya* which means a "rose-tree," and as a participle of the verb *sna*, a "vile and despicable person."

[4] The beginning of the sentence is somewhat corrupt.

watered, in order that it may bring forth a rose? But which is the rose of the Greeks? Please tell me. If you say that the rose is the *Canons*, the *cathismata*, and the *stichera*, intelligent people do not consider these as a rose, because both our Church and theirs have been meditating for a long time over these hymns, and have been unable to convert through them a single man to the right path. The true rose is scriptural meditation, interpretation, teaching, wisdom and good advices; it is through these that the Apostles and Doctors converted all the ends of the earth to the truth. A second rose consists in fast, prayer, charity, holiness, chastity, and acts of perfection. It is through the scent of this rose that one can convert his own soul and convert others also.

Listen now to what the Doctors say concerning *Canons* and *Ḳīnātha*, of which you are proud. The poets and the composers of *Ḳīnātha*, call sometimes a *Ḳinta* angelic, and some other times they compare the singers to Moses and to the three children. They confined[1] their Biblical references concerning those who fasted in repentance to the Ninevites, and to the publican. Through high-toned *Zummāré* you may forget or completely lose the power of penitence. We are commanded to "pray with the spirit and to sing with the understanding."[2] This is something difficult for a Greek to do, since his mind is concentrated on music.

God permitted sacrifices because He knew that the Israelites could not be convinced otherwise; and He also permitted the use by them of cymbals and other musical instruments, in order that they may not indulge in profane glees and in banquets. At the end, however, he put an end to sacrifices in saying: "I have no pleasure in whole burnt offerings, and the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit."[3] He also put an end to songs and melodies by saying through the prophet: "Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols."[4] How is it that you who have been ordered to sing spiritual songs endeavour to mix with the Church songs those relaxing *Ḳīnātha* and loose tones, and thus weaken with these same *Ḳīnātha* the vigour of the souls which have hardened themselves against the passions, and mortified their bodies by ascetic works, and begun to sing with angels?

[1] Add a *wāw* to the verb.
[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 15.
[3] Ps. li. 16-17.
[4] Amos xv. 23.

If somebody says that these *Ḳīnātha* are spiritual, let him show me their fruits, and I will agree : "By their fruits ye shall know them."[1] You do not see any poet making repentance from the depth of his heart, nor striking on his breast to thwart unclean movements. On the contrary he stands erect, shakes his head, moves his neck hither and thither, gesticulates with his hands and his fingers and claps them together with noise ; he often also strikes with his foot against the ground, but he does not exhibit a single fruit of penitence to the hearers who are bewitched by the sweetness of his *Ḳinta* (= melody).[2] Church music is not like this, but it is quiet, lugubrious, and inducing to sighing and weeping.

Ḳīnātha did not penetrate into the Churches except when these were deprived of the gifts of teaching. When there was nobody to impart sound teaching, chanted hymns invaded the Churches. Look, therefore, at this Doctor,[3] how he disliked the *Canons*, and the *Zummāré*, and magnified and praised the interpretations of doctrine. Do not despise, therefore, the *Ḳabbelai Māran*,[4] and the *'al 'itra d'bismé*, and the *Dukhrānāh d'Maryam*. Very often one gets greater spiritual gains from these simple *Ḳālé* than from the elaborate tones, in which the words are lost or not caught by the ears of the listeners through the twistings, falls, elevations, and cadences of the voice. Let this subject end here.

CHAPTER IX.

On the Sign of the Cross.

Let us examine now your other points. You write : "Show me a Christian who believes in Christ who crosses himself with one[5] finger that we also should do the same. What is there that matters in the act itself ; if you wish, cross yourself with one finger, and if you wish, do it with two fingers."

[1] Matt. vii. 20.

[2] The author's description of a chanting poet is rather interesting.

[3] Which Doctor? A sentence may have possibly been missed in the preceding lines.

[4] These and the following Syriac words represent the first words of West Syrian liturgical prayers.

[5] Add an *Alaph* to *ḥdha*.

Lo the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Nubians, that is to say the Indians,[1] and the peoples of their neighbourhood, such as the Kushites (= Abyssinians) cross themselves with one finger. We have shown you above that the Book and nature agree with us on this point; but now that you have become the advocate of the Chalcedonians, show us either from yourself or from them the Doctor from whom they have received the meaning of the habit of which the two fingers are the emblem, and where it is written.

If the habit of crossing oneself with two fingers symbolizes the two natures, as the babbling nonsense of the Greeks has it, they crucify, therefore, both these natures as we have already written in the previous chapters. How could it be good to make the divine nature suffer and be crucified? If, however, there is nothing in the fact of crossing ourselves with one finger or with two, why do you then forsake the habit of crossing yourself with one finger, practised by your fathers, and make use of the practice of two fingers against your fathers? If, as you say, you are not a stumbling block to your children and to the children of your people—and it is more advantageous that one should not be a stumbling block and a boulder—when your people, with the presbyters, elders, dead and living bishops warn you that the practice is a stumbling block and a scandal, how is it that you do not heed them? Did you not see what Paul wrote: "If meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no flesh for evermore."[2]

You write: "We believe in one nature in Christ, we add to the *trisagion: Qui crucifixus es pro nobis*, and we follow all the ecclesiastical canons of the Syrians; we do not reject those of the Romans but we respect them, as a son respects his father, but in the matter of the two natures we do not agree with them."

The Book says: "How long will you limp on your two hams?"[3] Now in which camp shall we see and count you? In that of the Syrians with whose faith you agree, according to your own words, or in that of the Greeks whom you do not reject,[4] and what is more difficult, whom you have made your fathers? Our first father is God,

[1] MS. Franks. It is astonishing that Barṣalībī should here (contrary to what he had previously stated) confuse the Franks with the Nubians. Does the addition emanate from a copyist? It is probable that the word *Franks* stands here for *Indians*.

[2] 1 Cor. viii. 13. [3] 1 Kings xviii. 21.

[4] Put a *Dalath* before *lā*.

from whom we are born in the spirit ; our second father, and that in the flesh, is Adam ; each one of us also has a carnal father of whom he is born ; the name of "father" extends also to the holy Fathers, who, as we have previously shown, were not all Greek. The great Alexander, the promoter of the Council of three hundred and eighteen Fathers,[1] and Athanasius, his disciple, were Egyptian ; and so also were the rest of the bishops who accompanied them from Egypt and Alexandria ; Viton with Vincentius, the priests of Rome, and Hosius of the town of Cordova, and the rest of the Western bishops were Franks ; Jacob of Nisibin, and Ephrem, his disciple, and Ith-Alaha of Edessa, and Mara of Macedonopolis,[2] and John of Persia, were Syrian.

Show us how are the Greeks your Fathers. The kind of pride you are taking belonged to the Jews who used to have pride in Abraham and say : "We have Abraham to our father,"[3] but Christ[4] answered them : "God is able from these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." Listen also to John Chrysostom how he rebukes those who take pride in carnal fathers, in origin, in earthly possessions, and in country, in all of which the Greeks your fathers and friends take pride : "Why are you proud that you are from a great country, while I would command you to be a stranger to all the earth ? And why do you take pride in earthly possessions, you man, who, if you wish, can easily render all the world unworthy of you ?"[5]

Christ was brought up in Nazareth, was born in Bethlehem, and laid in a manger. What profit had the children of Samuel in not imitating their father's conduct ? And likewise the children of Moses ? What harm came to Timothy from the fact that he was the child of pagan parents ? In what was Canaan helped by Noah, his father ? Children do not always help their parents, nor parents their children ; indeed no help came to Esau from Isaac, nor to the Jews from Abraham. From these you will learn that neither parents help their

[1] That of Nicaea.
[2] A town in Osrhoene.
[3] Matt. iii. 9.
[4] It was John the Baptist. The writer's or the copyist's inadvertence.
[5] Here is the whole passage : "Cur enim de patria altum sapis, quando ego, inquit, in toto orbe te peregrinum esse jubeo ? Quando licet tibi talem esse, ut totus mundus te non sit dignus ?" *Pat. Gr.*, lvii. 181. Much of what follows is also taken by Barṣalībī from Chrysostom (*ibid.*, 181, 182).

children, nor the children their parents, but each one is justified by his works and his deeds.

Neither the Greeks are our fathers nor the Romans, nor are the Jews the fathers of Christians: all these are loose[1] expressions and old women's tales. If Yawan,[2] the father of the Greeks, was born before Aram, our father, there might have been occasion for discussion, but when this is not the case, how did you then glory in the not very weighty words of those haughty and arrogant people. It is written in the prophets: "A son honours his father, and a servant his master; if I am a father, how is it that you do not honour me, and if I am a master, how is it that you do not fear me, saith the Lord Sabaoth."[3] What do you say about this? God says that He is the Father and the Lord of us and them and of all peoples, and you establish them as our fathers, our lords, and our superiors because of some of their *Canons* that happened to be translated in our Service-books! This is not the saying of a wise man.

If it is because of these *Canons* and because of four or five books of theirs that we have translated that they are so arrogant, our Lord was a Syrian, and they have translated all His teaching into their language; and in case we pretended to be their fathers, we might say that lo all the Melchites who resemble them take great pleasure in the teaching of St. Jacob. The Greeks take also great pleasure in the teaching of the great Athanasius and Cyril, both of whom Egyptians, while the Franks take great pleasure in the teaching of Xystus, and the Franks, we and they in that of Hippolytus, Julius and others. Let them, therefore, not show arrogance against truth. These will suffice for this point.

Chapter X.

On the Trisagion.

You also discuss with us the *trisagion* in which you have written that the Greeks say: *Sanctus es Deus, Sanctus es Pater omnipotens.*

Let it be known to you that the Chalcedonians do not refer all the

[1] Add a feminine *tāu* to the adjective.

[2] The Syrians call the Greeks *Yawnāyé* and they believe that they are descended from a first father called *Yawan* or *Yavan.*

[3] Mal. i. 6.

trisagion to the Father, as you write, but to the Trinity, because they say : "*Sanctus es Deus Pater, Sanctus es omnipotens Filius, Sanctus es immortalis Spiritus Sancte, miserere nobis.*" We Syrians, with the Armenians, the Egyptians, the Abyssinians, the Nubians, and the Indians, refer the *trisagion* to the Son.

There are some who say that when Joseph brought down the body of our Lord from the Cross, people saw that angels had set up three choirs, the first of which saying : "*Sanctus es Deus*," and the second : "*Sanctus es omnipotens*," and the third : "*Sanctus es Immortalis :*" then Joseph and Nicodemus were moved by the Spirit and said : "*Qui crucifixus es pro nobis*—i.e. for mankind—*miserere nobis.*" This was immediately received in the Churches, and Ignatius the fiery, the disciple of John, established it in the Churches. Some others, however, say that it has been established after Nestorius had been rejected from the Church, but they are wrong. The Fathers said that it was that fourth Person,[1] with the human nature which was crucified, who, although God, omnipotent and immortal, wished to become flesh for us, and not another kind of nature.

The Chalcedonians say that the *trisagion* is derived from the *Sanctus* found in Isaiah. As the Seraphim glorify the three persons of the Trinity with the thrice repeated *Sanctus*, so we also should refer the *trisagion* to the Trinity. Against them we will write as follows :—

The One whom Isaiah saw on a high throne and the seraphim round him is the Son. This we know from John the Evangelist who says : "These things said Isaiah about Him when he saw His glory."[2] Cyril, John Chrysostom, and other Doctors teach us that it was the Son, the Word, that Isaiah saw on the throne and not the Father. We also believe that it is He who is the door and that it is through Him that we go to the Father. He says : "I am the door ; by me if any man enter in, he shall find life."[3] In the fact that we refer the *trisagion* to the Son we may go up to the Father and say : "Our Father who art in heaven." And in referring the glory to the Son

[1] The mention of a fourth Person in connection with the Incarnation by a monophysite writer is somewhat strange. Does he refer to Nestorian Fathers?

[2] John xii. 41. [3] John x. 9.

we speak in the Holy Spirit: "No man can say: 'Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit.'"[1]

We say further that the Seraphim said: "Holy, Holy, Holy, heaven and earth are full of His glory,"[2] and they did not say: "Thou art holy O God, Thou art holy O Omnipotent, Thou art holy O Immortal." If the Doctors have explained the thrice repeated "holy" as referring to the three persons (of the Trinity), and if the *Sanctus* of the liturgy also: "*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Omnipotens, pleni sunt*," etc., refers to the three persons, although addressed to one of them only, let them show us from where they learned that the *trisagion* of "Sanctus es Deus" refers to the Trinity. The prophet says only: "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus," and the words "Deus, Omnipotens, Immortalis" have been added afterwards.

That this *trisagion* refers to the Son to whom it is appropriate is known by the following: we say "Holy art Thou O God the Son," because He became flesh although remaining God; and we say: "Holy art Thou O Omnipotent," because He put on our weak body although remaining omnipotent in His divinity; and we say: "Holy art Thou O Immortal," because He died in the flesh although remaining immortal like God. What passage is it of the heretic Macedonius or of any other who attributed mortality to the Holy Spirit that the Chalcedonians want to refute when they say: "Holy Thou art O immortal Holy Spirit?" They have really no apology to offer. The words of the *trisagion* have been attributed by the Doctors to the Son because He became flesh, put on the weak and mortal human body, and was addressed by them as "God," "omnipotent," "immortal," and "who hast been crucified for us" in the flesh.

If they refuse this and say that the *trisagion* refers to the Trinity, let them only say: "Holy, holy, holy," and not: "Holy art Thou O God," and the remaining "Omnipotent" and "Immortal." The Nestorians and the Chalcedonians, in order to take from the middle the question of the crucifixion, and to introduce the division of nature and natures, and count in Christ two attributes, powers, and wills, and in order not to admit that we crucify the Son in the flesh, avoided the reference of the *trisagion* to the Son and attributed it to the Trinity,

[1] I Cor. xii. 3. [2] Is. vi. 3.

not paying sufficient attention to what Paul said: "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."[1] John the evangelist also said: "glory to the cross."[2]

The theologian said in his discourse on the passover: "We had need of a God becoming flesh and dying in order that we may live with Him. We died that we may be purified, and we rose with Him. Many miracles occurred at that time: God was crucified, the sun suffered eclipse and then shone again. It was necessary that the creatures should suffer with the Creator."[3] Now where does this Doctor put division in Christ? Where does he say that man died or that human nature was crucified? He openly declared that God became flesh, died and was crucified.

Let it be also known to you that if, as the Greeks believe, the *trisagion* refers to the Trinity, and the sentence *Qui crucifixus es pro nobis* is taken away from it, it would not only refer to the Trinity, as they say, but also to angels and demons; which is blasphemy. The angel or the demon might indeed say: "I am a God,"[4] because they are Spirits; and Satan said about himself: "I will ascend above the stars of heaven, and I will be like God,"[5] and Paul also said: "Whose minds the god of this world hath blinded."[6] Satan calls also himself "omnipotent," because he is constantly watchful in his war against the saints, and he even made bold and fought the Christ. He is also "immortal" because he does not die.

Consider well, therefore, where the *trisagion* might lead, if we did not add to it *Qui crucifixus es pro nobis;* indeed the *trisagion* of the Greek may reach Satan! When, however, the words *Qui crucifixus es pro nobis* are added to it, no one can refer "crucifixion" to an angel or a demon, because this would be impossible; nor could then the *trisagion* be referred to a mere man, because "immortality"

[1] Gal. vi. 14.

[2] Or: "to the crucified." In which passage? At the end of the sentence is the redundant verb *kārḗ*. The Text is probably corrupt.

[3] Here is the whole passage: "Opus habuimus Deo, qui carnem acciperet ac moreretur, ut vivamus. Commortui sumus, ut purgemur; simul resurreximus, quoniam simul mortui sumus; simul glorificati sumus, quoniam simul resurreximus. Quamvis autem permulta illius temporis miracula fuerint: Deus nempe in cruce pendens, sol obscuratus ac rursus inflammatus. nam creaturas quoque Creatori condolere oportebat." *Pat. Gr.*, xxxvi. 662,

[4] Cf. Is. xiii. 14. [5] Is. xiii. 12-14. [6] 2 Cor. iv. 4.

which is expressed in it is not referred to a man. The *trisagion* is, therefore, to be truly referred to the Son, and Word—God who became man, and who is both mortal and immortal : mortal in the flesh, and immortal in His Godhead, and He was crucified on our behalf.

You mentioned that the Armenians at the Nativity say one thing and at the Epiphany say another thing, and on some other occasion some other thing. This, however, does not matter, since they refer the *trisagion* to Christ. As we say in the Passion week : " O Christ, who by His passion delivered us from error," and as at the beginning of the Gospel we say : " At the time of the Nativity of our Lord," or " at the time of His Baptism, at the time of His Economy, at the time of His resurrection " as the case may be, so also the Armenians do with the *trisagion*, and use it according to circumstances.

We gave ourselves all this trouble for your salvation, not yours alone, but that of many others who will listen to us. The prophet said : " He who taketh forth the precious from the vile shall be as my mouth."[1] Do not throw, therefore, truth behind you, and abandon an old habit. Who is the man who can be so forgetful of his own self as to hate a human being ? We do not hate the Greeks, but the schisms which they brought into the midst and the divisions which they introduced into the Church. For a certain number of years I only disclosed the trouble caused by five of their innovations in five points of faith ; had I disclosed at length all the disturbances they had caused, they would have been ashamed of themselves, because not all of them are aware of what happened to them. I warned them several times to let everyone go his own way without recrimination against his neighbour of another creed, but they showed no desire to heed our advice. I wrote chapters concerning their habits, and also on the fact that we should be permitted to enter their churches, and be allowed to pray for them and they for us ; I also wrote many other chapters to rebuke them and point to the disturbance that they would be causing in the Church if they did not desire to live in peace and concord. For several reasons, however, among which is the fact that they have no responsible director and head, I kept my tongue and did not disclose what we are now aiming at.

[1] Jer. xv. 19.

Because, if God gives me life, I have the intention of exposing little by little all their teaching and comparing it with the interpretation of the holy Doctors, and of outlining afterwards our own teaching and interpretation and those of the Doctors. We have written the present pages in haste, but we have confidence that we shall not find ourselves in need to write to you again on the same subject, and that you will rather constitute yourself a preacher of truth, and thus possess your own soul and that of the many who fell like you. In case you remain stubborn in your old ideas, and in case light and darkness are on the same footing with you, it is your own business, but there is a great day which will make manifest all the hidden secrets of mankind.

Let it be also known to you that it is very pleasing and agreeable to God that there should be no divisions in the Churches of Christians ; it would have been also more just that the Greeks should have torn and pulled at[1] their own flesh, but they are so steeped in iniquity as to say that there are no other Christians but themselves, and they inflict more harm on our community and on that of the Armenians than the Turks. As I said above, I warned several times the Greeks of Melitene that they and the Syrians and Armenians should love one another and not to growl at one another like wolves and lions, but their madness reached such a pitch as to say like their fathers : " You are not Christians " and other similar ugly offensive words which are in keeping with their iniquity.

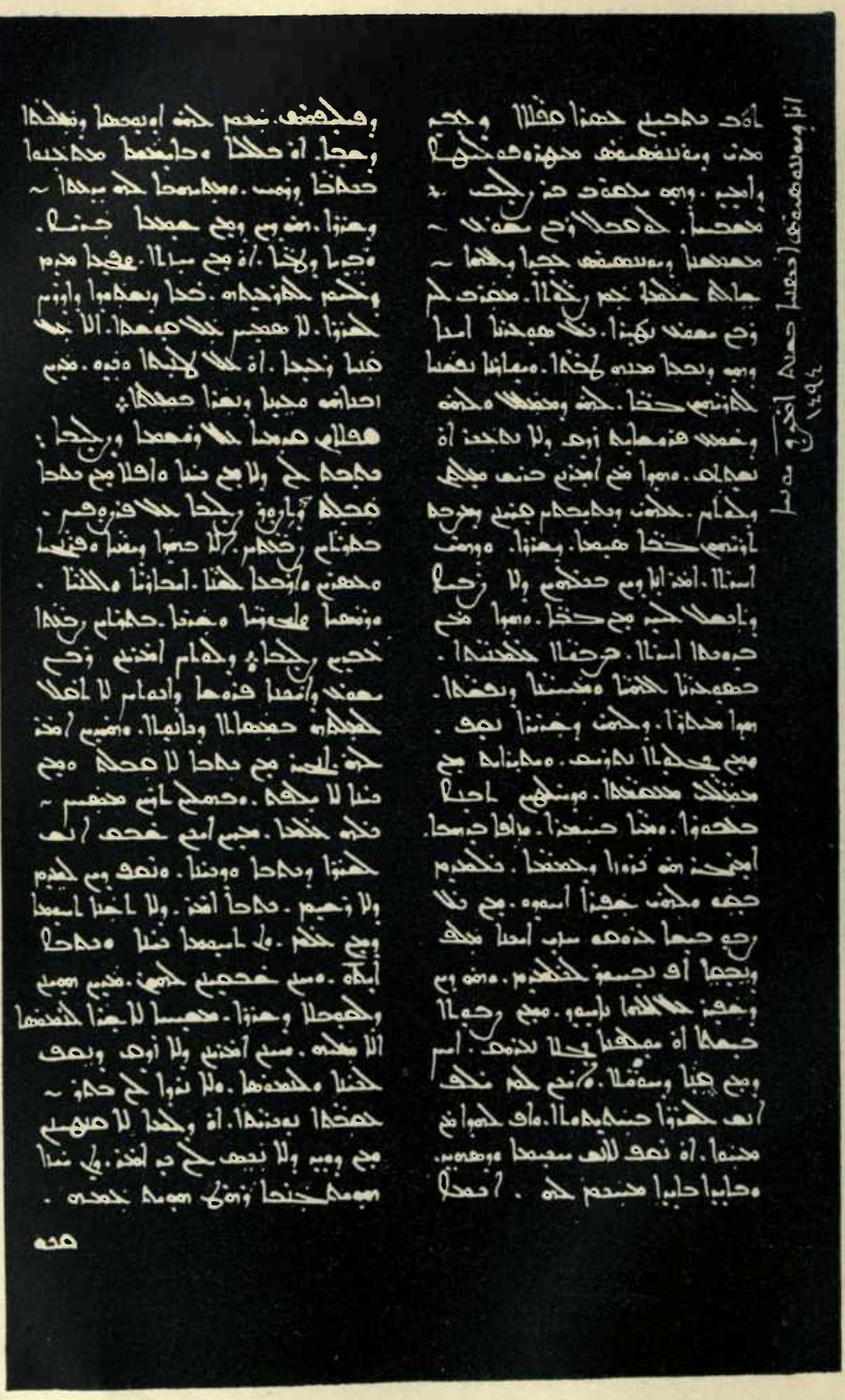
I wished to sow peace in the camp of the hostile parties, and to convince them from the books of the Apostles and Doctors that it is not good that they should contend with one another, but that they should enter one another's Churches, and pray with love, and if necessary to come nearer to one another and remember one another in prayers, with the understanding that each one may follow his own theological convictions, but they did not condescend to reconciliation.

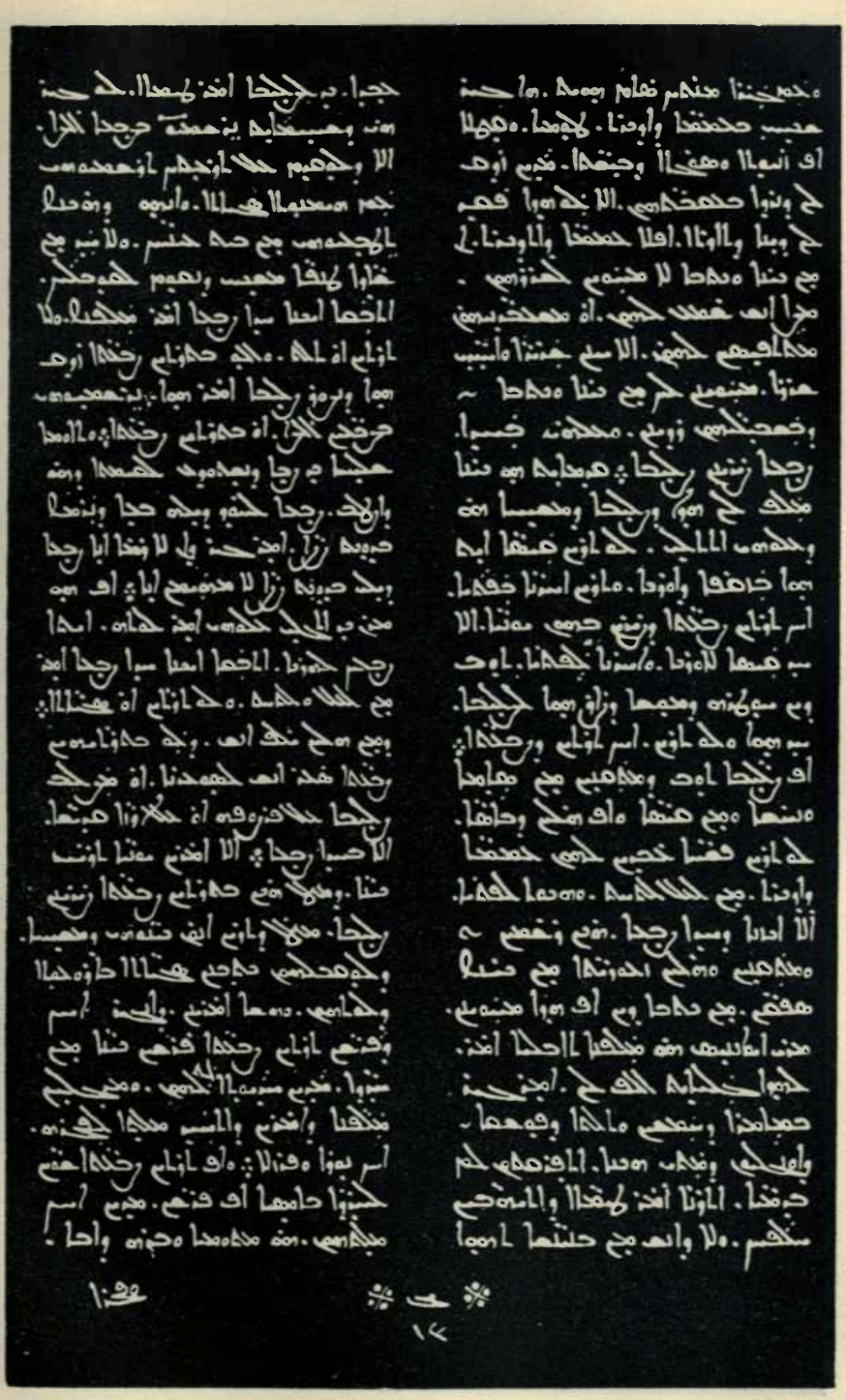
When I examined their madness and noticed that it was that of insolent people, I retorted and said to them : since you are so incurable, and believe that truth, which you do not know, is with you, bring first the testimony and the signature of your bishop, priests and notables, and I on my part shall also bring those of our Patriarch, our bishops,

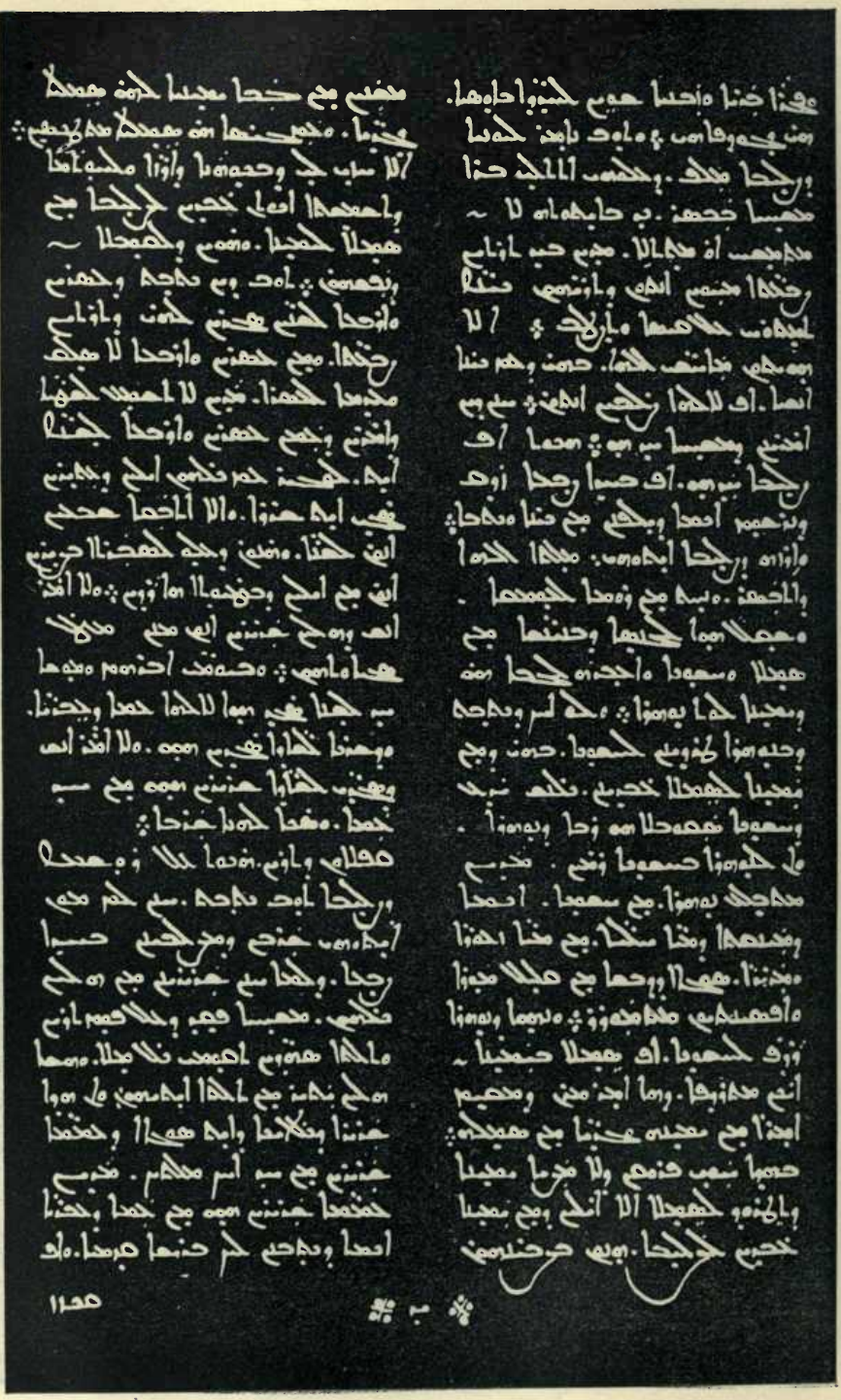
[1] Read *nbasbsūm* for *nnaskiston.*

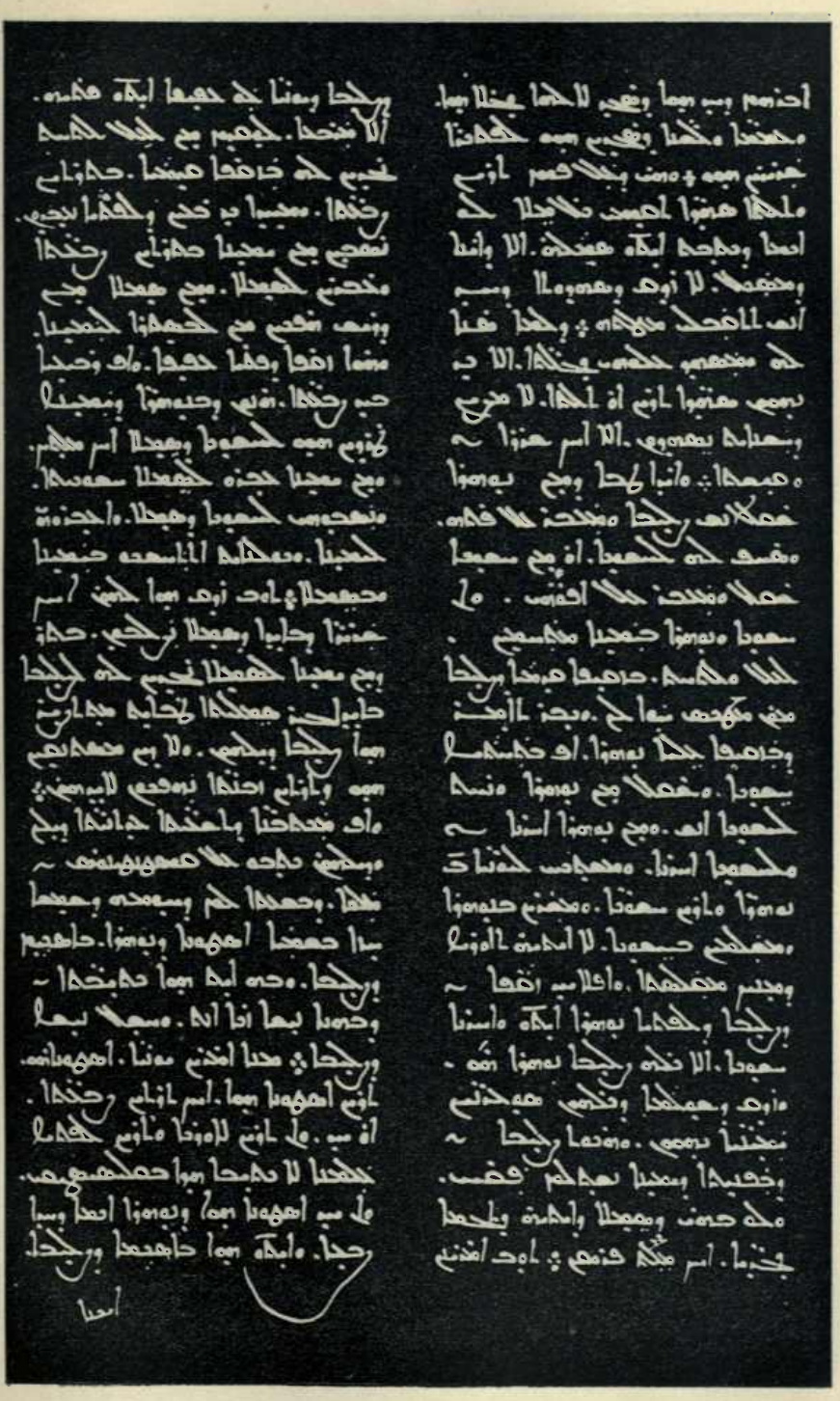
priests, and notables, to the effect that (in a public discussion which we will hold on religious questions) either party shall be pleased with the truth which shall there be revealed, and that either of them shall embrace it when revealed ; that in the discussion no party shall abuse the other, or rebuke him and refer to extraneous subjects. By the help of God I shall on that day disclose everything to the sun with justice and equity, in spite of the fact that the affair requires labour, time, helpers and promoters.

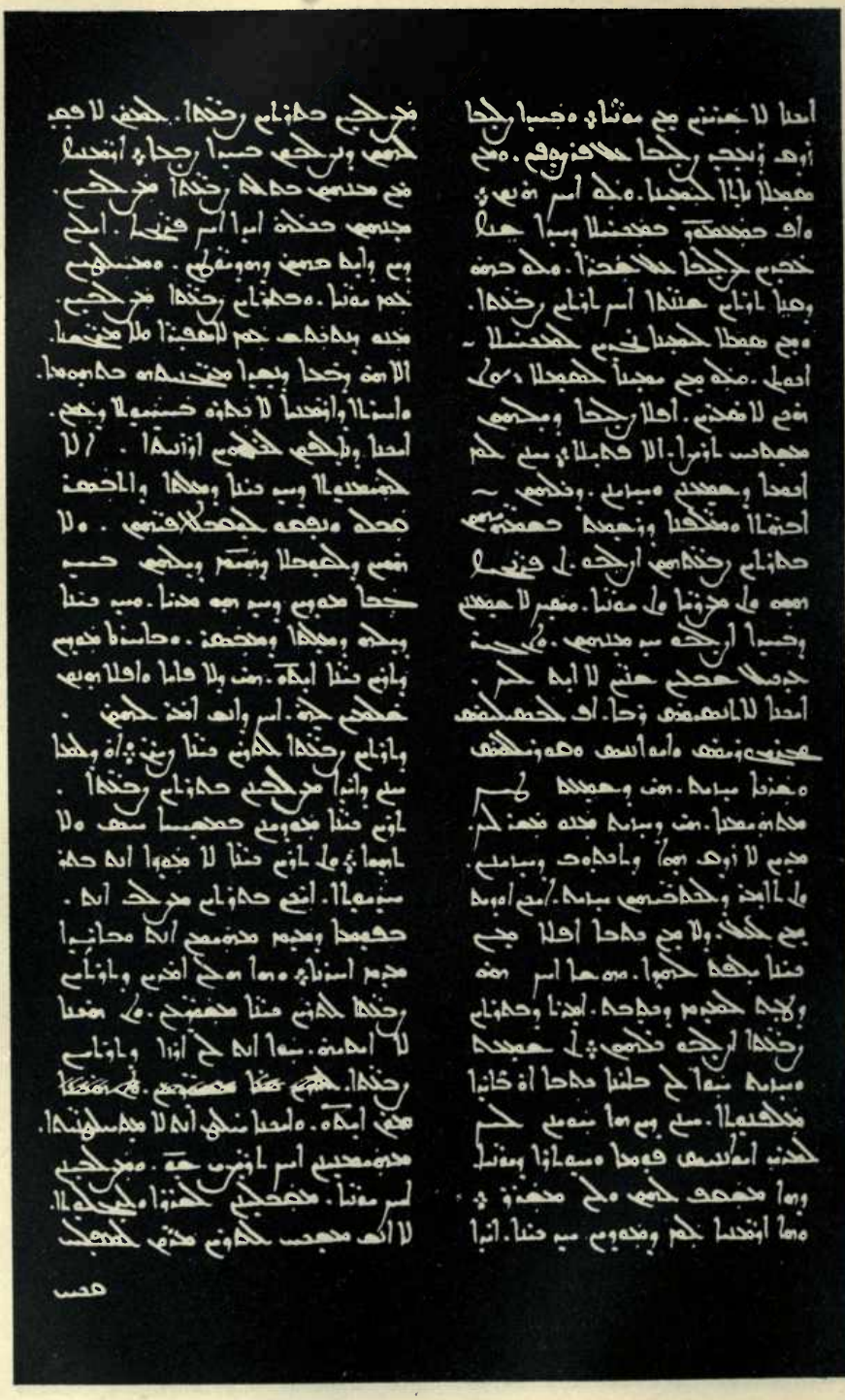
Here end the ten chapters.

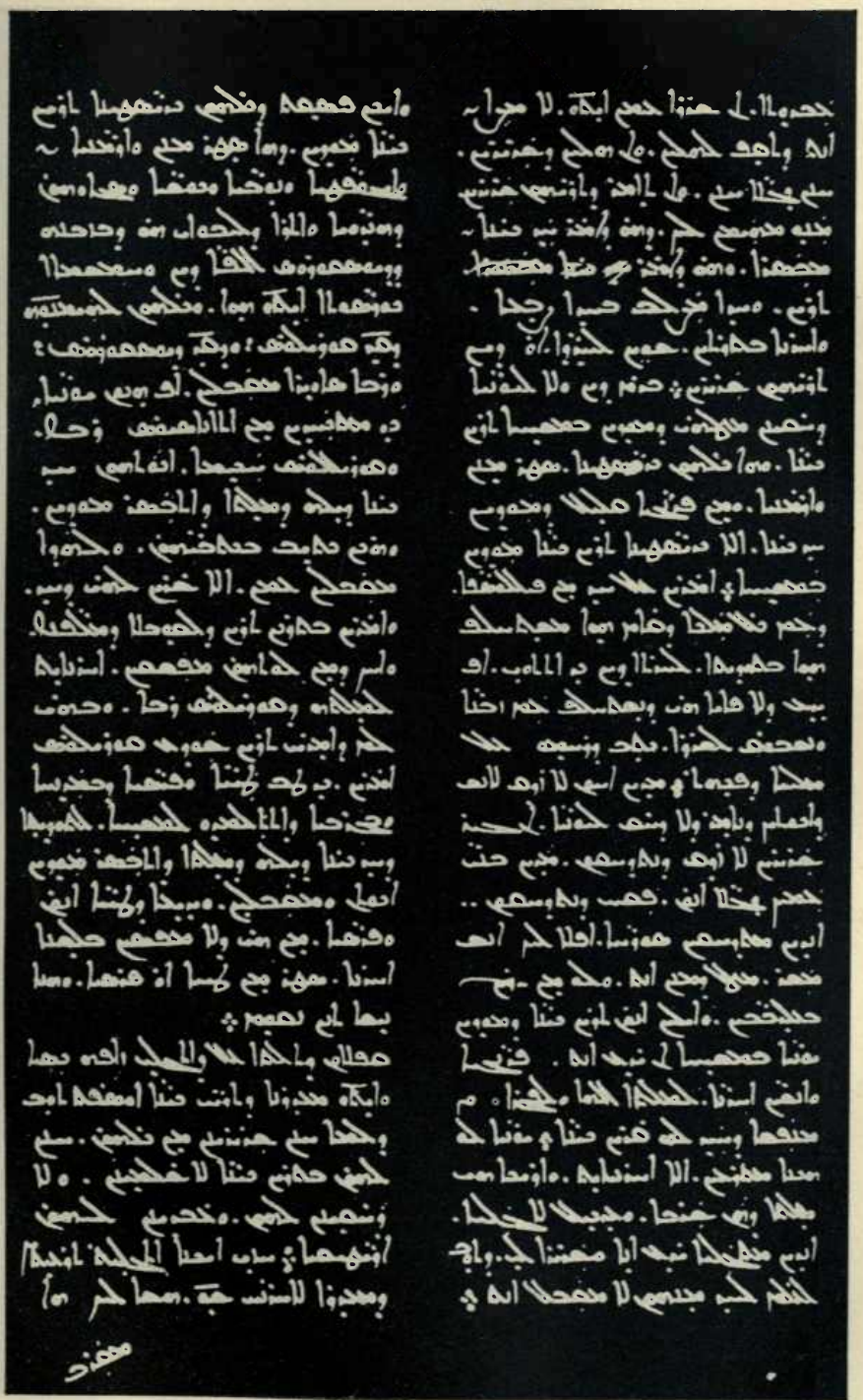


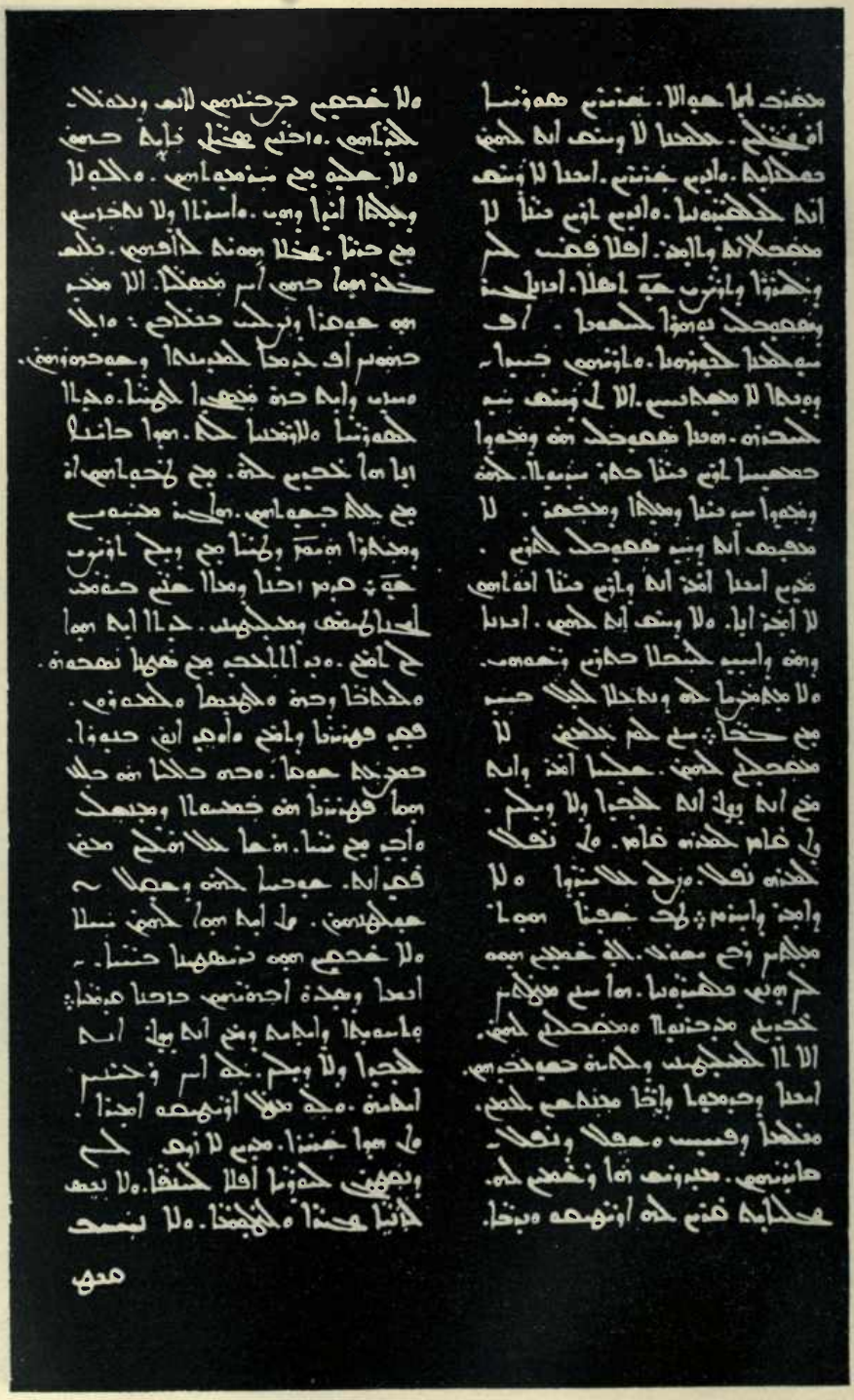


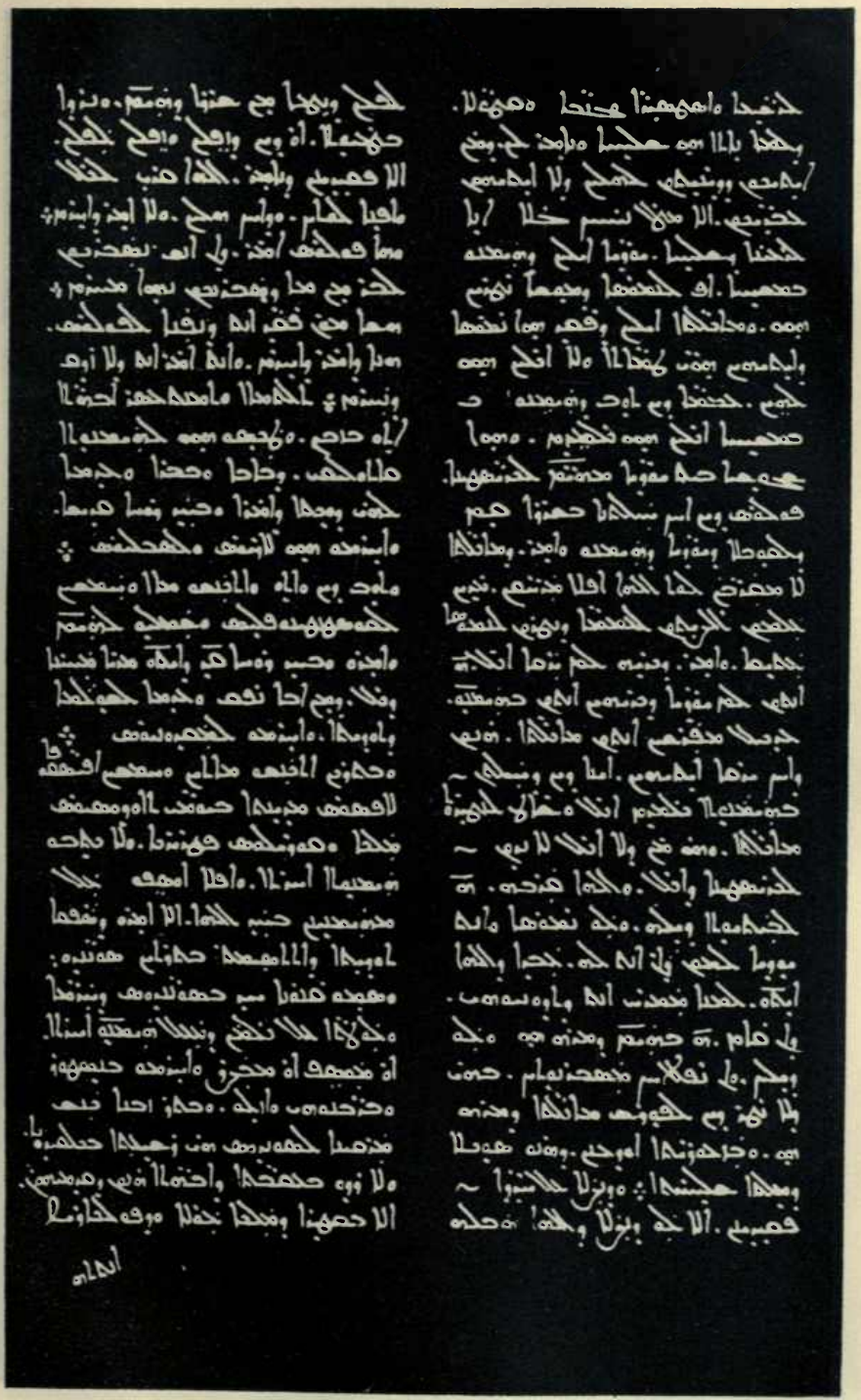


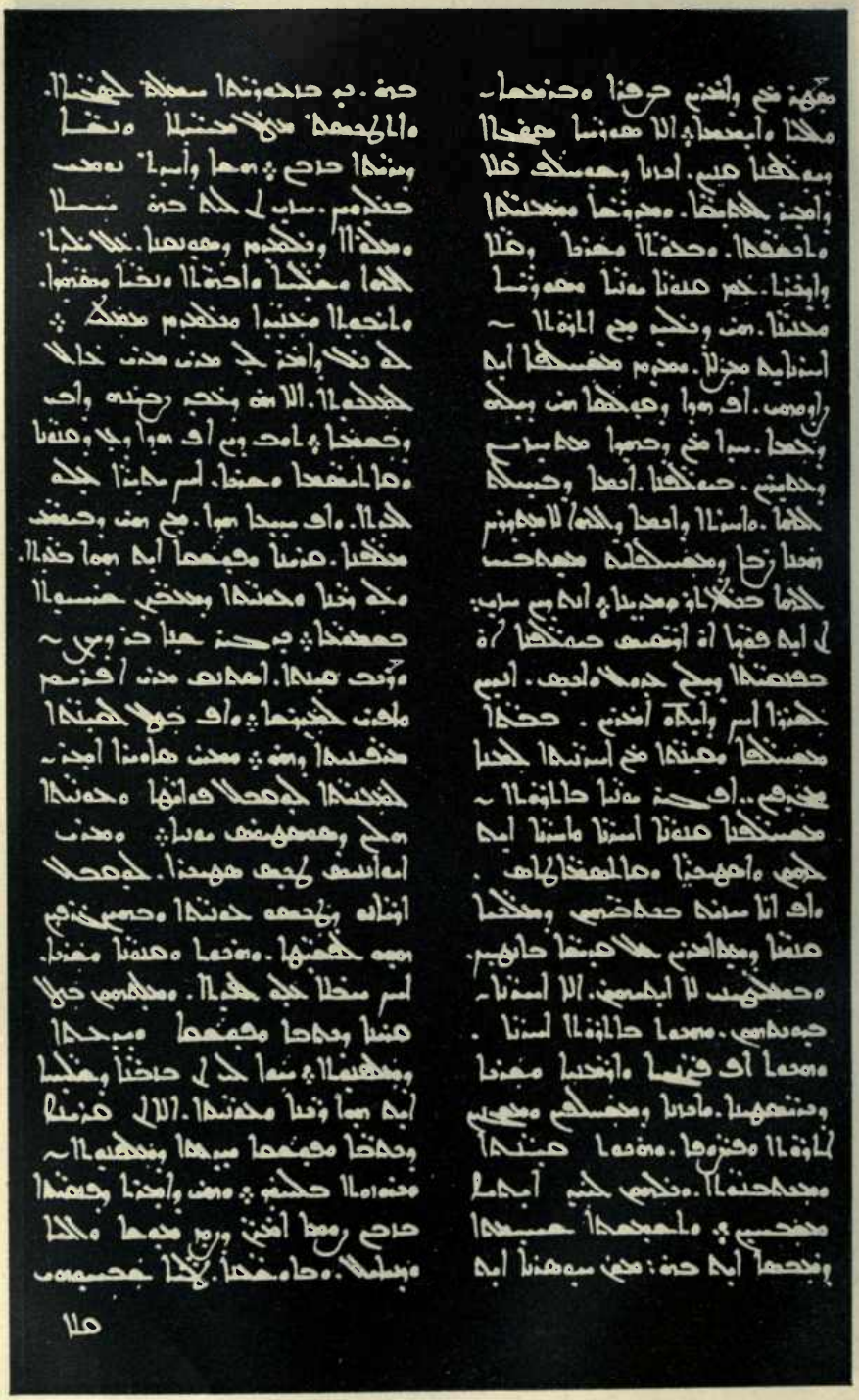


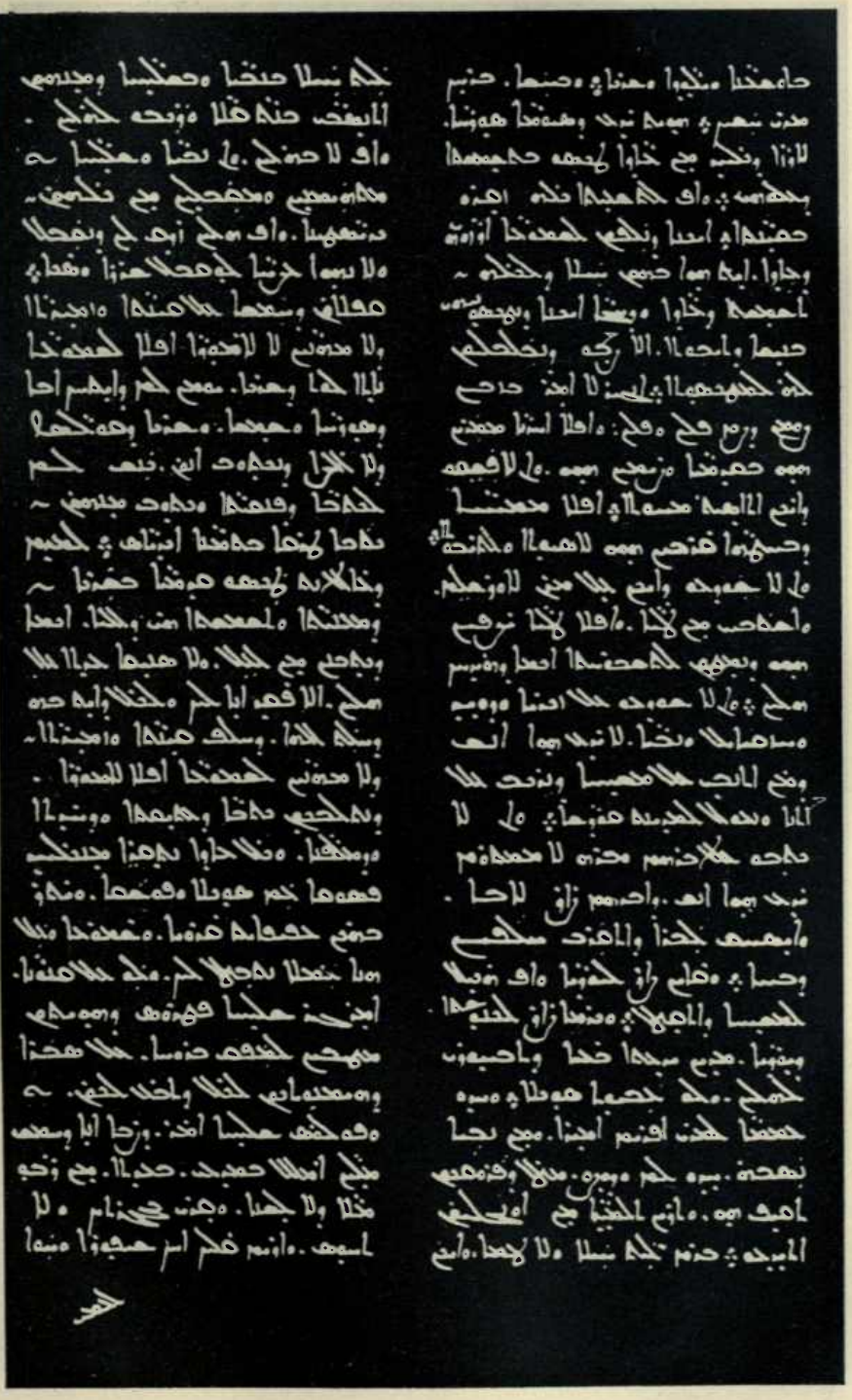


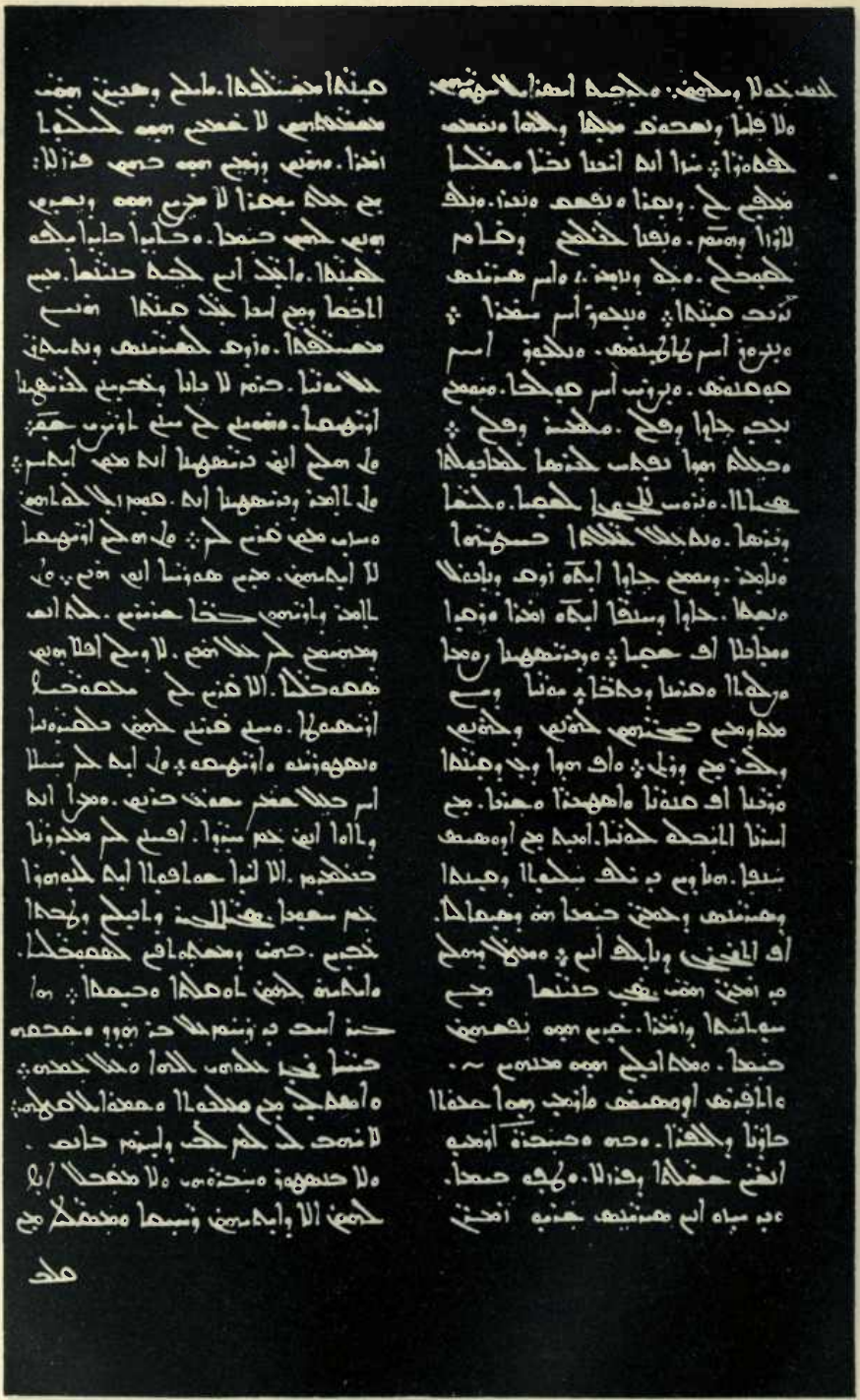


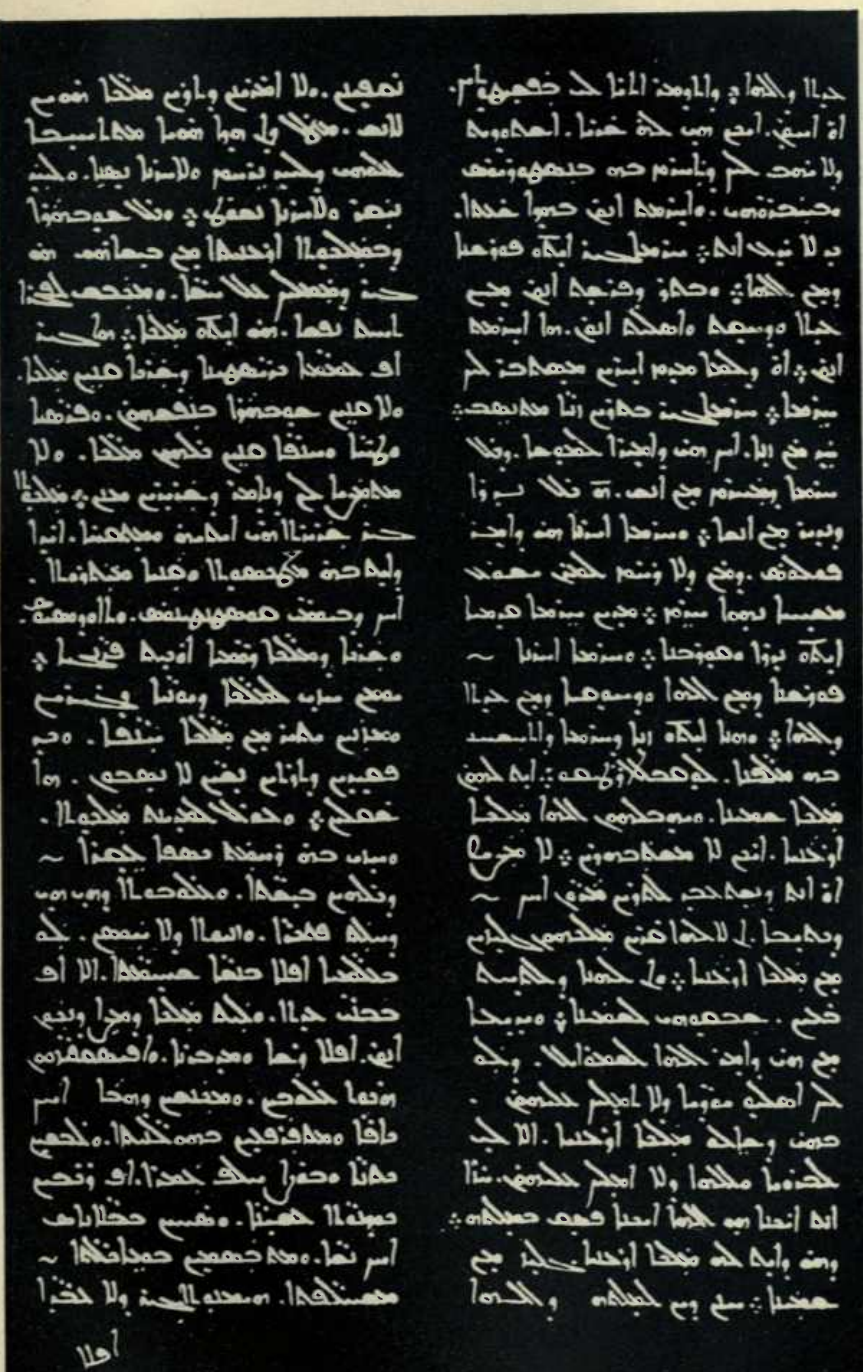


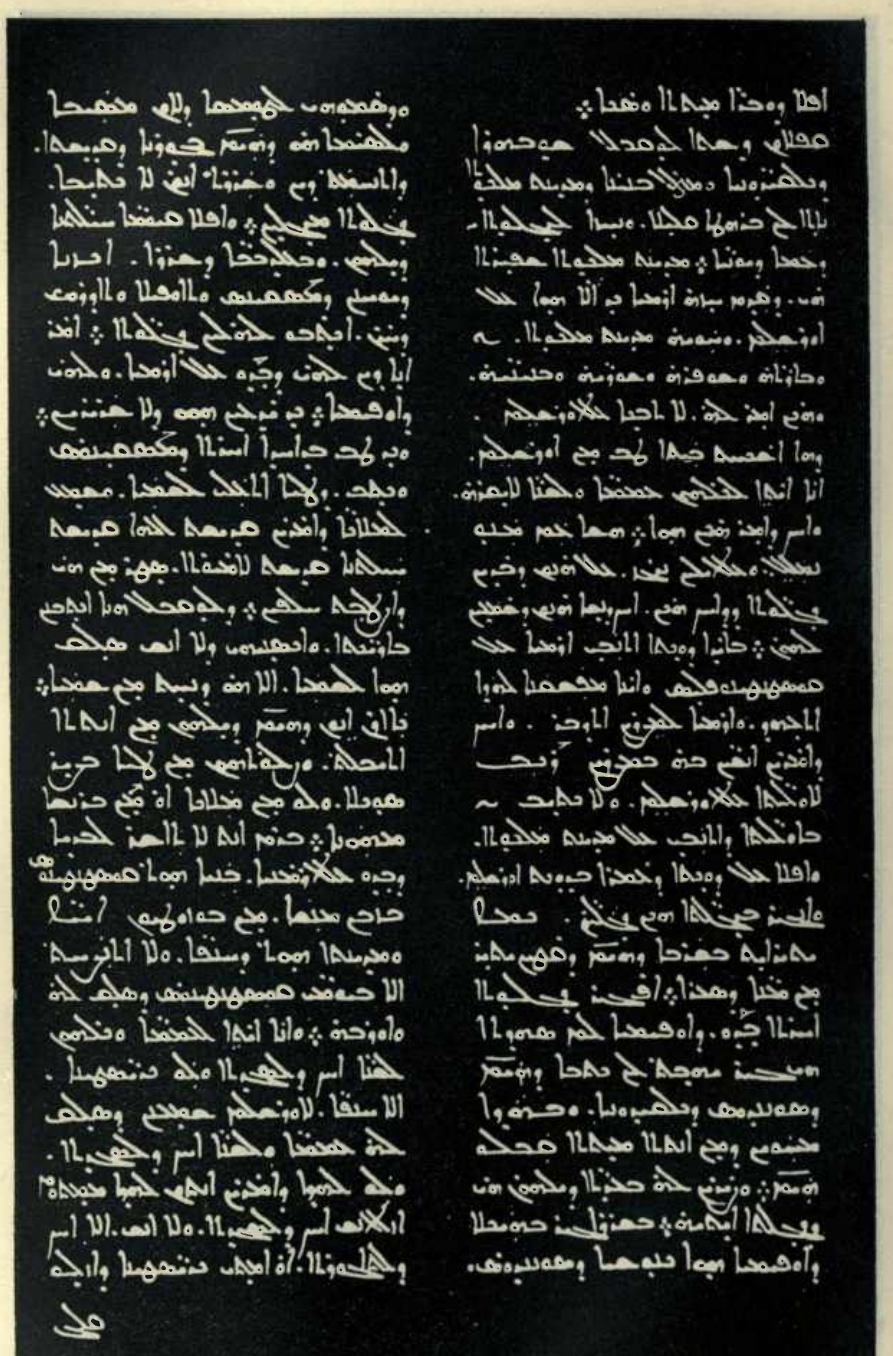


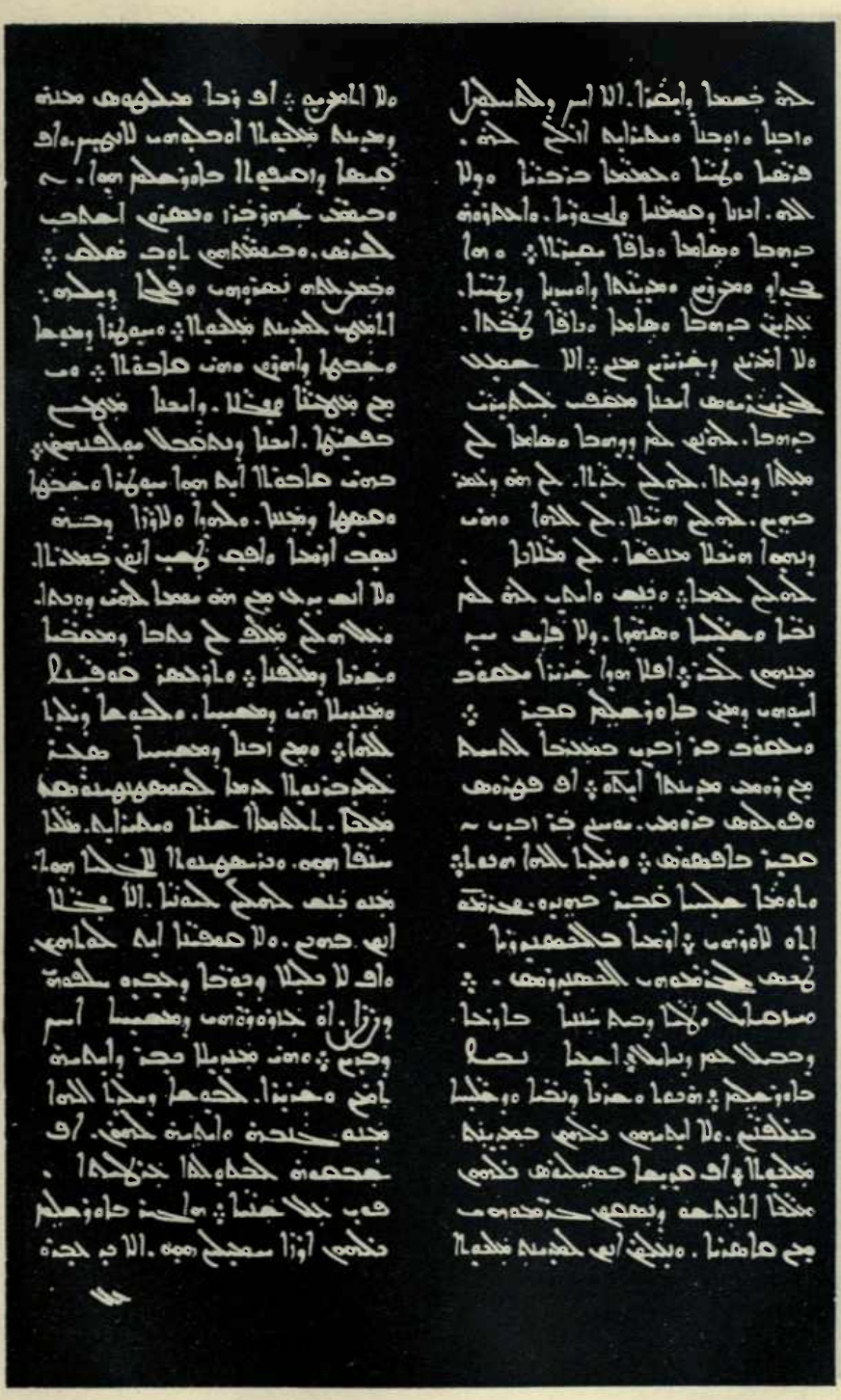


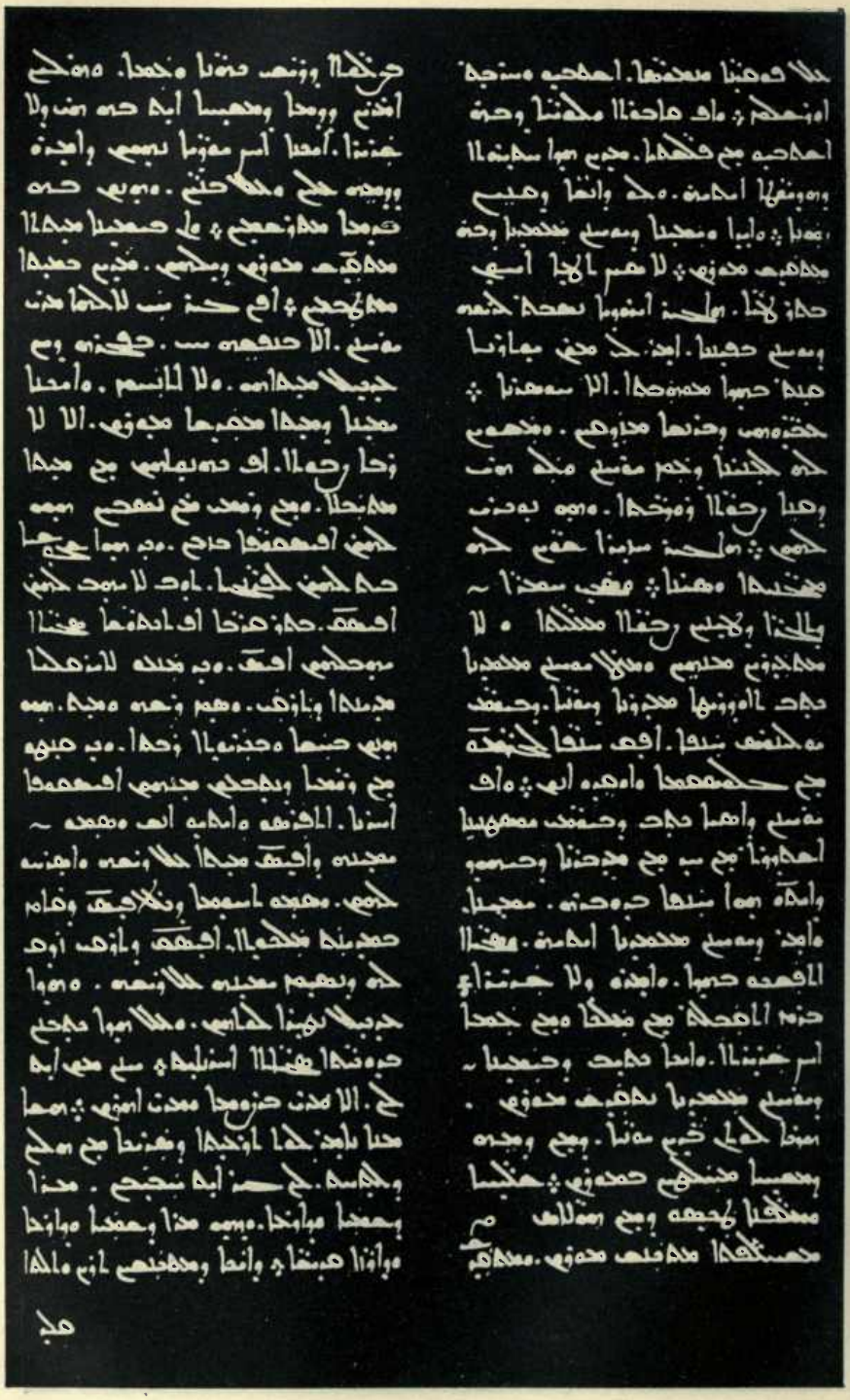


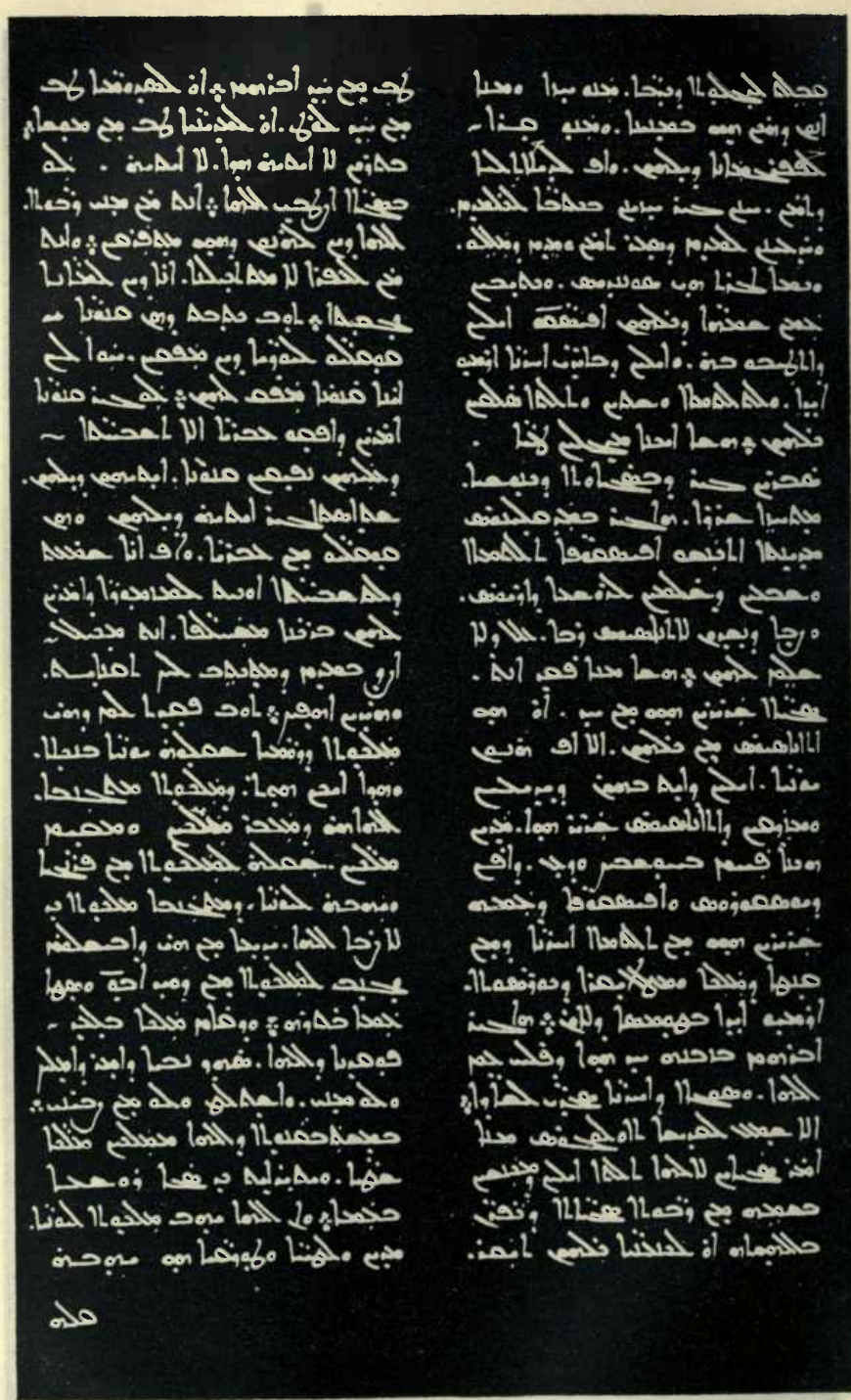


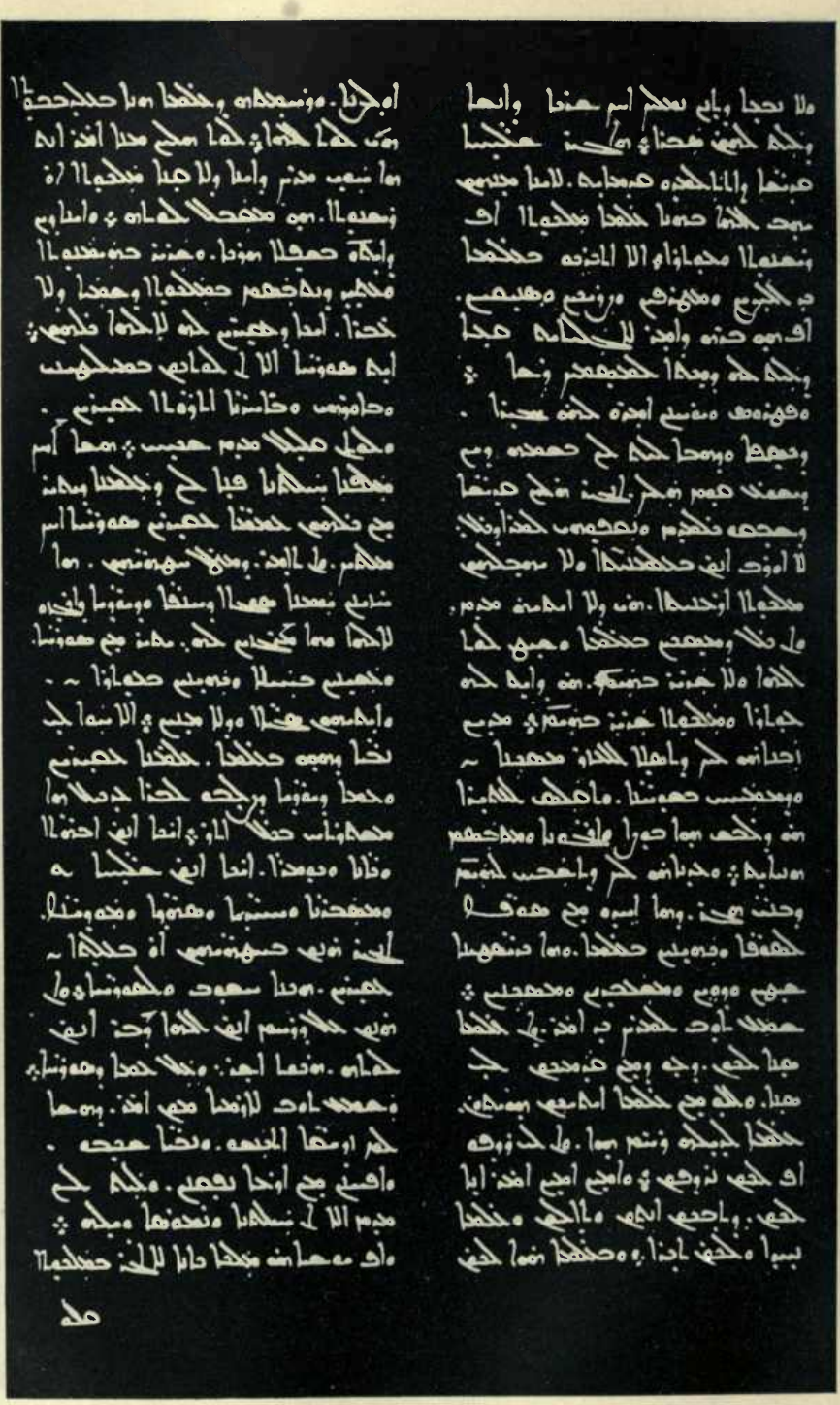


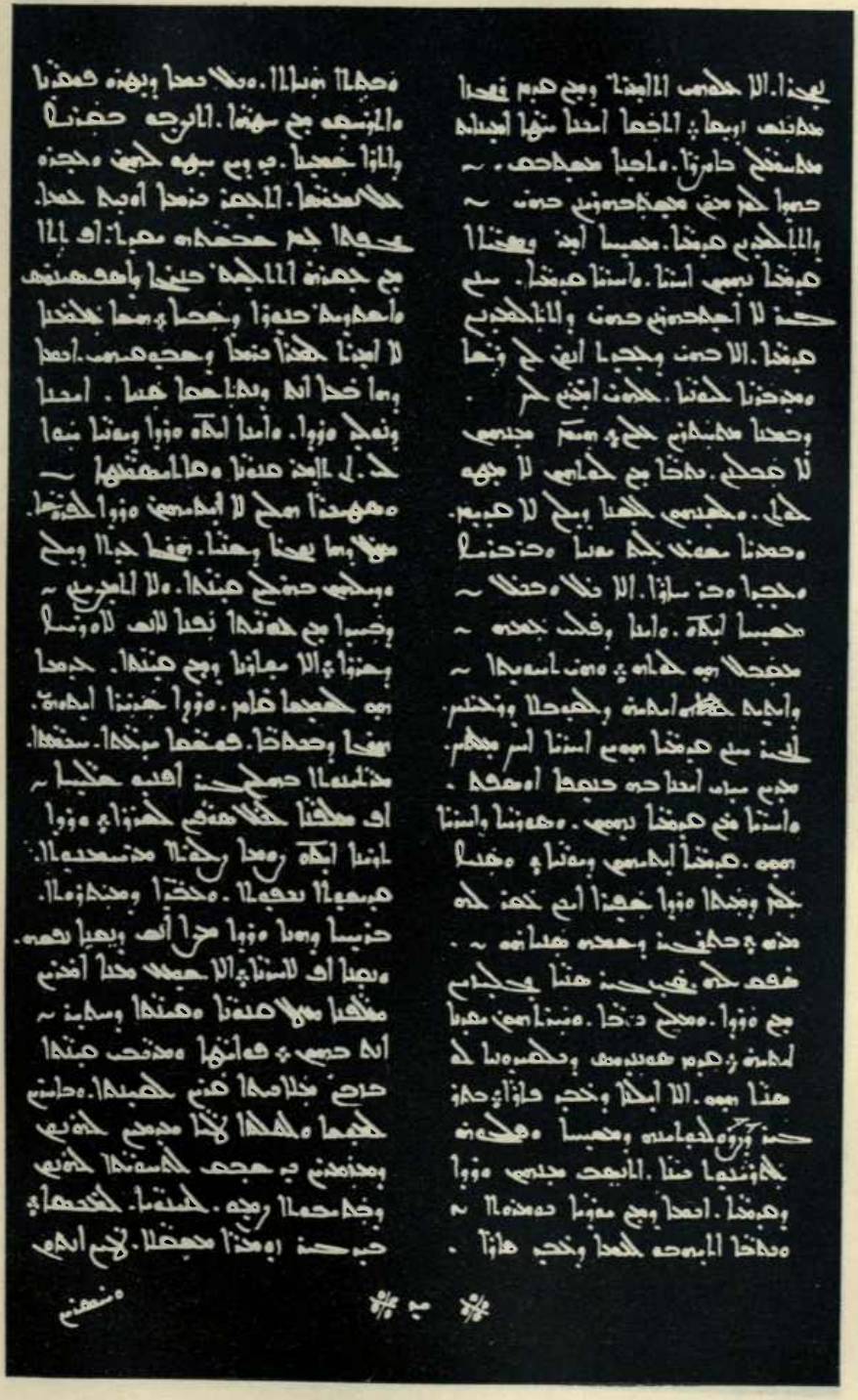


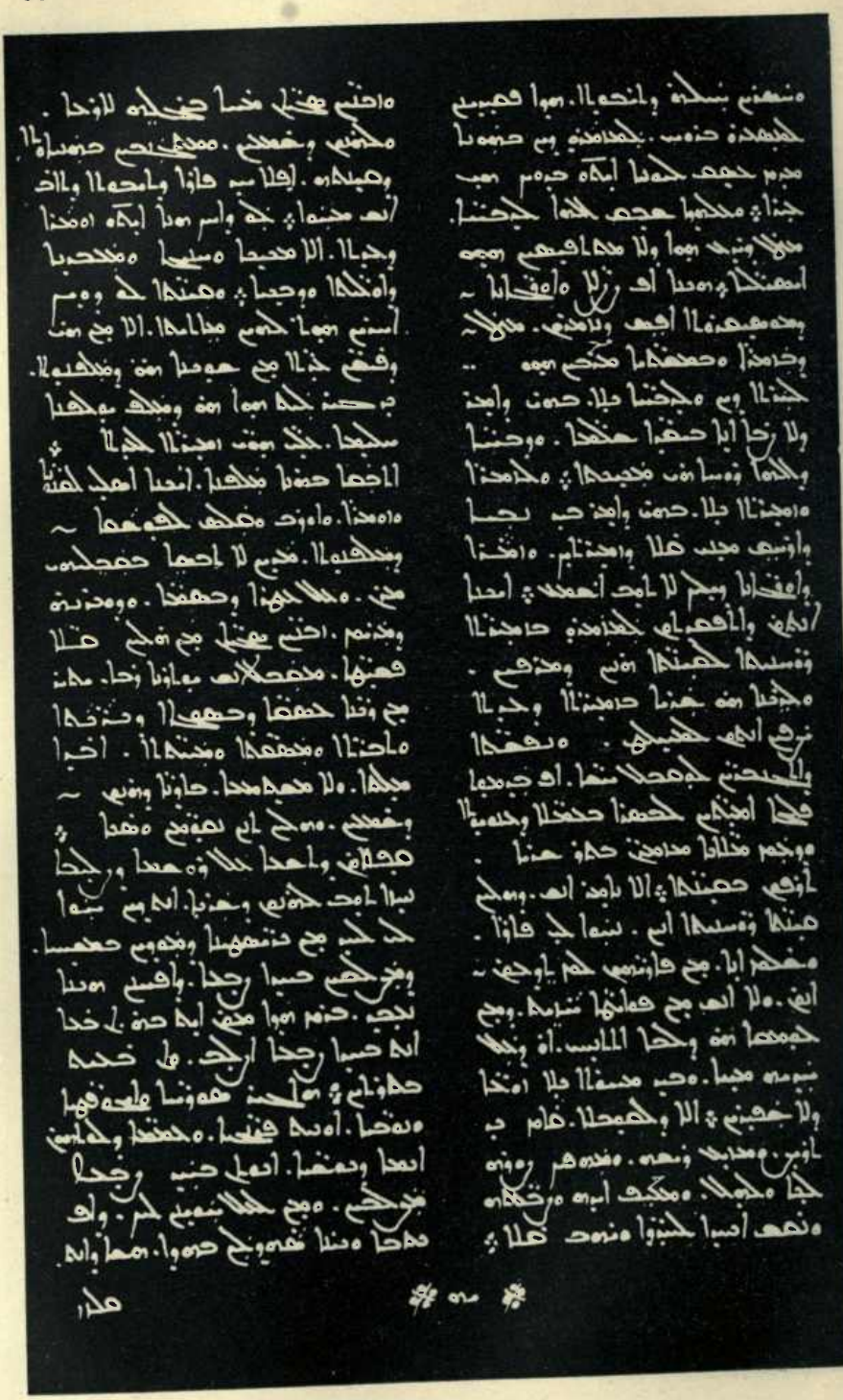


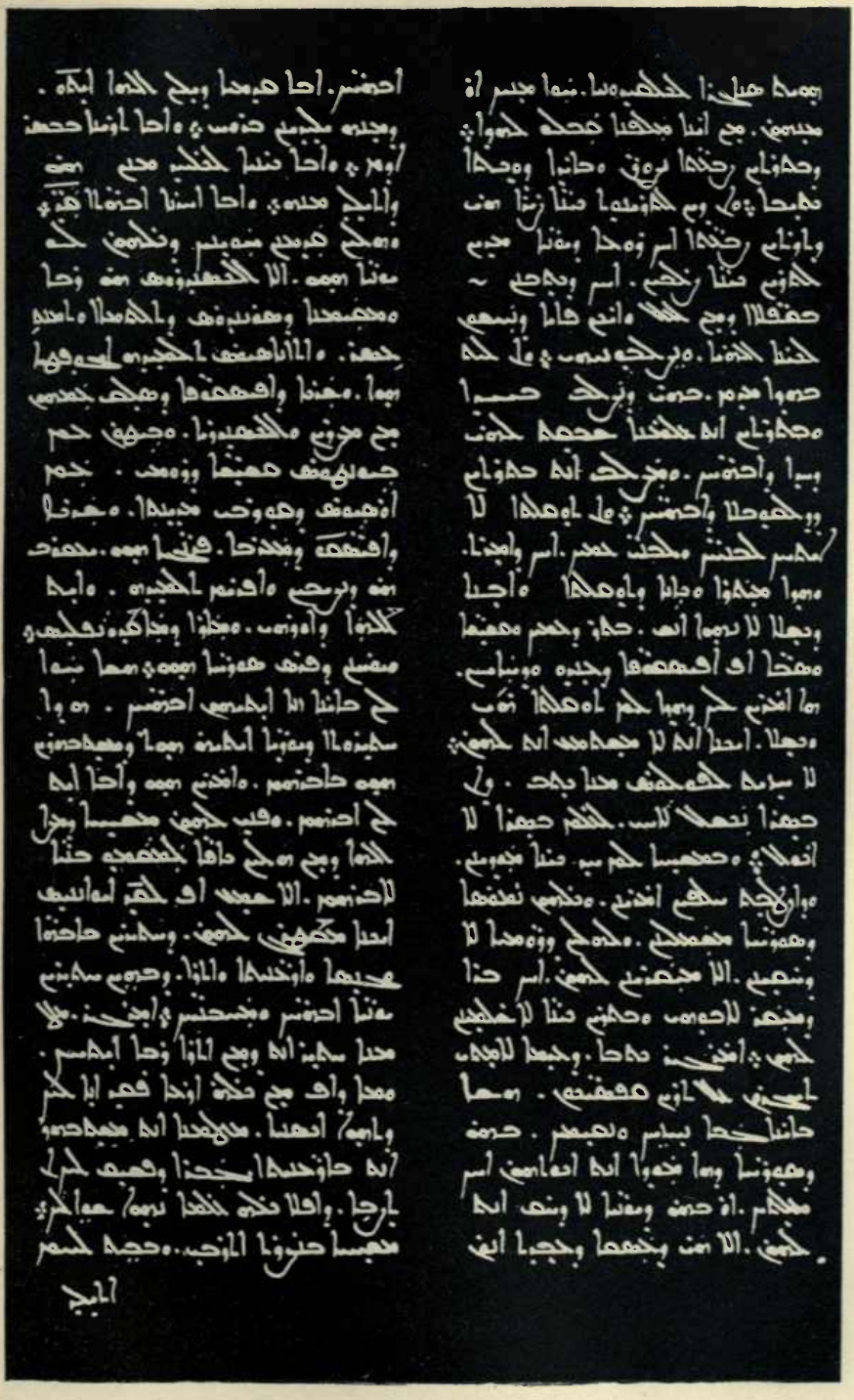


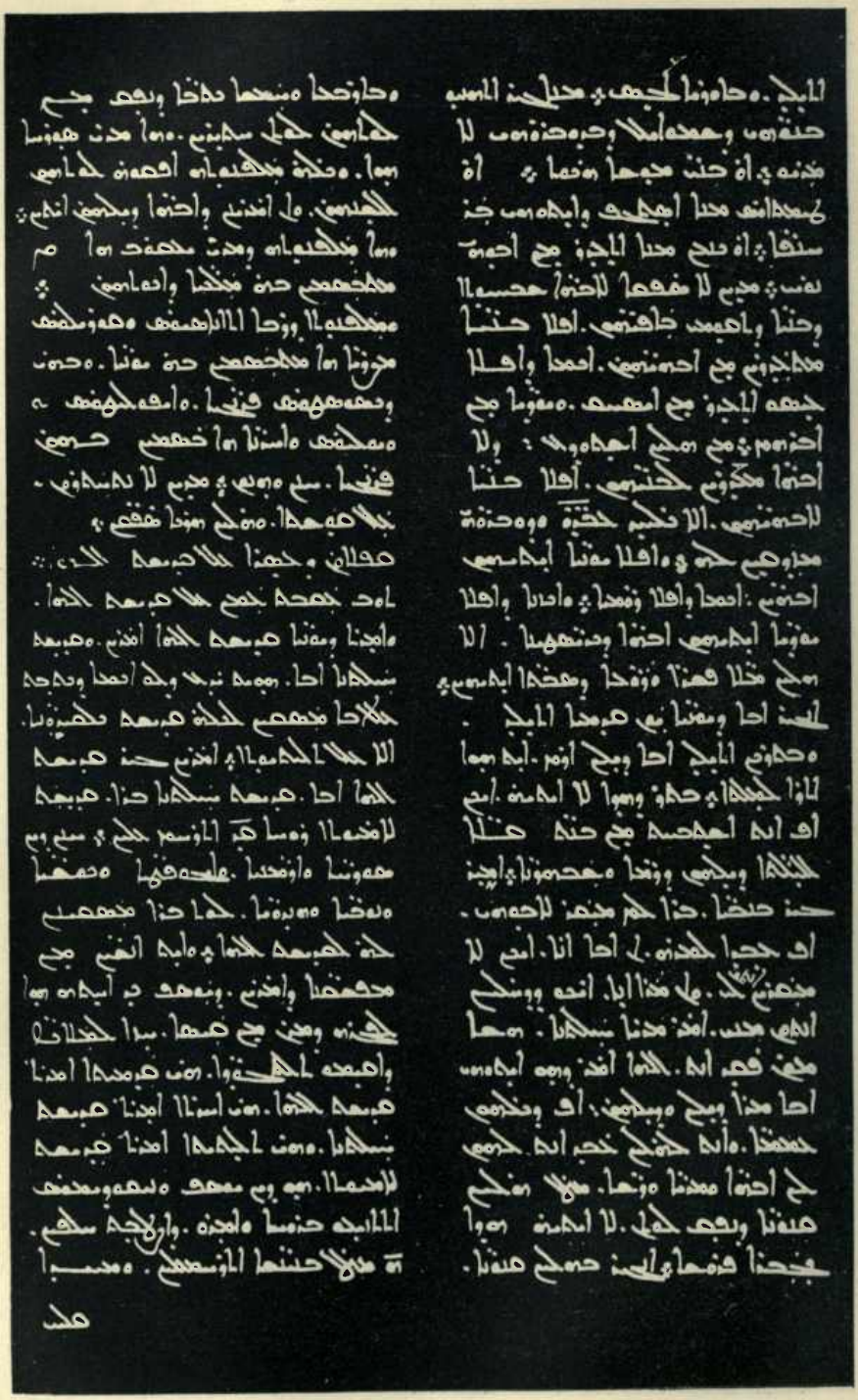


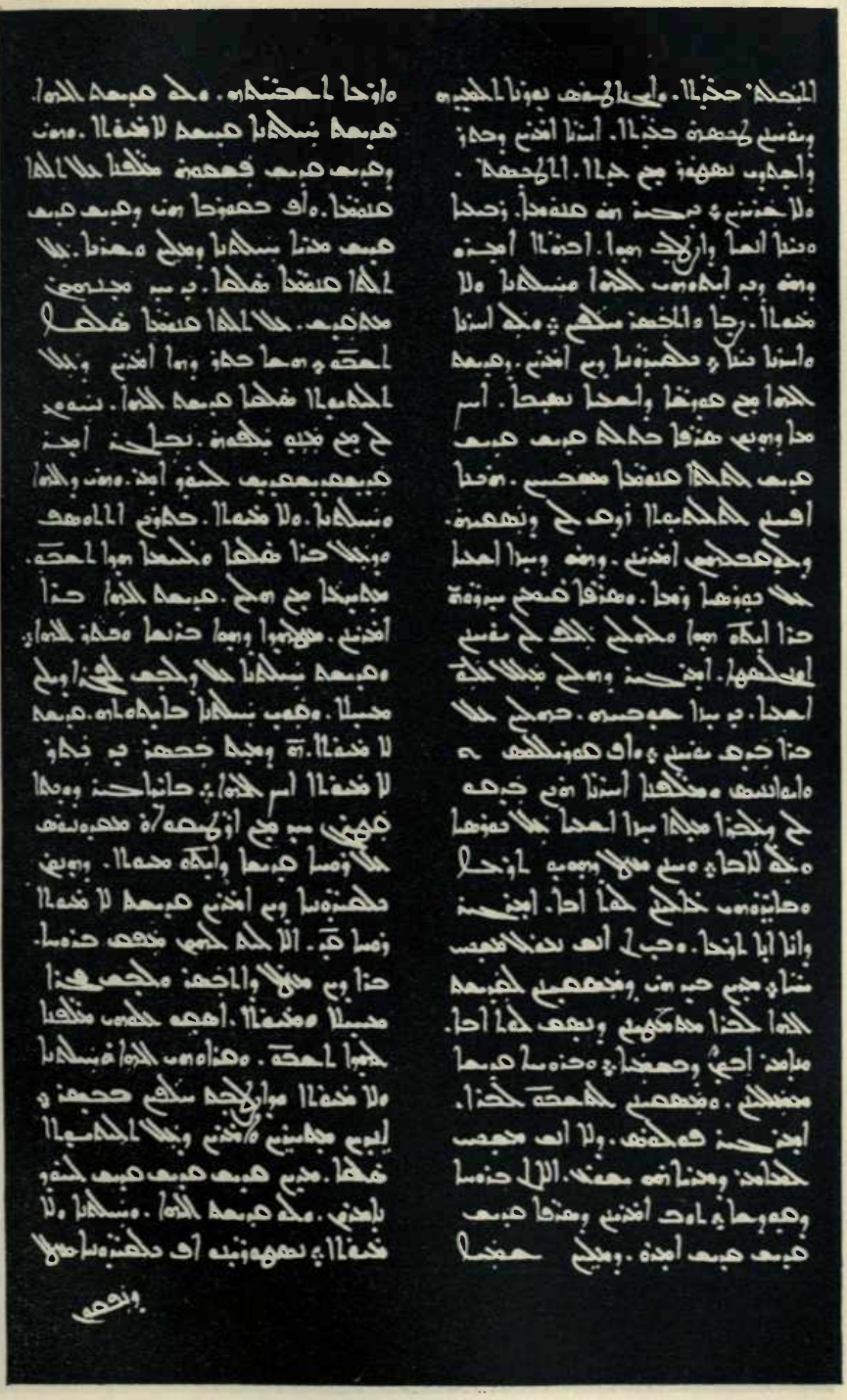


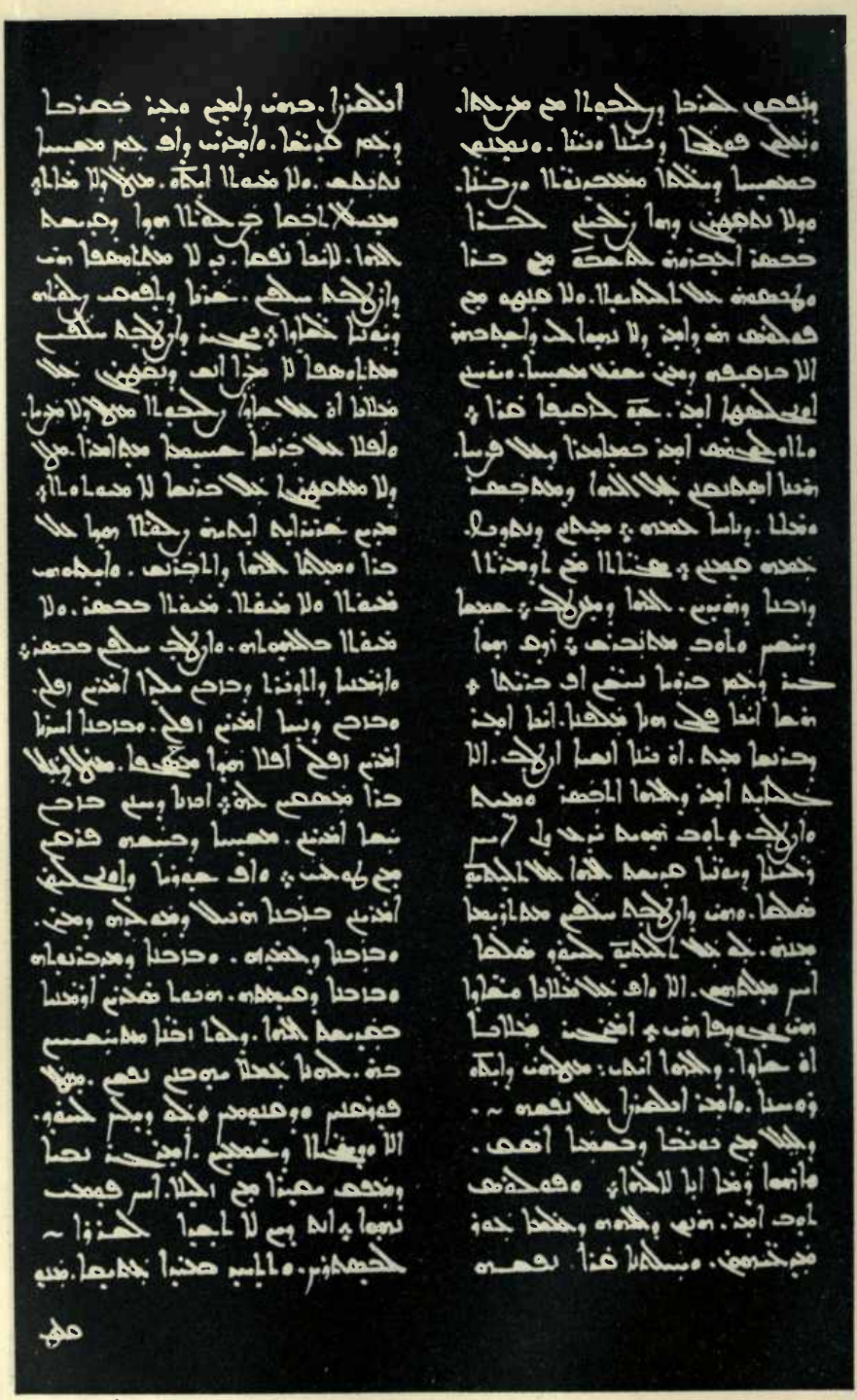


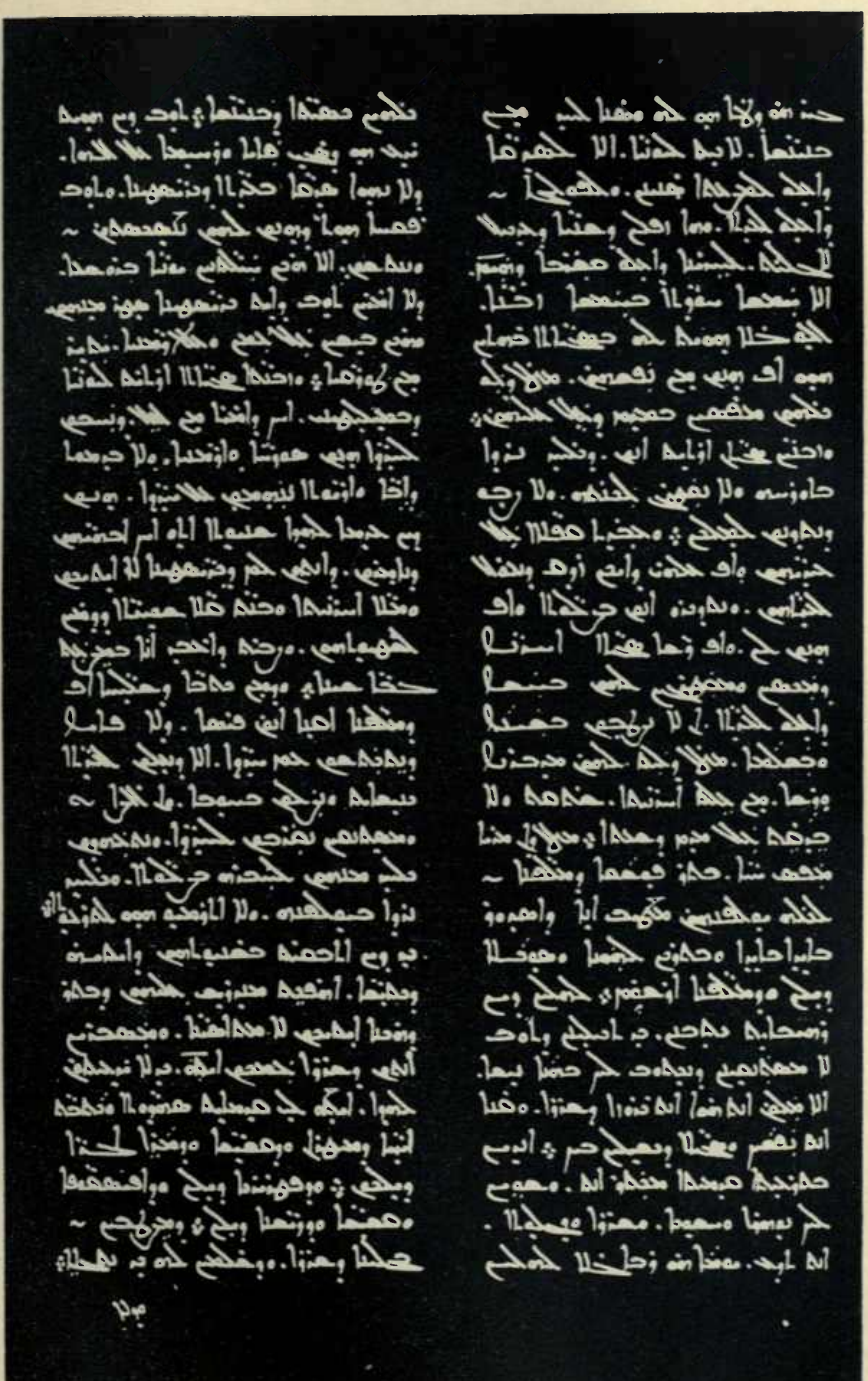


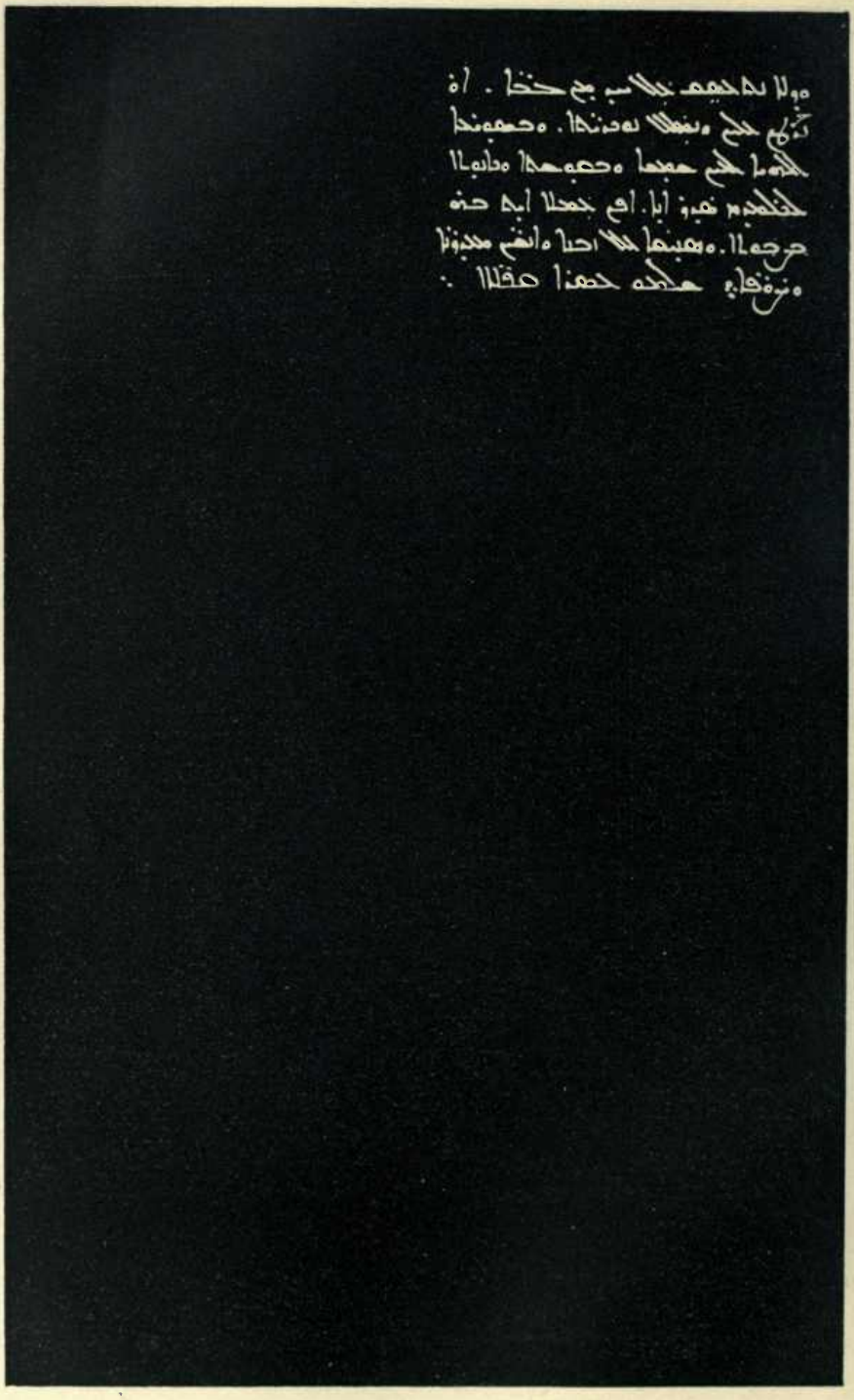












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(ii) *Genuine and Apocryphal Works of Ignatius of Antioch.*

Prefatory Note.

A.

The following pages contain the text and the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of an "exhortation to priesthood," attributed to Ignatius of Antioch. I have edited the text from the two extant MSS., designated here as P. and M. P. indicates the Paris MS. Syr. 198[1] and M. indicates a MS. of my own collection in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, marked Syr. MS. Mingana 223. Both MSS. are undated, but on palæographic grounds can be ascribed to about the sixteenth century. While the two MSS. come near each other in point of date, they are totally different as to the country of provenance. There are stylistic peculiarities in P. which indicate that it was copied in Syria, and there are linguistic features of the same domain which seem to indicate that M. was written in Mesopotamia.[2] The orthography used in the two offers considerable variation, but there is reason to believe that both of them emanate from a single prototype the immediate successors of which had begun to exhibit some variants at the time when our MSS. were copied.

That the Arabic style used in the text is a translation from Syriac is made abundantly clear by the fact that genuine Syriac words and complete Syriac sentences are found in it; indeed, even the mere construction of the Arabic sentences denotes sometimes a Syriac original. There is, however, a passage which in both MSS. is worded in rhymed prose. If such a passage is to be considered also a translation from Syriac, we shall be bound to admit that the translator allowed himself a great amount of freedom in his work. A note that I have added at the foot will assist the reader to form his own opinion on the subject.

The Arabic used in the text is most unclassical and is full of grammatical and lexicographical mistakes; indeed it represents the lowest type of Christian Arabic used in Church services, but it can be

[1] P. 147 in Zotenberg's Catalogue.
[2] The MS. was recently acquired by me in North Mesopotamia.

illustrated by scores of similar tracts written in the same non-Arab Arabic. I have collated the two MSS. and placed in the footnotes the various readings which appeared to me of some importance. The variants which were of purely orthographical order, or which were clearly due to a slip on the part of the copyists, have been completely ignored. I have generally followed in my transcription the orthography used in P., but this does not imply that that orthography is always the best. To save space I had simply to follow one of the two MSS., and I decided to follow generally P. rather than M.

The Arabic text is printed in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters), as it was found in the MSS., and a facsimile of each MS. is given to show the reader its palæographical peculiarities. The translation which I have adopted often gives only the meaning rather than a literal rendering of the original, and always follows the text that is printed in the main page to the exclusion of that found in the footnotes.

B.

I have attached to the above Arabic treatise a Syriac Canon attributed also to Ignatius of Antioch and evidently culled from a collection of ecclesiastical Canons used by the West Syrian Church. It is taken from Syr. Cod. Mingana 1, fol. 194b in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Brimingham. The date of the MS. is 27 March, 1884, of the Greeks (A.D. 1573). A facsimile of all the page on which the Canon is written accompanies the translation.

TRANSLATION.

A.

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, one God, we will begin with the assistance of God to write the epistle of the holy Mar Ignatius *the fiery* on admonition and exhortation to priests. May his prayers be with us! Amen!

He said:

O my brethren and O my beloved priests and deacons, and O bishops, listen to me and hear my words to you. You wish to be watchful and ever ready; purify, therefore, your bodies and sanctify your souls so that the Lord may not destroy you. Wipe off dirt from

your hearts, put your accounts in order, and clean out of your consciences envy, deceitfulness, and other iniquities, so that Jesus Christ may not put an end to you as He did to the priests who preceded you.

O my brethren, open your hearts in order that the Christ may cause love, quiet, peace, and safety to abide in them, and everything that is congruous[1] to the Lord in order that you may have pleasure with Him, and rejoice in His grace, and sit for ever at His right.

O my beloved, because the first Adam did not stand by his birthright, that is to say his chastity and his holiness, but transgressed the command of his Lord, he was separated from his kingdom, and became a stranger to his possessions, and went out of the paradise of his inheritance. The Lord then decreed[2] and ordered[3] death against him because of his transgression, and struck him with the sword of the devastating fire, and threw him in the dark city of death where he became subject to the latter, and because of his prevarications this same death ruled over him for seven thousand years.[4]

O my brethren look at the accursed Cain, the second priest, and the abominable, impure, accursed, and murderous man; because the desire of killing dwelt in him, his sacrifice was refused, and out of jealousy he murdered his brother, and became separated from God and from his fathers,[5] accursed and anathematized, and was a vagabond and a fugitive in this world, and was the first man to enter hell.

O my brethren. . . .[6]

O priests (listen to) the saying of Moses, the head of the prophets, who cried with his voice and said to the priests and the deacons:[7] "Sanctify yourselves because you serve the Holy One."[8] O priests who have lost their priesthood, and transgressed the rules of their

[1] Here begins a lacuna in M.

[2] The Syr. *gzar*.

[3] Possibly *sallaṭa*, or *ḳada*.

[4] Has this date a literal and historical meaning, or does it refer to a mysterious and mystical number? It is useful here to remark that the era of the Syrian Greeks and Melchites began 5508 years before Christ (Angelo Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, iv. 60). If the number 7000 is here to be taken literally the date of the composition of the document would be A.D. 1492. In this case the document would be of Melchite origin, but then what about the Syriac words and expressions that it contains? A Melchite of A.D. 1492 would not have inserted Syriac words and expressions in an Arabic document of which he was the author.

[5] Which fathers?

[6] A lacuna in Paris MS.

[7] Levites?

[8] Cf. Levit. xx. 7.

Master, obey the prescriptions of your Master and do not neglect His word. Do not make light of the offices of the Church of God and do not despise the majesty which belongs to the holy altar, and to the One who is offered on it.

O high-ranked priests, do you not see those who[1] serve the earthly kings how neat and clean they are, and how careful they are in washing their hands and keeping their clothes clean. Examine how similarly kept are the utensils which are[2] on the table such as plates, drinking vessels, goblets, and wine utensils and cups in which there are no dregs[3] nor feculence of any kind, and also the ordinary bread and thin bread: how neat and clean everything is, without any deficiency or defect. People line up erect to honour[4] earthly kings[5] who are human beings like ourselves and mortals sons of mortals; O my brethren, with how much more care should we, therefore, guard the Divine table, and serve it efficiently with faithfulness and holiness and with an outward appearance in which there is no defect and imperfection of any kind.

O my brethren, great[6] woe be to the priests who[7] do not keep their priesthood with good works. The Church and its children weep over the priest who sins, and give also woe to the deacon who does not act in the right way. How can the one who acts badly penetrate into the inner part of the house of God? It is not right, therefore, that an iniquitous priest should offer the sacrifice of other people and enter into the holy church of God, nor is it right that his unclean hands should handle that holy body, and be dipped[8] in the blood of the Lord. How can a priest who is not clean in his actions sacrifice that holy body which was lifted up on the Cross, and before which the companies of angels stand in awe and the choirs of heaven in fear, while they are unable to contemplate its splendour? How can any one who is impure and immoral dare handle it with his dirty hands? How can also any one who is an occasion of scandal to other people sacrifice that sublime, high, holy and pious body, who hates the drunkards and the immoral people? Have you not heard then what He says in the pure Gospel:[9] "Scandal will arise but

[1] Read *al-ladhīn*.
[2] Read *al-lati*.
[3] The Persian *dard*.
[4] Syr. *iḳār*.
[5] Read *mulūk* (in plural).
[6] Read *al-alīm*.
[7] Read *al-ladhīn*.
[8] An unclassical Arabic word.
[9] Here ends the lacuna in M.

woe to the man through whom scandal comes."[1] He also says: "Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt has lost its savour wherewith shall it be seasoned? It is thenceforth good for nothing, neither for the land nor for the dung, but it is cast out and trodden under foot[2] by men"[3] and it also becomes a vile object and an example.

O my brethren, there is no sin in the earth more terrible than that of a priest, for which there is no forgiveness. O my friends, lament and weep continually over the priest who did not fear sin. The weeping of the terrestrial people not being sufficient for him, the inhabitants of heaven weep also over him: the Seraphim like whom he was holy, and out of whose sanctification[4] he fell. The blessed Cherubim weep also over him, because his sweet lyre is silent of their melodious tunes.[5] The angels and the High Companies (of the Archangels) weep over him, because through his bad works the voice of his praises has ceased to praise with theirs.

All those (of his pupils) who fell out of his command weep over him.

The weeping of the inhabitants of land and water not being sufficient for him, O holy Church gather together thy children, the celestial and the terrestrial, and come and set up wailing and lamentation over the infamous and accursed priest who has been wounded by sin. Weep also over the deacon who by his bad actions has become the companion of Satan. O my brethren, who is the man who does not weep over a priest who has estranged himself from his Master like that disciple Judas who sold his Master?

O Simon, head of the disciples, weep and lament over the shepherd who, after having been like you and after having taken from his Master like you that talent[6] in order to trade with it, has lost all the sheep, and his soul is drowned. O my brethren, who will not weep over the absolver of sins who falls into sin, and who will not weep

[1] Matt. xviii. 7.

[2] Read *tandās* for *tansād* in M.

[3] Luke xiv. 34, and Matt. v. 13. A combination of the text of both Matthew and Luke. Literally the sentence may mean: It is thenceforth good for nothing, neither as earth nor as manure.

[4] i.e. saying: holy, holy, holy, of Is. vi. 3.

[5] This sentence is wholly in Syriac in P.

[6] The Arabic word *badrah* means generally a great sum of money.

over a shepherd who becomes a wolf? Who will not weep over a watchman who becomes a thief, and who will not weep over a merchant who becomes a spy, and a physician who is wounded by sin and has no remedy? Weep, O Church, over your priest. Weep, O Simon and John, over your companion who left your companionship and became a stranger to you.

Who envied[1] you, O chaste one, and made you a fornicator? Who envied you, O pure one, and made of you an immoral man? Who envied you, O fasting man, and made of you a gluttonous man given to excess? Who envied you, O just one, and made of you a companion of the ignorant? Who envied you, O devout and pious one, and made you a wretch with the sinners? Who envied you, O man filled with sanctity, and made you sink in the sinfulness of iniquity? Who envied you, O fair one, and filled you with unholiness? Who envied you, O just man, and placed you in the company of sinners and enemies? Who envied you, O child (of the house), and made you a stranger to your father and your brothers? Who envied you, O near relative, and made you a stranger to your relations? Who envied you, O celestial one, and made you terrestrial? Who envied you, O truthful one, and made of you a liar, and filled you with sins and shameful deeds?

O you dear and beloved ram who became the prey of a wolf! O hart who fell in the snare! O you agile eagle who fell in the net! O warrior[2] who was beaten and ran away! O athlete who took to flight! O mariner whose ship has sunk! O husbandman whose corn has perished! O steward[3] who squandered his treasures! O table-companion[4] who left his place at the table! O bridegroom whose bridal chamber did not please him! O mighty King whose

[1] Read *ḥasadaka* for *ḥadasaka* in M. and note the rhymed prose of the following few sentences, possibly due to a free translation; if, however, it could be proved from this that the document was originally written in Arabic, its date could not have preceded the ninth century; but we must admit that such phenomena occur sometimes in Arabic translations from Syriac. A free translation of this kind has even affected the sacred text of the Gospels. I saw in Jazīrat b. 'Umar, on the Upper Tigris, a MS. which contained the Arabic translation of the Gospels by the very famous Ebedjesu of Nisibin, wholly written in rhymed prose.

[2] Read *mubāriz* for *māriz*.

[3] Transliteration of the Syriac word *parnāsa*. [4] Syr. *ḥīpha*.

crown fell from his head! O judge condemned for his ignorance! O chieftain who lost the greatness of his headship! O wealthy one who became poor by his will! O sun whose rays have perished! O moon whose light has suffered eclipse! O seed of pure wheat which has been mixed[1] up with tares! O beautiful and lovely flower which has been smitten by the blighting wind[2] of sin! O admirable rose the beauty of which has perished in the frost of ignorance! O pomegranate-flower[3] which withered in the midday heat[4] of sin and iniquity.

Where are you O Paul and Timothy? Where are your warnings, your canons, and your conditions, which to-day your companions have transgressed by stumbling? O just Power, for how long wilt Thou not utter the cry of vengeance against the priests? Where are Thy punishments and Thy zeal against the ancients? How is it that Thou art silent now? Heaven is amazed at such a silence. Where is the heart that can stand it and not break? O my brethren, that just Power which has equalized justice to all mankind, has left everything to the next world, in which each one of us shall answer for his actions.

O my brethren, let us place the judgment of God before our eyes, because we cannot avoid answering for our words and for all those He confided to our care: the souls redeemed by the innocent blood of God,[5] and we have to return them as we received them. He gave us a pact to the effect that we shall worship Him, be with Him, and shepherd His flock.[6]

O my brethren, the sin of a priest is a wound which has no remedy. O my brethren, at the time the priest sins, sadness overtakes the multitude of angels in heaven. What shall we say concerning those who believed that they had no sins, while Satan robbed and plundered them? They asserted that God is forgiving and merciful, and they did not know that God is also a just and equitable judge. O my brethren, let the story of Ananias and his wife inspire

[1] Syr. *Ḥabbel* = *ithḥabbal*. [2] Syr. *shauba*.

[3] Persian *guli-anār* or *gulnār*. It is somewhat strange that the author should have used a Persian word.

[4] Arab *ẓuhrīyah* from Syr. *Ṭakrāyātha*. In P. *ẓuhīrāt*.

[5] Was the author a Monophysite?

[6] Syr. *Mar'ītha*.

you with fear, and take fright at the spectacle of those priests who were burned for small sins. O my brethren, be afraid of the story of Korah and Abiram, because all of them have become a mirror to us so that we may hear what happened to them and fear; and do not sin and serve Satan like them.

O priest, who is the one who will not weep over you? O great one and O confidential steward,[1] brother of Simon and John, it has been laid down that no one be appointed to priesthood except the one who is blameless, and lo there is to-day shame and dishonour in your bed; and we do not find it difficult to cover you up! O exiled one, who has been separated from his service,[2] and his high office, we weep over the high office of priesthood which you have besmirched by your iniquitous act; and we do not feel any sorrow at the beauty of your stature! O ignorant one who did not know his own self, we weep over the crown of holiness which you have dishonoured by your bad deed! The Lord had established you as a mediator between Him and His Father, and not a mediator to the idols; you did not approach priesthood in order to induce people to sin and detach them from God, but to uplift them and bring them nearer to Him.

Woe to your spirit when your companions sit on the twelve thrones[3] and you are driven out like the one who wore dirty garments. Lo shame is in your bed and it pleases you to dishonour your bed, and you make light of it.[4] You have changed your zeal to your Master for a zeal to another master, and you have become a stranger to Him, and that is why fire will consume your body without getting satiated with it. O my brethren, there will not be mercy in the day of judgment and decision for an unchaste priest, and he will not be allowed to approach his throne, but he will be driven out like the five foolish virgins. It is for this reason that the Apostle Paul cried and said: "If a person desire priesthood he desireth a good desire."[5] Lo to-day the priests of the different peoples desire the office of headship while they are far from real priesthood[6] and remote from its works.

[1] Arab. *mutaḥakkik*, evidently a translation of the Syr. *sharrīra*.
[2] Syr. *Tishmishta*. [3] Matt. xix. 28.
[4] Here as above the author seems to allude to immoral acts of a private character.
[5] 1 Tim. iii. 1. The author follows the Syriac version which has "priesthood" instead of "episcopacy."
[6] Read *Kahnūtihim*.

O my brethren, listen to what has been enacted against those who bear the yoke of priesthood but make light of it or neglect it: they shall burn with those two hundred and fifty priests who were burnt[1] with their censers.[2]

O brethren, O priest, O deacon, any deacon who approaches[3] his wife in the time of the fast that the Saviour fasted[4] will not find mercy in that great day, the day of landmark and finality; this will happen also if he approaches her on the occasion of a festival, or on a Friday, or on a Wednesday. Anyone who approaches his wife in one of these days, his burning shall be with the fire of Sodom. This does not apply to the children of the Church, the laymen, but it is advantageous also for them to abstain from marriage in the above mentioned days.

O my brethren, the priests should not neglect, but should be diligent in, their service and careful with the vestry of the holy altar and the belongings of the Church. O my brethren, any priest who makes light of them or neglects them, and serves with them in this state the holy body which was lifted up on the wood of the cross—I say to him that his lot shall be with those who cast lots upon the garments of Christ; with such shall his share be without pity; also the priests who steal from the belongings of the Church, and from what pertains to it in the matter of the ex-votos of orphans and widows who gave them on behalf of their sins: heaven and earth shall weep over such priests, and their sin is greater that that of those who became the companions of Ananias and his wife.

O my brethren, a priest entering (a church?) to offer sacrifice[5] with a heart in which there is rancour against his brother, is like Cain the murderer. A priest who sees a needy person and does not help him, or a thirsty person in want of a drop of water and does not quench his thirst, and a priest who sees a sick person and turns his face from him, will have no share in paradise. Accursed is the priest who does not know his own self, who dishonours himself with such sins; such a one will be separated from his service and his

[1] Num. xvi. 35.
[2] Syr. *perma*.
[3] M. "any priest or deacon who approaches."
[4] i.e. Lent.
[5] Syr. *Ḳaddesh* which commonly means "to say mass, to consecrate," the former sense is relatively late for a supposedly early document. P. has *yataḳaddas* "to make himself holy."

priesthood, and the Father will rebuke him for not having served his office rightly and justly ; the Son of the Father will not accept him ; the Holy Spirit will avoid him, and all the celestial multitudes will push him out to inherit hell where he will receive a just retribution for his service.

Because he did not perform the duties of his priesthood with piety and devotion,[1] the angels will take away from him the imposition of the hands[2] of priesthood, which had fallen on his head, and they will push him out to hell in company of the impure, unchaste, and ignorant people ; there he will weep and wail and also gnash his teeth. The priest, however, who performs the duties of his priesthood with devotion and piety, and offers sacrifice to God with holiness, and serves before Him with good order and pious deeds, will be served by God and by the multitudes of angels, who will exalt his office and his priesthood ; and he will live in pleasure in the company of Simon, the head of the Apostles, and he will be placed among all[3] the Fathers, the Saints, the Prophets, and the Doctors of the Church.[4]

Similarly the deacons who leave the office of Stephen and of those preachers who serve the church, will go and serve Satan and his armies. What shall I say about them ? On the one hand if I keep silence, such a silence may lead to misunderstanding, and if I speak my heart will not allow me to rebuke them, but truth itself sits in judgment against them. Instead of requiring from every deacon good works, fasting and prayer, vouched for by good men,[5] we present to-day to this high office men who are uneducated, ignorant, not steeped in piety, untruthful, and having no witnesses to vouch for their veracity and uprightness. (The deacons) are thus liars, transgressors, drunkards, haters of their service,[6] haters of the Church, haters of fast and prayers, insolent, and proud like Satan. Those who are addicted to such vices and have left the commandments and the law of God and do not turn to penitence will from this world receive punishment for ever and ever.

[1] Is it the Syr. *hrīrūtha ?* [2] Syr. *Siam-īdha.*

[3] The translator has joined the pronoun with *kull* as it is done in Syriac.

[4] This is a relatively late pronouncement.

[5] We are told in an unpublished work of ecclesiastical Canons (Syr. MS. Mingana 32 fol. 36a, in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmiugham) that three witnesses of high integrity are required to testify to the piety of the man who is to be ordained deacon.

[6] Syr. *Tishmishta* as above.

The deacon has to obey orders and commandments ; he is not to neglect any virtue that pleases God : fast, prayer, holiness, and piety. O my beloved (deacon), you should not neglect your soul on the pretence that you have not the yoke of priesthood. O my brother, fear the day of reckoning and punishment and the furnace[1] of fire. O my brother, obey the injunctions of God, and lend your neck to the yoke of Christ ; be sweet-tempered and humble[2] towards your brethren, and love the strangers, the poor, and the beggars. O my brother, educate yourself and the people of Christ ; when you go to the altar in order to perform your duties[3] take care and pains to do it in good order so that you may please your Lord ; let us examine our accounts and see whether we have any hatred towards our neighbours, and whether we have only love and peace.

O my brother, the deacon who neglects prayers will be judged with Satan, and the deacon who disregards the duties of his service[4] will be in a place where there is no praise of God and where he will be ministered to by the furnace[5] of fire ; the deacon who frequents the company of drunkards, the worm that does not die will be intoxicated from him ; the deacon who leaves the Church on the night of Sundays and festivals, and wishes to drink wine, the Church of heaven will drive him out to where she will not hear his voice ; the deacon on account of whom God is mocked at, would to God that he had never existed ; the deacon who causes uproar and discord in the Church, will be consumed by fire alive ; the deacon who fails to control his soul and his desires,[6] will be far from heaven ; the deacon who makes use of marriage and comes to perform his duties,[7] the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost will be angry with him ; the deacon who goes to the altar while intoxicated, the spirit of justice will rebuke him ; the deacon who commits a sin and does not confess it and repent, his torment will be eternal and perpetual.

O my brethren, if you have accepted this order for the satisfaction of the desires of your soul, you will not have forgiveness, and you will suffer with Satan ; but if you have accepted this order to serve the

[1] Syr. *Shalhaibitha.*
[2] Syr. *makkekh.*
[3] Syr. *shamli.*
[4] Again the Syr. *Tishmishta.*
[5] Syr. *Shalhaibitha* as above.
[6] The text is obscure and the sense doubtful.
[7] Syr. *Shamli.*

Lord who was crucified on your behalf, do not be the servants of Satan. O my beloved, avoid the service of Satan, intoxication, pride,[1] and gluttony, and do not disappoint anyone,[2] and avoid also lies which are[3] a sign of the sad unbelief of the world. O my brethren, have you not heard what the divine Apostle Paul said: "neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor thieves, nor drunkards, nor abusers of themselves with men, none of these will inherit the kingdom of heaven and cross (the bridge ?) to it." ?[4]

O my beloved, keep your soul from sin, and purify your body from bad passions so that you may not suffer. O my brethren, the deacons who walk in the way of God, keep His Commandments, serve the Church with piety, serve the people of God, and long for fast and prayer, the angels will long to meet them, and will also accompany them and take them to heaven on their wings in order that they may enjoy bliss and happiness with the priestly Fathers, and the pious, in the kingdom of heaven the joys of which will not cease, and be glorified at the table of Christ, as His holy mouth uttered: "Where I am there my servant shall be."[5] There you will also hear the sweet voice: "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the foundation of the world."[6] You will also be table-guests of the angels,[7] and along with martyrs (and) evangelists[8] you will receive ample reward; and you will serve and rejoice with Stephen.

We who are plunged in sin ask God not to make us deserve hell, but the above grace and virtue. To Him are fitting glory, honour, majesty, and power, with His Father, and His Holy Spirit, now, at every time, and for ever and ever. Amen.

(Colophon.)

(Here recite) *Pater Noster.* May the grace of God be with the weak and miserable scribe, with the pious readers, and with the blessed hearers! May we have mercy upon us through the prayer of the

[1] *taḳahrum:* curious word formed from the Persian *ḳahramān.*

[2] Read *tukhayyibu.*

[3] The author uses the feminine pronoun *hiya* under the influence of the Syriac word *Kaddābūtha* which he was rendering.

[4] 1 Cor. vi. 9, with some changes.

[5] John xii. 26.

[6] Matt. xxv. 34.

[7] Read *malā'ikah* in M.

[8] Read *mubashshirīn* in M.

mother of Fire, the queen of the worlds, the Mother of God,[1] hoping that the Lord will deliver us from fire in the day of judgment! Amen! May the grace of God be with us all! Amen! Amen!

This has ended by the help of God.[2]

TRANSLATION.

B.

"Of Ignatius *the fiery* (Canon) 38. We observe the night of Wednesday because in it our Lord announced His passion to His disciples,[3] and they were troubled with sorrow[4]; we observe the night of Friday because in it our Lord was seized by the Jews; we do not observe the night of Saturday, because in it there was rest to all the dead of Sheol, at the descent of our Lord to them. He who does not observe the night of Friday and Wednesday, will be condemned with those who bound our Lord on the night of Friday, and those who observe the night of Saturday, will be condemned with those who broke the legs of the robbers, in order that the Sabbath day may not begin for them and that they may not be condemned in the eyes of the law."

C.

When all the above pseudo-Ignatian matter was in the press I discovered the following quotations from Ignatius in Mingana Syr. MS. 37, written about A.D. 1450 (in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham).

[1] The MS. is of Jacobite origin.

[2] The closing sentence of the text and the colophon are as follows in P.: "And there you will receive ample reward with the angels and the evangelists, and you will serve and rejoice with Stephen. And we who are plunged in sin pray the Lord not to torment us in hell but (to make us deserve?) that grace, virtue, and piety. May honour, glory, majesty, and thanks be to the Holy Trinity, now, at every time, and for ever and ever, and on us all be His grace! It has ended by the help of God." [This last sentence is in Syriac.]

[3] The ecclesiastical day begins in the East in the afternoon of the previous day.

[4] Or: moved by affliction.

1°

The Ignatian Canon translated above is given in the following form on fol. 44a: "Ignatius the Fiery says: We observe the night of Wednesday because in it our Lord announced His passion to His disciples, and He was moved by affliction. We observe the night of Friday because in it our Lord was seized by the Jews and struck on the face by the servant of the High Priest, and was tied to a column.[1] We do not observe the night of Saturday because in it there was rest to all the souls of the dead in Sheol by the descent of our Lord to them."[2]

2°

On fol. 28a of the same MS. there is the following genuine quotation from Ignatius not found in the fragments edited by Cureton and Lightfoot.

ܐܝܟܢܛܝܘܣ . ܐܝܟ ܡܬܚܟܡ ܐܝܟ ܣܦܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܒܚ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܡܬܒܝܢ

ܗܘ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ ܒܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ

[1]...καθὼς ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον· ἵνα ἐὰν τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς σῖτος εὑρεθῇ ἐν τῇ
συναγωγῇ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτῶν ἀπολυθῇ ἄρτος καθαρὸς ἐκ τῶν θηρίων
ἵνα δι' αὐτῶν καθαρὸς εὑρεθῶ Χριστοῦ. μᾶλλον κολακεύσατε τὰ θηρία
ἵνα γένωνται μοι τάφος καὶ μηδὲν καταλίπωσιν τοῦ σώματός μου ἵνα
μὴ κοιμηθεὶς βαρύνω τινά. τότε ἔσομαι μαθητὴς ἀληθὴς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ὅταν μηδὲ τὸ σῶμά μου βλεφθῇ τὸν κόσμον. παρακαλέσατε τὸν Χριστὸν
ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ ἵνα διὰ τῶν ὀργάνων τούτων θεὸν θυσίαν εὑρεθῶ. οὐκ ὡς
Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν· ἐκεῖνοι ἀπόστολοι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἐγὼ κατάκριτος· ἐκεῖνοι ἐλεύθεροι ἐγὼ δὲ μέχρι νῦν δοῦλος· ἀλλ' ἐὰν
παθὼν ἀπελεύθερος γένωμαι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστήσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ
ἐλεύθερος. νῦν μανθάνω μηδὲν ἔχων δαιμόνιον ἐπιθυμοῦντα. ἀπὸ Συρίας
μέχρι Ῥώμης θηριομαχῶ διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας
δεδεμένος ἐν μέσῃ δέκα λεοπαρδάλεσιν ὅ ἐστιν στρατιώτης αἳ καὶ μᾶλλον
κακοποιοῦνται εὐεργετούμεναι ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δεδικαίωμαι· μᾶλλον
δὲ ἐκείνας προσαγάγω ἵνα ταχέως μοι τροφὴ γένωνται ἃς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
εὐσεβοῦς μου πάθους ἐπιθυμῶ ἐπιτηδείως μοι παρεῖναι· ἃς καὶ ἐγὼ
προκαλοῦμαι τοῦ μὴ ἅψασθαι τινων διὰ τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐὰν
μὴ θέλωσιν ἐγὼ βιάσομαι. συγγνώμην μοι ἔχετε· τί μοι συμφέρει
οἶδα. νῦν ἄρχομαι μαθητὴς εἶναι· μηδενὸς τῶν ὁρατῶν μηδὲ τῶν
ἀοράτων ἐπιθυμήσω ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτύχω. πῦρ καὶ σταυροὶ καὶ
θηρίων συστάσεις καὶ ἀνατομαὶ καὶ διασπασμοὶ καὶ ἀνακοπαὶ ὀστέων
καὶ μελῶν καὶ ἀποτομαὶ καὶ λεπτοτομήσεις τοῦ σώματος καὶ πᾶσαι
κακουργίαι διαβολικαὶ ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐρχέσθωσαν μόνον ἵνα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἐπιτύχω.

[1] A lacuna in P also.

ܗܘ ܕܥ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܝ

صعبا زاع [1][زنك] مكحصه بك هاهعك مك حصا لهاه
لم ا معاه مكه حصه كه بك وه كم ولحصا ما . لهعمك
.[2][مزاح] بك ازوصه بمحكمك كم كمحصه مزهه كم فحصا مه
صعمز بك مزنك مك بمحالك هس معكمه ما وصه حصه
مه لهاه لهه ؛لهك مزيحك كم7 مزهه كم فز مكحصه
بك وه كم ولحصا ما . ٨٥٦ مه صعصه مهمك كه [3][مكحا]
وه كمه ولم زاع مه وصه لزهحك [4][مجكم] مك حصه له
بك وه كمه حب زاع مه بك مزنك مك حصه له بك
وه كمه [5][معاه] زاع مه بك ازهلك مك وصه حصه له
مكحه [6][مهمهل] زاع مه بك ؛لهلك مك حصه كه بك
ما حصا . حم لهك مهكه مصهحكم ٨٦٦ مه بك حصحك
لهصه [7][مصحصك] لهلما حصه ما حصه . حصمه مك
حصه مه كصحكزلمه كم [8][لهلما] مه بك كصحصه مك
مهمك لمكهه مهم ما مهم بك وه كم . حب٦ [9][كصحه]
مهم بك وه كم [مه لمك مكهه حنه ما مهم بك وه كم
حنا ما مهم بك وه كم [10][كمله مزه مكهه كمل ما
مكهه حب٦ ما مهم بك وه كم [11][حلل] ؛لهم مكهه
حصه ما مهم بك وه كم . حصه [13][كلمحك] [12][مكه
مكحصه ما مهم بك وه كم مصه ٦لهحك مه مكهه حصه
وه كم] مهلمكهه كملحلل مكحصه ملم مكهه مهلمكهه
لهلما ٦لهحك مكه حصه [15][حب٦] ما مهم بك وه كم
مهمك لمحصه [14][مصصه كلمكحصه كمك مكه حصه ما مهم بك
مه مكه حصه حب٦ كما ما مهم بك وه كم لمحصه

[1] M omits. [2] M مزهه كلم. [3] M حكلا. [4] P مزجكم.
[5] M معاهل. [6] M حزلم. [7] P مصحصك. [8] P كلما.
[9] M omits. [10] M omits. [11] M حلل. [12] M omits.
[13] P كلمحك. [14] M omits. [15] P مهم.

[ܐܡܪ][1] ܐܢܐ ܒܝ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܬܘܩ ܠܗ ܒܢܫܐ ܕܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܢܐ ܒܝ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܠܗ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܩܘܡ ܠܗ ܒܝܘܡ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܫܐܠ ܠܟ ܡܢ

[1] M omits. [2] M omits. [3] M omits. [4] M omits.
[5] M omits. [6] M omits. [7] P omits. [8] P omits.
[9] P repeats. [10] M omits. [11] M omits. [12] P repeats.
[13] M without the initial *bā'* which, I believe, is only used in the vulgar Arabic of Syria. [14] P omits. [15] M omits. [16] M omits. [17] P omits. [18] M omits.

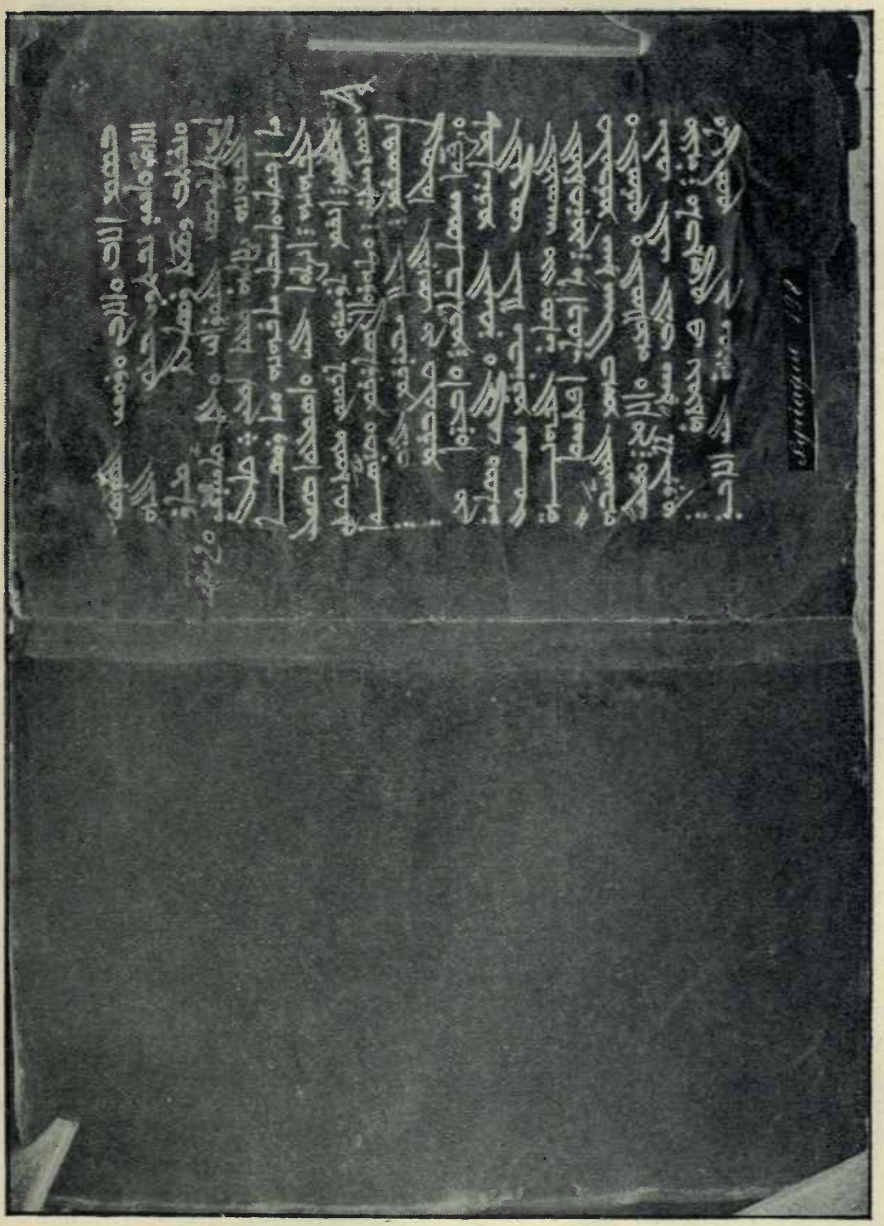
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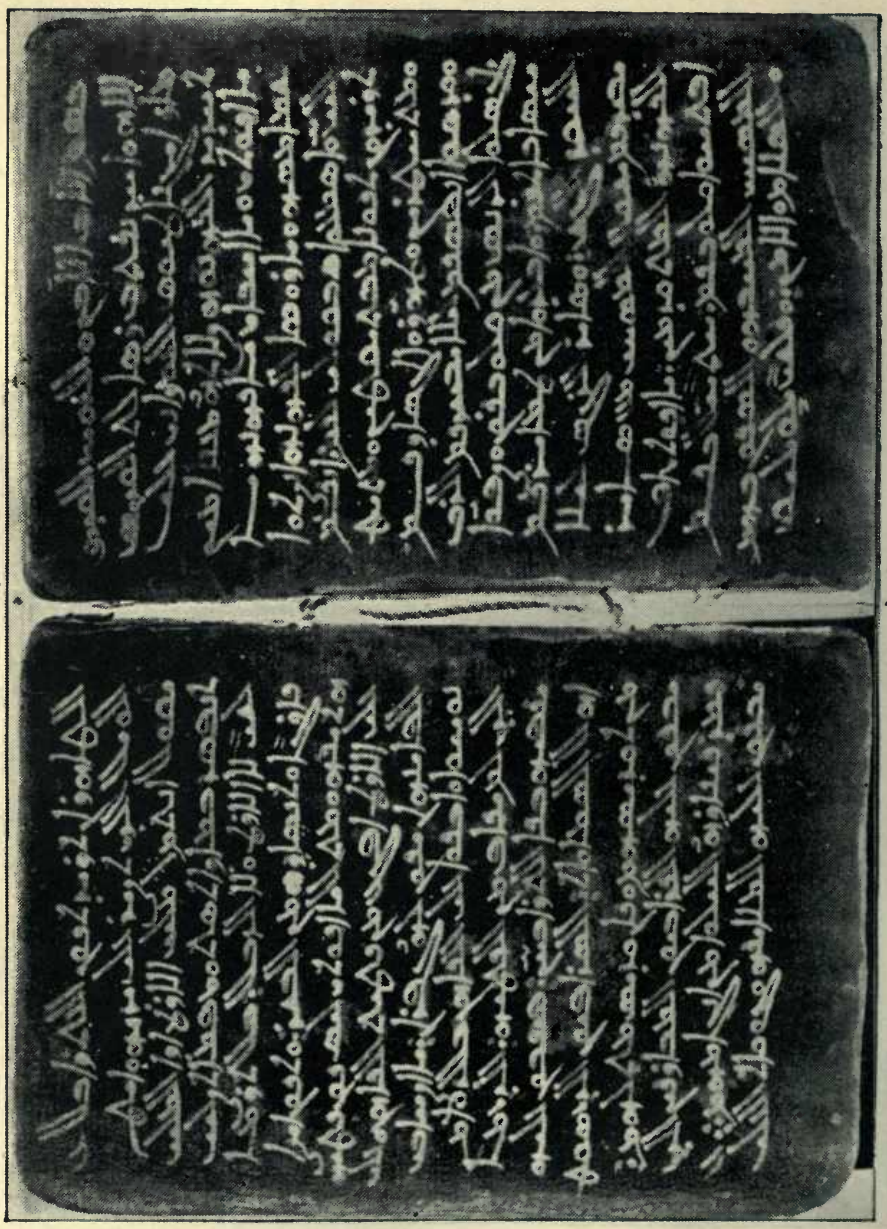
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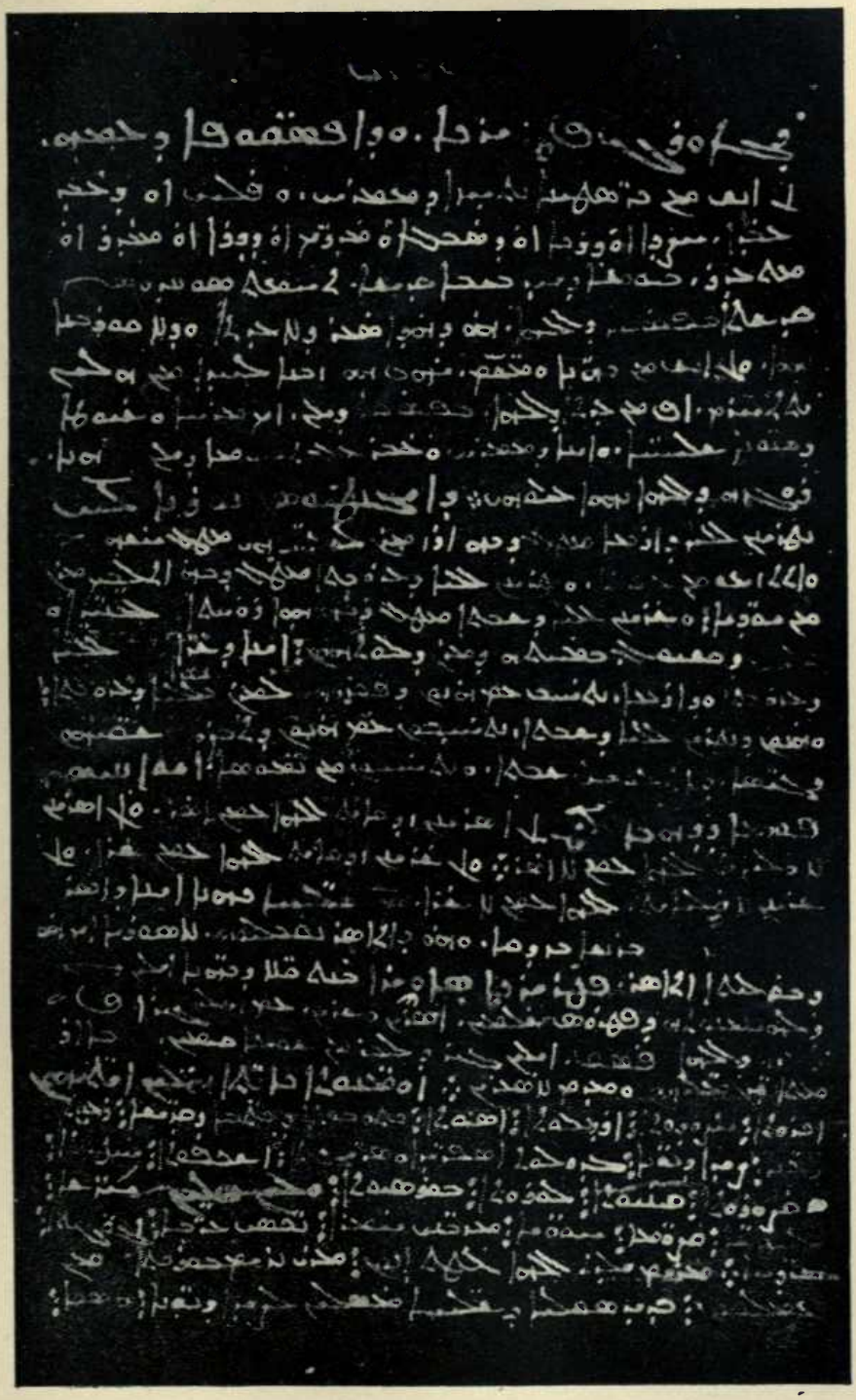
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IGNATIUS. (FACS. OF THE FIRST PAGE OF P.)



IGNATIUS. (FACS. OF THE FIRST PAGE OF M.)



Canon of Ignatius.

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC AND GARSHŪNI
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS

By A. MINGANA.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS

By RENDEL HARRIS.

Fasc. 2.

(i) *A Jeremiah Apocryphon.*
(ii) *A New Life of John the Baptist.*
(iii) *Some Uncanonical Psalms.*

INTRODUCTIONS.

By RENDEL HARRIS.

I.

A Jeremiah Apocryphon.

IT is well known to students of Apocryphal literature that a whole region of that fascinating, but perplexing, subject is covered by works assigned to Jeremiah and his companions, in which the fortunes of an exiled nation are depicted and their hopes of resuscitation and of return are affirmed, with a guarded language and obscure intimations for which Apocalypse is the proper and recognised vehicle. All the great historic figures of the Old Testament, or such as were by common consent regarded as historic, become in turn the lay-figures for the drapery of the Apocalyptist when he wishes to paint approaching desolations, or, in the depth of such desolations, to announce the approaching consolations of Israel. We might say that in Jewish literature (including its prolongation in Christian literature), Apocalypse reigned from Adam to Bar Kochba: but even this lower limit is not

low enough ; for there are Apocalypses produced right down to the Middle Ages, whenever days were dark enough to require, or a distant and brightening horizon to suggest them. The rise of Islam is as good ground for an Apocalyptic literature as the various sieges of Jerusalem ; Mohammed can be as suggestive as Vespasian or Titus. And when we find as in the present tract a new member of the company which bear the names of Jeremiah and his friends, we need not be surprised that the tradition has lasted so long ; we may say of Jeremiah that he being dead yet speaketh ; and as a matter of fact, he has been dead just as many times as he may be wanted to speak ; so here he is again, as vocal as ever, and we must try and find the date and the provenance of his latest resurrection.

All the great Apocalypses fall, as I think I said somewhere, within the penumbra of the Canonical literature, some of them being actually canonised. Jeremiah and his disciple Baruch will supply us with illustrations. We have not only the Biblical Baruch, but there is also the Apocalypse of Baruch, preserved in Syriac and first edited by Ceriani. As we have shown in a recent publication of Bar Ṣalibi's reply to a Melchite proselytiser, this Syriac Apocalypse was clearly a part of Bar Ṣalibi's Canon ; and the reference to it here may illustrate the way in which the frontier of the Canon fluctuates from time to time and from country to country. A somewhat similar illustration may be found in the Greek Apocalypse which I re-edited in 1889 under the title of the *Rest of the Words of Baruch*, and which I assigned to the year 136 A.D., for here we found that the Greek Service Books actually appoint this book to be read on the day when they commemorate with the Jews the fall of the beloved city. We must admit that the *Rest of the Words of Baruch* has crept up very close to canonical dignity. When I was editing this work (of which more presently) I made the following observation (p. 9) :—

> "In addition to the three Baruch books to which we have been alluding (Apocryphal Baruch, or simply Baruch, Apocalyptic Baruch, and Christian Baruch) *it is very likely that there are other Baruch and Jeremiah books which have perished.*"

How interesting to find one of these lost books coming to light again, nearly forty years after the published lament for its disappear-

ance : and to myself, how peculiarly interesting to find that the new volume (as we shall see presently) incorporates a large part of what was included in the Christian Baruch, and that it has fallen into my hands to be interpreted, and into the hands of Dr. Mingana, my good friend and colleague in all matters where I am able to accompany him.

The reader will see, at a glance, that the recovered document has come to light from an unexpected quarter. It is a Christian Arabic book, which we distinguish from the actually translated works of Christian fathers in the Arabic tongue, by the term *Garshuni;* that is, it is a book written in Syriac characters, but in the Arabic language, the said language being commonly popular speech rather than the classical or semi-classical variety. We may imagine that the reason for this duality in the presentation of Christian books, according to which an author speaks in one tongue and writes in another, was sometimes due to the desire to escape Moslem criticism. There was a kind of protection, a guarantee of free speech, about a book written in the Syriac character. Such a protection was appropriate to books like this Apocalypse of ours, which could add to the obscurity inherent in the subject the impenetrability of a scarcely legible script. Popular writings escaped notice and veiled writings became more obscure when transmitted through the medium of Garshuni. Our document is a good illustration of this : the obscurity which it affects has prevented scholars from invading the area in which it is found. We expect to see a number of similar documents, and we will make a personal confession, in view of what is to be found, that we will not, in the future, as we have done in the past, despise a document because it is written in what we have called Christian Arabic.

Now let us make a brief analysis of the book before us. We will give a summary of its contents, and after that will discuss the sources from which the writer has drawn and the relation of the book to the Apocalyptic literature generally. We premise that much of the Garshuni literature to which we have been referring is translated from Syriac into the popular Arabic ; the present book is no exception to the general rule : it is a Syriac book : whence the Syriac text came from is another matter. We shall probably find out that there is a Greek text underlying the Syriac. The story begins in true Biblical manner and often in the very terms of the Old Testament with the messages of Jeremiah the prophet to King Zedekiah and to the

people of Jerusalem. They have abandoned Jahweh and gone after Baal and Zeus (!) Judgment is threatened to prince and people. Thereupon Jeremiah is thrown into a muddy prison, as in the Old Testament, after a dramatic dispute with a false prophet, Hananiah, whom again we recognise as an ancient Biblical friend. Jeremiah is rescued from the mire by his servant Ebedmelech, who now becomes as in the Bible a leading character in the Passion Play of Jeremiah. The prophet under Divine compulsion goes a second time to King Zedekiah and renews the vision of approaching judgment, chains and slavery for the king, captivity and massacre for the people. Jeremiah sends his disciple Baruch to the king with a letter in which the word of the Lord is contained (apparently an Apocalypse of some sort). Baruch gets a flogging. Jeremiah is sent for; he utters further Biblical announcements of the coming of the Chaldeans. He is promptly sent back to prison, where he would have died, if it had not been for the friendly offices of his servant Ebedmelech, who bribes the gaoler and keeps alive the saint. After twenty-one days he is released, and it is promised to Ebedmelech that he shall not see the ruin of the city nor taste death until the calamity of the people is past and the wrath of God removed. This mysterious promise and its fulfilment will become the foundation of a whole Act of the sacred drama. Meanwhile Zedekiah goes from bad to worse; he desecrates the sanctuary, which he transfers to Baal and Zeus, and does many impious deeds (which remind one in some details of Herod the Great). At last the crash comes. Jeremiah's prayers have now only a limited acceptance. The Almighty sends his angels on to the scene. Michael goes to Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon and incites him to war against the Jews. To our surprise we find that the King of Babylon objects; he is a friend of the Jews, not an enemy. He does not want to hurt the people of God. He sends great gifts and a special embassy to Jerusalem. For some reason not very clear the King of Babylon is enraged with the reception of his embassy, and he calls on Cyrus (sic !), his general, to prepare war. But he is still very reluctant, and only moves forward under a sign from heaven. The Chaldeans approach Jerusalem. In the interim Ebedmelech is sent into the country to fetch fresh fruits and to sleep a long sleep through the approaching captivity. The writer now begins to use the *Last Words of Baruch*, as we shall see more clearly presently.

When Nebuchadnezzar, for whom the writer has a kindly feeling, with the aid of Cyrus, for whom he, strange to say, has no affection, has taken the city, he calls for Jeremiah whom he recognises as a true prophet. Jeremiah makes his last appeal to the Most High, but he is told to take a lamp and see if he can find a single honest man, for whose sake the city may be spared. Jeremiah is now playing the part of Abraham the Patriarch and Diogenes the Cynic, but cannot find his honest man. Knowing the city to be doomed, he makes plans for secreting the vessels and the vestments of the sanctuary, and for the preservation of the Holy Fire, as in the books of the Maccabees. He then puts on sackcloth and marches to Babylon with the captives. The horrors of deportation are told, and the toils and privations of the people are described. So matters go on for the allotted seventy years until Nebuchadnezzar dies and is succeeded by his general Cyrus, who makes the lot of the people worse with added burdens and increasing cruelties.

At this point of the story Ezra comes on the scene, a person who will be wanted in the time of the regeneration of Israel. He is one of the children of the captivity, and naturally suffers with the rest of the Israelite youth from the over-lordship of the Babylonian boys. The writer borrows a framework for introducing Ezra from the *Gospel of the Infancy*. Like Jesus, he breaks his pitcher at the well, and when the boys deride him, he folds his cloak into a water-tight carrier. Then incensed in heart, and grieved with their contempt, he pours out supplication to the Most High. The prayer and the miracle mark him out as the one who shall deliver the people from captivity. Ezra and his companions thereupon separate themselves from the wanton Babylonian boys, and Ezra works another miracle and raises a flood of water which well-nigh drowned the world, and would indeed have done so, if God had not already made contract against such a disaster.

Cyrus is now on the throne. He insists on a song from the refugees of seventy years ago; when the people sing, the earth quakes and the song is heard in Jerusalem. Evidently the day of redemption is at hand. Ezra and Daniel and Ezekiel then lay their heads together and go out into the wilderness to offer a sacrifice to God and to seek a sign from heaven. Michael is sent down and consumes their sacrifice by fire which he produces from his wand.

Now let us return to Jeremiah, who appears after all not to have left the city, but remained in a sepulchre. (There seems to be some confusion here.) Here Michael the archangel finds him resuming his intercessions for Israel. Michael takes him to Babylon, or finds him there, and bids him assemble the people, who are busy making bricks as in Egypt, and promises him that if Cyrus hardens his heart like Pharaoh, he shall be served as Pharaoh was. Cyrus takes the hint, plays Pharaoh faithfully, and then the thunder clouds of divine wrath appear in the sky. Let my people go, says the prophet. Yes, do go, says Babylon : and away they go with their hearts full of joy and their pockets full of money ; and they sing a song in a strange land, because they are exchanging it for their fatherland.

Now we come to the sleeper who had gone to the gardens to fetch fruit, figs, and grapes. He has fallen asleep in the heat, with the basket under his head, while over him a cave or rock had made shelter. This part of the story is a modification of that in the *Last Words of Baruch*, but wanting somewhat of the dramatic force of the latter. Still it is not wholly lacking. It is a fine situation when one wakes from a sleep of seventy years and finds everything changed except himself and his basket of figs, which are as fresh as if they too had slept. The old man whom he meets, with whom he has a chronological dispute, tells him that Jeremiah has just returned from captivity, and the people are jubilating and the flags flying, and it is like the Feast of Tabernacles, or the Triumphal Entry, for which the writer quotes the *Diatessaron of Tatian.* Ebedmelech has a great welcome from Jeremiah, and great honour from the people, who indite a song of praise in the good Hebrew manner for all that has occurred.

The rest of the story relates to the discovery and restoration of the lost vessels of the sanctuary, which Jeremiah puts in their proper place, and the vestments on the proper people ; while on all hands a new covenant is assented to, for a fresh allegiance to Jahweh, and a final desertion of Baal and of Zeus. The story does not say what became of Jeremiah, who ought to be stoned, according to the tradition in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, and the *Last Words of Baruch.* But perhaps the writer thought it best not to attach the gloom of a tragedy to the joys of the Return. So he only says that while Jeremiah lived, the people were faithful to their covenant.

We may now go on to say something about the time when our Apocrypha was produced, which depends in part on the sources which have been employed. The simplest method of proceeding will be to establish superior limits of time, by reference to authors quoted whose date is more or less exactly defined.

For example, we have suggested that our Jeremiah has employed an incident in the Apocryphal *Gospel of the Infancy*, where Jesus carries water in his cloak, after his pitcher has been broken. It may be asked how we know that priority belongs to the *Gospel of the Infancy*. May not Jesus' miracle have copied Ezra's, since both are apocryphal? The answer to this is very simple; we know the reason for the Jesus miracle, and the reason, when stated, excludes the possible borrowing from Jeremiah. The *Gospel of the Infancy* is concerned with the proofs of the Divine Nature of Christ, especially of Christ as Creator, fulfilling his own statement that the Son does the same works as the Father. Now amongst the proof-texts which the Old Testament was supposed to furnish for this argument, there is in the book of Proverbs, at the 30th chapter, a fine poetical outburst taken from some Oriental collection, in which the reader is asked:

> "Who hath ascended up into heaven, or descended? Who hath gathered the wind in his fists? *Who hath bound the waters in a garment?* Who hath established all the ends of the earth? What is his name, and *what is his son's name*, if thou canst tell?"

The passage was supposed to contain a reference to the Son of God; and by the simple expedient of a miraculous carrying of water in a garment, the argument for Divine Sonship became irresistible.

We see, then, the origin of the story in the *Infancy Gospel:* it is not borrowed from the Apocryphal Jeremiah, but conversely. The date of the *Infancy Gospel* has never been closely fixed, but it occurs in many versions and has very early MS. tradition, so that it is hardly likely to be as late as the fourth century.[1] Another landmark was

[1] Its most popular story is the one where Jesus makes mud sparrows, and bids them fly away, a tale which caught the fancy of Mohammed. It will be noted that this story, also, is designed to prove Christ's creative power, in accordance with the dictum of the Almighty in the first chapter of Genesis, which caused fowl to fly upon the face of the firmament. It is curious in this

the reference in the text of Jeremiah to the rejoicings of the people on their return from captivity, which are cast in the mould of the Triumphal Entry of Jesus to Jerusalem and expressed in the terms of the Arabic *Diatessaron of Tatian*. The matter is so interesting from various points of view, that we may devote a little space to it.

When Ebedmelech comes back from his long sleep at Jerusalem, and has been convinced of the reality of that portentous ecstasy by an old man whom he meets, the latter says to him :

> "This month is the month of Nisan, and this day is the first day in which the prophet Jeremiah reached Jerusalem, after a stay of seventy years in captivity. The words that you utter square with one another. Lo ! the people are coming, bringing with them branches of palm trees, and holding in their hands twigs of aromatic bushes and olive trees."

It is evident that the language is here coloured by the account of the Triumphal Entry, and the reference to the carrying of palm branches shows that it is the Gospel of John that is being drawn on. The language itself is peculiar ; the text says 'hearts of palm trees' or 'pith of palm trees'. Now in an early Irish Gospel (known as Cod. *r* or Armachanus) we get a similar rendering of the *βαΐα* of John xiii. 2 (*medullas palmarum*). Comparison with other attempts to render the word into Latin suggests that this is the first Latin rendering, and since we get a similar translation in the Syriac version of Lev. xxiii., 40, where the feast of Tabernacles is described, as well as in the Arabic *Diatessaron*, we may say that it is a Syriac Gospel of John, which has furnished the 'pith of the palms' both to East and West. This must then be Tatian's translation, made under the influence of the Peshiṭta of the Old Testament. Since then our Apocryphal Jeremiah is describing a Jerusalem situation, it is John xiii., 2 that has influenced him, and not the prescriptions for the Feast of Tabernacles. The date of production of *Diatessaron*, then, is a superior limit of time to our Apocryphon. A reference to the margins and footnotes will show that the Apocryphal writer has a close acquaintance with the text of the Gospels generally, and that he is

connection to note that the Ḳur'ān (ix, 30) maintains the divinity of Christ as a Christian dogma and the divinity of Ezra as a Jewish belief. Perhaps in either case on account of the argument from Prov. xxx. and its illustrated miracle.

under the influence of the Infancy sections both in Matthew and in Luke. With almost equal confidence we may affirm that he was acquainted with the Apocryphal *Book of Enoch*, from whom he borrows an archangel (Satanael) upon occasion. He also knows the *seven* archangels of Enoch. For the matter of that, it would be difficult to find a writer of this period, whether canonical or apocryphal, who is not under the influence of Enoch.

We come now to the most obvious of all the sources employed by our writer; a large part of his story, viz. the adventures of Ebedmelech, is taken from the *Last Words of Baruch*. This work acquires a special interest for us in view of its partial absorption by the newly found Apocalypse; and, as I said above, it is one of my earliest publications, which I am reading again with some satisfaction and with the inclusion of some corrections. In the editing of this text, or rather its re-editing from a number of fresh sources, I had the advantage of the counsel and vastly superior knowledge of Dr. Hort. If his name does not appear on the pages, it was due to his characteristic self-effacement in the work which he did for his colleagues and disciples. For instance, when I was trying to find out why, in the story of Abimelech, the good man had been sent to the *market of the Gentiles*, according to one of my principal MSS., I consulted Dr. Hort as to the meaning of the term, which was too striking to be other than original. He asked me what was my best MS., and what did my best MS. say? Then a characteristic advice, 'always stick to your best MS.' Nothing further at the time, but next morning there lay on the breakfast-table a closely-written post-card with references for the fair that was set up, when the last Jewish revolt was over, at the Oak of Abraham. In that identification which I promptly worked out, I was certainly a jay in peacock's feathers.

When the book appeared, it was received rather coldly by a certain school of critics, because I had found the date of the document, and involved in that discovery a quotation from the Gospel of John, the earliest known quotation. This would hardly provoke resentment at the present day, when it has ceased to be the fashion to talk of the Fourth Gospel as the product of the latter half of the second century. Critics are not so positive on that point as they were in Dr. Samuel Davidson's day; in other words, they allow other people to know better.

In the working out of the theme of the long sleep of Abimelech or Ebedmelech, I fell into a curious error. Reading in Maracci the account of the Moslem appropriation of the story of the long sleep and the basket of figs, and not being sufficiently adroit in the Ḳurān and its commentators, I transcribed the Latin name of the Arabic sleeper in Maracci as Alchedrum, taking the Latin accusative as the proper name. Only two letters in excess, but those two letters brought me a prompt correction from my friend Robertson Smith, who was always ready to help me, and a thousandfold better Orientalist than I, in which he advised me that I had stumbled over the romantic sleeping figure of the Ḳurān *al Khidr*. A similar correction reached me from Rabbi Köhler of New York, along with some Talmudic parallels, followed by the flattering request (to which I was not disposed to accede) that I would edit the article on Apocrypha in the Jewish Encyclopedia. Dr. Robertson Smith's letter was so interesting, and so like himself, that I am going to subjoin it to my story.

CAMBRIDGE,
17*th October*, 1890.

MY DEAR HARRIS,

In your Baruch, p. 41, your *Alchedrum* whom you have from Maracci is of course *Al-Khaḍir* or *Al-Khiḍr*, a very obscure personage, who is sometimes regarded as the Moslem St. George. That some doctors suppose him to be the person alluded to in Sura ii., 261 Maracci has (no doubt) from Baiḍāwī's note on the passage. I think you must be right in supposing that Sura ii., 261 contains an allusion to the story of Abimelech ; but did the commentators, who say that Al-Khaḍir, is the person referred to, say this at a guess, or had they some knowledge of their own about the Christian legend ?

I have to remark first of all that the identification of Al-Khaḍir with the man who slept for 100 years might be suggested by the legend (Ṭabarī i., 412) that Al-Khaḍir, a companion of Alexander, drank of the water of life (which has a prominent place in the Alexander Romance) and is still alive. Nevertheless it is notable that Ṭabarī also connects him with Abraham and with the dispute about the possession of the well of Beersheba. Abraham is said to have brought this dispute to Alexander (Dhu 'l-Karnain is Alexander, tho' Ṭabarī mentions that some take him to be a different person) and the well was adjudged to Al-Khaḍir. This looks as if Al-Kh. were mixed up with Abimelech, king of Gerar. That your Abimelech

and the Philistine king should be mixed up will surprise no one who knows the Arab way of using Biblical stories. That great liar the Jew Wahb b. Monabbih identified Al-Khaḍir with Jeremiah. This too might be a mere guess—the city being Jerusalem—or it may indicate some confused acquaintance with your story. Finally Al-Khaḍir is commonly taken to be son of Malkān. The patronymic Ibn-Malkān does suggest Abimelech. Of these points the only one that seems to me important is the association with Beersheba. That goes far to prove that the expositors of the Ḳurān knew your story and connected it with Sura ii., 261.

Yours ever,
(*Signed*) W. R. SMITH.

Rabbi Kōhler, to whom I alluded above, was as quick as Dr. Robertson Smith to correct my slip over the Moslem sleeper; but he also sent me a mass of Talmudic references, which were marked by the usual Hebrew diversity in dealing with a supposed historical event with a possible chronology. He regarded the *Last Words* as an original Hebrew book from an Essene writer, and that the victim of popular anger who was stoned in Jerusalem was not Jeremiah, but an Essene hero named Onias, of whom the Talmud tells in *Taanith*, chapter 3. He also pointed out to me that there was Rabbinical tradition for actually identifying Ebedmelech and Baruch (see *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 53), and that Ebedmelech was actually made (as in our new Apocryphon) into the *servant of King* Zedekiah the Distinguished One. Neither the Rabbi nor myself was able to explain the series of anachronisms in the Talmudic treatment of what was evidently a favourite subject; and as to the existence of a Hebrew original for all these various forms of legend, I am content to leave the matter in the hands of those who are better skilled in detecting Hebrew originals than myself.

As it is nearly forty years since the *Rest of the Words of Baruch* appeared, and I have hardly looked at it since, it has been possible for me to regard it dispassionately, and to say that it really was not a bad book, and might have had a more favourable reception. There is still a good deal to be learned from its pages by the student of Apocrypha. Returning now to the relation between the *Last Words* and the new Baruch, the priority of the *Last Words* which turned out not to be the Last Words, will be evident. One of the most striking variations is in the geography of the writer. I was able to show that the *Last Words*, like its predecessor the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch*, was a Jerusalem book, in which one could see

Hebron rise to the south of Jerusalem, and pass on the way thither the gardens of Agrippa, which could be reached either by the main road to Hebron or by the mountain road to Solomon's pools. The modern tourist in Palestine would recognise the provenance of the writer at once. But it was this very exactness of locality which perplexed the later Apocalyptist. He wanted figs, but saw no reason why the gardens of Agrippa should supply them; and as for the mountain road, it might just as well have been the Milky Way. He drops all these identifications, including the *Fair at the Terebinth* where the Jews were sold cheap, as slaves, after the Hadrianic war—in fact he had no geography and wanted none. All that his story needed was a cave for the sleeper and a basket of fruit. The other details have evidently been excised. The hand is not a Jerusalem hand as in the case of the earlier documents.

In passing, we ought, perhaps, to add to what we said previously about the acquaintance of our writer with Christian Gospels. We spoke of Matthew and Luke, but ought not Mark to be also on the horizon? For when we read that the old man argues with Abimelech over his figs and says that this is the month Nisan and Nisan (April) is not the season for figs, we are reminded that the very same expression is used in Mark, when Jesus, on His way from Bethany to Jerusalem, essayed to satisfy His hunger from a certain fig-tree. If, however, this is a Marcan trait, it is also found in the *Last Words*, and must not be set down as a first-hand quotation. Just as the writer obscures the geographical solution, he also destroys the chronology. Seventy years of captivity was classical, but sixty-six was meaningless. Here again the superiority and priority of the *Last Words* was evident. The later MSS. of the *Last Words* fell into the same natural error.

We must now say a few words on the question of the existence or extent of Jewish influences in our new document. A similar enquiry was raised in regard to the *Last Words of Baruch* which was asserted, in certain quarters, to be a bona-fide Jewish document, in spite of the fact that it was obviously coloured by the Christian Gospels. In our new text we have also passages which look like evangelical reflections, but at the same time there are other passages which require the Talmud, or at least the folk-lore traditions embedded in the Talmud, for their elucidation. The most interesting case is that

in which the wife of Nebuchadnezzar makes a personal appeal to him not to engage in hostile movements against the Jews. She bursts into tears when she is informed of her husband's designs. 'What king is there,' says she, 'that engaged in warfare with this people, and was saved? Dost thou not know that this is the people of God, and that everything that they ask from God they obtain it forthwith?' The queen's name is Hilkiah, which, whether masculine or feminine, has a Hebrew cast, and suggests that the lady may have been a captive or a pervert.

Now if we turn to the Talmud, *Taanith*, xxiv. 2, we find a similar story told of the mother of the Persian king Shapor II.: we notice that here it is the mother and not the wife that makes the appeal:

> "Iphra Hormiz, the mother of King Shapor, said to her son, 'Have nothing to do with those Jews, for whatever they ask from their Lord, he gives it to them.' He says to her, 'How so?' She replied, 'They asked for mercy and the rain came.' He said to her, 'It was because of the time of the year that the rain came. But let them ask for rain now, in the time of the summer solstice, and let the rain come.' Whereupon she sent a messenger to Rabbah and said, 'Have a care of yourself; implore mercy and rain will come.'"

This lady, whose name, as we have seen, was Iphra Hormiz, is frequently referred to in the Talmud, so that it has been suspected that she was a Jewish proselyte.

Evidently we have stumbled, in our new Apocalypse, upon the same story that occurs in the Talmud. We must not, however, conclude that there has been direct Jewish influence on our Apocalypse, for the tradition of Iphra Hormiz and her Jewish sympathies was well-known in the East Syrian Church.

Nor can we altogether ignore the similarity that there is between the tradition that we are discussing and the story in the Gospel of Matthew of Pilate's wife and her dream. Just as the queen-mother of Persia is *awakened from her sleep* in order to interfere with her husband's anti-Jewish projects, we have the wife of Pilate sending to say that she has suffered much for Jesus *in a dream;* and just as the mother of King Shapor appeals to him to have *nothing to do against those good people* the Jews, so we have Pilate's wife appealing

against his doing *anything unfriendly to the good man* whom he has before him for judgment. Is it possible that she also may have had secret sympathies with the Jews or with Jesus, or an actual acquaintance with Him?

As to Jewish influence generally, it is in the highest degree improbable that such grotesque views of Cyrus and Nebuchadnezzar as are presented in our tract can have come from a Jewish source.

II.

A New Life of John the Baptist.

The reason for the existence of a multitude of Apocryphal writings is in the main twofold. There will be in the first instance the class of works in which the Apocryphal writer is dominated by an Apocryphal situation, some concurrence of misfortunes which threaten his nation, or some dreaded recurrence of misfortunes which have left their mark upon past history; the exigency of the time makes the man, who is peculiarly a child of the time, to become a literary artist of the time. He will write, or paint (the two words being primitively equivalent) in lurid colours when he describes the miseries of his people, he will have Gehenna itself for his palette when he lays on the flaming patches of the Divine Judgments. Nor will he always be a mean artist, even if using popular dialect or writing in a half cipher ('he that readeth, let him understand') for along with the moving tale of disasters in the sun and perplexities on the earth, there will rise in his imagination the story of storms succeeded by calm, and a lovelier city to replace the one that was devastated and wasted.

The second class of Apocrypha is due, not to any peculiar strain in the environment of the writer, but to a desire to fill up a deficit in literature, and to complete a story that has been imperfectly told, or perhaps not told at all. Every history, whether personal, local or national, has lacunæ in it; if we are interested sufficiently in place, person or people, we shall want to know or we shall pretend to know how those empty spaces may be filled. The pretence to know is of the very essence of a whole line of Apocryphal works.

For instance, the Gospel knows nothing or next to nothing of areas in our Lord's life, where we would like to know much. It is our modern spirit, I suppose, that makes us discontented with such informa-

tion as might be gathered from a Family Bible or a genealogical tree: but those of us who have family Bibles of any age, or ancestral records, are well aware that these too are subject to Apocryphal insertions; and even in the scriptures we suspect that genealogies could be produced because they were wanted, as occurs even to-day in Arab circles. 'Abraham begat Isaac' may be historical, at least we hope so, and make it almost creedal; but the fact that Aminadab begat Aram does not provoke belief so readily. It all turns on the point whether master Aminadab and his progeny were produced because the historian wanted them. Now the Biblical story may have supplied these genealogical matters, because the self-respect of a family required them; and in that case they are Apocrypha; but even if that were the case, the modern spirit of history would not be satisfied with them, even if they were flaunted in our face in the forefront of the Gospels. We are sensible of a wider area of lacunæ than the person who hunts or imagines family registers.

Now we are not able to tell at what point the hungry student of the life of Christ began asking for more history or for earlier history. Such hungry sheep might look up to St. Mark and certainly not be fed. They would get something from St. Matthew and a little more from St. Luke; might we, for instance, say that St. Luke's account of our Lord's visit at twelve years of age to the Temple was a historian's instinctive intrusion into an uncharted area? It may be so, and will stand, in that case, to St. Luke's credit, which credit already stands high. But in that case, why did he leave that great Terra Incognita on his map between the life-parallels of twelve and thirty? If he was as interested in a child who could puzzle the doctors with questions and surprise them with quick answers, why has he no interest in the growing boy upon whom the shades of the prison house were beginning to close?

It is in such lacunæ that the Apocryphist of our second species finds his opportunity. We cannot, however, fail to be surprised that, with such a canvas lying idle, no artist had seized it for some three centuries after it had been exposed. The *Gospels of the Infancy*, and the *Gospel of the Boyhood* are lacuna-Gospels. So are the stories which tell of the *Birth*, *Death* and *Rapture of the Virgin*, whose attractiveness secures them, even at the present day, a place of recognition in the Christian Calendar, from which they can be detached

with difficulty. From Jesus and His mother the enquiring spirit naturally passes over to ask for further information as to His great Forerunner, John the Baptist. The existing history is only vocal about John where the two lives of John and Jesus overlap, or where one personality (either of them will do) bears testimony to the righteousness of the authority of the other. And even here it is the Birth-story and the Mournful Death that take most of the space. Who would not rejoice, if a papyrus should turn up, to do for John the Baptist what Mark did for Jesus? So, without raising our hopes too high, we turn to a recently found *Life of John the Baptist* in an Arabic MS. to see if we can gather anything further with regard to the Baptist, beyond what can be picked up, in the shape of fragments, from the Gospel itself.

We premise that there are numerous indications in Christian literature of the desire to fill in what might seem to be deficiencies in the known story of St. John. One of the most interesting was caused by the request of our Lord's disciples that He would teach them to pray as John also taught his disciples. It was natural to ask what was the form of prayer which was displaced by the *Oratio Dominica*. The answer was supplied by some early Christian and is even now extant in a Syriac form. It runs as follows in the MS. Add. 12, 138 of the British Museum:

> The Prayer which John taught his disciples: "Father, show me thy Son; Son, show me thy Spirit; Holy Spirit, make me wise in thy truth."
>
> But some say it was like this:
>
> "Holy Father, sanctify me by thy truth, and make me to know the glory of thy greatness, and show me thy Son, and fill me with thy Spirit, that I may be illuminated with thy knowledge."

The next increment to our supposed knowledge is called for by our sense that Divine Justice had not been satisfied, if Herodias and her daughter were allowed to go scot free. The student of English literature will find this very proper sentiment expressed in verse in a poem of Vaughan the Silurite on the theme of *The Daughter of Herodias*. Here is a verse from this poem, with an explanatory footnote, such as would be required by the ignorance of the reader:

Leave then, young Sorceress; the *Ice*
Will those coy spirits cast asleep,
Which teach thee now to please his eyes
Who doth thy lothsome mother keep.

The note runs as follows: Her name was Salome: in passing over a frozen river, the ice broke under her, and chopt off her head.

It may be asked where Vaughan in the seventeenth century found this Apocryphal addition to the New Testament record. It is certainly found in the East as well as the West, for we have something of the kind in the commentaries of Bar Ṣalibi. The first form of the legend is more difficult to determine. We shall find one form in the document before us. All that we say at present is that the Apocryphal story was the outcome of a sense that Justice had not been satisfied.

But now let us come to our Life of St. John, where we shall find a curious mixture of history and legend; in the first place the author has worked over the Biblical account in a very accurate manner; next, we shall see that he has blended with it an amount of Apocryphal detail, sufficient to justify us in classifying the writing itself as Apocryphal; and last of all, when he comes to discourse of the final disposal of St. John's relics, he reverts from legend to history, and gives us the means of identifying himself as a real person, of high standing in the church at Alexandria. He tells us that his name was Serapion, and that he had been ordained to one of the Egyptian episcopal centres by Timothy who was Patriarch of Alexandria from A.D. 380 to 385. The Egyptian origin of our translation (at least of one of the forms in which our Arabic text has come down to us) is betrayed by the occurrence of the name of a Coptic month in the narration. Serapion tells us, in fact, that at a somewhat earlier date the faithful brought the bones of the Baptist to Alexandria, where a church was built to receive them, and a magnificent celebration was held on the second day of the month *Baouna*. The document, then, is by provenance Egyptian, and it is historical and can be dated at the close of the fourth century. The miracles wrought at the tomb of the saint are also historical, so far as miracles can be, which are evidently made to order, to enhance the dignity of the newly enshrined. We must not be surprised if here also, as in so many other cases of discovery and location of bones of saints, the fervour with which the

miracle-loving people believed and the benevolent saint operated, soon subsided into a normal good feeling without supernatural attestations. No need to give instances of this general statement; they might be compromising to great names in the church. In the matter of belief, *non omnes possumus omnia.*

Now let us return to the story of the Baptist's birth; it follows closely the scriptural account, but with explanatory additions, mostly of an Apocryphal character. We can easily see the genesis of these. Our document is, in fact, a homily to be read at the festival of the saint. The writer says so:

> "The body of the holy John the Baptist, the saint whose feast we are celebrating to-day, remained in Sebaste—which is Nablus of Samaria—for four hundred years."

What more natural, then, than that Serapion, as preacher for the day, should have added to his narrative such current stories as might make the lessons for the day more interesting. It is a practice which still prevails. One may say of it, what Mistress Quickly says, in apology for the presence of a joint of mutton in her Tavern in the holy season of Lent, "all vintners do it." Coming, then, to those points in the Baptist's *Infancy Gospel* where the people would have liked to ask questions, and perhaps did ask them, one would like to know whether the good man really did eat locusts, and whether his sanctity has a shadow cast over it from his diet. And further, how was it possible for a child of tender years to live in the desert all the years which intervened between his leaving his home, and his return as a prophet to Israel? It is well known that the difficulty over St. John and his carnivorous diet is chronic in the East: as early as the time of Tatian and the Eucratites the biblical text was subject to correction by the substitution of a diet of milk and honey for the offensive locusts. Even before Tatian's day, in Greek-speaking circles in Palestine, the locusts (ἀκρίδες) had been replaced by pancakes (ἐγκρίδες). Those who held to the milk and honey diet for the youthful saint, had to employ their imagination in a further direction, in order to explain how the necessary and constant milk supply was to be obtained in the desert. They settled it by sending St. Elizabeth into the desert with her son. Bar Ṣalibi tells us that this maternal function was discharged for a period of fifteen years, at the close of which time we may assume that Elizabeth died. Now

that our writer knows something of this tradition is clear—(i) from the fact that Elizabeth actually takes her son into the desert ; (ii) that he reduces the abnormal lactation to three years, which is not unusual in the East ; (iii) he has a special death in the desert for Elizabeth, over which he dilates as Browning might have done if he had known the story and been enamoured of the theme. For other and similar explanations of St. John and his locusts, the reader may refer to my book, *Ephrem and the Gospel*, pp. 17-19.

The Apocryphal expansions for which we have found the motive deserve a closer attention. Our writer oscillates between a carnivorous and a vegetable diet. First he will have the locusts, and then again he disowns them. We are told that 'the blessed John wandered in the desert with his mother, and *God prepared for him locusts and wild honey as food.* But after the death of his mother, when John was only seven years and six months old, the writer says that 'John lived in great asceticism and devotion. *His only food was grass and wild honey.*' Here is another solution of the problem how to keep St. John a vegetarian !

The next problem for the thoughtful mind was the question of the burial of the sainted mother by her seven-year-old child. The situation demanded celestial assistance, a theophany, an angelophany, as well as the aid which women render at such times to the departed. Our Lord appears on a cloud, accompanied by His mother and Salome, and with attendant angels and archangels. This cloud-flying motive was familiar to the Apocryphal mind. Not only had they Christ's promise that the Son of Man should be seen on the clouds of heaven, but the descent into Egypt had been explained by the language of the prophet that the Lord should mount on a white cloud and come into Egypt, where some said the white cloud was Mary. So there was no difficulty ; *adest Deus, adest Machina.* Jesus, at the age of seven years, orders the obsequies and makes appropriate predictions.

Really the desert which our writer describes was not a very formidable or distant affair. He combines it with the location of Ain Karim near Jerusalem, which could be reached in a very short space of time without an aeroplane ! The New Testament student will notice that our text interprets εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα in Luke i. 39, as being a town called Judah, for which the authorities may be consulted on one side or the other. Coming now to the somewhat diffusely

treated subject of the relations between the Baptist and the Herodian circle, we find ourselves in a folk-lore atmosphere with an independent development. It is commonly supposed that Herodias, when she had received the head of the Baptist, opened the mouth and pierced with her bodkin the reproving tongue. In our tale she proposes to cut out the tongue, place the eyes in a dish, and use his long hair to stuff her bolster. These incidents, threatened but not occurring, came back as curses are wont to do in biblical and semi-biblical tales, and attached themselves to the fortune of Herodias, whose house came down about her ears, and whose eyes left their sockets. Then the writer shows the motive of his tale. It was the head of the Baptist that had been insulted, and was now being avenged. And it was the head whose fate as a sacred relic he now proposed to tell : for he perhaps had it near him when he was preaching ; the people knew it was on hand ; it may even have been on exhibition for the day, as often happens on the great days of great saints.

Now the history of relics is the most difficult part of the science of hagiology. On one side it is a history of ecclesiastical lying, a long series of volumes running parallel to the history of the church itself. On the other side it is not to be denied that martyrs and holy men had bones, and that these bones have a permanence to which the body itself lays no claim, and which lends themselves to pious remembrance. Why should not some of them be genuine ? One reason, of course, is the tendency of the relic to multiply, to become ubiquitous. John the Baptist's head is a case in point. Our writer says it was preserved at Sebaste, which he wrongly identified with Nablus. It is still said to be there. But then it was also preserved in the great Mosque at Damascus, and again in the town of Homs (Emesa). Our writer says it was preserved for 400 years at Sebaste, and lay there in peace till the time of Julian the Apostate. Then in a time of the imperial rage against the Christians, the churches were desecrated, and men found in the church at Sebaste two coffins ; from the contents, which included shirts of camel's hair, it was inferred that these were the coffins of the Baptist and of Elisha, the one having been, by the design of providence for putting things side by side that belonged together, laid in adjacent tombs. So they gathered up the relics and secretly sent them to Alexandria. It does not positively say that the head was there. In fact it was a very elusive head, and had

been flying over the city of Jerusalem for many years and crying out its condemnation of King Herod and his lawless marriage. From which we may infer, if we please, that no one knows what really became of it. There are always various solutions for the history of a relic; but this does not mean that all relics are unhistorical: it would be more correct to say, with a suitable motion of the eyelid, that all of them cannot be historical; say, for example, all the eight-day clocks which are said to have come over in the *Mayflower*. But now we are spoiling our story by modern illustrations. It is historical to say that some relics supposed to be of the Baptist, were deposited by Bishop Serapion in the church consecrated to his memory in Alexandria at the end of the fourth century.

III.

Uncanonical Psalms.

The next contribution to the unedited Syriac literature consists of a group of Psalms, of no special intrinsic value, but not without interest if they illustrate to us the wide extent of the early hymnology, whether that of the Hebrew community as contained in the conventional Psalter and assigned to King David or imitated in the early Christian Church under the authorship of King Solomon and the title of his Odes. There is a literary bridge between the two collections in those Psalms of the Pharisees which were written a few years before the coming of our Lord, and are also dignified with a Solomonic authorship.

The most elementary criticism of the Psalter as the term is commonly used will show that it is an edited volume, made to order, and limited in its content to 150 songs. Even a child of the present age can see, what the prophets and kings of previous critical ages failed to apprehend, that it cannot be all of it Davidic in origin, and that perhaps none of it is his. It belongs to different ages, and is probably made up, like a modern hymn-book, out of previous handbooks of song, covering a period that reached nearly to the Christian era. The mere fact of its numerical limitation is sufficient to show that it is miscellaneous in character, and contains, in consequence, like all hymn-books, many things which ought to have been left out, and by inference that it has left out a good many things that ought to have been put in.

That simple statement sets the watchman in Oriental lore on the look-out for appendices to the Psalter, and for a more varied authorship than that of David. Indeed, as is well known, the Psalter does not profess to be wholly Davidic, even if it be heavily Davidized. There are other suggestions of individual singers and groups of singers which can hardly be neglected. Perhaps it was that learned group of translators and higher critics, whom we call by the name of the Septuagint, who first speculated on the situation which provoked the Hebrew Psalms, and searched the story of David, in order to make him sing the right thing at the right time. There were musical critics, too, as we can see from the head-lines in Moffatt's translation, to tell us what kind of instruments and what range of voices were proper for any special chant. Good fellows, no doubt, who did not object to using a hymn-book ascribed to the sons of Korah, because Korah had disappeared, so they said, in a theologically accentuated earthquake. But these modifications as to authorship and musical treatment left the popular opinion unchanged ; David wrote them, the words expressed his thought and the tunes answered to his harp.

As a Greek MS. expresses it, which I once saw in Jerusalem :

" David sat on the tower which is named after him in Jerusalem, and elegantly composed his Psalms."

A burdensome belief ! but then the Psalter itself is a burdensome legacy, from which both the Christian Church and individual believers have suffered much, and from whose dominance the Christian Church is slowly beginning to shake itself loose. The observation which we made as to the over-Davidized head-lines, shows that premature criticism leads to theological disaster ; take, for instance, the 110th Psalm, to whose Davidic authorship Jesus found himself committed, which becomes the basis for the Session at the Right Hand of the Father, and the priesthood after the order of Melchizedek !

Our reason for referring to these matters lies in the little collection which is here published : the first Psalm in the group is not new : it is sometimes printed as an Appendix to the Psalter, and is known as the 151st. The reason for it is obvious. Among all the odd situations for Davidic psalmody which the earlier collectors imagined and which the Septuagint has conserved, there was nothing in the form of a triumphal ode over Goliath. There was a song written when the Ziphites told Saul that David was in hiding among them, another when

Joab had defeated 12,000 Edomites in the Valley of Salt, while the lovely 34th Psalm is said to be the work of David when he escaped arrest by pretending to be mad; but no word about Goliath! The Sunday schools of that day must have resented the omission! Apparently it was a Greek hand that rectified it and put it as an Appendix to the completed collection. Not that it is ever going to be said or sung. It isn't deep enough for that. Its main purpose is to rectify an omission, which it does awkwardly enough. We do not think it has a Hebrew original; probably it passed from Greek into Syriac, as we have it before us. In the West it does not seem to have had much acceptance, but it may interest some persons of antiquarian taste to know that, in the last century, it was rendered into Lowland Scottish by Dr. Hately Waddell.

PREFACES, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS.

BY A. MINGANA.

(*i*) *A Jeremiah Apocryphon.*

PREFATORY NOTE.

IN the following pages I give the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of a rather strange work purporting to contain the history of the events that preceded and followed the deportation of the Jews to Babylon. I have followed in my edition two manuscripts: Paris 65[1] and Mingana Syr. 240, in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, designated hereafter by the letters P. and M. respectively. P. is dated 1905 of the Greeks (A.D. 1594), and M. has lost its colophon, but on palæographical grounds may be ascribed to about A.D. 1650. The former was written at Ḥamāt, and the latter was recently acquired by me in Kurdistan. No attention has been paid to Paris 238,[2] 273,[3] and 276,[4] because all the above MSS. seem to contain only two different recensions of the story, and Paris 65 and Mingana Syr. 240 offer the best specimen of each recension.

From footnotes that I have added to the following pages the reader will conclude that I believe that P. which is now in Garshūni was transcribed from a MS. written in Arabic characters and executed in Egypt. The same, however, could not be said of M. This fact induces us to suppose that the two recensions of the story referred to above may provisionally be divided into an Egyptian recension and a Syrian, Palestinian, or Mesopotamian recension. The discrepancies and verbal differences which characterise the two recensions are profound and unmistakeable.

I first tried to establish from all the above MSS. a good text for the body of the story and relegate the numerous variants to the foot-

[1] P. 32 in Zotenberg's catalogue.

[2] P. 191 in Zotenberg's catalogue. (The MS. is dated 1785 of the Greeks (A.D. 1474).)

[3] P. 212 in Zotenberg's catalogue. (The MS. is of the sixteenth century.)

[4] P. 214 in Zotenberg's catalogue. (The MS. is of the seventeenth century.)

notes, but in the course of my transcription I discovered that the plan was impracticable, and I was driven to the conclusion that the best method to give an adequate idea of each recension would be to edit separately all the text of its best specimen, and this is the reason why the reader finds for his guidance in the present work a complete set of facsimiles of all P. and of all M. The same difficulty presented itself to me in the translation. To note all the variants of each recension seemed to me to be cumbersome and useless, so I confined myself to refer in short notes only to the most important variants exhibited by the two MSS. In a few cases the translation represents a combination of both P. and M. and the purely verbal discrepancies and still more the orthographical variants have been completely ignored.

The Arabic used in the story is grammatically and lexicographically more correct than that used in the "Exhortation to Priesthood" which I edited and translated on pp. 97-120, but it is still much below the standard of what a good piece of classic Arabic should be.[1] If it comes to be established that the Arabic text is a translation from a foreign language—an opinion to which I cannot subscribe—I might be tempted to assert that the story was originally written in Greek, from which it was translated into Syriac, and that the Syriac gave rise to the recension represented by M. As to the recension represented by P. it was possibly translated either direct from Greek or more probably from a Coptic intermediary, before it came under the influence of the Syrian copyists. I was not aware till very late that P. had been transcribed in Arabic characters and translated in *R.O.C.* 1910, pp. 255-266, 398-404, and 1911, pp. 128-143. The MS. has lost nothing, however, by a more critical edition.

The story itself appears to me to emanate from a man who lived either in Egypt or in Western (not Eastern) Palestine.

Translation.

We will write concerning[2] the deportation of the Children of Israel to Babylon at the hand of the King Nebuchadnezzar in the days of the prophet Jeremiah.[3]

[1] Only the most important mistakes have been corrected in the footnotes.

[2] P.: "In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, one God, we will begin by the assistance of God and His help to narrate the history of . . ."

[3] P. adds: "May his prayer protect us and you. Amen."

And the word of God came to the prophet Jeremiah saying :[1] "Say to the King Zedekiah and to the people of the Children of Israel, 'Why do you add sins to your sins,[2] and iniquity to your iniquity? My eye has seen your deeds, and my ear has heard your sayings. If you had fasted, I would have been merciful to you ; and if you had prayed, I would have listened to you, says the Lord Omnipotent. You have not fasted to me, nor have you stretched your hands towards me, but you have fasted to Baal and prayed to Zeus, and you have forgotten the Lord God of Abraham and said, 'Who is the God of Israel?' You have been unmindful of all my goodness to you when I took you out of the land of Egypt, delivered you from the servitude of Pharaoh,[3] and smote the inhabitants of Egypt with plagues. I cared for you like a tender mother[4] cares for her[5] virgin daughters until she delivers them up to the bridegroom, in order that no harm may befall you in all your ways.

"I have glorified you above all nations, and have called you my people, O Children of Israel. I have brought you out of a wilderness full of scorpions and vipers, and made you dwell in the desert forty years while your dresses did not wear out, your shoes were not torn up, and the hair of your heads did not grow up, and in all that length of time your clothing did not show any dirt on it. I gave you the bread of angels from heaven, while a column of light shone upon you by night, and a cloud protected you by day. I guarded you with my right hand and my holy arm, and delivered you from the hands of your enemies and made you possess that for which you had not toiled. I took you out of the depth of the sea, and you beheld your enemies behind you standing by the sea like statues. I sent down angels from heaven to assist you in crossing the middle of the sea, and drowned the chariots of Pharaoh in its depth[6] with promptitude. I ordered the abysses to cover them, and made you enter a land for which you had not toiled, a land that flows with milk and honey, and put your fear in the hearts (of your enemies).

"After all these things which I did for you, you have forgotten my name and said, 'There is no God but Baal and Zeus.' You

[1] Note the Biblical parallelism of the following lines.
[2] Read : *tazīdūna* in M. and *dhunūban* in P.
[3] P. omits the proper name.
[4] P. omits "mother."
[5] P. "her sons and her . . ."
[6] See Exodus, XV, 1 *sqq.*

have returned to me evil for good, forsaken me, offered sacrifices to Baal, and immolated your sons and daughters to Zeus. You have turned away from me, all of you, old and young, and have committed injustices against one another. The seed of adultery has appeared in your midst, and there is no just judge among you. If you persist in these deeds, says the Lord, I will inflict calamities on you and cause my wrath to flow like a flowing river which does not turn back. Your young men will die smitten with the sword, and your old men of hunger and thirst; your children will be deported while you look at them, and your great city will be destroyed. Your land shall become a deserted waste, because I lost patience with you, says the Lord Omnipotent. I bore with you so that perchance you may repent and return to me, and I return to you. But now I have turned my face away from you.[1]

"While you were doing my will and were calling me, 'O Lord, O Lord,' I was listening to you with promptitude; but now were you to cry to me I would not answer you and say, 'Here I am,' nor would I send down to you dew in time and rain in season. In the days when you were obedient to me, all the nations were trembling before you. Each one of you used to chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight,[2] and my angels preceded you anywhere you halted. But when you offended me, all the earth turned against you; and the sun and the moon mourned[3] over you because they beheld your prevarication, your worship of idols, and all the iniquity which is within you, and which you perpetrated before the idol of Zeus.[4] You kindled my wrath and did not return to me, says the Lord Omnipotent, God of Israel.'"

The prophet Jeremiah rose up then and went to King Zedekiah. He saw him sitting in the Sun-Gate,[5] and with him was a company of false prophets, who were prophesying falsely to him. When King Zedekiah saw the prophet Jeremiah, he stood up before him and received him and said to him: "O seer, hast thou the word of God in thy mouth[6] in these days?" And Jeremiah the prophet said to him: "Here is the word;" and he narrated to him the word of

[1] About a third of a page is here torn in M.
[2] Deut. xxxii. 30.
[3] Syr. *akhri.*
[4] P. omits the sentence which deals with Zeus.
[5] A proper name of a gate dedicated to the deity *Shemesh* "sun."
[6] P. omits "mouth."

God before all the people. When the king heard the words of the prophet Jeremiah he waxed very angry, and asked the people and the false prophets who were round him whether that young man was mad.[1] And Hananiah,[2] the liar, rose up, put on his head horns of iron,[3] and began to speak and say, 'This is what the Lord God says: "Thou, O king, shalt triumph over thy enemies and over these"—and he made a sign to north, south, east, and west—and proceeded thus: "No one will be able to contradict thee, O king, nor dwell in the land." And there was then no word of God in the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah.

When the king heard these words from Hananiah, the liar and the deceiver, in the presence of all the false prophets his companions, he said to those of his servants that were present: "Take this Jeremiah and cast him into the dungeon, in the lowest pit, which is full of mire,[4] in order that he may die; no other food should be given to him apart from a little bread and water in order that we may know whether the word of God is with him or not." Then they threw forthwith Jeremiah in the place which the king had designated.

When Abimelech,[5] a servant in constant attendance on the king, heard that King Zedekiah had thrown Jeremiah into prison, he rose up and inquired after the place where King Zedekiah was staying, and went to him. When the king saw the servant approaching him, he said to him: "Be welcome, O faithful servant; thou hast come to-day to us; what is thy request?" And the servant said to him: "O king what has the prophet Jeremiah done, that you should have acted with him in this way? Do you not fear God, O king, in casting the prophet of the Lord into prison and in extinguishing the lamp of Israel which shone on the people of God?" Then King Zedekiah said to him: "Thou hast done well in reminding me to-day of him, O Ephti,[6] take some men with thee, and go and take him out of prison."

[1] Or: possessed by evil spirits.

[2] P.: Hanina. See Jer. xxviii. 1-17.

[3] Cf. 1 Kings xxii. 11.

[4] See Jer. xxxviii. 6.

[5] P.: *Ephtimelech* throughout. He is evidently the same personage as the one called Ebedmelech (Jer. xxxviii. 7), an Ethiopian eunuch in the king's house. The name given in P. seems to be of Coptic origin and emanates from a MS. the archetype of which was written in Egypt.

[6] The first half of the name of *Ephtimelech*, the reading of P. M. does not mention any name in this sentence.

Then Abimelech took with him men, old rags, and strong ropes,[1] and repaired to the prison in which Jeremiah was lying; he threw to him the old rags, and let down to him the strong ropes and said: "Attach these to your armholes so that we may draw you up." He did as he was told, and they drew him out of prison and gave him his freedom.

Then the Lord said to the prophet Jeremiah: "O you whom I have elected and honoured, arise and go for the second time to Zedekiah and say to him, 'Thus says the Lord God of Israel, "How long will you irritate my spirit, shed innocent blood, cause pregnant women to miscarry, and take the fruit of their wombs and burn it with fire before the statue of Baal. The blood of those whom you have unjustly killed cried towards the throne of my glory, and the cry of the unjustly treated went up to the gates of heaven. Why have you trodden in the path of Manasseh and forsaken the ways of David, your father? If you persist before me in these deeds, I will bring down my wrath and anger on you, and strip you of your glory; I will overthrow your throne and give your kingdom to your enemy who will put out your eyes and place them in your hands, and slay your two children and place one at your right hand and the other at your left; and put a chain round your neck like a dog. In this way you will be deported into Babylon, tied to the chariot of the king Nebuchadnezzar,[2] and you will die there while driving the mule that pulls the stone of the flour-mill.[3] This great people will also be led into captivity with you, and Jerusalem[4] will be destroyed to its foundations, because you have dishonoured my name by your worship of foreign gods and have broken my covenant which I made with your fathers."' All these words utter you before the elders[5] of the children of Israel."

[1] See Jer. xxxviii. 11. P. reads *mawākīt* and M. *ḳawāmīṭ*.

[2] Cf. 2 Kings xxv. 6-7; Jer. xxxix. 4-7.

[3] In early times (and occasionally also in the present day) the stone that ground the corn in a flour-mill was tied to a chain pulled by a horse or a mule.

[4] Curiously enough the name of Jerusalem is generally written in P. with a *yodh* at the beginning, in the Hebrew fashion, instead of an *Alaph*, in the Arabic and Syriac fashion. This also denotes a Coptic origin to the archetype from which P. emanates.

[5] M.: nobles, princes (as in the Bible).

The prophet Jeremiah then said: "No, my Lord and my God, Lord of mercy and creator of the universe; no, O Lord, do not send me to King Zedekiah, because he is a man who hates Thy pious ones, and he will wax angry if I mention Thy name before him, and his anger will be brought to the highest pitch if I mention the name of Thy saints who have been slain and of Thy holy ones who have been stoned. He has further sought my destruction, and if I go back to him he will throw me in the pool of mire, in the lowest dungeon, and I shall die there." The Lord said then to the prophet Jeremiah: "Rise up and go to him. It is I who send you in my name, and be not afraid."

Then the prophet Jeremiah rose up and went to King Zedekiah and to the people of the children of Israel. He had an audience with the king, and he related to him all the words of God. King Zedekiah became exceedingly angry, and ordered the prophet Jeremiah to be thrown for the second time in the lowest cistern, the cistern of mire. When Abimelech heard of the imprisonment of the prophet Jeremiah, he went to King Zedekiah and saved him like the first time[1] and set him free.

Then the word of God came for the third time to the prophet Jeremiah saying: "O Jeremiah whom I have elected, arise and go to King Zedekiah and utter to him the words of the Lord, God of Israel." Then the prophet Jeremiah fell down before the Lord, lifted his hands to Him, worshipped before Him and said to Him: "No, my Lord, do not send me to King Zedekiah, because if I mention to him Thy holy name he will wax angry and kill me." Then the Lord ordered the prophet Jeremiah to write down in a book all that was revealed to him and deliver it to his disciple Baruch,[2] to bring to King Zedekiah. The prophet Jeremiah did what God ordered him to do, and he wrote a letter and sent it to King Zedekiah with his disciple Baruch and ordered him to read it before him and before the company of the children of Israel. And Baruch went to the palace

[1] P. adds: "and the second time." M. omits it.

[2] P. writes the name as *Yārūth* throughout with a *yā* (instead of a *bā*) at the beginning. This could have happened only in case the Paris MS. which is now written in Garshuni was emanating from an original which was written in Arabic characters, because it is in Arabic characters only that the letters *bā'* and *ya'* have graphically the same form and are only distinguished by a small dot which is generally omitted in old MSS.

of the king whom he saw sitting with his boon-companions. He stood before him with the letter in his hand, and uttered the words of God. When the king heard the speech of the disciple Baruch he became exceedingly angry, took the letter from him, and burned it with fire that he made there before all the children of Israel. He also ordered at once Baruch, the disciple of the prophet Jeremiah, to be flogged—and he was cruelly lashed[1]—and asked him where (his master) lived. The disciple told the king his master's whereabouts, and the king ordered that he should be brought before him bound with chains and fetters.

The servants went out to look for him and they found him in a sepulchral crypt braiding fresh twigs and leaves.[2] They seized him forthwith and did with him what the king had ordered them to do, and they presented him to King Zedekiah.[3] When he stood before the king, Satan filled the latter's heart and he began to gnash his teeth at him and said to him: "I will shed your blood and pour it in the plate from which I eat, I will deliver your flesh to the birds of heaven and your bones to the carnivores of the earth, for the written words that your disciple uttered before me. What is between me and you, O Jeremiah, that you should prophesy falsely[4] against me and against my kingdom and say, 'Your kingdom shall be taken from you and your throne shall be overthrown, and the people shall be deported and Jerusalem shall be destroyed to its foundations?' I swear to you by the great gods Baal and Zeus that I shall torment you with a grievous torment, and not finish you off quickly, but shall cast you into the lowest pit of the prison, and see whether your words will apply to me truly or not."

The king ordered him to be tied hands and feet with iron and thrown into the pit which he had named; he further ordered that no bread and water should be given to him, in order that he may die of hunger and thirst. The prophet Jeremiah turned then towards the king and said to him before the people of the children of Israel: "May God judge between thee and me, O King Zedekiah; I have prophesied for many years on behalf of the Lord, and no lie has ever come out of my mouth,[5] and thou art throwing me for the third time

[1] P. omits.
[2] For basket making.
[3] M. omits the last two sentences.
[4] M. omits the adverb.
[5] Read *fīya* for *fāya* in P.

in prison, in the lowest pit, wishing me to die there. Thou hast confidence in the false prophets who prophesy to thee falsely. This being the case listen to the words of God which are in my mouth :[1]

"Thou hast angered me with thy iniquitous deeds,[2] and I shall turn my face away from thee and from the people of the children of Israel. I shall kindle my wrath and anger against this land, and the king of the Chaldeans shall come with men as numerous as locusts, and shall dismantle to its foundations the rampart[3] of the city of Jerusalem and fix his throne in its midst. And thou, O King Zedekiah, when thou seest these things with thy eyes, pangs of travail will take possession of thee like a woman who[4] gives birth to a child. Thou shalt extend on thy bed and cover thy face with thy mantle as with a shroud, and thy servants will carry thee on their necks like a corpse and run with thee towards the Jordan in order that they may cross it and save thee. God then will move the hearts of the servants of Nebuchadnezzar, who will seek thee in thy bed-chamber and not find thee, and they will follow thee and overtake thee on the river Karmlis[5] ; they will throw thee on the ground, uncover thy face, and strip thee of thy mantle, and present thee to Nebuchadnezzar, the king of the Chaldeans, and thou shalt see his eyes with thy eyes, and thy mouth shall speak with his mouth. He will put a chain round thy neck like a dog, bring thy two sons to thy presence, and slay one at thy right hand and the other at thy left. He will put out thy eyes and place them in thy hands, and carry thee with him to the countries of Babylon, tied to his chariot, with mud, mire[6] and ashes on thy head. Thou shalt eat bread, weeping and sighing, and shalt drink water with grief and hardship, and shalt die there while driving the mule that pulls the stone of the flour-mill."

When Jeremiah finished these words he was seized by the servants to do with him what King Zedekiah had ordered. And the prophet

[1] Read *jiya* for *fāya* in P.

[2] Change the first *yā'* into a *rā'*. The correct form should have been *ar-radiyah*. M. has the incorrect *al-ayādi*.

[3] Read *sūr* in M.

[4] Read *al-lati*.

[5] Written as "*Karlis*" in M. The word seems to be of Greek origin. It is somewhat strange that the Jordan should be referred to in the document by this uncommon word. Zedekiah was of course overtaken in the plain of Jericho.

[6] P. wrongly "mud."

Jeremiah said to the servants of Zedekiah: "Have a little patience with me until I finish the words of God which are in my mouth." And King Zedekiah said: "Leave him until he utters all that he has to say." While the prophet Jeremiah was left alone he turned to all the people standing before the king and said: "Listen to what the Lord Omnipotent says: 'I protected your fathers[1] when I took them out of the land of Egypt, but because you have forgotten the great goodness I did to your fathers in the desert, you shall be requited with a much greater evil. When I took your fathers out of the land of Egypt, and they dwelt forty years in the desert, their dresses did not wear out, their shoes were not torn up, and the hair of their heads did not grow. You, however, shall be deported and shall be in the way to your destination[2] only a month and your dresses shall wear out and become like old skins; they shall tear up, and you shall sew them with cords made of palm-tree fibres, of alfa, and palm-tree leaves. The hair of your heads shall come down to your shoulders like the hair of women, and instead of the column of light which shone upon your fathers[3] day and night and went before them in their way, you shall be deported and walk in the heat of the sun and the cold of the night, and you shall experience the most intense heat of the summer and severe cold of the winter. I shall order the moon and the stars which[4] shine at night not to shed their light on you, in order that you may be in darkness. You shall crawl on your hands in groping your way, and shall stumble on one another with vehemence, intense pains, and bitter weeping.

"You shall hunger after bread, and thirst after water, and you shall sigh and say, 'Thou art just, O Lord, and Thou hast done everything with wisdom; Thou hast acted towards us according to our merits.'[5] Instead of the manna and the quails which God sent to your fathers, and the sweet water which He caused to jet forth for them from the rock, there shall descend on you[6] from heaven, earth, dust, and a fiery wind that will cling to your bodies and inflict on them sores, wounds, and blisters that do not heal. I shall render your drinking water brackish and bitter in your mouths, in order to

[1] Read *abā'akum*.
[2] Read *taskunūn* in P., and put the particle *lam* before the verb.
[3] Read *abā'ikum* in P.
[4] Read *-al-lati tudī'u*.
[5] Lit. as we acted.
[6] Read *'alaikum* in P.

desiccate your bodies and dry up your bones. Instead of the light of the sun that (God) caused to shine on your fathers, you shall have lice and vermin to consume your bodies. You shall remain seventy years in the captivity and servitude of the Chaldeans until the Lord turns His wrath away from you."

When the prophet Jeremiah finished all these words to King Zedekiah and to the elders and princes of the people who were surrounding him, they cried one and all, saying, 'Long live thou King Zedekiah.' The king then ordered the prophet to be cast into the dungeon, in the place where the cistern of mire was found. The description of this dungeon is that people walked three hours underground in the dark until they reached it; its sides were as thin as a glass bowl; no one was able to stand in that place, except on the joint of his knees; it was full of mire and pitch which reached the armpits[1] of a man. And the prophet Jeremiah remained in that place for several days in great pains.

When Abimelech, the servant[2] of the king heard the story of the prophet Jeremiah, he visited him every day, by giving a denarius to the gaoler in order to let him enter, and gave the prophet Jeremiah bread and water, and then returned to his master.[3] He did this for twenty-one days, after which he went to King Zedekiah and said to him: "I felt the necessity of presenting myself before you for the sake of the prophet Jeremiah. Was it not sufficient for you,[4] O king, to imprison the prophet of God a first time and a second time, that you should have thrown him a third time into prison? You have extinguished the lamp of the children of Israel, which was shedding light on the people of God; and he did not speak before thee except what God had revealed to him." Then the king said to him, "O Abimelech, you have done well in reminding me of him to-day; rise up, go and take men with thee and draw him out of the dungeon, and place him in a house until we ascertain if his words are true or not, and test the truth of his sayings."[5]

[1] M.: the hands. [2] P.: the boon-companion.

[3] P. And parts of the fruits of which his master had eaten.

[4] The verb *akna'a* "to persuade" is used here for *kafa* "to be sufficient," and this induces us to suppose that the original from which the Arabic version is derived was Greek. The particle of the interrogative *alam* is missing in P. but is found in M.

[5] The above sentences are often differently worded in the MSS.

Abimelech went then immediately and took with him two[1] servants from the palace of the king, and drew up the prophet Jeremiah from the dungeon, after he had spent there twenty-one days, and placed him in a house of peace and rest. Then the prophet Jeremiah said to Abimelech:[2] "Blessed be thou, O my child Abimelech, because thou hadst pity on me in the time of my trials. Thus says the Lord Omnipotent, 'He who does good to those in trouble, or in prison, and to the poor, God will remember him with His grace, and with His help and assistance.[3] Thou shalt not see the destruction of Jerusalem, O my child, and thou shalt not go to the hardship of the captivity; thou shalt not die, but shalt live until the Lord turns away His wrath. The sun shall nurture thee and the firmament shall rear thee, and the earth on which thou shalt sleep shall give thee rest, and the stone shall protect thee from the cold of the winter and the heat of the summer, and thy soul shall be in joy and pleasure for seventy years until thou seest Jerusalem in its glory and rebuilt as it was before."

After this King Zedekiah returned to sin before the Lord, and he entered the house of the Lord and took out the two columns of marble which gave light in it without a lamp and placed them in the temple[4] before the statues of Baal and Zeus, and he carried the precious and holy plates[5] to the place where he used to sit and drink with his concubines. He pulled down the altar on which sacrifices were offered, and he made it a table to himself in the temple[6] which belongs to Baal and Zeus. He brought out also the ark of the covenant, and out of the gold of the candle-stick[7] he made a crown which he placed on the head of the idol. He ordered that oxen should be offered to Baal the idol, and summoned the pregnant women in travail and commanded that their offspring should be taken out of their wombs and sacrificed on the fire to Baal and Zeus. He also ordered that all children from two years old and under[8] should

[1] P. omits "two."

[2] Curiously enough P. also has here "Abimelech."

[3] M. omits the last sentence.

[4] M. says: "he brought them to the house in which were the idols Baal and Zeus."

[5] Read the word with a *ṣād* instead of a *sīn* in P.

[6] Sic. P., but M. again as above.

[7] P. *manẓarah* and M. better *manārah*.

[8] See Matt. ii. 16.

likewise be sacrificed and their blood taken and offered to Baal and Zeus.[1]

In that very day the earth shook and its (four) points quaked, and the Lord thundered from heaven and his wrath spread over all the earth, and He ordered the angel of anger to come down to it with fury, and had it not been for the intervention of the angels and the holy ones who knelt down before the Lord and besought Him to turn away His wrath from His people, all would have perished. The Lord perceived the odour of their sighing and their holy lamentations,[2] had mercy upon the people of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and removed His wrath and did not destroy them.[3]

And the word of God came to the prophet Jeremiah, saying, 'Jeremiah, Jeremiah,' and he answered, 'Here I am, O Lord.' And the Lord said to him: "I have sworn that I shall not remove my wrath, and I say to you that I shall not do anything before I have told it to you. Were it not for your prayers that[4] have surrounded Jerusalem none of its inhabitants would have been alive, and I would have destroyed it to its foundations, because my eyes are covered with tears over the innocent blood of the children that has been shed; they cry and say, 'Avenge our blood.'[5] Lo, concerning this people among whom you live examine the three following punishments: do you wish me to order Satanael,[6] the angel of wrath, to destroy them and exterminate them from their young ones to their adults, with their old men and young men? Or do you wish me to inflict famine on them and to command heaven which is above them to become brass and the earth which is below them to become iron, so that no dew may fall from heaven and no fruits should come from the earth; and I shall destroy all the trees and annihilate their storehouses that are full so that they may eat one another and fall in the streets of the city

[1] M. omits Zeus.
[2] Read *taṣā'udāt* in P.
[3] M. omits all the last sentence.
[4] Read *al-lati*.
[5] The meaning of the sentence is literally in P. as follows: "He who is a sinner let us sin" (sic). It is altogether missing in M. and P. adds further: "And who went down to hell that we may know that there is in it grievous torment?"
[6] About Satanael see the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch* in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseud.* ii. 439 and passim, and the Ethiopic *Le livre des Mystères* in *Pat. Or.* i. 73. See also Severus ibn al-muḳaffa', *Refutation* in *Pat. Or.* iii. 132-133.

from hunger and thirst? Or do you wish me to allow Nebuchadnezzar who is King of Babylon to subdue them and lord it over them for seventy years, and they be slaves of the Chaldeans to the point of destruction, in order that they may know that I am the God who hold their spirits in my hands?"

When the prophet Jeremiah heard these words from the Lord, he fell down in worship on his face before Him and wept and said: "O God of all mercy; Thou art the God of gods and Creator of the universe. Look, O Lord, upon the children of Thy servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to whom Thou sworest that their seed shall be like the stars of heaven;[1] no, O Lord, do not destroy them one and all, and let not the angel Satanael come down on them because he will not leave a single one of them. Where is[2] the oath that Thou sworest to our father Abraham, Thy beloved, in saying to Him, 'Thy seed shall not cease under heaven,' and if Thou sendest against them famine and dearth, and Thou restrainest heaven from sending down its dew, and the earth from yielding its fruit, the children of Thy servants will perish from the surface of the earth, and where shall be the covenant that Thou gavest to Thy servant Israel in saying to him, 'Thy children shall remain for ever and ever.' And do not be angry, O Lord, because of the ill-treatment that I receive at the hands of Thy servants:[3] Thy people who sinned against Thee. If Thou orderest for them, O Lord, a deportation by Nebuchadnezzar and a captivity to Babylon, verily a father chastises his sons and a master his servants."

Then the Lord summoned forthwith the angel Michael, the head of the angels, and said to him: "Arise and go to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and say to him: 'Go to Judea, to the city of Jerusalem, and spread thy hand and the hand of the Chaldeans who are with thee over its land, and bring into captivity all the inhabitants of the land of Israel, lord it over them, and take them to the land of the Chaldeans, and enslave them there for seventy years. Their adults shall do brickwork and clay work, and their old men shall hew wood and draw water, and their women shall spin and weave

[1] Gen. xxii. 17.

[2] A word is missing at the beginning of the sentence in P.

[3] Lit. "because of the affair that I have with Thy servants." Further, P. exhibits: "Do not be angry *with me*."

wool, and they shall show thee their work every day, and thou shalt make accounts with them as if they were slaves. Act, however, with mercy and justice towards them, because (in the end) I shall have pity upon them.'"

Michael worshipped then the Lord immediately and went in haste to Babylon, which he reached in that very night. He nudged Nebuchadnezzar the king in the right side and said to him: "O Nebuchadnezzar, arise quickly so that I may speak with you." When Nebuchadnezzar awoke from his sleep and saw the angel of God with shining eyes like the star of the morning, with a spear in his hand, with loins girded with a sword, with feet covered with hot polished[1] brass, and with a terrifying speech, he said to him: "Woe is me, O my master, because in no time have I seen the like of you. Are you not one of the gods of Babylon?[2] Or perchance are you the God who spread heaven and established the earth, and fashioned every thing?" And the angel answered him saying: "I am not God, but His servant. I am one of the seven angels[3] who stand before the throne of the Lord God, and here is what the Lord God says, 'Arise with all your might and with the Chaldeans, and spread your hand over all the land of Judea and deport its inhabitants and bring them to the land of Babylon. And they shall be slaves to you: their adults shall work at clay and bricks, and their old men shall hew wood and draw water, and their women shall spin and weave wool, and they shall bring in their work every day like slaves, and you shall settle their accounts, but show mercy towards them. I have delivered them to you for punishment, and after that I shall have pity on them for ever and ever.'"[4]

And Nebuchadnezzar said to the angel Michael: "Woe is me, O my master, the Lord has perchance waxed angry with me because of the great number of my sins, and He wishes me to go to foreign lands in order to destroy my life in them; do destroy me with your hand; this would be more advantageous for me than that I and all who are with me should die in a foreign land. Who is the king of Babylon, and who is Nebuchadnezzar before the people of God the

[1] P.: hot. Read *maṣḳūl* in M. [2] M.: which god are you?
[3] See about the seven angels the *Book of Enoch* in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseud.* ii. 201.
[4] M. omits "for ever."

Most High? And who am I that I should go to Jerusalem and fight the people of God? Is it not the people whom Pharaoh fought, and God drowned him in the abysses, and water covered him? Is it not the people whom the Amorites[1] fought, and they all perished? In this way five nations were destroyed before them.[2] Who am I then, O Lord, that I should fight a just people and conquer it, a people who when they go to war do not take with them any material of war, but, if they stretch out their hands, angels help them from heaven and fight on their behalf?[3]

And the angel Michael said to Nebuchadnezzar: "Every thing you said is true. Every people[4] who keep the commandments of God, no one[5] is able to overcome them; but if they forsake His commandments and His law, He delivers them into the hands of their enemies, and they perish at their hands. Now, this people have sinned, prevaricated, and increased their iniquity;[6] arise thou, then, and destroy them that they may know that God is the only one that lasts for ever and ever." When the angel Michael finished his words to Nebuchadnezzar, he stretched his hand, anointed him, and fortified him against the (Jewish) people, and went up to heaven.

After the angel Michael had gone, Nebuchadnezzar arose and went to his wife Hilkiah[7] whom he awakened from her sleep. He narrated to her all that the angel had told him. When she heard those words from him she was greatly perplexed[8] and fell down[9] weeping, and said to Nebuchadnezzar: "Woe is me, my lord, and my brother; take me with thee wherever[10] thou goest,[11] because I shall not see thee another time. Who is the king who fought this people and was saved? Dost thou not know that this is the people of God, and that everything that they ask from God they obtain it forthwith?"[12] And Nebuchadnezzar said to her: "It is their God

[1] Read *Amorāniun.*
[2] M. omits all this sentence.
[3] It is surprising how quickly Nebuchadnezzar became versed in the Jewish history and in the knowledge of the true God.
[4] Read *sha'bin* in P.
[5] Read *aḥadun* in P.
[6] The last two verbs are not found in M.
[7] In M. *Helkenah.*
[8] Read *iḍṭarabat* in P.
[9] P. wrongly "went out."
[10] P. "when."
[11] Read *tadhhab* in P.
[12] The knowledge of the Queen Helkenah or Hilkiah concerning the Jewish people is as accurate and perplexing as that of her husband!

that has delivered them up to me." And she said to him: "O my lord, listen attentively to what I am going to say to thee: if thou goest to fight them, take with thee a ram, and when thou art near the city of Judea alight from thy chariot, lay the sceptre of gold[1] that is in thy hand on the head of the ram and let it go;[2] if it take the direction of Judea,[3] follow it, and know that the Lord has delivered them up to thee; but if the ram does not proceed forward to Judea but turns its face[4] towards Babylon, return thou with it and fight not the people of God; if you are like the number of the sand of the sea not a single soul will return alive with thee."

When the wife said these words to the king, he accepted them from her, and he rose forthwith and summoned his generals Cyrus and Isarus,[5] and narrated to them all that God had promised him through His angel. And they said to the king: "May you live for ever! It is their God that is angry with them. This people has sinned; send therefore at once a messenger to Zedekiah, king of Jerusalem, to convey to him words of conciliation, and despatch gifts with him, and make inquiries whether his people have worshipped foreign gods and forsaken the words of the Lord, and whether they have refused (to listen to) the prophets who were with them and who interceded with the Lord on their behalf. If not, do not proceed to their land, as He has destroyed others who fought them, and fire will come down on us from heaven and consume us along with our land."[6]

These words pleased King Nebuchadnezzar, who sent forthwith a messenger[7] from his generals, accompanied by a thousand horsemen, and he wrote with him a letter to King Zedekiah, and despatched gifts to him: a great quantity of carmine, gold, and frankincense.[8] The general departed then for Jerusalem with his party. When he reached it, King Zedekiah was informed that the messenger of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had arrived. He at once went out to meet him, surrounded by the women of the children of Israel dancing before their king. Then King Zedekiah dismounted and received the general of the king (of Babylon) and accepted the gifts

[1] P. omits "of gold."
[2] M. omits "let it go."
[3] P. "the holy city."
[4] Read *biwajhihi* in P.
[5] M. Sharus.
[6] A leaf is here missing in M.
[7] Read *rasūlan*.
[8] Compare the two last named gifts with Matt. ii. 11.

from him. He took the gold and of it he made a crown which he placed on the head of the idol; as to the frankincense he burnt it before Baal and Zeus. He was also pleased with the letter of the King Nebuchadnezzar, and he wrote to him to Babylon an answer to his letter in the following terms:

> "Zedekiah, King of Judea, writes to Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, thus: 'Peace be with you. This peace exists between you and me. My gods are your gods, and your gods are my gods.'"

He sealed the letter, handed it to the general, and despatched with him gems and precious stones. When the priests of Baal, the idol, heard[1] (this) they said to the king: "Where is Jeremiah who said, 'The king of Babylon shall come and take possession of this land?'"

A few days later the general reached Babylon with the thousand horsemen who were with him, and handed to Nebuchadnezzar the answer to his letter. When the king understood its meaning perfectly he roared like a lion and neighed like the horse which pulls the wheel, and said to Cyrus and his retinue: "Prepare at once your horses, the troops and the soldiers."

And Nebuchadnezzar went forth in those days and with him were all the Chaldeans to the number of six hundred thousand horsemen and six hundred thousand chariots, and on each chariot were sixteen horsemen, in all six thousand thousand thousand, and six hundred thousand,[2] with spears, weapons, and leather shields, and they marched on the right hand of the king and on his left, until they reached the partition of the roads between Babylon and Jerusalem. There Nebuchadnezzar alighted from his chariot, stripped himself of the royal robe, removed the crown from his head, brought the sceptre of his kingdom, and put it on the head of the ram. The ram took immediately the road of Judea, and the direction of Jerusalem. The king then said to all who were with him: "I am very much surprised,[3] but the Lord God has delivered the (Jewish) people to me." Then the king ordered that his ram[4] should be brought to him

[1] Read *sâmi'a*.

[2] There is surely much exaggeration in all these numbers, if we understand the computation given here aright.

[3] Read *muta'ajjibun*.

[4] Read *kabshahu*.

and placed[1] on the sceptre of his kingdom pitched in the ground ; and then he placed his robe at his right hand, and removed his crown and laid it under his feet, and he turned his face towards the direction of the east,[2] and said : " O God whom I do not know, God of the pious Hebrews, and of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, O God whose name I am not worthy to pronounce with my mouth that has sinned and my lips[3] that have deceived.[4] I am afraid that thou shouldest not deliver the (Jewish) people to me because I am a sinner. My sins and those of my people have perchance increased before Thee." Then he proceeded :[5] " O God of Israel and God of heavens and earth, whose name has reached me, the unworthy servant,[6] God who has power over heavens and earth, I beseech thee, O Lord, to tell me whether that man who came to my house and nudged me is Thy angel, and whether it is Thy will that I should fight this people. I implore Thee to give a sign to this effect to me and to these men who are standing before Thee,[7] because I am Thy servant, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. Thou hast, O Lord, hardened in the times of yore the heart of Pharaoh, until the sea submerged him and those who were with him. If I have sinned before Thee, and Thou wishest my destruction, destroy me while I am still in the borders of my own land with all those who are with me ; but, O Lord, if Thou truly deliverest (the Jewish people) to me, let the shade of my sceptre return towards me."

And at that instant the sun moved and the shade of the sceptre of Nebuchadnezzar turned towards his head. (The king) then left the sceptre at his left side and the liver of the goat[8] at his right side and said : " O Lord fortify my heart." And the Lord gave him courage

[1] Read *yanṣubūhu*.

[2] Why the east? Can this sentence be attributed to a Christian? The Christians, as we all know, turned their face in prayer towards the east.

[3] Read *fīya* and *shafataiya*.

[4] M. " for my lips are dirty." Here ends the lacuna in M.

[5] P. " And he turned his face towards the east, and he prayed and said."

[6] M. omits.

[7] M. " In this ram that is standing before Thee." There are many verbal discrepancies in all this paragraph between the text of the two MSS.

[8] *Sic* both MSS. P. has erroneously *kibār* for *kabid* " liver." All this is somewhat obscure.

and bravery,[1] and he ascertained that it was the God of the Jewish people who had delivered them to him.

And God who is God of mercy remembered Abimelech and his kindness towards the prophet Jeremiah in the days in which King Zedekiah had imprisoned him in the dungeon. And the Lord did not wish[2] him to be in the captivity of Babylon and in the servitude of Nebuchadnezzar. And the servant Abimelech according to his daily habit went to the garden of his master, who was the boon-companion[3] of Zedekiah, in order to bring him fruits. He took a basket which he filled with grapes, figs, and other fruits from the garden of his master, and covered them with green foliage, and carried them in order to bring them to the house of his master. While he was still on the way God remembered the words which He spoke to the prophet Jeremiah, that he "shall not see the destruction of Jerusalem, nor be under the yoke[4] of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon." While he was walking and looking towards heaven, and while the distance (to his destination) was about an hour's (walk), he saw a cave in which there was shade and much refreshing humidity, and he said to himself: "I have gone out before my time, and have not taken to-day bread to the prophet, the man of God, my father Jeremiah; so I shall sit here awhile and sleep for an hour in this refreshing shade." He therefore repaired towards the shade and slept; and he placed the basket near his head, and it was full of grapes, figs, peaches, and pears, covered with foliage. The earth gave him rest, and the rock of the cave expanded over him and covered him like the roof of a house; the dew fortified him and the sun nurtured him, and he did not hunger nor thirst, and he was not affected by the cold of the winter nor the heat of the summer till the time when Jerusalem was destroyed and then rebuilt afresh; (all this happened to him) by the great power of God, which protected him.

After this King Nebuhcadnezzar reached Judea, with all his Chaldean generals, and he subjugated all Judea and all the towns round Jerusalem. His troops spread over the land of Israel like locusts, and

[1] Here begins a short lacuna in M. [2] Read *yurid* in P.

[3] It is curious that P. should make of Ebedmelech the servant of a boon-companion of Zedekiah, instead of Zedekiah himself. Even the name of this boon-companion is given below.

[4] See Jer. xxxix. 16-18.

they clapped with their hands and danced with their feet and said: "Let us go and fight the Hebrews, plunder their possessions and destory them, because all other people are now in arms against the people of Israel whom nobody has dared approach and subdue down to this day. Their rod was over all the nations by the power of God, their God who fights for them."

All the young men of the children of Israel fell before Nebuchadnezzar, and all their power was weakened, and the people of Israel became before him like pregnant women at the time of their travail. He ordered them to gather together before him bound in fetters of iron.[1] He who was on the roof did not come down except with bonds, and he who was in the sown field did not enter the city except with fetters, and each one of them was seized in the spot where he was, and none was left who did not come to King Nebuchadnezzar who had fixed his throne at the gate of Jerusalem, the ramparts of which he had ordered to be demolished instantly.[2]

When King Zedekiah heard this he was greatly agitated and the pangs of travail overtook him like a woman in labour. He stretched on his bed and spread his mantle over him and covered his face with a kerchief, like a shrouded dead man. His servants took him with the intention of crossing the Jordan with him and fleeing to save him. And King Nebuchadnezzar gave orders that King Zedekiah be brought before him, and Cyrus, his general, went to the residence of Zedekiah, and saw it ornamented with silk, gold, and silver, and his sleeping chamber perfumed with incense and fine aloes-wood,[3] and in it was the idol which he used to worship. And God put in the hearts of the servants of King Nebuchadnezzar to pursue the servants of King Zedekiah, and they overtook them with the bed-litter on their shoulders in the valley[4] of the sea of Karmlis.[5] They threw

[1] Here ends the second short lacuna in M.

[2] There are some verbal discrepancies in the above sentences in the texts of the two MSS.

[3] M. omits "fine aloes-wood."

[4] So we translate *saḳīr* of P. which is obscure. M. has *saṭīr* "falling leaves" which is still more obscure. This variant could not have arisen except from a text written in Arabic in which the letters *fā* and *ḳāf* are only distinguished by an extraneous dot.

[5] This *Karmlis* in P. and *Karlis* in M. is given above (p. 156) as a river and not as a sea or a lake. What is referred to here may possibly be the Dead Sea or the Lake of Tiberias.

him from their shoulders, and took the mantle that was over him, and presented him to Cyrus the first general [1] of the King Nebuchadnezzar. The latter summoned the Chaldeans and ordered that Zedekiah's eyes be put out and placed in his hands, and that his two children be killed and placed one at his right side and the other at his left, and that a collar be tied round his neck in order that he may be led like a dog. They presented him in this state to King Nebuchadnezzar, who commanded that he should be attached to the tail of his horse as far as Babylon, and that there he should drive the mule that pulls the stone of the flour-mill, and be given for food a small quantity only of bread and water. The King Nebuchadnezzar ordered also that all the elders of the children of Israel should be bound [2] and that their necks should be tied to their feet until the bones of their necks were broken, and that the pregnant women should have stones placed on their wombs until they aborted.

The heart of Nebuchadnezzar was hardened against them like the horses which neigh under the wheels, and he said to the Hebrews: "Where is Jeremiah, the prophet of God, that I may ask him whether I should return to my country and to my land, and inquire of him concerning the ark of the Lord, in which are the tables written with the finger of the Lord, and which, I have been told, proceeds before you." And the congregation of the children of Israel cried with weeping and said: "Where can we find the blessed prophet?" [3] The prophet Jeremiah has been imprisoned by King Zedekiah, who ordered that no bread and no water should be given to him until he dies."

While the Hebrews [4] were saying this, lo! a spirit carried Jeremiah and placed him before King Nebuchadnezzar, and he informed him that the ark was no more [5] because it was on the mountains of Jericho and had disappeared owing to the great quantity of dust that was heaped on it through the effect of the winds.[6] As to the tabernacle of the ark Zedekiah placed it under the idol of Baal. Then the elders of the children of Israel cried and said: "Live, O king, for ever and ever, and allow us to speak before you." And

[1] In Arabic the Græco-Roman *baṭārikat*.
[2] M. adds "by their necks."
[3] P. "blesses God whose sons have been imprisoned."
[4] Read *'ibrānīyun*. [5] P.: he could not find.
[6] P. only: "And dust was heaped on it by the winds."

Nebuchadnezzar said to them: "Speak;[1] it is your God who has humbled and dejected you; who is there to save you?" And they said to him: "This prophet whom you have summoned is young, do not listen, therefore, to his words, and be not deceived by his personality, as there is nothing to distinguish him from the other men of his own age; here there is a congregation of the children of Israel standing before you: hand to them staves of olive-trees; he whose staff comes into leaf in his hand is the true prophet."

The king agreed, and summoned before him all the young men of the children of Israel, and their number[2] was two hundred and twenty thousand, and he handed to them staves of olive-trees. In that very moment the angel carried Jeremiah and presented him to King Nebuchadnezzar, while the staff which was in his hand had come into leaf. When the king saw this, he was greatly astonished and rose from his throne and bowed down to the ground before the prophet Jeremiah and said to him: "Thou art the true prophet of God; go, therefore, and ask God, if it is He who has sent me to this land; if not, I shall decamp away from you." And the prophet Jeremiah said to him: "Loosen the fetters of these bound men and give them a little rest from their pain until I go and ask the Lord." And King Nebuchadnezzar loosened their bonds, and the prophet Jeremiah went to the temple of the Lord, and saw it sprinkled with the blood of the young children, and he wept bitterly and said: O God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords,[3] I beseech Thee and implore Thee to-day to look from the height of heavens and show mercy towards Thy people who are under the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, and deliver them from the hands of their enemies and their haters. O God of mercy and compassion have pity." And he bowed down on his face to the ground in adoration, interceding in favour of the people. And a voice came to him from the Lord, saying: "O Jeremiah whom I have elected, thou hast interceded sufficiently for this iniquitous nation and this harsh and insensible people.[4] Dost thou not know that I am a compassionate and merciful God? This people numbers more than eight hundred thousand thousand souls,[5] and in this sixth hour of the day take a lamp in thy

[1] M. adds "what you wish."
[2] Read *wa'adadahum* in P.
[3] M. omits.
[4] M. omits all these adjectives.
[5] M.: "eight hundred thousand and eighty thousand thousand."

hand and walk in all Jerusalem and see if thou canst find a single man among them in whom there is justice ; if thou findest such a one, I shall cancel the deportation order for all the people, and shall not let them go with Nebuchadnezzar ; if thou findest one whose mouth is unpolluted by sacrifices to idols, I shall deliver the people from servitude and shall not allow them to go into captivity ;[1] if thou findest a single man who loves his brother[2] or his friend, I shall save them all ; but if thou findest no one, enter the temple and place the burning lamp on the candlestick, and it will not burn out until seventy years have elapsed, when the people shall have returned, walking in my ways, following my law and not forsaking what is due to me.[3] When thou hast placed the burning lamp in its place, remove the garment of light[4] from thee, and accompany the people into captivity where they[5] shall be under the power of Nebuchadnezzar for seventy years."

When the prophet Jeremiah heard this from the Lord he went out with a burning lamp in his hand. Some men from the people said to him : "O father Jeremiah, why dost thou walk with a burning lamp in daylight ?" And he answered : "I am in search of a man in whom there is justice[6] and I am not able to find any." Some others said to him : "O father Jeremiah why dost thou walk with a lamp in daylight ?" And he answered : "I am in search of a man whose mouth is unpolluted by sacrifices to idols, and I am not able to find any." Yet some others said to him : "O Father Jeremiah why dost thou walk with a lamp in daylight ?" And he answered : "I am in search of a man in whom there is love for his friend or his neighbour,[7] and I am not able to find any."

And Jeremiah searched among all the people, but he was unable to find any man (with the above qualifications). Then he wept bitterly, and went into the temple of God and placed the lamp burning to itself on the candlestick ; and he entered the place[8] in which the holy vestments are kept, and brought out the garment of

[1] M. omits the second part of the sentence.
[2] Read *akhāhu* in P. M. omits it.
[3] M. omits the two last sentences.
[4] M. "of prophecy."
[5] P. "you."
[6] Read *birrun*.
[7] M. omits "friend" and "neighbour."
[8] P. "the house of the Lord."

the High Priest, and he mounted the terrace of the temple and addressed the stone which was the head of the corner :[1] "To thee[2] I say that thou hast been a great honour to all those that surround thee and thou hast consolidated them,[3] and thou art like the eternal Son of God who shall come into the world : the faithful King, and the Lord of the two testaments, the old and the new ;[4] for this reason I shall say to thee that this temple shall only be demolished up to the place of the corner-stone ;[5] this is the reason why thou hast received this honour. Open now thy mouth and receive the garment of the High Priest and keep it with thee until the time God wishes and brings back Israel, his people."[6]

The stone immediately opened its mouth and received the broidered coat of priesthood from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah. Then he took the mitre on which was written the name of the Lord Sabaoth, the Omnipotent, which Aaron and his sons used to place on their heads at the divine service,[7] and lifted it to heaven and said to the sun : "To thee, I say, O owner of the great light, and O hidden[8] chief, I cannot see the like of thee in all the creatures of God, be therefore the keeper of this head covering on the sides of which is written the name of God the Omnipotent, keep it till the day in which God brings back from captivity the children of Israel to this place." And he threw the mitre towards it, and a ray of the sun

[1] Cf. Matt. xxi. 42.

[2] Put in the feminine form all the verbs and adjectives in P.

[3] P. "to all those that sin (*sic*) against thee and thou hast saved them."

[4] These sentences are to be ascribed to a Christian hand.

[5] Cf. Luke xxi. 6; Mk. xiii. 2. The corner-stone of the temple seems to be referred by the author to Christ.

[6] In the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*Pat. Syr.* ii. 1076-1078) it is the Angels who hide the sacred vessels. In the *Second Book of the Maccabees*, however, it is Jeremiah who hides the ark, the tabernacle, and the altar of incense. See Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseud.* i. 133-134. See also Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 23. In the following pages our author seems to be more constantly under the influence of the *Last Words of Baruch*, and there is no necessity to refer on every occasion to Harris's edition which should be consulted by every reader of the present Apocryphon.

[7] The Arabic *ḳuddās* from Syr. *ḳuddāsh* is generally applied to the Mass.

[8] M. : heating or protecting.

took it up.[1] And Jeremiah hid[2] the rest of the belongings of the house of the Lord.

When Jeremiah finished all this he removed from himself the garment of light[3] in the middle of the temple, and put on sackcloth and girded himself with a linen girdle on his loins, and worshipped the Lord before the sanctuary, and bowed down his head to the ground; then he took the keys of the temple of the Lord and threw them upon the door-post and said: "O threshold of the temple of the Lord, receive these keys until the Lord brings back the people from captivity." And immediately the high door-post received them from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah.[4]

After this Jeremiah presented himself to the king of the Chaldeans. When the people noticed that Jeremiah was wearing sackcloth, and that his head was full of earth,[5] they all cried with wailing and weeping, and threw earth on their heads, because they had ascertained that the Lord had not forgiven them. They were aware of the fact that when Jeremiah entered the temple and interceded in favour of the people, if the Lord had pity on them and had accepted his prayer and his intervention on their behalf, he came out to them wearing a white garment and his head perfumed with scent down to his beard and the opening of his robe.[6]

When Jeremiah finished these things, he said to Nebuchadnezzar: "Ride on thy chariot and proceed to Babylon, because the Lord has delivered this people to thee for punishment;[7] and no harm shall befall thee."[8] And Nebuchadnezzar arose like a lion and went to Babylon, his country. He ordered his generals and the head of his army to gather together all the Jews[9] and march them in front of

[1] Here as below (p. 189) it is very difficult to ascertain what the author had precisely in mind when using the words *ṭailasān*, *ḳalansuah*, *izār*, *mandīl*, and *ridā'*.

[2] M. omits the verb. [3] M. "of prophecy" as above.

[4] The Talmud (*Ta'anīth*, c. 4, fol. 29) declares that it was the priests who threw the keys towards heaven. So also *The Rest of the Words of Baruch* (edit. Harris), p. 51. See Harris (*ibid.*), pp. 18-19.

[5] M.: ashes.

[6] M. adds: "And when he came out wearing sackcloth and ashes on his head they knew that God had not pitied them."

[7] M. omits "punishment." [8] M. omits this sentence.

[9] Read *al-yahūd* in P.

them. And the prophet Jeremiah walked in front of them weeping,[1] with bare feet and a bare head.[2] When the king noticed him he said to him: "What fault hast thou, O prophet of God? Come and ride with me; but it is not fitting to ride with the king while thou art wearing sackcloth."[3] And the prophet Jeremiah answered him and said: "I have sinned before the Lord more than all the people; by the living Lord, my God, I shall not remove this garment from me until the Lord turns away His wrath and puts an end to the captivity of His people." Then King Nebuchadnezzar ordered his generals to make the prophet Jeremiah ride with them by force.

The Hebrew people walked to Babylon in great hardship and pain,[4] and in less than a month their dresses were spoiled, and became like old and worn out skins, and their shoes were torn from their feet, and the hair of their heads grew up and came down to their shoulders like that of women, and the sun scorched their bodies to the point of destruction, and mud and muck mounted their bodies and stuck to them, and gave rise to blisters, wounds, and sores in their flesh; and the cold of the moon and of the stars affected them by night until they fell down on their faces, and they lost their way in the intensity of darkness that overtook them. They wept and fell upon one another, and were on the point of dying from hunger and thirst; they cried with a sigh and lifted their eyes towards heaven and said: "What a difference between this and the manna and the quails which God gave to Moses, and the spring of sweet water that jetted forth from a rock in the desert." Instead of this God caused dust to come on them from heaven, and changed the sweet water into a brackish and bitter water, until they were affected with a mange and scab for which there was no remedy.

The pregnant women aborted[5] from the fatigue of the journey, and those who suckled threw their young ones from their shoulders

[1] P. omits "weeping."

[2] It is curious that our author makes Jeremiah go to Babylon instead of staying in Palestine. Jeremiah is also made to go to Babylon in 2 *Baruch* in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseud.* ii. 485, 499, and in *Midr. 'Eser Galuyyot* (edit. Grünhut, iii. 14).

[3] These sentences are not in M. in the place assigned to them by P, and the two MSS. exhibit here considerable verbal differences.

[4] Read *dīḳin* and *sharrin* in P. and *ḍīkin* only in M.

[5] Read *ṭarahna* and put all the other verbs and pronouns in fem. plur.

because their breasts dried up from the hunger and thirst that overtook them, and could not give suck to their infants, and they cried with bitter weeping and great grief and said: "O Lord, Thy judgments are just, and everything Thou hast done to us is done with wisdom,[1] because Thou hast requited us according to our deeds; we have sacrificed our children to the idols, and Thou art punishing us according to our works. Because we have revolted against Thee and sinned before Thee, all this calamity has befallen us, and we deserve a punishment more severe than this."[2]

And Nebuchadnezzar brought them to Babylon, and he entered his palace and kissed the faces of his children and his wife.[3] He was filled with joy in seeing them,[4] and he narrated to them all that happened to them from the day he left them and went out of the country of the Chaldeans to the day he came back to them. Then he put on royal garments and[5] sat for the trial of the Hebrews, and the arrangement of the business of their work and hire.[6] He counted them and discovered that they had diminished by two hundred and twenty thousand and fifty souls; these had perished in the way from fatigue, hunger, and thirst, not counting the infants who had died on the arms of their mothers.

King Nebuchadnezzar ordered that the adults should do clay-work and brickwork, that the old men should hew wood and draw water, and that the women should spin and weave wool; he further ordered that they should all show their work every day like slaves, and that every day they should be given a little food consisting of bread and water. And the Hebrews served[7] in Babylon under the yoke of slavery, and King Nebuchadnezzar built through them many[8] villages, towers,[9] houses, granaries, and forts on the shores of the sea which surrounds Babylon.[10] The Chaldeans used to go every day to the river with their harps, and guitars, and used to ask the Hebrews, saying: "Show us how you sing to your Lord and your

[1] This sentence is missing in M.
[2] The last sentence is missing in P.
[3] P. omits "wife."
[4] P. "when he saluted them."
[5] P. "the king did not take a rest but sat."
[6] M. "toil."
[7] Read *khadama*.
[8] Read *kathīrah*.
[9] P. omits
[10] Which sea?

God." And the Hebrews used to answer[1] with weeping and sighing: "How can we sing the praise of the Lord in a strange land?"[2] The people of the Lord were greatly subdued and they cried while weeping and sobbing, and said: "The Lord has justly inflicted upon us this calamity, according to[3] our deeds.[4] Now, O Lord, look upon us, with mercy, because our faces have been put to shame before us; Thou our Lord and our God, do not requite us according to the iniquity of our deeds, because it is we who[5] have kindled Thy wrath, and not listened to Thy prophets in Jerusalem."

The Hebrews toiled for the king in Babylon, and his servants[6] drove them about,[7] and greatly tormented them. And Jeremiah the prophet prayed night and day in Babylon, and interceded with God in favour of the people, when he saw their tribulations and their pains.[8] As to Zedekiah he was tied to the chariot of Nebuchadnezzar until he reached Babylon, and there he was appointed to drive the horse of the flour-mill for forty years[9] in captivity. He was in great tribulation all this time; then he died in wretchedness and bodily exhaustion that he felt more than other people. And Nebuchadnezzar showed mercy towards the Hebrews all the time of his life.[10]

When Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon died, he was succeeded by Cyrus the Persian, who greatly tormented the Hebrews with hunger and thirst, and reduced the rations of the food which they were given in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. He gave to each one of them one loaf of bread once in two days, and diminished the quantity of water to be given to them. He also increased their labours, and inflicted upon them grievous harm, and their number began to dwindle. After

[1] Read *fayaḳūlu al-ʿibrāniyūn*. [2] Ps. cxxxvii. 4.
[3] This *ʿiwaḍ* seems to be a translation of the Syriac *ḥelāf*.
[4] This phrase is obscure in M. [5] Read *al-ladhīn* in P.
[6] P. "and the Chaldeans."
[7] The verb *saḥata* used in this sense by P. is colloquial. M. omits it.
[8] The author is consistent with himself in placing in Babylon the prayers of Jeremiah, see above, p. 174.
[9] This date seems to be improbable.
[10] It is remarkable that Nebuchadnezzar is made in the document to play the rôle of a good monarch acting under the orders of God. This reminds one of the Romance of Alexander in which the Macedonian conqueror is made in Syriac and Arabic literature to play the rôle of a pious man guided by Divine Providence.

they had numbered one hundred thousand thousand[1] and eighty thousand thousand, nothing remained of them but eighty thousand thousand.[2]

Some Hebrew children, seventy in number, used to learn with Chaldean children.[3] Among them was a young boy called Ezra. His mother took him to the scribes while he was still very young, not distinguishing good from evil. And the spirit of God was upon him. And the children of the Hebrews and the children of the Chaldeans used to go every day and carry water on their shoulders for their teachers.[4]

When they went one day to carry water, the jar of Ezra fell down[5] and broke. Then the children of the Chaldeans turned[6] to the children of the Hebrews and said to them: "Fie! O miserable, weak, and despicable ones!" And they clapped their hands and said: "O Hebrews, you are weak people in whom there is no energy."[6] And they laughed at Ezra, who lifted his eyes towards heaven, sobbed, wept bitterly, and said: "O my Lord, and God Omnipotent, turn towards us and have mercy upon us for the sake of Abraham Thy beloved, and Isaac Thy servant, and Israel Thy holy one. Do not forget the covenant that Thou hast established with Thy servants our fathers, and do not remove from us Thy face and Thy mercy. We are hated by all nations, and despised and rejected in this nation.[7] Now, O Lord, look upon us, and show us mercy from Thyself. We have sinned before Thee, but Thou art forgiving and merciful, O Lord. Thou forgivest sins and Thou desirest not the death of sinners."[8]

When Ezra finished his prayer, he took off his mantle and went

[1] M. "eight hundred thousand thousand." All these numbers are surely exaggerated.

[2] It is very remarkable that Cyrus who is represented in Jewish literature in such a good light and is therein called "the friend of Jahweh" and "Jaweh's anointed" should here have such a black character.

[3] P. "under Chaldean masters."

[4] Put the verb in the singular. Lit. "scribes."

[5] M. adds "in the sea." All this mention of the sea in Babylon where there is no sea seems to suggest that the author was living in a place where there was sea. This place is either west of Palestine or preferably Egypt. See, however, Philostratus *vit. Apol. Tyan.*, l. i, c. xx.

[6] There are many verbal differences in this paragraph between the two MSS.

[7] P. adds: "Amidst Thy creation." [8] M. omits the last sentence.

into the sea, and filled it with water as if it were a jar ; then he placed it on his shoulder and walked with his fellow-students, and not a single drop fell from it.[1] When he reached the scribes,[2] he began to sprinkle the place with water from his mantle ; then he put it on immediately, and it was as dry as before. When the teacher saw him, he rose up and bowed down to the ground before him and said : "Verily I say unto thee, O Ezra, my child, it is thou who shalt deliver thy people from captivity."

And Ezra was growing every day in grace before God, and men,[3] he and the other children of the Hebrews. A few days later the children wished to go out to draw water as was their wont. The children of the Chaldeans went out and said to one another : "Let us separate ourselves from the children of the Hebrews, and not have any intercourse with them, and not eat and drink with them, because they do not worship our gods."[4] And they seceded from them, beat them, sneered at them and insulted their God.[5] When Ezra saw what had happened, he wept over his companions and implored God to help them.[6] Then he struck a rock with his feet, and water sprang from it like a sea, and it increased in volume until it reached the feet of the Chaldeans as if to drown them.[7] The teacher rose up instantly and knelt down before Ezra and kissed his hands and his feet and said to him : "What is there between thee and these dogs ? Dost thou wish to destroy all the town because of them ?

Then Ezra had pity on his teacher, when he noticed his weeping, and he repaired to the spot where the rock was found and laid his foot on it[8] and said : "O earth, open thy mouth and swallow this water, because the Lord has said, 'No second flood of water shall come unto the earth,[9] but that fire shall come which will consume the

[1] In the *Gospel of the Infancy* (Cowper's the *Apochryphal Gospels*, p. 75, sixth edit.) a similar anecdote is attributed to Christ. See also *ibid.*, pp. 453-454.

[2] P. "the school."

[3] Cf. Luke ii. 40. P. omits "and men."

[4] This paragraph also is very differently worded in the two MSS.

[5] P. omits the last sentence.

[6] P. omits the last two sentences.

[7] P. omits the last sentence, but adds : "while jetting forth from the stone until it became like a flood."

[8] P. omits.

[9] Cf. Gen. ix. 11.

earth to its foundations and purify it,[1] in the last day." The earth opened then its mouth at once and swallowed all the water. And Ezra rose up and took all the children of the Hebrews, and removed them from the school[2] of the Chaldeans.

After all this King Cyrus summoned the people of the Hebrews before him, and said to them: "Bring me all your harps through which you praise your God, and play them before me." And they said to King Cyrus: "We fear to play them in a strange land, because our God does not wish it." And Cyrus said to them: "As you praised your God in Jerusalem so do here." And they answered him saying: "The sons of Levi whom God has chosen take precedence of us and play the harps." And King Cyrus summoned the tribe of Levi before all the Hebrews and ordered that they should begin and sing to the accompaniment of the harps.[3] They came before them and played the harp, and while shouting in unison they clapped their hands and beat the earth with their feet. Then the ground lifted immediately those who were standing on it, and mounted upwards,[4] as if to cause the children of Israel to descend upon their own land, and their voices were heard that day in Jerusalem.

The Chaldeans feared[5] then and became disturbed, and a cloud came down from heaven, and overshadowed the temple in Jerusalem.[6] All those who were in Jerusalem ascertained in that day that the Lord had mercy upon the people of Israel, and that He was willing to deliver them from captivity. When Cyrus, king of the Chaldeans, noticed what had happened through the play on the harps, he feared greatly and said to the Hebrews: "Do not move the strings of your harps with your hands[7] as long as you are in these countries, until you go to your own countries and praise your God in the town of Jerusalem."[8]

When the seventy years of the captivity had elapsed, there were

[1] Read: *yuṭahhiruha* in P.
[2] M. "and brought them to."
[3] M. "and play the harps."
[4] M. "And immediately the ground upon which they stood shook and mounted upwards."
[5] Read: *fakhāfa.*
[6] P. omits "in Jerusalem."
[7] M. "Do not take out your harps."
[8] P. adds "as was your wont."

three young men : Ezra son of Yaratha,[1] and Daniel son of Betariah,[2] and Ezekiel son of Buzi,[3] to whom God spoke, and who prophesied in Babylon. They said to one another : " Let us take a lamb and go out to the desert and there offer [4] a sacrifice to the God of Israel, as our fathers were wont to do, for the remission of their sins, and God [5] used to send down to them from heaven a rod of fire and receive their sacrifices after they had offered them.[6] Let us go and do the same because [7] the grace of God and His mercy have perhaps come near us,[8] and the Lord will send His angel to receive our sacrifice from us." And they did this.

Then Ezra took wood of nard,[9] wood of styrax, and wood of ebony,[10] in all three varieties of wood, placed a ram on the wood, turned his face towards the sunrise,[11] and looked towards Jerusalem,[12] and prayed to God of Israel, saying : " O Lord God of our pious fathers, the One and Eternal God, who heard Abel, the first murdered man,[13] and took his revenge from his brother Cain ; who created the

[1] P. *Neriah*. A confusion with the father of Baruch. *Yaratha* may be a mistake for *Seraiah* (Ezra vii. 1). The mistake may have arisen through Arabic characters which do not differ considerably in the two names; this graphic difference is still slighter with *Betariah*, the father of Daniel, who follows immediately.

[2] M. *Reṭūbah*. I do not know anything about this man. *Betariah* may be a mistake for *Seraiah* (Ezra vii. 1) caused by the very slight difference in the letters of the Arabic script of the two names. See the following and preceding notes.

[3] P. *Baradi*. The difference between *Buzi* and *Baradi* is very slight in Arabic script, and here and elsewhere it shows that the original from which the Garshūni MS. of Paris emanates was written in Arabic characters. The mistaken reading *Baradi* could hardly have arisen otherwise.

[4] The verb *aṣ 'ada* seems here to be a translation of the Syriac *asseḳ* used in the sense of "to offer" a sacrifice.

[5] P. "an angel." [6] P. adds "to God."

[7] P. omits this sentence.

[8] Read *minna*. *minnan* of P. seems to be an echo of the Syriac *minnan*.

[9] The MSS. *atraphis* (ατραφαξις).

[10] There is no ebony in Babylon.

[11] Note that the author makes mention here also as above in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, of the direction of the East.

[12] Jerusalem is not East of Babylon. We might conclude from this sentence that the author of the document was writing in a country situated West of Palestine. Could this country be Egypt?

[13] Lit. the first martyr. Can this denote a Christian hand?

image of Seth beforehand according to His own image, and removed from him the power of darkness; who caused Enoch to ascend to heaven with his body on account of the purity of his heart, and taught him the secrets of heaven and what is to take place at the end of the world;[1] who delivered Noah because of his justice, and granted to him the power of Adam before his fall and made him the lord of everything which is under heaven: I pray Thee and beseech Thee, O Lord, O Omnipotent God, to hear my supplication and listen to my prayer,[2] and to my tears. Remember the covenant which Thou hast made with our father[3] Abraham when Thou saidst to him, 'If thy sons keep My covenant, I will destroy their enemies.'[4] Now, O Lord, I implore Thee to visit Thy servants, who are ready to die for[5] Thy holy name. Listen to us to-day from the height[6] of Thy heaven, and receive our sacrifice, smell its odour, and show pity and forgiveness to Thy people."

When Ezra finished his prayer with his brethren who were with him, their supplication reached the throne of the Lord, and their words penetrated the hearing of the Lord Sabaoth, who sent His angel, in the figure of a man, to take up their offerings to the Lord. Michael, the head of the angels, came down from heaven, and stood on their altar, and burned the wood and the lamb with a rod of fire that he held in his hand, and after the fire had consumed everything that was there, he ascended to heaven. He stood up in the air,[7] looked at[8] the three young men, and blessed them with the heavenly blessing, and then heaven opened and received him.

As to the prophet Jeremiah[9] he went while wearing sackcloth to King Cyrus. He further interceded with the Lord in favour of the people, and while standing in prayer before the Lord, he said: "O Lord, O Lord, O God of my spirit and of my body,[10] listen now to the supplication of Thy servant on behalf of the tribulations of this

[1] Was the author familiar with the *Book of Enoch?*
[2] P. omits "prayer."
[3] Read *abīna* in P.
[4] Not found verbatim in Gen.
[5] P. "We are slaves unto death for . . ."
[6] Remove the final *aliph* in P.
[7] P. adds "in the firmament."
[8] P. "purified" or "appeared to."
[9] Here also the author is consistent with himself in placing Jeremiah in Babylon.
[10] M. omits this sentence.

people against whom the days of Thy wrath have ended. Fulfil (Thy promise about) the appointed time that Thou hast decreed for the deliverance of Thy people." And the Lord summoned the angel Michael saying: "Make haste and go down to the land of the Chaldeans, and save the people and take them out of their captivity. If the inhabitants of Babylon impede them, I shall make heaven stick to the earth and I shall cause My wrath to dwell in them until they allow them to go from under their hands. Go also to the prophet Jeremiah, My elected one, and impart this news to him; take him to the king of Babylon, and deliver the people from him. If the king of the Chaldeans impedes them I shall destroy him with his people as I destroyed Pharaoh in the times of yore with the Egyptians who were with him, and all his chariots."

While the prophet Jeremiah was in the sepulchral vault[1] weeping over the sins of the people,[2] lo! the angel Michael came to him and said to him: "Peace be with you, O elected prophet of God.[3] Grow cheerful because it is time for cheerfulness."[4] And the prophet Jeremiah looked at Michael, the angel of God, and said to him: "Here I am, O angel of the Lord. I recognised thy greeting, and thy words have strengthened my bones. Where wast thou that thou didst not appear to me till this day in which I am in great trouble with this people, like a father with his children?" And the angel said to the prophet Jeremiah: "Here I am to-day before you in order to deliver your people, because I have been sent by God for this purpose, on account of your prayer which has been accepted.[5] Thus says the Lord whom I serve,[6] 'I have mercy on this people and I wish to send them back to their land and their country in order that they may serve Me there. If the kings of Babylon[7] do not allow them to go, I shall wax angry with them and destroy their land, in order to force them to send them back, and if in spite of this they refuse I shall do with them what I did with Pharaoh, the king of Egypt.'"

After the angel Michael had said this to the prophet Jeremiah, he addressed him thus: "You remain here until I go and summon all the

[1] The word used is the Greek *ναὸς*. What does the author mean by this term?

[2] P. omits this sentence.

[3] P. omits this sentence.

[4] P. adds "O man of God."

[5] P. omits this sentence.

[6] M. "thou servest."

[7] P. omits.

people to you." And the angel Michael went out and took the form[1] of a Hebrew man, and assembled all the people of Israel in one place as if they were one man, and he repaired to those who were making bricks and clay and said to them: "You have worked sufficiently; go now to your father Jeremiah, because the Lord has saved you from this toil." And he went to those who were hewing wood and drawing water, and said the same thing to them. And he went to town to those women who were weaving wool, and he said to them: "You have had enough work and toil; the Lord has saved you from your work, and given you deliverance. Come on and go to your father Jeremiah." And none was left, but all gathered together. The angel Michael gathered them all together with the prophet Jeremiah,[2] and all went to King Cyrus and to the first general of the Chaldeans. And Jeremiah said to Cyrus and to Emesis his first general.[3] "Listen to the words of the Lord, God of Israel." And he began to repeat to them the words uttered to him by the angel Michael. And Cyrus and Emesis said to the prophet Jeremiah: "And who is the God of Israel? You, O Hebrews, return to your work, and throw such words away from you." And the king ordered the prophet Jeremiah to be flogged before them; and this was done in a cruel way.[4] And King Cyrus and Emesis went then out of the palace, and ordered the superintendents of the work of the Hebrews to strike the latter and torment them until they did their duty. And Cyrus and Emesis rode and went out themselves in order to torment the Hebrews.

In that very hour a cloud and mist appeared, the earth shook, a big earthquake occurred, wind became fierce, the sun suffered eclipse in the middle of the day, and darkness covered the earth. The inhabitants of the earth mixed pell-mell, horsemen with the crowds, and the feet of the horses that were ridden sunk deep into the earth like pegs; until all the Chaldeans cried to King Cyrus and to Emesis and said to them: "Is not this sufficient for you?[5] Do you wish the Lord to do with us[6] as He did with the Amorites?" As to King Cyrus he fell from his horse and his backbone broke; likewise the first general Emesis fell and his right arm broke to the elbow-joint.

[1] Read *shubh* in P.
[2] In P. it is Jeremiah who gathers them together.
[3] M.: vizier.
[4] In P. "In your blasphemy."
[5] P. "with you."
[6] P. omits this sentence.

Then the two cried : "O God of Abraham and God of Isaac and God of Israel, God of the Hebrews, have pity on us ; we have sinned against Thee, because we have not allowed Thy people to get out of our land. We pray Thee and beseech Thee, O Lord, to have mercy upon us and not to punish us for our sins. Pity us and heal us, and we shall let them go to their land in joy and peace." And the prophet Jeremiah had pity on them when he heard their words and their sobs, and he approached King Cyrus and raised him up from the ground and healed his bone which was broken ; he did likewise heal the arm of the first general of the Chaldeans.

When the Lord noticed that their hearts had turned away from that on which they were bent, He gave orders[1] and the earth and all the inhabited globe became quiet, and the sun shone on the surface of the earth. Then King Cyrus and Emesis summoned the Hebrews, reckoned their working days, and paid them their wages in full, and gave them much gold and silver.[2] The king[3] helped then the prophet Jeremiah to mount his own steed, and clothed him in royal garments, and placed his crown upon his head, and delivered to him many horses, mules, and camels,[4] laden with provisions for the journey. He further wrote letters to all the land of the Chaldeans ordering (its inhabitants) to welcome the prophet Jeremiah and his people (when they passed by them), and wish them Godspeed in joy and merriment, and to honour them and render service to them until they left them. And the king presented also the prophet Jeremiah with twelve[5] slaves.

And the prophet Jeremiah left the towns of the Chaldeans with all the people of the Hebrews. The number of the Hebrews who went out of Babylon was eighty thousand thousand ; they had thus diminished by a hundred thousand thousand during their stay in captivity.[6]

When they left Babylon they began with prayers and supplications, saying : "Rise, rise, O Jerusalem, and rejoice, and wear thy

[1] P. omits the verb. [2] M. omits "silver."

[3] In all the following sentences the subject in P. is "the King," but in M. the subject is the indefinite "they."

[4] Read *jimāl* in P. for *himāl*. This variant could not have arisen except through Arabic characters in which the letters *jīm* and *ḥā'* are distinguished only by an extraneous dot.

[5] M. "ten." [6] P. adds "in Babylon."

diadem in joy and gladness, because thy children who had left thee with tears,[1] fear, and sadness,[2] have come to thee with joy,[3] and jubilation." And the prophet Jeremiah went out to his land in joy and gladness,[4] and all the towns of the Chaldeans honoured him, and horsemen were riding before him up to Jerusalem in order to praise it and to honour it with the people; and in this state they reached Jerusalem.

As to the servant Abimelech, he awoke from his sleep and went out of the place in which he was sleeping, and the stone that was over him moved away.[5] He looked at the basket[6] of grapes, figs, and other fruits[7] and saw that their dust was still on them, and noticed that the green foliage with which they were covered had become longer and broader. And Abimelech said to himself: "I have not overslept and my head is still heavy with sleep; I shall get some more rest and rise up and go to town, because it is time for me to take some food to the prophet Jeremiah, my blessed father, who is in prison."

When Abimelech awoke from his sleep, exactly seventy years had elapsed.[8] He carried the basket[9] of grapes, figs,[10] and other fruits, which were as fresh as when they were picked, and entered Jerusalem. When he saw that its rampart was demolished and the town itself destroyed, and when he noticed that vines and fig-trees were just showing their buds, the palm-trees their spadices, and the sycamore trees their sprouts, he was amazed and bewildered. When he went inside the town and noticed that its streets had changed and its walls had either altered or were demolished, and that the destroyed buildings in it were reconstructed, and the reconstructed buildings in it destroyed, and when he did not find in it anyone whom he could recognise, his mind became confused, and he stood and said: "O my Lord and my God, what is this delusion that has[11] overtaken me?"

[1] P. adds "in subjection."
[2] Put a *wāw* before the word in P.
[3] P. "peace."
[4] M. omits this sentence.
[5] P. omits the last sentence.
[6] M. "baskets."
[7] Read *fākihah* in P.
[8] Cf. the story of the "Seven Sleepers." In 4 *Baruch* (Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseud.* ii. 533), Abimelech falls asleep in the garden of Agrippa and does not awake for sixty-six years and not seventy. See Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, p. 13.
[9] M. "baskets."
[10] P. omits "figs."
[11] Read *al-lati*

Then he saw an old man collecting firewood, and he went to him, and the old man said to him: "What can I do for my son?"[1] And he said to him: "What did King Zedekiah do to-day with my father, the prophet Jeremiah? Did he free him from the dungeon?" And the old man said to him: "What are these words you are uttering, my son? Who is Zedekiah, and who is Jeremiah? Seventy years have elapsed this day from the day in which Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem, and carried the people into captivity to Babylon, and the prophet Jeremiah was among them." And Abimelech said to him: "Had you not been an old man I would have said to you that you were mad. I went a little while ago[2] to the garden of my master[3] and brought him fruits, but my eyes being somewhat heavy, I slept[4] for a short time. Is it in this short time that the people were carried into captivity? Is it possible that darkness[5] has overtaken them and covered them? Or that the moon[6] has swallowed them that I am unable to see any of them?"

The old man answered then and said: "You are truly a holy man, and God spared you the sight of the destruction of Jerusalem, the great tribulations of the road and the subjection to Nebuchadnezzar.[7] He has brought down sleep upon you in order that you may see Jerusalem reconstructed as in the days of her glory. If you wish to ascertain the truth[8] of my words: this is the first day in which the prophet Jeremiah arrived accompanied by all the people; this should be a proof for you that Jerusalem has returned to its former state. You are truly a holy man of the Lord, who had pity on you and granted you rest for seventy years, until the people came back to their place. O my son, these grapes and figs which are with you, the present time is not their season. Look, my son—and you are a holy man of God—look at the trees,[9] how they are at this time of year, and know that this is not the time for grapes and other fruits.

[1] In M. "and he went to him and said to him "Father, is this the town of Jerusalem?"

[2] Read, *innama ana* in P. for *anakama*.

[3] P. names here the master *Hermis* and distinguishes him from King Zedekiah whose servant Ebedmelech was. See above, p. 167.

[4] Read *na'astu* in P. [5] M. "the darkness of the night."

[6] P. "the firmament." [7] P. omits the name. [8] P. omits.

[9] M. has here *asjār* the vulgar Arabic for *ashjār* (a *sīn* instead of a *shīn*).

This month is the month of April,[1] and this day is the first day in which the prophet Jeremiah reached Jerusalem, after a stay of seventy years in captivity. The words that you have uttered square with one another. Lo, the people are coming now and with them branches of palm-trees,[2] and holding in their hands twigs of aromatic bushes and olive-trees."

Then Abimelech saw the prophet Jeremiah riding the horse of the king and shining like the sun, and he hastened to him and bowed down before him. When Jeremiah saw him he dismounted from his horse, embraced him, cried aloud to him and said: "Be welcome, be welcome, O my beloved Abimelech! Look at the honour that God bestowed on you. He does this to anyone who is merciful and charitable to his fellow-creatures. You had pity on me in the day of my tribulations, and the Lord has overshadowed you with His holy arm and placed you in a refreshing sleep till you saw Jerusalem reconstructed and glorified for the second time. You have not tasted of the food of subjection,[3] nor have you borne the yoke of King Nebuchadnezzar during the last seventy years which we spent in captivity and persecution. God spared you this great hardship because of your charitable deeds. Let all those who hear your story do acts of charity and mercy with everybody,[4] and God will spare them all trouble."[5]

When Jeremiah finished his address to him, they all entered the town together. And Abimelech did not cease to be held in honour by the prophet Jeremiah and by the rest of the people[6] all the time of his life. When the prophet Jeremiah entered the town he glorified God with this canticle:

[1] M. *Nīsān* (the Syriac and Hebrew month), but P. *Barmūdah*, which seems to prove the Egyptian origin of the MS. from which the prototype of P. was derived. Barmūdah extends from March 27th to April 25th.

[2] In Arabic *Kulūb an-nakhl* "the pith of palm-trees." The same expression is used in the Arabic Diatessaron of Ibn aṭ-Ṭayib published by Ciasca (p. 149) to express John xii. 13. I believe that the word emanates from the Peshitta Old Testament (Lev. xxiii. 40) in which the Syriac words are exactly *libbawātha d-dhiklé*. The Arabic expression seems to be a literal translation of the Syriac. See further *Bulletin of the Bezan Club*, No. iii. pp. 14-17, 1926.

[3] P. "death and troubles."

[4] Read *aḥadin* in P.

[5] M. omits this sentence.

[6] P. omits this sentence.

"Rejoice, O Jerusalem![1] Arise and wear thy diadem. Thy sons had gone out of thee with tears and sadness, and have now come to thee in joy and jubilation. Let heaven rejoice and earth jubilate over the children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who have returned to their land. Let our fathers[2] take their harps in their hands, and sing before the Lord, because God has brought back again their children who had been carried into captivity in which they had almost perished; Let Cherubim[3] and Seraphim sing and praise with us over the sons of Abraham, and let them rejoice over the children of Israel who have returned again to their land and their country."

When Jeremiah entered the door of the Temple, he said to the door-post: "To thee I say, O[4] threshold of the house of God, bring out the keys which[5] I had confided to thee." And it immediately brought out the keys and delivered them to the prophet Jeremiah. And he opened the door of the Temple and he went into it with all the people, and they worshipped before the Lord. And he entered the Holy of Holies where he saw the lamp burning as if it was fresh, and its light was shining, in the way in which he had left it, without diminution. It was with it that he had searched Jerusalem to discover if there was in it a man in whom there was mercy, and he did not find any. All of them worshipped God saying: "Holy, holy, holy! Thou art, O Lord, a just Lord, in all Thy actions,[6] and Thou hast done everything with wisdom. Thou didst with us all this in order to punish us in the measure of our sins, and Thou hast requited us in proportion with our iniquities."

The prophet Jeremiah called the sons of Aaron and said to them: "Arise now and offer sacrifices to the Lord, and be pure according to the prescriptions of your priesthood."[7] And he also went up to the terrace of the house of the Lord, and he stood on the corner-stone, and said: "To thee I say, O stone, Open thy mouth and bring out thy trust: the garment of the High Priest, because we are in need of

[1] M. "Arise, arise."
[2] P. "Let our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob take their harps."
[3] The first letter of the word "Cherubim" is a *shin* instead of a *kaf* in P. This also denotes the Egyptian (Coptic) origin of the prototype of P.
[4] Read *aiyyatuha* in P. [5] Read *al-lati*.
[6] M. "Thou art holy, O lord and just in all Thy actions."
[7] Read *kahnūtikum*.

it." And it brought out the garment, and Jeremiah handed it to the High Priest. And after that he went out before the sun, and said to it: "To thee, I say, O sun, the great luminary of heaven, bring out the mitre[1] which I confided to thee and on which is the name of the Lord, the Holy One, because the Lord had mercy on His people, and we are in need of it for the service of the altar." Then the prophet Jeremiah stretched his hand towards the rays of the sun and the mitre came down from it,[2] and he handed it to the High Priest. And he handed also to the High Priest the rest of the vestments of the house of the Lord which[3] he had taken with him to Babylon.

[And the head of the priests who came with them from captivity wore the priestly robe, the garment and the mitre on which was written the name of the Lord, and the prophet Jeremiah put on the garment of the prophetic office—which God had ordered him to remove from him when he went into captivity and place in the Temple until his return from the deportation to Babylon—and approached the sanctuary of the Lord. The latter was filled with the glory of God, which spread over all the Temple and the people, and the glory of the Lord increased upon them with His mercy. And the God of Israel dwelt among them with the Cherubim[4] and Seraphim].[5] As to the sons of Aaron they performed their duty, each one according to his own rank and order, and shouted with their horns,[6] and offered sacrifices,[7] and the glory of the Lord descended and filled all the house. And the fire came down from heaven and consumed the holocaust. All the people observed as a feast the twenty-fifth day of April[8] and glorified the Lord with great joy."[9]

[1] Here as above (p. 173) it is very difficult to ascertain what was in the author's mind in using such terms as *ṭailasān*, *ḳalansuah*, *izār*, *mandil*, and *rida'*.

[2] M. "And Jeremiah spread his mantle and the mitre fell in it."

[3] Read *al-lati*.

[4] Here again P. writes "Cherubim" with an initial *shīn*, which denotes an Egyptian origin.

[5] All this paragraph between brackets is missing in M.

[6] P. adds "and harps."

[7] In Arabic *ḥamalū* "they lifted" which denotes the Syriac *asseḳ* meaning "to lift" and "to offer sacrifice." (See above p. 180.)

[8] Here again M. has the Hebrew-Syriac *Nīsān* and P. the Coptic *Barmūdah* which indicates its Egyptian origin.

[9] Mingana 240 ends here with the following colophon: "Glory, praise, honour, and worship be to the Lord of hosts for ever and ever, Amen! Here

[And the prophet Jeremiah worshipped before the Lord and said: "Blessed be the Lord, God of Israel, and blessed be His name for ever and ever. He remembered His holy covenant and His oath to our father Abraham that his seed will last for ever.[1] He looked from the heights of heaven upon His people and the heirs of His inheritance, He saw their grief and the sobbing of their hearts, delivered them with His mighty arm and powerful hand, and brought them back to His holy Temple. To Him be glory, honour, majesty, and power, because He is the God of Israel, who destroyed His enemies who turned their hearts away from His service, and sacrificed to the idol of Baal, and worshipped it instead of God, their Lord, and offered incense to gods made with hands, and offered the blood of infants to the stars of heaven and to demons, and impeded them from walking in the way of God, their Lord. For this reason God delivered them to their enemies in order that they may wreak vengeance upon them. They uprooted their memory from the earth, and destroyed their seed from among the children of Israel, His people."

[Then the prophet Jeremiah arose and turned[2] his face towards the people, and congratulated them on their safety and beautiful deliverance. He blessed them and made a covenant with them that they shall not relinquish the service of God, their Lord, and worship the idol of Baal for a second time. And they offered in that day numerous sacrifices, burnt-offerings, holocausts, and they rejoiced greatly in the house of the Lord, and thanked God immensely, and glorified His name, saying: "Blessed be the name of the Lord, God of Israel, who visited and delivered His people, and saved them from the hardships of the Chaldeans; who took them out of Babylon and

ends the story of the children of Israel and glory be to the Lord of lords, and King of kings, for evermore, Amen! And praise be to the Lord of the worlds, Amen! Here ends the story of the deportation of the children of Israel from Jerusalem into Babylon. May God have pity on the weak scribe, on the reader and the pious hearers. Amen! Amen! Amen!"

I give in the lines above between brackets the translation of the end of the story in the Paris MS. This end seems to be a later addition and is much under the influence of the Gospel of St. Luke i. 67-73.

[1] There is much resemblance between these words and the hymn of Zacharias in Luke i. 67, 72-73.

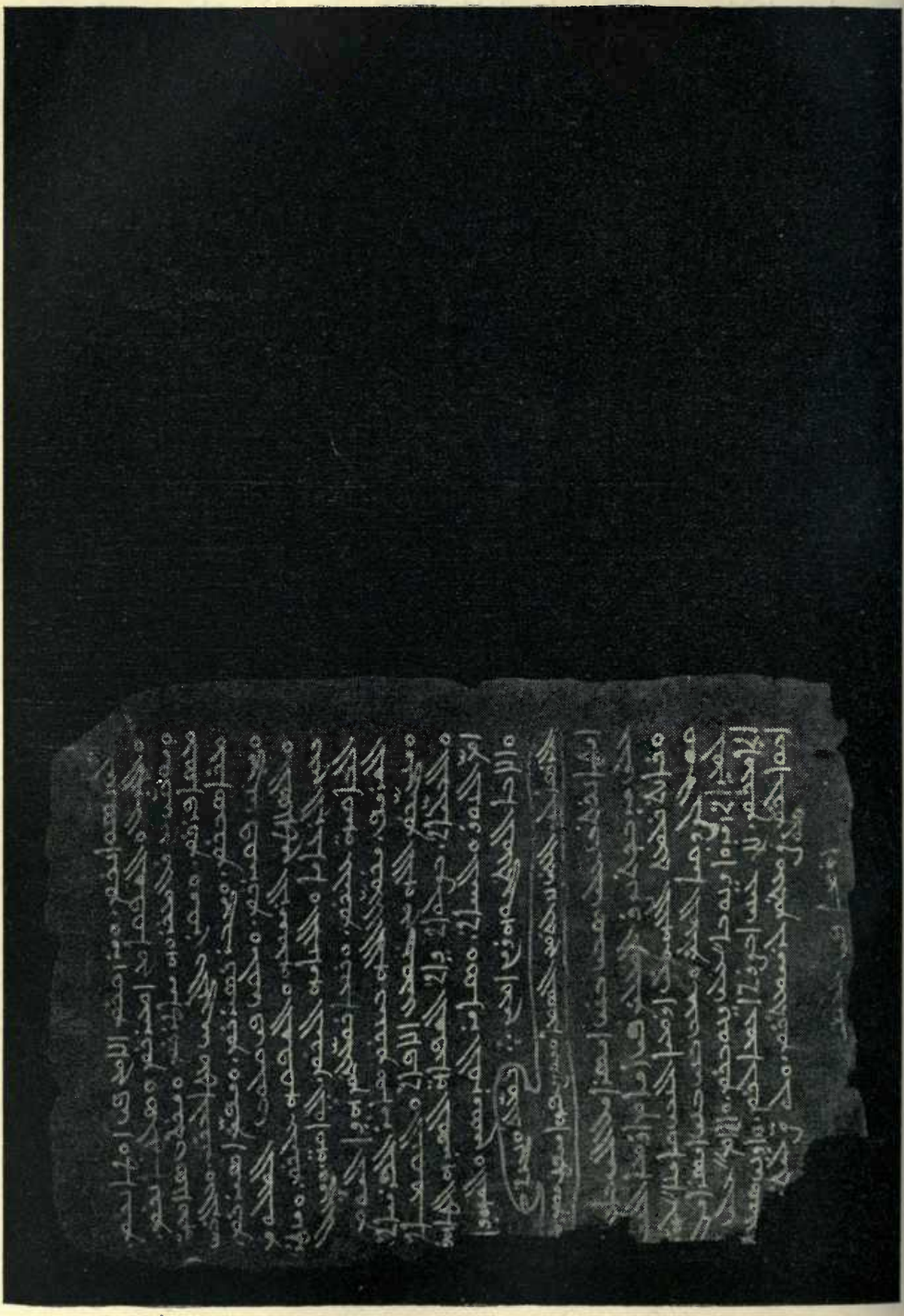
[2] Read: *amāla.*

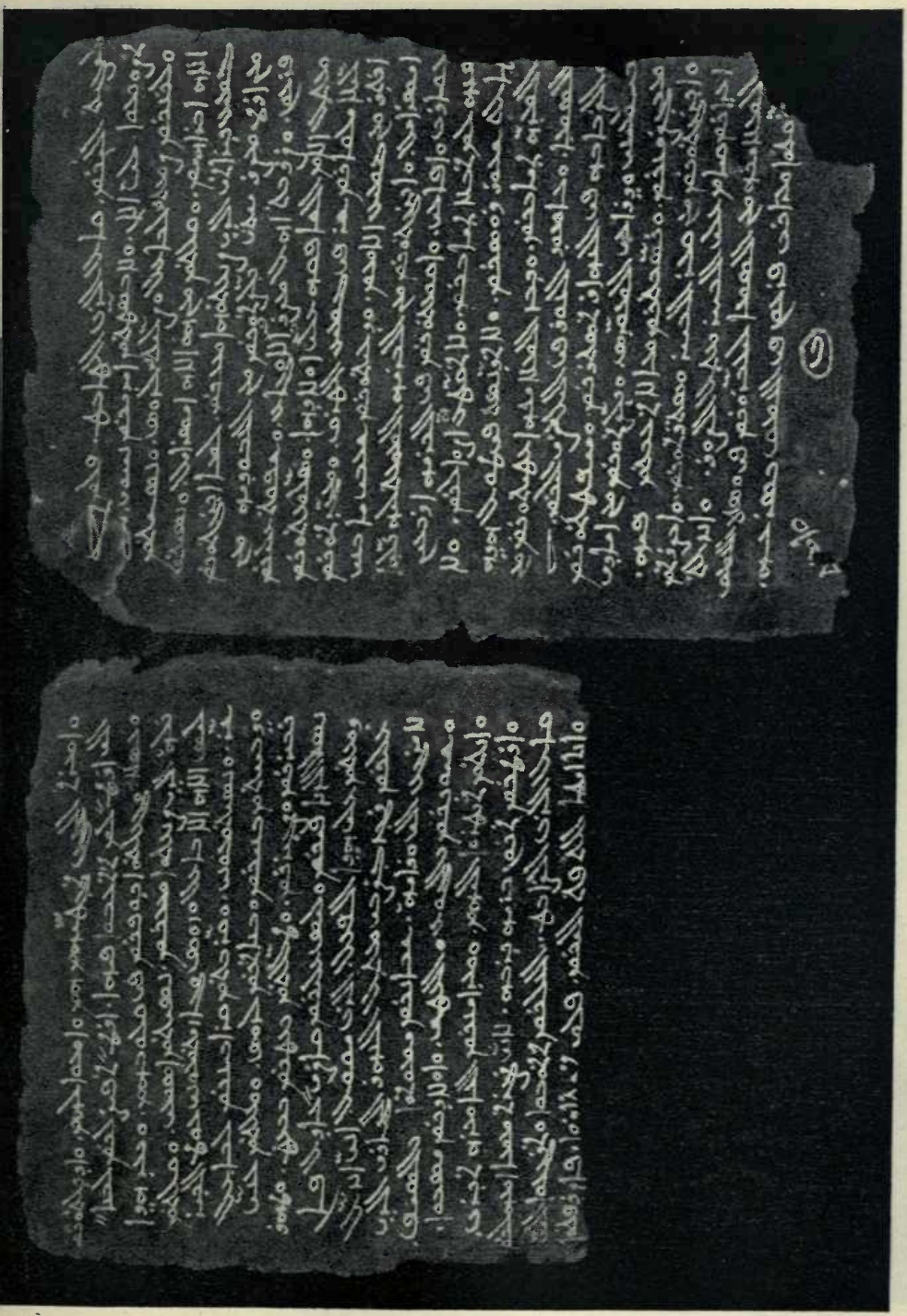
brought them to His land and His inheritance, which He granted to them ; who returned to them their kingdom, prophecy, and priesthood ; who did not allow His wrath to dwell with them for ever, but had pity on them and delivered them."

[And the people did not cease to serve God with a good and perfect service, and with offerings and sacrifices, in all the lifetime of the prophet Jeremiah. And glory, praise, and thanks be to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore, Amen !

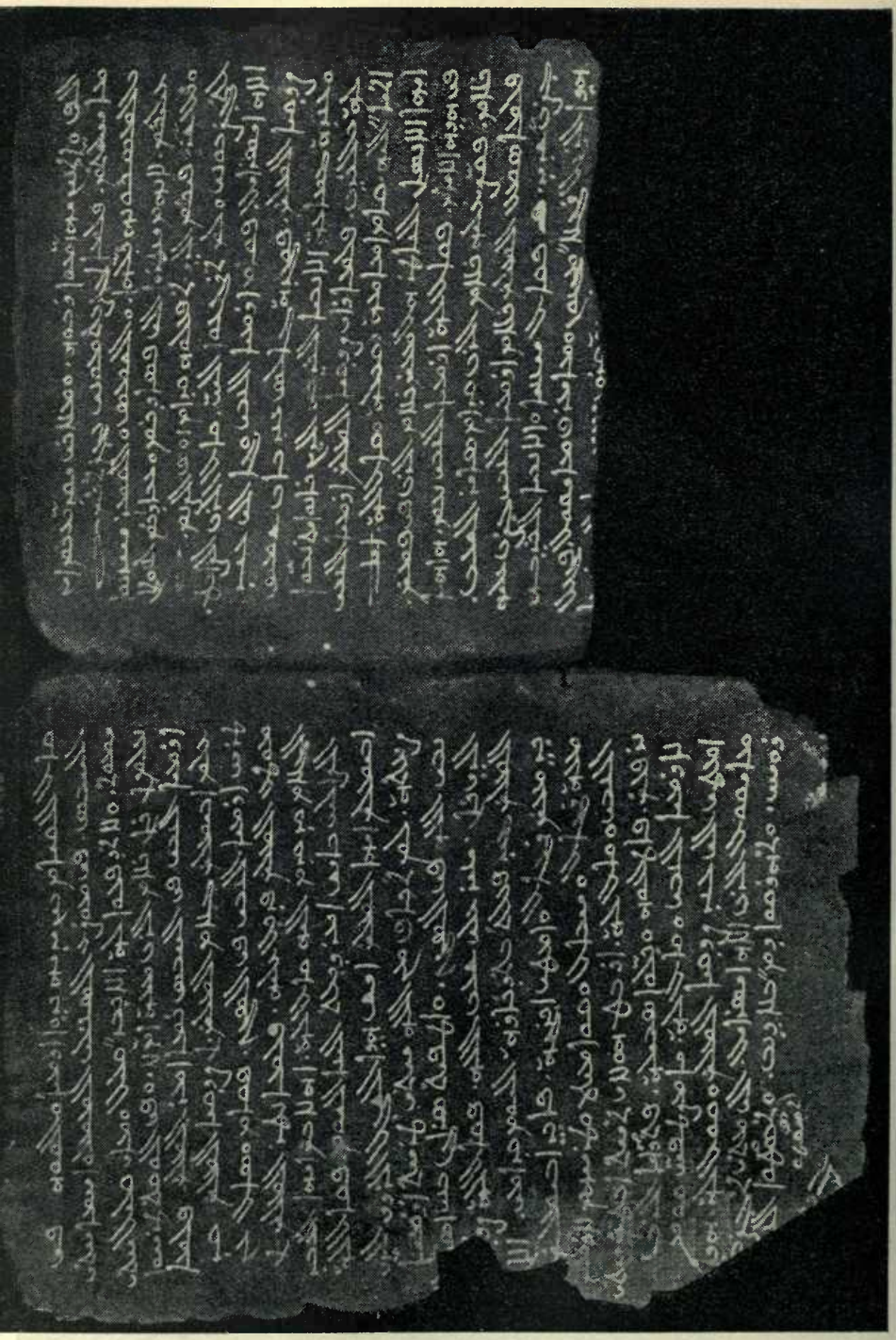
[Here ends, by the assistance of the Holy Trinity, this great story of the deportation of the children of Israel into Babylon. Remember, O Lord, Thy sinning servant, Cyriacus,[1] who is unworthy of the name of man, because of the great number of his sins. He copied this from a bad MS., and he who finds in it a mistake and corrects it, God will forgive him his sins, because its scribe is the weakest, the most imperfect, and the lowliest of all the (men) of the world.]

[1] The copyist.

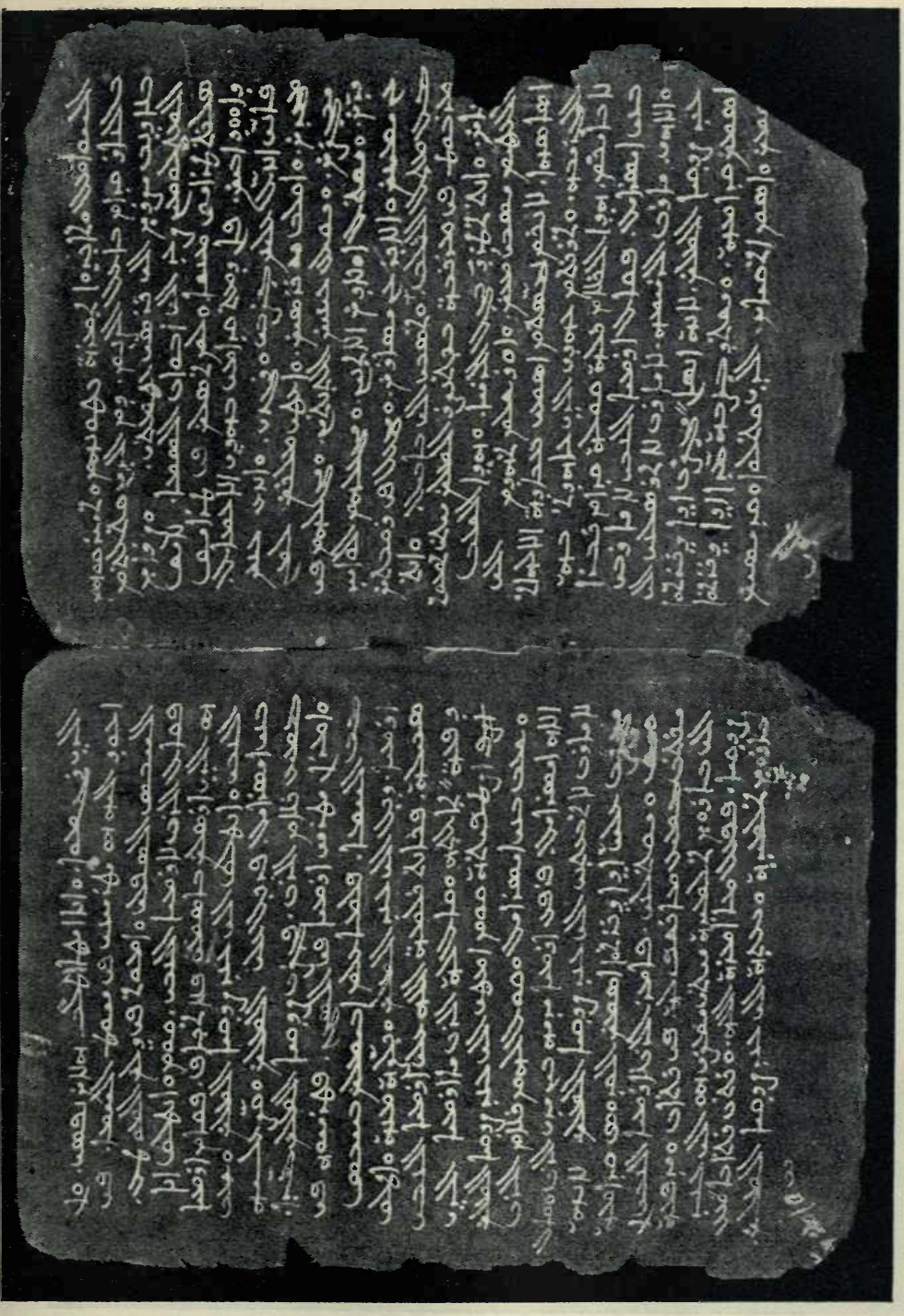




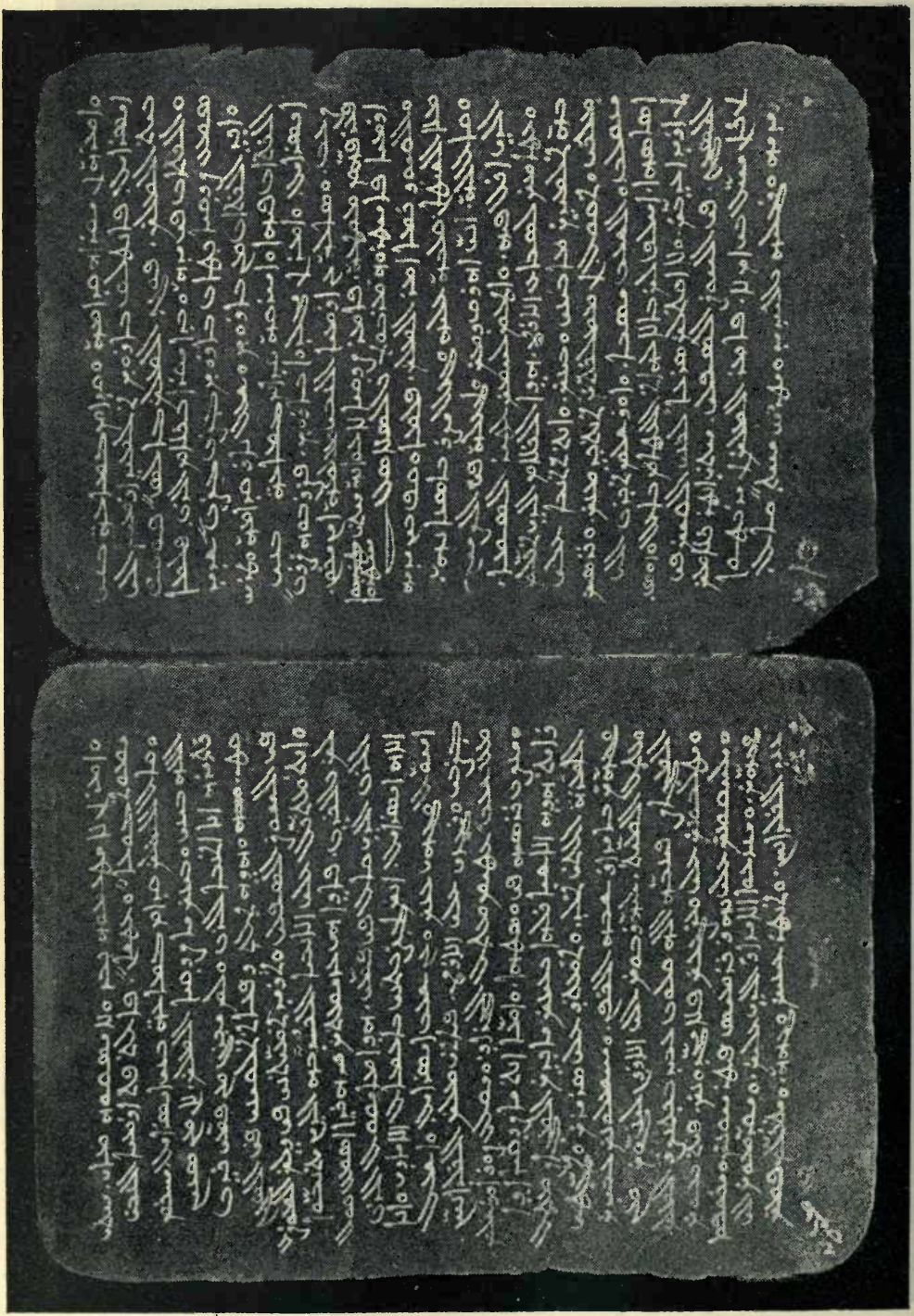
M. 249



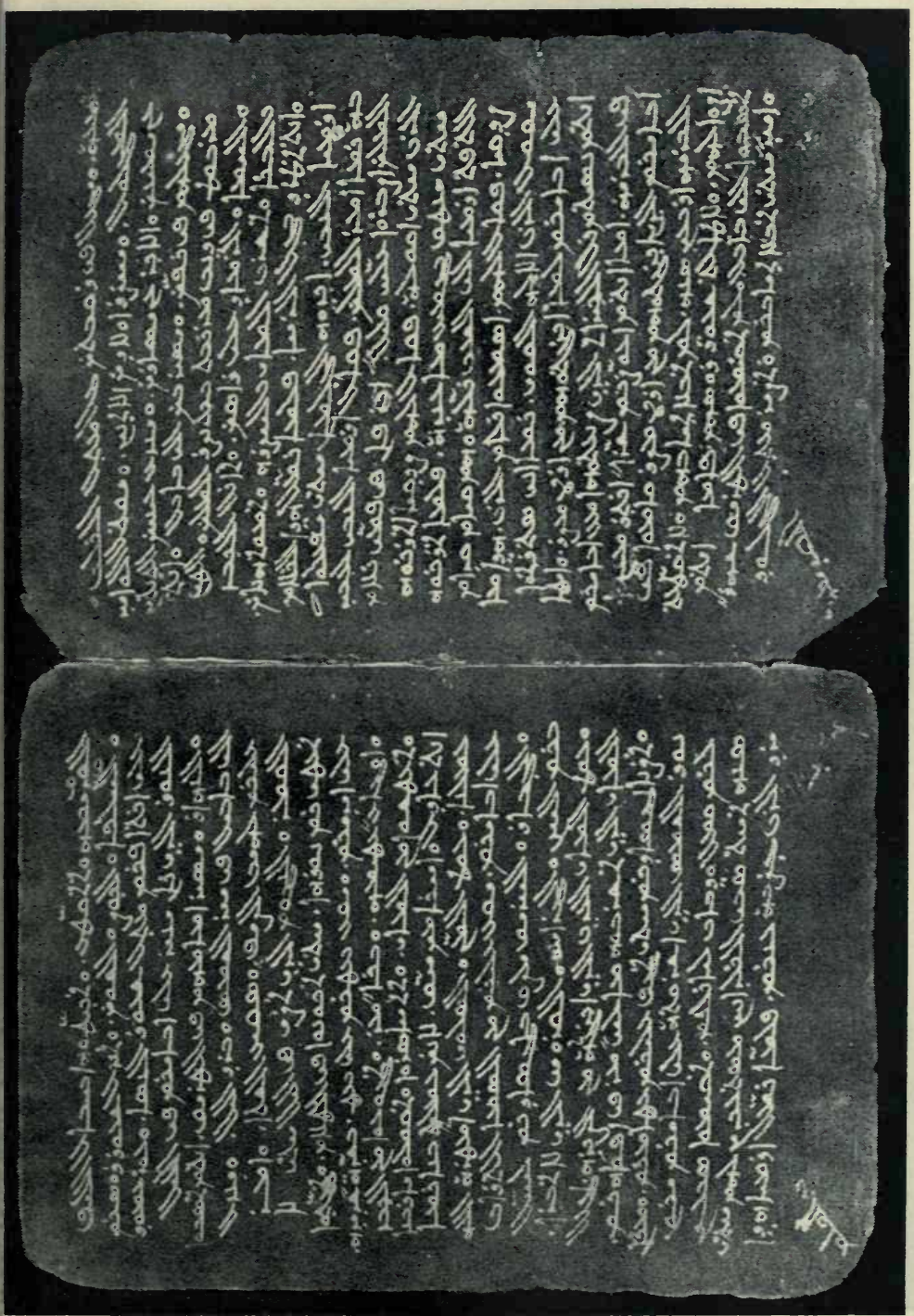
M. 240



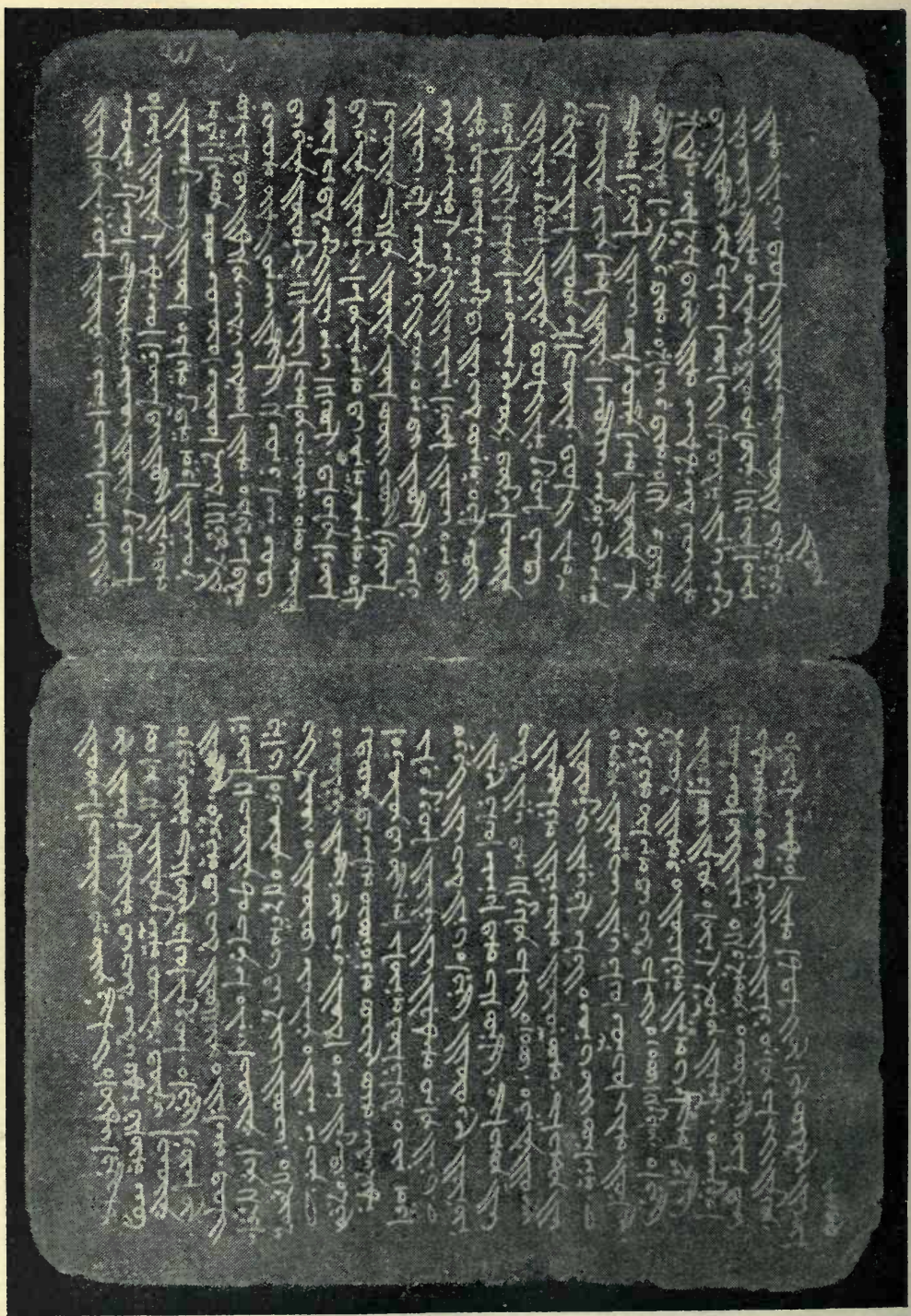
M. 240



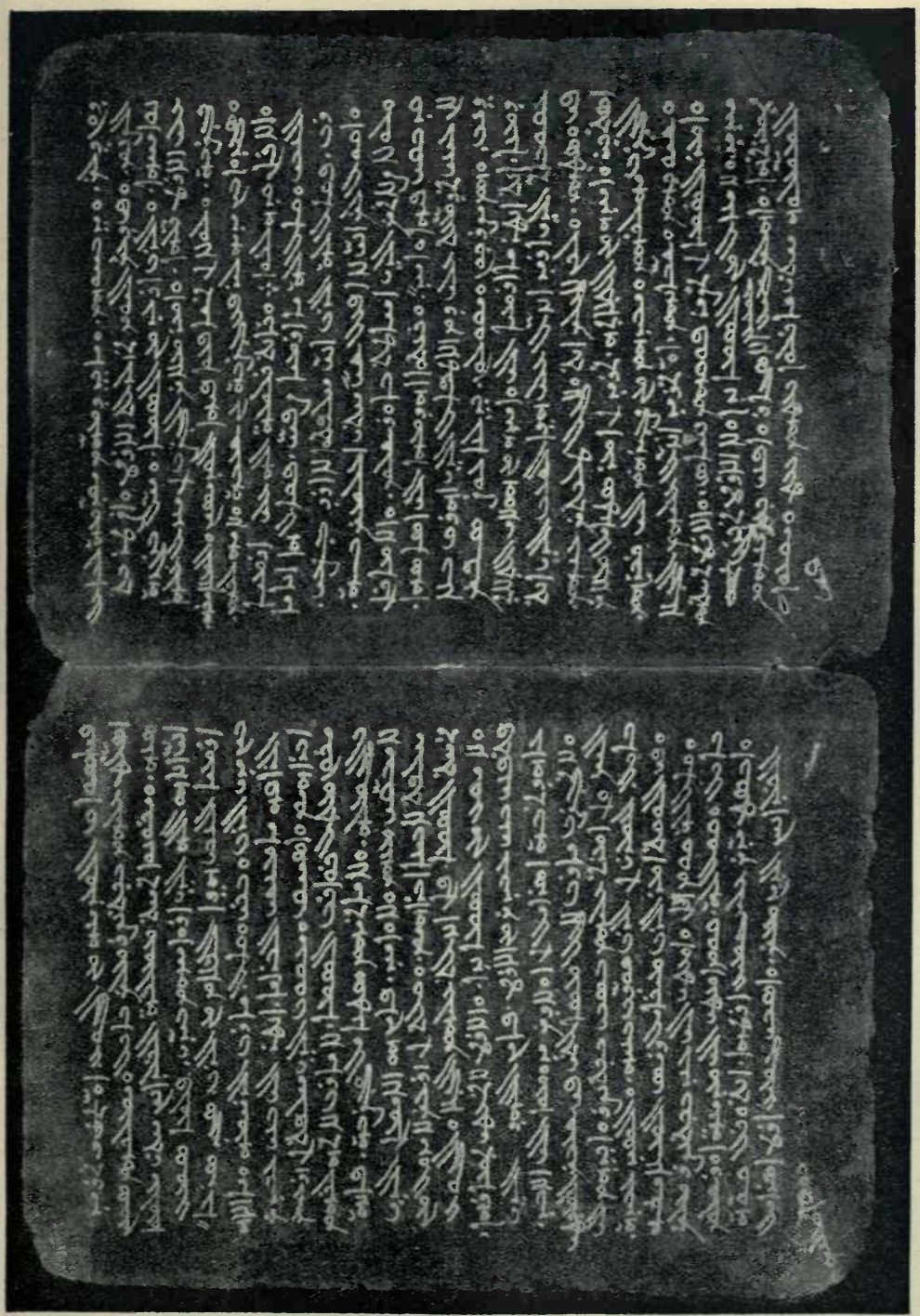
M. 240



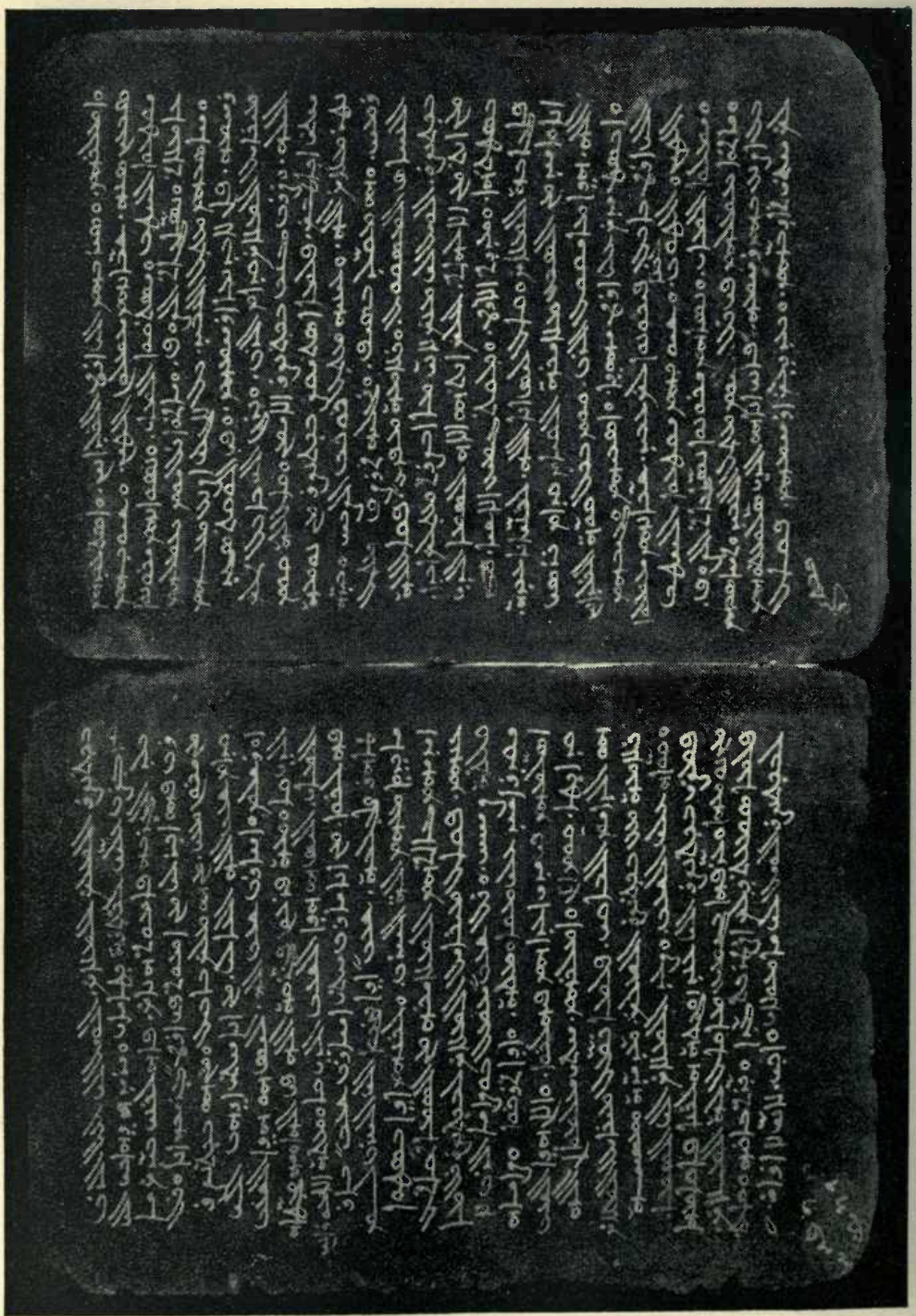
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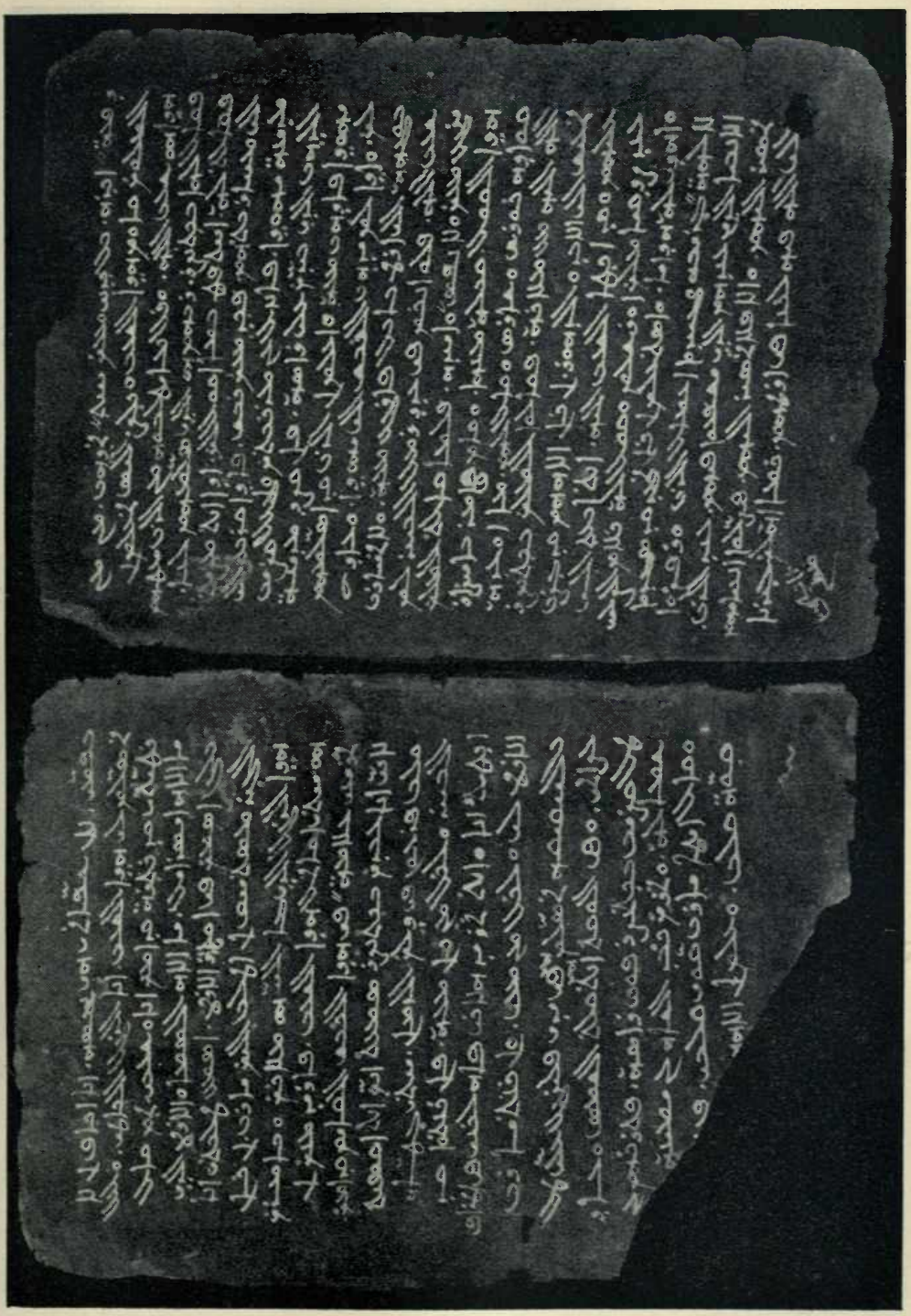
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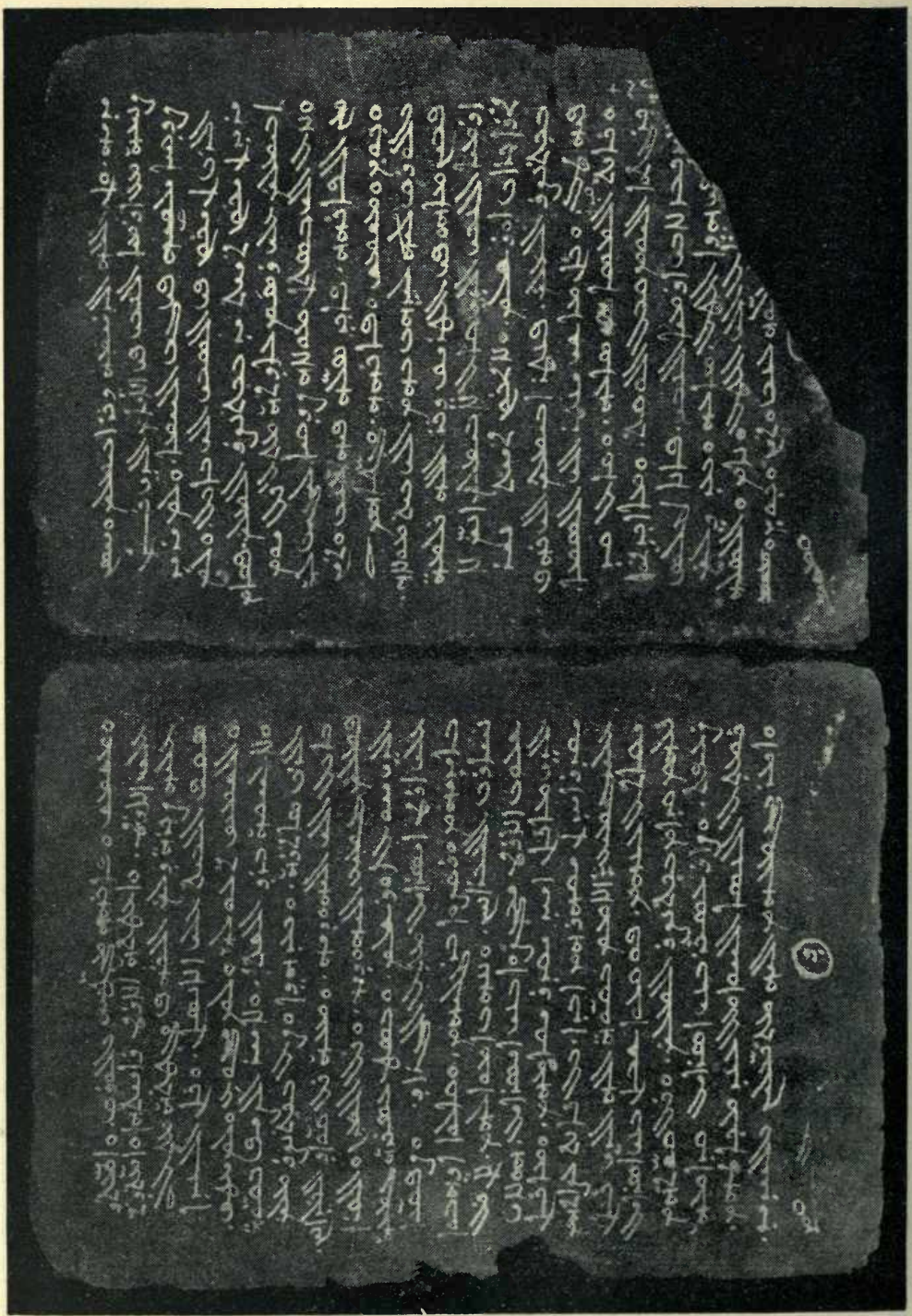
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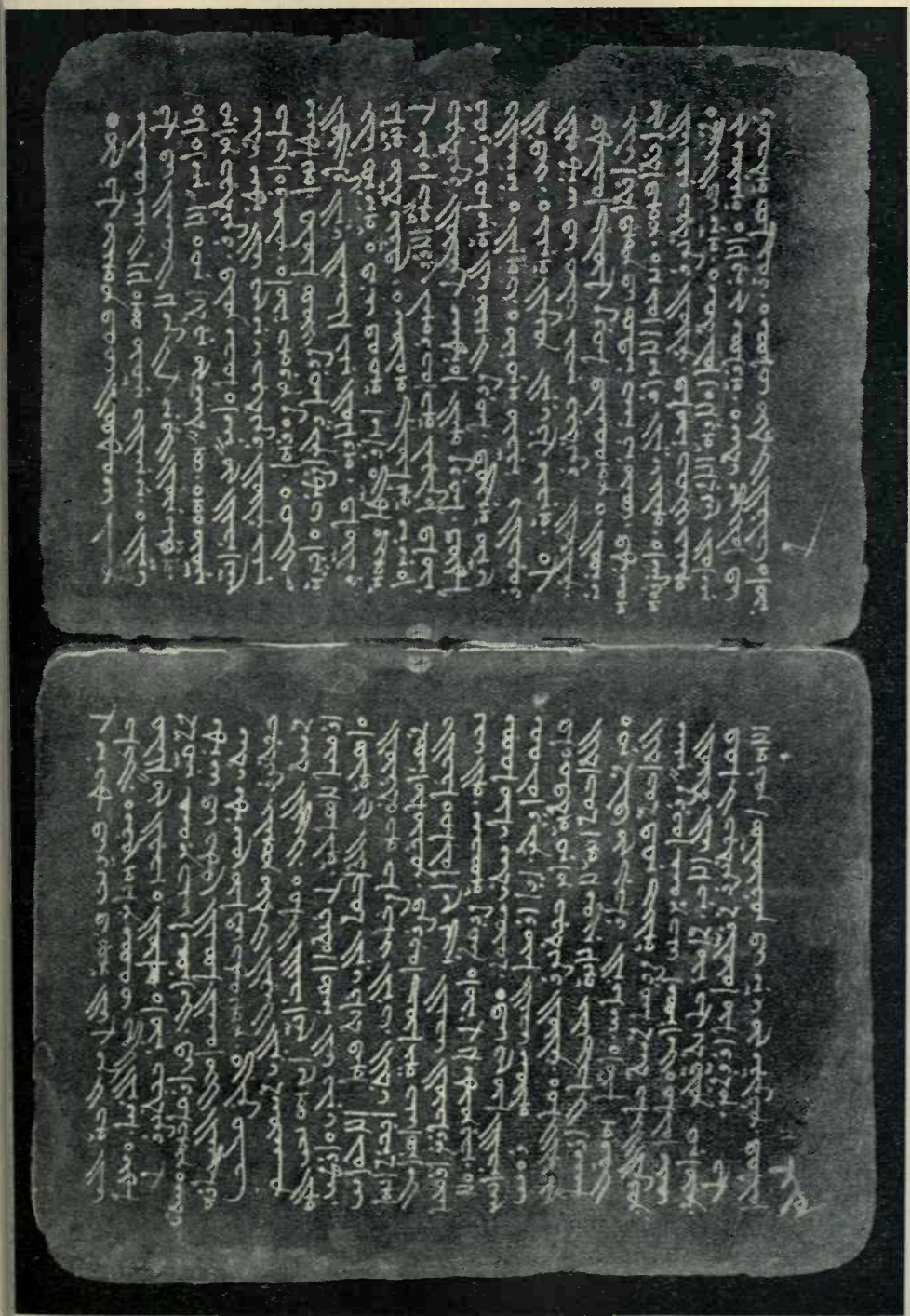
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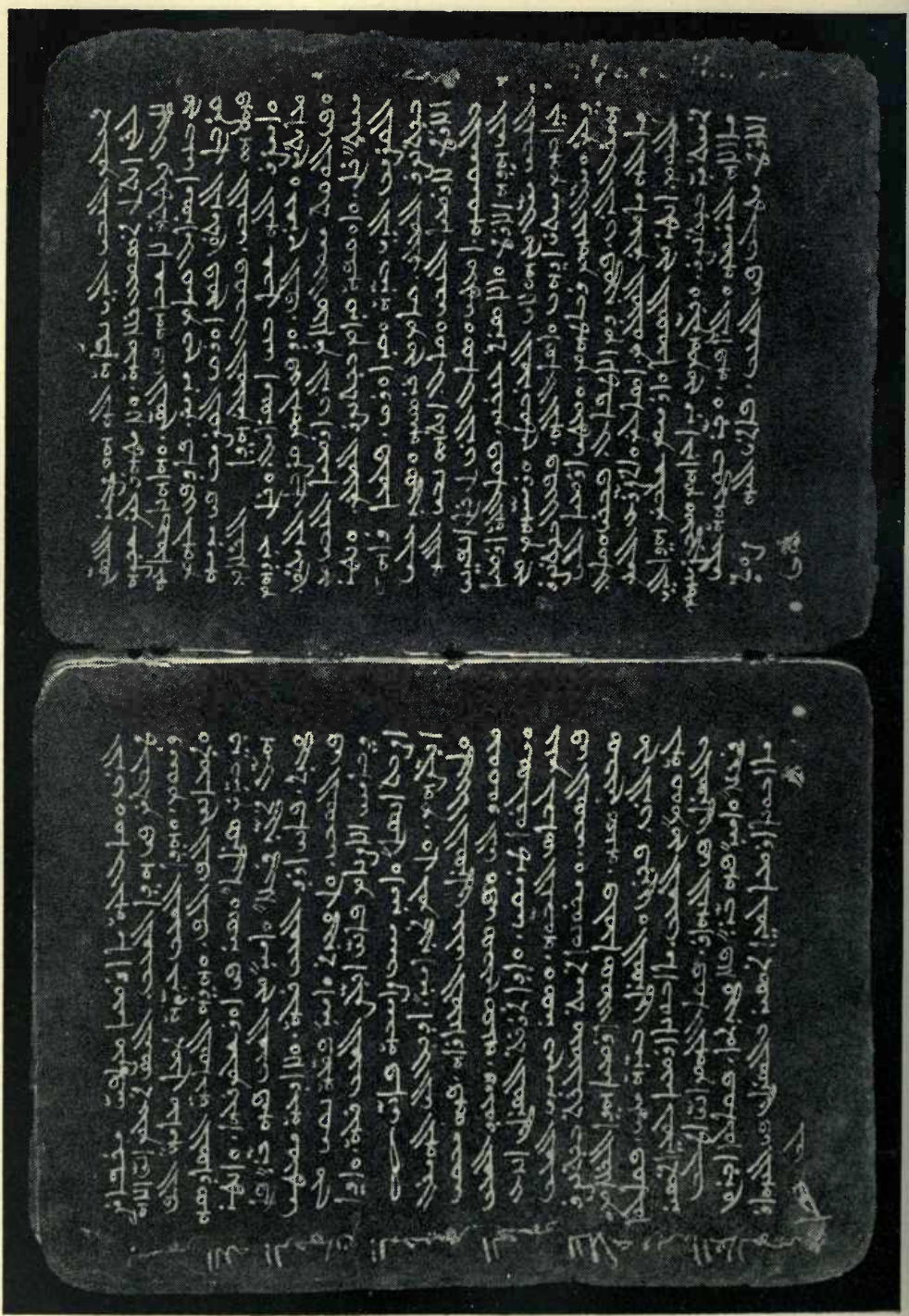
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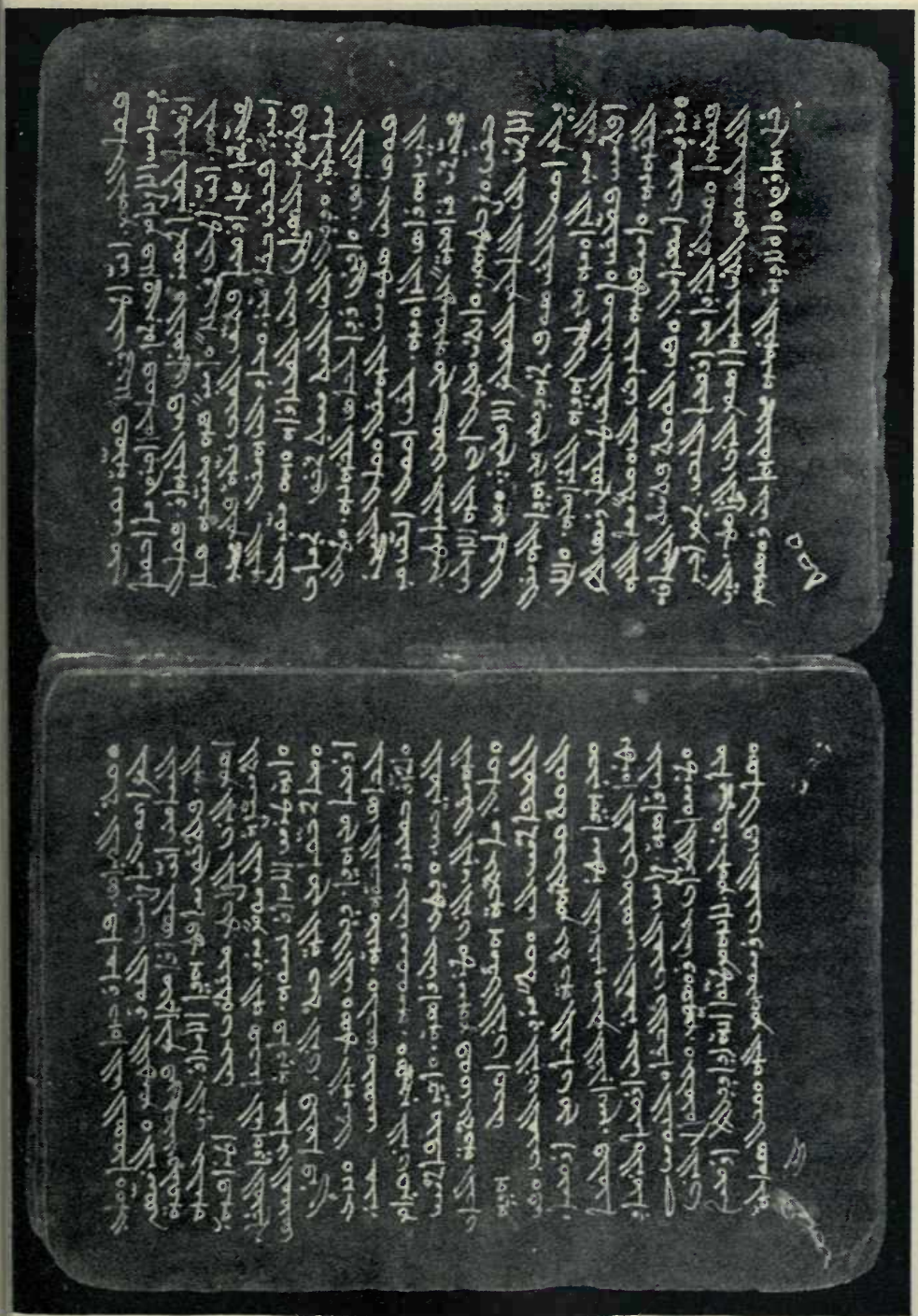


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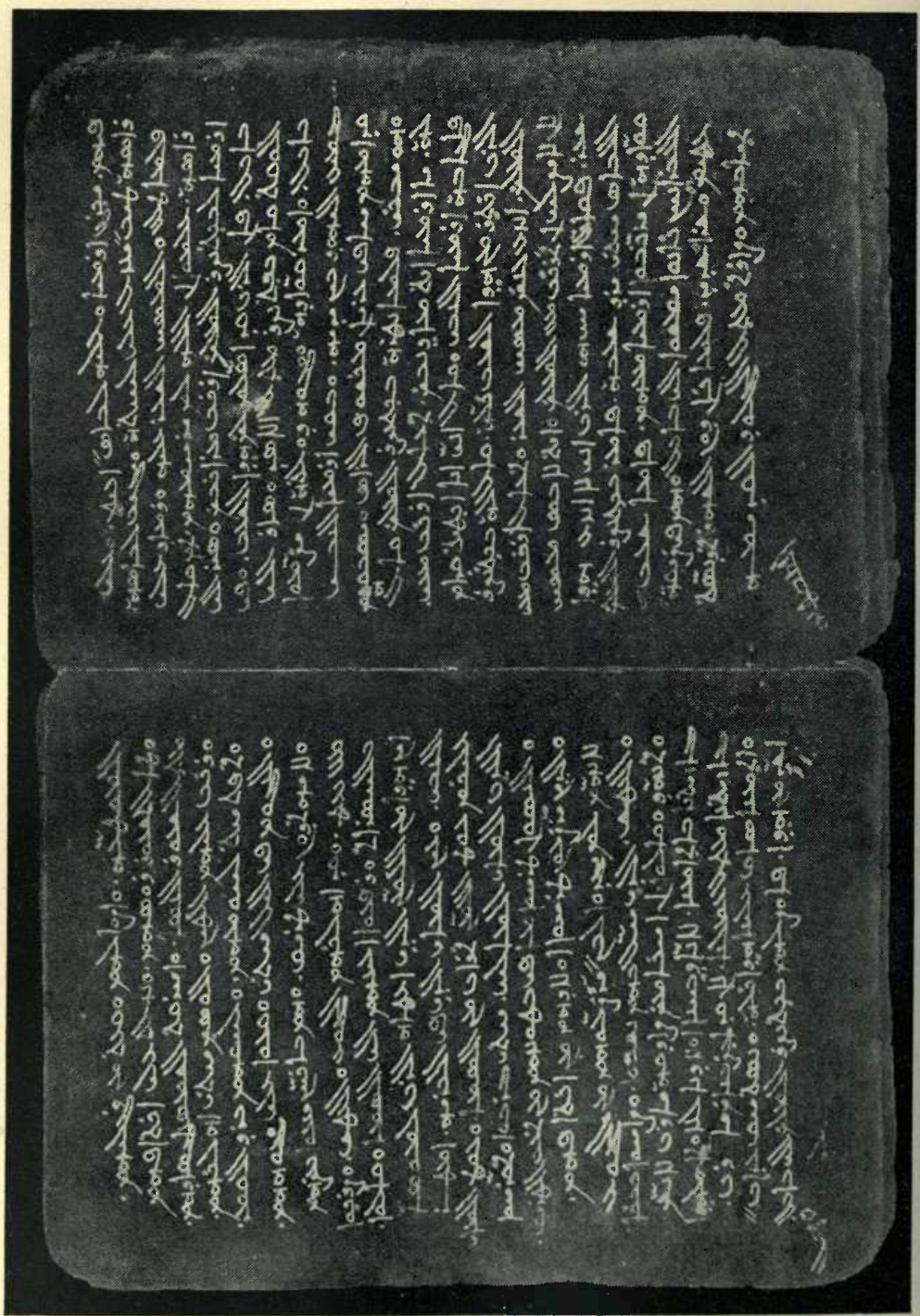


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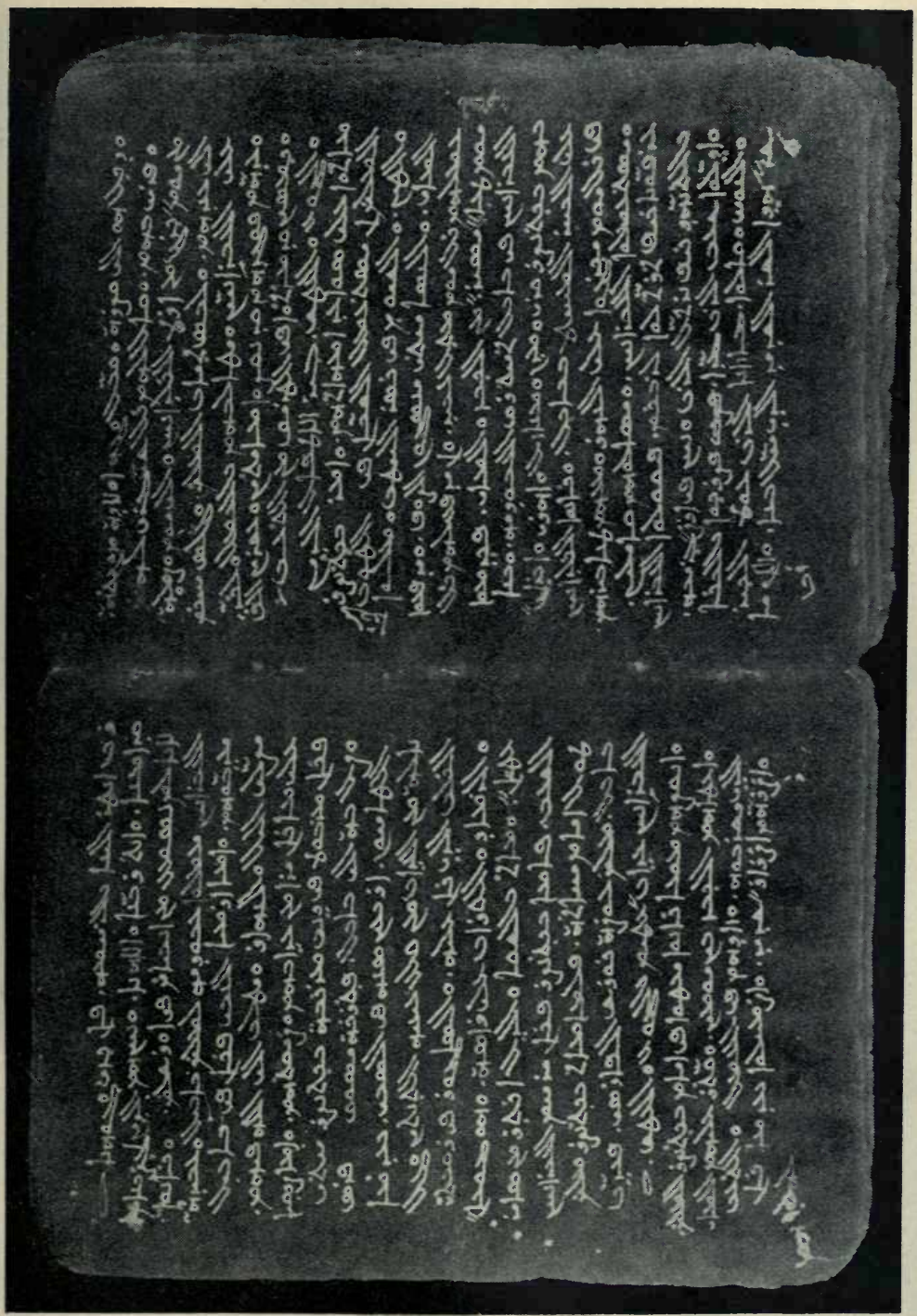




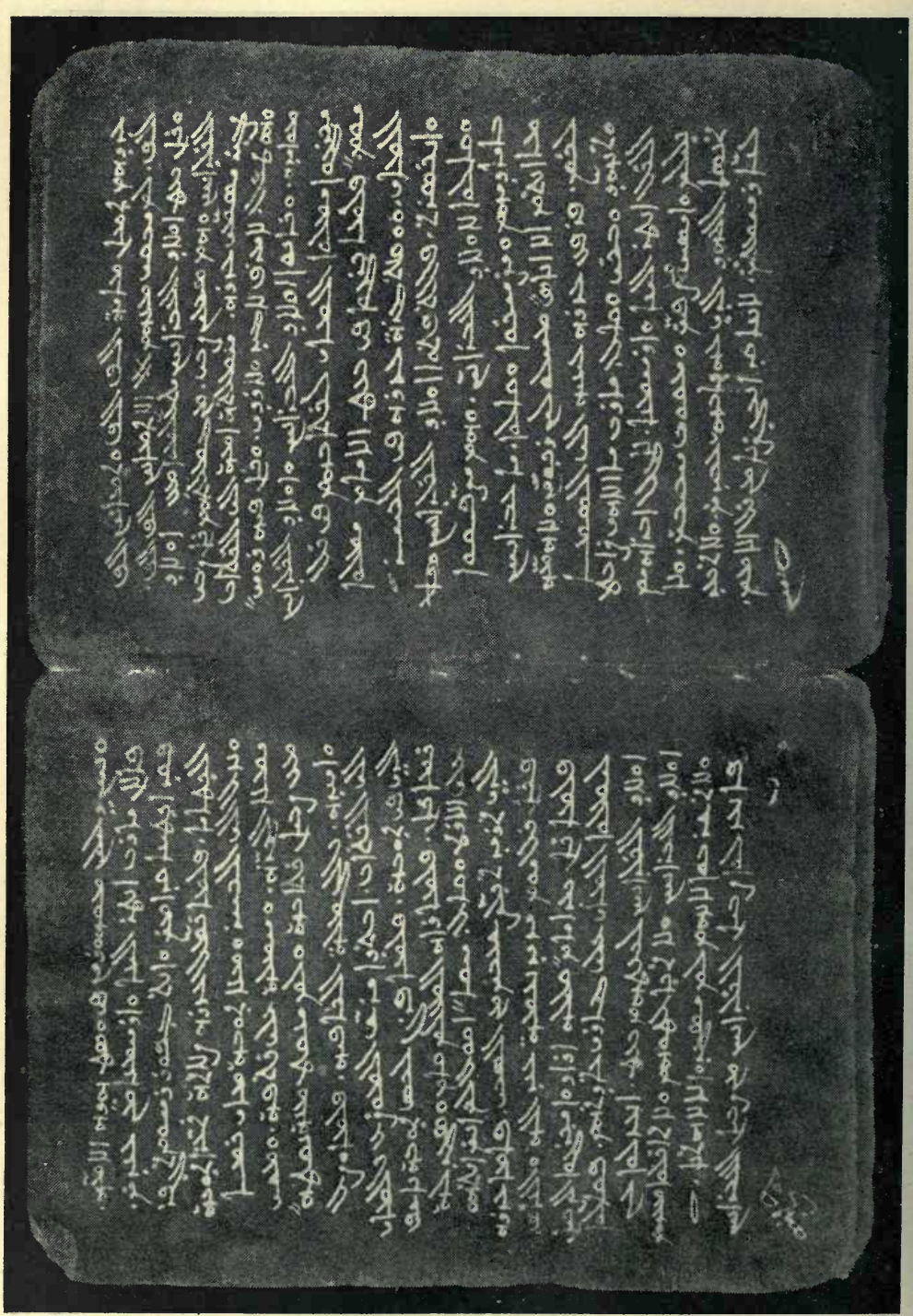
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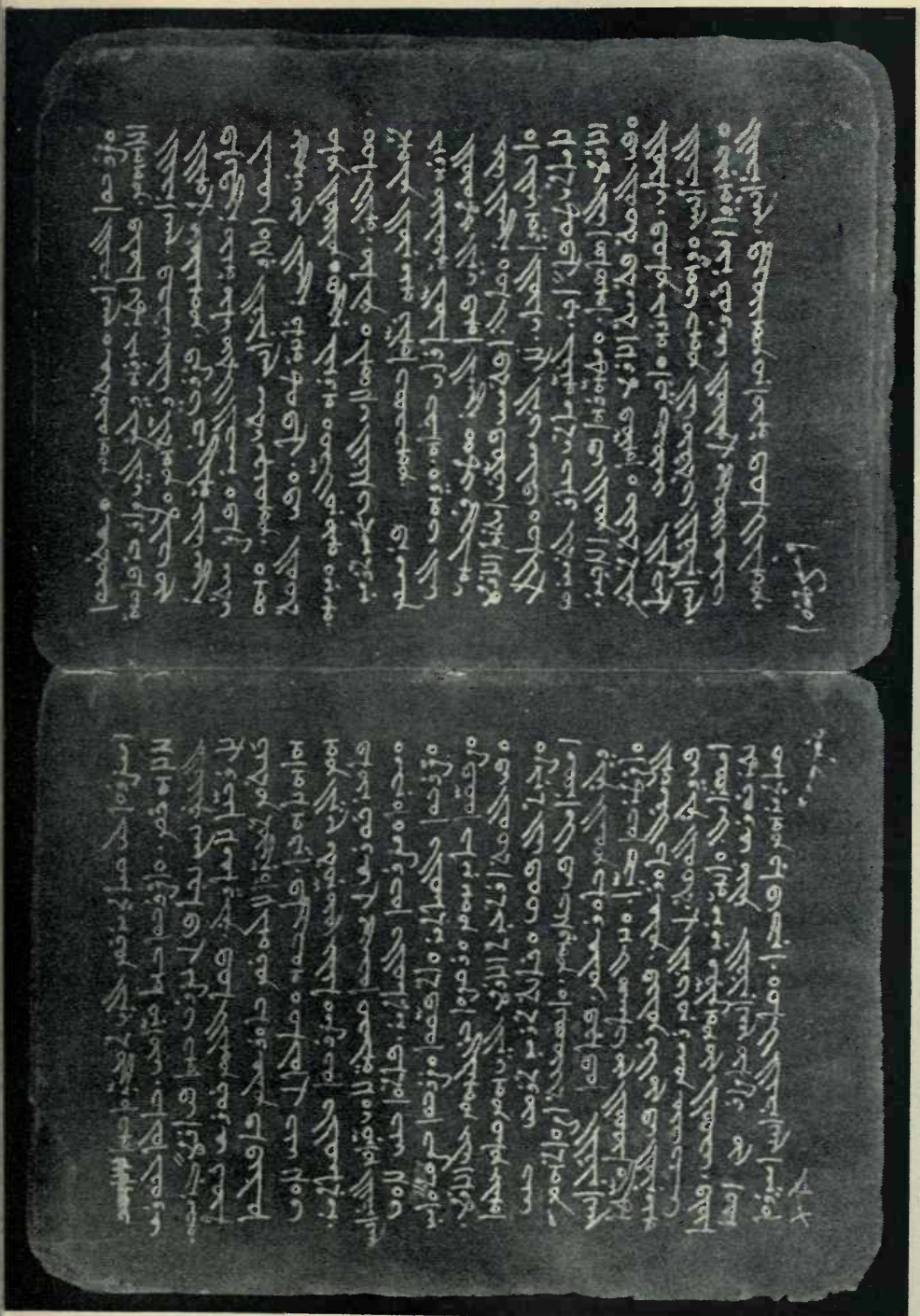
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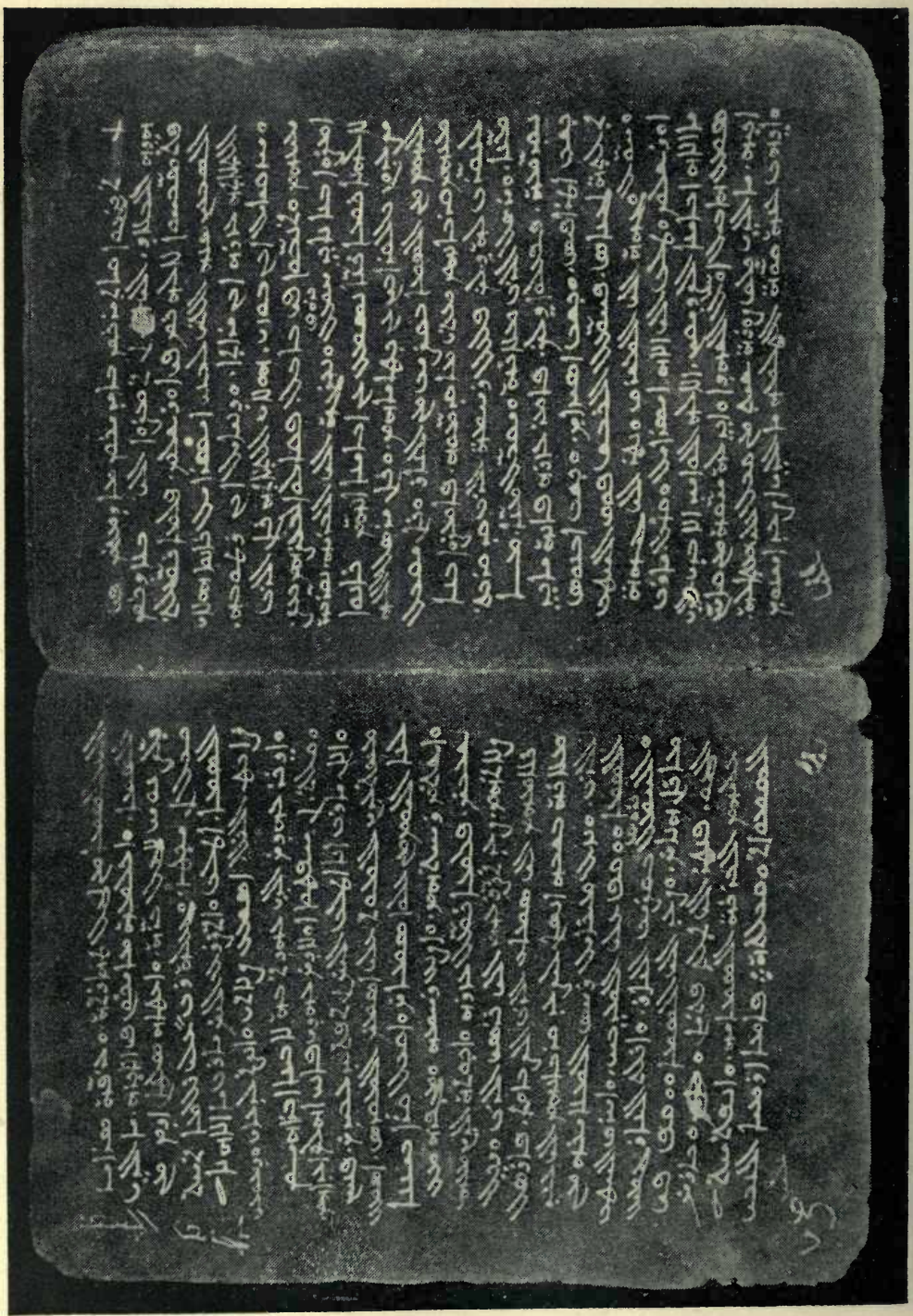
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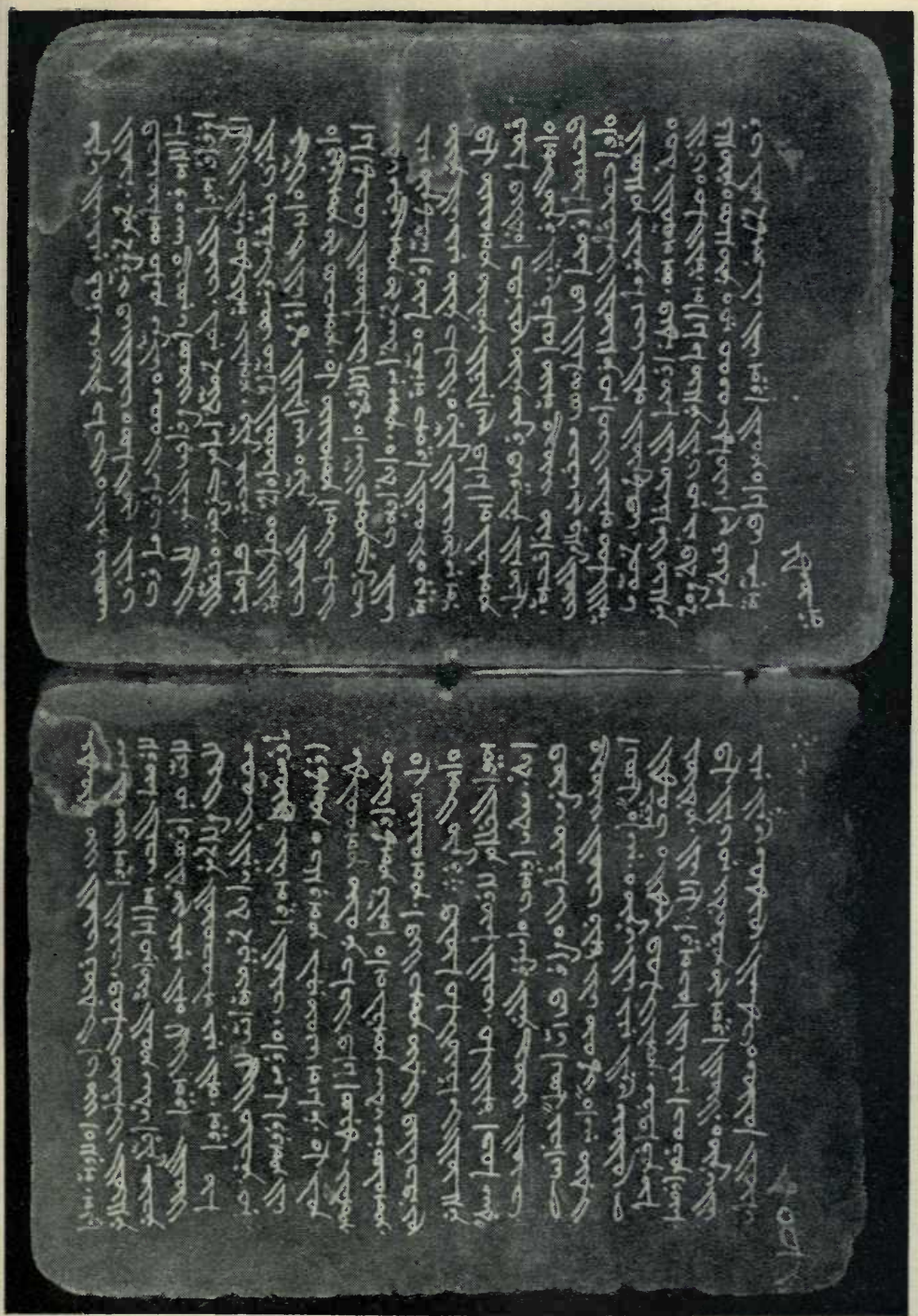
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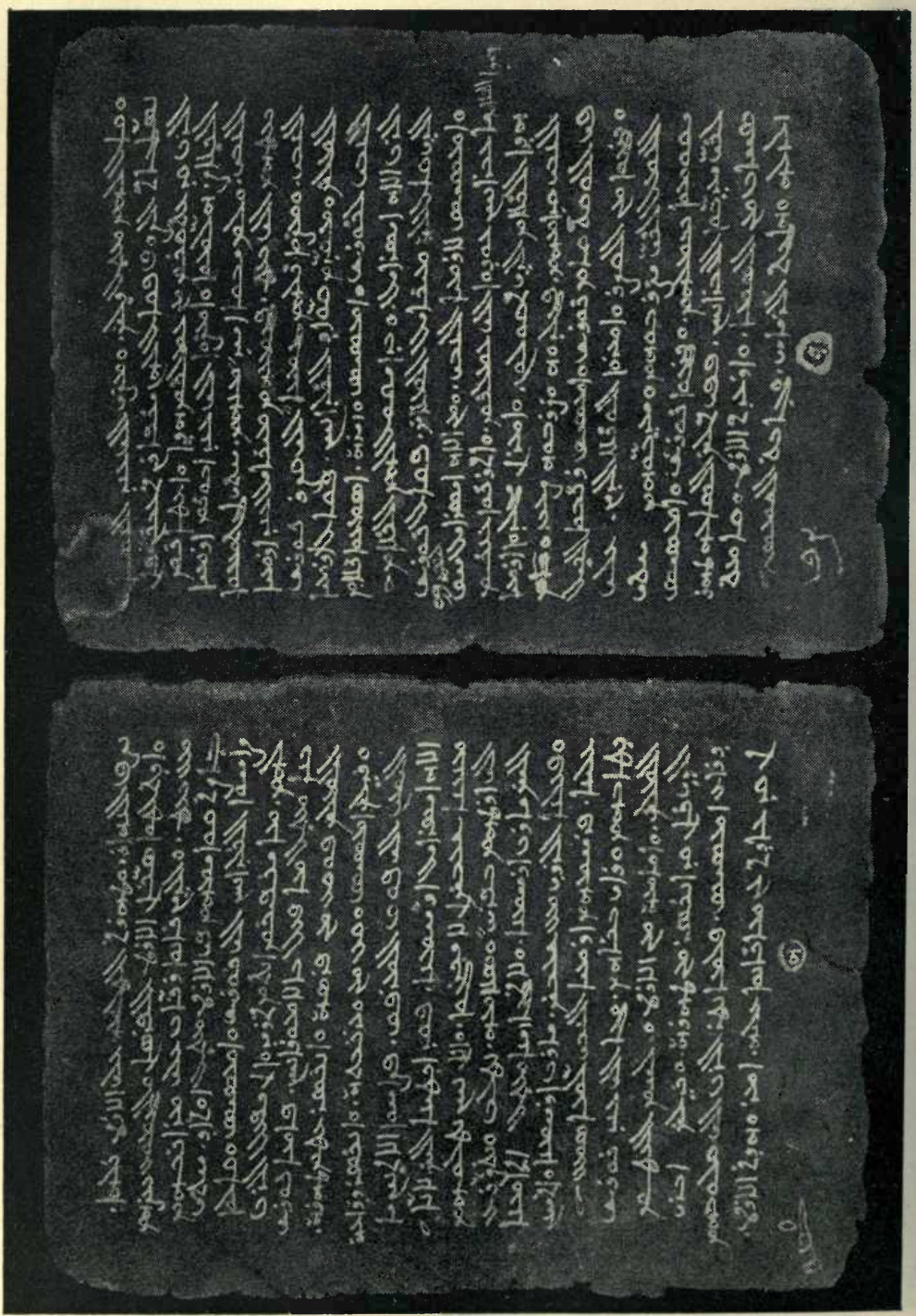
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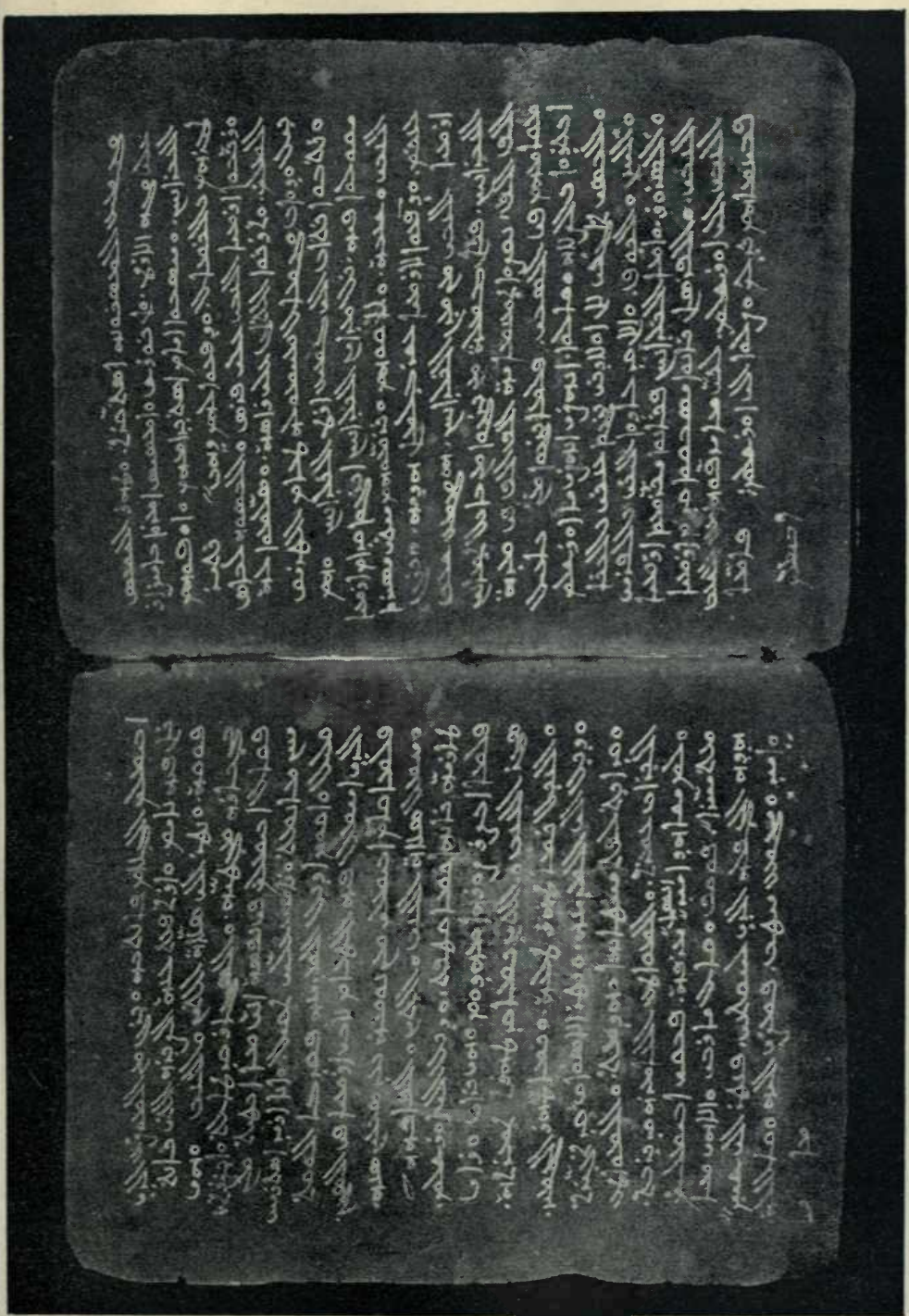
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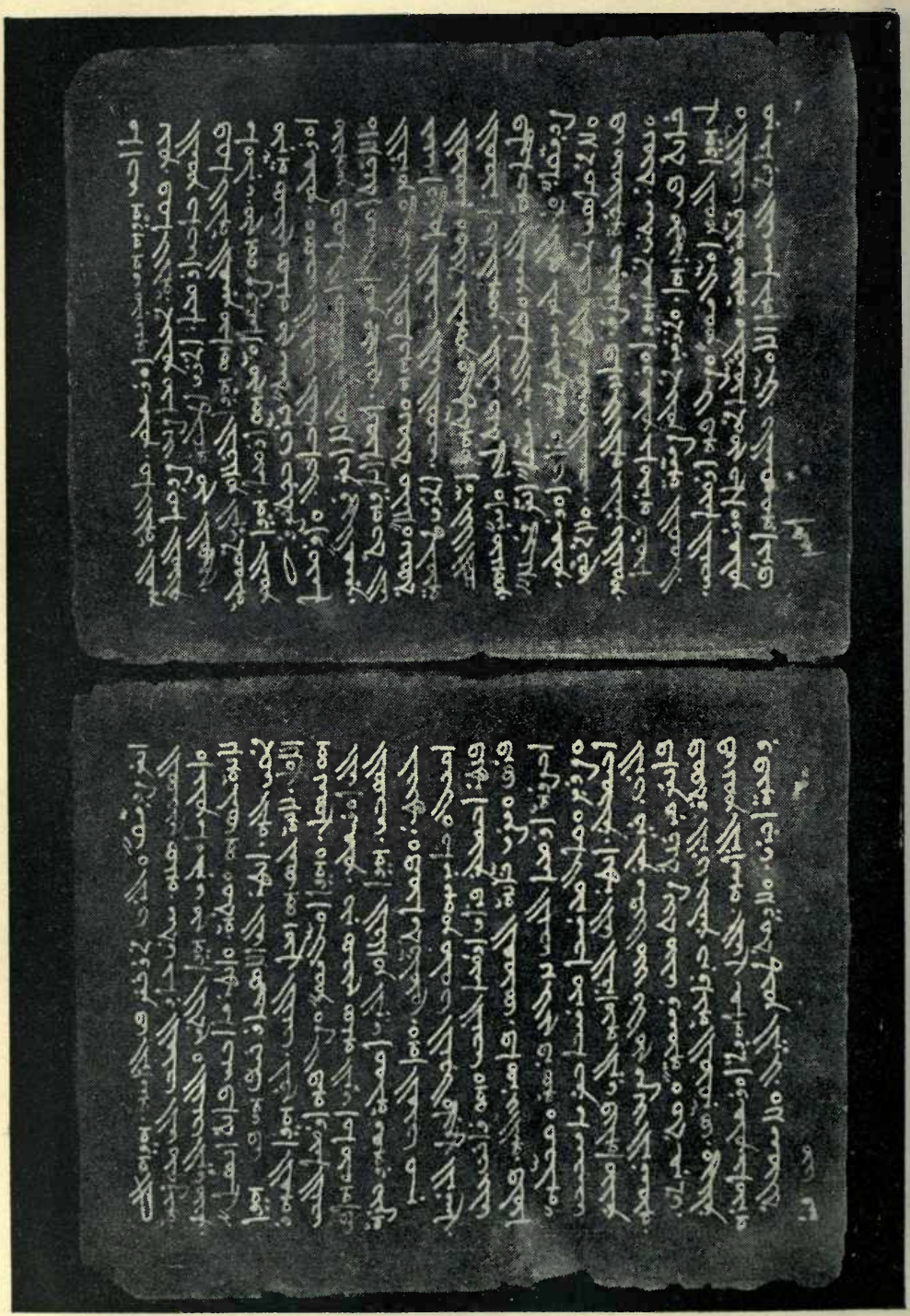
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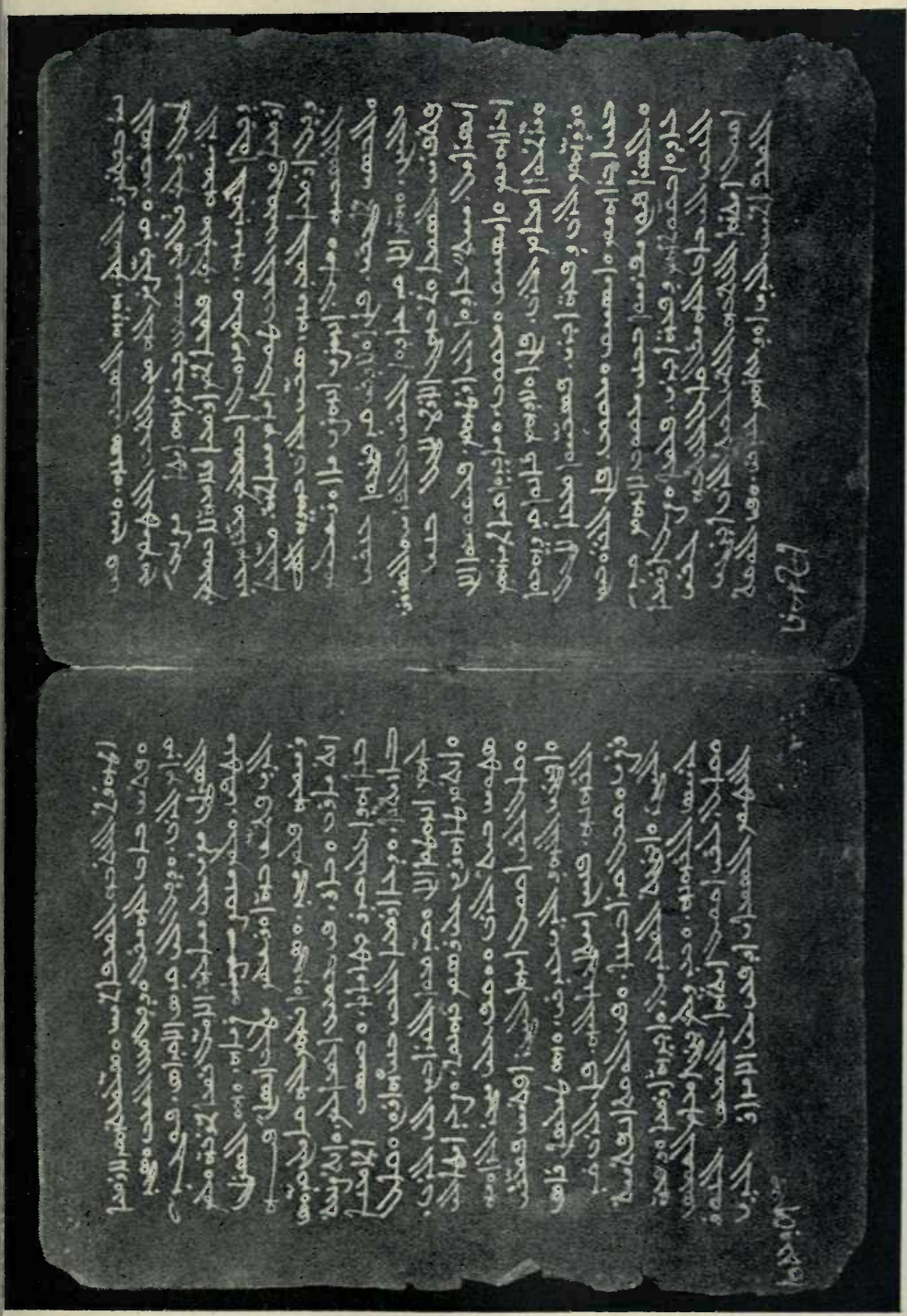
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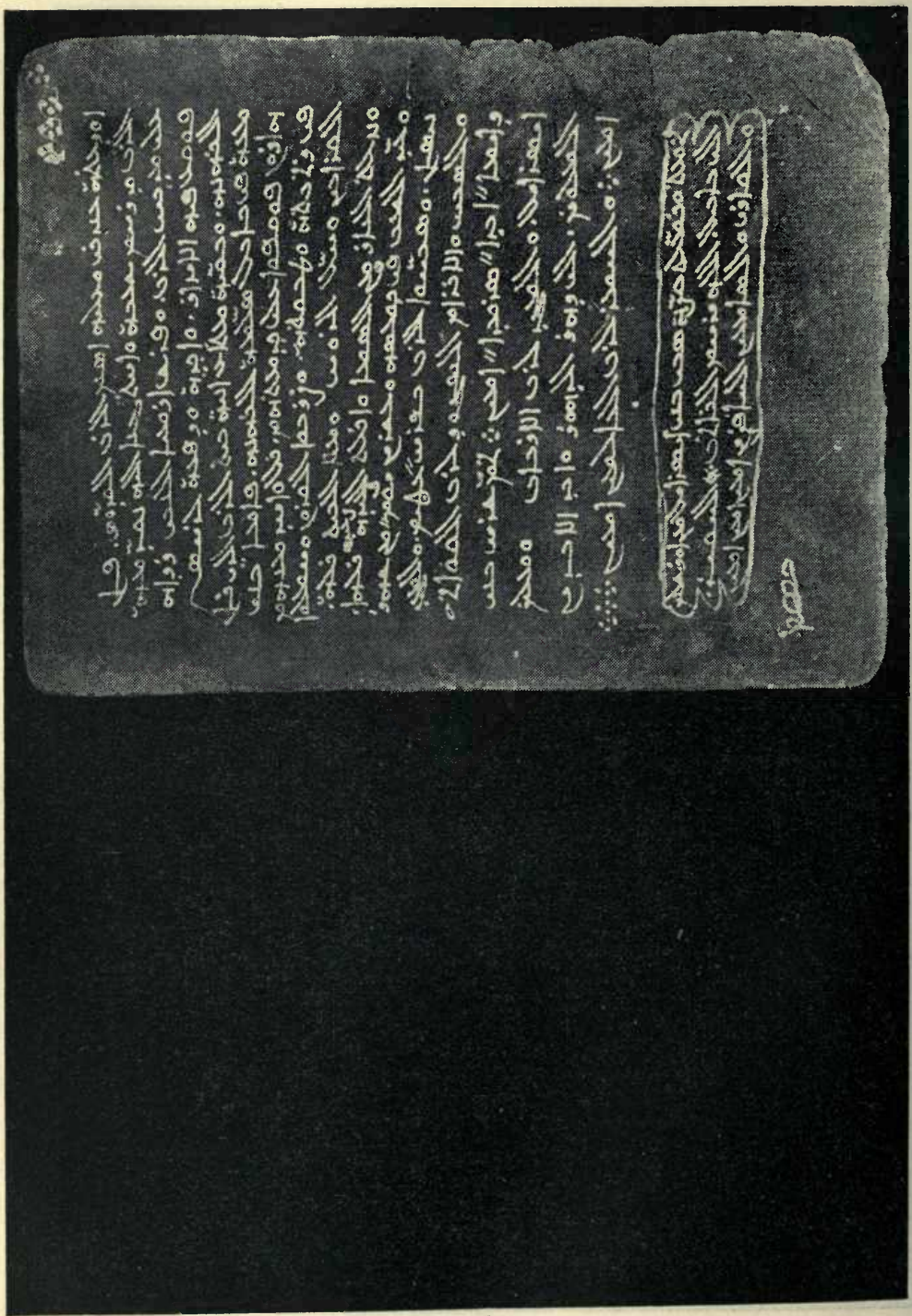
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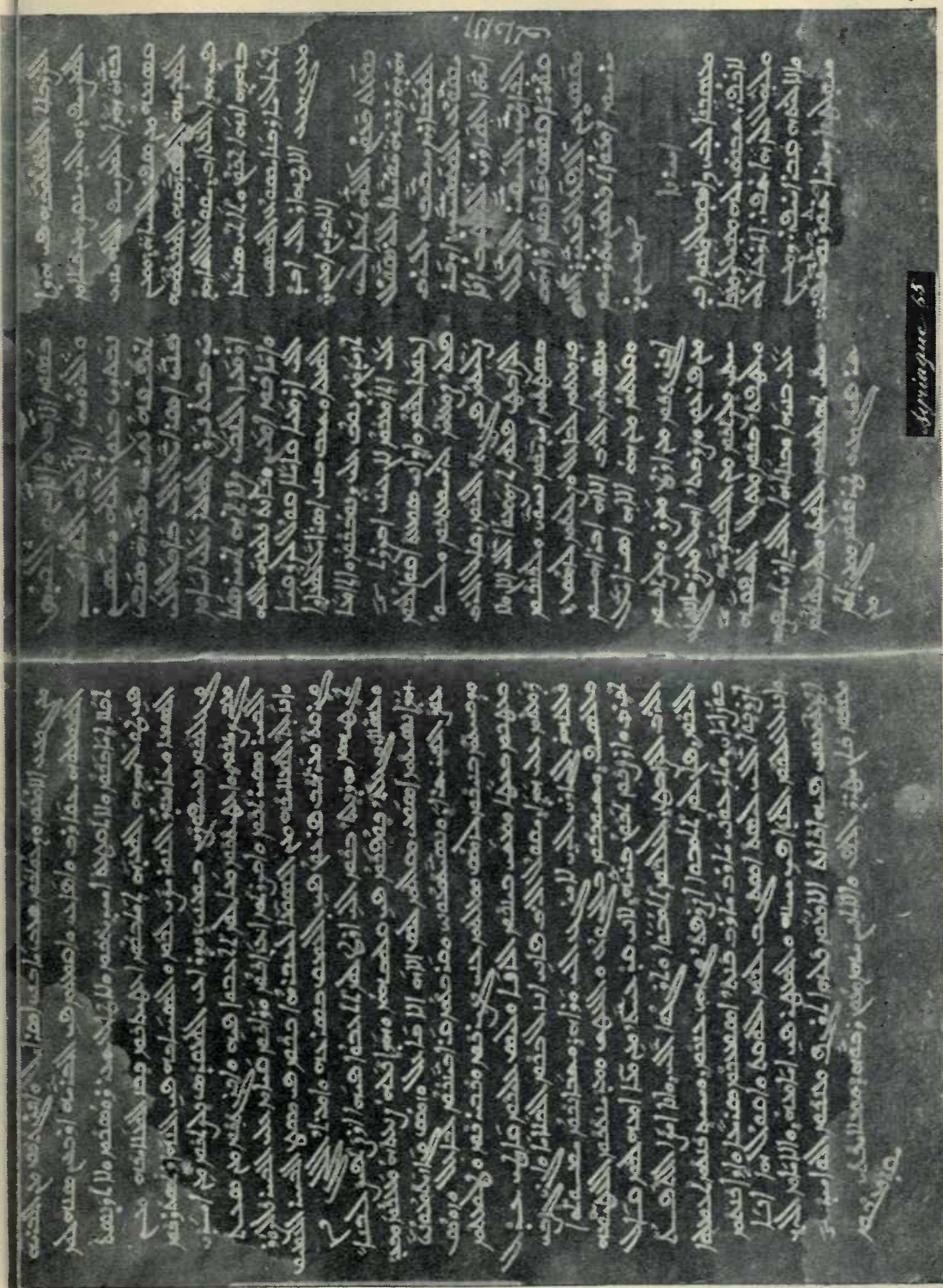
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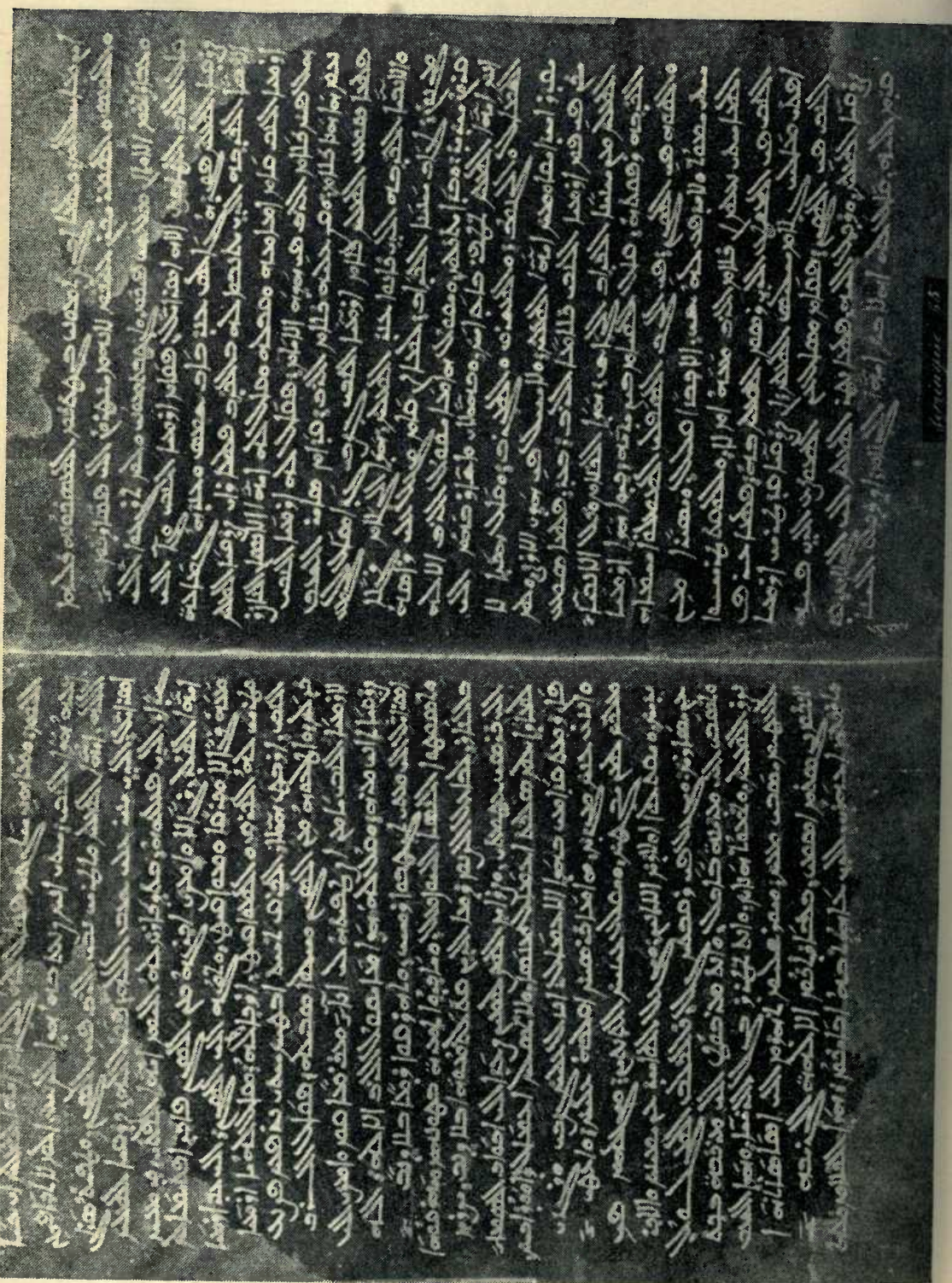


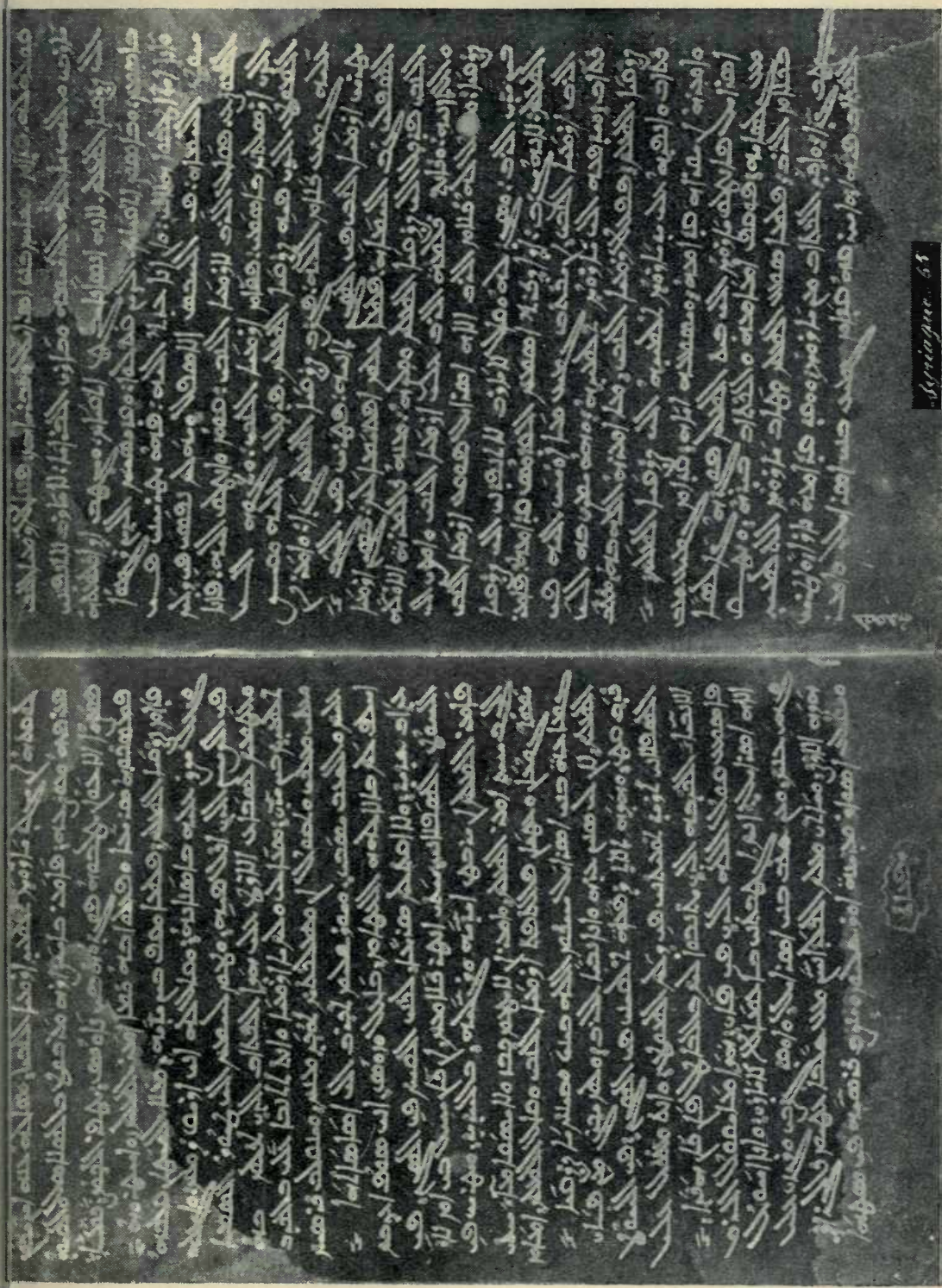
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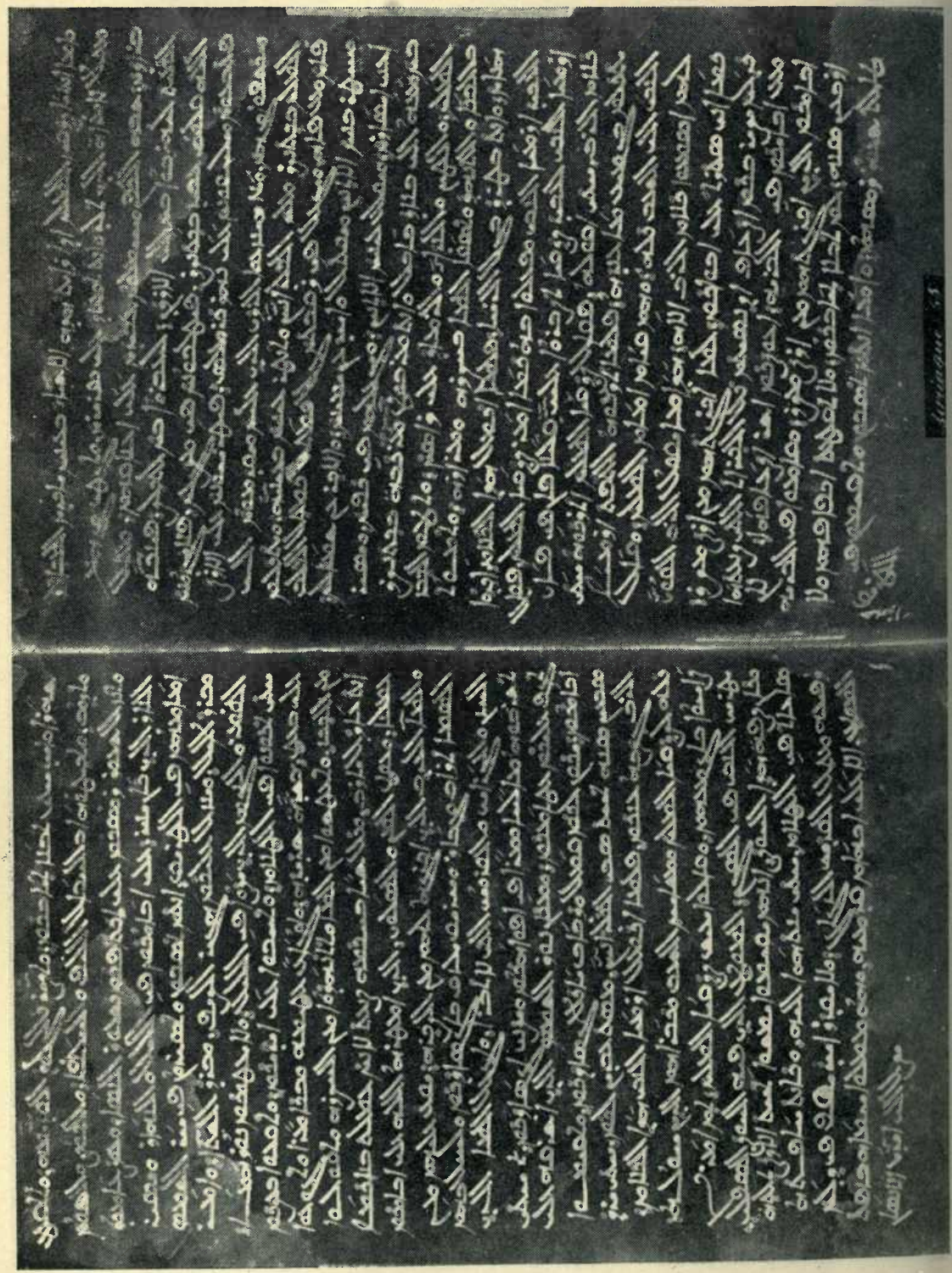


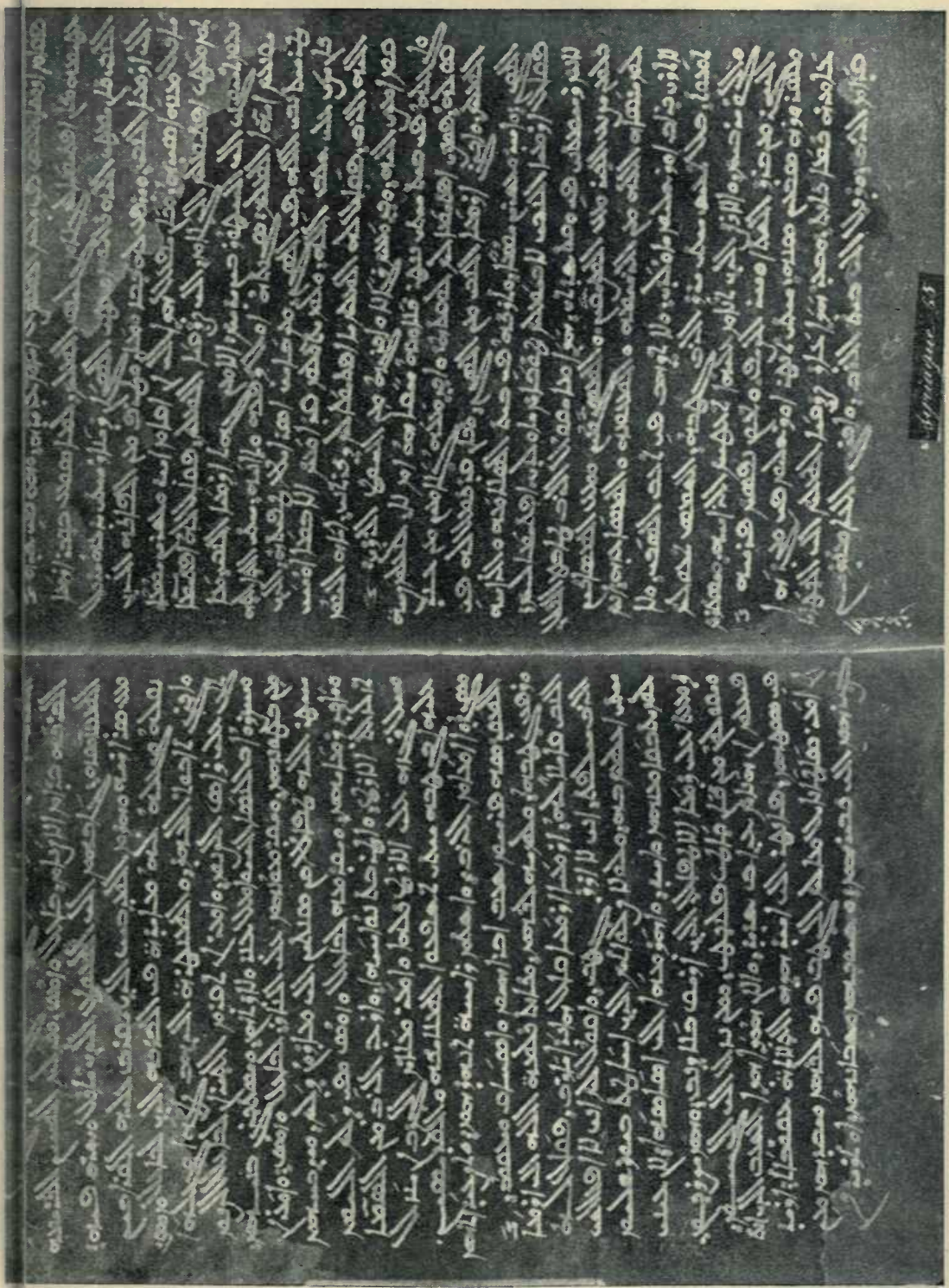
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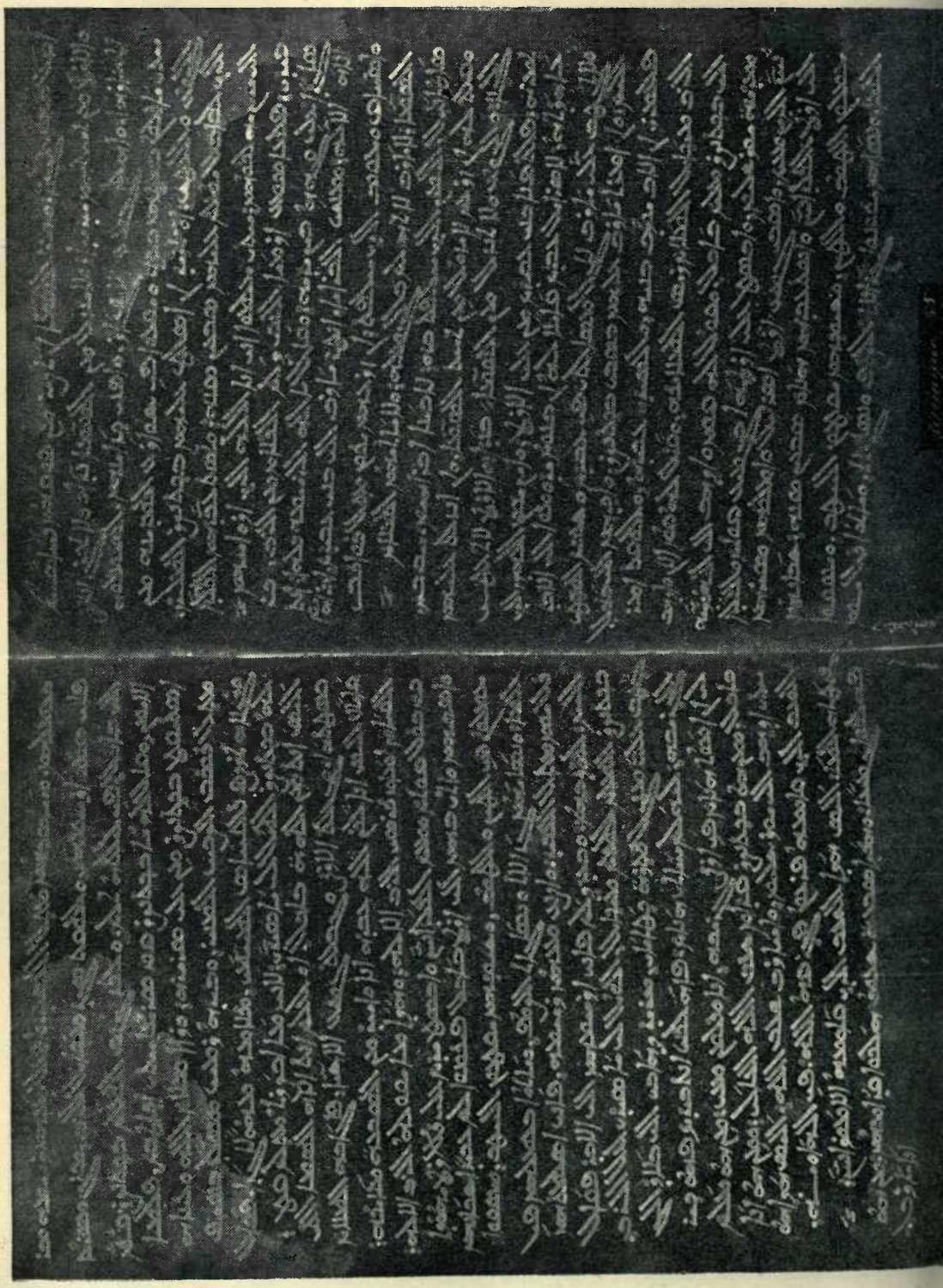

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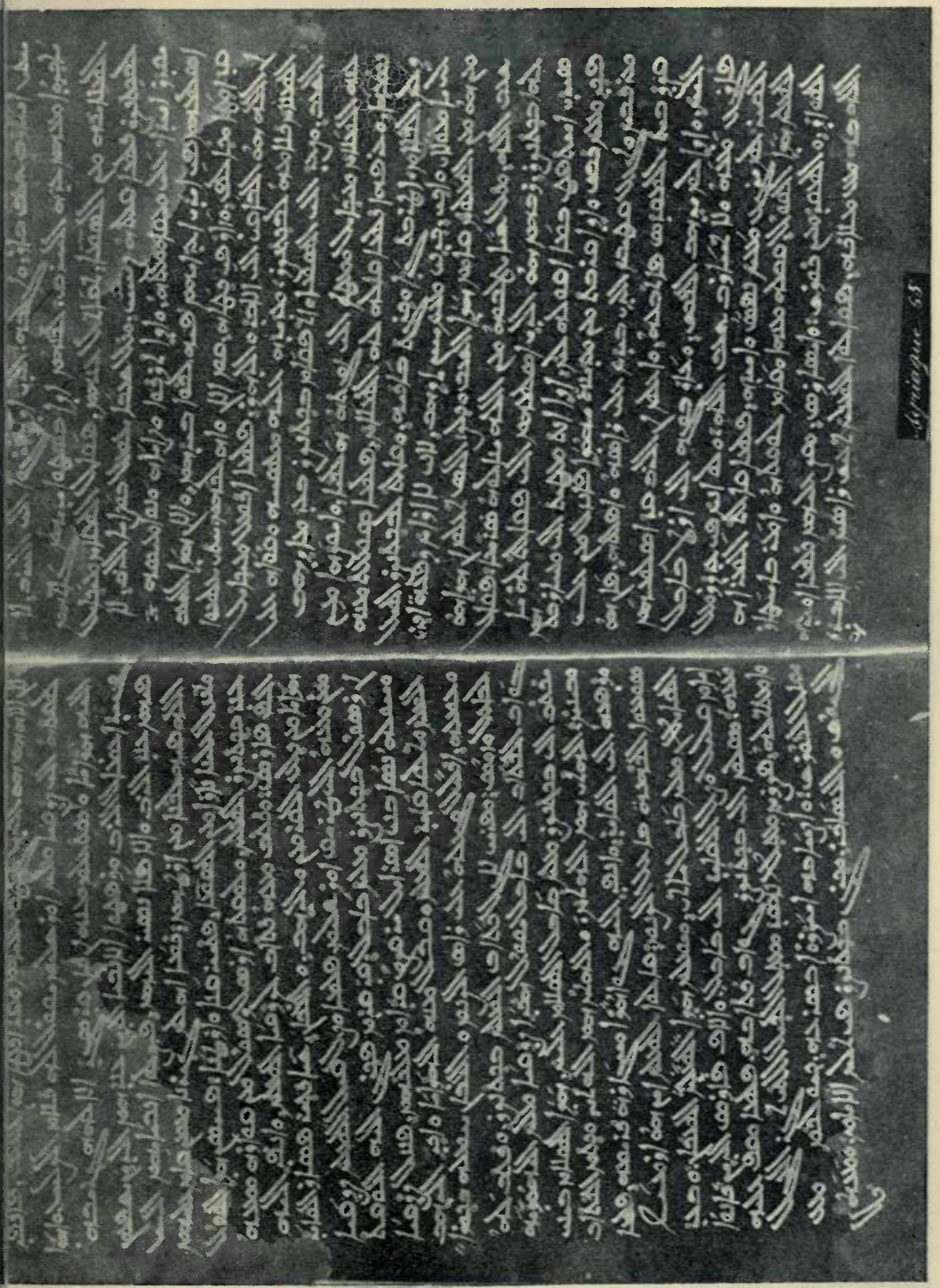


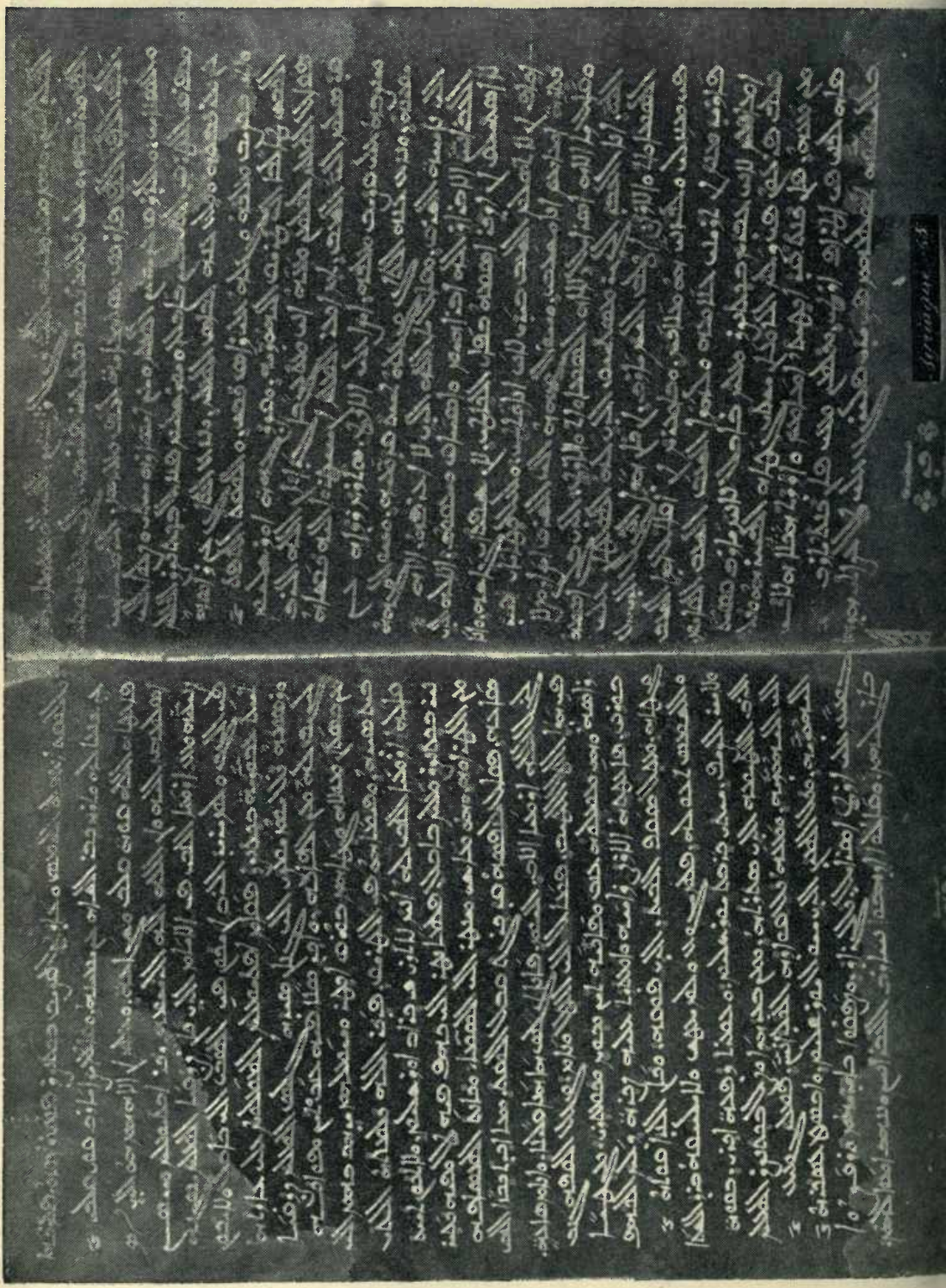

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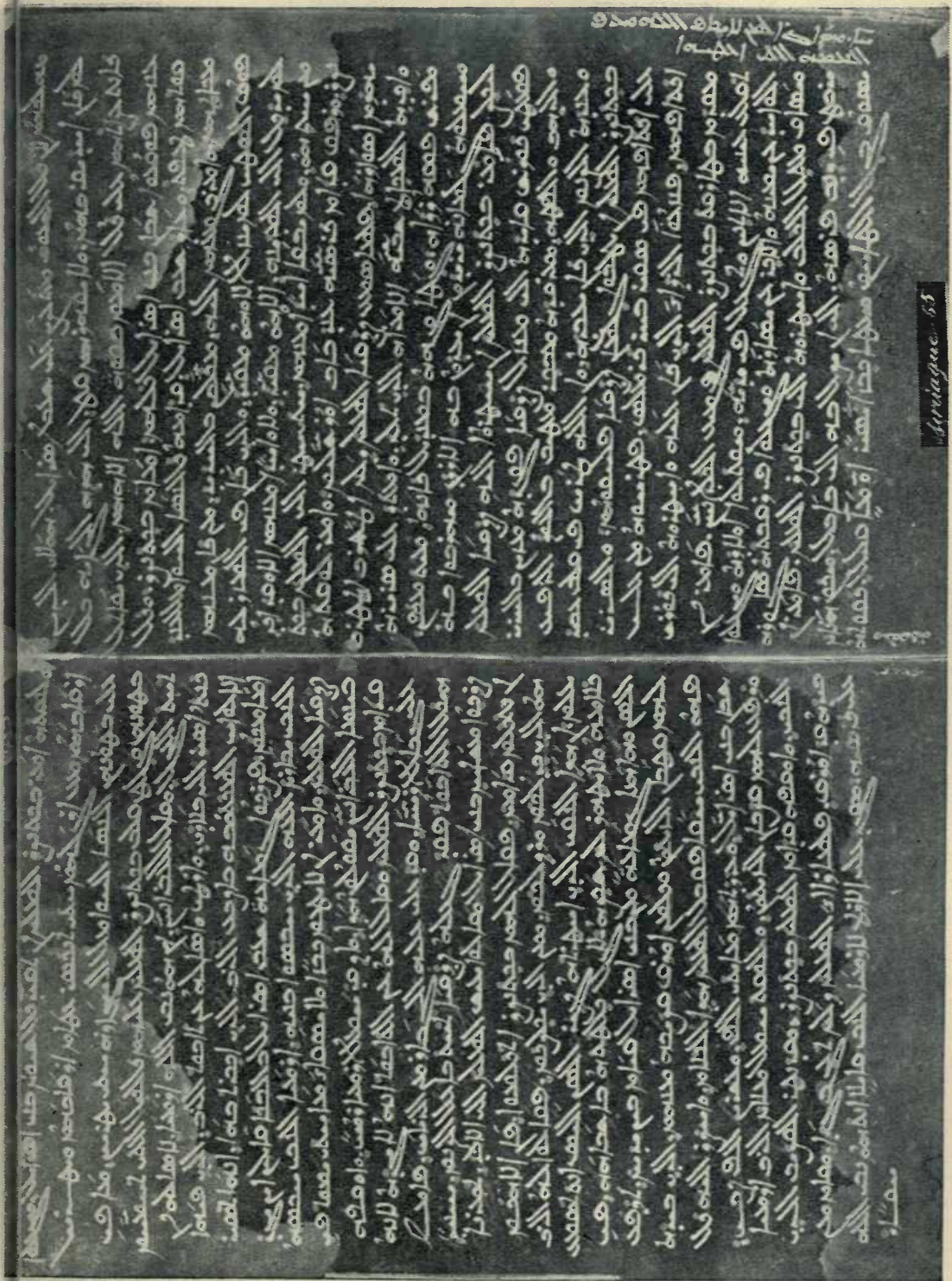


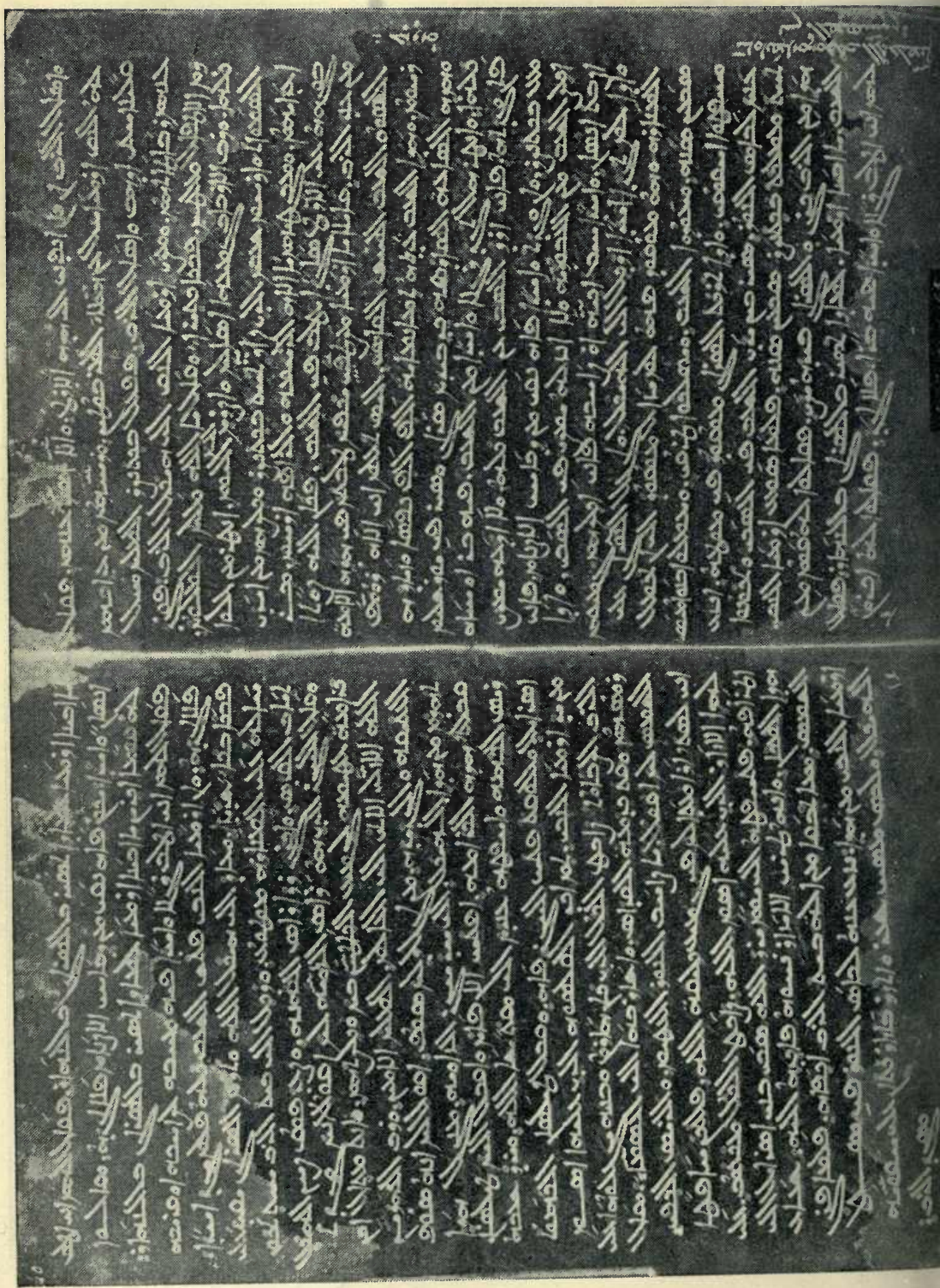


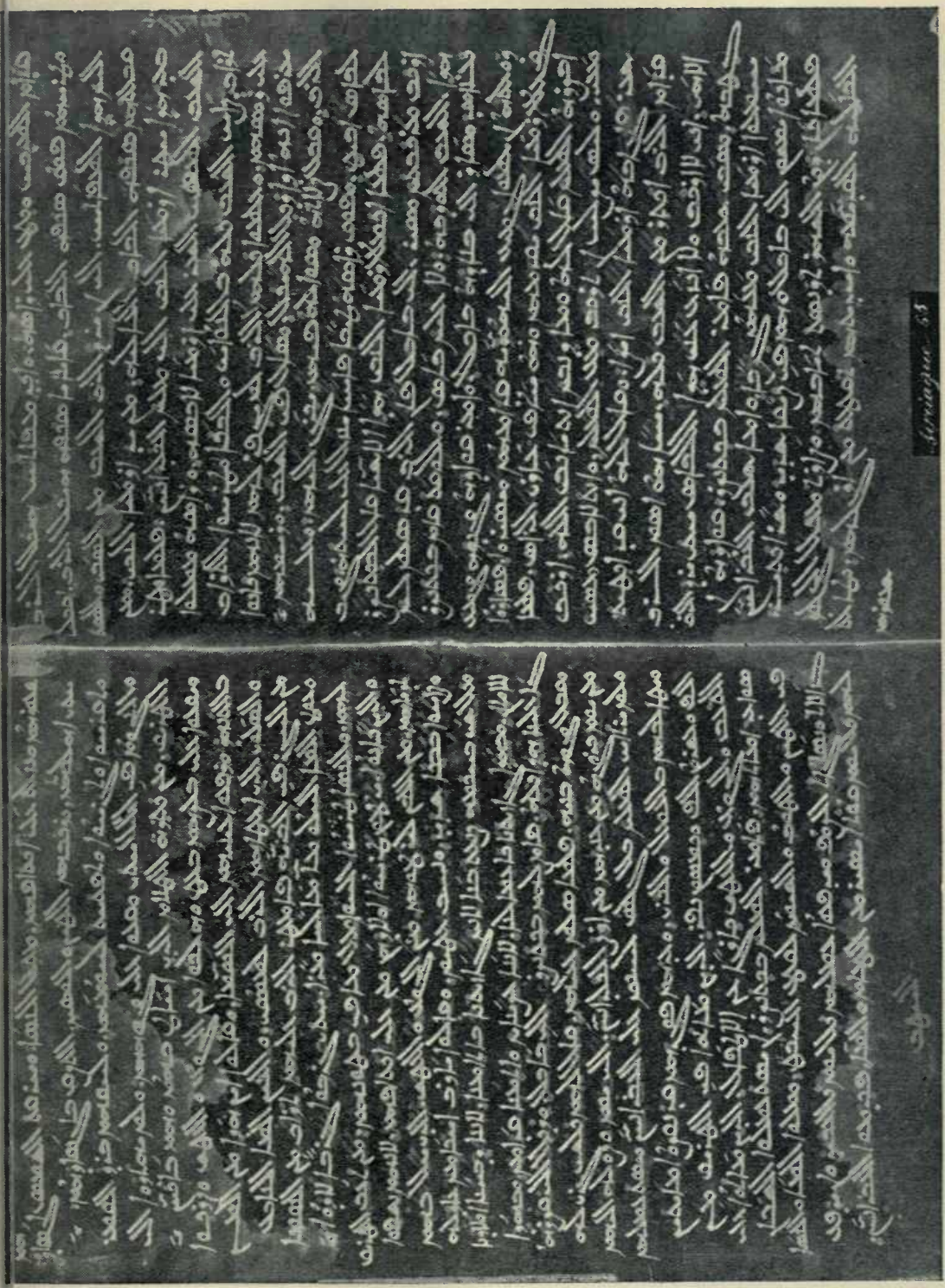


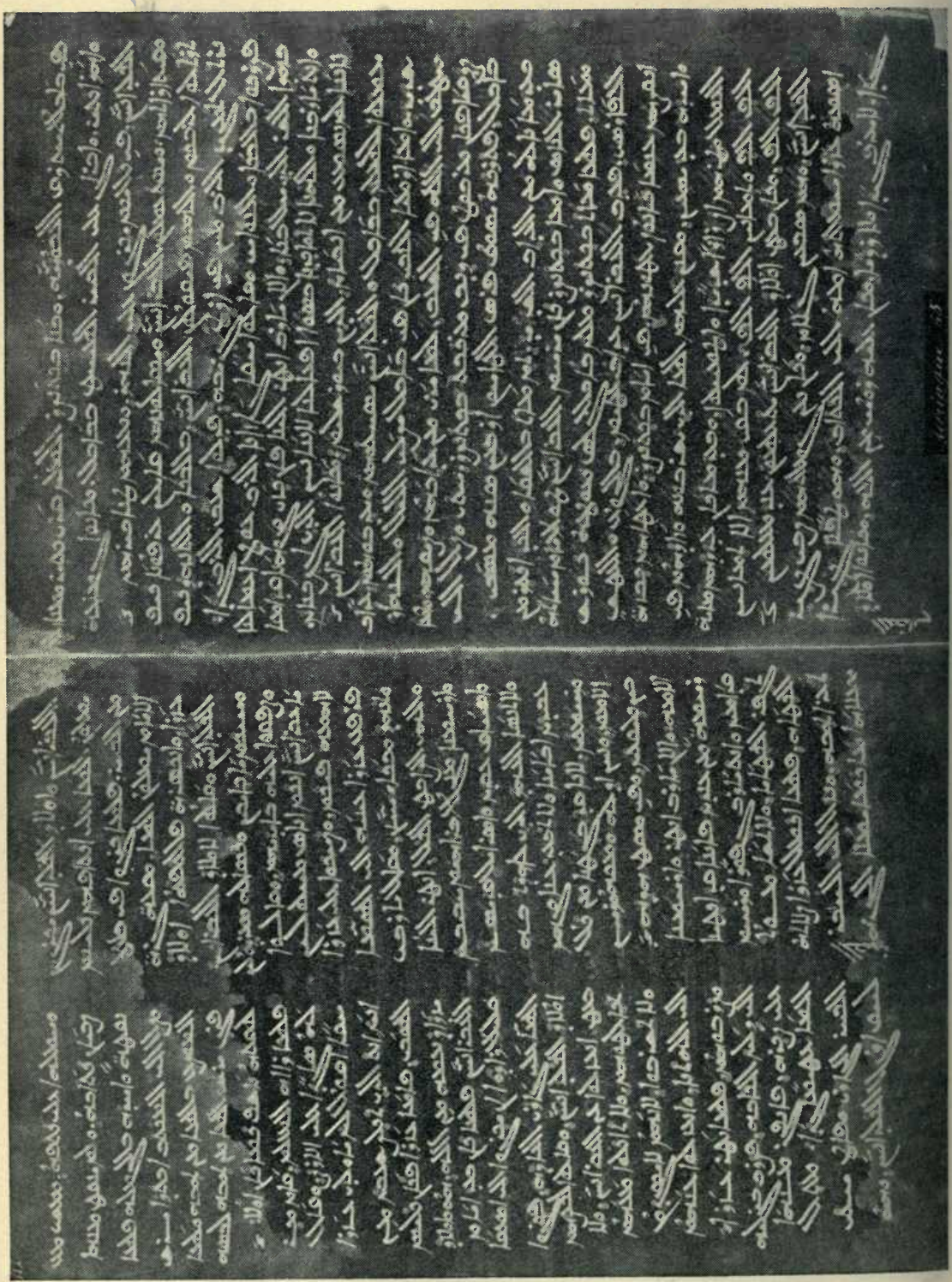


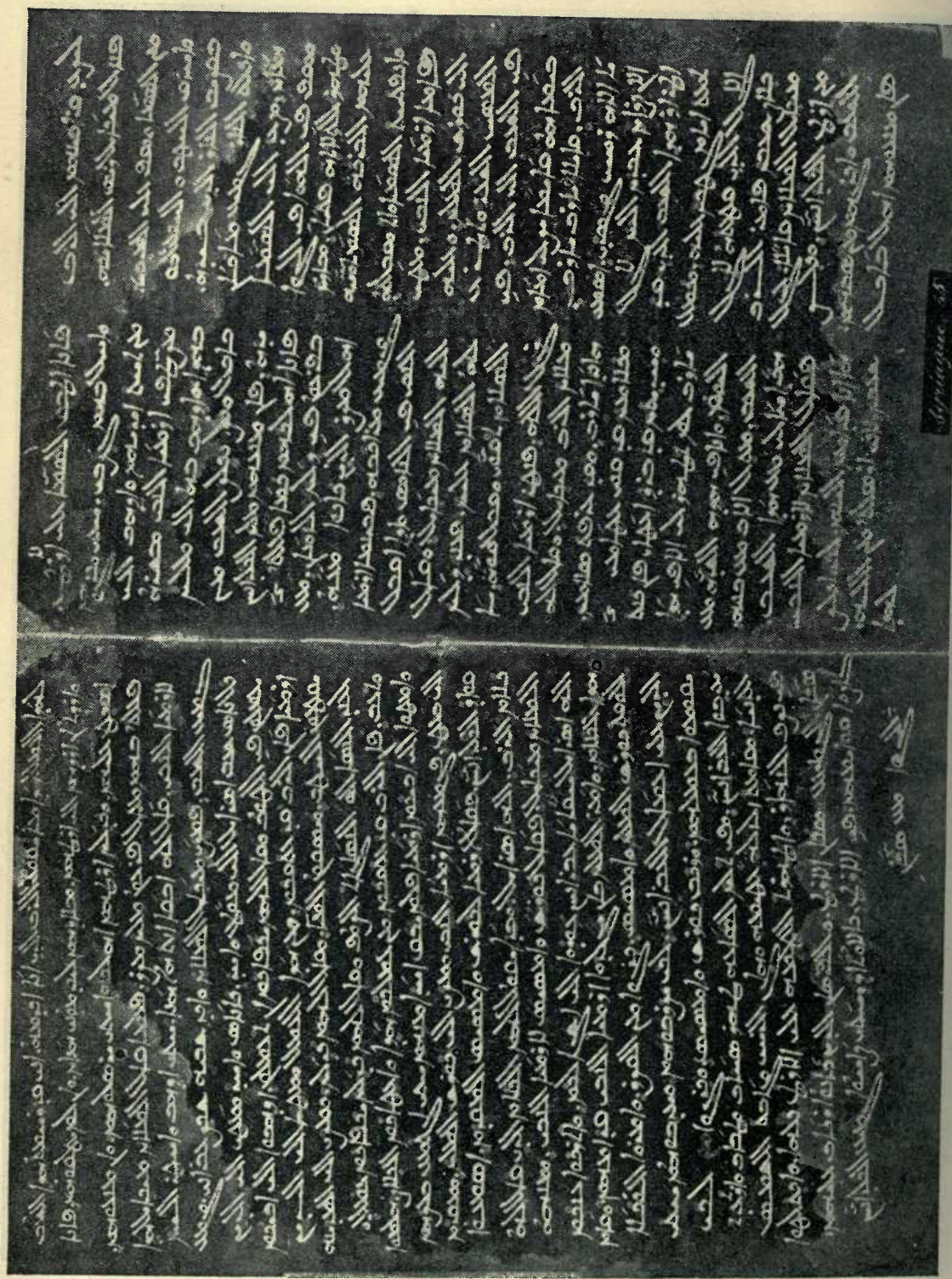


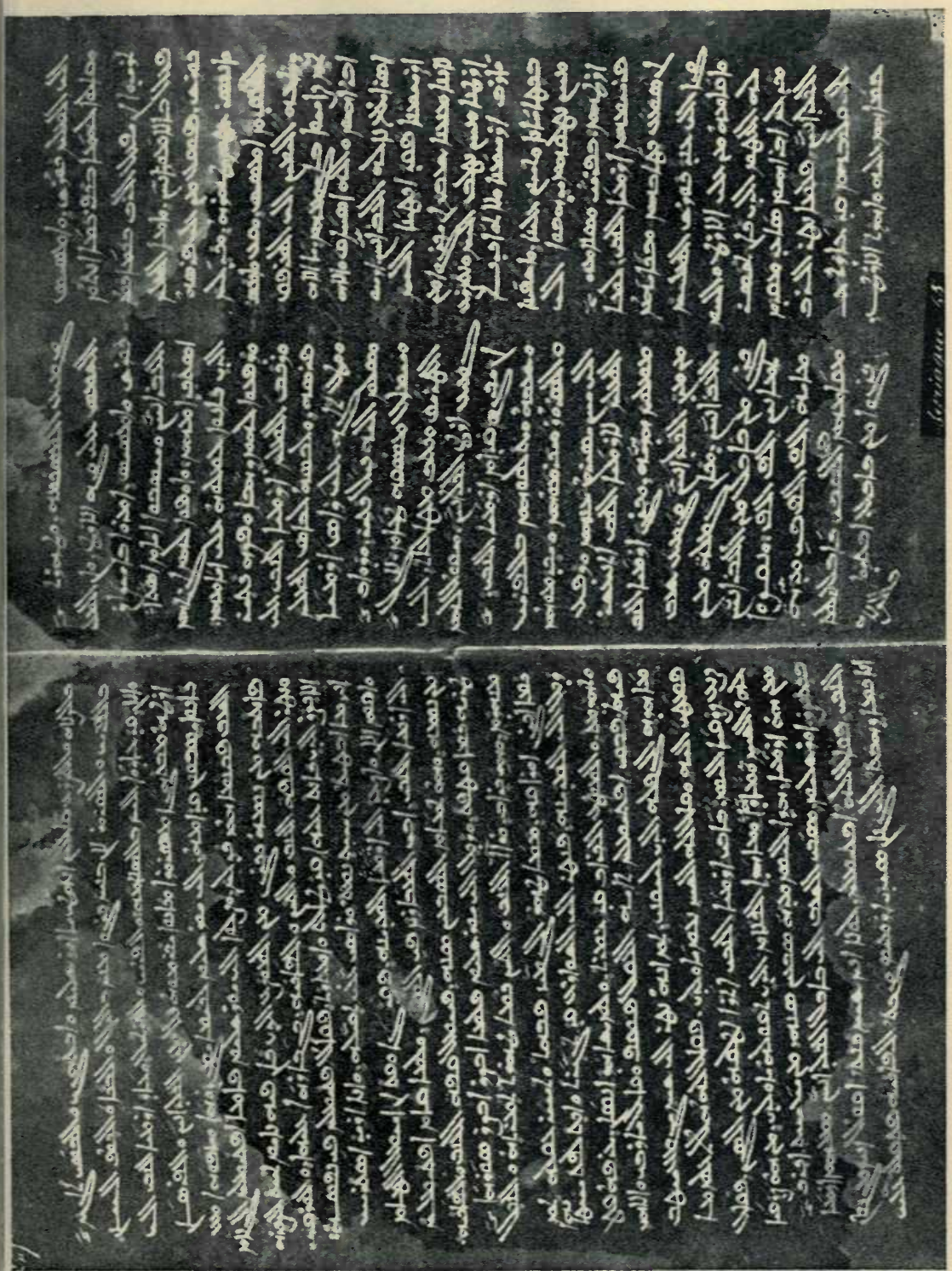


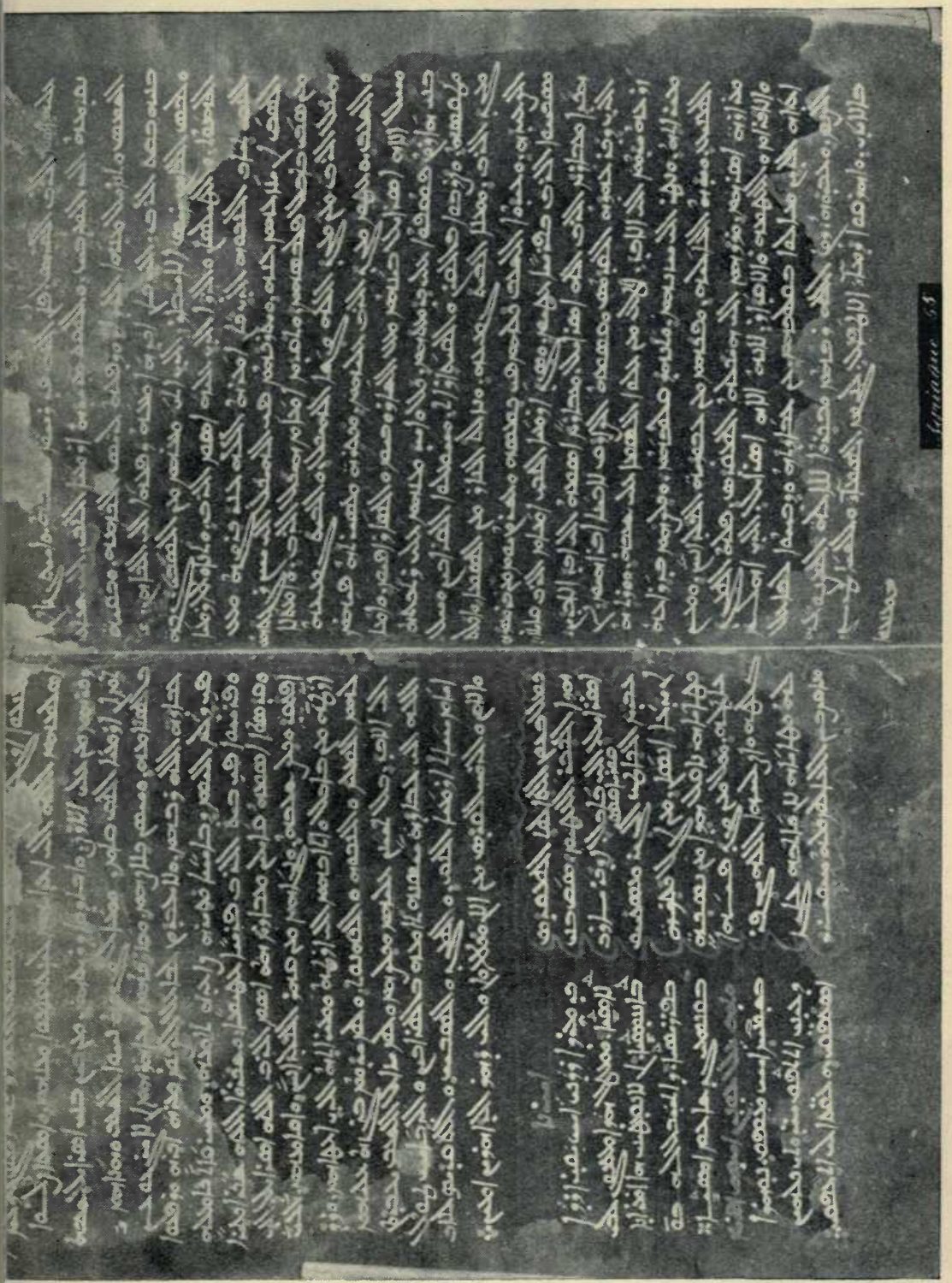












(*ii*) *A New Life of John the Baptist.*

Prefatory Note.

I give in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of an unknown life of John the Baptist. I have edited the text from two MSS. of my own collection, numbered Mingana Syr. 22 and Mingana Syr. 183, in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham. (Hereafter M. 22 and M. 183). In spite of a thorough search I have failed to discover the existence of a third MS. in the public libraries of Europe the catalogues of which are at my disposal.

The MSS. exhibit short lacunæ, but fortunately these lacunæ do not affect identical passages, and by collating the two I was able to establish a complete, continuous, and unbroken text. M. 22 is also in many places in a bad state of preservation, and some words and occasionally whole lines have disappeared from it, apart from the lacuna of one leaf referred to in the present edition. This deficiency has, however, been supplied from M. 183 and the words that are missing in the former MS. are inserted between parentheses and marked (a a). M. 22 is dated 1838 of the Greeks (A.D. 1527) and M. 183 has no colophon, but on palæographical grounds it may be ascribed to about A.D. 1750. In spite of some important variants, there is reason to believe that both MSS. represent a single recension of the story, although M. 22 may be supposed to have been written for the use of Egyptian Christians and M. 183 for that of Syrian Christians.

If we are to believe the contents of the story, it was written by Serapion, bishop of a town in Egypt, during the Patriarchate of Theophilus who governed the sea of Alexandria in 385-412. But from the mention of Theodosius the Great in connection with some events of the narrative, it may be affirmed with a good deal of probability that Serapion was writing in one of the years falling within A.D. 385-395.

If the story is a translation from Greek, as in many passages it

appears to be, the translator must have used his proper names such as *'Ain Kārim*, *Assuan* and *Homs* in the form in which they were known in his day. Without entering into minute details, I may state, however, that the text seems to contain sentences that have been interpolated by authors or copyists who might have lived at a date much later than that of Serapion. Some notes that I have ventured to add to the narrative will, I hope, help the reader to form his own opinion on the value of the story in the domain of history, exegesis, and Apocryphal literature.

In the edition I placed in the main body of the page the text of M. 22 and in the footnotes the various readings exhibited by M. 183, but in the translation I followed the text of either of the two MSS. that appeared to me to be more genuine and archaic. I have transcribed the text in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) as it is found in the MSS., and given a facsimile of each MS. to show the reader its palæographic peculiarities. The Arabic style used in the story is in correctness and excellency of diction about equal to that used in the "Apocryphal Jeremiah" published above.

Translation.

With the assistance of God and His divine guidance we begin to write the life of the holy Man John the Baptist, son of Zacharias: may his intercession be with us. Amen!

There was an aged priest-Levite[1] from the tribe of Judah, whose name was Zacharias. He was a prophet who rose among the children of Israel in the days of Herod, King of Judaea. He had a God-loving wife, called Elizabeth,[2] and she was from the daughters of Aaron, from the tribe of Levi. She was barren and had no children, and she and her husband were advanced in years. They were both righteous and pious people, guiding their steps by all the commandments and ordinances of God. And Zacharias was officiating constantly in the Temple of the Lord. When it fell to him,

[1] How could Zacharias have been at the same time a priest, a Levite, and from the tribe of Judah? Can Judah be a mistake for *Abia*, and can the preceding word *Kabīlah* be translated by *course*, *order* (Luke i. 5, and 1 Chron. xxiv. 10)?

[2] M. 22 uses the Greek form of the name and M. 183 the Syriac form throughout.

during the turn of his division, to burn incense to the Lord, he entered the Temple according to his habit, at the time of the burning of the incense, and the angel of the Lord appeared to him immediately, standing on the right of the altar. When Zacharias saw him he was frightened and startled. But the angel said to him: "Do not be afraid, but rather rejoice, O Zacharias! God has heard your prayer, and your wife Elizabeth shall conceive and bear you a son, who shall be called John; you shall have joy and delight, and many shall rejoice over his birth. He shall be great before the Lord, and he shall not drink any wine or strong drink, and he shall be filled with the Holy Spirit while still in the womb of his mother, and shall reconcile many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God. He shall go before Him in the spirit and with the power of Elijah, in order to make ready for the Lord a people prepared for him." [1]

Zacharias was astonished at these words, and doubt overtook him, because no child had been born to him. He did not remember Abraham, the head of the Patriarchs, to whom God gave Isaac, after he had reached the age of a hundred years, nor his wife Sarah who was also barren like his own wife. Zacharias said, therefore, to the angel: "How can this happen to me while I am an old man, and my wife is advanced in years?"

And the angel answered and said to him: "I am the angel Gabriel. I have been sent to speak to you and bring you this news. And from now you shall be silent and unable to speak until the day when this takes place, because you did not believe my words, which will be fulfilled in due course." And he disappeared from his sight.

Meanwhile the people were waiting for Zacharias wondering at his remaining so long in the Temple. When he came out he was unable to speak to the people, and they perceived that he had seen a vision in the Temple, and he kept making signs to them. And as soon as his term of service was finished, he returned home. And Elizabeth got information of the affair (from God).

In those days Elizabeth conceived, and lived in seclusion till the fifth month,[2] because she felt somewhat ashamed. She feared to

[1] Many of these data and of those which follow are more or less faithfully taken from the first chapter of Luke.

[2] M. 183 has the "sixth month." This appears to be against Luke i. 24. The discrepancy between the two texts can, however, be accounted for by

appear in her old age while pregnant and milk dripping from her breasts. She lived in a secluded room[1] of her own house, and Zacharias also lived likewise. Between them stood a locked door, and they did not speak at all to anyone in all those days.

When she reached her sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God to a town in Galilee called Nazareth, to a virgin betrothed to a man named Joseph, from the house of David ; and the name of the virgin was Mary. When the angel came into her presence he said to her :

" Rejoice, O Mary, because you have been favoured with a grace from God. You shall be with child and shall give birth to a son, who shall be called Jesus. He shall be great and shall be called 'Son of the Most High.'" And Mary said to the angel : " How can this happen to me while I have not known any man ?" And the angel said to her : " The Holy Spirit shall descend upon you, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow you, because the child that is born of you is holy and shall be called 'Son of God,' and lo Elizabeth who is related to you is also expecting a child in her old age, and it is now the sixth month with her who is called barren, because with God there is nothing impossible." And she had no doubt on the matter but said to the head of the angels : " I am the servant of the Lord, let it be with me as you have said." He then greeted her and disappeared.

Mary was astonished at the fact that Elizabeth was expecting a child, and kept saying in her heart : " Thy acts are wonderful and great, O God Omnipotent, because Thou hast given descendants to an old and barren woman. I shall not cease walking until I have met her and beheld the wonderful miracle which God has performed in our times : a virgin giving birth to a child,[2] and a barren woman suckling."[3]

In those days she rose up in haste and went into the hill-country, to the town of Judah, and she entered the house of Zacharias, and

the fact that both of them may be referred to the *end* of the fifth month. The particle *ila* " till " may designate either the beginning or the end of a specified time. M. 22 takes this " till " to imply *all* (or the *end* of) the fifth month, and M. 183 uses the same " till " to mean only the *beginning* of the sixth month, or in other words the end of the fifth.

[1] Syr. *Kaitōna*.

[2] Presumably Mary herself.

[3] Presumably Elizabeth.

greeted Elizabeth. The latter went to her with great joy and delight, and greeted her, saying: "Blessed are you among women and blessed is the fruit of your womb."

The holy and pious virgin embraced then the true turtle-dove, and the Word baptised John while still in the womb of his mother. And David appeared in the middle and said: "Mercy and truth have met together, and righteousness and peace have kissed each other."[1] And immediately after John moved in the womb, as if wishing to come out and greet his master. After they had finished their mutual greetings, the Virgin stayed with Elizabeth three months, until the latter's time was near, and then returned to her home.

When the holy Elizabeth gave birth (to her son) there was a great joy and delight in her house, and after eight days they went to circumcise him, and wished to call him Zacharias. His mother, however, said: "No, call him John." And they said to her: "You have no relation of that name." And she said to them: "Ask his father[2] about his name." And he asked for a writing-tablet and wrote thus: "His name is John." When he had written this he recovered the use of his tongue forthwith, and he glorified God who had granted him this great mercy, and uttered prophecies concerning his son John the Baptist, and was cognisant of the gift that he had received from God.

John grew up in a beautiful childhood and sucked his mother two years.[3] The grace of God was on his face, and he grew up fortified by the Spirit. When Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judæa, behold magians came from the East saying: "Where is he that is born, the King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the East and are come to worship Him." When Herod the king heard these words he was troubled by what he had heard from the magians that (that child) was the King of the Jews, and he immediately desired to kill him.

Then the angel of the Lord appeared forthwith to Joseph and said to him: "Arise and take the child and his mother and flee into the land of Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word."[4]

[1] Ps. lxxxv. 10. [2] Read *abāhu*.

[3] This was, and often is now, a general habit in the East.

[4] Many of the above sentences are a more or less faithful rendering of the second chapter of Matthew.

Then Herod sought the Master in order to destroy Him, but he did not find Him, and he began to kill all the children of Bethlehem. And Elizabeth feared that her son John might be killed like them, and she took him immediately to Zacharias in the Temple, and she said to him: "My lord, let us go with our son John to some other countries, in order to save him from Herod the unbeliever, who is murdering children because of Jesus the Christ. Mary and Joseph have already gone to the land of Egypt. Get up quickly that they may not kill our son, and change[1] our joy into grief." And Zacharias answered and said to her: "I must not leave the service of the Temple of the Lord and go to a foreign land the inhabitants of which worship idols." And she said to him: "What should I do in order to save my infant child?" And the old man answered and said to her: "Arise and go to the wilderness of 'Ain Kārim,[2] and by the will of God you will be able to save your son. If they seek after him, they will shed my blood instead of his."

How great was the amount of grief that occurred at that time when they separated from each other! The holy Zacharias took the child to his bosom, blessed him, kissed him and said: "Woe is me, O my son John, O glory of my old age! They have impeded me from having any access to your face which is full of grace." He then took him and went into the Temple, and blessed him, saying: "May God protect you in your journey!"

Immediately after Gabriel, the head of the angels, came down to him from heaven holding a raiment and a leathern girdle, and said to him: "O Zacharias, take these and put them on your son. God sent them to him from heaven. This raiment is that of Elijah, and this girdle that of Elisha." And the holy Zacharias took them from the angel, prayed over them and gave them to his son, and fastened on

[1] Read *yarji'*.

[2] Dr. C. Schick (*Zeitsch. des Deut. Pal. Vereins*, 1899, p. 86) writes: "Nach der Tradition ist *'Ain Kārim*, ein Dorf 1½ Stunden westlich von Jerusalem, der Geburtsort Johannes des Täufers." He further identifies *wādi ṣ-Ṣarār*, half an hour west of *'Ain Kārim*, where there is a small spring of water called *Ain al-Ḥabs*, with the "wilderness" of Matt. iii. 1, in which John preached (*ibid.*, p. 90). Schick discusses also the antiquity of the tradition on pp. 88-90 of his article (*q.v.*). The wilderness of Judæa in which John dwelt is generally understood to mean the wild waste which lies to the west of the Dead Sea.

him the raiment which was of camel's hair with the leathern girdle. He then brought him back to his mother and said to her: "Take him and bring him into the desert, because the hand of the Lord is with him. I have learnt from God that he will stay in the desert till the day of his showing unto Israel."

The blessed Elizabeth took the child while weeping and Zacharias also was weeping, and the latter said: "I know that I shall not see you again in the flesh. Go in peace. May God guide you." Elizabeth walked then away with her son, and went into the wilderness of 'Ain Kārim, and stayed there with him.

It happened that when King Herod sent troops to Jerusalem to kill its children, they[1] came and began to kill children till the evening. That day was the seventh of September.[2] When they began to return to their king, behold, Satan came to them and said: "How did you leave the son of Zacharias without killing him? He is hidden with his father in the Temple. Do not spare him but kill him in order that the king may not wax angry with you. Go for him, and if you do not find the son, kill the father in his place."

The troops did what Satan taught them, and went to the Temple early in the morning, and found Zacharias standing and serving the Lord, and they said to him: "Where is thy son whom thou hast hidden from us here?" And he answered them: "I have no child here." They said to him: "You have a child whom you have hidden from the king." And he answered and said: "O cruel ones whose king drinks blood like a lioness, how long will you shed[3] the blood of innocent people?" They said to him: "Bring out your child so that we may kill him; if not, we shall kill you in his place." And the prophet answered and said: "As to my son, he has gone with his mother to the wilderness, and I do not know his whereabouts."

Now when Zacharias has said goodbye to Elizabeth and his son John, he had blessed him and made him a priest, and afterwards delivered him to his mother, who said to him: "Pray over me O my

[1] Read *ajnāduhu*.

[2] *Ilūl*, this month corresponds with September (old style). In no Menologium or Martyrologium of the Eastern Churches as printed in the *Pat. Orient.* x. 1-343 is the feast of the Holy Innocents referred to the seventh of September. The author apparently is writing here in a purely historical way without any reference to the ecclesiastical commemorations of saints.

[3] Read *tasfikūna*.

holy father, so that God may render my path in the wilderness easy." And he said to her: "May He who made us beget our child in our old age, direct your path." Then she took the child and went into the wilderness in which no soul lived.

"O[1] blessed Elizabeth, your story is truly wonderful and praiseworthy. You did not ask for an adult[2] to accompany you, and you knew neither the way nor a hiding place. You did not care to provide food nor a little drinking water for the child. You did not say to his father Zacharias: 'To whom are you sending me in the wilderness?' At that time there was neither a monastery in the desert nor a congregation of monks so that you may say: 'I shall go and stay with them with my son.' Tell me, O blessed[3] Elizabeth: whom did you trust, inasmuch as the evangelist testifies to the fact that you were advanced in years without having had any child, and now you have been suckling this child of yours for three years?"[4] Listen now to the answer of the blessed Elizabeth:

"Why are you astonished at me that I am going alone into the wilderness? What should I fear while a kinsman of God is in my arms? Behold Gabriel is accompanying me and paving the way for me." And she said: "I have confidence in the kiss that Mary, His mother, gave me, because when I greeted her the babe leaped with joy in my womb, and I heard both babes embracing each other in our wombs." And Elizabeth added: "I went and put on my son a raiment of camel's hair and a leathern girdle in order that the mountain of the holy wilderness may (in future) be inhabited, and in order that monasteries and congregations of monks may increase in it and that sacrifice may be offered[5] in it in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. If God assisted Hagar and her son when they wandered in the desert, and they were only slaves, how will He not apply to us the precedent that He has himself established beforehand?"

In the above words we have described to you the merits of the holy Elizabeth.[6] Let us now proceed and commemorate the holy

[1] Read *ayyatuha.* [2] Read *kabīran.* [3] Read *ayyatuha.*

[4] The author stated above that John sucked his mother two years; he probably refers here to the beginning of the third year.

[5] Read *wa-yarfa'u.*

[6] All the above lines are therefore a literary digression on the part of the author. The same thing happens below with regard to Zacharias.

Zacharias, the martyr,[1] and relate to you a few of his numerous merits:

"I should wish to praise your true life, but I fear to hear a reproof from you, similar to that you made to the blessed Elizabeth. I am full of admiration for you, O pious Zacharias! In the time when the soldiers of Herod came to you and asked you saying: "Where is your infant son, the child of your old age?"—You did not deny the fact and say: "I have no knowledge of such a child," but you simply answered: "His mother took him into the desert." And when Zacharias uttered these words to the soldiers concerning his son, they killed him inside the Temple, and the priests shrouded his body and placed it near that of his father Berechiah in a hidden cemetery, from fear of the wicked (king); and his blood boiled on the earth for fifty years, until Titus son of Vespasian, the Emperor of the Romans, came and destroyed Jerusalem and killed the Jewish priests for the blood of Zacharias, as the Lord ordered him.[2]

As to the blessed John he wandered in the desert with his mother, and God prepared for him locusts and wild honey as food, in accordance with what his mother was told about him not to let any unclean food enter his mouth. After five years the pious and blessed old mother Elizabeth passed away,[3] and the holy John sat weeping over her, as he did not know how to shroud her and bury her, because on the day of her death he was only seven years and six months old. And Herod also died the same day as the blessed Elizabeth.[4]

The Lord Jesus Christ who with His eyes sees heaven and earth saw His kinsman John sitting and weeping near his mother, and He also began to weep for a long time, without anyone knowing the cause of His weeping. When the mother of Jesus saw Him weeping, she said to Him: "Whay are you weeping? Did the old man Joseph or any other one chide you?" And the mouth that was full of life answered: "No, O my mother, the real reason is that your

[1] Possibly read *as-shahīd*.

[2] This sentence about Titus and Vespasian is missing in M. 22.

[3] From Syriac *ittnīḥ*.

[4] Herod the Great died in 4 B.C., but the Chronology on which the Christian era is based is of course erroneous. See the *Encyclopædias* and the *Dictionaries of the Bible* under "Chronology." Can any historical value be attached to our author's statement concerning the year of the death of Herod?

kinswoman, the old Elizabeth, has left my beloved John an orphan. He is now weeping over her body which is lying in the mountain."

When the Virgin heard this she began to weep over her kinswoman, and Jesus said to her: "Do not weep, O my virgin mother, you will see her in this very hour." And while he was still speaking with his mother, behold a luminous cloud came down and placed itself between them. And Jesus said: "Call Salome and let us take her with us." And they mounted the cloud which flew with them to the wilderness of 'Ain Kārim and to the spot where lay the body of the blessed Elizabeth, and where the holy John was sitting.

The Saviour said then to the cloud: "Leave us here at this side of the spot." And it immediately went, reached that spot, and departed. Its noise, however, reached the ears of Mar[1] John, who, seized with fear, left the body of his mother. A voice reached him immediately and said to him: "Do not be afraid, O John. I am Jesus Christ, your master. I am your kinsman Jesus, and I came to you with my beloved mother in order to attend to the business of the burial of the blessed Elizabeth, your happy mother, because she is my mother's kinswoman." When the blessed and holy John heard this, he turned back, and Christ the Lord and His virgin mother embraced him. Then the Saviour said to His virgin mother: "Arise, you and Salome, and wash the body." And they washed the body of the blessed Elizabeth in the spring from which she used to draw water for herself and her son. Then the holy virgin Mart[2] Mary got hold of the blessed (John) and wept over him, and cursed Herod on account of the numerous crimes which he had committed. Then Michael and Gabriel came down from heaven and dug a grave; and the Saviour said to them: "Go and bring the soul of Zacharias, and the soul of the priest Simeon,[3] in order that they may sing while you bury the body." And Michael brought immediately the souls of Zacharias and Simeon, who shrouded the body of Elizabeth and sang for a long time over it.

And the mother of Jesus and Salome wept, and the two priests made the sign of the cross[4] on the body and prayed over it three times

[1] Syriac word meaning "my Lord" used before the names of saints and of ecclesiastical dignitaries.

[2] Feminine of Mar explained in the previous note.

[3] The man spoken of in Luke ii. 25 sqq.

[4] Syr. *rsham*, which literally means "to imprint."

before they laid it to rest in the grave ; then they buried it, and sealed the grave with the sign of the cross, and went back to their own places in peace. And Jesus Christ and His mother stayed near the blessed and the holy John seven days, and condoled with him at the death of his mother, and taught him how to live in the desert. And the day of the death of the blessed Elizabeth was the 15th of February.[1]

Then Jesus Christ said to His mother ; " Let us now go to the place where I may proceed with my work." The Virgin Mary wept immediately over the loneliness of John, who was very young[2] and said : " We will take him with us, since he is an orphan without anyone."[3] But Jesus said to her : " This is not the will of My Father who is in the heavens. He shall remain in the wilderness till the day of his showing unto Israel. Instead of a desert full of wild beasts, he will walk[4] in a desert full of angels and prophets, as if they were multitudes of people. Here is also Gabriel, the head of the angels, whom I have appointed to protect him and to grant to him power from heaven. Further, I shall render the water of this spring of water as sweet and delicious to him as the milk he sucked from his mother. Who took care of him in his childhood ? Is it not I, O my mother, who love him more than all the world ? Zacharias also loved him, and I have ordered him to come to him and inquire after him, because although his body is buried in the earth, his soul is alive.

" As to Elizabeth his mother, she will constantly visit him and comfort him, as if she was not dead at all. Blessed is she, O my mother, because she bore my beloved. Her mouth will never suffer putrefaction, because she kissed your pure lips ; and her tongue will not be dismembered in the earth, because she prophesied concerning you and said : " Happy is she who believed that the promise that she received from the Lord would be fulfilled "[5] ; nor will her womb

[1] In a Jacobite Menologium (*Pat. Orient.* x. 36) the feast of Elizabeth is fixed on the 16th of December. In another Menologium her death is assigned to the 10th of February (*Pat. Orient.* x. 140 index). In a Coptic-Arabic Menologium her feast is on the 26th Tut (= 23 September). See *Pat. Orient.* x. 189, 233 (index) and 253. In the Ethiopic Menologium (Smith's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, i. 606) her feast is on the 16th Jakatit (= 10 February). I do not believe that any of the above dates (including that given by our document) has any historical value.

[2] Read *ṣaghīran.*

[3] Read *aḥadin.*

[4] Read *yasir* (with *sīn*).

[5] Luke i. 45.

decay in the earth, because her body, like her soul, shall suffer no putrefaction. And my beloved John will last for ever, and he will see us and be comforted."

These words the Christ our Lord spoke to his mother, while John was in the desert. And they mounted the cloud, and John looked at them and wept, and Mart[1] Mary wept also bitterly over him, saying: "Woe is me, O John, because you are alone in the desert without anyone.[2] Where is Zacharias, your father, and where is Elizabeth, your mother? Let them come and weep[3] with me to-day."

And Jesus Christ said to her: "Do not weep over this child, O my mother. I shall not forget him." And while he was uttering these word, behold the clouds lifted them up and brought them to Nazareth. And He fulfilled there everything pertaining to humanity except sin.

And John dwelt in the desert, and God and His angels were with him. He lived in great asceticism and devotion. His only food was grass[4] and wild honey. He prayed constantly, fasted much and was in expectation of the salvation of Israel.

And Herod the Younger[5] who reigned over Judea, lived with his brother's wife, in the second year of his reign. He did not marry her openly, but he used to find an opportune moment[6] to send after her and usher her in his bedchamber which was full of corruption, and there perpetrate their abomination.[7] At that time Gabriel, head of the angels, taught John in the desert to say: "O King, you have no right to live with the wife of your brother, while he is still alive."[8] And he repeated this, crying in the desert, as the angel had taught him. In the night people could hear his voice, and Herodias used to light a lamp and search the bedchamber, believing that somebody may have intruded into it, but found nobody, and only heard the voice.

The two began then to have misgivings on account of this happen-

[1] See note of p. 447. [2] Read *aḥadin*.

[3] Read in the dual form *ya'tiā* and *yabkiā*.

[4] The author seems to identify the "locusts" used in the Gospel in connection with the food of John, with a kind of grass. This is also the opinion of some ancient writers.

[5] *I.e.* Herod Antipas. This epithet is applied to him in order to distinguish him from Herod the Great, son of Antipater.

[6] Read *fursatan*. [7] Read *nifāḳahuma*.

[8] Mark vi. 18. Read *ḥayyun*.

ing, and Herodias said to Herod: "Arise and despatch troops to the desert of 'Ain Kārim, in order that they may kill John, because the voice we hear is his." God, however, was with the lad, and delivered him from their hands. When she ascertained that through him there would be no peace for her in her (iniquitous) act, she persuaded the wicked king who gave her the following promise: "If we happen to hear this voice again, we shall summon the magicians and inform them to take hold of John and kill him secretly." And the voice did not cease to worry them.

And the wicked Herodias said: "How can this John, a wanderer in the desert and in the wilderness, a man whose body is not fit to wear the clothing of men, but a raiment of camel's hair, rebuke the king of his own country, whose authority extends to his own region?" Then Herodias said to the king: "What pleases you to do, do it openly, and do not believe that anyone in this region will blame you for it, except John, and when opportunity offers itself we shall get rid of him." It is in this way that the adulteress set the heart of Herod on their sin, and persuaded him to deliver his brother[1] to death, and to marry her openly.

And John did not cease to rebuke Herod every day in the desert until he was thirty years old. As to Jesus, He increased in wisdom, stature, and grace with God and men,[2] and did not show any deeds of His Divinity, but acted with humility towards all men. And when He was twelve years old, He began to rebuke the Teachers and deceivers of the people. And in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, who reigned after Augustus, when Herod was tetrarch of Galilee, and when Annas and Caiaphas were high priests, in that year the word of God came unto John, son of Zacharias, in the wilderness. He came into the countries that surround the Jordan[3] preaching and saying: "Repent ye for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand."[4] And people from all the region of Judæa and Jerusalem went out to him and were baptised by him in the Jordan confessing their sins.[5]

In those days the Saviour came to him from Galilee to the Jordan and said to him: "Baptize me." When John saw God standing before him and wishing to be baptized by him, he was seized with

[1] Read *akhāhu*.
[2] Luke ii. 52.
[3] Cf. Luke iii. 1-3.
[4] Matt. iii. 2.
[5] Mark i. 5, Matt. iii. 5-6.

great fright and said to him : "He who made the children of Israel walk in the Red Sea and drink sweet water from a solid rock,[1] stands before His servant who is in need to be baptized with His Divine hands, and says 'Baptize me'"! And he began to turn away from Him. But (Jesus) said to him : "Stop now ; it is thus that we must fulfil all righteousness."[2]

Then both of them went down into the water, and the holy John baptized Him, saying : "I baptize the One Whom the Father has sent to establish[3] a great sacrament."[4] And immediately after the heavens opened and the Holy Spirit descended upon Him, like a dove. And John saw it face to face, and the Father cried saying : "This is my beloved Son in whom I delight, obey Him." And our Saviour came out of the water and went forthwith into the desert. As to John, he remained near the Jordan, baptizing all those who came to him.

In that time Herod rose against Philip his brother and intrigued against him with the Emperor Cæsar, saying : "The one whom you have appointed to be the ruler of Trachonitis,[5] who is Philip, has misgoverned your region, and said : "I shall not pay tribute to the king because I am also a king." Cæsar waxed greatly angry and ordered Herod to dispossess him of his region and to confiscate all his estate and his house, and not to have any pity, not even on his soul. Herod acted on the orders of the Emperor and plundered the region of his brother Philip with his house and all his possessions, and reigned over his region.

And Philip had a wife called Herodias, who had a daughter by the same Philip, called Arcostiana.[6] The mother was even more adulteress than the daughter. When Philip became poorer than anybody else, Herodias hated him greatly, and said to him : "I shall not remain with you any more, but shall go to your new lord Herod who is better than you." Then she wrote immediately to Herod saying : "Herodias writes to Herod as follows : 'Now that you have all Syria

[1] Read *ṣammā'*. [2] Matt. iii. 15.

[3] Here are two pages in M. 22 filled with scribblings, diagrams, and computations by various owners, but the text of the life of the Baptist is continuous.

[4] Or : to fulfil a great mystery.

[5] In the original : Antarachonia.

[6] The name is given below as *Uxoriana*, which by its connection with the Latin *uxor* seems to be more accurate. M. 183 has, however, *Orcostiriana*. It is remarkable that the traditional Salome should appear under this uncommon name.

under your sway and you reign over all the earth, you have not taken me as your wife. I am very beautiful and better than all the women of Judæa. I have also a daughter the like of whom I have never seen in all the world for beauty and stature. I wish to be your wife. I hated your brother[1] very much in order to strengthen your kingdom.'"

When these cunning words reached the wicked (king), he was pleased with them, and he immediately gave orders that she and her daughter be taken out of the house of Philip. When Philip saw that his wife was being taken from him by force, he wept bitterly and said to his daughter: "You stay with your father in case your mother is taken from me." But the adulteress said to him: "I shall not stay with you, but shall accompany my mother wherever she goes." They were, therefore, taken both of them and presented to Herod, who was greatly pleased with them,[2] because he was an adulterer.

They performed marvels of diabolical cunning, and the wicked king lived daily with both of them in adultery. Some people, however, brought their story to the knowledge of John the Baptist on behalf of Philip, Herodias' husband. Now John was considered by all as a prophet, and everybody praised him because he was teaching the people and saying: "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance, because every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire."[3]

When John heard the news from Philip he was much afflicted at the perdition of Herod and Herodias, and he immediately sent a message to Herod and said to him: "John the Baptist, son of Zacharias, tells you, O Herod, that you have no right to marry the wife of your brother, while he is still alive." When Herod heard these words he was much frightened and perplexed, and he went to Herodias and said to her: "O Herodias, what shall we do? It is the end of our sinful union as it has been brought to the knowledge of John the Baptist, and behold he has rebuked me. Woe to us, because our sins have increased greatly and reached the ears of the prophets."

The wicked woman said then to him: "Long live you, O king! Who is John, the wearer of camel's hair, to contradict and rebuke a mighty monarch like you? He surely deserves that somebody should

[1] Read *akhāka*.
[2] Read *bihima*, and place all the following verbs in the dual form.
[3] Matt. iii. 8, 10.

pull out and cut off his tongue." And he said to her: "What can we do? We cannot bear the rebuke of that great (prophet)." And she answered and said to him: "Summon him here and I will kill him, and we shall continue our mutual relations in peace." And she performed before him obscene acts and immoral artifices, and Satan filled his heart against the holy and just man Mar John[1] the Baptist, and he dispatched soldiers against him, who seized him and cast him in prison.

Then Herodias summoned him out of prison to her presence and said to him: "What is your business with me, O chaste man, that you wish to separate me from the king? I conjure you by the God of your father not to do this with me again. To tell you the truth, if you are silent concerning me and do not rebuke me another time, I shall deliver you from prison and bestow great favours upon you." And the holy Mar John the Baptist said to her: "I say to you, O Herodias, not to live with Herod while your husband Philip is alive." When the wicked woman heard this, she was incensed with anger against him and said to him: "You will surely die at my hands, and I shall put the hair of your head in the pillow on which[2] I lay my head with Herod, and I shall bury your head in the place where I wash after having enjoyed myself with the king." John then said to her: "The Lord will allow you to kill me but my head[3] you will not see. It will remain after me, and proclaim your iniquity and shame to all the world. Woe to you for my unjust murder, because your end is at hand."

She then said to his keepers: "Take him and keep him in prison with fetters, and if he escapes, you shall lose your souls." And the soldiers took him and kept him in prison with chains. And Herodias tried to induce Herod to kill him, but he said to her: "I cannot kill him in this way. People will rise against me, drive me out, and bring accusation against me to the Emperor, who will take my kingdom from me as he took that of my brother Philip." And he said to her:

[1] See note of p. 447. [2] Read *allati*.

[3] The Arabic text uses constantly the word *ra's* "head" in feminine, which is absolutely contrary to the genius of all the Semitic languages. This proves that the work is of Egyptian origin, and that it emanates from a Greek or a Coptic original, or at least that it was written by a Copt who was under the influence of the language of Homer in which κεφαλή is feminine.

"Show me a better method of doing away with him."[1] And she said to him: "I will tell you a word, and if you listen to it, you will have an opportunity of killing him." And he said to her: "Tell it to me." And she said to him: "Behold the envoys[2] of the king are with you, arise and prepare a dinner for them, to which you will invite all your high officials; and your birthday falls also in these days. When people become hilarious and begin to get drunk with wine, I shall send in my daughter dressed in her best clothes, and she will dance before you, O king, with her sweet face. When she has done this ask her, saying, 'Desire of me whatever you like,' and you will swear to her by the life of the Emperor that you will give her whatever she wishes. She will then ask for the head of John, and you will have an opportune moment to cut off his head."

Herod was circumvented by the reasoning of the adulteress, and began to fulfil her desires, as he loved her because of her beauty and diabolical artifices. In that very day he prepared the dinner, and the messengers of the Emperor were sitting next to him. When they began to get drunk the accursed Uxoriana entered the room, and on her were strings of gold and silver, perfumes and jewellery of high value, and presented herself to all the company. She danced with a diabolical passion, and Satan filled the hearts of the guests with evil and passion through her iniquitous artfulness. All were pleased[3] with her, and Herod was proud[4] and said to her: "Ask me for whatever you like, and by the life of the Emperor Tiberius Cæsar, I will give it to you, even if it be the half of my kingdom and my possessions."[5] And she said what she was taught by her mother: "I wish here[6] to have the head of John the Baptist, on a dish." The king began to be very sad, on account of the oath he had taken by the life of the Emperor, and he owned to the guests that he was unable to break his oath.

He therefore dispatched an executioner, who went to the prison and there cut off John's head on a dish, on the second of the month of

[1] This sentence is missing in M. 122.
[2] Read *rusul*.
[3] Read *surra*.
[4] Or: thought.
[5] The story is in many places a faithful rendering of Mark iv. 17-29.
[6] Read *hadha* in M. 22.

September,[1] and he brought it to Herod, who handed it to the girl, and the girl handed it to her mother. Now, before the messengers of the king and the executioner had gone to him, to behead him, John had said to his disciples: "Behold the king has sent men to cut off my head. They have already left with unsheathed swords in their hands, and with lanterns, lamps, and weapons.[2] What is happening in this hour will happen in the night in which Christ will be betrayed. As to me, my head will be cut off and be shown on a dish, but the Christ will be lifted up on the cross, in order that He may purify all with His pure blood; as to me I am going to my place, but woe to the king who ordered my head to be cut off; many calamities will befall him, and the people of Israel will be scattered because of him. As to you, do not be afraid, because no one will be able to do you any harm." He then opened his mouth and blessed and glorified God for his incomprehensible gifts, saying: "I bless Thee and praise Thee, O invisible Father, O visible Son,[3] and O comforting Holy Spirit."

Let us now proceed to describe the story of the head of the blessed Mar John the Baptist. When it was brought before Herodias, the eyes of the holy John were open and his ears were hearing as in his lifetime.[4] The adulteress spoke then with ire before the head as follows: "O accursed one, who were not ashamed to look at the king in the face and answer him, I shall put out your eyes with my

[1] *Ilūl.* M. 183 has: "On the twenty-ninth of the month of August. The Armenian Synaxarium printed in *Pat. Or.* v. 454 fixes also the feast of the Decollation of the Baptist on the 19th of Navasard (= 29th August). So also is the case with the Syrian Menologia and Martyrologia printed in *Pat. Or.* x. pp. 45, 85, 101, 106, 112, 129, and 131. In the Menologium printed *ibid.* on p. 53 this feast is assigned to the 15th of December. The same feast is assigned to the 7th of January on pp. 54, 69, 94, 103, 109, 117, and 129. In a Greek life of the saint printed in *Pat. Or.* iv. 527-541 the head is reported to have been cut off on the 29th of the month of Dystros, which in Græco-Arab calendars of Gaza corresponds with 15th or 25th of March. None of the above dates seems to me to have any historical value. In the Greek Synaxarium of Constantinople printed by the Jesuit Delehaye in 1902 (*Col.* 934) the Baptist is also murdered on the 29th of August. For the date of the festival of the Decollation of the Baptist in the different churches of the West, see Smith's and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 882-883. Cf. *Acta SS.* for June 24th, pp. 701-702.

[2] Cf. John xviii. 3. [3] Read *ru'iya.* [4] Read *alladhi.*

hands and place them on a dish, and I shall cut off the tongue which used to say to the king that it was unlawful for him to marry Herodias, his brother's wife. As to the hair of your head and of your beard I shall pluck it and place it under the feet of my bedstead."

She said all this with malice and wickedness, and she stretched her hand to hold the head of Mar John the Baptist and do with it what she had said. But immediately after the head of the blessed John let the locks of its hair rise from the dish, and it flew to the middle of the convivial room before the king and his high officials. In that very moment the roof of the house was opened and the head of John flew in the air. As to Herodias her eyes were put out and fell on the floor and the roof of her room[1] fell upon her, and the earth opened her mouth and swallowed her up to her neck, and she went alive to the depth of hell. As to her daughter she became mad and broke all the utensils of the dinner party. In her madness she went to the icy pond and danced on it, and by order of the Lord the ice broke under her and she sank to her neck. In vain did the soldiers endeavour to pull her up, because the Lord did not wish her deliverance. Then they cut off her head with the very sword that was used to kill John the Baptist. Then a fish cast her out of the pond, dead.[2] May God not have mercy upon her!

In that moment Herod also had a sudden stroke before his guests. When his agent noticed these great miracles, he repaired quickly to the prison, took the body of the saint and gave it to his disciples, who took it to the town of Sebaste where they buried it,[3] near the body of the prophet Elisha. As to his head, it flew over Jerusalem, and cried for three years to the town, saying: "It is not lawful for you, O Herod, to marry the wife of your brother while he is still alive." After it had cried for three years, it went to all the world shouting and pro-

[1] From Syr. *ḳaitona* as above.

[2] In the apocryphal *Letter of Herod to Pilate* it is written: "My daughter Herodias was playing upon the water (i.e. the ice) and fell in up to her neck. And her mother caught at her head to save her, and it was cut off, and the water swept her body away. My wife is sitting with the head on her knees weeping." James' *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 155-156. The Syriac text of the letter has been edited by Raḥmani, *Studia Syriaca*, ii, 17-18.

[3] Even in the time of Yāḳūt, the well known Muslim geographer, the grave of John the Baptist was shown at Sebaste (*Mu'jam al Buldān*, iii. 33, edit. Wüstenfeld).

claiming the horrible crime of Herod, and repeating the words: "It is not lawful for you, O Herod, to marry the wife of your brother while he is still alive."

Fifteen years after it had been cut off it ceased proclaiming, and rested on the town of Ḥoms.[1] The faithful who were in that town took it and buried it with great pomp. A long time after, a church was built on it, which is still standing in our time. And the head of the holy John the Baptist was buried there fifteen years after the resurrection of Christ, the Lord, and it remained there down to our own days.[2]

As to the body of the holy John the Baptist, the saint whose feast we are celebrating to-day,[3] it remained in Sebaste—which is Nābulus of Samaria[4]—for four hundred years. Then a pagan king, whose name was Julian, reigned over the world. He had been a Christian at the beginning of his reign, but after that Satan filled his heart and he forsook the faith of our Lord the Christ and worshipped fire. He ordered temples and places of worship to be built in every place where idols could be worshipped, and intimated that such a temple should be erected in the town of Sebaste where lay the body of the holy Baptist. People, however, were unable to comply with the order and to worship idols in that place, on account of the (holy) bodies that were buried there.

They, therefore, assembled and informed the Emperor that as bodies of holy men were buried there, they had been delayed in their

[1] The well known north Syrian town. *Ḥimṣ* would be a more exact pronunciation of the word. The same Arab geographer, Yāḳūt, tells us (*ibid.* ii. 335) that a fourth part of the Church of St. John at Ḥoms was turned into a mosque at the time of the Arab conquest. According to the Coptic MS. No. 97 of the *J.R.L.* (Crum's Catalogue, p. 50) the relics of the Baptist were discovered near Emesa by the brothers Gesius and Isidorus. See further parallels in *Acta SS.* June 24th., pp. 712 *sqq.*

[2] The author was therefore writing before the sixth century or the time in which a head supposed to be that of John the Baptist was sent to Constantinople. See Barṣalibi's *Treatise against the Melchites* and my notes on it (pp. 43-44). In the author's time of writing, which according to the present story is, by necessity, a year within A.D. 385-395, the head of the saint was still at Emesa.

[3] The present history is, therefore, a kind of homily or panegyric pronounced or written by Bishop Serapion.

[4] The clause "which is Nābulus of Samaria," only found in M. 183 and not in M. 22, is apparently an addition of a late copyist. In a preceding passage where the text of M. 22 has no lacuna the same clause is missing in it although found as in the present case in M. 183, which on the whole seems to represent a more modern recension of the story.

building of the temples. Then he said to them: "Go and burn (the bodies) with fire." The Lord, however, did not allow the fire to come near the place where lay the coffins of the prophets, but the same fire consumed a great number of the pagans who had kindled it, and great treasures were brought to light there. Above one of the coffins was seen a vessel containing a leathern girdle, a raiment of camel's hair, a frock, and two leathern belts. The faithful who were in that place understood immediately that the coffins belonged[1] to John the Baptist and to the prophet Elisha, and they wished to remove them from there, but from fear of the wicked Emperor they were not able to do so.[2] When, however, God destroyed him with a death more wretched than that of any other, pious men assembled there and carried the two coffins to the sea with the intention of bringing them to Alexandria, to the holy Father, the Patriarch Athanasius,[3] because they said: "There is in these days no one in the world worthy to take care of these except Father Athanasius, the Patriarch of Alexandria."

When they reached the sea they found a boat bound for Alexandria, and they boarded it with the coffins. They journeyed on the sea and landed on the shores of Alexandria, but as they were unable to disclose their affair to any one because the time was not convenient for that, they went direct to the Patriarch and related to him all that had occurred, and how they were moved by the Holy Spirit to bring the coffins to him. He was greatly pleased with them and went by night to the boat with his brother, and they took the remains in a kerchief and brought them with them, and (the Patriarch) placed them with him in a place in his dwelling, and he did not disclose their whereabouts to anyone. And this Father wished to build a church to John the Baptist, and he was not able to do so because of the troubles caused by the wicked ones.[4]

The bodies remained therefore hidden in the place[5] in which Father Athanasius had secretly placed them, until the time of his

[1] Read *hiya* for *hum.* The construction of the Arabic sentence denotes a Syriac or a Greek original.

[2] This is against the statement of Theodoret who relates that the coffin of the saint was broken and his remains were burnt and their ashes scattered. *Pat. Gr.* lxxxii. 1091. See above p. 43.

[3] Athanasius was Patriarch of Alexandria from 328 to 373.

[4] Arians?

[5] The word here used generally means "fountain." Can it refer to baptismal font?

death. After his death he was succeeded by Father Peter,[1] whose throne was occupied after his death by Father Timothy,[2] who ordained my humble self, your Father Serapion,[3] to this see, without merits on my part.

After his death, he was succeeded by Father Theophilus[4] who is now sitting on the (Patriarchal) see. In his time the grace of God increased, and the faith was strengthened through the pious Theodosius[5] and God united the Emperor and the Patriarch with ties of love. The former threw open the temples in which were treasures, and especially the great temple of Alexandria, in which there was great quantity of gold and silver. And the pious Theodosius honoured the Patriarch, made him superintendent of all the treasures, and said to him: "O Father Theophilus, take these and enrich the churches with them, from this town to Aswan,[6] for the glory of God and His saints." After this he began to build churches. The first church to be built was one under the name of the holy Mar John the Baptist in the great city of Alexandria. He adorned it and made it a great church and wished to place in it the body of the holy Mar John the Baptist. When he had finished it completely, he thought of consecrating it,[7] and he sent immediately to all the bishops under his jurisdiction to congregate for the consecration of the church.

The invitation was also sent to my weakness, and I went with the rest of the bishops to the Pope,[8] the Father Theophilus of

[1] Peter ii. succeeded Athanasius from 373 to 380.

[2] Timothy succeeded Peter from 380 to 385.

[3] I cannot ascertain the identity of this Serapion, who was evidently a bishop of a town in Egypt. For chronological reasons he cannot apparently be identified with Serapion Scholasticus, bishop of Thmuis, nor with Serapion, bishop of Tentyra.

[4] Theophilus was Patriarch of Alexandria from 385 to 412. He is credited with an Apocryphal vision which describes the flight of Christ into Egypt and the mode of life of the holy family in that country. Cf. Baumstark, *Gesch. d. Syr. Lit.* p. 70, and Syr. MS. Mingana, No. 5 ff. 1-18 b and No. 39 ff. 56 b-70 b, both in the custody of Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

[5] Theodosius died in 395.

[6] Or: Assuan. A town in Upper Egypt and Capital of the Egyptian province of Nubia and of the district called in antiquity *Yēbu*, "land of elephants." The island of Elephantine is included in it, and in Greek times it was called *Syene*.

[7] Read *bitakrīsiha*.

[8] The word "Pope" was in early times applied to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and not of Rome.

Alexandria. When it came to his knowledge that all the bishops were nearing the city of Alexandria, he was pleased with us, like one who had found much booty. He came out to meet us accompanied by all the (clergy) who were in the city. We entered the city and stayed some days with him. After this he began to consecrate[1] the church, and he took us and showed[2] it to us, and we found in it wonderful buildings,[3] and he said to us: "O my children, this is the place designated for the purpose by Athanasius, whom time did not favour." And Father Theophilus added: "I was walking with them while I was a simple acolyte at that time and serving him. And when he came to this place, he said to me: "O my son, Theophilus, if you can find opportunity, build in this place a church to Mar John the Baptist and place his bones in it, and after I had built this place, I remembered the saying of the man of God, the Father Athanasius, especially when I bethought me that my Father was like the prophet David, who wished to build a house to God, but was not favoured with it, on account of wars in which he was continually engaged, and God said to him: "Thou shalt not build a house for me, but the one who comes out of thy loins shall build it for me,"[4] and this was Solomon. Since I have finished with the wars against the pagans, I considered myself worthy of building this church which is under the name of the holy Mar John the Baptist, the morning star."

When the second of the month of June came, he took us to the place where the body was placed, and we did not know the right spot, but after praying nocturns God showed it to him. And when he brought it out, he called all the inhabitants of the town and they assembled to him with many lanterns and lamps so that the night shone like day. He let the bishops carry the coffin on their heads and the Patriarch preceded them, and the deacons were singing with majesty and splendour, until we brought the coffin to the church in great pomp. When we entered the church, the Patriarch took hold of the coffin, embraced it, and allowed all the people to be blessed by the holy body, which he placed afterwards inside the church on a chair at a corner of the altar. He then prepared to consecrate the

[1] Read *bi-takrīs.* [2] Read *arāna.*
[3] Read *abniatan 'ajībatan.*
[4] 1 Chron. xxviii. 3, 6; Cf. 2 Sam. vii. 13; 1 Kings v. 3.

church in that day, and we said mass, and all of us received the sacrament from the Patriarch, and it was the second day of the month *Baouna*.[1]

After this the Patriarch said goodbye to us, and we left the town, each one of us going to his own country, in the peace of God. Amen.[2] And the body of the holy Mar John the Baptist wrought miracles, prodigies, and wonders of healings in the people of the Lord Jesus Christ. The miracles (which we will mention below) will bear witness to this.

Praise, glory, and power are due to you, O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit who is one in nature, now, always, and for ever and ever.

[1] In M. 183 *ḥezirān* (June). The second day of the Coptic month *Baouna* corresponds with our 27th of May. In the Arab Coptic Menologia (*Pat. Or.* x. 204), the feast of the finding of the bones of the Baptist actually falls on the second day of Baouna or the 27th of May. That a church was built in Alexandria in order to contain the supposed relics of the Baptist sent from Sebaste to Athanasius is attested by Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* xi. 28; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 3; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, i. 117 (edit. Classen). It seems therefore to be historical that a church was built in Alexandria under the name of the Baptist by Theodosius the Great on the site of the temple of Serapis, and finished under the reign of Arcadius. On the other hand it seems to me false to assert that the church contained any bones of the saint. See Barṣalībi's *Treatise against the Melchites* on p. 43, and for further details see Smith's and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 881-884. The *Acta SS.* for June 24 (pp. 711-808) contain a full repertory of traditions concerning the history of the Baptist's relics.

[2] The story ends here. What follows appears to be by a later hand.

In the name of God, one in nature, and three in persons and attributes, and by the help and assistance of God we will narrate the miracles of the precursor, Saint John the Baptist, which[1] God wrought through him on the day of the consecration[2] of his Church. May his intercession be with us! Amen.

The First Miracle.

There was in the town a girl of a respectable family, the pangs of whose labour had lasted three days without having been delivered of her child, as it was her first babe. The midwives who were present said[3] to her parents: "The babe has died in her womb, and she cannot live." All began to weep over her because she was much loved by them. When men who were carrying the body of Mar John the Baptist to the church reached the house of the girl singing, she asked her parents: "What are these voices?" They answered her: "A Christian was martyred for the name of Jesus Christ, and the Christians are carrying his body and observing a feast for him."

Now the girl and her parents were pagans. And she said to them: "Carry me to this window so that I may see the body." And four attendants carried her and brought her to the spot she had desired. When she looked down she saw a great and indescribable pomp, and she cried aloud: "O my Lord Jesus Christ for whose holy name this man has been martyred, deliver me from this calamity of mine, through the intercession of this holy man, in order that all may know that you, Jesus Christ, are the only God." While she was saying these words, the babe who was in her womb came out while she was being carried, and he was found to be alive. People were amazed and cried, saying: "Jesus Christ, the God of this martyr,[4] is the only God." And all of them believed and gave to the infant the name of John, and were baptised in the Church of Mar John the Baptist, and remained Christian till the day in which they passed away in the peace of the Lord. Amen.

[1] Read *al-lati.*
[2] As usual read *takrīs.*
[3] Read *kunna yaḳulna.*
[4] Read *ash-shahīd.*

The Second Miracle.

A rich official[1] of the town had a daughter betrothed to a man. A great wedding was prepared[2] for her because she was very rich. On the night in which her husband was to be with her, the holy Mar John, the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, appeared to her in great glory, and she was frightened, but he said to her: "Do you know who I am?" And she answered: "No, my lord." And he said: "I am John the Baptist, the precursor of Christ. When you rise to-morrow go to my church, and take the sign and abundance of your salvation from what you will see on my grave where my body lies." And he disappeared from her sight.

And she rose in the night and went and sat near the door of the church till the morning. When the door of the church was opened she made haste and entered and went to the place in which the coffin was buried. She immediately saw on the grave of the holy Mar John the Baptist a garment of sackcloth, a belt of leather, and a veil. When she noticed them she was amazed and said: "This garment is not for a worldly life," and she ascertained that God wanted her to be a virgin. She then threw immediately in the church the garment of gold that she was wearing, and put on that which she saw on the grave, and went out glorifying God and His saint, Mar John the Baptist, and she became a virgin till the day of her death through the intercession of John the Baptist. May this intercession be with us! Amen.

The Third Miracle.

There was in the town a cripple who worshipped idols. Everyone[3] knew him, children and grown ups. When he walked he used to drag his feet on the ground and wrap tightly on them a piece of leather in order that they might not move to and fro. He used to sit every day at the door of the church in order to receive alms from the church-goers.

One day he made bold to enter the church, in order to put oil on his feet from the lamp of the martyr Mar John the Baptist. For this purpose he loosened the leather that was wrapped on his feet and

[1] Greek ἄρχων through the Syriac *arkona*.
[2] Or: he prepared.
[3] Read *aḥadin*.

oiled them from the oil of the lamp. Immediately after his limbs became strong. When he noticed the miracle he raised himself up and cried, saying: "The God of Mar John the Baptist is the one true God." He then received the baptism and became a Christian till he died in the peace of the Lord. Amen.

The Fourth Miracle.

There was in the town a woman afflicted with dropsy, and her body was swollen all over. She was very rich, but no physician[1] was able to heal her. She rose up and went to the church of the holy Mar John the Baptist and was oiled with the oil of the lamp which burns before the body of the saint, towards the sanctuary; and she slept there. While she was asleep her body was torn open and all the foul matter went out of it, and she awakened from her sleep sound and in good health. And she went home glorifying God—to whom be everlasting glory! Amen.

The Fifth Miracle.

There were two blind men in the town who were friendly to each other[2] and ate jointly from the same alms. They went[3] to the church of the holy Mar John the Baptist and oiled their eyes with the oil of the lamp that burns over the body of the saint. The eyes of one of them saw but not those of the other. The latter had a heavy heart, stood up and confessed to God, saying: "O my Lord Jesus have pity on the weakness of my faith, and give light to my eyes as Thou gavest to those of my friend, because to Thee belong power, glory, and honour for ever and ever. Amen." He recited this prayer to the Lord on the grave of the blessed saint Mar John the Baptist, and he immediately saw, and he and all the onlookers glorified God.

Glory, power, and majesty be to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit who is consubstantial, One God, now, always, and for ever and ever! Amen.

[1] Read *aḥadun.* [2] Read *liba'ḍihima.*

[3] Read *fa'atayā.*

[1] Omits. [2] Omits. [3] الكنيسة. [4] كثيرا very often.
[5] كل الجو. [6] الصعيد throughout. [7] Omits. [8] Places this sentence before the preceding one. [9] فريسيو. [10] Omits. [11] Omits.

[1]صعيد الجنوب. [2]هـ. [3]الأصل. [4]هوارة. [5]لكن. [6]سعيد. [7]هوارة ومن. [8]جاء الأصل. [9]بلد.

الجنوب الذي يحاذي الصحراء الغربية. ومن هذه الواحات ما هو قريب من النيل، ومنها ما هو بعيد عنه. وكلما بعد الواحة عن النيل كان أهلها أشد بداوة وأقل حضارة. وأهل الواحات يسمون أنفسهم الواحيين، ويسمون أهل الوادي النيليين. وهم يعتقدون أن أصلهم من العرب، وأن أجدادهم الأولين قدموا إلى مصر من بلاد العرب في أيام الفتح الإسلامي، وأنهم من قبيلة هوارة. وهذا الاعتقاد يكاد يكون عاماً بين جميع الواحيين، وهو يدل على أن أجدادهم الأولين كانوا من البدو الرحل، وأنهم لم يكونوا من الفلاحين المستقرين. وهذا يفسر لنا ما نراه بين الواحيين من الميل إلى الترحال والتنقل، وما نراه بينهم من قلة الاهتمام بالزراعة وبالأرض التي يزرعونها، وما نراه بينهم من الميل إلى الاعتماد على الغير في المعيشة. وهذا الميل يظهر بين الواحيين في كل عصر من العصور، وفي كل زمان من الأزمان. وقد كان الواحيون في أيام الفراعنة يؤدون الجزية للحكومة المصرية، وكانوا يعتمدون على الحكومة في كثير من شؤونهم. وكانت الحكومة المصرية تعتبرهم من رعاياها، وتعتبر بلادهم جزءاً من أملاكها. وكانت تعين لهم الحكام الذين يحكمونهم، وتعين لهم الجند الذين يحمونهم. وكانت تعتبر الواحات مكاناً صالحاً لنفي المجرمين السياسيين إليه. وكانت تعتبر الواحات مكاناً صالحاً لنفي المجرمين السياسيين إليه. وكانت تعتبر الواحات مكاناً صالحاً لنفي المجرمين السياسيين إليه. وكانت تعتبر الواحات مكاناً صالحاً لنفي المجرمين السياسيين إليه.

[1] مصطفى. [2] Omits. [3] ما عبارتهم. [4] كه بدى.
[5] كه اكثر. [6] بعدى. [7] اولى.

(a-a ܗܘ ܕܒܫ ܠܗ ܟܝܢܐ) ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܒ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܒܥܠܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܬ ܐܘ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡ ܚܡܐ ܐܘ ܚܡ

ܡܢ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܠܡ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܥܠܝܗ. ܘܥܕ ܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܠܡ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܥܠܝܗ. ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܠܡ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܥܠܝܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܫܠܡ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܠܡ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܥܠܝܗ. ܐܝܬ ܠ

ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܘܒܫܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܘܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܕ

ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܘܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܠ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܢܫܬܟܚ

ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܥܠ ܒܝܬ ܐܚܪ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ

ولد في عين كارم (إشارة إلى؟) لوقا ١ : ٥٦ وما بعدها. وكان أبوه زكريا كاهنًا من فرقة أبيا (١ أخبار الأيام ٢٤ : ١٠) وأمه أليصابات من نسل هرون (لوقا ١ : ٥) وكانا كلاهما بارين أمام الله (لوقا ١ : ٦) وكانت أليصابات عاقرًا (لوقا ١ : ٧) وقد ظهر ملاك الرب لزكريا وهو يقوم بخدمة الهيكل (لوقا ١ : ٨-١٠) وبشره بأن امرأته ستلد له ابنًا (لوقا ١ : ١١-١٧) وأن اسمه يوحنا (لوقا ١ : ١٣) وأنه سيكون عظيمًا أمام الرب (لوقا ١ : ١٥) وأنه سيمتلئ من الروح القدس (لوقا ١ : ١٥) وأنه سيرد كثيرين من بني إسرائيل إلى الرب إلههم (لوقا ١ : ١٦) وأنه سيتقدم أمام الرب بروح إيليا وقوته (لوقا ١ : ١٧) وقد شك زكريا في كلام الملاك (لوقا ١ : ١٨) فأخذ الملاك يعاقبه بأن جعله أبكم (لوقا ١ : ٢٠) وأصم (لوقا ١ : ٢٢) إلى أن يتم ما قاله الملاك (لوقا ١ : ٢٠) وبعد أن حبلت أليصابات (لوقا ١ : ٢٤) اختفت خمسة أشهر (لوقا ١ : ٢٤) ثم ظهرت للناس (لوقا ١ : ٢٥) وبعد ولادة يوحنا (لوقا ١ : ٥٧) وختانه (لوقا ١ : ٥٩) وتسمية زكريا له بأمر الملاك (لوقا ١ : ٦٠) انفك لسان زكريا (لوقا ١ : ٦٤) وتنبأ عن يوحنا (لوقا ١ : ٦٧-٧٩) وكان يوحنا يكبر ويتقوى بالروح (لوقا ١ : ٨٠) ويقيم في البرية (لوقا ١ : ٨٠) إلى يوم ظهوره لإسرائيل (لوقا ١ : ٨٠).

وقد ظهر يوحنا المعمدان في البرية (متى ٣ : ١) وكان يكرز بمعمودية التوبة لمغفرة الخطايا (مرقس ١ : ٤) وكان يقول إن الذي يأتي بعده أقوى منه (متى ٣ : ١١) وأنه سيعمد بالروح القدس وبالنار (متى ٣ : ١١) وأنه سيطهر بيدر الرب (متى ٣ : ١٢) وأنه سيجمع القمح في مخزنه (متى ٣ : ١٢) ويحرق التبن بنار لا تطفأ (متى ٣ : ١٢) وكان يوحنا يلبس وبرًا من شعر الإبل (متى ٣ : ٤) ومنطقة من جلد على حقويه (متى ٣ : ٤) وكان يأكل الجراد والعسل البري (متى ٣ : ٤) وكان يكرز في برية اليهودية (متى ٣ : ١) وكان يقول إن ملكوت السموات قد اقترب (متى ٣ : ٢) وكان يدعو الناس إلى التوبة (متى ٣ : ٢) وكان يعمد في نهر الأردن (متى ٣ : ٦) معترفين بخطاياهم (متى ٣ : ٦) وكان يوبخ الفريسيين والصدوقيين الذين أتوا إلى معموديته (متى ٣ : ٧) ويقول لهم إن الله قادر أن يقيم من هذه الحجارة أولادًا لإبراهيم (متى ٣ : ٩) وكان يقول إن الفأس موضوعة على أصل الشجرة (متى ٣ : ١٠) وكل شجرة لا تصنع ثمرًا جيدًا تقطع وتلقى في النار (متى ٣ : ١٠) وكان يقول إن الذي يأتي بعده أقوى منه (لوقا ٣ : ١٦) وأنه لا يستحق أن يحل سيور حذائه (لوقا ٣ : ١٦) وأنه سيعمد بالروح القدس وبالنار (لوقا ٣ : ١٦) وأن رفشه في يده (لوقا ٣ : ١٧) وأنه سينقي بيدره (لوقا ٣ : ١٧) ويجمع القمح في مخزنه (لوقا ٣ : ١٧) ويحرق التبن بنار لا تطفأ (لوقا ٣ : ١٧) وكان يعظ الشعب (لوقا ٣ : ١٨) ويبشرهم (لوقا ٣ : ١٨) ويوبخ هيرودس (لوقا ٣ : ١٩) على أمور كثيرة فعلها (لوقا ٣ : ١٩) وعلى الخصوص على أخذه امرأة أخيه فيلبس (لوقا ٣ : ١٩) وعلى جميع الشرور التي فعلها (لوقا ٣ : ١٩) فزاد هيرودس على جميع شروره أن حبس يوحنا (لوقا ٣ : ٢٠).

[1] Here ends the lacuna in Mingana 183. [2] Omits. [3] Adds
ܐܝܬ. [4] Omits. [5] Adds ܘܐ.

[1] بك. [2] بصه. [3] Adds بحر. [4] Adds ثبة. [5] Omits. [6] ابصهلا

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܡܐ ܘܐܚ ܘܐܚܬ ܘܒܢ ܘܒܪܬ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܠܐ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܢ ܘܒܪ ܐܝܟ ܕ

(1 Adds ⲛⲉ. 2 Adds ⲥⲁ. 3 ⲁⲛⲟⲩⲟ. 4 ⲙⲁⲣⲉ. 5 Adds ⲙⲙⲁ.
6 ⲙⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲥⲟⲛ. 7 ⲛⲓ. 8 ⲁⲡⲁⲥⲧⲟⲗⲟⲥ. 9 ⲛⲉ. 10 ⲉⲣⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉ.
11 ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲣⲱⲙⲉ. 12 Adds ⲛⲉ. 13 Adds ⲛⲁⲗⲗⲁ.

ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲥⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲓⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲥⲛⲁϩⲙⲟⲩ
ⲛⲁⲓ[13] ⲛⲁ ⲉⲓ ⲉⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ. ⲙⲛ ⲟⲟⲟ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲉⲓⲙⲉ
ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲁ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲇⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ ⲙ ⲡⲓⲥ ⲛⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙ ⲡⲉ ⲥⲁⲟⲟ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲇⲣⲟⲙⲟⲥ
ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲓ[12] ⲙⲡⲉ ⲥⲁⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲥⲁⲟⲟ
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲙⲟⲛⲓ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ. ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉ ⲥⲁⲟⲟ ⲛⲁⲓ

ﻣﺎﺭﻱ ﺍﻟﻤﺴﻴﺢ ﺍﻟﻤﻠﻚ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻫﻮ

[ⲥⲁⲗⲓⲙ][1] ⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲥⲟⲩⲱⲛⲓ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲓ

ﻟﺎ ﺧﻮﻩ ﻣﻌﺎﻣﻼﺕ ﺑﻌﻀﻬﻢ ﺑﻌﻀﺎ [ﻭﻻ][1] ﻳﻌﺮﻑ ﺑﻌﻀﻬﻢ ﺑﻌﻀﺎ ﺑﺎﻟﺼﻼﺡ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻘﻮﻯ ﺑﻞ ﻳﻌﺮﻓﻮﻥ ﺍﻟﻨﺎﺱ ﺑﺎﻟﺪﻧﻴﺎ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﺎﻝ ﻭﺍﻟﺠﺎﻩ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻨﺎﺻﺐ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻮﺳﻞ ﺑﻬﺬﻩ ﺍﻷﺷﻴﺎﺀ ﻭﻳﺘﻘﺮﺑﻮﻥ ﺑﻬﺎ ﺇﻟﻰ ﺍﻟﻨﺎﺱ ﻭﻳﺘﺮﻛﻮﻥ ﺍﻟﺘﻘﺮﺏ ﺇﻟﻰ ﺍﷲ ﺗﻌﺎﻟﻰ ﻭﻳﺘﺮﻛﻮﻥ ﺍﻟﺘﻮﺳﻞ ﺑﻪ ﺇﻟﻴﻪ ﻭﻳﺘﻮﺳﻠﻮﻥ ﺇﻟﻴﻪ [ﺑﻤﺎ][2] ﻫﻮ ﺃﻗﺮﺏ ﺇﻟﻴﻪ ﻭﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺘﻘﻮﻯ ﻭﺍﻟﺼﻼﺡ ﻭﺍﻟﻌﻤﻞ ﺑﻄﺎﻋﺘﻪ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻘﺮﺏ ﺇﻟﻴﻪ ﺑﻤﺎ ﻳﺤﺒﻪ ﻭﻳﺮﺿﺎﻩ ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﺃﻣﺮ ﺍﷲ ﺑﻪ ﻭﺃﻣﺮ ﺑﻪ ﺭﺳﻮﻟﻪ ﻭﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻳﻨﻔﻊ ﻳﻮﻡ ﺍﻟﻘﻴﺎﻣﺔ ﻭﻳﻨﺠﻲ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟﻌﺬﺍﺏ ﻭﻳﻮﺟﺐ ﺍﻟﺜﻮﺍﺏ ﻭﺍﻟﻨﻌﻴﻢ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﺎﻝ ﻭﺍﻟﺠﺎﻩ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻨﺎﺻﺐ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﻮﺳﻞ ﺑﻬﺬﻩ ﺍﻷﺷﻴﺎﺀ ﻟﻴﺲ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺘﻮﺳﻞ ﺑﻪ ﺇﻟﻴﻪ ﻭﻻ ﻳﻨﺠﻲ ﻣﻦ ﺍﻟﻌﺬﺍﺏ ﻭﻻ ﻳﻮﺟﺐ ﺍﻟﺜﻮﺍﺏ ﻭﺍﻟﻨﻌﻴﻢ ﻭﻫﺬﺍ ﻣﻤﺎ ﻳﻌﻠﻢ ﺑﺎﻟﻀﺮﻭﺭﺓ ﻣﻦ ﺩﻳﻦ ﺍﻟﻤﺴﻠﻤﻴﻦ ﻭﻗﺪ ﺫﻛﺮﻧﺎ ﻫﺬﺍ ﻓﻲ ﻏﻴﺮ ﻣﻮﺿﻊ ﻭﺑﺴﻄﻨﺎ ﺍﻟﻜﻼﻡ ﻓﻴﻪ ﻭﺑﻴﻨﺎ ﺃﻥ ﻫﺬﺍ ﻫﻮ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻳﻌﺮﻑ ﻋﻨﺪ ﺍﻟﻤﺴﻠﻤﻴﻦ ﺑﺎﻟﻀﺮﻭﺭﺓ ﻭﻳﺪﻝ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ ﺍﻟﻜﺘﺎﺏ ﻭﺍﻟﺴﻨﺔ ﻭﺇﺟﻤﺎﻉ ﺍﻟﺴﻠﻒ ﻭﺍﻟﻌﻘﻞ ﻭﺍﻟﻔﻄﺮﺓ ﻭﺍﻟﻘﻴﺎﺱ ﻭﺍﻟﺘﺠﺮﺑﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﺤﺲ

[1]ואת [2]לא ידעתיו ואבל [3]שלחני לטבל במים הוא אמר לי עליו אשר תראה את הרוח יורד ונח עליו הוא הטובל ברוח הקדש. ואני ראיתי ואעיד כי זה הוא בן האלהים. [4]ומחר עוד עמד יוחנן ושנים מתלמידיו. וישקף ישוע מתהלך ויאמר הנה טלה האלהים. וישמעו שני תלמידיו את דבריו וילכו אחרי ישוע. וישב ישוע ויראם אותם הולכים אחריו ויאמר אליהם מה תבקשו. ויאמרו אליו רבי (אשר פירושו מורה) איה תדור. ויאמר אליהם לכו וראו. וילכו ויראו את אשר דר שם ויתעכבו אתו היום ההוא. והיה כמו שעה עשירית. ואחד משני התלמידים אשר שמעו את יוחנן ויאחרי ישוע היה אנדריאס אח שמעון פטרוס. הוא מצא תחלה את אחיו שמעון ויאמר אליו מצאנו את המשיח (אשר פירושו המשיח) ויביאהו אל ישוע. וישקף ישוע בו ויאמר אתה שמעון בן יונה אתה תקרא כיפא (אשר פירושו פטרוס).

[1] ואנוכי. [2] לוא ידעתיו. [3] שלחני. [4] Adds ואמר. [5] הנה. [6] ואתחלפו השנים. [7] Omits. [8] Omits. [9] Adds ויאמרו. [10] ויאמר. [11] Adds לאמר. [12] הנה. [13] Adds ויאמרו אליו. [14] ויענהו יהושע. [15] ויתנהו. [16] ויביאהו אחיו אל. [17] ויאמר.

[1]. [Omits. Here begins a lacuna in Mingana 22.] ... ...

[1] Here ends the lacuna of Mingana 22. [2] Adds ܒܫܡܝܐ.
[3] ܫܡܗ. [4] ܒܪ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܙܟܪܝܐ.

[هو:هي][1] بك هولاسعو٦ اعا (٥ ٥٥٤٥٥) سعه ذكه هكم [هعاصه:هعاصه][2] كه هو ذكه ٦٥٥٥٥٥ اعا سعو٦ ٦٥٥٥٥٥ اعا ٥٥٤٥٥ [٥٥٥٥:٥٥٥٥][3] ٦٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥

[1] هكذا لسوء. [2] Adds بك. [3] كانت. [4] Adds له.
[5] Adds حضره. [6] لم يعلم. [7] حسن لحنه. [8] Omits.

ܡܢܝܢ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܦ

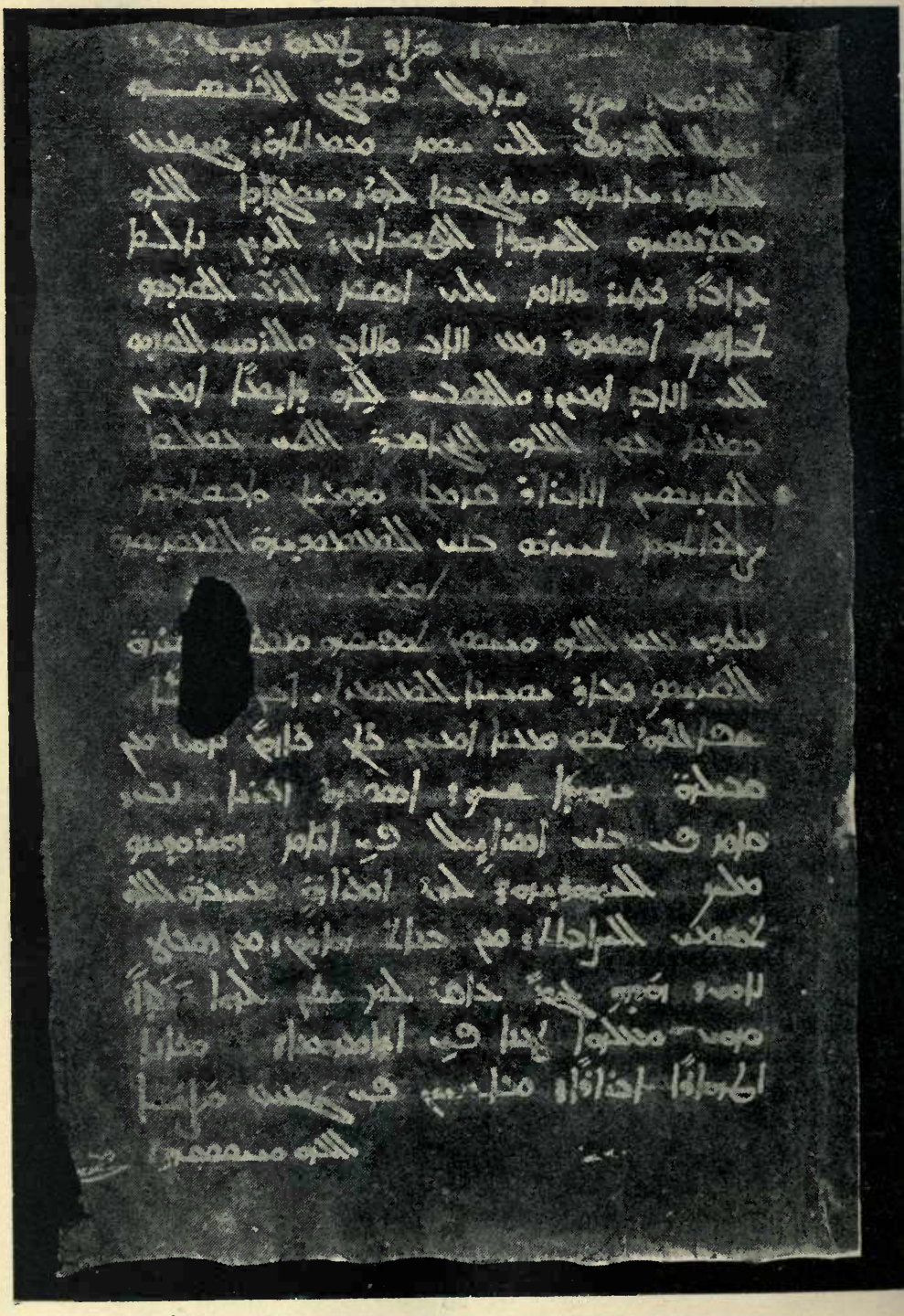
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ܒܟ ܗܘܕܝܐ ܡܢܗܓ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܟ ܚܒܝܒ ܗܘ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܒ
ܐܢ (a ܡܢܝ ܠܟ) ܟܠ ܒܝܫܘܥ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܢܨܚܢܐ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠ
ܐܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܚܝܠ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܢܦܫܝ ܘܚܝܠ ܫܠܝܛ ܐܢܐ ܒ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ . ܐܡܪ . ܐܢܐ ܡܫܬܠܚ ܒܝܕܟ

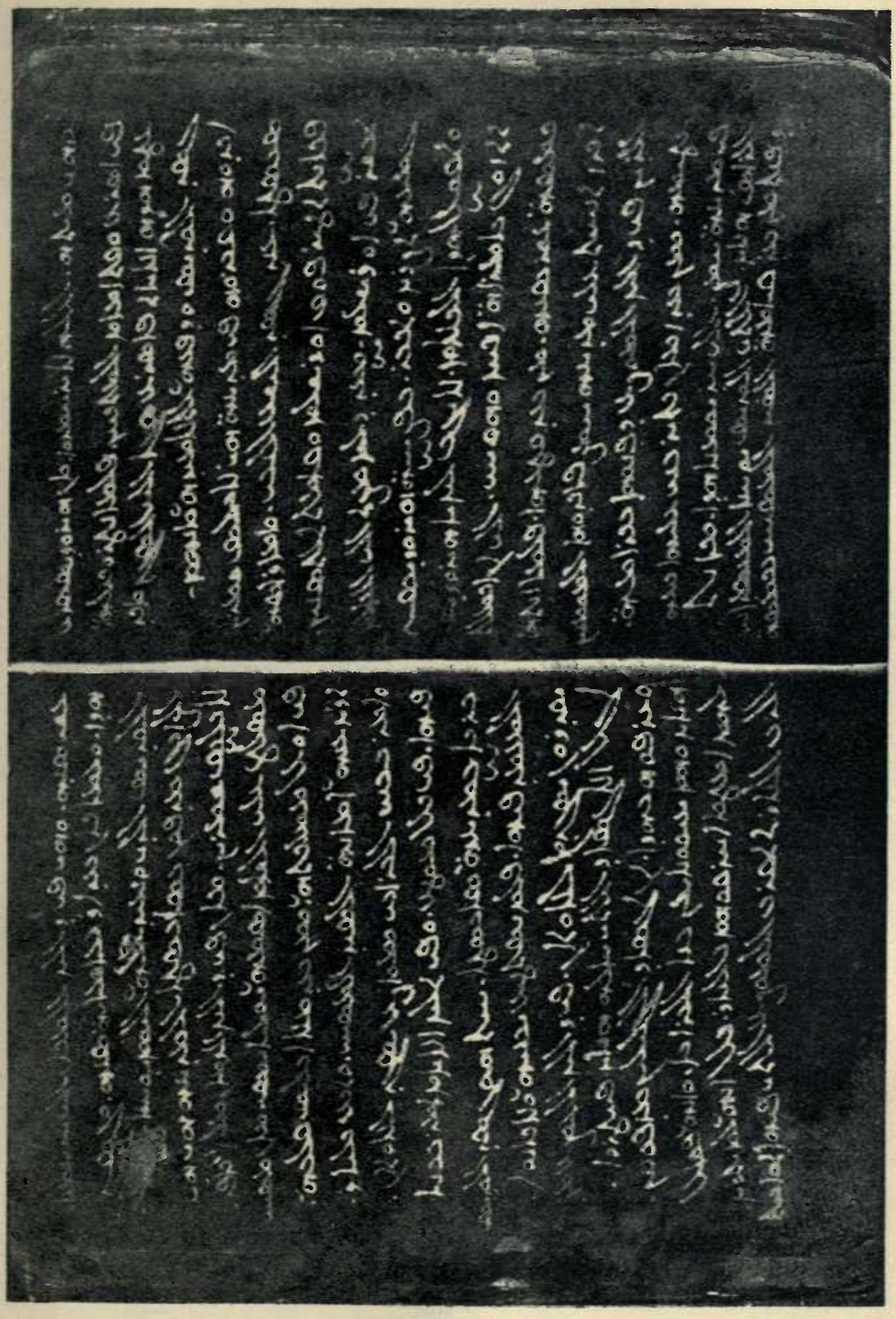
ܡܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ .

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ . ܐܠ ܬܗܘ ܡܣܬܟܠ ܒ [1ܗܟܢ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ]
ܐܢܐ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ . ܐܠ ܬܗܘ ܡܣܬܟܠ ܒ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐ
ܡܣܬܟܠ ܐܢܐ ܒ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ ܠ ܐܢܐ ܒ ܟ
ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠ ܐܢܐ ܒ ܟ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠ ܐܢ
ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠ ܐܢ ܐ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ

[1]Omits. [2]Adds ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. [3]Omits. [4]Adds ܗܘ. [5]Adds ܠܗ. [6]Omits. [7]Omits. [8]Omits. [9]Adds ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܢܒܝܐ ܐܢܬ. [10]Adds ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ.



M. 22



M. 183

(iii) *Uncanonical Psalms.*

Prefatory Note.

I give in the following pages the text and the translation of five uncanonical Psalms. Psalm I is found in many MSS. of the Syriac Psalter[1] where it is known as Ps. cli. and where it is often introduced as follows: "This Psalm was said by David on himself, when he fought Goliath." It is a translation from Greek, but I have remarked in a footnote that its first verse seems, in thought but not in phraseology, to be reminiscent of the corresponding verse of the famous Gnostic "Hymn of the Soul." If this comparison were proved to be possible, we would be allowed to hold the contrary view, *viz.* that the "Hymn" itself was under the influence of the "Psalm"; this, however, is a question on which we cannot dwell at present as it is beyond the scope of our present studies.

The four other Psalms are only found in the interesting work entitled *Durrāsha*, "Discipline," or more generally *ma'wātha*, "Centuries," of the Nestorian writer Elijah of Anbar who died about 940. The work is represented by some other MSS.[2] all of which are, however, much later than the one marked Mingana Syr. 31 in the custody of the Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.[3] The MS. has unfortunately lost a few of its final leaves and is consequently undated, but on palæographic grounds it may be assigned to about A.D. 1340. It formerly belonged to the Nestorian writer Isho'yahb bar Muḳaddam[4] who died about 1445, and who in an inscription on fol. 90b informs us that he collated a large part of it with an autograph of the author himself. There is reason to believe that at least six out of the eight other MSS. in existence are mere transcripts of this Mingana Syr. 31. A fascimile of the pages containing the Psalms accompanies the

[1] See, for instance, vol. i. pp. 35, 124, 125, 137, 138, 140, 405 of Wright's Catalogue of the B.M. MSS.

[2] Mentioned by Baumstark, *Gesch. d. Syr. Lit.* 238.

[3] It was lately acquired by me in Kurdistan.

[4] See about him Baumstark, *ibid.*, p. 329.

translation. I have also compared the translation with Syr. MS. Mingana 51 (ff. 100^{b}-105^{a}) of about A.D. 1550, in the custody of Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham.

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

TRANSLATION.

The Five Psalms of David, which are not written in the Series of the Psalms.

1.

Thanksgivings of David.

I was the youngest of my brothers, and a child in the house of my father.[1] I shepherded the sheep of my father, and met a lion and also a wolf,[2] and I slew them and rent them. My hands made an organ, and my fingers fitted a harp. Who will show me to my Lord? —He, my Lord, became my God.[3] He sent his angel and removed me from the sheep of my father, and anointed me with the oil of unction.[4] The Lord was not pleased with my elder and handsome brothers, and I went to meet the Philistine, who cursed me by his idols; but I unsheathed his sword, cut off his head, and banished the insult from the children of Israel.

[1] Compare this verse with the beginning of the Edessene Gnostic hymn of the Soul: "While I was a small child, and dwelling in my kingdom in the house of my father." Bedjan's *Acta*, iii. 110.

[2] From 1 Sam. xvii. 34-36 we know that David was met by a lion and a *bear* and not a *wolf*. The variant may be explained by the graphic resemblance that exists in Syriac between the words *bear* and *wolf*. This verse is missing in Greek.

[3] The Greek is: "Who will show it to my Lord? He is the Lord, He heareth me."

[4] The Greek is: "Of His unction."

2.

Prayer of Hezekiah when Surrounded by Enemies.

Praise God with a loud voice, and proclaim His glory in the congregation of many people. Praise His magnificence in the assembly of the just, and make known His majesty in the company of the pious. Extol His praise, and narrate His exalted dignity in unison with the righteous. Unite your souls [1] with the good and with the meek in order to magnify the Most High. Gather together in order to proclaim His might, and be not tired in showing forth His salvation, His power, and His glory to all the children. It is in order that the majesty of the Lord may be made manifest that Wisdom has been given, and it is in order that it may proclaim His works that it has been made known to men ; for the spreading of His might among the children, and instructing the weak-hearted in His glory : those who are remote from its good advices, and far from its doors. Because the Lord of Jacob is high, and His majesty is on all His servants.[2] The Most High shall be as pleased with the one who magnifies Him as with the one who offers pure flour, and the one who offers he-goats and calves, and the one who makes the altar smell with the odour of many holocausts, and as with the incense from the hands of the righteous. His voice is heard from thy [3] righteous doors, and there is admonition from the voice of the pious, and true satisfaction from their food and their drink, when taken in fellowship. Their resting place is in the law of the Most High, and their speech is for the proclamation of His might. How remote is His word from the wicked, and how difficult it is for all evildoers to understand it ! Behold the eye of the Lord looks upon the righteous, and He will increase His mercy on those who praise Him, and from the time of evil He will deliver their soul. Blessed be the Lord who delivered the needy from the hand of the strangers, and saved the meek from the hand of the evildoers, who raises power [4] from Jacob, and the judge of the Gentiles from Israel, in order that He may lengthen His sojourn in Zion and adorn all our people of Jerusalem.

[1] Or : yourselves.
[2] Or : His works.
[3] *I.e.* Wisdom (fem.).
[4] Lit. "Horn."

3.

When the People Received Permission from Cyrus to Return to their Country.

O Lord, I have cried to Thee: listen to me; I have lifted my hands to the habitations of Thy holiness: incline Thy ear to me, and grant me my request, and do not refuse my prayer. Build my soul, and do not destroy it, and do not expose it before the unrighteous. Remove from me those who would requite me with evil, O Lord, just judge. Do not judge me according to my sins, because all flesh does not triumph before Thee. Make me, O Lord, understand Thy law and teach me Thy judgments, and many will hear Thy works and the Gentiles will bear witness[1] to Thy majesty. Remember me, and do not forget me, and do not inflict on me calamities more than I can bear.[2] Cast away from me the sins of my youth,[3] and let them not remember my chastisement. Purify me, O Lord, from the evil leper,[4] and let him not keep walking to me. Dry up his roots from me, and let not his leaves stretch over me. O Lord, Thou art great, and that is why my prayer is answered. Whom should I implore to give me anything, and what is the power of the sons of men before Thee, O Lord, my trust? I cried to the Lord, and He answered me and made whole the wound of my heart. I lay down and slept, I dreamed and was helped, and Thou, O Lord, hast sustained me. They have wounded my heart, but I shall receive (joy) because the Lord has delivered me: let me rejoice now in their confusion! I trusted in Thee and I shall not be confounded: grant honour for ever, and for ever and ever save Israel, Thy elect, and the children of Jacob, Thy chosen.

4.

Said by David when Fighting the Lion and the Wolf which took a Sheep from his Flock.

O my God, O my God, come to my help. Help me and save me. Deliver my soul from the murderer. Let me not go down to Sheol in the mouth of the lion, and let the wolf devour me not. Is

[1] Or: thank.
[2] Lit. "Do not make me enter the things that are harder than I am."
[3] Cf. Ps. xxv. 7.
[4] Or: leprosy.

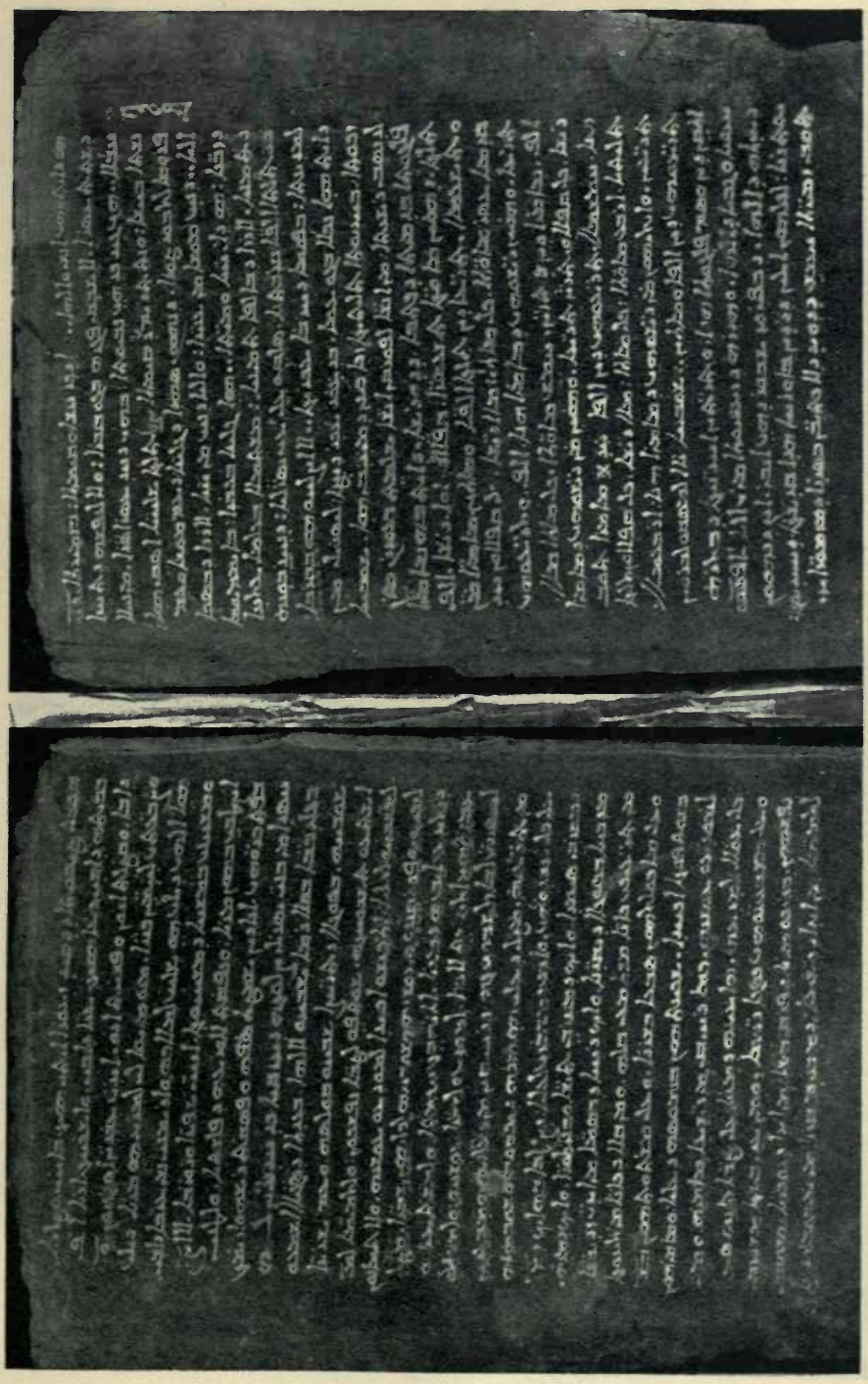
it not sufficient for them that they lay in wait for the flock of my father, and took out a lamb from the flock of my father, that they wish now to destroy my soul? Have pity, O Lord, and deliver Thy elect from destruction, in order that he may repeat Thy praises in all his moments, and glorify the name of Thy Majesty. When Thou hast delivered him from the hands of the lion which destroys and the wolf which devours, and Thou hast returned the booty from the hands of the beasts. O my Lord,[1] send speedily a deliverer from before Thee, and pull me out of the open abyss that wishes to secure me in its depths.

5.

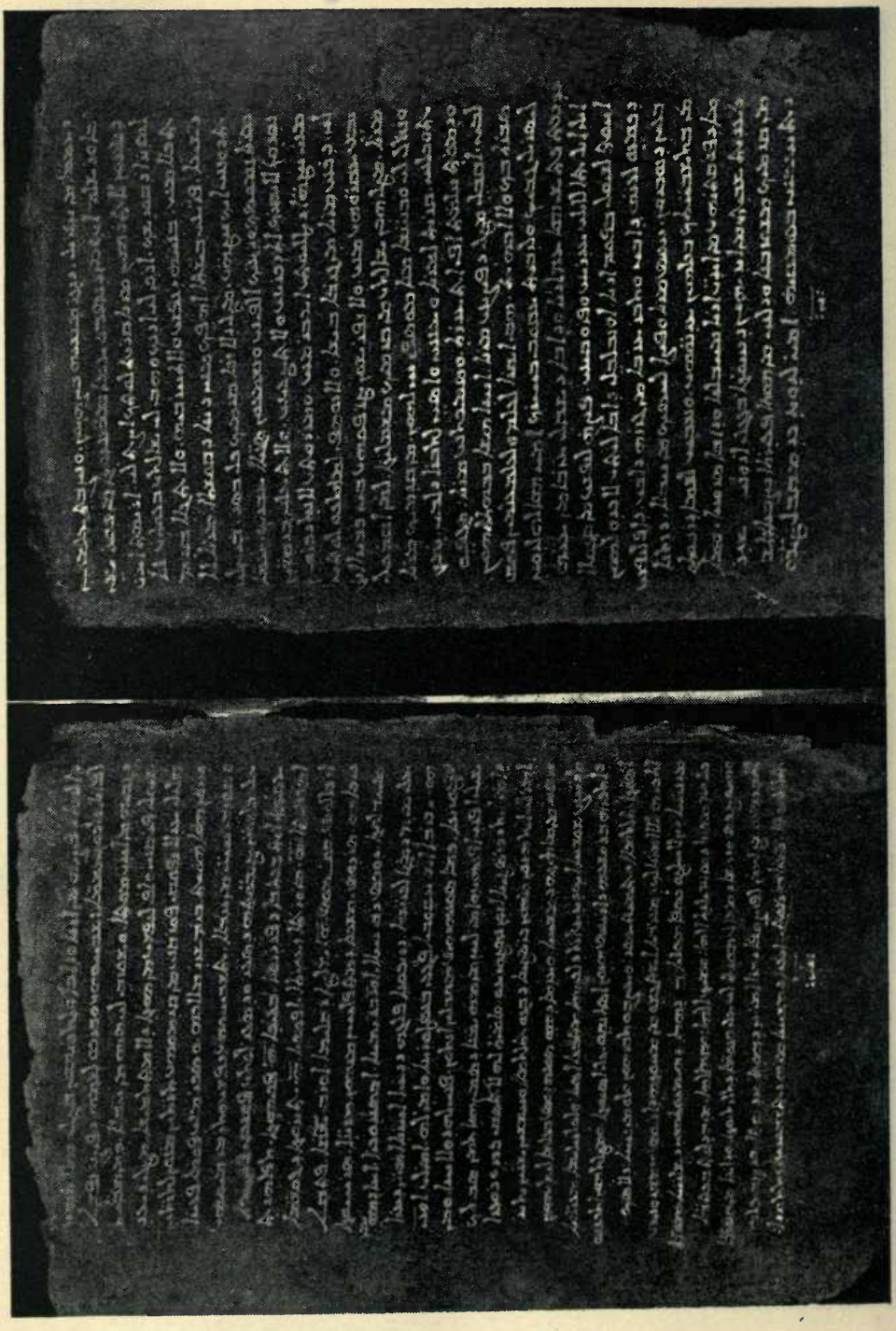
Said by David when Thanking God who saved him from the Lion and the Wolf both of which he Killed.

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

[1] The Hebrew word *Adōnai.*



Psalms M. 31



Psalms M 37

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