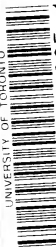


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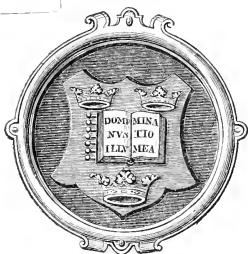
RIES. VOL. I—PART I

IN EZRA AND NEHEMIAH
ABBIS SAADIAH

EDITED BY

MATHEWS, M.A.

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Oxford

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1882

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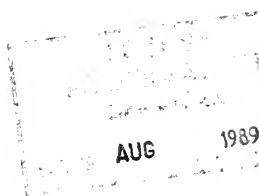
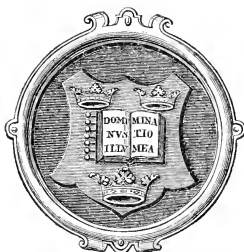
COMMENTARY
ON
EZRA AND NEHEMIAH
BY RABBI SAADIAH

EDITED FROM MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

BY

H. J. MATHEWS, M.A.

EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD



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COMMENTARY ON EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

BY RABBI SAADIAH.

THE commentary which we publish is found complete or incomplete in the following thirteen manuscripts:—

1. British Museum Library (Add. 27298). Fragment of one page ending בגוים סרתי (p. 3, l. 15).

2, 3, 4. Bodleian Library, Oxford (Opp. Add. 4to, 52 = Neubauer's Catalogue, No. 322; Opp. Add. Fol. 24 = Neub. Catal. 364; Hunt. 225 = Neub. Catal. 349). The first of these MSS. is incomplete, and ends לא אריך (p. 12, l. 17).

5. National Library, Paris (No. 162). Incomplete, ending לא בעקה לא בחרגמ' לא (p. 29, l. 11).

6. Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Breslau (Zuckermann's Catalogue, No. 104; *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de littérature hébraïque et orientale et d'auteurs hébreux de feu Mr. Léon V. Saraval*, No. xxvii, p. 101, 'A la fin du 1^{er} volume, ותיכל עבודת זה הפרוש על ידי אני פולח בת ר' אברהם הסופר בר יואב נ"ע מיבני בניו של יהואל אביו .של רבינו נתן בעל הערוך ואשתו של רבי יהואל בר שלמה וכו' Written at Rome, Adar 4, 1288.

7. Royal Library, Munich (Steinschneider's Catalogue, No. 60).

8. Mediceo-Laurentiana Library, Florence (Pl. III, Cod. VIII, XIX, Biscioni's Catalogue, 8vo, p. 367; fol., p. 116. 'Circa saeculi xiii').

9. Ambrosiana Library, Milan (G. 23 Sup.; cf. Berliner's *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vii. 114). The copyist says: אני יהואל ביר' יקותיאל ביר' בנימין הרופא ממשפחת הענוים כתבתי זה הפירוש של תילים ואיוב ומשלי ודניאל ועורא לר' יואב פוסקו¹ ביר' בנימין ביר' יואב נ"ע והשלמתיו בליל ב' בד' ימים לחודש כסליו שנת ה' אלפים ומ"ה לבריאת עולם.

¹ The reading פוסקו is certain from Paris MS. 162, which contains at the beginning the name of מר דניאל בהר' משה פוסקו as a witness, May 6, 1359.

other information respecting the Milan MS., I am indebted to the courtesy of Rabbino Dr. M. Lattes.

10. Royal Library, Parma (De Rossi's Catalogue, Cod. 308).

11, 12. Angelica Library, Rome (A. 1. 2. Berliner's *Magazin*, i. 46, *Cataloghi dei codici orientali di alcune biblioteche d'Italia. Fascicolo I. Catalogo dei codici ebraici della biblioteca Angelica per* Angelo di Capua, p. 87; C. 1. 5. *Magazin*, i. 53; *Catalogo*, p. 103).

13. Royal Library, Turin (CIX. A. iv. 27. Pasinus' Catalogue, p. 45; Peyron's Catalogue, p. 103, 'pauca desunt in fine Commenti').

Except in Nos. 7, 11, and perhaps 9, the commentary is anonymous. In the Paris codex it forms one of a series of commentaries on the whole Bible (except the Pentateuch), described in the Catalogue as 'en partie de Raschi et en partie de R. Joseph Qârâ.' The commentary on Ezra, according to the Catalogue, belongs more exclusively to R. Joseph. In the Breslau codex (Cod. Saraval 27) it is also anonymous, but was attributed by its former owner Saraval to Joseph Kara, and is entered as his in Zuckermann's Catalogue (p. 8 and No. 104). Geiger (*Ozar Nechmad*, iv. 43) declares that there is no reason for thus attributing it, and that it does not bear a shadow of resemblance to the writings of Joseph Kara.

In Cod. Angelica A. 1. 2 it is marked, Capua says, 'prima come di Aben Ezra, e poi come di Rabbì Salomone; questi nomi però sono stati indicati posteriormente, e non è nè dell' uno nè dell' altro. Incomincia: זהו פירוש זרור לבן עזרא.' Capua has by mistake entered the same commentary in Cod. C. 1. 5, under פירושים מרבינו ישעיה.

In the Munich codex (where it is preceded by Benjamin ben Judah's commentary on Proverbs, and followed by כשלי עם פירוש ר' חסדאי [sic] (הלוי) it is attributed to Benjamin ben Judah (פירוש על ספר) (עזרא לבנימין ב"ר יהודה ז"ל). This MS. has been fully described by Steinschneider in his *Hebräische Bibliographie* (xiv. 26, xviii. 108). On the unsupported authority of the title found in this MS. the Benjamin authorship has been too readily accepted as if it were a settled fact (cf. Berliner, *Magazin*, i. 46, 53, vii. 114; *Pletath Soferim*, p. 11; Steinschneider, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, vii. 82; Friedländer, *Essays on the Writings of Abraham ibn Ezra*, p. 206; Benjacob, *Ozar ha-Sepharim*,

p. 471, No. 489¹). For Steinschneider rightly remarks: 'Das Zeugniß desselben würde aber nicht ausreichen, da es nahe lag, diesen Comm. dem Verf. des vorangegangenen zuzuschreiben, und die Unterschrift der nächsten Pièce unseres Codex wahrscheinlich falsch ist. Es ist daher der Charakter desselben und sein Vorkommen in andern HSS. in Betracht zu ziehen.' But the character of this commentary is very different from that of Benjamin's commentaries. Benjamin's glosses are literal, grammatical, and abound with quotations, the names of David Kimchi and Ibn Jannah occurring constantly. But our anonymous commentator is fond of Talmud and Midrash, his glosses do not contain a single grammatical remark, nor is the name of one grammarian, lexicographer, or commentator² quoted by him. It is hardly possible that one and the same author should write on two historical books (Ezra and Chronicles) and yet be so different in his mode of annotation. Our anonymous writer delights in Midrashic explanations of proper names, and we cannot conceive that a writer who explains כורש (Ezra i. 1) by היה על שמלך נשר היה, and שדרשו ישראל לאל בימיו by דרוש, and מתרדת (i. 8) by מתיר דת, and ששב באוצר by ששבצר, and so forth, would be content (as Benjamin is) with dismissing מלך למואל (Prov. xxxi. 1), a name which modern scholars consider to be only a poetical appellation, with the simple remark מלך שהיה בימים ההם, or אגור בן יקה (Prov. xxx. 1), with no observation except on the Chirik in בן יקה היה, כמו יהושע בן נון שכן לילה היה, with no further remark than יתכן היותם שמות אנשים ובדברי הימים תמצא הרבה הם רעיו היושבים לפניו ונפל לאיתואל בעבור הפסוק הראשון כמו ויוכל בן שלמיהו. On 1 Chron. iii. 19 (ובני פדיה זרובבל) all that Benjamin says is ונקרא בן שאלתיאל כי בן בנו היה או זרובבל אחר, והיה, but the anonymous writer on Ezra ii. 2 at once begins, ולמה נקרא

¹ No. 492 (פ' על עזרא לא נודע למי) is the same commentary as No. 489. Uri 149 = Hunt. 225.

² Steinschneider (*H. B.* xviii. 109) has corrected his statement in *Cat. Libr. Hebr. Bibl. Bodl.*, p. 2196, 'passim citat Abr. ibn Ezra.' It would be difficult for commentators to write without sometimes agreeing, and I observe no agreement with Moses Kimchi which calls for any special remark.

שמו זרובבל זרוע בבל שנורע בבבל בבית הסהר ולמה אמר בן שאלתיאל ששאל אותו מאל שלא נשאר מבית דוד וזולתי יהויכין ושאל בן מאל ונתן לו. The phraseology, also, of the commentary is not that of Benjamin's commentaries¹. Benjamin frequently quotes the Targum, but *ביתרגמין* (a phrase so repeatedly occurring in our commentary as to be a characteristic feature) is not his form of expression; he uses the noun *תרגום* and almost always says *התרגום אמר*. Benjamin uses *יש אומרים* with our anonymous writer, but not *יש פותרים*. Benjamin's phrase is not *והכמים אמרו* (Ezra i. 2, vi. 11, viii. 27; Neh. viii. 10, x. 33; Neh. ix. 5, xiii. 29; Ezra iv. 5), but *רבותינו אמרו*². Benjamin constantly states his preference for some interpretation in the case of double explanations with one or other of the expressions *ויותר ראוי*, *ויותר נכון*, *ויותר נראה לי*, *והראשון נכון*, *ויותר טוב*, *אבל ברעתי כי*, which phrase is not found in Benjamin's commentaries. The word *יתכן* in various combinations (*ויתכן להיות*, *ויתכן ש*, *ויתכן כי*) must occur not less than fifty times in Benjamin's commentaries on Proverbs and Chronicles, but it is found only once (Ezra vi. 15) in this commentary. The style and phraseology of this commentary (to make no further comparison) does not therefore support the authority of the title of the Munich MS., which attributes it to Benjamin ben Judah.

In the Milan codex (which contains also Rashi on the Psalms, Kara on Job and Proverbs, and the Pseudo-Saadia on Daniel) the title at the commencement of the commentary is simply *פי' ספר עזרא*, and the ending is *נשלם פירוש ספר עזרא*. But it is attributed in the frontispiece to Saadia Gaon, *פירו' עזרא עוד לרבינו, פירו' דניאל לרבינו סעדיה גאון זצ"ל*, *סעדיה גאון זצ"ל*. The commentary on Daniel (unlike that on Ezra) is

¹ I have not examined the commentary on Kings, which is not in the Bodleian.

² I have not observed *מתרגמין אמרו* or *והכמים אמרו* more than once each in Benjamin's commentaries on Chronicles and Proverbs.

attributed to Saadiah (but without גאון) also in the title at the beginning of the commentary. It appears uncertain whether the handwriting of the frontispiece is as old as the codex, which is dated 1285¹. An owner has written at the end of the codex, אני שמואל בכא"ו משה ינע"ם בכא"ו, נתן זצ"ל החתום למטה מודה כי ברצון נפשי בלי אונס רק בלב שלם ובנפש הפיזה וברעת מיושבת נתתי זה הפירוש מכתובים 'לרש"י [sic!] מלבד דברי הימים עם שאר ספרי הקודש לחביבי וכו'.

The evidence supporting the title of this frontispiece (at least, as far as the name Saadiah is concerned) is as follows:—

1. In eleven out of the thirteen codices (the Munich and Turin MSS. being excepted) in which the commentary on Ezra is found, the commentary on Daniel by the Pseudo-Saadiah accompanies it. The commentary on Daniel is found in thirteen codices, the two in which the Ezra-commentary is absent being De Rossi 456 and 728².

2. In the British Museum MS. the commentary begins ס'ע'ד'יני יה' הנואל לבאר. It is preceded by the Pseudo-Saadiah's commentary on Daniel, which commences ס'ע'ד'יני יה' הגואל לבאר and ends פ' דנואל ס'סליק פיר' דניאל בסיוע רב וגואל³.

3. Three different writers quote this commentary in the name of Rabbenu Saadiah. The existence of these quotations in the present commentary having escaped notice, they have been naturally adduced as evidence that the Gaon wrote a commentary on Ezra (see Steinschneider's *Catalogus Librorum Hebracorum in Bibliotheca Bodleriana*, p. 2195).

¹ Dr. Lattes writes to me: 'Le parole del frontispizio: פירו' עורא עוד לרבינו סעדיה: נאון זצ"ל sono di carattere più piccolo ed appariscono scritte da una mano diversa da quella dell' amanuense del codice; ma ogni indicazione per la data, però a me sembra non debbano essere posteriori molto al codice.'

² A fourteenth has perhaps to be added. Zunz (*Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 71) says that Luzzatto possessed a manuscript of the Daniel-commentary. It is not mentioned in the catalogue of his books and manuscripts, and I do not know where it is now.

³ Friedländer has noticed this codex in his *Essays on the Writings of Ibn Ezra* (p. 211). He says of the introductory and concluding verses of the Daniel-commentary, 'both rhymes have probably been added by a Christian Hebraist.' But מלך צור ישראל שבמאמרו הכל היה חזקוני לכתוב פיר' דניאל שפירש רב in משה חזק סעדיה which follows the introductory rhyme would point rather to a Jew. He says that the MS. is of the 13th century.

a. Azulai (*Shem ha-Gedolim*, under **רבינו סעדיה גאון**) observes that the author of the *Shibbole ha-Leqet* quotes a commentary on Ezra by the Gaon. The passage which Zedekiah Anav quotes is to be found in our commentary on Neh. viii. 10: **ורבינו סעדיה גאון כתב בפירוש ספר: עזרא שפירש ובראש השנה אסור להתענות בין מדברי תורה בין מדברי קבלה בין מן הברייתא בין מן התלמוד מדברי תורה מניין ששוה הוא לכל המועדות שנאמר בו מוקרא קדש כמו שנאמר בכלם וקרוי. חג ככל החגים שנ' תקעו בחודש שופר בכנס ליום הגיונו וכו'¹: Zunz (*Bikkure ha-Ittim*, xi. 84; *Kerem Chemed*, v. 152) has called attention to the same passage as found in the compendium of the *Shibbole ha-Leqet* called *Tanya* (ed. 1514, § 72; ed. 1565, fol. 102 b). It is worth observing that Jechiel, the copyist of the Milan MS., was the son of Zedekiah b. Abraham's cousin, and the *Tanya* has been attributed to him amongst others (see Steinschneider, *Cat. Libr. Hebr. in Bibl. Bodl.*, p. 277 i).**

b. Zedner (*Auswahl historischer Stücke*, p. 264 n.) has noticed that Solomon of Urbino in his *Ohel Moed* (written in 1480, printed at Venice in 1548) quotes Saadiah's explanation of **כפורי**, a word which occurs only in Ezra and Chronicles. The author of this dictionary says (s. v. **ורק**), **והמפרשים פירשו כפורי זהב כמו נפות ורבינו סעדיה פי' כפורי רדורי והמפרשים פירשו כפורי זהב כמו נפות ורבינו סעדיה פי' כפורי רדורי. משין של זהב**. This clearly refers to the present commentary on Ezra i. 10.

c. Zunz has further observed (*Kerem Chemed*, v. 152) that Azariah de Rossi has quoted Saadiah's commentary on Ezra. Zunz found the quotation in a manuscript note (autograph?) of the author on the margin of a copy of the first edition of his *Meor Enayim*²: **וכן תמצא בפירוש עזרא:**

¹ Mich. MS. 231, fol. 239 a. The edition (1546) reads on fol. 41 b, **ורבינו סעדיה, ורבינו סעדיה ז"ל פירש בפירוש עזרא ובראש, נאון ז"ל כתב ובר"ה אסור וגו' השנה וגו'.**

² The Bodleian Library possesses a copy of the *Meor Enayim* (Mantua, 1574) with the author's marginal notes in his own handwriting (Opp. Quo. 875), as is proved by comparing the autograph MS. of his *Matsref Lakkeseif* (Mich. 308, ol. 503). The margins have been unfortunately cut in the binding, and we find (fol. 70 b) **תמצא בפירוש ' עזרא לרבינו [] יה נאון (sic) על הכתוב ולו אהנו וגו' edition 'avec notes en marge MSS. par l'Auteur' (Saraval Catalogue, No. 1009) is in the Seminar-Bibliothek, Breslau. The reading (collated for me by Professor Grätz) agrees with that given by Zunz. Respecting Michael's copy (No. 2126) see Zedner in Steinschneider's *Hebraische Bibliographie*, iv. 79.**

לרבינו סעדיה על הכתוב ולו אנחנו זובחים וכו' שכתב וזה לשונו עד היום הזה מכלל שלא שבו לארץ ישראל לפי שהיו בהם צדיקים ונביאים והיו יודעים שבית המקדש עתיד ליחרב פעם אחרת ועתידין ישראל ללכת בגלות וישבו שם בארץ אעור וכו' עין שם ע"כ:
This is *verbatim* our author on Ezra iv. 4.

The external evidence is, therefore, in favour of Saadiah Gaon being the author of the commentary, but is not supported by the internal evidence, which, however, certainly connects it with, if it does not prove it to be by, the author of the commentary on Daniel formerly attributed to Saadiah Gaon¹.

It is certainly singular, when we consider that in eleven out of thirteen codices this commentary on Ezra is preceded by the Pseudo-Saadiah's commentary on Daniel, that no scholar should have made remark on the similarity of the tone, phraseology, and explanations of the two commentaries².

1. In both commentaries (but to a larger extent in that on Ezra) explanations are frequently introduced from the Talmud or Midrash, and generally without any form of quotation.

2. Both writers are fond of etymological explanations of proper names, and foreign and other rare words:—

Compare the notes on the following words in Daniel: (i. 2) שנער; (i. 3) אשפנו; (i. 7) מישאל, בלשאצר, שדרך, מישך, שדרך, עבדנגו, מישך, שדרך, בלשאצר, מישאל; (i. 11) אשפים; (v. 1) בלשאצר; (viii. 2) ארלי. (i. 3) פרתמים; (i. 20) אשפים, אדרגוריא, אחשרפניא; (iii. 2) מכשפים, כשדים; (ii. 2) הרטומים, דתבריא; (vi. 19) דחון.

¹ Since Rapoport's well-known article (1828) in the *Bikkure ha-Ittim* (ix. 34) no longer ascribed to the Gaon. It may, however, belong to a later Rabbi of the same name.

² J. B. de Rossi (*MSS. Cod. Hebr.*, Cod. 308) says: 'Cujus sit Comm. in Esdram, nostri codicis titulus non prodit, et ut antiqui sane scriptoris est, non temere conjiceret quispiam ipsius Saadiae esse, vel R. Binjam.' I suspect that the only reason he had for suggesting these two names was the fact that his codex also contains Benjamin b. Judah's commentaries on Proverbs and Chronicles and [Pseudo-] Saadiah on Daniel; otherwise he would not have offered the alternative of choice between two writers, who in point of style are so different, and in point of time lived over three hundred years apart (for in De Rossi's time the Pseudo-Saadiah was the Gaon).

3. In both commentaries Gematria is employed:—

Ezra ii. 6 (י"מ מתחלף בגימטריא אתב"ש, (יואב=מואב) Dan. i. 6
בגימטריא ג' מתחלף עם רי"ש אתב"ש גר, (פת בר=פת בג)
בחיולוף בי"ת עם מ"ם באלב"ם, (זמנין=זבנין)

4. In both commentaries a mystical signification is said to lie in the absence or presence of a letter in certain words:—

Ezra iv. 2 (ולא נת' ולו קרי שלא היו זובחים, (ולא אנחנו זובחים)
נת', (וסוכרים עליהם יועצים) Ezra iv. 5. אליו מאהבה אלא מיראה
בסמך לקיים מה שנ' יסכר פי דוברי שקר כי בלבל הב"ה עשתם
דג מלא א' על חלול השבת, (מביאים דאג) Neh. xiii. 16. אחרי כן
ולמה כתוב חרטמים, (חרטמים) Dan. i. 20. שהיו מביאים דאגה לעולם
(נבוכדנצר) Dan. ii. 1. חסר וי"ו ששואלין בקברות בחורי שימי מתיים
Dan. ii. 3. חסר אל"ף שמאותו היום נגור עליו חסרון מלכות בבל
ופירשו רבותינו הואיל ונכתב ותתפעם בשני תוי"ן שנטרף, (ותתפעם)
בשני טירופין על ששכח החלום ופתרונו שבפרעה אמר ותפעם ששכח
ולמה גרע טי"ת מן בלשאצר, (בלשאצר) Dan. v. 1. הפתרון וזכר החלום
ולא קרא אותו בלשאצר משום ששלח יד בנלי בית ה' ופתרון
בלשאצר בלש אוצר מחפש אוצר.

5. Neither commentary contains a single grammatical remark.

6. In both commentaries only two etymological terms are used (with the exception of יסוד (Dan. iii. 2), בהפיכת התיבה (Dan. vi. 15), and תיבה הפוכה (Dan. vi. 19)). A letter is said to be redundant (יתירה) or to be changed (מתחלפת):—

Ezra iv. 13 (בלו ובלו חד הוא וי"ו יתירה, (בלו) Dan. xi. 7 (כנו)
ובלחמיות כמו ויאבק מתרג', (ואשתדור) Ezra iv. 19. וי"ו יתירה
Ezra vii. 11. ואשתדל למ"ד מתחלפת עם רי"ש כמו וארו ואלו
נגד לשכתו, (נגד נשכתו) Neh. iii. 30. פתשגן ר' מתחלף עם ת', (פרשגן)
הלשכות נ' מתחלפת עם, (הנשכות) Neh. xii. 44. נ' מתחלף עם למ"ד
וכן לחם מגואל ופירושו מגועל בחיולוף אל"ף, (יתגאל) Dan. i. 8. ל'
ואלו פשר אחד רי"ש מתחלף עם למ"ד, (וארו) Dan. vii. 5. בעי"ן

כיוצא בו מזולות מזרות רי"ש מתחלף עם למ"ד Dan. xi. 43 במסעדיו בחילוף סמ"ך בעד"י, (במצעדיו) Gematria.

7. In neither commentary is the name of a single grammarian, lexicographer, or commentator quoted. The quotation from Mattathyah Gaon at Dan. vi. 15 cannot be considered an exception. In both commentaries **יש אומרים** is frequent, and **יש פוהרים** occurs in both (Ezra vi. 11; vii. 23; viii. 27. Dan. ii. 46; iv. 22, 32, 34; v. 12; vi. 15; ix. 24; x. 6). **א"א** (רבר אהר) is used in both, but **פ"א** (פירוש אהר) is found only in the Daniel-commentary.

8. The constant reference to the Targum in the form **מתרגמין** (already referred to) is a characteristic feature of both commentaries; it is of especially frequent occurrence in the Chaldee parts of Daniel and Ezra.

9. The commentator on Daniel, speaking in his own person, generally uses **ברדעתי**. The only place where the commentator on Ezra expressly states his own opinion is Ezra vi. 15, but there he also says **ברדעתי** (as mentioned above). Writers more commonly say **על דעתי** or **לפי דעתי**.

10. There is a remarkable agreement in the explanations of certain words or expressions common to the books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. And in both commentaries there is the same indecision and want of precision in interpretation.

a. Dan. iii. 29, **הוא מקום מופקר ומנוול למוצאות ולאשפה**. נולי. **נול**. Dan. ii. 5, **בוזה ואין לו דמיון וי"א נולי לשון מנוול כדומן**, **וביתה נולו**, Ezra vi. 11, **ועזאה כאבוס של בהמות. ד"א נולי חריבה יתעבד. וביתו הפקר נעשה על זאת שנ' הנה בית המן נתתי לאסתר ואותו תלו על העץ על אשר שלח ידו ביהודים ויש שפותרין נולי מקום אבוס בקר ומנוול בדומן צפיעי הבקר וכולו ענין אחד כי כאשר יבוזו המלכים בתי האויב או יחריבו התקרה והמעזיבה להיות חרבן עולם ושמה ירבעו הבקר והסוסים וכל בהמה נעשה מקום מנוול מגללים.**

It will be observed that the commentator on Daniel explains **נולי** in two different ways in the same commentary, by **מקום מופקר ומנוול**

in one place and by *בוזה* in another place, in the latter passage adding as the explanation of others that which he has himself adopted in the former passage. In the note on Ezra vi. 11, the commentator gives *הפקר* and *מנוול* as two different explanations, though he says they both come to the same thing, and his summing-up in this note looks as if he had in mind the explanations *בוזה* and *חריבה* expressly mentioned on Dan. ii. 5.

b. Ezra vi. 9, ומה חשחן. ומה חוששין כלומ' ממה שיש להם, ושאר חשחות. ויותר חסרון אשר יחסר לברק, מחשבה. Ezra vii. 20, בית האלהים כמו ומה חשחן ומה חסרון יש להם ויש אומ' חשחות וחשחן לש' חושש הוא כי העושה מלאכה מרובה מחשבה גדולה יש לא חשחין אנהנא. אין, לו עד גומרו שמא יחסר לו דבר. Dan. iii. 16, אנו חוששין אין אנו צריכין להשיבך על זה הדבר.

In this case the commentator on Ezra explains the same word differently in the same commentary. At Ezra vi. 9 he explains ומה חשחן by ומה חוששין, and at vii. 20 by ומה חסרון יש להם, adding, again, as the explanation of others that which he has himself given on vi. 9. He similarly explains that the two explanations come to the same thing. On Dan. iii. 16 he combines, as if they meant the same thing, the two different interpretations, אין אנו חוששין *we are not anxious*, and אין אנו צריכין *we are not obliged*.

c. Ezra iv. 22, וזהירין הווי שלו למעבד על דנא. להיות להם שלו, ובטול כמו לא תשלה אותי כלומ' לעווב המלאכה ולבטלה על זה די לא שלו. בלא שגגה ובלא פשיעה אלא כרצונם. הדבר שלו. פשע ושגגה ויש אומרים שלו רישול כמו לא תשלה, Dan. vi. 5, לא תתרשל.

In both commentaries *שלו* is explained by both *deliberate wickedness* and *unintentional mistake*. The explanation of other commentators by *שגגה* alone would call for no remark. In the note on Ezra iv. 22 he seems to prefer another interpretation, which is mentioned on Dan. vi. 5. This uncommon explanation of *לא תשלה* (2 Kings iv. 28) is given in Isaiah di Trani's commentary on Ezra (see below, p. xxii), but Rashi

explains it לא תטעה, לא תשגה (in commentary), Kimchi (in *Shorashim*), Targum לא תנסים יתי Parchon explains לא תשלו (2 Chron. xxix. 11) by לא תטעה, but לא תשלה by לא תתשללו.

d. Ezra iv. 19, ואשתדור. ומלחמות כמו ויאבק מתרג' ואשתדל למ"ד, ומתחלפת עם רי"ש כמו וארו ואלו ופי' והנה וכן ואשתדור ואשתדל לשון מלחמות הוא וכן הוא אומ' ויאבק איש עמו מלמד שנלחם המלאך עד שעלה אבק רגליהם עד כסא הכבוד ועל כן נדע כי הוה משתדר. מתעסק ונלחם, Dan. vi. 15, אשתדור מלחמות הם וגו' ונאבק עם שריו כדי להצילו ויאבק מתרגמינן ואישתדל רי"ש מתחלף עם למ"ד כמו ואלו וארו ופתרון שניהם והנה

e. Ezra iv. 13, בלו. זה כסף גולגלתא כמו בקע לגלגלת מס לשלטון, וכן כת' ועל דניאל שם בל לשזכותיה כופר ממון להצילו כמו איש ועל דניאל שם בל. שם, Dan. vi. 15, כופר נפשו בל ובלו חד הוא לב בהפיכת התיבה כמו כבש כשב שמלה שלמה וי"א שם תחבולות ופתרון בל בלילות דברים ופיוס אמרים וי"א כה ושכס. ד"א ועל דניאל שם בל לשזכותיה שם כופר ממון להצילו כמו שנאמר מנדה בלו והלך וגרסינן בנדריים אמר רבא שרי ליה לצורבא מרבנן למימר צורבא מרבנן אנא דלא למיתן כרגא שנאמר ומנדה בלו והלך מנדה זו מנת המלך בלו זה כסף גולגלתא והלך זו ארנונא כלומר על דניאל שם כופר ממון להצילו כמו שנאמר ואם כופר יושת עליו שרצה לפדותו בממון ולא יכול כך פירש רב מתתיהו הגאון ז"ל

f. Neh. ii. 6, והשגל יושבת אצלו. נשאו ונתנו חכמים בדבר זה אומר, כלבתא וזה מלכתא והעמידו דבר על בירורו כי שגל מלכתא כאמור שגלתיה. אשתו ששכב עמה . . . ואית, Dan. v. 2, נצבה שגל לימינך דאמרי כלבתא שהיתה חביבה עליו כשגל כאשת משכב היקו

g. Neh. i. 5, האל הגדול והנורא. ולא אמר הגבור לפי שראה בניו דניאל, Dan. ix. 4, מסורין בקולרין ובית מקדשו חרב' ואיה גבורתיו אמר האל הגדול והנורא ולא אמר הגבור לפי שראה בניו מסורין בקולרין ואיה גבורתו ולמה אמר הגדול וגו'

h. Ezra ix. 3, משומם, כמו שותק, Dan. iv. 16, אשתומם, שתק ונאלם, Dan. viii. 27, ואשתומם. לשון שתיקה כמו שלשת ימים משמים.

As regards the matter of the books of Daniel and Ezra there are only two points in the commentary which allow of comparison, and here there is agreement and disagreement.

a. The list of the kings of Persia in the commentary on Ezra agrees with the list given in the commentary on Daniel. At Ezra iv. 5 they are given thus:—1. Darius the Mede (1 year); 2. Cyrus his son (3 years); 3. Ahasuerus (14 years); 4. Cyrus his son, who is called *Artaxerxes* (32 years); 5. Cyrus, son of Esther, who is Darius the Persian. At Dan. xi. 2 the list is as follows:—1. Darius the Mede; 2. Cyrus the First; 3. Ahasuerus; 4. *Artaxerxes*; 5. Darius who is Cyrus¹.

These two commentaries seem to stand alone in this agreement. The Seder Olam Rabba, Saadiah Gaon (according to Ibn Ezra), and Rashi give four kings:—1. Darius the Mede; 2. Cyrus the Persian; 3. Ahasuerus; 4. Darius the Persian. Ibn Ezra gives five:—1. Darius the Mede; 2. Cyrus the Persian; 3. Ahasuerus = Artaxerxes the First; 4. Darius the Persian, son of Esther; 5. Artaxerxes. Moses ha-Kohen ha-Sefardi (in Ibn Ezra) makes six kings:—1. Darius the Elder or the Mede; 2. Cyrus the Persian; 3. Ahasuerus; 4. Artaxerxes; 5. Darius the Persian; 6. Artaxerxes the Rich.

b. In the interpretation of Jer. xxix. 10 there is an awkward disagreement. The commentator on Daniel (ix. 2) says: הדבר שאמר לפי מלאות לבבל שבעים שנה ודניאל טעה בזה החשבון לפי שירמיה אמר אפקוד על בבל והוא חשב בדעתו זה שאמר ירמיה אפקוד אתכם בשביל הבניין לפי שראה ששלמו שבעים שנה לחרבות ירושלם והתחיל דניאל מתחנן לפני הקב"ה וזו הפקודה אינה על ישראל כשם שנ' על ידי ירמיהו כן עשה נחשוב משנה הרביעית ליהויקים שמלך נבוכדנצר ומאז ועד שהפקודם כורש הראשון להעלותם לירושלים עברו שבעים שנה ואלה מספרם מ"ה שנה מלך נבוכדנצר אויל מרודך כ"ב תן שנה לזה ולזה נשארו כ"א כלול אותם עם מ"ה והם ס"ו שנה בלשאצר מלך שלשה שנים הרי ס"ט ודריוש המדי אשר הומלך על

¹ Cyrus the Great is probably a sixth, the same as Cyrus the Last in the note on Ezra i. 2. Compare the note on Dan. i. 21.

מלכות נשדים מלך שנה אחת הרי שבעים שנה ומיד מלך כורש
והעלם לארץ ישראל כמו שאמר הכתוב ע"י ירמיהו:

The Rabbies generally say that Daniel counted the seventy years from a wrong date, namely, the subjugation of Jehoiakim in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, and that he ought to have counted from the destruction of the temple in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, the seventy years ending with the second year of Darius.

The commentator on Daniel seems to say that Daniel's mistake was in the matter of the event at the end of the seventy years, and not in the calculation of the years from a wrong date. He says, indeed, that Daniel calculated rightly from the *first* year of Nebuchadnezzar (Nebuchadnezzar, forty-five years; Evil Merodach and Belshazzar, twenty-four; Darius, one), but that Jeremiah's prophecy had reference only to the departure from Babylon, and not to the building of the temple (as Daniel thought). He says that they go up to Jerusalem in the first year of Cyrus, who succeeded Darius the Mede.

The commentator on Ezra says (i. 2) that Jeremiah meant 'seventy years after the destruction of Babylon I will visit you,' and that 'from the destruction of Babylon by Cyrus the First in the days of Belshazzar to the first year of the last Cyrus are seventy years!'. He remarks (iv. 5) that Ezra and his company began to build the temple in the first year of Ahasuerus, at the bidding of Daniel, but the work was stopped, because it was before the appointed time, for Daniel miscalculated the seventy years from the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar. He also says (iv. 5) that in the first year of Cyrus, son of Esther, who is called Darius (not Cyrus, who succeeded Darius the Mede), they go up from Babylon.

But the commentator on Daniel does not agree with himself, for he says on ix. 24 that the seventy years of the captivity date from the destruction of the temple (in the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar) to the second year of Darius, which does not accord with the above note on ix. 2 (where he calculates them from the *first* year of Nebuchadnezzar).

¹ But he does not say how he makes out these seventy years. According to his computation on Ezra iv. 5 they are only fifty-one years (Darius the Mede one year, Cyrus three years, Ahasuerus fourteen years, Artaxerxes thirty-two years, Cyrus, son of Esther, one year), if Cyrus the Last is Cyrus, the son of Esther. But Cyrus the Last may be Cyrus the Great of Dan. xi. 2.

Nor does it agree with his note on xi. 2, where he gives five kings of Persia, Darius the Mede, Cyrus the First, Ahasuerus, *Artaxerxes*, Darius who is Cyrus. For seventy years from the destruction of the temple to the second year of Darius can be reckoned only in one way—twenty-six years for Nebuchadnezzar (for he reigned forty-five years, and the temple was destroyed in his nineteenth), twenty-four for Evil Merodach and Belshazzar together, one for Darius, three for Cyrus the Persian, fourteen for Ahasuerus, and two for Darius. Where, then, are the years of the reign of Artaxerxes?

But who was this Pseudo-Saadiah with whom we associate our author? and when did he live?

Dukes (*Beiträge*, p. 110) thinks he was a French Jew who lived in the 13th or 14th century, and possibly identical with the author of the Masoretic poem, beginning אהל מנון בניני. In H. J. Michael's opinion (*Kerem Chemed*, v. 244) he was the poet R. Saadiah b. Nachmani. Fuerst in his *Concordantiae* (under בל, דהוא, נולי, and elsewhere) quotes the commentator as Saadiah b. Joseph Bekhor-Shor¹; but in his *Bibliotheca Judaica* (i. 95, iii. 181) he distinguishes the two writers, placing the commentator under the heading 'Sa'adja (um 1130)' with the note 'Er war Zeitgenosse des Jakar.' Here he has adopted Rapoport's identification in the *Bikkure ha-Ittim* (ix. 35), which has been generally accepted². The following is a summary of Rapoport's evidence. The Pseudo-Saadiah on Dan. x. 3 gives a singular interpretation: גם דעתי לומר על בשר דגים ועופות תורים ובני יונה איל וצבי וכיוצא בהם הוא אשר לא באו אל פיו כל אותן שבועים בהתאבלו על ירושלם שאם תאמר בשר בקר ועצן לא יתכן לומר כן לפי שלא אכלו בני הגולה בשר בקר ועצן בגלות בבל כי לא ראוי להשחט כי אם בשעריך בארץ הקדושה למינן זרוק הדם וקטר החלב וכן יין לא שתה: אותן שלשה שבועים: Rapoport found a passage in the *Shibbole ha-*

¹ But under אהשרפן he says: 'Mire Saadja, qui inter ipsos Persas aetatem degit, hoc vocabulum explicat פנימה שררים אהים שררים.' This explanation is given in the Pseudo-Saadiah's commentary. I do not know if it is also found in the name of the Gaon.

² So Zunz (*Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 71): 'Saadia, Zeitgenosse des Jakar, eines Schülers des in Worms lehrenden Kalonymos aus Rom . . . ist Verfasser des in den Bibelausgaben gedruckten Commentars zum Daniel.'

Leget, where, according to him, a similar(?) opinion is stated in the name of Saadiah Gaon : רב סעדיה גאון זצ"ל שמי"ז בתמוז עד ט' באב הן הימים האמורין בדניאל שהתענה שלשה שבועים ויש נוהרין בהן שלא לזכר בשר ושלא לשתות יין כדכת' ואמר רב : This passage, however, he found was taken from the *Sefer ha-Roqeach*, where *Gaon* is omitted : רב סעדיה ג' שבועות שמי"ז בתמוז עד ט' באב הם רמוזים בדניאל שהתענה ג' שבועות וצריך להתענות מבשר² This, again, he found was copied from the *Liqqute ha-Pardes*, a work by 'a pupil of Rashi³, in which, however, Jakar (whom the context shows to be the speaker) says, 'and R. Saadiah said to me,' רבינו סעדיה ג' שבועות שמי"ז בתמוז עד ט' באב הן רמוזים בדניאל שהתענה ג' שבועים וצריך להתענות מבשר⁴ As neither Jakar⁵ nor any pupil of Rashi, who died in 1105, could have had communication with the Gaon who died in 942, it is clear that this Rabbi must be another R. Saadiah contemporary with Rashi. This is what Rapoport says. The value of his identification depends entirely on the agreement between the opinion expressed by R. Saadiah to Jakar and the interpretation given in the commentary on Daniel. But the quotation from the *Liqqute ha-Pardes* and the passage in the commentary agree only in this, that they both speak of fasting and three weeks. Any two writers speaking of Dan. x. 3, 'I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in my mouth,

¹ MS. Mich. 231, fol. 228 b. In the edition (1546), fol. 39 a, col. 1. Schorr (*Zion* I. 96 n.) notices a MS. of the *Shibbole ha-Leget* in which this explanation is given in the name of Eleazar of Worms (author of the *Sefer ha-Roqeach*).

² Ed. 1505, § 311.

³ So Rapoport says, but the compiler was Samuel Babenberg or Bamberg (about A. D. 1220). See Steinschneider, *Cat. Libr. Hebr. in Bibl. Bodl.*, p. 2410.

⁴ Venice ed., 1519, fol. 16 a, col. 2.

⁵ Jakar was a pupil of Kalonymos of Rome. *Liqqute ha-Pardes*, fol. 16 b, col. 2, ; אלו שאילות שאלתי אני יקר בן [מן] רבינו קלונימוס מרומא נ"ע ; fol. 16 a, col. 2. ; ושאלתי מר' משה בר' יקותיאל, *Shibbole ha-Leget*, MS. Mich. 231, fol. 228 b, ; שאל הר' יקר מלפני רבינו קלונימוס מרומא, fol. 229 b, ; ואני יקר שאלתי מרבינו, fol. 229 b, ; קלונימוס.

neither did I anoint myself at all, till three whole weeks were fulfilled,' must be expected to agree so far. But R. Saadia in the *Liqqute ha-Pardes* and R. Saadia in the commentary have nothing in common in what they say respecting the fasting and the three weeks. The commentator says that 'flesh means fish, poultry, game, etc., and that it could not mean at all the flesh of oxen and sheep, for the children of Israel never ate the flesh of oxen and sheep during their captivity in Babylon.' But R. Saadia says nothing of this to Jakar. Jakar's contemporary said that Daniel's three weeks point to the three weeks between the 17th of Tammuz and the 9th of Ab. But the commentator says, 'He fasted three weeks, and on the 21st of Nisan, the end of the three weeks, he saw by the river Hiddekel a man clothed in linen garments.' The quotation in the *Liqqute ha-Pardes* proves the existence of a Saadia contemporary with Jakar, but, as regards the commentary on Daniel, it proves, if it proves anything, that this Saadia was not the author. The opinion of the commentator on Daniel and the opinion of Jakar's contemporary are both refuted in an Arabic commentary, of which large fragments have been recently acquired by the Bodleian Library, and which will be entered in the Hebrew Catalogue (Opp. Add. Fol. 64) as Saadia Gaon's commentary on Daniel:—

وقوله لحم حמוד لا اكله وبشر—
 ויין יכשף לנו אן ישראל فی הגלות לیس יחرم עליהם אכל اللحم لا شرب الخمر ولا
 الملائه لللال من اجل خراب القدس . . . فلما وجدناه فرد (so) احد وعشرين يوما لم يأكل
 فيها من هذه الاشياء علمنا انه كان يأكلها قبل احد وعشرين يوم [1] وبعدها . . .
 وقد يظن ان هذه الاحد وعشرين يوما التي من سبعة عشر בתמוז الى تسעה באב وهذا
 ظن خطأ من جهات اولא لان سبعة عشر בתמוז وتسעה באב انما هي من رسوم خراب
 البيت الثاني. واما البيت الاول فان رسوم خرابه تسعة في تמוז وعشرة في اب لان
 בתשעה . . . בעשור להרשף את בית יי ביניהם ثلثين يوم [1] وقال عنه וביום עשרים
 וארבעה להרשף ונני הייתי על נהר כבר فقد تبين [ان] الاحد وعشرين يوما من
 بعد ז في ניסן والى هذا اليوم المشروح فان دخلت ايام מועד הפסח في جعلتها تغير ממנו
 'And when he says, "I ate no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor
 wine into my mouth," it is evident to us that Israel in the captivity was
 not prohibited from eating meat and drinking wine and enjoying what is
 lawful because of the destruction of Jerusalem. . . . And since we find

it was only twenty-one days that he did not eat, we know that he must have eaten before the twenty-one days and after them.' . . . 'Some think that the twenty-one days are from the 17th of Tammuz to the 9th of Ab, but this is a wrong idea from many points of view; in the first place, because the 17th of Tammuz and the 9th of Ab are commemorative of the destruction of the second temple, but the dates of the destruction of the first temple are the 9th of Tammuz and the 10th of Ab, for on the ninth of the fourth month the city was broken up, and on the tenth of the fifth month it was burned (Jer. lii. 6, 12); between these days are thirty days; but he says, "On the twenty-fourth day of the first month I was by the river Chebar," which makes it clear that the twenty-one days are from the 3rd of Nisan to the day determined, and it is not unknown that the feast of the passover comes within this period.'

We must add a few remarks on the commentary on Chronicles attributed to Rashi, so far at least as that commentary has been connected with the name of a Rabbi Saadiah. It has been concluded by eminent scholars from an allusion in the Tosafoth Joma, that the Pseudo-Rashi was a pupil of some Rabbi Saadiah, who must have lived in the earlier half of the 12th century¹. Rapoport (who was the first to make this identification) has stated the evidence very lucidly in the *Bikkure ha-Ittim* (ix. 35). The authorship of the commentary has been treated at length by Weisse in the *Kerem Chemed* (v. 232-244). The facts and the conjectures are these. Azulai (*Shem ha-Gedolim*, s. t. רש"י) says: רש"י פירש תנ"ך אך פירוש דברי הימים אינו מרש"י . . . והתוספות ביומא דף ט' ע"א כתבו וה"ר יעקב בש"ה ז"ל² בשם רב יקותיאל הלוי מוירמישא דעזריה לא היה בימי שלמה [אלא היינו עזרי' שהיה

¹ Zunz (*Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 73) says: 'Der ungenannte Commentator der Chronik, aus der Rheingegend, ein Schüler Saadia's, citirt in seinem, gegen A. 1130 bis 1140 in Narbonne verfassten, Commentare folgende Autoritäten.' In his *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 178, he says: 'Saadia, vielleicht der eben genannte oder der um 1130 lebende Commentator, welchen ich für einen Schüler Elasar's b. Meschullam halte, משלם, אלעזר בן רבינו משלם, כן פירש מורי בשם רבו ר' אלעזר בן רבינו משלם (cod. München 5 Commentar der Chronik.)' Benjacob says that the commentary attributed to Rashi is by a Rabbi Saadiah (*Ozar ha-Sepharim*, No. 227, p. 463 [what does ולד"ק mean?]), and by a Rabbi Saadiah with additions by his pupils (*ib.*, No. 225, p. 462).

² In the edition of the Tosafoth לנן אמור.

בימי עזויהו ולפי שמסר נפשו על עבודת בית המקדש כשבא עזויהו לשרת וחירף אותו כדכת' בדברי הימים לכך נקרא על שמו ויישר לפניו¹. ושוב מצאתי² כן בפירוש ד"ה שפירשו תלמידי רב סעדיה ז"ל על עכ"ל. וכן הוא בפירוש ד"ה א' סו' ה' שבידינו From the notice in the Tosafoth Joma that this explanation of 1 Chron. v. 36 is found in a commentary on Chronicles by pupils of Saadiah, combined with Azulai's observation that the same explanation is found in the commentary on Chronicles attributed to Rashi, it has been concluded that these two commentaries are one and the same³. If we identify the commentary by pupils of R. Saadiah with the commentary by the Pseudo-Rashi, it is not unreasonable to assume that this R. Saadiah (who could not have been the Gaon) was a Provençal Rabbi of Narbonne. For the author, or one of the authors, says מפי ר' יצחק, (1 Chron. xx. 2) ושמעתי בנרבונא בר אמר לי ר' יצחק, (1 Chron. xviii. 3) בר שמואל בנרבונא שמעתי כן בר שמואל מנרבונא (2 Chron. xxiv. 14)⁴. David Kimchi perhaps alludes to the Pseudo-Rashi's commentary in the preface to his commentary on the Chronicles, לא ראיתי לאחד מן המפרשים שהשתדלו בפירושו, אלא שמצאתי הנה בנרבונא פירושים בזה הספר לא ידעתי שמות לא ראיתי כי הולכים דרך הדרש ברוב, for later on in his commentary he makes in many places (Rapoport says) quotations simply in the name of מפרש, which are to be found in the commentary attributed to Rashi. That this Saadiah must have lived in the earlier half of the

¹ This within brackets is in the edition of the Tosafoth, but not in Azulai.

² 'Die Tosafot zu Joma sind von Meir Rothenburg' ['gestorben im Jahre 1293']. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, pp. 40, 46.

³ But Azulai (s. t. רבינו סעדיה גאון) does not identify them. He says: ופירוש דברי הימים שבידינו נראה קצת שהוא מתלמידי רבינו סעדיה לפי מ"ש התוס' ביומא . . . אמנם לפי סדר זמנים לא אפשר שתלמיד רבינו סעדיה גאון יזכר רש"י ומרבית רבני צרפת שהחכרו שם והגם שפירוש תלמידי רבינו סעדיה באותו ענין נמצא בפירוש זה שבידינו אינו ראיה והפירוש הוא מרב אחר קרוב לזמן רש"י שהוא כתב ששמע מכן אחותו של רבינו משה הדרשן.

⁴ Isaac bar Samuel of Narbonne is also quoted in the notes on 1 Chron. ix. 40 and xviii. 5.

12th century may be gathered from the authorities whom his pupil quotes¹, some of them being mentioned as the writer's contemporaries.

If then we accept the existence of a Rabbi Saadiah teacher of the Pseudo-Rashi, it is possible he may be the same as the Rabbi Saadiah, to whom the commentaries on Daniel and on Ezra and Nehemiah are attributed², or Rabbi Saadiah, contemporary of Jakar. But this identification of the two commentaries comes to nothing on examination. It is idle to attempt to identify the Pseudo-Rashi's commentary with the commentary by pupils of Saadiah, simply on the ground that the explanation about the high-priest Azariah (1 Chron. v. 36) is common to both. For Kirchheim finds the same explanation in the anonymous commentary which he edited³, and on the same ground identifies his commentary with the one alluded to in the Tosafoth⁴, and even gives it the Hebrew title, פירוש על דברי הימים מיוחס לאחד מתלמידי סעדיה הגאון. The passage in his commentary to which he says the Tosafoth refer is this,

¹ For these names see Zunz (*Zeitschrift*, pp. 344, 345; *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, p. 73), Bloch, *Toldoth Raschi*, fol. 14 b, and the article by Weisse. The לעוים in this commentary are French and German, but chiefly German.

² The commentary on Chronicles does not seem to share the peculiarities which we find common to the commentaries on Daniel and Ezra. Weisse says of the Pseudo-Rashi (p. 244), סגולת לשון המפרש תשוה ללשון רב סעדיה בדניאל, but Rapoport says (p. 35) וחי' נקל עוד לשער שהי' גם הוא המפרש לדניאל . . . לולא ההפרש הגדול בין, דרך פירוש ר"ה לפירוש זה.

³ *Ein Commentar zur Chronik aus dem 10ten Jahrhundert. Zum erstenmal herausgegeben von Raphael Kirchheim*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1874.

⁴ 'Die Tosafoth zu Joma 9a zitiren eine Stelle aus dem Comm. zur Chr., den die Schüler Saadia's verfasst haben sollen. Da sich nun dieses Zitat im vorliegenden Comment. S. 21 befindet, so ist es nicht gewagt, wenn wir denselben mit dem der Tosafoth identificiren.' 'Weiss will den sog. Raschi-Comm. auf Grund dieses Zitats, das sich in demselben findet, den Schülern Saadias zuweisen, nur hätten die Tosaf. denselben nicht vollständig vor sich gehabt (K. C. v. S. 238). Ein Vergleich des R.-C.'s mit dem vorliegenden zeigt aber unverkennbar dass nur dieser aus der saadia'schen Schule hervorgegangen ist. Der unbekannte Verf. des R.-C.'s mag immerhin einiges aus demselben entnommen haben.' Preface, p. iv. But Weiss and those who consider the Pseudo-Rashi to be a pupil of Saadiah do not, of course, mean a pupil of Saadiah Gaon. It is unlikely that the Pseudo-Rashi took this from Kirchheim's commentator, for he expressly says it is an explanation in the Sifre, from which book Kirchheim's commentator also may have taken it.

הוא עזריה אשר כהן, שעמד בפני הכהונה נגד עווייהו ולא הניחו להקטיר שנאמר ויבא אחריו עזריה הכהן ועמו כהנים לה' שמינים בני חיל ויאמרו לו צא מן המקדש כי מעלת כאשר פרו בתהלת הספר. But the bare statement that the Azariah of 1 Chron. v. 36 is the Azariah of Uzziah's reign is in neither case sufficient to identify the commentaries, inasmuch as it is an explanation taken from one of the old Rabbinical books. We should not be, therefore, surprised if we found it repeated in any and every commentary. The Pseudo-Rashi says: ומ"ש בעזריה הוא אשר כהן בבית מפורש בסיפרי ירוש' כך וכי הוא לבדו כהן בימי שלמה כהן והלא גם שאר כהנים כמו כן כהנו אלא לפי שמסר נפשו על קדושת הבית שלא הניח את עווייהו להקטיר לכך נאמר הוא אשר כהן בבית אשר בנה שלמה והוא עזריה שהיה בימי עזריה ובימי חזקיהו. Kimchi also gives it as an explanation of the Rabbies: ורו"ל אמרו שהוא עזריה שהי' בימי עווייהו ולפי שמסר נפשו על קדושת הבית שלא הניח עווייהו להקטיר לכך נאמר הוא אשר כהן כלו' שהוא חם על כבוד הכהונה ולא נשא פנים לעווייהו. Benjamin b. Judah repeats it from R. Tam (Opp. MS. 25, fol. 173 b): פירש רבינו תם לא בימי שלמה היה אלא בימי עזריה מלך יהודה ולא כהן ממש לומר שהוא היה ראשון אלא שרה בכיהונו וגירש עזריה מן הבית כאשר ניגש להקטיר דכת' ויפן אליו עזריהו כהן הראש. There is no good reason, therefore, for identifying the Pseudo-Rashi's commentary with the commentary by pupils of Saadiah mentioned in the Tosafoth.

In the absence of any confirmatory evidence it is useless to identify the commentator on Daniel or the commentator on Ezra (whom we certainly connect together) with any particular Saadiah. Neither commentary, as we have already observed, contains quotations from authors which would help us to this end. The character and phraseology of the two commentaries alone enable us to approximate a date, which we may fairly place not later than the 12th century, and perhaps as early as Rashi. As regards the external evidence, both commentaries appear in manuscripts dated as early as 1285 and 1288. The commentary on

Ezra is, moreover, quoted by Zedekiah b. Abraham Anav, who lived about 1250. It is possible that Ibn Ezra knew both commentaries. He may allude to the commentary on Ezra in his short commentary on Daniel (הנבואה השלישית) —: (הנבואה השלישית) ואחרים השתבשו ואמרו כי זה הנורש —: פרס מלך פרס הוא בן אסתר המלכה וכתוב עליו ובשנת אחת לכורש מלך פרס הוא בן אסתר המלכה ואמר כי פירוש לפי מלאת לבבל שבעים שנה להרבן בבל והלא יקרא זה המפרש וישמעו צרי יהודה וגו'. Our commentator begins his commentary *זוה כורש בן אחשורוש בן אסתר המלכה* and a few lines below, on the passage from Jeremiah (xxix. 10, *לפי מלאת לבבל*, והוא לא אמר לגלות בבל אלא להרבן בבל, (שבעים שנה), remarks, Rapoport (*Bikkure ha-Ittim*, ix. 35) thought that Ibn Ezra, in his commentary on Lev. xvii. 1, refers to the Pseudo-Saadiah's commentary on Daniel (x. 3): ומצאתי עוד שהראב"ע ראה זה המאמר נבר בפירוש המיוחס ופירשהו בפשיטות שהבשר אסור בגולה תמיד לא בג' שבועות לבד עיין ביאורו על ויקרא (יו א) ורבים אמרו שהבשר אסור בגלות ויפרשו בשר ויין לא בא אל פי בשר דג ולא דברו נכונה ענ"ל: והוא ממש דברי הפירוש בדניאל שם המיוחס לגאון ומזה ג"כ קצת ראי' שלא חשב הראב"ע פירוש זה מהגאון שהרי מביאו בסתם בלשון רבים אמרו ולא בשם גאון כדרכו¹.

Possibly the commentary was known also to Isaiah di Trani, whose commentary on Ezra², though very different in its general tone, contains many explanations which are found *verbatim* or nearly so in ours. No single instance of the following examples (which might be extended) will warrant such a suggestion, but the several cases of verbal agreement are collectively striking:—

לכל אשר העיר, (לכל העיר) i. 5; צוה עלי, (צקד עלי) Ezra i. 2; זה יהושע, (ישוע) ii. 2; מתנות, (במגדנות) i. 6; הבורא את רוחו ולבו

¹ This argument from the use of *רבים אמרו* is of doubtful value; compare Dukes (*Beiträge*, p. 98).

² It exists in Opp. 25, Opp. Add. Fol. 24, Brit. Mus. Add. 24896, Angelica A. 1. 2.

שהיה מבין בכל לשון והוא, (מרדכי בלשן). *ib.*; בן יהוצדק הכהן הגדול
 לומ' שירות על ידי דוד, (לנצח על מלאכת) iii. 8; מרדכי היהודי
 iv. 7; וכיון שראו שלא קבלום מיד התחילו להשטין, iv. 4; ונבואותיו
 כלומ' כתב, (וכתב הנשתון). *ib.*; שאר עדתו וסיעתו, (ושאר כנוותיו)
 תרג' ויכולו, (שכלילו) iv. 12; במשנה וכפול במכתב ופירושו
 זו מנת המלך בלו זה כסף גלגלת והלך, (מנדה) iv. 13; ואשתכללו
 זהירין תהיו לעשות, (וזהירין הוו שלו למעבד) iv. 22; זה ארנונא
 בטול על זאת המלאכה שלא יבנה הבית שלו כמ' לא תשלה אותי
 או באותו הפרק נתנבאו שיבנו, (והתנבי חגי) v. 1; ענין הנחה ובטול
 הבית כי לא תבטל עוד מלאכתם וכן כת' בשנת שנים לדריוש בחדש
 השש' באחד לחדש היה דבר יי ביד חגי הנביא וכת' עלו ההרה
 והבאתם עץ וכנו הבית וארצה בו וכת' בשנת שנים לדריוש היה
 דבר יי אל זכריה בן עדוא וכת' לכן כה אמר יי שבתי לירושלם
 ; אבן שיש כמו ובורמי' דגללא, (אבן גלל) v. 8; ברחמים ביתי יבנה בה
 ונמצא, (באחמתא) vi. 1, 17, vii. 12, vi. 8, and so at vi. 8, 12, vii. 17. *ib.*
 , (ואושוהי מסובלין) vi. 3; בחמת שכן דרך בני אדם לשום שטרותיהן
 ; וחומותיו מסובלים וגבוהים ונשאים רחבן כגבהן שלא יפלו
 , (וכל הנבדל) vi. 21; ומה שצריכין וחוששין לצרכי הבית, (ומה חשון)
 זמן המיוחד, (הוא יסוד) vii. 9; שגרשו נשים נכריות שהיו להם
 ; לעליית עזרא מבלל ונתעכב בשושן ומנחו המלך לנגיד על ישראל
 , (לשרושי) *ib.*; אם הוא חייב בארבע מיתות בית דין, (למות) vii. 26
 , (מוצחה) viii. 27; לשרשו ולעקר מן העולם על ידי נדוי ושמתא
 וכאן אומ' בחדש, (בחדש כסלו) Neh. ii. 1; משתטח, (ומתנפל) x. 1; מובהק
 , (ואשא את היין). *ib.*; ניסן מלמד שמלכי אומות העולם מונים מתשרי
 לפי שמינהג המשקים לפני המלך לטעום היין קודם שיתנו להם מפני
 חשד סם המות וזה היה יהודי ולפיכך נקרא נחמיה התרשאת
 שהתיר סתם יינן של גויים לשתיה לפני המלכים מפני חשד ומפני
 ; משומד היה מבית חורון, (סנבלט החורוני) ii. 19; סכנת נפשות

לשון פליאה, (ויפלו מאד בעיניהם) vi. 16; חצי קרן, (חצי פלך); viii. 5, 6, 8 (p. 27, ll. 11-17, (ויסודם to שתיקה, almost *verbatim* the same; viii. 10 (קדוש היום), מיכן ראש השנה מיכן, (קדוש היום) ראש השנה שאסור להתענות בראש השנה ובירושלמי נמי גרסי' בתעניות וכל סביבותיה מתענות ולא מתריעות וכול' עד ר' עקיבא אומ' מתריעות; הכעסות, (נאצות) ix. 18; ולא מתענות שכן מצינו ביום ראש השנה והגורלות) x. 35; לקיים שמוט כל בעל משה ידו, (ומשא כל יד) x. 32 כמו ששינונו במשנה זמן עצי הכהנים באחד בניסן בני ארח, (הפלנו שהוא, ראש התחלה) xi. 17; בעשרים בתמוז בני דוד בן יהודה וכול' שהיה זקן ומתענה, (יהודה לתפלה) *ib.*; התחיל תחלה למשמרות, (באסופי השערים) xii. 25; ומתפלל על עיר הקדש שתגמר הבנין בימיו המה הגבורים המתהלכים, (ותהלוכות) xii. 31; באסוקפי השערים xiii. 19; אזורי חרבות בצד המשוררים ממעל לחומה מפחד האויב קרוב לעת ערב כשנמה הצל על השערים בערב, (ויהי כאשר צללו) xiii. 29; אם תעשו פעם שנית, (אם תשנו) xiii. 21; שבת קודם חשכה על אשר פסלו וגאלו הכהנה שנשאו נשים נכריות, (גאלי הכהנים).

As regards the relative claims of the two commentaries to be by a Rabbi Saadiah (the appendage Gaon may be dismissed from consideration in both cases), the commentary on Daniel has come down to us with this name in the title of several¹ manuscripts, whilst that on Ezra appears with the name in only one manuscript (whether written by the copyist or added by a later hand seems uncertain), but, on the other hand, is quoted as Saadiah's by three writers, of whom the first, Zedekiah Anav, is rather older than the earliest manuscript of both commentaries. The other two, Azariah de Rossi and Solomon Urbino, may have taken the name from the Milan MS. That a Rabbi Saadiah should have been the author of at least one of the commentaries is supported by the fact that two commentaries, both very similar in tone

¹ I have not enquired into the titles in the MSS. of the commentary on Daniel. In Opp. Add. 4to, 52 and Hunt. 225 both commentaries are anonymous.

and phraseology, have come down to us in this name, one being attributed to R. Saadiah in the majority of manuscripts, and the other in the quotations.

The result of our investigations has been rather to disestablish than to establish conclusions. Where all is unknown conjecture is easy, but opinions supported by names are worth little unless they are also supported by proof. It is to be hoped that data still lie undiscovered in manuscripts, which may enable some future writer to give some satisfactory information about our author or authors, and to speak less of what is only possible or probable.

Opp. Add. Fol. 24 (denoted by O.) is the basis of the following text, with a few better readings introduced from Hunt. 225 (denoted by H.), an inferior manuscript. Opp. Add. 4to, 52 (which ends at Ezra iv. 14) is identical with the latter, and has been noticed only once (O¹). Readings between brackets [] are peculiar to the Huntington MS. In the manuscripts there is no break in the commentary between the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the Jews counting these two books as one.

H. J. MATHEWS.

2, GOLDSMID ROAD, BRIGHTON,
March 4, 1882.

APPENDIX.

VARIATIONS OF THE MILAN MS.¹

- Page 3, line 10. אחר מקשה לו ; M. אחד או'.
- P. 4, l. 9. הם גרי ארצו ; M. omits.
- „ l. 19. רקועי פחים וטסין ; M. רירודי טסין².
- „ „ חלפא ; M. חלאפא.
- P. 5, l. 6. הפסולות לכהונה ; M. נבריות.
- P. 6, ll. 3-5. והם ישראל to וסיג ; M. והן היו לי בית יי לסיג.
- P. 7, l. 21. הם שכיני ארץ יש' ; M. ישראל' to נם.
- P. 8, l. 2. צדיקים ; M. גירי צדק.
- P. 9, l. 1. רב טבחים ; M. נבורארדן שר הטבחים.
- „ l. 12. לו to שטנה ; M. omits.
- P. 10, l. 11. י"ג ; M. י"ד.
- P. 11, l. 2. דינא ; M. דניא.
- „ „ מן פרס. Inserted from M.
- „ l. 19. בגריש ; M. continues המשקולת קו חוט יחיטו על שנוטין קו חוט המשקולת
ליישר הביניין שלא יהא אבן נכנס ואבן יוצא. ד"א ואושיא יחיטו ירביקו כחייט
הזה התופר ומדביק את הקרעים.
- P. 12, l. 10. מהבנות בעתתינו ; M. בעצתינו מהיבנות.
- „ l. 21. והוא לשון בקור ; M. omits.
- „ l. 22. ואשבה to וימצא ; M. omits.
- P. 13, l. 12. רגליהם ; M. רגליהם to עד.
- P. 15, l. 18. דמספר to הוא ; M. אתיא והם משואות אספרנא אדמספר.
- P. 16, l. 12. הורשם ; M. הורשם.
- P. 17, l. 14. משש to רחיקין ; M. omits.
- „ ll. 14, 15. רבים to ומנבסי ; M. omits.

¹ Kindly sent me by Dr. Lattes.

² This is the reading of Solomon of Urbino's quotation (p. vi).

- P. 17, l. 18. בלי איחור; M. omits.
- P. 18, ll. 6, 7. וזא נעשה to המן; M. omits. ותלה את מרדכי עליו
 בו המן.
- „ l. 8. וזאת to וביתו; M. omits.
- P. 19, l. 7. בימיו to על; M. omits.
- „ l. 19. שעשעם; M. omits.
- „ l. 21. ושניין; M. omits.
- P. 20, l. 14. והתהלך בית כור; M. omits.
- P. 21, l. 9. מרגליות to ויש; M. omits.
- „ l. 10. זהב; M. omits.
- „ l. 16. בעורא; M. omits.
- „ ll. 19, 20. וזהב to ושתי; M. omits.
- „ l. 22. חטאתא to כמ'; M. omits.
- „ „ חטאת; M. continues
 הכל עולה ליי פי' אפי' חטאות הנאכלין אילו לא חטאת
 נאכלו בעולה והוראת שעה היתה וגם חשבון האילים והכבשים הוראת שעה היתה
 כראית' בהוריות ובתמורה.
- P. 22, ll. 19, 20. ובת' to והוא; M. omits.
- „ l. 20. אישם; M. continues כת' חרופה.
- P. 23, l. 15. בירורו; M. omits.
- „ ll. 20, 21. כמו to הארץ; M. omits.
- P. 24, l. 5. לשיעורו; M. omits.
- „ l. 19. ותטיל; M. omits.
- P. 25, l. 13. וזון; M. continues כמ' דחימ' בשם יי כי
 אמילם והיו קירין אותן על שם המילה לנאוי. בנימין עעיר ביר' אברהם הרופא נ'ע'
 „ l. 20. שבים; M. omits.
- P. 26, l. 18. ומנבחרות ומבוררות; M. omits.
- P. 27, l. 1. מלבו; M. continues לש' כוב.
- „ l. 5. במנופת; M. continues פי.
- „ l. 10. איצטונא, איצטונא; M. omits.
- „ l. 16. המסורת; M. omits.
- P. 28, l. 14. קינסו; M. omits.
- „ l. 15. דידין; M. omits.

¹ Cf. Berliner, *Pletath Soferim*, p. 12.

P. 29, l. 5. המצות; M. continues מימי יהושע מנו שמיטין ויובלות וקידשו ערי חומה ונתחייבו במעשר. ד"א מאי כי לא עשו בני יש' סוכות דבעו רחמי על יצרא דע"ז וביטלוה ואגין זכותיה עליהו כסוכה והיינו דקפיד קרא עילוי יהושע דבכל דוכתא כת' יהושע והכא כת' ישוע בשלמ' משה לא בעא רחמי דלא הוא זכותא דארין יש' אלא יהושע דהוא זכותא דארין יש' אמאי לא בעא רחמי. בערבין.

„ ll. 15-17. מאליהם; M. omits.

P. 30, l. 3. שטעה; M. continues שבטו.

P. 31, ll. 14, 15. לעת; M. as O.

CORRIGENDA.

Page 18, line 1, for ראי read ראו

P. 22, l. 6, for ותהורה read וטהורה

P. 24, note b, for לסיעורו read לסיאורו, which should take the place of לשיעורו (H.).

P. 25, l. 21, for ויושיבום read ויושיבום

P. 26, l. 1, for הקשורים read הקשורים

„ l. 10, for כל read כל

P. 28, l. 4, for וכת read וכת

„ l. 15, for דפריין read דפתיין

P. 29, l. 12. יחף; continue [רגלו נעשית צבה כבצק]

P. 30, l. 3, for גונבי read גונבו

„ ll. 3, 4. יהודה to ולוים; place after בהנים in l. 6.

„ l. 4, for בני read ובני

„ l. 8, for במשמרות: יהודה להפלה. read במשמרות: יהודה ותורה לתפלה.

„ ll. 13, 14. חנופא בני חציפות ועזות. H. זוגת to חנופא.

„ l. 14, for עם read גם

P. 31, l. 14, for אחר read אחר

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

SINCE writing note 1 on p. xiv I have observed that Saadiah Gaon's explanation of **אחשרפנים** is different. Joseph Kimchi gives it in his *Sefer ha-Galuy*, of which I am preparing an edition from the unique Vatican MS. discovered by Neubauer (see *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters*, vol. i, p. vii). The second part of this work is a criticism of Menachem ben Saruq's *Machbereth*, and at **אחשתרנים** he says:—**פתרו** (**אסתר ח י**). שהוא סוסים הרצים ולא הביא ראיה לדבריו ומה יעץ ללא חכמה והלא הכל יודעים כי מרכבות הרצים הם ועתה אפשר לך מה הם **אע"פ שאמ' ורבנו לא** הוא ידעין מהו בני הרמכים ראיתי בפ' רבנו סעדיה הגאון כי בג' מקומות במגלה נמצא **אחש מורכב** **אחשורוש** פרושו גדול וראש **אחשדרפני** גדול דר פנים דר פנים ורואה פני המלך **אחשתרנים** גדול מתרי מינים והם הפרדים שהם תרנים מתרין מינים מחמור וסוסה והיא הרמכה בלש' ערבי והו' בני הרמכים ופרוש **אחש בלש' מדי גדול**; David Kimchi in his *Shorashim* gives all this as his father's interpretation. Menachem explains **אחשדרפנים** by **ספר פתרוני רב סעדי'** which he quotes at the beginning of ה. This passage in the *Sefer ha-Galuy* is a highly probable instance of reference to the Gaon's commentary on Esther (for other references see Steinschneider, *Cat. Libr. Hebr. in. Bibl. Bodl.*, p. 2190). The commentary on Daniel (quoted on p. xvi) refers to a commentary on Esther, and quotes twice the **אלאמאנאה**. The explanation of **אחשדרפנים** is missing in this commentary. The above passage also proves that Biesenthal and Lebrecht's suggestion in their note on **רמך** in Kimchi's *Shorashim* is unnecessary.

וטהרתים מכל נכר מבנות העמים והנשים הנכריות: ³¹ לקרבן העצים בעתים מזומנות. כמ' ששנינו זמן עצי הכהנים והעם תשעה שהיו מביאין קרבן עצים איש בעתו ובזמנו למערכה כמ' שכת' לעילא: ולבכורים. שבטל פרודאות שהושיבו על הדרכים שלא לעלות עצים למערכה ושלא לעלות בכורים לירושלם:

❖ נשלם פירוש עזרא ❖

ובית דין מהלכין אחריהן: ⁴² ויזרחיה הפקיד. כמו' ויפקד פקידים (בראשית מא לד) הם הממונים: ⁴⁴ ויפקדו. נתמנו: הנשכות. הלשכות נ' מתחלפת עם ל': מנאות. מנות ומתנות כמו למשה היה למנה (ויקרא ח כט): ⁴⁷ מניות. גם הוא לשון מתנות ומנות: ומקדישים ללוים. שנותנים מעשרות ללוים: והלוים מקדישים לבני אהרון. שנ' ונתתם ממנו לאהרן הכהן מעשר מן המעשר (במדבר יח נו): (XIII) ³ ויבדילו כל ערב מישראל. כמו' וגם ערב רב עלה אתם (שמות יב לח) ומתרג' ואף נכראין סגיאין: ⁷ נשכה. לשכה: ¹⁴ זכרה לי אלהי. לטובה על זאת בעולם הזה: ואל תמח חסדי. לעולם הבא: ¹⁵ ביום מכרם ציד. צדה ומזון: ¹⁶ מביאים דאג. דג מלא א' על חלול השבת שהיו מביאים דאגה לעולם: ¹⁹ ויהי כאשר צללו שערי ירושלים לפני השבת. קרוב אל עת ערב כשנטה הצל על השערים בערב שבת קודם שיכנס השבת כמו שנ' כי ינטו צללי ערב (ירמיה ו ד) אז הלכו כולם לדרכם* לעת ערב וצוה^a עזרא לסגור הדלתות שלא יפתחו אחר השבת במוצאי שבת: ²⁰ הרוכלים. הסוחרים: ²¹ אם תשנו. אם תעשו כן פעם שניה אשלח יד בכם ואכה אתכם: ²² ואומרה ללוים אשר יהיו מטהרים. כמו שנ' וכה תעשה להם לטהרם הוזה עליהם מי חטאת (במדבר ח ז): ²⁹ גאלי הכהנה. על אשר פסל הכהנים שנטמעו בנשים הנכריות כמו שאמ' חכמי' ארבע מאות עבדים היו לו לפשחור בן אמר הכהן ואמרי לה ארבעת אלפים עבדים היו לו לפשחור בן אמר הכהן וכולם נטמעו בכהנה גדולה ואז בא נחמיה ופסלם מן הכהנה שנ' ויגואלו מן הכהנה וכת' ויאמר התרשתא להם אשר [לא] יאכלו מקדש הקדשים עד עמוד כהן לאורים ותומים עד שיבא אליהו

^a או לעת ערב צוה. O.

במשנה זמן עצי הכהנים והעם תשעה באחד בניסן בני ארה [בן] יהודה בעשרים בתמוז בני דור בן יהודה בחמשה באב בני פרעוש בן יהודה בשבעה בו בני יונדב ולוים וכל מי שמעה^a ובני גונבו עלי בני קוצעי קציעות בעשרים בו בני פחת מואב בן יהודה בן רכב בעשרה בו בני סנאה בן בנימן בחמשה עשר בו בני זתוא בן יהודה ועמהם כהנים בעשרים באלול בני עדין בן יהודה באחד בטבת שבו בני פרעוש שניה: (XI) ¹⁷ראש התחלה. שהוא התחיל תחלה במשמרות יהודה לתפלה שהיה זקן מתענה ומתפלל על עיר הקדש שתגמר הבנין בימיו: ²¹הנתינים. הם הגבעונים ולמה נקראו נתינים על שם ויתנם יהושע ביום ההוא חוטבי עצים ושואבי מים (יהושע ט כו): בני ציחה^b. בני אדם שבועלין נדות בצמאה כמ' שנ' צחה צמא (ישעיה ה יג) שהיו שטופים בזמה: בני חשפא. בני זונה כדכת' וחשופי שת (ישעיה כ ד) שנולדו מגלוי עריות ויש אומ' בני חשפא לשו' חציפות זונת מצח: בני טבעות. שקלקלו אבותם גם ארוסותיהם קודם שיכניסו אותם לחופה והיו סומכין על קדושי טבעות ומקלקלין עם ארוסותיהן בלא כתובה: (XII) ²⁵באסופי השערים. באסקופי השערים כמ' בתתם ספם את ספי (יחזקאל מג ח) המה המשקופות והמפתנים: ³¹שתי תודות. שני כתי לויים בעלי תודות: ותהלוכות לימין. המה הגבורים המתהלכים אזורי חרבות לימין המשוררים מעל החומה מפחד האויב בארבעה באלול חנוכת חומת ירושלם שאין מוסיפין על העזרות ועל העיר אלא במלך ונשיא וכהן גדול וסנהדרין של שבעים ואחד ובשתי תודות ושיר והתודה השניית ההולכת למואל

^a In the Mishna (Taanith iv. 5) follows. בשכטו (Taanith iv. 5) follows.

^b Neh. vii. 46: הנתינים בני צחה בני חשפא בני טבעות.

פטורין היו ונתחייבו אף ביאתן בימי עזרא פטורין היו ונתחייבו. ד"א וישבו בסכות כי לא עשו מימי ישוע בן נון. איפשר בא דוד ולא עשה סוכה בא שלמה ולא עשה סוכה אלא מקיש ביאתן בימי עזרא לביאתן בימי יהושע מזה התם בחדוש כל המצות אף הכא בחדוש כל המצות: (IX) ויקראו בספר תורת יי אלהיהם רביעית היום ורביעית היום מתודים. הרי חצי היום במקרא ובתפלה חצי היום הנשאר רביעית להגדה ולהפטר ורביעית לצרכי עניי העיר: ⁵ ומרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה. שהיו עונין אמן על כל ברכה וברכה כמו שאמ' חכמים על כל ברכה וברכה תן לו תהלה: ¹⁸ נאצות. הכעסות כמ' עד אנה ינצאנוני (במדבר יד יא): ²¹ לא בצקו. כמ' לא בצקה (דברים ח ד) מתרג' לא יחיפו לשון יחפות אמנם כל ההולך תמיד יחף: ²⁰ כתף סוררת. כפרה סוררה סרר ישראל שלא קבלו עול מצות לעבדך שכם אחד (צפניה ג ט) דמתרג' כתף חד: (X) ובכל זאת אנחנו כורתים אמנה. מכיון שקבלו עליהם דברים שהיו חייבין בהם העלה עליהם המקום כאלו קבלום מאליהם. [ד"א] ובכל זאת מכיון שקיבלום עליהם בסבר פנים יפות העלה עליהם המקום כאילו קיבלום מאליהם: כורתים אמנה. כורתים ברית אמת בלי לשקר^a בביתך: ³² המקחות וכל שבר. הסחורה וכל מיני תבואה: ונטוש את השנה השביעית. כדכת' והשביעית תשמטנה (שמות כג יא): ומשא כל יד. ככת' כל בעל משה ידו (דברים טו ב): ³³ והעמדנו עלינו מצות לתת עלינו שלישיית השקל בשנה. מוכן אמרו חכמי' שקולה גמילות חסידים כנגד כל המצות: ³⁵ והגורלות הפלנו על קרבן העצים לעתים מזומנים. כמו ששינו

^a ש. קר. H.

לעניים שלא הכינו להם תבשיל והכמו' אומ' בתלמוד לאין נכון לו למי שלא הניח עירובי תבשילין מבעוד יום יבוא ויסמוך על שלכם לפי שאסור להם לאפות ולבשל בלא עירוב כת' הכא לאין נכון לו וכת' התם והיה ביום השישי והכינו (שמות טו ה): כי קדוש היום לאדננו. ככת' זכרון תרועה מקרא קדש (ויקרא כג כד) מן התורה ומדברי קבלה ומן התלמוד מצינו מפורש שאסור להתענות בראש השנה מן התורה מנין דכת' זכרון תרועה מקרא קדש ובשאר מועדות נאמר מקרא קדש הררי הוקשו כל המועדות זה לזה מדברי קבלה הוא דאמרן בספר עזרא כי קדוש היום לאדוננו מן התלמוד מנין דגרסי' בתלמוד ירושלמי בתעניות וכל סביבותיה מתענות ולא מתריעות שכן מצינו ביום הכפורים מתענין ולא מתריעין ר' עקיבה אומ' מתריעות ולא מתענות שכן מצינו בראש השנה מתריעין ולא מתענין: ¹¹ הסו. שתוקו ולא תבכו ביום טוב שאסור בהספד ובבכיה: ¹⁵ עלי זית. כמשמעו: ועלי עץ שמן. בלסמיון ויש אומ' קינסא המוציא מזיעתו קינסו הנקרא דידין¹⁶: ועלי הדס. זה הדס שוטף לסוכה ומאי הדס שוטף דפריין טרפייהו ואריכן שוטייהו: ועלי תמרים. לולבים: ועלי עץ עבות. להושענא דהיינו אגודה שבלולב: ¹⁷ ויעשו כל הקהל השבים [מן השבי סכות] וישבו בסכות כי לא עשו מימי ישוע בן נון כן בני ישראל עד היום הזה. ולמה נקרא שמו ישוע הלל בר שמואל בר נחמני אמ' פגם הכתו' נבוד צדיק בקבר משום כבוד צדיק בשעתו הקיש הכת' ביאתן בימי עזרא לביאתן בימי יהושע מזה ביאתן בימי יהושע

^a On this word compare Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 98, with Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. דרינן. Our author confirms Löw's conjectural דדין.

הוות ותוך ומרמה ושקרים: ⁶ אתה בודאם, כמ' בדא מלברו (מ"א יב לנ);
¹⁴ ולנועדיה הנביאה, אשה בעלת אוב היתה: ¹⁶ ויפלו מאד בעיניהם.
 לשון פליאה: (VII) ³ גיפו הדלתות, יסגרו הדלתות וגם יצמידו כמ'
 שנ' צמיד פתיל (במדבר יט טו) מתרג' מגופת שיע והוא הכסוי שסוכרין
 בו החביות כרתנן במגופת החבית והכנפים שמם אגפים לפי שסוכרין
 ומכסין על גוף העוף ונעל בעדו (שופטים ג כג) מתרג' ואגף: ⁷⁰ דרכמונים.
 זהובים: (VIII) ² וכל מבין, תלמיד חכם: ³ מן האור, מן אור הבקר:
⁴ מגדל עץ, הוא בנין לפרש עליו התורה ברוב עם כדי שישמעו כולם
 כמ' שנ' ויעמוד המלך על העמוד (מ"ב כג ג) ומתרג' וקם מלכא על
 איצמונא והוא איצמווא^a שאנו גורסין בתלמוד: ⁵ וכפתחו עמדו כל
 העם, כפתחו לקרוא בתורה שתקו כל העם ואין עמידה אלא שתיקה
 שנ' עמדו ולא ענו עוד (איוב לב טו): ⁶ במועל ידיהם, בנשיאות ידיהם
 למעלה כמ' שנ' בנשאי ידי אל דביר קדשך (תהלים נח ב): ⁸ ויקראו
 בספר בתורת האלהים, זה מקרא לשון עברית: מפורש, זה תרגום
 שהיה מתרגם ומפרש להם: ושום שכל, אלו הפסוקים הם פסוקי
 נקוד וטעמים: ויבינו במקרא, אלו המסורת ללמדך שכולם נתנו לו
 למשה בסיני ושכחום מרוב עלבון הגלות וחזרו עזרא וסיעתו ויסדום:
⁹ ויאמר נחמיה הוא התרשתא, שהתיר יין לשתיה לפני מלכים בשעת
 הסננה: המבינים את העם, הפותרים ומבינים בינת הכתוב לעם:
¹⁰ וזה היה באחד בתשרי בראש השנה ורצו העם לצום ועל כן אמ'
 להם לכו אכלו משמנים כדי שתהא השנה הזאת שמנה עליכם ואין
 משמנים אלא בשר שמן ושתו ממתקים יין עסיס ותירוש מתוק כדי
 שתהא השנה הזאת מתוקה עליכם: ושלחו מנות לאין נכון לו.

^a H. אצבנא.

תצמח (ישעיה נח ח); ² ויקשרו. לשון מרד כי הקשורים במורדם מתחברים יחדו; ולעשות לו תועה. כמ' והייתי בעיניו כמתעתע (בראשית כז יב) וכמ' ושני כפירים נתעו (איוב ד י) לשון תעתוע; ⁴ הסבל. המשא כמ' נושא סבל (מ"א ה כט); ¹¹ עומסים. כמ' ויעמוס איש על חמורו (בראשית מד יג); ¹⁷ איש שלחו המים. חליפות שמלותיו לא היה אדם נותנו לכובס אלא מכבסו בעצמו כדי שלא יבטל העם ממלאכתם ויפשטו (במדבר כ נח) מתרג' ואשלה; (V) ⁵ והנה אנהנו כובשים את בנינו ואת בנותינו לעבדים. שהיו ממשכנים אותם ביד הנושים וכן שדותיהם וכרמיהם; ⁷ משא. הלואה כמו כי תשה ברעך משאת מאומה (דברים כד י); ¹⁰ נעזבה נא את המשא. כדכת' שמוט בל בעל משה ידו וכת' לא יגוש את רעהו (דברים טו ב) ומתרג' לא יתבע מן חבריה; ¹³ גם חצני נערתי. החוצן שלי פשטתי כמו שנ' פשוטה ועורה וחגורה על הלצים (ישעיה לט יא); חצני. כמ' והביאו בניך בחוצן (ישעיה מט כב); ונער נעור ורק. כולם לשון אחד הוא; ¹⁴ פחם. פחה שלהם כמו פחת ושלטון; לחם הפחה. לחם שמביאים דורון לשלטון; לא אכלתי. למען הקל העול מעליהם; ¹⁶ ושדה לא קנינו. כי לא הספקנו לקנות שדות מפני הטרוד של מלאכה; ¹⁸ ברורות. בריאות [ומובחרות] ומובררות; וצפרים נעשו לי. השור והצאן למאכל הבנאים והעופות בשבילי; נעשו כמו וימהר לעשות אותו (בראשית יח ז) וכמו וחמש צאן עשויות (ש"א כה יח) לשון תבשיל; (VI) ⁶ וגשמו אומר. וגופו של מכתב אומ' כמו גשמיה יצטבע (דניאל ד ל) גופו יוטבל ויש אומ' וגשמו הוא גשם הערבי ושנה במלה כמלים רבים שבמקרא כי חבירו יורה עליו וישלח סנבלט וגשם אלי; ואתה הוה להם למלך. ואתה רוצה להיות להם למלך ויש אומ' הוה לשון הסתה כמו

כח עושי דברו (תהלים קג כ): ¹⁷ לפלכו. לזוית שלו שלשת הנפת
 (יהושע ז יא) מתרג' תלתא פלכין: ¹⁹ מנגד עלות הנשק. מקום שמצניעין
 שם כלי המלחמה כי לא היו נכנסין בירושלם לבושי כלי זיין לקיים
 מה שנ' וחרב לא תעבור בארצכם (ויקרא כו ו): המקצוע. כמו המקצועות
 (שמות כו כד) מתרג' זיין והם זויות: ²⁰ אחריי החרה החזוק. מקום
 חורבן כמ' ושכן חררים במדבר (ירמיה ז ו): ²¹ תכלית. סוף: ²⁶ בעופל.
 בארמון הוא מקום מכוסה ומקורה כמו עופל ובחן (ישעיה לג יד) וכמ'
 שר העופל ושם מושב הנתינים עושי העבודה חוטבי עצים ושואבי
 מים: ³⁰ חנון בן צלף הששי. הממונה על מלאכת השש: נגד נשכתו.
 נגד לשכתו נ' מתחלף עם למ"ד: ³¹ והרוכלים. הסוחרים כמ' אבקת
 רוכל (שיר ג ו): שער המפקד. מקום ששורפין פרים הנשרפים ושעיריב
 הנשרפים נקרא מפקד: ³⁴ היהודים האמללים. הודונים כמ' מה אמולה
 לבתך (יחזקאל מז ל) מה תקוף הוה רשע לביך לשון זדון: היעזבו
 להם. לשון תקרה ומעויבה: היחיו את האבנים. כלומ' הם טמונות
 בעפר ודומות למתים טמונים בעפר וכיון שיוציאום דומות לחיים:
 מערמות. כמ' בטנך ערמת חטים (שיר ז ג): ³⁵ אם יעלה שועל. לשון
 בזוי כלומ' השועל חלש שבחיות יפרוץ חומת אבניהם כל שכן ארי
 ודוב ממלכת כשדים ופרסיים שהם גבורים על כל האומות. ד"א אם
 יעלה שועל. למה הזכיר שועל על שום קינת ירמיהו על הר ציון
 ששם שועלים הלכו בו (איכה ה יח): ³⁶ בארץ שביה^a. כי נשבו מארצם
 על ידי מלכי אשור ויושבים בערי שמרון: ³⁸ ותקשר כל החומה. לשון
 דבוק כמ' אולת קשורה (משלי כב טו) דבוקה פירושו כלומ' נגדרו כל
 הפרצות ודבוקה החומה: (IV) ¹ ארוכה. רפואה כמ' וארוכתך מהרה

^a שבים. MSS.

אחד משומד מבית חורון: טוביה העבד העמוני. מעבדי בית דוד: גשם הערבי. גר מארץ ערב וגם^a הם צרי יהודה ובנימן היו: ²⁰ולכס אין חלק וצדקה וזכרון בירושלם. לפי שסנבלט נשתמד ונפרד מישר' טוביה עבד עמוני וכת' ולא יבא עמוני ומואבי בקהל יי (דברים נג ג) גשם גר ערבי וחזר לשיעורו^b: (III) ¹שער הצאן. הוא שער הבכורות ושמה נכנסין כל צאן קדשים לכך נאמ' המה קדשוהו: ועד מגדל המאה. זה בית הכנסת הגדולה שבירושלם מקום שעונין שם מאה אמן בכל יום ולפיכך נאמ' קדוש בשער הצאן שכל צאן שנמצא נכנס באותו השער קדש הוא ובשאר השערים נאמר קירוחו שסכנום בקורות: ³מנעוליו. מסגרותיו כמ' על כפות המנעול (שיר ה ה): ⁵ואדיריהם. גדוליהם ועשיריהם לא קבלו על צוארם עול עבודת אדניהם זה הב'ה: ⁷לכסא פחת עבר הנהר. עשו שם מקום לכסא לישיב שם פחת עבר הנהר בבואו מדי שנה בשנה לירושלם: ⁸ויעזבו את ירושלם עד החומה הרחבה. לשו' כסוי תקרה ומעזיבה: הרקחים. בעלי רוקח מרקחת: ⁹שר הצי פלך. הצי קרן זווית: ¹¹מגדל התנורים. מקום תנורים לאפות שם לחם ליושבי ירושלם כי לא היה תנור ניסק בירושלם [מפני עשן] המערכה: ¹²שלום בן הלוחש. רופא בעל לחישות: ¹⁵שלון בן כל חווה. שהיה חריף בכל ענין: ויטללנו ויטכננו כדכת' וסכות על הארון (שמות ט ג) מתרג' ותטליל על ארונא: ברכת השלח. מקום שרוחצין שם חליפות שמלות כדכת' ויפשט (במדבר כ נח) מתרג' ואשלח כמ' איש שלהו המים (ד יז): ¹⁶הברכה העשויה. שנעשית אחרי כן: בית הגבורים. סנהדרין שהיו גבורים בתורה כדכת' ואלה שמות הגבורים אשר לדוד (ש"ב נג ח) וכת' גבורי

^a עם. O.

^b לשיעורו. O.

[* פירוש נחמיה *]

(I) ³ נצתו באש. כמו ויצת אש בציון (איכה ד יא) לשון דליקה:
⁵ האל הגדול והנורא. ולא אמר הגבור לפי שרואה בניו מסורין בקולרין ובית מקדשו חרב ואיה גבורותיו: ⁶ קשבת. כמו ויקשב יי (מלאכי ג טו): (II) ¹ נת' דברי נחמיה בן חכליה ויהי בחדש כסלו שנת עשרים וכת' ויהי בחדש ניסן שנת עשרים זה בא ללמד שמלכי אומות העולם מונים להם מתשרי ומלכי ישר' מניסן וכן היה בא חנני ואמ' הדברים לנחמיה בכסלו ולא הספיק לאמרם למלך עד ניסן: ואשא את היין ואתנה למלך ולא הייתי רע לפניו. שדרך משקים למלך לטעום הכוס קודם מפני חשד סס המות וזה היה יהודי ולא שתה והכיר המלך ונשתנו פניו כי נעשה כשונא למלך ואז מיהר ושתה ולכך נקרא נחמיה התרשתא שהתיר סתם ייגן של גויים לשתיה לפני המלכים [בשעת סכנה] מפני החשד ומפני סכנת נפשות ועל שנשתנו פניו לפיכך אמ' המלך מדוע פניך רעים: ⁶ והשגל יושבת אצלו. נשאו ונתנו חכמים בדבר זה אומר כלבתא וזה [אומר] מלכתא והעמידו דבר על בירורו כי שגל מלכתא כאמור בנות מלכים ביקרותיך נצבה שגל לימוינך בכתם אופיר (תהלים מה י): ⁸ שומר הפרדס. לא פרדס של פירות אלא יער צומח עצים לצורך בנין החשוב עליו כפרדס רמונים: ¹⁴ ברכת המלך. מקום שמנבסין בגדי בית המלך: ¹⁵ ואהי שובר. חושב כמו עיני כל אליך ישברו (תהלים קמה טו): ¹⁶ ולחורים ולסגנים. הם חשובים שבמלכות כמו החורי יושבי הארץ (בראשית לו כ): ¹⁹ וישמע סנבלט החורוני. היה

ראשו (ויקרא יג ט): משומם. כמו שותק ויש אומר כעוס כמ' ישומו ישרים על זאת (איוב יז ה): ⁸ תחנה. חנינה: יתד. כמו מעמד היתד התקועת במקום נאמן (ישעיה כב נה) והוא מפירוש יד ושם (ישעיה נו ה): ¹¹ ארץ נדה היא. מה נדה יש לה התר לבעלה אחר טבילה כך ארץ ישראל וכן הוא אומ' כטומאת הנדה היתה דרכם לפני (יהוקאל לו יז) מה נדה טובלת ותהורה לבעלה כך ישראל כשעושין תשובה: מפה אל פה. משער לשער כמ' שנ' פה לפה (מ"ב י כא) מתרג' מסיפא לסיפא ופי' ממפתן שער זה למפתן שער זה: ¹³ חשכת למטה מעונינו. ולא עשית כפי עונינו כמ' ואחשוך גם אנכי אותך מחטוא לי (בראשית כ ו): ¹⁴ תאנף. לשון רוגז גם בי התאנף יי (דברים א לו) מתרג' אף עלי הוה רגז: (X) ¹ ומתנפל. משתטח בהשתחויה כמו ואתנפל (דברים ט יח) מתרג' ואישתטחית: ² יש מקוה לישראל. כמו תקוה: ⁸ וכל אשר לא יבא לשלשת הימים. מכאן שקובעין זמן קודם שיגדו ומנין שהפקר בית דין הוי הפקר שנ' יחרם כל רכושו ומנין שמגדין אותו שנ' והוא יבדל מקהל הגולה שאסור להועד עמו בכל וועד: ¹⁴ לעתים מזומנים. לעת וזמן שיקבעו להם בית דין: זקני עיר ועיר ושופטיה. חכמי עיר ועיר ודייניה מוכן שחייבין חכמי העיר לדון יושבי עירם: ¹⁹ ויתנו ידם להוציא נשיהם ואשמים איל צאן על אשמתם. מלמד שנענשו עליהם כמו על שפחות חרופות שנ' והיא שפחה נחרפת לאיש (ויקרא יט כ) וכת' והביא את אשמו ליי אל פתח אוהל מועד איל אשם (שם כא):

ולאסורין אלו מלקיות כמו ויסרו אותו (דברים כא יח) מתרג' וילקון יתיה: (VIII) ¹ והתיחשם, ויחוסם: ¹⁵ אהוא, שם המקום: ומבני לוי לא מצאתי שם, אלו בני משה הלוי שנגזזו לפניו מנהר סבטיון: ^{16,17} ואשלחה לאליעזר ואצוה אותם על אדו הראש בכספא המקום, צוה לאליעזר וחביריו לילך בדרכים נעימים לאדו הראש אשר בכספא לתת להם מן הלויים שנשארו מיתר בני לוי לשרת בבית המקדש: ²² ועזו ואפו, וכחו וחרונו: ²⁷ וכפורי זהב לאדרכונים, כפורי כגון כפרת הם רקועי פחים של זהב: לאדרכונים, יש שפותרין כמו דרכמונים המה מטבעות כמין זהובים ויש אומ' מיני מרגליות: נחשת מוצהב, כמו *מובהק כמ' זהב*: שנים חמודות כזהב, שני כלים היו שנותרו מימות משה כמו ששינוי בבריתא צלצל היה במקדש של נחשת היה ומימות משה היה והיה קולו ערב ועוד מכתשת היתה במקדש נחשת היתה ומימות משה היתה והיתה מפטמת את הבשמים אלו שני כלים נותרו במקדש ראשון ונפגמו ולא עלתה להם ארוכה עולמית ועליהם הוא אומ' על ידי דור נחשת ממורט נחשת מורק ועליהם הוא אומ' בעזרא וכלי נחשת מוצהב עובה שנים חמודות כזהב ואמ' חכמ' כל אחד מהם היה שקול כשנים של זהב ויש אומ' שניהם שקולים כאחד של זהב ויש אומ' שנים היו כלומ' שני צלצלים של נחשת חמודים כאחד של זהב ושתי מכתשו' של נחשת שקולות שתיהן וחמודות כאחת של זהב: ²⁸ אתם קדש לוי, כשם שהכלים קדש לוי כן משרתי המקדש קדש לוי: ³⁵ צפירי חטאת, שעירי חטאת כמ' דמתרג' צפירי חטאתא (ויקרא טו ה): ³⁶ דתי המלך, הם צוויים שכותבים המלכים: (IX) ³ ואמרטה, כמו כי ימרט

^a H. צהוב.

¹² גמיר וכענת. מתוקן ומסויים כוליה דברי פיוסים כליל מתרג' גמיר והוא לשון סיום: וכענת. כן ענת האגרת מיני שים טעם וגו': ¹⁴ יעמדהי. יועציו: ¹⁵ ולהיבלא. ולהוליך כמו לך יובילו מלכים. שי (תהלים סח ל) יובילון מנחתי (צפניה ג י): ¹⁶ עם התנדרות עמא. עם מה אשר מתנדרים העם: ¹⁷ אספרנא. בזריות: המו. אותם: ²⁰ ושאר השחות. ויתר חסרון אשר יחסר לבדק בית האלהים כמו [ומה] חשחן (ו ט) ומה חסרון יש להם ויש אומ' חשחות וחשחן לשו' חושש הוא^a כי העושה מלאכה מרובה מחשבה גדולה יש לו עד גומרו שמא יחסר לו דבר: די יפל לך למנתן. שיפול לך בגורל ליתן תנתן מבית גנוי המלך: ²¹ גזבריא. גזברים הם ממונים על הפעולה: די ישאלנכון. שישאל מכם: ספר דתא. סופר התורה והדת: ²² כורין. הם מדות חומר שעורים (ויקרא כז טז) מתרג' נור דשערין: בתין. גם הם מדות חומר מדת היבש בת מדת הלח והבת עשירית החומר שנ' כי עשרת הבתים חומר (יחזקאל מה יד) והתרג' בית כור: ומלח די לא כתב. לפי שאלו הוצרכו להכתב שיעורם והמלח לא: ²³ אדרודא. יש שפותר' בחזקה בלא עצלות ויש אומר כהוגן וכשורה ויש אומ' לשון זירוז: ²⁴ תרעיא. שוערים: נתיניא. נתינים הם הגבעונים: מנדה בלו והלך לא שליט למרמא עליהון. ומנת מלכא וכסף גולגלתא וארנונא שהוא מכם לא יהא רשאי להטיל עליהם הואיל ומתעסקים בבית המקדש: ²⁶ למות. בארבע מיתות בית דין: לשרושי. זה נדוי ושמתא^b כמו שנ' יתעך לנצח ויסחך מאהל ושרשך מארץ החיים (תהלים נב ז): הן לענוש נכסין. ענוש ממון וקנסות כמ' ענוש יענוש (שמות כא כב) וענוש אותו מאה כסף (דברים כב ט): ולאסורין. בית הסהר ויש אומ' אומ'

^a H. והוא אשר הוא.

^b H. סחוי נשמתא.

ודריוש מדאה קביל מלכותא (דניאל ו א) וכת' ארתחשסתא מלך פרס (ד ז) וגם 'על^א דעת חכמי' האומ' שלשה שמות היו לו גם זה יתכן להיות כי כן נאמ' כורש מלך פרס (א א) כורש מלכא די בבבל (ה יג) וכת' ודריוש מלכא שם טעם וגומ' עד מהחתין תמה בבבל (ו א) וכת' ודריוש מדאה קביל מלכותא (דניאל ו א) הרי מלך על בבל ועל מדי ועל פרס כורש על שמלך כשר היה ארתחשסתא על שם מלכותו ומה שמו דריוש שמו על שדרשו לאל בימיו: ¹⁶ בחדוה. בשמחה: ¹⁷ לחשיא. לחטאת: ¹⁸ והקימו כהניא בפלוגתהון ולויאי במחלקתהון. או עמדו הכהנים איש בחלקו להקריב קרבנותם והלויים איש בחלקו על דוכנם: ²⁰ כי הטהרו. מטמא מת ומקרי זובים וזבות נכת' כי יהיה טמא לנפש (במדבר ט י) או בדרך רחוקה טמא נפש זה טמא מת בדרך רחוקה בעלי קריים וזבים ומצורעים נדה היא (ויקרא כ כא) מתרג' מרחקא היא: ²¹ וכל הנבדל מטומאת גויי הארץ. אותן שגרשו נשים נכריות שנשאו: (VII) ⁹ הוא יסוד המעלה מבבל. הוא זמן המיוסד וקבוע לעלייתם מבבל באחד בניסן עלה מבבל ונתעכב בשושן עד ראש חדש אב ובא לירושלם או מנהו המלך לנגיד על ירושלם כי היה צדיק ומיושר והכין את לבבו לדרוש תורת יי: ¹⁰ ולעשות. שהיה מעשה אותם ללמד בישר' חק ומשפט [ולעשות] כמו את הנפש אשר עשו בחרן (בראשית יב ה) שעשאם^b וגיירם וקירבם תחת צל שכינה: ¹¹ פרשגן. פתשגן ר' מתחלה עם ת' ופי' דברי פתויין ופיוסין ושגיון כמו באהבתה תשגה תמיד (משלי ה יט) כי דברי פיוסים של אגרות המה מפתים ומשגים את האדם למלא תאות שולחיהם ועוד משנה (דברים י"ח) מתרג' פתשגן משנה הוא מכתב דברים כפולים:

^a O. כל.

^b O. שעישם.

שנעשה בהמן שיעץ בימי אחשורוש לבטל בנין בית המקדש ראי מה אירע לו הונסח ונטל עץ מקורות ביתו ונתלה והוכה עליו כאמור ויתלו את המן על העץ ואמרו חכמי' אותו העץ מתיבת נח היה ופרשנדתא בן המן היה הגמון בקרדוניה בארץ אררט מקום אשר נחה שם תיבת נח ולקח משם קורה ארוכה חמשים אמה כרחב התיבה ואז נעשה ממנה כשורה דהיינו קורה גדולה ואז אמרו אוהבי המן יעשו עץ גבוה חמשים אמה וכת' ויתלו את המן (אסתר ז י): וביתה נולי יתעבד. וביתו הפקר נעשה על זאת שנ' הנה בית המן נתתי לאסתר ואותו תלו על העץ על אשר שלח ידו ביהודים (אסתר ח ז) ויש שפותרין נולי מקום אבוס בקר *ומנוול בדומן* צפיעי הבקר וכולו ענין אחד כי כאשר יבוזו המלכים בתי האויב אז יחריבו התקרה והמעויבה להיות חרבן עולם ושמה ירבעו הבקר והסוסים וכל בהמה ונעשה מקום מנוול מגללים: ¹² ימגר. כמו' והגרתו לגיא אבניה (מיכה א ו) לשון ירידה כלומ' ימגר ויוריד מגדולתו כל מלך ועם אשר ישלח ידו להשחית בית האלהים אשר בירושלם: אספרנא. בוריוות: ¹⁴ ושבי יהודאי. זקני היהודים המה עזרא וסיעתו אנשי כנסת הגדולה: ¹⁵ ושציא. ויכל (בראשית כ ב) מתרג' ושיצי נגמרה המלאכה בשלשה באדר בשנה הששית למלכות דריוש וזה שאמ' למעלה מן טעם אלה שמיא ומטעם כורש ודריוש וארתחשסתא מלך פרס מצינו בתלמוד הוא כורש הוא דריוש הוא ארתחשסתא כדמפורש בפירקא קמא דראש השנה אבל בדעתי כי כורש ודריוש וארתחשסתא שלשה מלכים היו וחלקי להם מלכות נבוכדנצר כורש מלך על בבל שנ' ברם בשנת חדא לכורש מלכא די בבל (ה יג) וכת'

^a H. וניוול מדומן.

בהיכל יי (חגי ב טו) מתרג' עד לא יתשם נדבך על נדבך בהיכלא דיי והם טורים של אבן שיש שלש: ונדבך די אע חדת. ושור של עץ אחת וכן כת' בבנין שלמה ויעש לבית טורי גזית שלשה ושור כרותות ארזים (מ"א ולו) אבל שלמה מה שעשה לשום שמים עשה וכורש לא עשה לשום שמים שלמה עשה מלמעלה בראש הבנין בסוף החומה וזה עשה מלמטה בתחלת הבנין שלמה שקע העץ בבנין וזה לא שקעו בבנין שלמה סידו בסיד [וזה לא סידו בסיד] וכל כך למה לפי שחשב בלבו ואמר אם ימרדו בי היהודים אשרוף אותו באש: ונפקתא. והוצאה: ⁵ הנפק. הוציא: ותחת. ותניה כמו ותנח בגדו (בראשית לט טז) ואחתתיה ללבושיה: ⁶ כען תתני פחת. עתה תתני פחת עבר הנהר ושתר בוזני ושאר סיעתן: אפרסכיא. הם גדולי מלכות אפרסכיא אפי ריוו מלכא סכיי פי' פני תאר המלך מביטין אשורנו ולא קרוב (במדבר נד יז) מתרג' סכיתיה והם רואי פני המלך הכת' במגלה (א יד): רחיקין. רחוקים היו משם: ⁷ שבוקו. הניחו: ⁸ ומנכסי מלכא. מנכסים של מלך כמו בנכסים רבים (יהושע נב ח): די מדת עבר נהרא. ממנת המלך הבאה אליו מעבר הנהר כמו מנדה בלו והלך (ד יג) לשון נדה מאותן הנכסים יעשה בנין הבית: אספרנא. בזריוות בלי איחור: נפקתא. הוצאה ובדק הבית תהיה נתונה לאנשים האלה: ⁹ ומה השתן. ומה הוששין כלומ' ממה יש להם מחשבה הרי בני תורין ודכרין ואמרין לעלון אלה שמיא: חנטיים. חטים: די לא שלו. בלא שגגה ובלא פשיעה אלא כרצונם: ¹¹ די יהשנא. אשר ישנה וימיר: יתנסח. כמו ונסחתם (דברים כח סג): וזקוף יתמחי. ותלוי יהרג [עליו] וימות וימחה שמו וזה פי' כל אומה ולשון וכל איש אשר ימיר דבר זה לבטל מלאכה זו יעשה בו דין כמו

נבוכדנצר מלך בבל והבית סתרו והחריבו ועמו הגלה לבבל: ¹³ ברם
 בשנת חדא. וגם בשנת אחת לכורש מלך פרס שם עצה וטעם הבית
 הוזה להבנות: ¹⁴ ואף. וגם כלי בית האלהים של זהב ושל כסף אשר
 נבוכדנצר הוציא מן ההיכל שבירושלם: והבל המו. והוביל אותם
 לבבל הוציא אותם כורש הראשון מהיכל מלך בבל [ונתנם] לששבצר
 שמו של שלטון אשר פחת וסגן שם אותו: ¹⁵ ואמר לה. ואמר לו
 אלה הכלים שא והולך אותם והנח אותם בהיכל שבירושלם:
¹⁶ אדין. או ששבצר זה בא ונתן אותם בהיכל יי ויסודות הבית הוזה
 הוא בית האלהים אשר בירושלם התחיל ליסד ומאז ועד עתה
 הותחל להבנות ולא שלמה מלאכתו: ¹⁷ וכען. ועתה אם על המלך
 טוב יבדוק בבית גנוי המלך שם באוצר אשר הובא מבל ושם יש
 כתוב בספר הזכרונות כי מן כורש הראשון הורשם טעם ונתן רשות
 לבנות בית האלהים זה בירושלם: ורעות. ורצון המלך על זאת
 המלאכה ישלח לנו בכתב ידו: (VI) ¹ באדין. או כורש המלך צוה
 ובדקו בבית הספרים אשר האוצרות וגנוי הממון מונחים שם: בבבל:
² והשתכח באחמתא. ונמצא בחמת שכן דרך בני אדם לשום שטרותיהן
 בעור מעובד כמין חמת ויש אומ' באחמתא בתיבה קטנה: בבריתא.
 בבירה בארמון המלך במדי ושם מגלה אחת וכן כתוב בתוכה:
³ בשנת אחת לכורש מלך בבל כורש המלך שם טעם וכול' בזכרון
 הדברים שנעשו: אתר די דבחין. מקום אשר הם הזכחים זוכחים:
 ואושוהי מסובלין. וחומותיו מסובלים וגבוהים ונשאים אמות ששים
 ורחבן אמות ששים גובהן כרחבן כדי שלא יפולו: ⁴ נדבכין די אבן
 גלל. כמו ששינינו בראש האילן או בראש הנדבך פי' נדבכין הם
 טורים אבן על אבן שכן כת' בנבואת חגי מטרם שום אבן אל אבן

כדברי חגי הזכריה או בא עליהם תתני שהיה משומד ושם אותו
 סנחריב מלך אשור פחת הוא שלטון בעבר נהר פרת ואומ' כי בן
 רבשקה היה: ושתר. הוא שכת' במגלה והקרוב אליו כרשנא שתר
 (אסתר א יד): בווני. הוא שכת' במגלה בותא חרבונא (אסתר א י):
 וכנותהון. וסיעתם: מן שם לכום טעם. מו נתן לכם רשות לפי
 שנאמ' לעילא (ד נא) וכען שימו טעם לבטלא גובריא אילך וקריתא
 דך לא תתבני עד מני טעמא יתשם ועל כן אמרו עכשיו מן שם לכון
 טעם: ואושרנא דנא. וחומה זאת ויש אומ' ואושרנא ארמון גדול
 ובירה גדולה כדכת' עלו בשרותיה (ירמיה ה י) בנין של קורות כדכת'
 בעל קורתיה (בראשית יט ח) מתרג' בטלל שירותי וכן נאמ' בנבואת חגי
 עלו ההר והבאתם עץ ובנו הבית (חגי א ח): כנמא. כנאמר: ⁵ ועין
 אלההום. כמו עיני יי אלהיך בה (דברים יא יב): ולא בטילו המו. לא
 בטילו להם עד אשר טעם הדבר לדריוש ילך ואז ישיבו אגרת על זאת
 או שלחו אגרת לדריוש וזה הוא פרשגן אגרתא וכול': ⁸ אבן גלל. אבני
 שיש כמו בורמי דגללא פרוורין מן שיש: ואע מתשם. ועץ מושם בכתלים
 לחזק החומה: ועיבדתא דך. ומלאכה זו: אספרנא. בוריוות. ד"א
 אספרנא. כמו אספרווא דגרסינן בראש כתובות אספרווא דידיה בשלישי
 הוא דאתיא והם משוואות בדק חתונה. אדמספרנא ⁹ עד דמספר אנא
 עד שלא יגמר הדבור להאמר והם עושין אותו במהרה ובנוני הבנין:
¹¹ התיבונא. השיבונו: אנחנא המו. אנחנו המה עבדי אלהי השמים
 והארץ: די הוה בנא. שהיה בנוי קודם לכן שנים רבות ושלמה מלך
 ישראל הגדול בנאו ושכללו ואין זה הבנין דבר חדש: ¹² להן מן די
 הרגיוו. ואכן משהכעיסו אבותינו לאלהי השמים מסר אותם ביד

^a עד דמספרנא H.

שלא ימרדו עליו אנשי המלוכה ועדיין לא הגיע זמן הבנין: ²³ אדין. אז מאחר אשר אגרת הנשתון של ארתחשסתא המלך היה נקרי לפני רחום ושמישי וסיעתם הלכו בחפזון לירושלם בחפזון (שמות יב יא) מתרג' בבהילו לירושלם על היהודים ובטלו מהם המלאכה בזרוע ובכח גדול: נשתונא. כתב שבו לשון מלשינות מאי מלשינות מלה שנוייה שמחליף ושונה במלת לשונו ואינו מדבר כראוי וכנכון: ²⁴ אז בטלה העבודה של בית האלהים אשר בירושלם מתחלת מלכות אחשורוש וכל ימי ארתחשסתא עד שנת ב' לדריוש מלך פרס: (V) ¹ והתנבי חגי. אז באותו הפרק נתנבא חגי וזכריה בן עדוא הנביא על יהודה וירושלם על היהודים שיבנו בית המקדש כי לא תבטל עוד מלאכתם וכן כת' בשנת שתים לדריוש המלך בחודש הששי ביום אחד לחודש היה דבר יי בידי חגי הנביא (חגי א א) וכת' עלו ההר והבאתם עץ ובנו הבית וארצה בו ואכבדה אמר יי (חגי א ה) וכת' בשנה השנית בשנת שתים לדריוש היה דבר יי אל זכריא בן עדוא הנביא לאמר (זכריה א א) וכת' לכן כה אמר יי שבתו לירושלם ברחמים ביתי יבנה בה (זכריה א טו): ² באדין. אז קמו זרובבל בן שאלתיאל וישוע בן יוצדק והתחילו לבנות בית המקדש ואתם הנביאים חגי זכריה ועזרא ויהושע הכהן הגדול מסייעין אותן ומשיבים את לבם בנבואתם ככת' ידי זרובבל יסדרו הבית הזה (זכריה ד ט) בעת הראשונה בימי מלכי מדי ופרס וקמו צרי יהודה ובנימן ובטלו המלאכה בלשון הרע שספרו אצל המלכים על יהודה וירושלם ועלתה ביד צריהם לבטלם כי לא הגיע עת בית יי להבנות וידיו תבצענה (שם) עכשיו ידיו תהיינה משלימות הבנין כמו כי יבצע יי (ישעיה י יב) לפי שעכשיו הגיע הזמן: ³ ביה זמנא. באותה העת כשהתחילו זרובבל וישוע לבנות בשניה

והוא לשון מלחמה: על דנא קריתא דך. על זה הדבר העיר הזאת הוחרבה: ¹⁶ די הן קריתא דך. שאם העיר הזאת תבנה: חלק בעבר נהרא. אין לך שכשם שמרדו בך היהודים כך ימרדו בך כל יושבי עבר הנהר: לא איתי. לא יש תרג' לא אית: ¹⁷ בשמרין. בשמרון: וזאת התשובה פתגמא שלח מלכא: שלם וכעת. דברי שלום ומענה רך: ¹⁹ ובקרו והשבתו. ובדקו ומצאו שזו העיר מן ימי עולם מימות שם בן נח שנ' ומלכי צדק מלך שלם (בראשית י"ה) מתרג' מלכא דירושלם מאז מקדם עולם על המלכים מתנשאה: ומרד. שמרדו בה הרבה מלכים: ואשתדור. ומלחמות כמו ויאבק (בראשית ל"ב) מתרג' ואשתדל למ"ד מתחלפת עם רי"ש כמו וארו (דניאל ז' ב) ואלו ופי' והנה וכן ואשתדור ואשתדל לשון מלחמות הוא וכן הוא אומ' ויאבק איש עמו מלמד שנלחם המלאך עד שעלה אבק רגליהם עד כסא הכבוד ועל כן נדע כי אשתדור מלחמות הם: ²⁰ ומימי עולם מרדו כל מלכי עולם על ירושלם ונלחמו בה ומומן שהיו עושין רצון קוניהם היו כל המלכים נותנין מס לישראל ועל כן אמ' ומלכין תקיפין הוו על ירושלם כגון דוד ושלמה ושאר מלכין והיו שולטין בכל עבר הנהר ומנות ומסיות ומכסים היו נותנין להם: מנדה. זו מנת המלך: בלו. זה כסף גולגלתא: והלך. זו ארנונא לפי שהיו עוסקין בתורה ובמצות: ²¹ ועתה מכבר אשר רפו ידיהם מן המצות מעכשיו שימו טעם לבטלא לבטל האנשים האלה שלא יבנו העיר הזאת עד מני טעמא יתשם עד שאצוה אני ואשים עצה וטעם: ²² וזהירין הוו שלו למעבד על דנא. להיות להם שלו ובטול כמו לא תשלה אותי (מ"ב ד' כח) כלומ' לעזוב המלאכה ולבטלה על זה הדבר שאמרתם למה ירבה הבלה והשחתה להזיק מלכי מדי ופרס וכל כך למה כדי

אנשי מדה בעלי סהורה: בלו. זה כסף גולגלתא כמו בקע לגלגלת (שמות לח כו) מס לשלטון וכן כת' ועל דניאל שם בל לשזבותיה (דניאל ו טו) כופר ממון להצילו כמו איש כופר נפשו (שמות ל יב) בל ובלו חד הוא וי"ו יתירה כמו ויכו האחד את האחד (ש"ב יד ו) וכמו בנו בעור (במדבר כד ג) פי' ויך האחד בן בעור: והלך. זה ארנונא הוא המכס שנותנים הולכי דרכים וגשרים ומדינות ומחוזות ומאחר שיבנו היהודים ירושלים ובית המקדש עוד לא ישתעבדו לך ולא יתנו לך אלו המסיות: ואפתום מלכין תהנויק. ואוצר המלך יהיה^a בו נזק והפסד: ¹⁴ כען כל קבל די מלח היכלא מלחנא. מעתה מכבר אשר סתור ההיכל שבירושלם סתרנו מהבנות בעתתינו ובטלה מלאכתו כמו ארץ מלחה לא תשב (ירמיה יז ו) מתרג' ארע צדיא דלא תיתותב ועוד שמים כעשן נמלחו (ישעיה נא ו) על כן הגדנו לך כדי שלא תניח לבנותו: וערות מלכא. וקלון המלך ויש אומ' וערות לשון חורבן כלומ' אם יבנה בית המקדש וירושלם אז ימרדו בך היהודים ויחרב מלכותך ויש אומ' לשון דלות כמ' פנה אל תפלת הערער (תהלים קב יח) וכמו ערו ערו (תהלים קלו ז) ועוד ערי ערוער (ישעיה יז ב) מתרג' קרוי חורבייא: לא אריך לנא למחזי. לא נאה לנו לראות ויש אומ' לא אריך לא נוחיל ונמתין כמ' ויחל (בראשית ח י) מתרג' ואוריך: על דנא. על כן שלחנו והודענו למלך: ¹⁵ די יבקר. שיפשפש כמו לא יבקר הכהן (ויקרא יג לו) מתרג' בתרגום ירושלמי לא יפשפש כהנא והוא לשון *בקר והוא לשון בדיקה^b: ותהשכח. ותמצא וימצא (בראשית כו יב) מתרג' ואשכח: ומהנזקת מלכין. ומוקת מלכים: ואשתדור. מרד בלשון פרסי וגם ויאבק (בראשית לב כה) מתרג' ואשתדל

^a O. יהא.

^b H. בדיקה ובקור.

כלומ' כן נימא כן אימא: ⁹ כנותהון. עדתם וגם *סיעם כנופם⁹: דינייא.
 מן דינא מדינתא ואית דאמרי דייני מלכות: ואפרסתניא. *מן פרס⁹:
 ארכויא. מן ארך כמ' וארך ואכד וכלנה (בראשית י'): בבליא. מן בבל:
 שושנכיא. מן שושן: דהיא. מן דהי מדינתא: עילמויא. מן עילם:
¹⁰ ושאר אומיא די הגלי אסנפר רבא ויקירא והותב הכמו בקריא די
 שמרון. הם העמים שהביא אסרחדון מלך אשור הנקרא אסנפר בלשון
 פרסי והושיבם בערי שמרון ונתגייירו מפחד האריות ויש אומ' אסנפר
 הוא אביו של אסרחדון: ושאר עבר נהרא. ושאר העמים שמעבר
 פרת: וכענת. וכן ענת כלומר כך⁹ מענה הכתב דנא פרשגן אגרתא
 ויש אומ' וכענת דברים רכים ומענה פיוסים כעניא⁹ דין דכתיב⁹ ביה
 תחנונים ידבר רש (משלי יח כג). ד"א וכענת. וכעת הזאת: ¹¹ פרשגן.
 כמ' שנ' משנה התורה (דברים יז יח) ומתרג' פרשגן [אורייתא] והוא כתב
 הנשתון משנה וכפול: אגרתא. שדברים רבים אגורים בה: ¹² מרדתא.
 מורדת דכת' רבתי בגויים שרתי במדינות (איכה א א): ובאישתא. מרעת:
 ושוריא. החומות (שיר ה ז) מתרגמו' שוריא: שכלילר. ויכולר (בראשית ב א)
 מתרג' ואישתכלילר: ואושיא. הם השתות והיסודות חווק בנין הבריה
 כדכת' לאשישי קיר הרשת (ישעיה טו ז) ומתרג' לתקוף: יחיטו. כלומ'
 חופרים וחושטים בקרקע במקום הקרקע הקשה ליסד החומה כדתנן
 החוטט בגדיש: ¹³ דך. זאת כמו דמתרג' דא: ישתכללון. ישלימו ויכלו
 ויבנו: מנדה בלו והלך לא יתנון. [עוד לא יתנו]: מנדה. זו מנת
 המלך ומאי היא זו מתת מכס הסחורה וכן כת' יגיע מצרים וסחר
 כוש וסבאים אנשי מדה (ישעיה מה יד) ומתרג' אנשין גברין דסחורה

^a H. סיעת כנופיים.^b O. and H. omit.^c O. מן.^d O. בעני.^e O. הכת'.

כ"ד שנים של שניהם וכ"ו של נבוכדנצר מיום שחרב הבית עד יום מותו הרי כ' שנים או בא דריוש המדי ותפש את בבל והחריבה והגלה את ישראל עם הכשדים במדי ופרס ומלך שנת אחת הרי נ"א שנה כורש בנו מלך ג' שנים הרי נ"ד ובשנת א' לאחשורוש בתחלת מלכותו החלו לבנותו עזרא וסיעתו על דברי דניאל כי דניאל טעה ומנה משנת ד' לנבוכדנצר מנבואת ירמיהו וכלל אותן ט"ו שנים עם נ"ה והם ע' משנת ד' לנבוכדנצר עד תחלת מלכות אחשורוש ואז כתבו שטנה על יושבי יהודה וירושלם ומלך אחשורוש אחרי זאת י"ג שנה כי בשנת אחת למלכותו בטלה המלאכה ומלך אחריו כורש בנו הנקרא ארתחשסתא ואז כתבו צרי יהודה שטנה ואלה הם רחום בעל טעם ושמי ספרא והיתה המלאכה בטלה י"ג שנה למלכות אחשורוש ל"ב שני' למלכות ארתחשסתא הרי מ"ה שנים ובשנת א' לכורש בן אסתר המלכה הנקרא דריוש עלו מבבל הרי מ"ו שנים ובשנת ב' לבואם אל בית האלהים בירושלם החלו ליסד ולבנות ובקשו הכותיים הגרים להתחבר עמם לבנות ולא קבלום אז שכרו יועצים להפר עצתם ולא עלתה בידם בימי כורש כזו בימי אחשורוש ואף בימי ארתחשסתא הנקרא כורש בדברי חכמי' האומ' הוא כורש הוא דריוש הוא ארתחשסתא: ⁷ כתב בשלם. ומי כתבו רחום ושמי על שם מתרדת שבאל: ושאר כנוותיו. ושאר סיעתו כנוותו עדתו כנישתו כניפתו כגון כנופיא כוליהון לשון חד הוא בלשון קדש עדתו בלשון ארמית כנישתו בלשון תלמוד כניפתו בלשון פרסי כנוותו: וכתב הנשתון כתוב ארמית ומתורגם ארמית. כלומ' כתב משונה וכפול במכתב ובפירושו: ⁸ כנימא. כן נאמר

^a י"ד. O.

כדכת' ומדלת הארץ חשאייר רב טבחים^a לכורמים וליוגבים (מ"ב נה יב) ובשנת אחת לכורש עלו יהודה ובנימן עם פליטת שאר גלות השבטים ורוב י' השבטים לא שבו מאשור עד היום הזה: וסוכרים עליהם יועצים. [כת' בסמך] לקיים מה שנ' יסכר פי דוברי שקר (תהלים סג יב) כי בלבל הב"ה עצתם אחרי כן ויש אומ' וסוכרים כמו וסכרתי את מצרים (ישעיה יט ד) כלומ' מוסרין עצמן למיתה ויועצים להפר עצתם וסוכרים עדי שקר יועצי רע כותבי^b שטנה: כל ימי כורש מלך פרס. שכבש את בבל עד מלכות דריוש מלך פרס שמלך אחרי כן שהוא כורש בן אסתר המלכה כי כן כת' ובשנת אחת לכורש מלך פרס וזו היא בתחלת מלכותו וכיצד הותחלה השטנה במלכות אחשורוש בתחלת מלכותו כתבו שטנה להשטין ולבטל מלאכת בית המקדש: [שטנה.] כמ' שנ' ויתיעב מלאך יי בדרך לשטן לו (במדבר כג כג) ומי כת' השטנה שמשי ספרא בן המן הרשע וזה היה בימי ושתי המלכה בת בלשצאר בן נבוכדנצר שלא היתה מניחתו לבנות בית המקדש שהיתה אומרת מקום שהחריבו אבותי אתה רוצה לבנותו ומאת יי היתה זאת כי עדין לא שלמה גלות מדי ופרס ושעו [ומנו] מחרבן הבית ולא היה להם למנות אלא מחרבן בבל כי עדין לא שלמו שבעים שנה ואז הוערו הרשעים להסית את ושתי בת בלשצאר בן נבוכדנצר הרשע וכמה שנים היו משנחרב הבית על ידי נבוכדנצר עד שנבנה על ידי כורש בשנת י"ט למלכות נבוכדנצר [חרב] בית המקדש והוא מלך אחרי כן כ"ו שנה מרוודך בנו מלך כ"ב ובשנת כ"ב מת ומלך באותה שנה בלשצאר בנו ועמד במלכות ב' שנים ומחצה כ"א ומחצה דמרוודך וב' ומחצה לבלשצאר הרי כ"ד שנים

^a סרים. O.^b כתבו. H.

את האריות (שם נה) [והמה גירי אריות שנתגיררו מפחד האריות] שהיו הורגים בהם ולא היו צדיקים^a אלא משום יראת האריות נתגיררו שנ' את יי היו יראים ואת אלהיהם היו עובדים (שם לנ) וישבו שם עד שנחרב הבית וכל ימי גלות בבל וכל ימי גלות מדי ופרס עד שעלה עזרא מבבל וסיעתו עמו: ² אז נגשו בערמה אל זרובבל ואל ראשי האבות ויאמרו להם נבנה עמכם כי כנס נדרוש לאלהיכם ולא אנחנו זובחים מימי אסרחדון מלך אשור המעלה אותנו פה. ולא כת' ולו קרי שלא היו זובחים אליו מאהבה אלא מיראה שלא יגרה בהם האריות: ⁴ כיון שראו שלא קבלום מיד התחילו להשטין שנ' ויהי עם הארץ מרפים ידי עם יהודה ומבהלים אותם לבנות. לפי שהיו [השונאים] מרפים ידי העם [היו] ראשי האבות מבהלים וממהרים אותם [לבנות] בעל כרחם: ⁶ כיון שראו כן שכרו עליהם יועצים רעים להתעות עם יהודה ובנימן היושבים בירושלם: להפר עצתם. של ראשי האבות שלא יבנו בית המקדש ולמה הזכיר יהודה ובנימן כי עשרת השבטים גלו רובם ועיקרם על ידי מלך אשור שנ' ויעל מלך אשור בכל הארץ (מ"ב יז ה) וכת' ויגל את ישראל אשור ויושב אותם בחלח ובחבור נהר גוזן וערי מדי (שם ו) וכת' ויגל ישראל אשורה עד היום הוזה (שם נג) מכלל שלא שבו לארץ ישראל לפי שהיו בהם צדיקים ונביאים והיו יודעים שבית המקדש עתיד ליחרב פעם אחרת ועתידין ישראל לילך בגלות וישבו שם בארץ אשור ונשאר שם יהודה ובנימן שני השבטים בארץ יהודה ובנימן ושאר מעט מתי מספר משאר השבטים נשאר בעריהם עד גלות בבל ואז *גלו כל גדולי הדור^b לבבל ודלת הארץ נשאר בארץ ישראל לעבד האדמה

^a גרים. H.^b כל גלות הדור חזר. H.

מצרף ומטהר כסף וטהר את בני לוי (מלאכי ג') ולמה אמ' עד עמוד
 כהן לאורים ותמים לפי שמיום שחרב הבית הראשון ונגנזו המשכן
 וכליו נגנזו בגדי כהנה שנעשו במדבר ובטל' אורים ותמים עד שיבוא
 אליה מוכן אנו למדים שלא היו אורים ותמים בבית שני:
⁶⁸ להעמידו על מכונו. על תוכן בניינו: ⁶⁹ דרכמונים. הם מטבעות כגון
 זהובים. ד"א דרכמונים. דרך מונים מטבעות הנמנין ואינן נשקלין;
 מנים. הם שקלים כמו שנ' והמנה יהיה לכם (יחזקאל מה יב): ⁷⁰ הנתונים.
 הם הגבעונים ולמה נקראו נתינים שנתנם יהושע חוטבי עצים
 ושואבי מים לבית המקדש: (III) ⁷¹ והיכל יי לא יוסד. עדין לא נתיסד
 לפי שהרסו אותו בני אדום הרשעה כשבאו עם הכשדים עד יסודו
 שנ' זכור יי לבני אדום את יום ירושלם האומרים ערו ערו עד היסוד
 בה (תהלים קלז ז) רק הכינו המזבח על מכונתיו במקום בנין הראשון
 תחת אהלים מפחד העמים: ⁷² כרשיון כורש. בכתב הרשאה שכתב
 להם כורש להיותם רשאים לבנות בית המקדש: ⁷³ לנצח על מלאכת
 בית יי. לנצח האומנים להרבות במלאכה ויש אומ' לנצח לומ'^a
 שירות כמו שנ' למנצח על השמינית מזמור לדוד (תהלים ו א) והפסוק
 יורה אחרי כן ⁷⁴ ויעמידו הכהנים מלובשים בחצוצרות והלויים בני
 אסף במצלתים. כמו בצלצלים להלל ליי על ידי דוד מלך ישראל.
 על ידי שירי דוד ונבואתו ככתוב הללוהו בצלצלי שמע (תהלים קנ ה)
 וכת' ויענו בהלל ובהודות הודו ליי כי טוב: ⁷⁵ על הוסד. על שנתיסד:
 (IV) ⁷⁶ וישמעו צרי יהודה ובנימן. גם התושבים היושבים בארץ ישר'
 כדכת' ויבא מלך אשור מבבל ומכותה ומעוא ומחמת וספרוים
 וישוב בערי שומרון (מ"ב יז כד) וכת' ולא יראו את יי וישלח יי בהם

^a H. לשון.

ידעו להגיד בית אבותם וזרעם אם מישראל הם על^a שנולדו מנשים נכריות: ⁶⁰ בני^b דליה בני טוביה בני נקודא. אמ' הב"ה אני אמרתי הוּו לפני כוהב הטוב שאין בו סיגים והם עשו עצמם דלים ונקודים ככסף מלא סיגים וכן הוא אומ' כסף סיגים היו לי בית ישראל (יהוקאל כב יח): ⁶¹ ומיבני הכהנים בני חביה. בנים שחבו ליה: בני הקוץ. אמ' הב"ה הוּו לפני נאים כתמר והם שמו עצמם כקוץ לפי שנשאו מבנות ברזילי הגלעדי שהיה שטוף בזמה והוליד בנים בעבירה: ויקרא על שמים. ולא על שם אהרן הכהן: ⁶² אלה בקשו כתבם המתיחשים. בקשו כתב יחוס כהונתם ולא נמצאו ולפיכך נפסלו מן הכהנה: המתיחשים. כמ' ויתילדו על משפחותם (נמדנר א יח) מתרגמ' ואתיחסו: ויגואלו. ויגועלו כדכת' מגישים על מזבחי לחם מגואל (מלאכי א ז) מגועל פירושו: ⁶³ ויאמר התרשתא. זה נחמיה בן חכליה ולמה נקרא שמו התרשתא שהתיר יין לשתייה לפני מלכים בשעת הסכנה דכת' דברי נחמיה בן חכליה (נחמיה א א) ויהי בחדש כסלו יין לפניו הובא: אשר לא יאכלו מקדש הקדשים. אבל אוכלין חלות ככהנים בעלי מומין ככת' אך לא יעלו כהני הבמות אל מזבח יי בירושלם כי אם אכלו מצות בתוך אחיהם (מ"ג נג ט) מכאן אתה למד שכהנים שנשתמדו מרצונם וחזרו בתשובה וכהנים שחללו עצמם בנשים חאסורות לכהונה כגון אלמנה לכהן גדול גרושה וחלוצה [זונה] וחללה לכהן הדיוט הרי הם ככהנים בעלי מומין אוכלין וחולקין בתרומות [ומעשרות] ובחלות אבל אינן אוכלין בקדשי קדשים ואין מקריבים על גבי המזבח: עד עמוד כהן לאורים ולתומים. עד שיבוא אליהו זכור לטוב וילבש אורים ותומים וכן הוא אומר וישב

^a H. ער. O¹. עור.

^b O. ואלה הם בני O.

לבוש שנים (משלי לא כא) פי' כפלים וכת' כי משנה (דברים טו יח) מתרגמ' ארי על חד תרין: (II) ² זרובבל. הוא היה בן יהויכין ולמה נקרא שמו זרובבל זרוע בבל שנזרע בבבל^a בבית הסהר ולמה אמ' בן שאלתיאל *ששאל אותו^b מאל שלא נשאר מבית דוד זולתי יהויכין ושאל בן מאל ונתן לו: ישוע, זה יהושע בן יהוצדק הכהן הגדול ולמה נקרא ישוע על שם שנשאו בניו נשים הפסולות לכהונה שנ' ויהושע היה לבוש בגדים צואים (זכריה ג ג) ומתרגמ' ויהושע הווי ליה בנין דנסיבו נשין דלא כשרין לכהונתא וכת' וימצא מבני הכהנים אשר הושיבו נשים נכריות מבני ישוע בן יהוצדק ואחיו מעשיה ואליעזר ויריב וגדליה (עזרא י יח): מרדכי בלשן. שיודע בכל לשון הוא מרדכי היהודי [אשר יצא מלפני המלך בלבוש מלכות]: מספר בגוי, פעם אחת בקשו המשמרות ולא מצאו עשרים וארבעה ומינו את זה במעי אמו כדי להשלים המשמרות ופי' מספר בגוי ספור בגווה דאימיה: ⁶ בני פחת מואב, הם בני יואב בן צרויה י"מ מתחלף בגימטריא את"בש ולמה נקרא מואב שנצח עמון ומוואב, ד"א דאתי מן רות בת עגלון מלך מואב: פחת, שהיה שר צבא כדכת' ושר צבא למלך יואב (ד"ה א ז לר'): פחת, כמ' פחות וסגנים (ירמיה נא כג): ¹² עוגד, עז מול שכן קורין למזלזא גדא: ⁵⁹ ואלה העולים מתל מלח תל חרשא, אלו בני אדם שחרשו כל העולם כתל וזרעהו מלח כלומ' נשאו נשים נכריות ופסלו משפחתם: כרוב אדן אמר, אמר אדון הוא הב"ה אני אמרתי להם היו לפני נאים ככרוב והם שמו עצמם כנמר כדכת' היהפוך כושי עורו ונמר חברבורותיו (ירמיה יג כג) כלומ' שצבעו משפחתם כנמר שהוא צבוע ומנומר ונשאו נשים נכריות לכך לא

^a O. בבל.^b H. ששאלתו אמו.

וכת' והשביע את הממלכה ואת הגוי (שם) אחשורוש דכת' וישם המלך אחשורוש מס על הארץ ואיי הים (אסתר י א) כורש דכת' כל ממלכות הארץ נתן לי יי: והוא פקד עלי. הוא צוה עלי ויצו מתרג' ופקיד (בראשית ב טז) והיכן צוהו הוי אומ' על ידי ישעיהו הנביא שנ' כה אמר יי למשיחו לכורש (ישעיה מה א) וכי כורש משיח היה אלא אמ' הב"ה למשיח קובל אני לך על כורש אני אמרתי לו הוא יבנה עירי וגלותי ישלח (שם יג) והוא אמ' מי בכם מכל עמו יהי אלהיו עמו ויעל: ⁴ ינשאוהו אנשי מקומו. ישאוהו אנשי העיר אשר הוא דר ביניהם הם גרי ארצו: ⁵ לכלל העיר. כלומ' כל אשר העיר יי לבו ורחוהו בנדבה לבוא לירושלם: ⁶ ובמגדנות. ובמתנות כמ' שנ' ומגדנות [נתן] (בראשית כד נג) מתרג' ומתן יחב: ⁸ מתרדת הגזבר. לוי היה ממונה על כלי בית יי ושמו מתרדת ופי' מתיר דת שעל פיו נתרת דת המלך כלומר על פיו יצאו ועל פיו יבואו: הגזבר. הוא [ה]ממונה ומאי גזבר גזנו בר אוצר תבואה: ויספרם. וימנם לשון מספר:⁹ לששבער. ששב באוצר: ⁹ אגרטלי. הם מזרקות *של דם^ב. ד"א אגרטלי. גרסינן ביומא ירושלמית כלי שאוגרין בו דמו של טלה כמין מזרקות: מחלפים. הם סכינים כמו ששנינו במשנה בית החלפות בית הסכינים שבמקדש גם אלו [הסכינים] לצורך שחיטה הפשט ונתוח ועל כן נקרא סכין של שחיטה חלאפא: ¹⁰ כפורי זהב כפורי כסף. רקועי פחים ומסין של זהב ושל כסף כמין כפרת שהכפרת ארכה ורחבה כמדת מכסה הארון ועביה טפה וכל דבר שהוא נמתח ונרקע ואין לו עובי וקומה נקרא כפרת ודומה לו וכפרת אותה (בראשית ו יד): משנים. משונים זה מזה בצורה ובמלאכה ויש אומ' משנים מוכפלים כמ' שנ' כי כל ביתה

^א שמקבלים בהם הדם. H.

^ב מנין ומספר. H.

✧ פִּירוּשׁ עוֹרָא ✧

(I) ¹ ובשנת אחת לכורש מלך פרס. זה כורש בן אחשורוש בן אסתר המלכה ותנא הוא כורש [הוא דריוש] הוא ארתחשסתא כורש על שמלך כשר היה דריוש שדרשו ישר' לאל בימיו ובימיו נדרשו הייחוסין על ידי עזרא ובימיו דרש האל גליותיו וגאלן ארתחשסתא על שם מלכותו בלשון פרסי: לכלות דבר יי מפי ירמיהו. הנביא שאמ' לפי מלאת לבבל שבעים שנה אפקוד אתכם (נט י) והוא לא אמר לגלות בבל אלא לחרבן בבל ודניאל טעה בזה החשבון שנ' בשנת אחת למלכו אני דניאל בינותי בספרים מספר השנים אשר היה דבר יי אל ירמיהו הנביא למלאות לחרבות ירושלם שבעים שנה (והניאל ט ב) ופסוק אחר מקשה לו לפי מלאת לבבל שבעים שנה אפקוד אתכם לפקידה ולא לגאולה כמו שנ' ובשנת אחת לכורש מלך פרס לכלות דבר יי משנחרבה בבל בימי בלשצר בן נבוכדנצר על ידי כורש הראשון עד שנת אחת לכורש האחרון הם ע' שנה: ² כל ממלכות הארץ נתן לי יי. ללמדך שכל המולך בארץ ישר' כמולך בכל העולם כולו וכן הוא אומ' רבתי בגוים שרתי במדינות (אינה א א) וכל כך [למה] בזכות שעסק בבית המקדש ואמרו חכמי' ארבעה [מלכים] שלטו בכל העולם כולו ואלו הן שלמה מלך ישר' דכת' וכל מלכי הארץ מבקשים את פני שלמה (מ"א י כד) אחאב בן עמרי דכת' אם יש גוי וממלכה אשר לא שלח אדני [שם לבקשך] (מ"א יח)

פירוש

על

עזרא ונחמיה

לר' סעדיה

לפי כתבי יד

של אוצר הספרים בודליאנא אשר באוקספורד

הוציאו לאור

הינרי יוחנן מאתיוס

אוקספורד

בבית דפוס קלארינדון

שנת תרמ"ב לפ"ק

Anecdota Oxoniensia

TEXTS, DOCUMENTS, AND EXTRACTS

CHIEFLY FROM

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BODLEIAN

AND OTHER

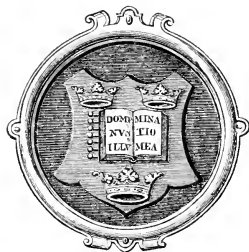
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SEMITIC SERIES. VOL. I—PART II

THE BOOK OF THE BEE

EDITED BY

ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.



Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1886

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THE
BOOK OF THE BEE

THE SYRIAC TEXT

EDITED FROM

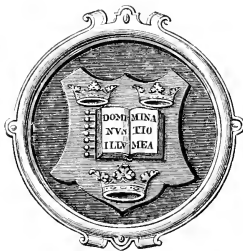
THE MANUSCRIPTS IN LONDON, OXFORD, AND MUNICH

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

BY

ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.

LATE SCHOLAR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND TYRWHITT SCHOLAR
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Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1886

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London
HENRY FROWDE



OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE
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TO
MY MASTER AND FRIEND
WILLIAM WRIGHT, LL. D.

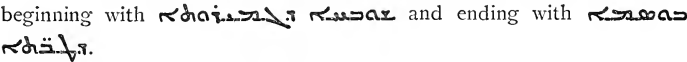

PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PREFACE	iii-x
GLOSSARY	xi-xv
CORRECTIONS	xvi
ENGLISH TRANSLATION	1-142
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES	143-155
LIST OF SCRIPTURE REFERENCES	156
SYRIAC TEXT	156-181
EXTRACTS FROM THE ARABIC VERSIONS	170-181

the late deacon Hormizd of Ḥōrdaphnê¹, took pains and was careful to have this book written : may Christ make his portion in the kingdom of heaven ! Amen. He had it written for the holy church called after the name of our Lady Mary the pure and virgin mother, which is in the blessed and happy village of Ḥōrdaphnê in the district of 'Amēdiā. From now and henceforth this book remains the property of the (above-) mentioned church, and no man shall have power over it to carry it off for any reprehensible cause of theft or robbery, or to give it away without the consent of its owners, or to abstract it and not to return it to its place. Whosoever shall do this, he shall be banned and cursed and execrated by the word of our Lord ; and all corporeal and incorporeal beings shall say " Yea and Amen."

From the manner in which B ends, it would seem either that the MS. from which it was copied was imperfect, or that the scribe Hōmō omitted to transcribe the last leaf of the MS. before him, probably because it contained views on man's future state which did not coincide with his own.

The MS. C, belonging to the Royal Library at Munich, consists of 146 paper leaves, measuring about 12½ in. by 8¼. There are two columns, of twenty-four lines each, to a page; the right-hand column is Syriac, the left Kārshūnī or Arabic in Syriac characters. The MS. is beautifully written in a fine Nestorian hand, and vowels and diacritical points have been added abundantly. The headings of the chapters are in Eṣṭrangēlā. The last two or three leaves have been torn out, and on fol. 147 *a* there are eighteen lines of Kārshūnī in another hand, which contain the equivalent in Arabic of B, fol. 157 *a*, col. 2, lines 10 to 24, beginning with  and ending with .

On the fly-leaf are five lines of Arabic, which run :—

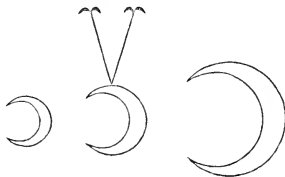
هذا الكتاب فهو مال كنيسة باطنجة مار قرياقوس الشهيد. قد
اشتره شماس بطروز ابن صومو للكنيسة بمالهاتها (sic). ولذلك قد

¹ On Ḥōrdephnê or Ḥōrdephnî, called also Kolpein, see Badger's *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. i, p. 254 ; Wright, *Catal. Syr. MSS.*, p. 1067 *a* ; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, p. 195, note 1544.

صار قنية الكنيسة قنية شرعية وكل من ياخذها بغير رضا وكلال الكنيسة
يأثم ويلزم بترجيعة. وقد صار في ١٧ آذار سنة ١٨٣٩ مسيحية بمدينة
موصل المحمية.

'This book is the property of the church of Mâr Cyriacus the Martyr at Baṭnâye¹. The deacon Peter bar Şaumô has purchased it for the church with its own money, and therefore it has become the lawful property of the church. Whosoever taketh it away without the consent of the directors of the church, committeth sin and is bound to restore it. This was on the 17th of the month of Âdhâr in the year of our Lord 1839, in the protected city of Moşul.'

Dr. Schoenfelder in the preface to his translation, p. ii, assigns this MS. to the fourteenth century ('ad saeculum decimum quartum procul dubio pertinet'). From this view, however, I differ for the following reasons. The MS. B, dated A. Gr. 2020=A. D. 1707, is written upon water-lined paper, having for water-mark upon each leaf three crescents of different sizes, and a sign like a V:—



The paper is smooth and thick. The Munich MS. C is written upon rather rougher paper, but with the same water-mark exactly, only the three crescents are on one leaf, and the V-shaped mark upon that next to it. Therefore Dr. E. Maunde Thompson, keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, who has kindly given me the benefit of his great

¹ I. e. Ṭyṭnâye, about one hour's ride north of Tel Kêf, north of Moşul. Baṭnâye contains two churches; one dedicated to Mâr Cyriacus, and the other to Mârt Maryam El-'adhârâ, العذراء, i. e. the blessed virgin Mary. See E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 360.

though in different words, as if to make sure that he has given what he considers to be the sense of the Syriac. He adds paragraphs which have no equivalents in the three Syriac copies of 'the Bee' to which I have had access, and he quotes largely from the Old and New Testaments in support of the opinions of Solomon of Başrah. The order of the chapters is different, and the headings of the different sections into which the chapters are divided will be found in the selections from the Arabic versions of 'the Bee' on pages 107-108. This MS. is of the utmost importance for the study of 'the Bee,' as it contains the last chapter in a perfect and complete state; which is unfortunately not the case either with the bilingual Munich MS. or the copy in Paris¹.

Assemâni says in the *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 310, note 4, that there are two codices of 'the Bee' in the Vatican Library, and he has described them in his great work—*MSS. Codicum Bibliothecae Apostel. Vatic. Catalogus*, t. iii, nos. clxxvi and clxxvii. The latter is incomplete, containing only forty chapters (see *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 488, no. ix); but the former is complete (see *Bibl. Orient.*, t. i, p. 576, no. xvii). It was finished, according to a note at the end, on Wednesday, 14th of Shĕbât, in the year of Alexander, the son of Nectanebus², 1187, which Assemâni corrects into 1787=A. D. 1476. The name of the scribe was Gabriel, and he wrote it for the 'priest John, son of the priest Jonah' (Yaunân), living at the village of ܩܘܪܝܢܐ in the district of Baz, ܩܘܪܝܢܐ (see Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 204-5). At a subsequent time it belonged to the church of Mâr Cyriacus in the village of Sâlekh, ܩܘܪܝܢܐ³, in the district of Barwar, ܩܘܪܝܢܐ (see Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 204).

¹ See Zotenberg, *Catalogues des MSS. Syr. et Sabéens (Mandaïtes) de la Bibl. Nat.* (Paris, 1874), no. 232, 1^o, page 177. This Kârshûni MS. is imperfect at the beginning and end, and also wants some chapters in the middle.

² Assemâni is mistaken in his remarks about this name both in the *Bibl. Or.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 310, note 4, and in the Vatican Catalogue, t. iii, p. 367.

³ In the *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 310, note 4, Assemâni writes ܩܘܪܝܢܐ, which seems to be more correct.

My translation aims at being literal, and will, I hope, be found more correct in some places than that of Dr. Schoenfelder. I have added brief notes only where it seemed absolutely necessary. A few Syriac words, which are either wanting or not sufficiently explained in Castell-Michaelis's Lexicon, have been collected in a 'Glossary,' on the plan of that in Wright's *Katilah and Dimnah*. The Index will probably be useful to the English reader.

My thanks are due to Mr. E. B. Nicholson and Dr. A. Neubauer of the Bodleian Library, to the authorities of the Royal Library at Munich, and to the late W. S. W. Vaux, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, for the loan of the MSS. of 'the Bee' preserved in their respective collections. Professor Wright has edited the extracts from the Arabic versions of 'the Bee,' and read a proof of each sheet of the whole book from first to last, besides giving me much general help and guidance in the course of my work. I dedicate this book to him as a mark of gratitude for a series of kindnesses shewn to me during the past nine years.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

LONDON,
October 23, 1886.

GLOSSARY

OF WORDS NOT GIVEN, OR NOT SUFFICIENTLY EXPLAINED, IN THE
LEXICON OF CASTELL-MICHAELIS.

لَوْهٌ فَوْهٌ, pl. لَوْهٌ تَوْهٌ, *tool, implement*,
p. 1. 6; ص. 3; 9, 11.

لَوْهٌ فَوْهٌ like an instrument,
p. 50. 7.

لَوْهٌ self-existent, uncreated being, pl.
لَوْهٌ, p. 1. 1. Root لَوْهٌ or لَوْهٌ.

لَوْهٌ art, pl. لَوْهٌ, p. 13.

لَوْهٌ carrot, p. 4.

لَوْهٌ executioner, p. 3.

لَوْهٌ basket, pl. لَوْهٌ, p. 6.

لَوْهٌ stater, a coin, pl. لَوْهٌ, p. 8,
note 6.

لَوْهٌ = ضعف, whence لَوْهٌ, *the double
of anything*, لَوْهٌ. Hence لَوْهٌ double,
p. 11.

لَوْهٌ balsam, p. 13. 8. See Lagarde,
Gesammelte Abhandlungen, p. 17, no.
30; Löw, *Aramäische Pflanznamen*,
p. 73, no. 53. Hoffmann's BA.
1259 has لَوْهٌ, the India Office
lex. لَوْهٌ.

لَوْهٌ = لَوْهٌ nausea, p. 6 and
note 4. It is explained in the text by
لَوْهٌ indigestion.

لَوْهٌ akμή, لَوْهٌ my extreme
old age, p. 20; pl. لَوْهٌ states, con-
ditions, p. 11; لَوْهٌ 18.

لَوْهٌ, p. 15, is explained in the

lex. by لَوْهٌ الشَّمشَار, *boxwood*, and
لَوْهٌ السَّاج, *wak*. See Löw, *Aram.
Pflzn.*, p. 63, no. 37.

لَوْهٌ the aether, p. 1; whence لَوْهٌ
aetherial, p. 3.

لَوْهٌ — لَوْهٌ, var. لَوْهٌ, *mock-
ingly, derisively*, p. 1; ص. 21.

لَوْهٌ balsam, p. 9 and
note 7. See لَوْهٌ.

لَوْهٌ gnat, p. 6.

لَوْهٌ — لَوْهٌ the being created, crea-
tion, p. 10; 8; 6; 1, 10;
ص. 20; 3, 10.

لَوْهٌ, p. 13. On this word see
Hoffmann's BA. 2731, where it is
explained to mean 'the parts that
project from a building or structure,'
لَوْهٌ لَوْهٌ. The India Office lex. has merely
لَوْهٌ fricze, cornice, battlements.
In BA. the Greek equivalent is said
to be τανός.

لَوْهٌ pit, ditch, pl. لَوْهٌ, p. 1.

لَوْهٌ carrot, p. 5. See Löw, *Aram.
Pflzn.*, p. 86, no. 64.

لَوْهٌ — لَوْهٌ, p. 17,
note 17.

- ٤٢.—Ethpa“al ٤٢ be turned into dust,
 p. ٤٢. 22.
 ٤٣ ink. Hence ٤٣ belonging to
 ink, inky, p. ٤٣. 6.
 ٤٤ likeness, figure, form, kind,
 pl. ٤٤, p. ٤٤. 19.
 ٤٥ branch, p. ٤٥. 11.
 ٤٦ — ٤٦ motion, pl.
 ٤٦, p. ٤٦. 3.
 ٤٧ the being vanquished,
 defeat, p. ٤٧. 20.
 ٤٨ scantily, sparingly,
 p. ٤٨. 13.
 ٤٩ seed, posterity, pl. ٤٩,
 p. ٤٩. 19; ٤٩. 14.
 ٥٠ staff, as fem., p. ٥٠,
 note 16; ٥٠. 2.
 ٥١ in the sense of ٥١
 vicar, deputy, p. ٥١, note 11.
 ٥٢ mixture for embalming,
 p. ٥٢. 17.
 ٥٣ the making one blush,
 pulling one to shame, p. ٥٣. 9.
 ٥٤ mentally, spiritually,
 p. ٥٤. 4.
 ٥٥ is fem. in Cod. B, p. ٥٥. 9, 11, 17.
 ٥٦ as genit. governed by a subst.,
 ٥٦ his own making or
 framing, p. ٥٦. 15.
 ٥٧ humours, p. ٥٧. 8, = ٥٧ χυμολ.
 ٥٨ seems to mean the hollow
 of the hand, p. ٥٨. 13; ٥٨. 20.
 ٥٩ coriander-seed, p. ٥٩. 7; ٥٩. 3.
 See Lagarde, *Gesamm. Abhandl.*,
 p. 57, no. 145; Löw, *Aram. Pflzn.*,
 p. 209, no. 155.
 ٦٠ gloves, p. ٦٠. 9.
 ٦١ the guardian
 angel, p. ٦١. 10.
 ٦٢ exhorter, encourager,
 p. ٦٢. 21.
 ٦٣ with assimilation,
 p. ٦٣. 4, 11.
 ٦٤ material = ٦٤, p. ٦٤. 3, 5;
 pl. ٦٤ = ٦٤, p. ٦٤. 16, 17.
 ٦٥ water-spout or shoot, water-pipe,
 p. ٦٥. 17, Ar. ٦٥.
 ٦٦ to be beaten or chas-
 tised, p. ٦٦. 1.
 ٦٧ descent, coming on, p. ٦٧. 22.
 ٦٨ (so read), what will
 just preserve life, p. ٦٨. 21, *ما يُعَمِّكُ*
 BA, India Office lex.
 ٦٩ Pa“êl ٦٩ intens., p. ٦٩, note 15,
 line 7.
 ٧٠ to whom testimony is borne,
 noted or famous for, p. ٧٠. 8.
 ٧١ so as to be unbounded
 or unlimited, p. ٧١. 11.
 ٧٢ subtle, pellucid, transpa-
 rent, p. ٧٢. 14.
 ٧٣ that can swim, living in the
 water, p. ٧٣. 19; ٧٣. 2; ٧٣. 7.
 ٧٤, for ٧٤, laying on of hands,
 consecration, p. ٧٤. 14, 15, 17, etc.
 ٧٥ left-handedness, p. 19, note 1.

- مصدد**.—**مصدد** (in the MS. **مصصدد**) *voluntary poverty, austerity, asceticism*, p. 83. 3.
مصدد rattles, p. 29, note 5.
مصدا.—Ethpa^{al} **مصدا** to cover or clothe oneself with, p. 83. 2.
مصدا memorial, record, pl. **مصدا**, p. 15; **مصدا**. 16.
مصدا swaddling-cloth, p. 13, note 15, ll. 3, 4, 5; pl. **مصدا**, p. 10; **مصدا**. 2; **مصدا**. 12, 15; **مصدا**. 12.
مصدا clothed in, with acc., p. 14; **مصدا**. 5; **مصدا**. 13.
مصدا half asleep and half awake, p. 9, 10. India Office lex., **مصدا**; **مصدا** بَيْنَ النَّائِمِ وَالْمُسْتَقِظِ **مصدا**; **مصدا** بَيْنَ النَّائِمِ وَالْيَقْظَانَ.
مصدا when opportunity offered, p. 4.
مصدا storm, whirlwind, p. 2.
مصدا.—Ethpa^{al} **مصدا** be doubled, p. 3.
مصدا.—Ethpa^{al} **مصدا** be turned into dust, p. 22.
مصدا constraint, compulsion, p. 20.
مصدا be security or surety for, with the accus. of the person, p. 13. 3.
مصدا.—Afêl **مصدا** make to flee, put to flight, p. 15; **مصدا**. 1.
مصدا boxwood or teak, p. 15. India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, **مصدا** شَمَارِ سَاجِ **مصدا** هِمْصَدَا سِجِ **مصدا** سَاجِ شَمَارِ **مصدا**.
مصدا.—Ethpe^{el} **مصدا** be charged with (ع), p. 19. 9.
مصدا crush, batter, p. 19; **مصدا**. 2 Ar. فَدَّعَ. India Office lex., Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 283 a, col. 2, and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 134 b, col. 2, **مصدا** فَدَّعَ شَجَّ.
مصدا middle-aged, in the prime of life, p. 7.
مصدا.—**مصدا** God-fearing, pious, p. 15.
مصدا imagination, fancy, vain show, p. 6, 10.
مصدا.—Ethpe^{el} **مصدا** be gladdened, p. 17. The India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 20 b, margin, give **مصدا**.
مصدا.—Ethpa^{al} **مصدا** be maddened, p. 4.
مصدا or **مصدا** brightness, splendour, p. 2.
مصدا gardener, p. 8. Formed with the Persian termination **مصدا** بان keeping, guarding.
مصدا.—Ethpe^{el} **مصدا** in the sense of be cleft, burst, p. 3, note 3. Compare Ar. **مصدا**.
مصدا fruit and offspring, p. 1. India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 142 a, col. 1, **مصدا** التَّنَاسُلُ نُمُوُ الْوَالِدِ.
مصدا, pl. **مصدا** Acts, p. 2.
مصدا by God's providence, p. 1.

- door-posts, p. 8. Not *prosraides*, but *parasraides*. Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 141 b, col. 2.
- Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 307 b, col. 2.
- Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 307 a, col. 1.
- Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 307 a, col. 1.
- p. 9.
- Ethpe'el.
- p. 4.
- p. 8.
- the being fashioned or made, p. 13.
- the being strained, purity, p. 8; 2.
- Ethpe'el.
- p. 12.
- cymbals, Ar. *صُنُوج*, p. 29, note 5. This word occurs in Cod. B, fol. 12 a, col. 2, as a gloss on *صُنُوج*.
- venture, dare, p. 20.
- Ethpe'el.
- afflicted, p. 8; 17; 9. See Hoffmann's BA, no. 1364.
- at a distance, *בְּרָחָק*, p. 15.
- leak, p. 3.
- cat, pl. *فِطَّة*, p. 19.

- constraint, compulsion, p. 20.
- or, according to MS. B, the name of a root like a carrot, p. 5.
- contracted with pain, p. 4. Compare BA, *التَشْنِج* and *التَّعَس*.
- afraid of, p. 21.
- p. 4; 12; according to BA, the bench in front of the altar.
- التَّمْطَبَةِ التي تكون قُدَّامَ المَذْبَحِ.
- rear itself up, rise up, p. 19.
- Pa'el.
- cover with pitch, p. 16. From *القَفْر*.
- cold, p. 22; 2.
- working in iron, trade of a smith, p. 6; 9, 12. Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 346 b, col. 1.
- the being worked in iron, the being worked in iron, the being worked in iron.
- crocodile, p. 5. Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 332 b, col. 2.
- p. 17. India Office lex. and Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 351 b, col. 1.
- p. 10.
- be deposed, p. 10.
- quadrupeds, p. 6; 14.

- فُجِرَ *provoking, inciting to anger*, p. 12. **فُجِرَ**. 12.
- فُجِرَ *by the senses or perceptions*, p. 5. **فُجِرَ**. 5.
- فُجِرَ *persecutions*, pl. **فُجِرَات**, p. 1. **فُجِرَ**. 1.
- فُجِرَ** *pus, matter*, p. 19. BA, **فُجِرَ**. 19.
- فُجِرَ** *spirituality*, p. 4. **فُجِرَ**. 4.
- فُجِرَ** *sweet-scented*, p. 12. **فُجِرَ**. 12.
- فُجِرَ** *murmur against, be angry with* (**فُجِرَ**), p. 18. **فُجِرَ**. 18.
- فُجِرَ** *breed worms, be eaten by worms*, p. 19. **فُجِرَ**. 19.
- فُجِرَ** *to lose one's wife*, p. 7. **فُجِرَ**. 7.
- فُجِرَ** and, according to C, **فُجِرَ** *shallows, shoal*, p. 14. BA, **فُجِرَ**. 14.
- فُجِرَ** *قَصَائِحِ الْمَاءِ وَمَخَاضِهِ*.
- فُجِرَ** *mourner*, p. 1. **فُجِرَ**. 1.
- فُجِرَ** *rag*, pl. **فُجِرَات**, p. 10. **فُجِرَ**. 10.
- فُجِرَ** *one who finds fault or rebukes*, p. 16. **فُجِرَ**. 16.
- فُجِرَ** *creeping, reptile*, p. 5. **فُجِرَ**. 5.
- فُجِرَ** *questioningly, interrogatively*, p. 1. **فُجِرَ**. 1.
- فُجِرَ** *flatter, wheedle*, p. 2, note 2, in Cod. C. **فُجِرَ**. 2.
- فُجِرَ** *wander, swerve*, p. 2. **فُجِرَ**. 2.
- فُجِرَ** *in vain, to no purpose*, p. 15. **فُجِرَ**. 15.
- فُجِرَ** *vain, bootless work*, p. 23. **فُجِرَ**. 23.
- فُجِرَ** *flatter, wheedle*, p. 1, in Cod. A. **فُجِرَ**. 1.
- فُجِرَ** *complexion*, p. 19. **فُجِرَ**. 19.
- فُجِرَ** *مهمل؟ فُجِرَ؟ حَقٌّ*. — **فُجِرَ**. 11.
- فُجِرَ** *roof, ceiling*, p. 7, like **فُجِرَ** in Arabic. **فُجِرَ**. 7.
- فُجِرَ** *rattles*, p. 29, note 5. This word occurs in Cod. B, fol. 12 a, col. 2, as a gloss upon **فُجِرَ**.
- فُجِرَ** *to make to march*, p. 17. **فُجِرَ**. 17.
- فُجِرَ** *trifling matter, trifle*, p. 10, note 10; **فُجِرَ**. 4.
- فُجِرَ** *to make to halt*, p. 17. **فُجِرَ**. 17.
- فُجِرَ** *θεόφοροι, inspired*, p. 2. Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 192 a, col. 1, **فُجِرَ**. 2.
- فُجِرَ** *حَقَّقَهُ لِأَجْلِ الْمُتَسَرِّبِينَ*.
- فُجِرَ** *كَوَفَّ اللَّهُ الْمُتَدَرِّعِينَ بِاللَّهِ*.
- فُجِرَ** *dung*, p. 21. **فُجِرَ**. 21.
- فُجِرَ** *sordid, filthy*, p. 13. **فُجِرَ**. 13.
- فُجِرَ** *urgency, compulsion*, p. 11. **فُجِرَ**. 11.
- فُجِرَ** *weariness, fatigue*, p. 15; **فُجِرَ**. 1.
- فُجِرَ** *the number twelve*, p. 10. **فُجِرَ**. 10.

CORRECTIONS.

- Page ٤٠, line 17. Read **هنا؟**
- ” ٤٠, ” 5. ” **هنا مع صلاه؟**
- ” ٤٠, ” 7. ” **هنا وحده.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 5. Read with B C **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 4. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 2. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 13. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 7. Put a point after **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 16. Delete the point after **هنا**, and put one after **هنا**.
- ” ٤٠, ” 5. Put a point after **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 4. C omits **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 5. C has **هنا** instead of **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 10. Read **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 16. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, last line. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, line 7. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 12. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 14. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 3. Delete the point after **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 12. Insert a point after **هنا**, and delete that after **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 18. Read **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, last line. ” **هنا؟**
- ” ٤٠, line 19. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 1. ” **هنا؟**
- ” ٤٠, ll. 15, 16. Put a point after **هنا**, and delete that after **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, line 1. Read **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 2. Put a point after **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 3. Read **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 11. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 12. ” **هنا.**
- ” ٤٠, ” 6. Read **هنا؟**
- ” ٤٠, ” 17. Read **هنا**, and put a point after **هنا.**

THE BOOK OF THE BEE.

TRUSTING in the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write this book of gleanings called 'The Bee,' which was composed by the saint of God, Mâr Solomon, metropolitan of Pêrath-Maishân¹, that is Bassorah (al-Başrah), one of His companions. O Lord, in Thy mercy help me. Amen.

FIRST, THE APOLOGY.

'The children ought not to lay up treasures for the parents, but the parents for the spiritual children,' saith the blessed Paul²; therefore we are bound to repay thee the debt of love, O beloved brother and staff of our old age, saint of God, Mâr Narses³, bishop of Khônî-Shâbôr Bêth-Wâziḳ⁴. We remember thy solicitude for us, and thy zeal for our service, which thou didst fulfil with fervent love and Christ-like humility. And when we had loving meetings with each other from time to time, thou wert wont to ask questions and to make enquiries about the various things which God hath wrought in His dispensation in this material world, and also as to the things that He is about to do in the world of light. But since we were afflicted with the Mosaic defect of hesitancy of speech [ḳ], we were unable to inform thee fully concerning the profit-

¹ See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, vol. ii. 1212.

² 2 Cor. xii. 14.

³ See Le Quien, *Or. Christ.*, vol. ii. 1188.

⁴ Khônî-Shâbôr, or Bêth-Wâziḳ, was a town on the little Zâb, close to its junction with the Tigris, in the diocese of Tîrhân. Bêth-Wâziḳ is also written Bêth-Wâziḡ, and has been altered by the Arabs into *al-Bawâziḡ* or *al-Bawâziḡ*, بواب. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pp. 189 and 296. It has, of course, nothing whatever to do with Gundê-Shâbôr, or *Jundai-Shâbûr*, with which it has sometimes been confounded.

able matters about which, as was right, thou didst enquire ; and for this reason we were prevented from profitable discourse upon the holy Books. Since, then, God has willed and ruled our separation from each other, and the sign of old age, which is the messenger of death, hath appeared in us, and we have grown old and come into years, it has seemed good to us, with the reed for a tongue and with ink for lips, to inform thee briefly concerning God's dispensation in the two worlds. And, behold, we have gleaned and collected and gathered together chapters and sections relating to this whole universe from the garden of the divine Books and from the crumbs of the Fathers and the Doctors, having laid down as the foundation of our building the beginning of the creation of this world, and concluding with the consummation of the world to come. We have called this book the 'Book of the Bee,' because we have gathered of the blossoms of the two Testaments and of the flowers of the holy Books, and have placed them therein for thy benefit. As the common bee with gauzy wings flies about, and flutters over and lights upon flowers of various colours, and upon blossoms of divers odours, selecting and gathering from all of them the materials which are useful for the construction of her handiwork ; and having first of all collected the materials from the flowers, carries them upon her thighs, and bringing them to her dwelling, lays a foundation for her building with a base of wax ; then gathering in her mouth some of the heavenly dew which is upon the blossoms of spring, brings it and blows it into these cells ; and weaves the comb and honey for the use of men and her own nourishment : [∞] in like manner have we, the infirm, hewn the stones of corporeal words from the rocks of the Scriptures which are in the Old Testament, and have laid them down as a foundation for the edifice of the spiritual law. And as the bee carries the waxen substance upon her thighs because of its insipidity and tastelessness, and brings the honey in her mouth because of its sweetness and value ; so also have we laid down the corporeal law by way of substratum and foundation, and the spiritual law for a roof and ceiling to the edifice of the spiritual tower. And as the expert gardener and orchard-keeper goes round among the gardens, and seeking out the finest sorts of fruits takes from them slips and shoots, and plants them in his own field ; so also have we gone into the garden of the divine Books, and have culled therefrom

- XII. Of the creation of beasts and animals.
- XIII. Of the formation of Adam. [1]
- XIV. Of the making of Eve.
- XV. Of Paradise.
- XVI. Of the sin of Adam.
- XVII. Of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise.
- XXVIII. Of Adam's knowing Eve.
- XIX. Of the invention of the instruments for working in iron.
- XX. Of Noah and the Flood.
- XXI. Of Melchizedek.
- XXII. Of the generations of Noah, how seventy-two families sprang from three sons.
- XXIII. Of the succession of generations from the Flood until now.
- XXIV. Of the building of the Tower.
- XXV. Of Abraham.
- XXVI. Of the temptation of Job.
- XXVII. Of Isaac's blessing upon Jacob.
- XXVIII. Of Joseph.
- XXIX. Of Moses and the Children of Israel.
- XXX. Of Moses' rod.
- XXXI. Of Joshua the son of Nun, and the Judges, and brief notices of the Kings of the Children of Israel.
- XXXII. Of the death of the Prophets; how they died, and (where) they were buried.
- XXXIII. Of the divine dispensation which was wrought in the New Testament, and of the genealogy of Christ. [22]
- XXXIV. Of the announcement of the angel to Jonachir (Joachim) in respect of Mary.
- XXXV. Of the annunciation of Gabriel to Mary in respect of her conception of our Lord.
- XXXVI. Of our Lord's birth in the flesh.
- XXXVII. Of the prophecy of Zarâdôsht, that is Baruch the scribe.
- XXXVIII. Of the star which appeared in the East on the day of our Lord's birth.
- XXXIX. Of the coming of the Magi from Persia, and the slaughter of the infants.

- XL. Of the going down of our Lord into Egypt.
- XLI. Of John the Baptist and his baptism of our Lord.
- XLII. Of our Lord's fast and His contest with Satan.
- XLIII. Of the passover of our Lord.
- XLIV. Of the passion of our Lord.
- XLV. Of the resurrection of our Lord.
- XLVI. Of the ascension of our Lord.
- XLVII. Of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles in the upper chamber.
- XLVIII. Of the teaching of the Apostles, their deaths, and the place where each of them (was buried).
- XLIX. The names of the twelve Apostles and the seventy (Disciples), one after another in (his) grade.
- L. Of minor matters; those of the Apostles who were married, etc.
- LI. The names of the Eastern Patriarchs, and the places where they were buried¹. [A]
- LII. The names of the kings who have reigned in the world from the Flood to the present time, and the (number of the) years of the reign of each of them. The names of the kings of the Medes and the Egyptians; the names of the seventy old men who brought out the Scriptures and translated them; the names of the Roman emperors, and of the kings of Persia.
- LIII. Of the end of times and the change of kingdoms. From the book of Methodius, the bishop of Rome.
- LIV. Of Gog and Magog, who are imprisoned in the North.
- LV. Of the coming of Antichrist, the son of perdition.
- LVI. Of death and the departure of the soul from the body.
- LVII. Of the rising of the dead and the general resurrection, the end of the material world, and the beginning of the new world.
- LVIII. Of the manner in which men will rise in the day of the resurrection.

¹ C reads: *The names of the Eastern Catholics, the successors of the Apostles.*

ignorance and from good to evil. Hence, when Divine Providence wished to create the world, the framing of Adam was first designed and conceived in the mind of God, and then that of the (other) creatures; as David saith, 'Before the mountains were conceived.' Consequently, Adam is older than the (other) creatures in respect of his conception, and the (other) creatures are older than Adam in respect of their birth [כ] and their being made. And whereas God created all creatures in silence and by a word, He brought forth Adam out of His thoughts, and formed him with His holy hands, and breathed the breath of life into him from His Spirit, and Adam became a living soul¹, and God gave him the knowledge of the difference between good and evil. When he perceived his Creator, then was God formed and conceived within the mind of man; and man became a temple to God his maker, as it is written, 'Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you²?' And again, 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them³.'

CHAPTER II⁴.OF THE CREATION OF THE SEVEN NATURES (SUBSTANCES)
IN SILENCE.

WHEN God in His mercy wished to make known all His power and His wisdom, in the beginning, on the evening of the first day, which is Sunday, He created seven natures (substances) in silence, without voice. And because there was as yet none to hear a sound, He did well to create them in silence, that He might not make anything uselessly; but He willed, and heaven, earth, water, air, fire, and the angels and darkness, came into being from nothing.

CHAPTER III⁵.

OF EARTH, WATER, AIR, AND FIRE.

THE earth was *tôh wê-bôh*⁶, that is to say, it was unarranged and unadorned, but plunged in the midst of the waters. The waters were


¹ Gen. ii. 7. ² 1 Cor. iii. 16. ³ 2 Cor. vi. 16; Ex. xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 12.

⁴ Chap. iii in the Oxford MS. ⁵ Chap. iv in the Oxford MS.

⁶ In Hebrew תהו ובהו, Gen. i. 2, a chaotic waste.

name of the Lord¹ refers to the holy angels and to our Lord's humanity; but neither the Church nor the orthodox teachers accept this.

CHAPTER V².OF THE ANGELS³.

THE Angels consist of nine classes and three orders, [] upper, middle and lower. The upper order is composed of Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones: these are called 'priests' (*kumré*), and 'chief priests,' and 'bearers of God's throne.' The middle order is composed of Lords, Powers and Rulers⁴: these are called 'priests' (*káhné*), because they receive revelations from those above them. The lower order consists of Principalities, Archangels and Angels: and these are the ministers who wait upon created things. The Cherubim are an intellectual motion⁵ which bears the throne of the holy Trinity, and is the chief of all motions; they are ever watchful of the classes of themselves and those beneath them. As concerning the epithet 'full of eyes⁶,' which is applied to them, the eyes indicate the mystery of the revelations of the Trinity. Their head, and the foremost and highest among them, is Gabriel, who is the mediator between God and His creation. The Seraphim are a fiery motion, which warms those below it with the fire of the divine love. The six wings which each of them is said to possess⁷ indicate the revelations which they receive from the Creator and transmit to mankind. The Thrones are a fixed motion, which is not shaken by the trials which come upon it. The Lords are a motion which is entrusted with the government of the motions beneath it; and it is that which prevents the demons from injuring created things. The Powers are a mighty motion, the minister of the will of the Lord; and

¹ Ps. cxlviii. 4.

² Chap. vi in the Oxford MS.

³ 'Dionysium Areopagitam sequitur Bassorensis in hac materia. Sufficit nomen tantum Hierarchiae coelestis dixisse.' Schoenfelder, note 28, p. 10.

⁴ Colossians i. 16, 'thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers.'

⁵ 'Motion' or 'movement,' *Zau'd*. 'Angelus est substantia intellectualis semper mobilis.' Schoenfelder, note 29, p. 10.

⁶ Rev. iv. 6, 8; Ezek. i. 18.

⁷ Isaiah vi. 2.

it is that which gives victory to some rulers in battle and defeat to others. The Rulers are a motion which has power over the spiritual treasures, to distribute them to its companions according to the will of the Creator. This class of angels governs the luminaries, the sun, moon, and stars. [3.] The Principalities are a defined motion which possesses the direction of the upper ether, of rain, clouds, lightning, thunder, whirlwinds, tempests, winds, and other ethereal disturbances. The Archangels are a swift operative motion, into whose hands is entrusted the government of the wild beasts, cattle, winged fowl, reptiles, and everything that hath life, from the gnat to the elephant, except man. The Angels are a motion which has spiritual knowledge of everything that is on earth and in heaven. With each and every one of us is an angel of this group—called the guardian angel—who directs man from his conception until the general resurrection. The number of each one of these classes of angels is equal to the number of all mankind from Adam to the resurrection. Hence it is handed down that the number of people who are going to enter the world is equal to the number of all the heavenly hosts; but some say that the number is equal to that of one of the classes only, that they may fill the place of those of them who have fallen through transgressing the law; because the demons fell from three classes (of angels), from each class a third part. If then it is an acknowledged fact that there are three orders of angels, and in each order there are three classes, and in every class a number equivalent to that of all mankind, what is the total number of the angels? Some say that when the angels were created, and were arranged in six divisions—Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones, Principalities, [4.] Archangels, and Angels—the three lower divisions reflected (saying), ‘What is the reason that these are set above, and we below? for they have not previously done anything more than we, neither do we fall short of them.’ On account of this reflection as a cause, according to the custom of the (divine) government, Justice took from both sides, and established three other middle classes of angels—Lords, Powers, and Rulers—that the upper might not be (unduly) exalted, nor the lower think themselves wronged. As for the dwelling-place of the angels, some say that above the firmament there are waters, and above them another heaven in the form of infinite light, and that this is the home of the angels. Here

too is God without limit, and the angels, invisible to bodily eyes, surround the throne of His majesty, where they minister to 'the tabernacle not made with hands¹.' Others say that, from the beginning, when God created the angels, until the second day, in which the firmament was made, all the classes of angels dwelt in the upper heavens; but when the firmament was made, they all came down below it, with the exception of three classes—the Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones²—who remained above it. These surrounded and supported the Shechinah of God from the beginning of the world until our Lord ascended unto heaven; and after the Ascension, behold, they surround and support the throne of the Christ God, who is over all, until the end of the world. The Expositor³ and his companions say: 'The tabernacle which Moses made is a type of [α] the whole world.' The outer tabernacle is the likeness of this world, but the inner tabernacle is the similitude of the place that is⁴ above the firmament. And as the priests ministered in the outer tabernacle daily, while the high priest alone entered into the inner tabernacle once a year; so of all rational beings, angels and men, no one has entered (the place) above the firmament, save the High Priest of our confession, Jesus Christ⁵. The fathers, when they have been deemed worthy at any time to see our Lord in a revelation, have seen Him in heaven, surrounded by the Cherubim and Seraphim. Hence some say that there are angels above the heavens. All these celestial hosts have revelations both of sight and of hearing; but the Cherubim have revelations by sight only, because there is no mediator between them and God. The angels have an intellect superior to that of the rest of rational beings; man has stronger desire, and the demons a greater degree of anger.

¹ Heb. ix. 11.

² According to the 'Cave of Treasures,' these were created on the first day. See Bezold's translation, p. 1, and Brit. Mus. Add. 25,175, fol. 1 b, col. 1.

³ Or Commentator, that is Theodore of Mopsuestia. See Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, iii. i. 30.

⁴ Schoenfelder, *similitudinem aetheris, qui* etc.

⁵ Heb. ix. 7.

CHAPTER VI¹.

OF DARKNESS.

DARKNESS is a self-existent nature ; and if it had not had a nature, it would not have been reckoned among the seven natures which were created in the beginning in silence. Others say that darkness is not a self-existent nature, but that it is the shadow of bodies.

CHAPTER VII².

OF EFFUSED (CIRCUMAMBIENT) LIGHT.

WHEN the holy angels were created on the evening of the first day, without voice, they understood not their creation, but thought within themselves [v.] that they were self-existent beings and not made. On the morning of the first day God said in an audible and commanding voice, 'Let there be light³,' and immediately the effused light was created. When the angels saw the creation of light, they knew of a certainty that He who had made light had created them. And they shouted with a loud voice, and praised Him, and marvelled at His creation of light, as the blessed teacher⁴ saith, 'When the Creator made that light, the angels marvelled thereat,' etc.; and as it is said in Job, 'When I created the morning star, all my angels praised me⁵.' Now by nature light has no warmth.

CHAPTER VIII⁶.

OF THE FIRMAMENT.

ON the evening of the second day of the week, God willed to divide the heavens from the earth, that there might be luminaries and stars beneath the heavens to give light to this world, and that the heavens might be a dwelling-place for the righteous and the angels after the

¹ Chap. vii in the Oxford MS.

² Chap. viii in the Oxford MS.

³ Gen. i. 3.

⁴ Meaning, probably, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

⁵ Solomon seems to refer to Job, chap. xxxviii. 7.

⁶ Chap. ix in the Oxford MS.

resurrection. God said, 'Let there be a firmament which shall divide the waters from the waters¹'; and straightway the waters were divided into three parts. One part remained upon the earth for the use of men, cattle, winged fowl—the rivers and the seas; of another part God made the firmament; and the third part He took up above the firmament. But on the day of resurrection the waters will return to their former nature.

CHAPTER IX².OF THE CREATION OF TREES AND PLANTS, AND THE MAKING
OF SEAS AND RIVERS.

ON the third day God commanded that the waters should be gathered together [مجمع] into the pits and depths of the earth, and that the dry land should appear³. When the waters were gathered together into the depths of the earth, and the mountains and hills had appeared, God placed the sand as a limit for the waters of the seas⁴, that they might not pass over and cover the earth. And God commanded the earth to put forth herbage and grass and every green thing⁵; and the earth brought forth trees and herbs and plants of all kinds, complete and perfect in respect of flowers and fruit and seed, each according to its kind. Some say that before the transgression of the command, the earth brought forth neither thorns nor briars, and that even the rose had no thorns as it has now; but that after the transgression of the command, the earth put forth thorns and briars by reason of the curse which it had received. The reason why God created the trees and plants before the creation of the luminaries was that the philosophers, who discourse on natural phenomena, might not imagine that the earth brought forth herbs and trees through the power of the heat of the sun. Concerning the making of Paradise, it is not mentioned in the Pentateuch on what day it was created; but according to the opinion of those who may be relied upon, it was made on the same day in which the trees were made⁶: and if the Lord will, we will speak about it in its proper place.

¹ Gen. i. 6.² Chap. x in the Oxford MS.³ Gen. i. 9.⁴ Comp. Jer. v. 22.⁵ Gen. i. 12.⁶ According to Rabbi Eliezer, chap. iii (Horowitz, אנרות אנרות, part i, Leipzig, 1881), Paradise was one of the seven things created before the world.

CHAPTER X¹.OF THE MAKING OF THE LUMINARIES².

ON the fourth day God made the luminaries—sun, moon, and stars—of three substances, air, light, and fire. He took aerial material and prepared vessels like lamps, and mixed fire with light, and filled them. And because in the nature of fire there was no light, nor heat in that of light, [A] the fire imparted heat to the light, and the light gave luminosity to the fire; and from these two were the luminaries—sun, moon, and stars—fabricated. Some say that the luminaries were made in the morning, that the sun was placed in the east, and the moon in the west; while others say that they were made in the evening, and that the sun was placed in the west, and the moon in the east; and therefore the Jews celebrate the fourteenth³ in the evening. Others say that all the luminaries when they were created were placed in the east; the sun completed his course by day, while the moon waited until eventide, and then began her course. The path of the luminaries is beneath the firmament, and they are not fixed as men have foolishly stated, but the angels guide them. Mâr Isaac says, ‘The sun performs his course from the east to the west, and goes behind the lofty northern mountains the whole night until he rises in the east.’ And the philosophers say that during the night the luminaries perform their course under the earth.

CHAPTER XI⁴.OF THE CREATION OF SEA-MONSTERS, FISH, WINGED FOWL,
AND THE REPTILES THAT ARE IN THE SEAS.

ON the fifth day of the week God made from the waters mighty sea-monsters⁵, fish, winged fowl, swimming beasts, and the reptiles that are in the seas. He created the winged fowl that are in the waters from the waters; for, like fish, they lay eggs and swim. Now, fish swim [B] in the waters, and winged fowl in the air; but some of the latter

¹ Chap. xi in the Oxford MS.² Gen. i. 14.³ See Exod. xii. 18.⁴ Chap. xii in the Oxford MS.⁵ Gen. i. 21.

in the waters also. Although they say that swimming creatures were made from the waters, or that the other wild beasts and cattle were made from the earth; still they consist of parts of all the other elements. Those, however, that are of the waters, have the greater part of their composition made of water; while the greater part of those whose origin is earth, consists of earth: but none of them lack the four elements.

CHAPTER XII¹.

OF THE CREATION OF BEASTS AND ANIMALS.

ON Friday eve God created them², and therefore animals can see at night as well as in the day time. Others say that they were all created in the morning, and that God created Adam after them on the sixth day, which is Friday.

CHAPTER XIII³.

OF THE FORMATION OF ADAM.

ON the Friday, after the making of all created things, God said, 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness⁴.' The Jews have interpreted the expression 'Come, let us make,' as referring to the angels; though God (adored be His glory!) needs not help from His creatures: but the expositors of the Church indicate the Persons of the adorable Trinity. Some say that when God said 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness,' the angels by the eye of the Spirit saw the right hand (of God) spread out over the whole world, and there were in it parts of all the creatures both spiritual and corporeal. And God took from all these parts⁵, and fashioned Adam with His holy hands, [אֲדָמָה] and breathed into him the breath of life,

¹ Chap. xiii in the Oxford MS.

² Gen. i. 25.

³ Chap. xiv in the Oxford MS.

⁴ Gen. i. 26.

⁵ Compare Sanhedrîm, fol. 38, col. 1: רבי מאיר אומר אדם הראשון מכל העולם כולו הוצבר עפרו. Among other things, Jewish tradition says that the first Adam had two faces, on the one side male, and on the other female; that in height he reached from earth to heaven (Chagîgâh, p. 12, col. 1); and that he could stretch from one end of the world to the other (*Sépher Hasîdim*, No. 500).

and man became a living soul¹. Others say that God took earth from the four quarters of the world², and formed Adam outside Paradise;

¹ Gen. ii. 7.

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

* For מִן־הָאֲדָמָה .

+ Bezold corrects this into מִן־הָאֲדָמָה .

while others say that God fashioned him in the middle of the earth, on the spot where our Lord was crucified, and that there also was

when silence reigned over all the ranks of the (heavenly) hosts, God said, "Come, let us make man in our image after our likeness"—hereby making known concerning the glorious Persons (of the Trinity). When the angels heard these words they were in fear and trembling, saying one to another, "We shall see a great miracle to-day, the likeness of God our Maker." And they saw the right hand of God stretched out and extended over the whole world; and all created things were collected in the palm of His right hand. And they saw that He took a grain of dust from all the earth, a drop of water from the whole nature of water, a breath of wind from all the atmosphere above, and a little warmth from all the nature of fire. And the angels saw when these four feeble elements—that is, cold and heat and dryness and moisture—were laid in the palm of His right hand, and God formed Adam. For what reason did God make Adam out of these four elements, unless it were that through them everything in the world should be subject unto him? He took a grain of dust, that all natures which are of dust might be subject unto Adam; and a drop of water, that all those in the seas and rivers might be his; and a breath of air, that all kinds of birds of the air might be given unto him; and the heat of fire, that all the fiery beings and (heavenly) hosts might come to his aid. And God formed man with His holy hands, in His image and likeness. When the angels saw his glorious appearance, they trembled at the beauty of his appearance; for they saw the form of his face blazing with glorious beauty like the sphere of the sun, and the light of his eyes was like the sun, and the form of his body like the light of crystal. And when he stretched himself, and stood in the centre of the earth, he set his two feet on the spot where the cross of our Redeemer was placed: for Adam was created in Jerusalem, and there it was that he put on royal apparel, and the crown of glory was set upon his head; and there was he made king and priest and prophet, there did God set him upon the throne of His glory, and there He made him master over all creatures. And all beasts and cattle and fowl were gathered together, and they passed before Adam and he gave them names; and they bowed their heads to him, and all natures did homage to him and were subject unto him. And the angels and (heavenly) hosts heard the voice of God saying to him, "Adam, behold I have made thee king and priest and prophet and lord and chief and governor of all things made and created; to thee shall they be subject, and thine shall they be: and I have given thee power over everything that I have created." And when the angels heard these words, they all blessed and worshipped him.

not be trodden down and scorned in the eyes of her husband: but (He took her) from his left side¹, for the side is the place which unites and joins both front and back².—Concerning the sleep which God cast upon Adam, He made him to be half asleep and half awake, that he might not feel pain when the rib was taken from him, and look upon the woman as a hateful thing; and yet not without pain, that he might not think that she was not meet for him in matters of nature. When Adam came to himself, he prophesied and said, ‘This is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; this shall be called woman³’: and they were both clothed in light⁴, and saw not each other’s nakedness.

CHAPTER XV⁵.

OF PARADISE.

IN the eastern part of the earth, on the mountain of Eden, beyond the ocean, God planted Paradise, and adorned it with fruit-bearing trees of all kinds, that it might be a dwelling-place for Adam and his progeny, if they should keep His commandments. He made to spring forth from it a great river, which was parted into four heads⁶, to water Paradise and the whole earth. The first river is Pishôn, which compasseth the land of Ḥavilâ, where there is gold and beryls and fair and precious

¹ So also Bar Hebraeus in the *Auṣar Râzē*, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 32 a, col. 1: וְיָצָא מִן־צִדּוֹ הַיְמָנִי וְיָצָא מִן־צִדּוֹ הַשְּׂמֹאלִי וְיָצָא מִן־צִדּוֹ הַיְמָנִי וְיָצָא מִן־צִדּוֹ הַשְּׂמֹאלִי.

² According to Rabbi Joshua of Sichnîn (סיכנין), God did not form Eve from Adam’s head, that she might not carry her head proudly; nor from his eye, that she might not be curious; nor from his ear, that she might not be an eavesdropper; nor from his mouth, that she might not be gossiping; nor from his heart, that she might not be quarrelsome; nor from his hand, that she might not touch everything with her hand; nor from his feet, that she might not rove about. *Bērēshith Rabbāh* on Gen. ii. 22. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Ber. Rab.*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 78. On Sichnîn, see Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 204.

³ Gen. ii. 23.

⁴ וְהָיוּ עֵדִים לְאָדָם וְלִיְהוָה וְהָיוּ עֵדִים לְאָדָם וְלִיְהוָה. *Auṣar Râzē*, loc. cit.

⁵ Chap. xvi in the Oxford MS.

⁶ Gen. ii. 9-17.

stones. The second river is Gihôn, that is, the Nile [𐤎𐤊] of Egypt. The third river is Deklath (the Tigris), which travels through the land of Assyria and Bêth-Zabdai¹. The fourth river is Përath (the Euphrates), which flows through the middle of the earth. Some teachers say that Paradise surrounds the whole earth like a wall and a hedge beyond the ocean. Others say that it was placed upon the mount of Eden, higher than every other mountain in the world by fifteen cubits². Others say that it was placed between heaven and earth, below the firmament and above this earth, and that God placed it there as a boundary for Adam between heaven and earth, so that, if he kept His commands, He might lift him up to heaven, but if he transgressed them, He might cast him down to this earth. And as the land of heaven is better and more excellent than the land of Paradise, so was the land of Paradise better and more glorious and more excellent (than our earth); its trees were more beautiful, its flowers more odoriferous, and its atmosphere more pure than ours, through superiority of species and not by nature. God made Paradise large enough to be the dwelling-place of Adam and of his posterity, provided that they kept the divine commandments. Now it is the dwelling-place of the souls of the righteous, and its keepers are Enoch and Elijah; Elijah the unwedded, and Enoch the married man: that the unwedded may not exalt themselves above the married, as if, forsooth, Paradise were suitable for the unwedded only. The souls of sinners are without Paradise, in a deep place called Eden. After the resurrection, the souls of the righteous and the sinners will put on their bodies. The righteous will enter into heaven, which will become the land of the righteous; while the sinners will remain upon earth. The tree of good and evil that was in Paradise did not by nature possess these properties of good and evil like rational beings, but only [𐤎𐤊] through the deed which was wrought by its means; like the 'well of contention³,' and the 'heap

¹ Or Bâ-Zabdâ, a district on the western or right bank of the Tigris, adjacent to Jazîrat Ibn 'Omar.

² 𐤎𐤊 𐤎𐤊 𐤎𐤊 𐤎𐤊 𐤎𐤊 𐤎𐤊 𐤎𐤊 𐤎𐤊 𐤎𐤊 𐤎𐤊, Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 6 a, col. 1, and see Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 5.

³ Gen. xxvi. 20.

of witness¹, which did not possess these properties naturally, but only through the deeds which were wrought by their means. Adam and Eve were not stripped of the glory with which they were clothed, nor did they die the death of sin, because they desired and ate of the fruit of the fig-tree—for the fruit of the fig-tree was not better than the fruit of any other tree—but because of the transgression of the law, in that they were presumptuous and wished to become gods. On account of this foolish and wicked and blasphemous intention, chastisement and penalty overtook them.—Concerning the tree of life which was planted in the middle of Paradise, some have said that Paradise is the mind, that the tree of good and evil is the knowledge of material things, and that the tree of life is the knowledge of divine things, which were not profitable to the simple understanding of Adam². Others have said that the tree of life is the kingdom of heaven and the joy of the world to come; and others that the tree of life was a tree in very truth, which was set in the middle of Paradise, but no man has ever found out what its fruit or its flowers or its nature was like³.

CHAPTER XVI⁴.OF THE SIN OF ADAM⁵.

WHEN God in His goodness had made Adam, He laid down a law for him, and commanded him not to eat of the tree of good and evil, which is the fig-tree. After Eve was created, Adam told her the story of the tree; and Satan heard it, and by his envy it became the occasion and cause of their being made to sin, [אדם] and being expelled from Paradise, for it was by reason of him that Adam fell from the height

¹ Gen. xxxi. 47.

² חַיִּים אֲשֶׁר בְּמִן הַיָּם וְאֵלֶּיָּהּ מְבָרָכִים וְאֵלֶּיָּהּ מְבָרָכִים וְאֵלֶּיָּהּ מְבָרָכִים וְאֵלֶּיָּהּ מְבָרָכִים. 'The tree of Life pre-figured the Cross of the Saviour, and it was this that was fixed in the middle of the earth.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 5; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 6 b, col. 1.

³ The Rabbis thought that it was either the date-palm, the vine, the *ethrog* אֶתְרוֹג (Pers. *انترج*, Arab. *انترج* 'citron-tree'), or the fig-tree. Midrash Rabbah on Gen. ii. 9, 10; Wünsche, p. 69.

⁴ Chap. xvii in the Oxford MS.

⁵ Gen. iii. 6–24.

of his glory. Some say that Satan heard when God commanded Adam not to eat of that tree. Others say that God commanded Adam in his mind, mentally (and not by sense); others again say, by sense and openly. And Satan saw that the serpent was more subtle than all four-footed beasts¹; and he played in him, as it were with pipes, in the hearing of Eve, like an instrument, and said to her, 'Ye shall not die, as God hath said to you, but ye shall be gods like God, knowers of good and evil.' Then Eve saw that the appearance of the fig-tree was beautiful, and that its smell was delightful; and she desired to eat of it and to become a goddess. So she stretched out her hand, and plucked, and ate, and gave also to her husband, and he likewise did eat. And they were stripped of the fair glory and glorious light of purity wherewith they were clothed, when they saw not each other's nakedness. And

1 **וְהַחֹמֶת הָיָה סוֹרֵס וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם**
וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם
וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם
וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם
וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם
וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם
וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם
וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם
 'And he went and dwelt in the serpent, and carried him and made him fly through the air to the skirts of Paradise. Why did he enter into the serpent and hide himself (there)? Because he knew that his appearance was hideous, and that if Eve saw his form she would straightway flee from him. As one who teaches a bird* the Greek tongue, brings a large mirror and places it between himself and the bird, and then begins to speak to her; and the bird as soon as it hears his voice turns round, and seeing its own form in the mirror straightway rejoices, thinking that it is a companion speaking with her, and thus willingly inclines her ear and listens to the words of him that talks with her, and pays attention (to them) and learns to talk Greek; so also did Satan enter in and dwell in the serpent.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 6; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 6 b, col. 1.

* The bird that learns to talk is called 'parrot': **וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם**
וְהָיָה חָכָם וְהָיָה חָכָם. Gloss on the word **וְהָיָה חָכָם** in Add. 25,875, fol. 6 b, col. 1. Ar. **بَجَجَا**.

their eyes were opened, and they saw their nakedness; and they took leaves of the fig-tree, and covered their nakedness for shame, and hid themselves beneath thick trees. Then God called Adam and said to him, 'Where art thou, Adam?'—not that He did not know where he was, but [He asked] in a chiding manner—and Adam said, 'Lord, I heard Thy voice, and I hid myself because I am naked.' God said, 'Whence knowest thou that thou art naked? peradventure hast thou transgressed the law and command which I laid down for thee, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee not to eat?' Adam said, 'The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave to me, and I did eat.' And God questioned Eve [אם] in like manner; and Eve said, 'The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.' And God cursed the serpent, saying, 'Cursed art thou above all beasts upon the earth.' With the cursing of the serpent, who was the tool of Satan, Satan, who had instigated the serpent, was himself cursed; and immediately his legs were destroyed, and he crawled upon his belly, and instead of being an animal became a hissing reptile. And God set enmity between the serpent and man, saying, 'He shall smite the heel of man, but man shall crush his head, and the food of the serpent shall be dust.' God said to Eve, 'In pain shalt thou bring forth children;' and to Adam He said, 'Cursed is the ground for thy sake, and in toil and the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread; for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.' And the earth, by reason of the curse which it had received, straightway brought forth thorns and thistles. And God drove them out from Paradise at the ninth hour of the same day in which they were created.

CHAPTER XVII¹.

OF THE EXPULSION OF ADAM AND EVE FROM PARADISE.

AFTER God had expelled them from Paradise, like wicked servants driven forth from the inheritance of their master, and had cast them into exile, over the gate at the eastern side of Paradise He set a cherub with a sword and spear to frighten Adam from approaching Paradise. Some say that the cherub was one of the heavenly hosts, of the class of the

¹ Chap. xviii in the Oxford MS.

Cherubim; and others say that he did not belong to the spiritual powers, but was a terrible form endowed with a body. So also the spear point and the sword were made of fire extended [حدا] like a sharp sword, which went and came round about Paradise to terrify Adam and his wife. And God made for them garments of skin to cover their shame. Some say that they clothed themselves with the skins of animals, which they stripped off; but this is not credible, for all the beasts were created in couples, and Adam and Eve had as yet no knives to kill and flay them; hence it is clear that he means the bark of trees¹. Only the blessed Moses called the bark of trees 'skins,' because it fills the place of skins to trees. In the land of India there are trees whose bark is used for the clothing of kings and nobles and the wealthy, on account of its beauty. After God had expelled Adam and his wife from Paradise, He withheld from them the fruits of trees, and the use of bread and flesh and wine, and the anointing with oil; but they cooked grain and vegetables and the herbs of the earth, and did eat sparingly. Moreover, the four-footed beasts and fowl and reptiles rebelled against them, and some of them became enemies and adversaries unto them. They remained thus until Noah went forth from the ark, and then God allowed them to eat bread and to drink wine and to eat flesh, after they had slain the animal and poured out its blood. They say that when Adam and Eve were driven out of Paradise, Adam cut off a branch for a staff from the tree of good and evil; and it remained with him, and was handed down from generation to generation unto Moses and even to the Crucifixion of our Lord; and if the Lord will, we will relate its history in its proper place². [حد]

CHAPTER XVIII³.

OF ADAM'S KNOWING EVE.

WHEN Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, they were both virgins. After thirty years Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived

¹ These garments were softer than the linen and silk worn by kings: **وصحيم** و **صحيم** و **صحيم** و **صحيم**; Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 7 a, col. 2.

² See chap. xxx.

³ Chap. xix in the Oxford MS.

Cain's sister to Abel; but Cain desired his own sister more than Abel's¹. Both (i. e. Kĕlĕmath and Lĕbôdâ) were his sisters, but because of their birth at one time I have called them thus. Now Cain's sister was exceedingly beautiful. The two brothers made an offering to God because of this matter. Abel, because he was a shepherd, offered up of the fat firstlings of his flock in great love, with a pure heart and a sincere mind. Cain, because he was a husbandman, made an offering of some of the refuse of the fruits of his husbandry with reluctance. He made an offering of ears of wheat that were smitten by blight; but some say of straw only. And the divine fire came down from heaven and consumed the offering of Abel, and it was accepted; while the offering of Cain was rejected. And Cain was angry with God, and envied his brother; and he persuaded his brother to come out into the plain, and slew him. Some say that he smashed² his head with stones, and killed him; and others say that Satan appeared to him in the form of wild beasts that fight with one another and slay each other. [حَد] At any rate, he killed him, whether this way or that way. Then God said to Cain, 'Where is Abel thy brother?' Cain said, 'Am I forsooth my brother's keeper?' God said, 'Behold, the sound of the cry of thy brother Abel's blood has come unto me;' and God cursed Cain, and made him a wanderer and a fugitive all the days of his life. From the day in which the blood of Abel was shed upon the ground, it did not

law that thou shouldst take to wife thy sister who was born with thee. But take ye of the fruit of the trees and the young of the flocks, and go ye up to the top of this holy mountain, and enter into the Cave of Treasures, and offer up your offerings there, and pray before God, and then be united unto your wives." And it came to pass that when Adam the first priest, and Cain and Abel his sons, were going up to the top of the mountain, Satan suggested to Cain to slay Abel his brother for the sake of Lĕbôdâ, and because his offering was rejected and not accepted before God, while that of Abel was accepted. And Cain increased his envy against Abel his brother; and when they came down to the plain, Cain stood up against Abel his brother and slew him by a wound from a flint stone.' See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 8; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 7b, col. 2 to fol. 8a, col. 2.

¹ According to R. Hûnâ, Cain wished to marry his sister because she was born with him, Bĕrĕshîth Rabbâh on Gen. iv. 8.

² حَدَّ, عَدَّ is not given in Castell Michaelis. It occurs again at p. ١١١, l. 2.

was a cubit long and a span broad. The length of the ark was three hundred cubits, its width fifty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. Noah made it of box wood, though some say of teak wood; and he pitched it within and without. At the end of the six hundredth year, God commanded Noah, with his wife, his sons and his daughters-in-law—eight souls—to go into the ark¹, and to take in with him seven couples of every clean animal and fowl, and one couple of every unclean animal, a male and a female. And he took bread and water in with him according to his need: not an abundant supply, lest they might be annoyed by the smell of the faeces, but they got food just sufficient to preserve their lives. God forewarned the blessed Noah of what he was about to do seven days beforehand, in case the people might remember their sins and offer the sacrifice of repentance. But those [לד] rebels mocked at him scoffingly, and thrust out their unclean lips at the sound of the saw and the adze. After seven days God commanded Noah to shut the door of the ark, and to plaster it over with bitumen². And the fountains of the deeps were broken up from beneath, and a torrent of rain (fell) from above, for forty days and forty nights, without cessation, until the waters rose fifteen cubits above the highest mountains in the world. And the waters bore up the ark, which travelled over them from east to west and from north to south, and so inscribed the figure of the cross upon the world; and it passed over the ocean, and came to this broad earth³. So the rain was stayed, and the winds blew, and the waters remained upon the earth without diminishing one hundred and fifty days, besides those forty days; which, from the time that Noah entered the ark and the flood began until the waters began to diminish, make in all one hundred and ninety days, which are six months

¹ 'Set thou Adam's body in the middle of the ark Thou and thy sons shalt be in the eastern part of the ark, and thy wife and thy sons' wives shall be in the western part.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 19; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 15 b, col. 1.

² 'Noah went into the ark at eventide on Friday the 17th of the blessed month Íyár.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 21; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 17 a, col. 1.

³ 'The angel of the Lord stood upon the outside of the ark to act as pilot.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 23; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 17 b, col. 2.

and ten days—even until the twentieth day of the latter Teshri. The waters began to diminish from the latter Teshri to the tenth month, on the first day of which the tops of the mountains appeared, but until the time when the earth was dry, and the dove found rest for the sole of her foot, was one hundred days. The ark rested upon the top of mount Ẕardô¹. In the tenth month, which is Shëbât², Noah opened the door of the ark, and sent a raven to bring him news of the earth. And it went and found dead bodies, and it alighted upon them and returned not. For this reason people have made a proverb [אֲדָמָה] about Noah's raven. Again he sent forth a dove, but it found not a place whereon to alight, and returned to the ark. After seven days he sent forth another dove, and it returned to him in the evening carrying an olive leaf in its bill; and Noah knew that the waters had subsided. Noah remained in the ark a full year, and he came forth from it and offered up an offering of clean animals; and God accepted his offering and promised him that He would never again bring a flood upon the face of the earth, nor again destroy beasts and men by a flood; and He gave him (as) a token the bow in the clouds, and from that day the bow has appeared in the clouds; and He commanded him to slay and eat the flesh of beasts and birds after he had poured out their blood. The number of people who came forth from the ark was eight souls, and they built the town of Thëmânôn³ after the name of the eight souls, and it is to-day the seat of a bishopric in the province of Şûbâ⁴. Noah planted a vineyard, and drank of its wine; and one day when he slumbered, and was sunk in the deep sleep of drunkenness, his nakedness was uncovered within his tent. When Ham his son saw him, he laughed at him and despised him, and told his brethren Shem and

¹ על טורי קרדו = על הרי אררט, Targûm Onkelos, Gen. viii. 4, i. e. the Jabal al-Jûdi of the Arabs, on the left bank of the Tigris, over against Jazîrat Ibn 'Omar.

² 'The tenth month is Kânûn, but I saw Shëbât written in the copy which I copied.' This is evidently the gloss of a careful scribe, which has crept into the text.

³ See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 174.

⁴ שׁוּבָא = سُبْحَا Nişîbis, from a false identification of the latter with the biblical צוֹבֵיָה.

Japhet. But Shem and Japhet took a cloak upon their shoulders, and walked backwards with their faces turned away, and threw the cloak over their father and covered him, and then they looked upon him. When Noah awoke and knew what had been done to him by the two sets of his sons, he cursed Canaan the son of Ham and said, 'Thou shalt be a servant to thy brethren;' but he blessed Shem and Japhet. The reason why he cursed Canaan, who was not as yet born nor had sinned, was because Ham had been saved with him in the ark from the waters [אֲוֹ] of the flood, and had with his father received the divine blessing; and also because the arts of sin—I mean music and dancing and all other hateful things—were about to be revived by his posterity, for the art of music proceeded from the seed of Canaan¹. After the flood a son was born to Noah, and he called his name Jōnaṭōn²; and he provided him with gifts and sent him to the fire of the sun, to the east. Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years; the sum of his years was nine hundred and fifty years; and he saw eighteen generations and families before and after it. He died on the fourth day of the week, on the second of Nisân, at the second hour of the day; his son Shem embalmed him, and his sons buried him, and mourned over him forty days.

CHAPTER XXI³.OF MELCHIZEDEK⁴.

NEITHER the father nor mother of this Melchizedek were written down in the genealogies; not that he had no natural parents⁵, but that

¹ מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק אֱלֹהֵי אֱבְרָם אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. 'Why, since the whole sin belonged to Ham, was Canaan cursed except that, when the boy grew up and came to years of discretion, Satan entered into him and became a teacher of sin to him? and he renewed the work of the house of Cain the murderer.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 25; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 19 a, col. 2.

² See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 33, and note no. 115, p. 78.

³ Chap. xxii in the Oxford MS.

⁴ Gen. xiv. 18-24; Heb. chap. vii.

⁵ מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק אֱלֹהֵי אֱבְרָם אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהֵי יִצְחָק אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל.

Noah died, he commanded Shem concerning the bones of Adam, for they were with them in the ark, and were removed from [עַד] the land of Eden to this earth. Then Shem entered the ark, and sealed it with his father's seal, and said to his brethren, 'My father commanded me to go and see the sources of the rivers and the seas and the structure of the earth, and to return.' And he said to Málâḥ the father of Melchizedek, and to Yôzâdâk his mother, 'Give me your son that he may be with me, and behold, my wife and my children are with you.' Melchizedek's parents said to him, 'My lord, take thy servant; and may the angel of peace be with thee, and protect thee from wild beasts and desolation of the earth.' Shem went by night into the ark, and took Adam's coffin; and he sealed up the ark, saying to his brethren, 'My father commanded me that no one should go into it.' And he journeyed by night with the angel before him, and Melchizedek with him, until they came and stood upon the spot where our Lord was crucified. When they had laid the coffin down there, the earth was rent in the form of a cross¹, and swallowed up the coffin, and was again sealed up and returned to its former condition. Shem laid his hand upon Melchizedek's head, and blessed him and delivered to him the priesthood, and commanded him to dwell there until the end of his life. And he said to him, 'Thou shalt not drink wine nor any intoxicating liquor, neither shall a razor pass over thy head; thou shalt not offer up to God an offering of beasts, but only fine flour and olive oil and wine; thou shalt not build a house for thyself; and may the God of thy fathers be with thee.' And Shem returned to his brethren, and Melchizedek's parents said to him, 'Where is our son?' Shem said, 'He died while he was with me on the way, and I buried him;' and they mourned for him a month of days; but Melchizedek dwelt in that place until he died. When he was old, the kings of the earth heard his fame, and eleven of them gathered together and came to see him; and they entreated him to go with them, [עַד] but he would not be persuaded. And when he did not conform to their wishes, they built a city for him there, and he called it Jerusalem; and the kings said to one another, 'This is the king of all the earth, and the father of nations.' When Abraham came

¹ See also Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 28.

back from the battle of the kings and the nations, he passed by the mount of Jerusalem; and Melchizedek came forth to meet him, and Abraham made obeisance to Melchizedek, and gave him tithes of all that he had with him. And Melchizedek embraced him and blessed him, and gave him bread and wine from that which he was wont to offer up as an offering.

CHAPTER XXII¹.OF THE GENERATIONS OF NOAH².

The children of Shem. The people of Shem are twenty and seven families. Elam, from whom sprang the Elamites; Asshur, from whom sprang the Assyrians (Āthôrâyê); Arphaxar³, from whom sprang the Persians; and Lud (Lôd) and Aram, from whom sprang the Arameans, the Damascenes, and the Ḥarranites. Now the father of all the children of Eber was Arphaxar. Shâlâlḥ begat Eber (Ābâr), and to Eber were born two sons; the name of the one of whom was Peleg (Pâlâg), because in his days the earth was divided. From this it is known that the Syriac language remained with Eber, because, when the languages were confounded and the earth was divided, he was born, and was called Peleg by the Syriac word which existed in his time. After Peleg, Joḳṭân (Yaḳṭân) was born, from whom sprang the thirteen nations who dwelt beside one another and kept the Syriac language. And their dwelling was from Mênashshê (or Manshâ) of mount Sepharvaïm⁴, by the side of the land of Canaan, and towards the east, beginning at Aram and Damascus, and coming to Baishân [Maishân?] and Elam, and their border (was) Assyria, and the east, and Persia to the south, and the Great Sea⁵. Now the Hebrew has Maishân [משׁן] instead of Mênashshê (or Manshâ), [ל] in the verse, 'The children of Joḳṭân dwelt from Maishân to Sepharvaïm⁶.'

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. xxiii.

² Genesis, chap. x.

³ So always, as in the Pēshîttâ, for Arphaxad.

⁴ The Pēshîttâ has ܣܦܪܘܐܝܡ ܡܢ ܩܘܪܝܘܬ ܡܢܫܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܢ, 'and their dwelling was from Manshâ, which is at the entering in of mount Sepharvaïm in the east.'

⁵ Perhaps we might read, 'Assyria to the east, and Persia, and the Great Sea on the south.'

⁶ Gen. x. 30. In the Oxford MS. chap. xxiv begins here.

The children of Ham. The people of Ham are thirty and six families, besides the Philistines and Cappadocians. Cush, from whom sprang the Cushites; Mišraim, from whom sprang the Mišrâyê (or Egyptians); Phut (or Pôt), from whom sprang the Pôtâyê; Canaan, from whom sprang the Canaanites; the seven kings whom Joshua the son of Nun destroyed¹; the children of 'Ôbâr², Shebâ and Hâvilâ, from whom sprang the Indians, the Amorites, the Samrâyê, the Meṭrâyê, and all the dwellers of the south. And of Cush was born Nimrod, who was the first king after the flood. The beginning of his kingdom was Babel (Babylon), which he built, and in which he reigned; and then, after the division of tongues, he built the following cities: Ârâch (Erech), which is Orhâi (Edessa), Âchâr (Accad), which is Nišibis, and Calyâ (Calneh), which is Ctesiphon³. The land of Babel he called the land of Shinar⁴, because in it were the languages confounded⁵, for 'Shinar' in the Hebrew language is interpreted 'division.' From that land the Assyrian went forth and built Nineveh and the town of Rehôbôth, which is the town of Arbêl (Irbil). It is said that Belus, the son of Nimrod, was the first to depart from Babel and to come to Assyria; and after Belus, his son Ninus built Nineveh, and called it after his name, and Arbêl and Câlâh, which is Hēṭrê (Hāṭrâ)⁶, and Resen, which is Rêsh-ainâ (Râs'ain). Mišraim begat Ludim, from

¹ Perhaps Solomon means the 'five kings of the Amorites,' Josh. x. 5; or else he refers to the 'seven nations,' Deut. vii. 1.

² According to Gen. x. 7, we should read Cush.

³ See Gen. x. 10. Solomon's ideas as to what is meant by Erech, Accad, and Calneh are, of course, utterly erroneous. Erech is the ruins of Warḳâ, on the left bank of the lower Euphrates, S.E. of Babylon; Accad is a name for Upper Babylonia, as opposed to Sumir or Lower Babylonia; Calneh has not yet been identified. See also Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, p. 78.

⁴ Some Assyriologists consider the biblical Shinar to be the same as Sumir or Lower Babylonia. See Lenormant, *Études Accad.* ii. 3, p. 70.

⁵ It is certain that the name Babel or Babylon has no connection with the Heb. בָּבֶל or בָּבֶלַיִם; in the cuneiform inscriptions *bâb-ilu* means 'Gate of God,' and is the Semitic equivalent of the Akkadian *ka-dingirra-ki*.

⁶ See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 184-186.

whom sprang the Lódâyê; La'bîm, from whom sprang the Lûbâyê; Lahbîm, from whom sprang the Tebtâyê; Yaphtuĥîm, Pathrusîm, and Casluĥîm, from whom went forth the Philistines, the Gedrâyê (Gadarenes), and the people of Sodom. Canaan begat Sidon his firstborn, from whom sprang the Şôrâyê (Tyrians) and Sidonians, ten nations who dwelt by the side of Israel, from the sea (i. e. the Mediterranean) to the Euphrates; the Kîshâyê, [𐤀𐤊] the Kēnrâyê (or Kîrâyê), and the Aġdēmônâyê (or Ķadmônâyê), who were between the children of Esau and Amnâ of Ireth¹. The children of Lot are children of Ham².

The children of Japhet. The people of Japhet are fifteen families. Gomer, from whom sprang the Gêôthâyê (Gôthâyê, Goths?); Magog, from whom sprang the Galatians; Mádái, from whom sprang the Medes; Javan, from whom sprang the Yaunâyê (Greeks); Tûbîl (Tubal), from whom sprang the Baithônâyê (Bithynians); Meshech, from whom sprang the Mûsâyê (Mysians); Tîras, from whom sprang the Tharnĕĵâyê (or Thrĕĵâyê, Thracians), the Anshĵlâyê (or Aşĵlâyê), and the Achshĵlâyê. The children of Gomer: Ashĵēnaz, from whom sprang the Armenians; Danphar, from whom sprang the Cappadocians; Togarmah, from whom sprang the Asâyê (Asians) and the Īsaurâyê (Isaurians). The sons of Javan: Elisha, that is Halles (Hellas); Tarshîsh, Cilicia, Cyprus, Kâthîm (Kittîm), Doranim³, and the Macedonians; and from these they were divided among the islands of the nations.

These are the families of the children of Noah, and from them were the nations divided on the earth after the flood; they are seventy and two families, and according to the families, so are the languages.

CHAPTER XXIII⁴.

OF THE SUCCESSION OF GENERATIONS FROM THE FLOOD UNTIL NOW⁵.

SHEM was a hundred years old, and begat Arphaxar two years after the flood; the sum of his years was six hundred. Arphaxar was a

¹ Or possibly, 'and the Amnê (Emim), whom he inherited.'

² In the Oxford MS. chap. xxv begins here.

³ For Dodanîm or Rodanîm. See Gen. x. 4. ⁴ In the Oxford MS. chap. xxvi.

⁵ Genesis, chap. xi. The numbers of the years of the Patriarchs agree neither with the Hebrew nor the LXX.

hundred and thirty-five years old, and begat *Ḳainan*. *Ḳainan* was a hundred and thirty-nine years old, and begat *Shālāḥ*: the sum of his years was four hundred and thirty-eight. *Shālāḥ* was a hundred and thirty years old¹, and begat *Eber*; the sum of his years was four hundred and thirty-three. *Eber* was a hundred and thirty-four years old, [אָפֶל] and begat *Peleg*; the sum of his years was four hundred and sixty-four. *Peleg* was a hundred and thirty years old, and begat *Reu*; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty-nine². In the days of *Reu* the languages were divided into seventy and two; up to this time there was only one language³, which was the parent of them all, namely, *Aramean*, that is *Syriac*. *Reu* was a hundred and thirty-two years old, and begat *Serug*; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty-nine⁴. *Serug* was a hundred and thirty years old, and begat *Nahor*; the sum of his years was a hundred and thirty years⁵. In the days of *Serug* men worshipped idols and graven images. *Nahor* was seventy and nine years old⁶, and begat *Terah*; the sum of his years was one hundred and forty-eight. In the days of *Nahor* magic began in the world⁷.

¹ In the Oxford MS. 138 years.

² אָפֶל appears to have dropped out of the text, 339.

³ פֶּקֶד הַלְּשׁוֹנֹת הָאֵלֹהִים (אֵל הַלְּשׁוֹנֹת) הָיָה לְכָל הָאָדָם מִן הַיָּמִים הַהֵם וְעַד הַיּוֹם. וְלִישׁוֹן הָאֵלֹהִים הָיָה לְכָל הָאָדָם מִן הַיָּמִים הַהֵם. וְלִישׁוֹן הָאֵלֹהִים הָיָה לְכָל הָאָדָם מִן הַיָּמִים הַהֵם. וְלִישׁוֹן הָאֵלֹהִים הָיָה לְכָל הָאָדָם מִן הַיָּמִים הַהֵם. 'From Adam until that time they all spoke this language, that is to say *Syriac*, which is *Aramean*; for this language is the king of all languages. The early writers have erred, in that they say that *Hebrew* was the primitive language; and here have they mingled ignorant error with their writings. For all the tongues that are in the world are taken from *Syriac*, and all the languages in books are mixed with it.' *Bezold, Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 21; *Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 22 a, col. 1.*

⁴ Gen. xi. 20, 21, two hundred and thirty-nine.

⁵ Gen. xi. 22, 23, two hundred and thirty.

⁶ Gen. xi. 24, twenty-nine.

⁷ According to the 'Cave of Treasures,' the origin of magic was this: 'In the days of *Terah*, in his ninetyeth year, magic appeared on the earth in the city of

Terah was seventy years old, and begat Abraham; the sum of his years was one hundred and five years¹. So it is two thousand two hundred and forty-two years from Adam to the flood; and one thousand and eighty-one years from the flood to the birth of Abraham; and from Adam to Abraham it is three thousand three hundred and thirteen years². And know, my brother readers, that there is a great difference between the computation of Ptolemy³ and that of the Hebrews and the Samaritans; for the Jews take away one hundred years from [א] the beginning of the years of each (patriarch), and they add them to the end of the years of each of them, that they may disturb the reckoning and lead men astray and falsify the coming of Christ, and may say, 'The Messiah is to come at the end of the world, and in the last times;' and behold, according to their account, He came in the fourth millenium, for so it comes out by their reckoning.

CHAPTER XXIV⁴.

OF THE BUILDING OF THE TOWER AND THE DIVISION OF TONGUES⁵.

WHEN Reu was born in the days of Peleg, the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, together with Arphaxar and their children, were gathered together in Shinar. And they took counsel together, saying, 'Come, let us build for ourselves a high tower, the top of which shall be in the heavens, lest a flood come again upon us, and destroy us from off the face of the earth.' And they began to make bricks and to build, until (the tower) was reared a great height from the ground. Then they determined to build seventy-two other towers around it, and to set up a chief over each tower to govern those who were under his authority. God saw the weariness of their oppression and the hardness of their toil, and in His mercy had compassion upon them; for the higher they went, the more severe became their labour, and their pain went on increasing, by reason of the violence of the winds and storms and the heat of the

¹ In the Oxford MS. 205 years.

² Read 3323 years. In the Oxford MS. 3330 years.

³ I. e. the Septuagint.

⁴ In the Oxford MS. chap. xxvii.

⁵ Gen. xi.

luminaries and the necessity of carrying up everything they needed. And God said, 'Come, let us go down and divide the tongues there.' The expression 'Come, let us,' resembles 'Come, let us make man in our image and in our likeness,' and refers to the persons of the adorable Trinity. While they were tormenting themselves with that vain labour, their language was suddenly confounded so as to become seventy-two languages, [𐤀𐤃] and they understood not each other's speech, and were scattered throughout the whole world, and built cities, every man with his fellow who spoke the same language. From Adam to the building of the tower, there was only one language, and that was Syriac. Some have said that it was Hebrew; but the Hebrews were not called by this name until after Abraham had crossed the river Euphrates and dwelt in Ḥarrân; and from his crossing they were called Hebrews. It was grievous to Peleg that the tongues were confounded (or, that God had confounded the tongues of mankind) in his days, and he died; and his sons Serug and Nahor buried him in the town of Pâlgîn, which he built after his name.

CHAPTER XXV¹.OF ABRAHAM².

TERAH the father of Abraham took two wives; the one called Yônâ, by whom he begat Abraham; the other called Shelmath, by whom he begat Sarah. Mâr Theodore says that Sarah was the daughter of Abraham's uncle, and puts the uncle in the place of the father. When Abraham was seventy-five years old, God commanded him to cross the river Euphrates and to dwell in Ḥarrân. And he took Sarah his wife and Lot his nephew, and crossed the river Euphrates and dwelt in Ḥarrân. In his eighty-sixth year his son Ishmael was born to him of Hagar the Egyptian woman, the handmaid of Sarah, whom Pharaoh the king gave to her when he restored her to Abraham; and God was revealed to him under the oak of [𐤇𐤃] Mamre. Abraham was a hundred years old when Isaac, the son of promise, was born to him; and on the eighth day he circumcised himself, his son, and every one born in his house. When God commanded Abraham to offer up Isaac

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. xxviii.

² Gen. xii and following.

upon the altar, He sent him for sacrifice to the special place where, according to the tradition of those worthy of belief, our Lord was crucified. After the death of Sarah, Abraham took to wife Kentôrah (Keturah), the daughter of Yaḳṭân, the king of the Turks. When Isaac was forty years old, Eliezer the Damascene, the servant of Abraham, went down to the town of Ârâch (Erech), and betrothed Raphkâ (Rebecca), the daughter of Bethuel the Aramean, to Isaac his lord's son. And Abraham died at the age of one hundred and seventy-five years, and was laid by the side of Sarah his wife in the 'double cave'¹, which he bought from Ephron the Hittite. When Isaac was sixty years old, there were born unto him twin sons, Jacob and Esau. At that time Arbêl was built; some say that the king who built it was called Arbôl. In Isaac's sixty-sixth year Jericho was built. Esau begat Reuel; Reuel begat Zerah; Zerah begat Jobab, that is Job.

CHAPTER XXVI².OF THE TEMPTATION OF JOB³.

THERE was a man in the land of Uz whose name was Job. And he was a perfect, righteous and God-fearing man; and there were born unto him seven sons and three daughters. The number of his possessions was seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, five hundred she-asses, and a very large train of servants. [חַב] This man was the greatest of all the children of the east. His children used to go and make a feast; and the day came that his sons and his daughters were eating and drinking in the house of their eldest brother. There came a messenger to Job and said to him, 'The oxen were drawing the ploughs, and the she-asses were feeding by their side, when robbers fell upon them and carried them off, and the young men were

¹ מְדַבֵּר / حَفَا. The Syriac, Ethiopic, and Coptic translators have all followed the LXX, τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν, in translating the Heb. אֶת-מְעָרַת הַמְּכִפֵּלָה. They connected the word מְכִפֵּלָה with כָּפַל / כָּפַל. Ibn Ezra explains it by מְעָרָה בְּתוֹךְ מְעָרָה, 'a cave within a cave.' 'חַב' comes from حَفَّ = فَعَفَّ, 'the double.'

² In the Oxford MS. chap. xxix.

³ See Job i.

slain by the sword; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'The fire of God fell from heaven and consumed the sheep and the shepherds, and burnt them up; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'The Chaldeans divided themselves into three bands and fell upon the camels and carried them off, and slew the young men; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' While he was yet speaking, there came another and said to him, 'Thy sons and thy daughters were eating and drinking in the house of their eldest brother, when there came a mighty wind and beat upon the corners of the house, and it fell upon the young people and they are dead; and I alone have escaped to tell thee.' Then Job stood up and rent his garment, and shaved his head; and he fell upon the ground and prostrated himself, saying, 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return: the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' In all this did Job sin not, neither did he blaspheme God. And Satan smote Job with a grievous sore from the sole of his foot to his head (*lit.* brain); and Job took a potsherd to scrape himself with, and sat upon ashes. His wife says to him, 'Dost thou still hold fast by thy integrity? [כִּי] curse God and die.' Job says to her, 'Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh: we have received the good things of God; shall we not receive His evil things?' In all this did Job sin not, neither did he blaspheme God with his lips. Job's three friends heard of this evil which had come upon him, and they came to him, every man from his own land, to comfort him; and their names were these: Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite. When they were come, they lifted up their eyes from afar off, and they did not know him. And they lifted up their voice and wept, and each man rent his garment, and they strewed dust upon their heads towards heaven; and they sat with him upon the ground seven days and seven nights, and none spake a word, for they saw that his blow was very sore. And when he held fast by his God, He blessed him, and gave him seven sons and three daughters; and there were not found in the whole land women more beautiful than Job's daughters, and their names were Jemima, Keren-happuch, and Kezia. And God gave him fourteen

thousand sheep, six thousand camels and a thousand yoke of oxen; and Job lived one hundred and forty years after his temptation, and died in peace.

CHAPTER XXVII¹.OF THE BLESSINGS OF ISAAC².

JACOB was seventy-seven years old when his father Isaac blessed him; and he stole the blessings and birthright from his brother Esau, and fled from before his brother to Harrân. On the first night Jacob saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, with angels ascending and descending, and the Power of God upon the top thereof. And he woke and said, [עֲשָׂה] 'This is the house of the Lord.' He took the stone that was under his head, and set it up for an altar; and he vowed a vow to God. Now the ladder was a type of Christ's crucifixion; the angels that were ascending and descending were a type of the angels who announced the glad tidings to the shepherds on the day of our Saviour's birth. The Power of God which was upon the top of the ladder was (a type of) the manifestation of God the Word in pure flesh of the formation of Adam. The place in which the vision appeared was a type of the church; the stone under his head, which he set up for an altar, was a type of the altar; and the oil which he poured out upon it was like the holy oil wherewith they anoint the altar.

And Jacob went to Laban the Aramean, his mother's brother, and served before him as a shepherd for fourteen years. And he took his two daughters to wife; Leah with her handmaid Zilpah, and Rachel with her handmaid Bilhah. Now he loved Rachel more than Leah, because she was the younger and was fair in aspect, while Leah had watery eyes. There were born to Jacob by Leah six sons: Rúbil (Reuben), which is interpreted 'Great is God' (now Jacob was eighty-four years old at that time); Simeon, which is interpreted 'the Obedient'; Levi, that is 'the Perfect'; Judah, that is 'Praise'; Issachar, that is 'Hope is near;' and Zebulun, that is 'Gift' or 'Dwelling-place.' Two sons were born to him by Rachel: Joseph, that is 'Addition;' and Benjamin, that is 'Consolation.' By Zilpah two sons were born to him:

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. xxx.

² Gen. xxvii.

Gad, that is 'Luck;' and Asher, that is 'Praise.' By Bilhah two sons were born to him: Dan, that is 'Judgment;' and Naphtali, that is 'Heartener¹;' and one daughter, whose name was Dinah². After twenty years Jacob returned to Isaac; and Isaac lived one hundred and eighty [ص] years³. Twenty-three years after Jacob went up to his father, Joseph was sold by his brethren to the Midianites for twenty dinârs⁴. When Isaac died, Jacob was one hundred and twenty years old.

CHAPTER XXVIII⁵.OF JOSEPH⁶.

AFTER Jacob's sons had been born to him by Leah, then Joseph and Benjamin were born to him (by Rachel); and he loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the child of (his) old age, and because of his beauty and purity, and his being left motherless. He made him a garment with long sleeves, and his brethren envied him. And he dreamed dreams twice, and their hatred increased, and they kept anger in their hearts against him. They sold him to the Midianites, who carried him to Egypt, and sold him to Potiphar, the chief of the guards; and Potiphar delivered his house and servants into his hands; but because of the wantonness of Potiphar's wife, he was bound and kept in prison for two years. When the chief cup-bearer and the chief baker dreamed dreams in one night, and Joseph interpreted them, his words actually came to pass. After Joseph had remained in bondage two years, Pharaoh the king of Egypt saw two dreams in one night; and he was troubled and disturbed, and the sorcerers and enchanters and wise men were unable to interpret his dreams. Then one of those who had been imprisoned with Joseph remembered (him), and they told Pharaoh;

¹ The Oxford MS. omits to explain the meanings of the names of Jacob's sons.

² Dinah was the daughter of Leah, Gen. xxx. 21.

³ The Oxford MS. gives 108 years.

⁴ The Oxford MS. adds that Jacob and Esau buried their father in the 'double cave.'

⁵ In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxi. It is much amplified by long extracts from the Bible history of Joseph.

⁶ Gen. xxxvii, xxxix, xli-l.

and Joseph interpreted his dreams, and Pharaoh made him king over Egypt. And Joseph gathered together and collected the corn of the seven prosperous years, and saved it for the seven years of famine. When the household of Jacob lacked bread, Jacob sent his sons to Egypt to buy corn, [] and they met Joseph, and he recognised them, but they did not know him. After he had tortured them twice by his harsh words, he at last revealed himself to them, and shewed himself to his brethren. And he sent and brought his father Jacob and all his family—seventy-five souls in number, and they came down and dwelt in the land of Egypt two hundred and thirty years. Concerning that which God spake to Abraham, ‘Thy seed shall be a sojourner in a strange land four hundred and thirty years¹,’ they were under subjection in their thoughts from the time that God spake to Abraham until they went forth from Egypt. Jacob died in Egypt, and he commanded that he should be buried with his fathers; and they carried him and buried him by the side of his fathers in the land of Palestine. After Joseph died, another king arose, who knew not Joseph, and he oppressed the children of Israel with heavy labour in clay; at that time Moses was born in Egypt. Since many have written the history of the blessed Joseph at great length, and the blessed Mâr Ephraim has written his history in twelve discourses, concerning everything which happened to him from his childhood to his death, as well as another discourse upon the carrying up of his bones (to Palestine), we refrain from writing a long account of him, that we may not depart from the plan which we laid down in making this collection.

CHAPTER XXIX².

OF MOSES AND THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL³.

AFTER Joseph was dead, and another king had arisen who knew not [] the Israelitish people, the people increased and became strong in Egypt. And Pharaoh was afraid of them, and laid a burden upon them, and oppressed them with hard work in clay, and demanded a

¹ Gen. xv. 13, Exod. xii. 40.

² In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxii.

³ Exod. ii-iv.

tale of bricks from them without giving them straw. At that time Moses the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, was born. Levi was forty-six years old when he begat Kohath; Kohath was sixty-three years old when he begat Amram; and Amram was seventy years old when he begat Moses. When Moses was born, Pharaoh the king commanded to throw the new-born children of the Israelites into the river. Moses was beautiful in appearance, and he was called Pantil¹ and Amlâkyâ; and the Egyptians used to call him the *Shakwîthâ*² of the daughter of Pharaoh. The name of Moses' mother was Yokâbâr (Jochebed). When the command of the king went forth for the drowning of the infants, she made a little ark covered with pitch, and laid the child in it; and she carried it and placed it in a shallow part of the waters of the river Nile (that is Gîhôn); and she sat down opposite (that is, at a distance), to see what would be the end of the child. And Shîpôr³, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river—some say that she was called Tharmêsîs⁴—and she saw the ark and commanded it to be fetched. When she opened it, and saw that the appearance of

¹ The Oxford MS. (fol. 124 a) has $\text{פנטיל} \text{שקויתא}$. The British Museum MS. Add. 7203 (Rich), fol. 139 a, col. 2, explains פנטיל by $\text{פנטיל} \text{שקויתא}$; and Bar Bahlôl (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 300 a, col. 2) gives $\text{פנטיל} \text{שקויתא}$. Compare Heb. $\text{פנטיל} \text{שקויתא}$, and see Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.*, vol. ii, p. 212.

² I do not know the meaning of this word nor its correct pronunciation. The Arabic version in the Munich MS. has شكوتيا . Schoenfelder wrongly קציוח .

³ Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 374 a, col. 1: $\text{שקויתא} \text{פנטיל} \text{שקויתא}$. On the margin is written $\text{שקויתא} \text{פנטיל} \text{שקויתא}$. 'When Moses was born, he was thrown into the river, and Shîpôr the Egyptian, the daughter of Pharaoh, took him out.' Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 41; Brit. Mus. Add. 25,875, fol. 30 a, col. 1.

⁴ This looks like a corruption of the Egyptian name *Het-Heru-mes* or *Athor-mes*, 'born of Athor.' Bar Hebraeus (ed. Bruns, p. 14) spells her name מקרי , and says that she was the daughter of מקרי or מקרי . She was also called *Makri*; see note 1 on next page.

CHAPTER XXX¹.

THE HISTORY OF MOSES' ROD.

WHEN Adam and Eve went forth from Paradise, Adam, as if knowing that he was never to return to his place, cut off a branch from the tree of good and evil—which is the fig-tree—and took it with him and went forth; and it served him as a staff all the days of his life. After the death of Adam, his son Seth took it, for there were no weapons as yet at that time. This rod was passed on from hand to hand unto Noah, and from Noah to Shem; and it was handed down from Shem to Abraham as a blessed thing from the Paradise of God. With this rod Abraham broke the images and graven idols which his father made, and therefore God said to him, 'Get thee out of thy father's house,' etc. It was in his hand in every country as far as Egypt, and from Egypt to Palestine. Afterwards Isaac took it, and (it was handed down) from Isaac to Jacob; with it he fed the flocks of Laban the Aramean in Paddan Aram. After Jacob Judah his fourth son took it; and this is the rod which Judah gave to Tamar his daughter-in-law, with his signet ring [כֶּסֶף] and his napkin, as the hire for what he had done. From him (it came) to Pharez. At that time there were wars everywhere, and an angel took the rod, and laid it in the Cave of Treasures in the mount of Moab, until Midian was built. There was in Midian a man, upright and righteous before God, whose name was Yathró (Jethro). When he was feeding his flock on the mountain, he found the cave and took the rod by divine agency; and with it he fed his sheep until his old age. When he gave his daughter to Moses, he said to him, 'Go in, my son, take the rod, and go forth to thy flock.' When Moses had set his foot upon the threshold of the door, an angel moved the rod, and it came out of its own free will towards Moses. And Moses took the rod, and it was with him until God spake with him on mount Sinai. When God said to him, 'Cast the rod upon the ground,' he did so, and it became a great serpent; and the Lord said, 'Take it,' and he did so, and it became a rod as at first. This is the rod which God gave him for a

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxiii.

help and a deliverance, that it might be a wonder, and that with it he might deliver Israel from the oppression of the Egyptians. By the will of the living God this rod became a serpent in Egypt. By it God spake to Moses; and it swallowed up the rod of Pôsdî the sorceress of the Egyptians. With it Moses smote the sea of Sôph in its length and breadth, and the depths congealed in the heart of the sea. It was in Moses' hands in the wilderness of Ashimôn, and with it he smote the stony rock, and the waters flowed forth. Then God gave serpents power over the children of Israel to destroy them, [נָדָה] because they had angered Him at the waters of strife. And Moses prayed before the Lord, and God said to him, 'Make thee a brazen serpent, and lift it up with the rod, and let the children of Israel look upon it and be healed.' Moses did as the Lord had commanded him, and he placed the brazen serpent in the sight of all the children of Israel in the wilderness; and they looked upon it and were healed. After all the children of Israel were dead, save Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Yôphannâ (Jephunneh), they went into the promised land, and took the rod with them, on account of the wars with the Philistines and Amalekites. And Phineas hid the rod in the desert, in the dust at the gate of Jerusalem, where it remained until our Lord Christ was born. And He, by the will of His divinity, shewed the rod to Joseph the husband of Mary, and it was in his hand when he fled to Egypt with our Lord and Mary, until he returned to Nazareth. From Joseph his son Jacob, who was surnamed the brother of our Lord, took it; and from Jacob Judas Iscariot, who was a thief, stole it. When the Jews crucified our Lord, they lacked wood for the arms of our Lord; and Judas in his wickedness gave them the rod, which became a judgment and a fall unto them, but an uprising unto many. ¹ There were born to Moses two sons; the one called Gershom, which is interpreted 'sojourner;' and the other Eliezer, which is interpreted 'God hath helped me.' Fifty-two years after the birth of Moses, Joshua the son of Nun was born in Egypt ². When Moses was eighty years old, God spake with him upon mount Sinai. [וַיִּבְרַח] And the cry of

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxiv begins here.

² The Oxford MS. omits this sentence.

the children of Israel went up to God by reason of the severity of the oppression of the Egyptians; and God heard their groaning, and remembered His covenants with the fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, to whom He promised that in their seed should all nations be blessed. One day when Moses was feeding the flock of Jethro his father-in-law, the priest of Midian, he and the sheep went from the wilderness to mount Horeb, the mount of God; and the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire in a bush, but the bush was not burnt. Moses said, 'I will turn aside and see this wonderful thing, how it is that the fire blazes in the bush, but the bush is not burnt.' God saw that he turned aside to look, and He called to him from within the bush, and said, 'Moses, Moses.' Moses said, 'Here am I, Lord.' God said to him, 'Approach not hither, for the place upon which thou standest is holy.' And God said to him, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob;' and Moses covered his face, for he was afraid to look at Him. Some say that when God spake with Moses, Moses stammered through fear. And the Lord said to him, 'I have seen the oppression of My people in Egypt, and have heard the voice of their cry, and I am come down to deliver them from the Egyptians, and to carry them up from that land to the land flowing with milk and honey; come, I will send thee to Egypt.' Moses said, 'Who am I, Lord, that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring out those of the house of Israel from Egypt?' God said to him, 'I will be with thee.' Moses said to the Lord, 'If they shall say unto me, What is the Lord's name? what shall I say unto them?' God said, 'אֲהִיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֲהִיָּה, that is, [גֹּד] the Being who is the God of your fathers hath sent me to you. This is My name for ever, and this is My memorial to all generations.' God said to Moses, 'Go, tell Pharaoh everything I say to thee.' Moses said to the Lord, 'My tongue is heavy and stammers; how will Pharaoh accept my word?' God said to Moses, 'Behold, I have made thee a god to Pharaoh, and thy brother Aaron a prophet before thee; speak thou with Aaron, and Aaron shall speak with Pharaoh, and he shall send away the children of Israel that they may serve Me. And I will harden the heart of Pharaoh, and I will work My wonders in the land of Egypt, and will bring up My people the children of Israel from thence, and the Egyptians shall know that I

am God.' And Moses and Aaron did everything that God had commanded them. Moses was eighty-three years old when God sent him to Egypt. And God said to him, 'If Pharaoh shall seek a sign from thee, cast thy rod upon the ground, and it shall become a serpent.' Moses and Aaron came to Pharaoh, and threw down Moses' rod, and it became a serpent. The sorcerers of Egypt did the same¹, but Moses' rod swallowed up those of the sorcerers; and the heart of Pharaoh was hardened, and he did not send away the people. And God wrought ten signs by the hands of Moses: first, turning the waters into blood; second, bringing up frogs upon them; third, domination of the gnats; fourth, noisome creatures of all kinds; fifth, the pestilence among the cattle; sixth, the plague of boils; seventh, the coming of hail-stones; eighth, the creation of locusts; ninth, the descent of darkness; tenth, the death [מ] of the firstborn. When God wished to slay the first-born of Egypt, He said to Moses, 'This day shall be to you the first of months, that is to say, Nisan and the new year. On the tenth of this month, let every man take a lamb for his house, and a lamb for the house of his father; and if they be too few in number (for a whole lamb), let him and his neighbour who is near him share it. Let the lamb be kept until the fourteenth day of this month, and let all the children of Israel slay it at sunset, and let them sprinkle its blood upon the thresholds of their houses with the sign of the cross. This blood shall be to you a sign of deliverance, and I will see (it) and rejoice in you, and Death the destroyer shall no more have dominion over you;' and Moses and Aaron told the children of Israel all these things. And the Lord commanded them not to go out from their houses until morning; for 'the Lord will pass over the Egyptians to smite their firstborn, and will see the blood upon the thresholds, and will not allow the destroyer to enter their houses.' When it was midnight, the Lord slew the firstborn of the Egyptians, from the firstborn of Pharaoh sitting upon his throne down to the last. And Pharaoh sent to Moses and Aaron, saying, 'Depart from among my people, and go, serve the

¹ The Oxford MS. adds the names of the sorcerers, Jannes and Jambres. For accounts of them see 2 Timothy iii. 8; Abulpharagius, *Historia Dynast.*, ed. Pococke, p. 17; and Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.*, vol. i, p. 819.

Lord, as ye have said; and take your goods and chattels with you.' The Egyptians also urged the children of Israel to go forth from among them, through fear of death; and the children of Israel asked chains of gold and silver and costly clothing of the Egyptians, and spoiled them; and the Lord gave them favour in the sight of the Egyptians. The children of Israel set out from Raamses to Succoth, [א] six hundred thousand men; and when they entered Egypt in the days of Joseph, they were seventy-five souls in number. They remained in bodily and spiritual subjection four hundred and thirty years; from the day that God said to Abraham, 'Thy seed shall be a sojourner in the land of Egypt,' from that hour they were oppressed in their minds. When the people had gone out of Egypt on the condition that they should return, and did not return, Pharaoh pursued after them to bring them back to his slavery. And they said to Moses, 'Why hast thou brought us out from Egypt? It was better for us to serve the Egyptians as slaves, and not to die here.' Moses said, 'Fear not, but see the deliverance which God will work for you to-day.' And the Lord said to Moses, 'Lift up thy rod and smite the sea, that the children of Israel may pass over as upon dry land.' And Moses smote the sea, and it was divided on this side and on that; and the children of Israel passed through the depth of the sea as upon dry land. When Pharaoh and his hosts came in after them, Moses brought his rod back over the sea, and the waters returned to their place; and all the Egyptians were drowned. And Moses bade the children of Israel to sing praises with the song 'Then sang Moses and the children of Israel' (Exod. xv. 1).


The children of Israel marched through the wilderness three days, and came to the place called Murrath (Marah) from the bitterness of its waters; and the people were unable to drink that water. And they lifted up their voice and murmured against Moses, saying, 'What shall we drink?' Moses prayed before God, and took absinth-wood¹, which is bitter in its nature, and threw it into the water, and it was made sweet. There did the Lord teach them laws and judgments. [ב] And they set out from thence, and on the fifteenth of the second month, which is Îyâr, came to a place in which there were twelve wells and seventy


¹ See Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 81.

palm-trees¹. Dād-Īshō' says in his exposition of Paradise² that the sorcerers Jannes and Jambres, who once opposed Moses, lived there. There was a well in that place, and over it was a bucket and brass chain; and devils dwelt there, because that place resembled Paradise. The blessed Makārīs (Macarius) visited that spot, but was unable to live there because of the wickedness of those demons; but that they might not boast over the human race, as if forsooth no one was able to live there, God commanded two anchorites, whose names no man knoweth, and they dwelt there until they died. When the children of Israel saw that wilderness, they murmured against Moses, saying, 'It were better for us to have died in Egypt, being satisfied with bread, than to come forth into this arid desert for this people to perish by hunger.' And God said to Moses, 'Behold, I will bring manna down from heaven for you; a cloud shall shade you by day from the heat of the sun, and a pillar of fire shall give light before you by night.' God said to Moses, 'Go up into this mountain, thou, and Aaron thy brother, and Nadab, and seventy chosen elders of the children of Israel, and let them worship from afar; and let Moses come near to Me by himself.' And they did as the Lord commanded them, and Moses drew near by himself, and the rest of the elders remained below at the foot of the mountain; and God gave him commandments. And Moses made known to the people the words [دند] of the Lord; and all the people answered with one voice and said, 'Everything that the Lord commands us we will do.' Moses took blood with a hyssop, and sprinkled it upon the people, saying to them, 'This is the blood of the covenant,' and so forth. And God said to Moses, 'Say unto the children of Israel that they set apart for Me gold and silver and brass and purple,' and the rest of the things which are mentioned in the Tōrah, 'and let them make a tabernacle for Me.' God also shewed the construction thereof to Moses, saying, 'Let Aaron and his sons be priests to Me, and let them serve My altar and sanctuary.' God wrote ten commandments³ on two tables of stone, and these are they. Thou shalt not make to thyself an image or a likeness; thou shalt not falsify thy oaths; keep

¹ I. e. Elim, Exod. xv. 27.

² See Assemânî, *Bibl. Or.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 49 and 99.

³ C reads , 'ten words.'

the day of the Sabbath ; honour thy father and thy mother ; thou shalt not do murder ; thou shalt not commit adultery ; thou shalt not steal ; thou shalt not bear false witness ; thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's or brother's house ; thou shalt not covet the wife of thy kinsman or neighbour, nor his servants, nor his handmaidens. When the children of Israel saw that Moses tarried on the mountain, they gathered together to Aaron and said to him, ' Arise, make us a god to go before us, for we know not what has become of thy brother Moses.' Aaron said to them, ' Bring me the earrings that are in the ears of your wives and children.' When they had brought them to him, he cast a calf from them, and said to the people, ' This is thy god, O Israel, who brought thee out of Egypt ;' and they built an altar, and the children of Israel offered up sacrifice upon it. God said to Moses, ' Get thee down [] to the people, for they have become corrupt.' And Moses returned to the people, and in his hands were the two tablets of stone, upon which the ten commandments were written by the finger of God. When Moses saw that the people had erred, he was angry and smote the tablets upon the side of the mountain and brake them. And Moses brought the calf, and filed it with a file, and threw it into the fire, and cast its ashes into water ; and he commanded the children of Israel to drink of that water. And Moses reproached Aaron for his deeds, but Aaron said, ' Thou knowest that the people is stiffnecked.' Then Moses said to the children of Levi, ' The Lord commands you that each man should slay his brother and his neighbour of those who have wrought iniquity ;' and there were slain on that day three thousand men. And Moses went up to the mountain a second time, and there were with him two tables of stone instead of those which he brake. He remained on the mountain and fasted another forty days, praying and supplicating God to pardon the iniquity of the people. When he came down from the mountain with the other two tablets upon which the commandments were written, the skin of his face shone, and the children of Israel were unable to look upon his countenance by reason of the radiance and light with which it was suffused ; and they were afraid of him. When he came to the people, he covered his face with a napkin ; and when he spake with God, he uncovered his face. And Moses said to Hur, the son of his father-in-law Reuel the Midianite, ' We will go to the land

which God promised to give us; come with us, and we will do thee good;' but he would not, and returned to Midian. [☉] So the children of Israel went along the road to prepare a dwelling-place for themselves; and they lifted up their voice with a cry; and God heard and was angry, and fire went round about them and burnt up the parts round about their camps. They said to Moses, 'Our soul languishes in this wilderness; and we remember the meats of Egypt; the fishes and the cucumbers and the melons and the onions and the leeks and the garlic; and now we have nought save this manna which is before us.' Now the appearance of manna was like that of coriander seed, and they ground it, and made flat cakes of it; and its taste was like bread with oil in it. And the Lord heard the voice of the people weeping each one at the door of his tent, and it was grievous to Him. Moses prayed before the Lord and said, 'Why have I not found favour before Thee? and why hast Thou cast the weight of this people upon me? Did I beget them? Either slay me or let me find favour in Thy sight.' God said to Moses, 'Choose from the elders of the children of Israel seventy men, and gather them together to the tabernacle, and I will come down and speak with thee. And I will take of the spirit and power which is with thee and will lay it upon them, and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee, and thou shalt not bear it by thyself alone;' and Moses told them. Moses gathered together seventy elders from the children of Israel, and the Lord came down in a cloud, and spake with them; and he took of the spirit and power which was with Moses and laid it upon them, and they prophesied. But two elders of the seventy whose names were written down remained in the camp and did not come; the name of the one was Eldad, and that of the other Medad; and they also prophesied in the tabernacle. A young man came and told Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun, the disciple of Moses, said to him, 'My lord, restrain them.' Moses said, 'Be not jealous; [☉] would that all the children of Israel were prophets; for the Spirit of God hath come upon them.'

And Moses said to the children of Israel, 'Because ye have wept and have asked for flesh, behold the Lord will give you flesh to eat; not one day, nor two, nor five, nor ten, but a month of days shall ye eat, until it goeth out of your nostrils, and cometh nauseous to

you¹.’ Moses said (to the Lord), ‘This people among whom I am is six hundred thousand men, and hast Thou promised to feed them with flesh for a month of days? If we slay sheep and oxen, it would not suffice for them; and if we collect for them (all) the fish that are in the sea, they would not satisfy them.’ And the Lord said to Moses, ‘The hand of the Lord shall bring (this) to pass, and behold, thou shalt see whether this happens or not.’ By the command of God a wind blew and brought out quails from the sea, and they were gathered around the camp of the children of Israel about a day’s journey on all sides; and they were piled upon one another to the depth of two cubits. Each of the children of Israel gathered about ten cors; and they spread them out before the doors of their tents. And the Lord was angry with them, and smote them with death, and many died; and that place was called ‘the graves of lust.’

They departed from thence to the place called Ḥaṣerôth. And Aaron and Miriam lifted up themselves against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married, and they said, ‘Has God spoken with Moses only? Behold, He hath spoken with us also.’ Now Moses was meeker than all men. And God heard the words of Miriam and Aaron, and came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the tabernacle, [עמד] and called them, and they came forth to Him. The Lord said to them, ‘Hear what I will say to you. I have revealed Myself to you in secret, and ye have prophesied in a dream. Not so with My servant Moses, who is trusted in everything, for with him I speak mouth to mouth.’ And the Lord was angry with them, and the cloud was taken up from the tabernacle; and Miriam was a leper, and was white as snow. Aaron saw that she was a leper, and said to Moses, ‘I entreat thee not to look upon our sins which we have sinned against thee.’ Moses made supplication before God, saying, ‘Heal her, O Lord, I entreat Thee.’ God said to Moses, ‘If her father had spat in her face, it would have been right for her to pass the night alone outside the camp for seven days, and then to come in.’ So Miriam stayed outside the camp for seven days, and then she was purified.

¹ The word וְאֵלֶיךָ or וְאֵלַי is explained in the text by وَجَعَلَنِي, i.e. the Arabic تَجَمُّعٌ ‘indigestion.’

And God said to Moses, 'Send forth spies, from every tribe a man, and let them go and search out the land of promise.' Moses chose twelve men, among whom were Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh; and they went and searched out the land. And they returned, carrying with them of the fruit of the land grapes and figs and pomegranates. The spies came and said, 'We have not strength to stand against them, for they are mighty men, while we are like miserable locusts in their sight.' And the children of Israel were gathered together to Moses and Aaron, and they lifted up their voice and wept with a great weeping, saying, 'Why did we not die under the hand of the Lord in the wilderness and in Egypt, and not come to this land to die with our wives and children, and to become a laughing-stock and a scorn to the nations?' [—] Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh said to them, 'Fear not; we will go up against them, and the Lord will deliver them into our hands, and we shall inherit the land, as the Lord said to us.' The children of Israel said to one another, 'Come, let us make us a chief and return to Egypt;' and Moses and Aaron fell upon their faces before the people. And Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh rent their clothes and said to the children of Israel, 'The land which we have searched out is a thriving one, flowing with milk and honey, and it is in the power of God to give it to us; do not provoke God.' And the children of Israel gathered together to stone them with stones. And God was revealed in a cloud over the tabernacle openly in the sight of the children of Israel; and He said to Moses, 'How long will these (people) provoke Me? and how long will they not believe in Me for all the wonders which I have wrought among them? Let Me smite them, and I will make thee the chief of a people stronger than they.' Moses said to the Lord, 'O Lord God Almighty, the Egyptians will hear and will say that Thou hast brought out Thy people from among them by Thy power: but when Thou smitest them, they will say, "He slew them in the desert, because He was unable to make them inherit the land which He promised them." And Thou, O Lord, who hast dwelt among this people, and they have seen Thee eye to eye, and Thy light is ever abiding with them, and Thou goest (before them) by night in a pillar of light, and dost shade them with a cloud by day, pardon

now in Thy mercy the sins of Thy people, as Thou hast pardoned their sins from Egypt unto here.' God said to Moses, 'Say unto the children of Israel, O wicked nation, I have heard all the words which ye have spoken, and I will do unto you even as [7.50] ye wish for yourselves. In this desert shall your dead bodies fall, and your families and your children, every one that knows good from evil, from twenty years old and downwards. Their children shall enter the land of promise; but ye shall not enter it, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh and Joshua the son of Nun. Your children shall remain in this wilderness forty years, until your dead bodies decay, according to the number of the days in which ye searched out the land; for each day ye shall be requited with a year because of your sins.' And the spies who had spied out the land with Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh died at once, save Joshua the son of Nun and Caleb the son of Jephunneh. This was very grievous to the people, and the children of Israel said to Moses, 'Behold, we are going up to the land which God promised us.' He said to them, 'God hath turned His face from you; go ye not away from your place.' And they hearkened not to Moses, but went up to the top of the mountain without Moses and the tabernacle; and the Amalekites and Canaanites who dwelt there came out against them and put them to flight. God said to Moses, 'When the children of Israel enter the land of promise, let them offer as offerings fine flour and oil and wine.' Then Korah the son of Zahar (Izhar), and Dathan and Abiram the sons of Eliab, together with their families, and two hundred and fifty men, separated from the children of Israel; and they came to Moses, and made him hear them, and troubled him. And Moses fell upon his face before the Lord and said, 'To-morrow shall every one know whom God chooses. Is that which I have done for you not sufficient for you, that ye serve before the Lord, but ye must seek the priesthood also?' And Moses said unto God, [7.50] 'O God, receive not their offerings.' And Moses said to them, 'Let every one of you take his censer in his hand, and place fire and incense therein;' and there stood before the Lord on that day two hundred and fifty men holding their censers. The Lord said to Moses, 'Stand aloof from the people, and I will destroy them in a moment.' And Moses and Aaron fell upon their faces, and said to the Lord, 'Wilt

Thou destroy all these for the sake of one man who hath sinned?' God said to Moses, 'Tell the children of Israel to go away from around the tents of Korah and his fellows;' and Moses said to the people everything that God had said to him; and the people kept away from the tent of Korah. Then Korah and his family with their wives and children came forth and stood¹ at the doors of their tents. And Moses said to them, 'If God hath sent me, let the earth open her mouth and swallow them up; but if I am come of my own desire, let them die a natural death like every man.' While the word was yet in his mouth, the earth opened, and swallowed them up, and the people that were with them, from man even unto beast; and fear fell upon their companions. The fire went forth from their censers, and burnt up the two hundred and fifty men. Moses said to Eleazar, 'Take their censers and make a casting of them, that they may be a memorial—for they have been sanctified by the fire which fell into them—that no man who is not of the family of Aaron should dare to take a censer in his hand.'

The children of Israel gathered together unto Moses and Aaron and said to them, 'Ye have destroyed the people of the Lord.' And [אם] God said to Moses and Aaron in the tabernacle, 'Stand aloof from them, and I will destroy them in a moment.' Moses said to Aaron, 'Take a censer and put fire and incense therein, and go to the people, that God may forgive their sins, for anger has gone forth against them from before the Lord.' And Aaron put incense in a censer, and went to the people in haste, and he saw death destroying the people unsparingly; but with his censer he separated the living from the dead, and the plague was stayed from them. The number of men whom the plague destroyed at that time of the children of Israel was fourteen thousand and seven hundred, besides those who died with the children of Korah; and Aaron returned to Moses. And God said to Moses, 'Let the children of Israel collect from every tribe a rod, and let them write the name of the tribe upon its rod, and the name of Aaron upon (that of) the tribe of Levi, and the rod of the man whom the Lord chooseth shall blossom.' And they did as God had commanded them,

¹ Read אםם for אםם? as in Num. xvi. 27.

and took the rods and placed them in the tabernacle that day. On the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle, and saw the rod of the house of Levi budding and bearing almonds. And Moses brought out all the rods to the children of Israel, and the sons of Levi were set apart for the service of the priesthood before the Lord.

When the children of Israel came to the wilderness of Şîn, Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron died, and they buried her. And there was no water for them to drink; and the children of Israel murmured against Moses and said, 'Would that we had all died with those who are dead already, and that we had not come hither to die with our beasts [بهيمة] and our possessions! Why did the Lord bring us out from Egypt to this desert land, in which there are neither pomegranates nor grapes?' Moses and Aaron went to the tabernacle, and fell upon their faces before the Lord, and the Lord said to them, 'Gather together the children of Israel, and let Moses smite the rock with the rod, and water shall come forth and all the people shall drink;' and Moses called that water 'the water of strife.' The children of Israel gathered themselves together unto Moses and Aaron, and they murmured against them saying, 'Why have ye brought us out to this desert to die of thirst and hunger?' And the Lord was angry with them, and sent serpents upon them, and many of the people died by reason of the serpents. And they gathered themselves together unto Moses and Aaron and said to them, 'We have sinned before God and before you.' God said to Moses, 'Make a serpent of brass, and hang it upon the top of thy rod, and set it up among the people; and let every one whom a serpent shall bite look upon the brazen serpent, and he shall live and not die.' This serpent which Moses set up is a type of the crucifixion of our Lord, as the doctor saith, 'Like the serpent which Moses set up, He set Him up also, that He might heal men of the bites of cruel demons.'

And the children of Israel came to mount Hôr, and Aaron died there; and they wept for him a month of days; and Moses put his garments upon Eleazar his son. The children of Israel began to commit fornication with the daughters of Moab, and to bow down to their idols, and to eat of their sacrifices. The Lord was angry with them, and He commanded Moses to gather together the children of

Israel, and to order every man to slay his fellow, and every one who should bow down to Baal Peôr, the idol of the Moabites. When they were all assembled at the door of the tabernacle, [زمري] Zimri the son of Salô came and took Cosbî the daughter of Zûr, and committed fornication with her in the sight of Moses and all the people; and God smote the people with a pestilence. Then Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, the son of Aaron, arose, and thrust them through with a spear, and lifted them up upon the top of it; and the plague was stayed from that hour. This zeal was accounted unto Phinehas as a prayer, as the blessed David says¹, 'Phinehas arose and prayed, and the pestilence was stayed; and it was accounted unto him for merit from generation unto generation, even for ever.' The number of those who died at that time was twenty-four thousand men. God commanded Moses to number the people, and their number amounted to six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and eighty souls. And God commanded Moses to bless Joshua the son of Nun, and to lay his hand upon him, and to set him up before Eleazar the priest and before all the children of Israel; and God gave him wisdom and knowledge and prophecy and courage, and made him ruler of the children of Israel. God commanded the children of Israel to destroy the Midianites. And (Moses) chose from each tribe a thousand men, and they went up against the Midianites and took them captive and spoiled them. And Moses told them to slay every man who had committed fornication with a Midianitish woman, and every Midianitish woman who had committed fornication with a son of Israel, except the virgins whom man had not known. God commanded Moses to set apart one-fiftieth part of the spoil for the sons of Levi, the ministers of the altar and the house of the Lord. The number of the flocks that were gathered together with the children [בני] of Israel was six hundred and seventy thousand, and seventy-two thousand oxen, and thirty-two thousand virgins. And the Lord commanded them that when they should pass over the Jordan and come to the land of promise, they should set apart three villages for a place of flight and refuge, that whosoever committed a murder involuntarily might flee thither and dwell in them until the high priest

¹ Ps. cvi. 30.

of that time died, when he might return to his family and the house of his fathers. God laid down for them laws and commandments, and these are they. A man shall not clothe himself in a woman's garments, neither shall a woman clothe herself in those of a man¹. If one sees a bird's nest, he shall drive away the mother, and then take the young ones². A man shall make a fence and an enclosure to his roof, lest any one fall therefrom, and his blood be required of him³. Let him that hath a rebellious son, bring him out before the elders, and let them reprimand him; if he turn from his (evil) habit, (good and well); but if not, let him be stoned⁴. One that is crucified shall not pass the night upon his cross⁵. He that blasphemeth God shall be slain⁶. The man that lies with a betrothed woman shall be slain. If she is not betrothed, he shall give her father five hundred dinârs, and take her to wife⁷. And the other commandments.

And Moses gathered together the children of Israel and said to them, 'Behold, I am a hundred and twenty years old, no more strength abideth in me; and God hath said to me, Thou shalt not pass over this river Jordan.' And he called Joshua the son of Nun and said to him in the sight of all the people, 'Be strong and of good courage, for thou shalt bring this people into the land of promise. Fear not [ح] the nations that are in it, for God will deliver them into thy hands, and thou shalt inherit their cities and villages, and shalt destroy them⁸.'

And Moses wrote down laws and judgements and orders, and gave them into the hands of the priests, the children of Levi. He commanded them that, when they crossed over to the land of promise, they should make a feast of tabernacles and should read aloud these commandments before all the people, men and women; that they might hear and fear the Lord their God⁹. And God said to Moses, 'Behold thou art going the way of thy fathers; call Joshua the son of Nun, thy disciple, and make him stand in the tabernacle, and command him to be diligent for the government of this people; for I know that after thy death they will turn aside from the way of truth, and will worship

¹ Deut. xxii. 5.

² Deut. xxii. 6.

³ Deut. xxii. 7.

⁴ Deut. xxi. 18-20.

⁵ Deut. xxi. 23.

⁶ Lev. xxiv. 16.

⁷ Deut. xxii. 26-29.

⁸ Deut. xxxi. 1-7.

⁹ Deut. xvi. 13.

idols, and I will turn away My face from them¹. And God said to Moses, 'Get thee up into this mountain of the Amorites which is called Nebo, and see the land of Canaan, and be gathered to thy fathers, even as Aaron thy brother died on mount Hôr.' So Moses died there and was buried, and no man knoweth his grave²; for God hid him, that the children of Israel might not go astray and worship him as God. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty years; his sight had not diminished, neither was the complexion of his face changed. And the children of Israel wept for him a month of days in Arbôth Moab.

From Adam then until the death of Moses was three thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight years³.

When the number of the children of Israel was reckoned up, it amounted to eight hundred thousand, and that of the house of Judah to five hundred thousand. In the Book of Chronicles it is written, 'The children of Israel were a thousand thousand, one hundred thousand and one hundred⁴ men; and the house of Judah was four hundred [𐤀𐤃] thousand and seven hundred men⁵ that drew sword.' Now when they came out of Egypt, they were six hundred thousand⁶; and when they entered Egypt, they were seventy and five souls⁷.

CHAPTER XXXI⁸.

OF JOSHUA THE SON OF NUN, AND BRIEF NOTICES OF THE YEARS OF THE JUDGES AND THE KINGS OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL.

AFTER Moses was dead, God said to Joshua the son of Nun, 'Moses My servant is dead; now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou and

¹ Deut. xxxi. 14-16. ² Deut. xxxiv. 6. ³ Oxford MS. 3860 years.

⁴ 𐤀𐤃 appears to be superfluous, and is omitted by the Oxford MS. See 1 Chron. xxi. 5.

⁵ We should read 𐤀𐤃 𐤀𐤃 𐤀𐤃 𐤀𐤃, as in 1 Chron. xxi. 5.

⁶ Exod. xii. 37.

⁷ Seventy souls according to Gen. xlvi. 27; Exod. i. 5; Deut. x. 22.

⁸ In the Oxford MS. chap. xxxv.

all this people, unto the land which I have sworn to their fathers to give them. Every place upon which ye tread shall be yours¹. So Joshua the son of Nun gathered the people together, and passed over Jordan. Jordan was divided on this side and on that, and the children of Israel passed over as upon dry ground, even as their fathers passed through the sea of Sôph, when they went forth from Egypt². And they took twelve stones from the midst of Jordan, as a memorial for those after them³. And they took Jericho, and destroyed it⁴; and Joshua the son of Nun slew thirty-one kings of the foreign nations, and divided the land among them, and he brake their idols and images. These are the names of the kings whom Joshua the son of Nun destroyed⁵. The king of Jericho, the king of Ai, the king of Jerusalem, the king of Hebron, the king of Jarmuth, the king of Lachish, the king of Eglon, the king of Gezer, the king of Debir, the king of Hormah, the king of Geder, the king of Arad⁶, the king of Libnah, the king of Adullam⁷, [حَد] the king of Makkedah⁸, the king of Bethel, the king of Tappuah, the king of Hepher, the king of Aphek, the king of Lashsharon⁹; the king of Madon, the king of Hazor, the king of Shimron-meron¹⁰, the king of Achshaph, the king of Taanach, the king of Megiddo¹¹, the king of Rekam (Kadesh), the king of Jokneam¹², the king of Dor and Naphath-Dor, the king of Goiim¹³, the king of Tirzah¹⁴.

And as we do not intend to write a complete history of the kings and judges, but only to collect a few matters which may serve for the consolation of the feeble in a time of despondency, behold we pass over them with brief notices. If however any one seeks to know these (things), let him read in the Tôrâh and in the Bêth-Mautëbhê¹⁵, whence he will understand clearly. Moses ruled the people in the desert forty

¹ Josh. i. 2-3.² Exod. xiv. 21, 22.³ Josh. iv. 3.⁴ Josh. vi. 21.⁵ Josh. xii. 9-24.⁶ Syr. *Adar*.⁷ Syr. *Arlam*.⁸ Syr. *Maḳar*.⁹ Syr. *Neshrôn*.¹⁰ Syr. *Shâmriin*, Samaria.¹¹ Syr. *Magdôl*.¹² Syr. *Nekem'am* or *Naḳ'am*.¹³ Syr. *'Umḳâ*.¹⁴ The Oxford MS. omits the names of these kings.¹⁵ In the Oxford MS. 'in the book of Kings.' The term *سنة* properly includes Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, the Song of Songs, and Job. See Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 103, col. 1, note †.

years¹. Joshua ruled the people twenty-five years². Judah was ruler of the people forty-eight years³. Eglon king of Moab⁴ oppressed the people eighteen years. Ahôr (Ehûd) was ruler of the people eighty years⁵. Nâbin (Jabin) oppressed Israel twenty years⁶. Deborah and Barak were rulers of the people forty years⁷. The Midianites oppressed Israel seven years⁸. Gideon was ruler of the people forty years⁹. He had seventy sons, who rode with him upon seventy ass colts¹⁰. Abimelech the son [~~of~~] of Gideon was ruler of the people sixty years¹¹. Tola the son of Puah was ruler of the people twenty-three years¹². Jair was ruler of the people twenty-two years¹³. The Philistines and Ammonites oppressed the people eighteen years¹⁴. Naphthah (Jephthah) was ruler of the people six years¹⁵. He vowed a vow to the Lord and said, 'Whatsoever cometh forth to meet me from my house, I will offer up as an offering to the Lord.' And his only daughter came forth, and he offered her up as an offering to the Lord. Abizan (Ibzan) was ruler of the people seven years¹⁶. He had thirty sons and thirty daughters; he sent out the thirty daughters and brought in thirty daughters-in-law. Elon was a ruler of the people ten years¹⁷. Acrôn (Abdon) was ruler of the people eight years¹⁸. The

¹ Deut. xxix. 5.

² Josh. xxiv. 29. Josephus, *Antiq.*, v. 1, gives twenty-nine years. Eusebius and Andronicus, twenty years; the *Aușar Râzê* (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 21,580, fol. 69 a) twenty-seven years.

³ Bar Hebraeus says that the elders of the people ruled after Joshua, but no number of years is given; his list of the Judges is much fuller, but their years do not agree with those given in this chapter. In Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 69 a, after Joshua, there follows Chushan the wicked, eight years; Othniel, forty years; the Moabites, eighteen years; and Ahôr or Ehud comes next.

⁴ Judg. iii. 14. The Oxford MS. has 'Og, king of the Moabites.'

⁵ Judg. iii. 30.

⁶ Judg. iv. 3.

⁷ Judg. v. 31.

⁸ Judg. vi. 1. The Oxford MS. gives seventy years.

⁹ Judg. viii. 28.

¹⁰ Solomon has here confused Abdon with Gideon; see Judg. xii. 14.

¹¹ We should probably read 'three years,' *שלוש שנים*. See Judg. ix. 22.

¹² Judg. x. 2.

¹³ Judg. x. 3.

¹⁴ Judg. x. 8.

¹⁵ Judg. xii. 7.

¹⁶ Judg. xii. 9.

¹⁷ Judg. xii. 11.

¹⁸ Judg. xii. 14. The Oxford MS. makes no mention of Abdon. Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 70 a, has *עֲבֹדָן בֶּן-עֲבֹדָן*.

Philistines oppressed Israel forty years¹. Samson was ruler of the people twenty years². He slew a thousand men with the jawbone of a dead ass. Eli was ruler of the people forty years³. From Eli, the ark was in the house of Abinadab twenty years⁴. Samuel was ruler of the people thirty years⁵. Saul was ruler of the people forty⁶ years. These years of the Judges (*lit.* rulers) amount to six hundred and fifty-five⁷. King David reigned forty years⁸. Solomon reigned forty years⁹. Rehoboam reigned seventeen years¹⁰. Abijah reigned three years¹¹. Asa reigned forty-one years¹². Jehoshaphat reigned twenty-five years¹³. Joram reigned eight [𐤎𐤁] years¹⁴. Ahaziah reigned one year¹⁵. Athaliah reigned six years¹⁶. Joash reigned forty years¹⁷. Amaziah reigned twenty-three years¹⁸. Uzziah reigned fifty-two years¹⁹. Jotham reigned sixteen years²⁰. Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years²¹. He prayed before God, and fifteen years were added to his life; and he held back the sun and the moon in their course. Manasseh reigned fifty-five years²². He sawed Isaiah with a wooden saw and killed him. Amon reigned two years²³. Josiah reigned thirty-one years²⁴. Jehoahaz reigned three months²⁵. Jehoiakim reigned eleven years²⁶. Jehoiachin reigned one hundred

¹ Judg. xiii. 1.

² Judg. xv. 20. The Oxford MS. gives 'forty years.' After Samson, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 70 a, has 𐤎 𐤁𐤁; 𐤁, 'without Judges, twelve years.'

³ 1 Sam. iv. 18.

⁴ 1 Sam. vii. 2.

⁵ Twenty years, Brit. Mus. Add. 21,580, fol. 70 a.

⁶ So Eusebius, but Anianus gives twenty years.

⁷ The numbers here given amount to 642 years.

⁸ 1 Kings ii. 11.

⁹ 1 Kings xi. 42.

¹⁰ 1 Kings xiv. 21.

¹¹ 1 Kings xv. 2.

¹² 1 Kings xv. 10.

¹³ 1 Kings xxii. 42.

¹⁴ 2 Kings viii. 17. Jehoram is omitted by the Oxford MS.

¹⁵ 2 Kings viii. 26.

¹⁶ 2 Kings xi. 3.

¹⁷ 2 Kings xii. 1. Joash is omitted by the Oxford MS.

¹⁸ Twenty-nine years, 2 Kings xiv. 2.

¹⁹ 2 Kings xv. 2.

²⁰ 2 Kings xv. 33. Ahaz the son of Jotham also reigned sixteen years (2 Kings xvi. 2); the length of the reigns of the father and son being the same is no doubt the cause why the latter is omitted in all the MSS.

²¹ 2 Kings xviii. 2.

²² 2 Kings xxi. 1.

²³ 2 Kings xxi. 19.

²⁴ 2 Kings xxii. 1.

²⁵ 2 Kings xxiii. 31.

²⁶ 2 Kings xxiii. 36.

days¹. Zedekiah reigned eleven years². These years of the kings amount to four hundred and fifty-five years, six months, and ten days³.

CHAPTER XXXII⁴.

OF THE DEATH OF THE PROPHETS; HOW THEY DIED, AND
(WHERE) EACH ONE OF THEM WAS BURIED⁵.

MANASSEH the son of Hezekiah slew Isaiah with a wooden saw; he was buried before the outfall of the waters which Hezekiah concealed by the side of Siloah⁶.

Hosea the son of Beerî, of the tribe of Issachar, (was) from the town of Be'elmâth. He prophesied mystically about our Lord Jesus Christ who was to come; saying that when He should be born, the oak in Shiloh should be divided into twelve [𐤎𐤍𐤏] parts; and that He should take twelve disciples of Israel. He died in peace, and was buried in his own land.

Joel the son of Bethuel (Pethuel), of the tribe of Reuben, died in peace in his own land. Others say that Ahaziah the son of Amaziah smote him with a staff upon his head; and while his life was yet in him, they brought him to his own land⁷, and after two days he died.

Amos (was) from the land of Tekoa. The priest of Bethel tortured him and afterwards slew him. Others say that it was he whom Ahaziah the son of Amaziah⁸ killed with a staff, and he died.

Obadiah from the country of Shechem was the captain of fifty of

¹ 2 Kings xxiv. 8, 'three months.'

² 2 Kings xxiv. 18. The Oxford MS. makes no mention of Jehoiachin, and gives the name of Zedekiah without the length of his reign.

³ The numbers here given amount to 451 years, 6 months, and 10 days.

⁴ Chap. xxxi (sic) in the Oxford MS.

⁵ See Epiphanius, *De Prophetarum Vitis*, in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus, Ser. Gr.*, t. 43, cols. 415-427.

⁶ Rather obscure; 𐤎𐤍𐤏 signifies 'he hid, concealed, buried;' possibly the meaning may be 'brought by an underground tunnel.'

⁷ Schoenfelder, *eum in terram projecerunt*.

⁸ Epiphanius says that Amaziah slew him.

Ahab's soldiers. He became a disciple of Elijah, and endured many evil things from Ahab, because he forsook him and went after Elijah. However he died in peace. After he followed Elijah, he was deemed worthy of prophecy¹.

Elijah the fiery, of the family of Aaron, (was) from Tashbí², a town of the Levites. When this (prophet) was born, his father saw in a dream that one was born, and that they wrapped him in fire instead of swaddling bands, and gave him some of that fire to eat. He came to Jerusalem, and told the priests the vision that he had seen. The learned among the people said to him, 'Fear not, thy son is about to be a fire, and his word shall be like fire, and shall not fall to the ground; he will burn like fire with jealousy of sinners, and his zeal will be accepted before God.' He was taken up in a chariot towards heaven. Some say that his father was called Shôbâkh³. [حـ]

Elisha his pupil, from Ābel-Mēhólâh, (was) of the tribe of Reuben. On the day of his birth a great wonder took place in Israel; for the bull⁴ which they worshipped in Gilgal lowed, and his voice was heard in Jerusalem. The chief priests in Jerusalem said, 'A mighty prophet is born to-day in Israel at this time, and he will break the images and idols to pieces.' He died in peace, and was buried in Samaria.

Jonah the son of Amittai⁵ (was) from Gath-hepher⁶, from Kûryath-Ādâmôs⁷, which is near to Ascalon and Gaza and the sea coast. After this (prophet) had prophesied to the Ninevites in the time of Sardânâ⁸

¹ Solomon here follows the tradition adopted by Jerome and Ephraim Syrus, and maintained by Kimchi and Abarbanel. He is supposed to have been the captain of the third fifty of soldiers sent by Ahab against Elijah. See 2 Kings i. 13.

² Or Tishbeh. Epiphanius, 'from the land of the Arabs.'

³ Elijah is called 'the son of Shôbâkh' in the Oxford MS. Epiphanius, Σοβαχ.

⁴ Epiphanius, 'the golden heifer.'

⁵ In the Syriac, *Yaunân the son of Mattai*.

⁶ Gath-hepher in the tribe of Zebulun, 2 Kings xiv. 25.

⁷ Epiphanius, ἐκ γῆς Καριαθαρούμ. A variant has Καριαθαρίμ (Kirjath-jearim).

⁸ Or Surdânôs, سوردنوس. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, note 369, page 43. The only son of Sennacherib whose name can be compared with this is *Assur-nadin-sumi*.

the king, he did not remain in his own land because the Jews were jealous of him ; but he took his mother, and went and dwelt in Assyria. He feared the reproach of the Jews, because he had prophesied, and his prophecy did not come to pass. He also rebuked Ahab the king, and called a famine upon the land and the people. He came to the widow of Elijah, and blessed her, because she received him, and he returned to Judaea. His mother died on the way, and he buried her by the side of Deborah's grave. He lived in the land of Seridá, and died two years after the people had returned from Babylon, and was buried in the cave of *Ḳainân*¹. This (prophet) prophesied that when the Messiah should come, the cities of the Jews would be overturned.

Micah the Morashthite (was) of the tribe of Ephraim, and was slain by Joram the son of Ahab. This (prophet) prophesied concerning the destruction of the temple of the Jews, and the abrogation [ⲁⲛⲥ] of the Passover on the death of the Messiah. He died in peace, and was buried in Anikám.

Nahum, from the city of Elḳôsh, (was) of the tribe of Simeon. After the death of Jonah this (prophet) prophesied concerning the Ninevites, saying, 'Nineveh shall perish by perpetually advancing waters, and ascending fire;' and this actually took place. He prophesied also concerning the Babylonians, that they would come against the Israelitish people; and therefore they sought to kill him. He prophesied that when the Messiah should be slain, the veil of the temple should be rent in twain², and that the Holy Spirit should depart from it. He died in peace, and was buried in his own country.

Habakkuk (was) of the tribe of Simeon, and from the land of *Ṣûâr* (Zoar)³. This (prophet) prophesied concerning the Messiah, that He should come, and abrogate the laws of the Jews. He brought food to Daniel at Babylon by the divine (or, angelic) agency. The Jews stoned him in Jerusalem.

Zephaniah (was) of the tribe of Simeon. He prophesied concerning

¹ Epiphanius, *Καὶ κατοικήσας ἐν γῆ Σαῦρ, ἐκεῖ ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ Καυεζεοῦ.*

² Epiphanius attributes this prophecy to Habakkuk.

³ Epiphanius, *ἐξ ἀγροῦ Βηθοχῆρ.* A variant has *Βιδεζιχάρ.*

the Messiah, that He should suffer, and that the sun should become dark, and the moon be hidden. He died in peace in his own land.

Haggai returned from Babylon to Jerusalem when he was young. He prophesied that the people would return, and concerning the Messiah, that He would abrogate the sacrifices of the Jews. He died in peace.

Zechariah the son of Jehoiada returned from Babylon in his old age, and wrought wonders among the people. He died at a great age, and was buried by the side of the grave of Haggai.

Malachi was born after the return of the people, and because of his beauty he was surnamed 'Angel.' He died in peace in his own land. [حجج]

The Jews stoned Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah in Egypt, because he rebuked them for worshipping idols; and the Egyptians buried him by the side of Pharaoh's palace. The Egyptians loved him much, because he prayed and the beasts died which used to come up from the river Nile and devour men. These beasts were called 'crocodiles¹.' When Alexander the son of Philip, the Macedonian, came (to Egypt), he made enquiries about his grave, and took and brought him to Alexandria. This (prophet) during his life said to the Egyptians, 'a child shall be born—that is the Messiah—of a virgin, and He shall be laid in a crib², and He will shake and cast down the idols.' From that time, and until Christ was born, the Egyptians used to set a virgin and a baby in a crib, and to worship him, because of what Jeremiah said to them, that He should be born in a crib.

Ezekiel the son of Buzi was of the priestly tribe, and from the land of Seridâ³. The chief of the Jews who was in the land of the Chaldeans slew him, because he rebuked him for worshipping idols. He was buried in the grave of Arphaxar, the son of Shem, the son of Noah.

Daniel (was) of the tribe of Judah, and was born in Upper Beth-Horon. He was a man who kept himself from women, and hence the Jews thought that he was an eunuch, for his face was different (from that

¹ Read *كروكوديلو*, *κροκόδειλοι*.

² See Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus*, Ser. Gr., t. 43, col. 421; and the chapter on the going down of our Lord into Egypt.

³ Epiphanus, *ἐκ γῆς Σαρραδά*.

Jared begat Enoch. Enoch begat Methuselah. Methuselah begat Lamech. Lamech begat Noah. Noah begat Shem. Shem begat Arphaxar. Arphaxar begat Kainán. Kainán begat Shálách. Shálách begat Eber. Eber begat Peleg. Peleg begat Reu. Reu begat Serug. Serug begat Nahor. Nahor begat Terah. [٥] Terah begat Abraham. Abraham begat Isaac. Isaac begat Jacob. Jacob begat Judah. Judah took a Canaanitish wife, whose name was Shuah. And it was very grievous to Jacob, and he said to Judah, 'The God of my fathers will not allow the seed of Canaan to be mingled with our seed, nor his family with our family.' There were born to Judah by the Canaanitish woman three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah. Er took Tamar, the daughter of Merari the son of Levi, to wife, and he lay with her in the Sodomite way and died without children. After him his brother Onan took her, to raise up seed to his brother; he also, when he lay with her, scattered his seed outside of her on the ground, and he too died without children. Because Shelah was a child, Judah kept his daughter-in-law in widowhood, that he might give her to Shelah to raise up seed by her. But Tamar went into her father-in-law by crafty devices, and lay with him, and conceived, and gave birth to twins, Pharez and Zarah. Pharez begat Hezron. Hezron begat Aram. Aram begat Amminadab. Amminadab begat Nahshon. Eleazar the son of Aaron, the priest, took the sister of Nahshon to wife, and by her begat Phinehas; and the seed of the priesthood was mingled with the royal line¹. Nahshon begat Salmon. Salmon begat Boaz by Rahab. Boaz begat Obed by Ruth the Moabitess. Obed begat Jesse. Jesse begat David the king by Nahash.

[٦] Now two genealogies are handed down from David to Christ; the one from Solomon to Jacob², and the other from Nathan to Heli³. David begat Solomon. Solomon begat Rehoboam. Rehoboam begat Abijah. Abijah begat Asa. Asa begat Jehoshaphat. Jehoshaphat begat Joram. Joram begat Uzziah. Uzziah begat Jotham. Jotham begat Ahaz. Ahaz begat Hezekiah. Hezekiah begat Manasseh.

¹ This sentence is omitted by the Oxford MS., as well as several names from the genealogies.

² Matt. i. 6-16.

³ Luke iii. 23-31.

Manasseh begat Amon. Amon begat Josiah. Josiah begat Jeconiah. Jeconiah begat Salathiel. Salathiel begat Zerubbabel. Zerubbabel begat Abiud. Abiud begat Eliakim. Eliakim begat Azor. Azor begat Zadok. Zadok begat Achin. Achin begat Eliud. Eliud begat Eleazar. Eleazar begat Matthan. Matthan begat Jacob. Jacob begat Joseph.

. Or again : David begat Nathan. Nathan begat Mattatha. Mattatha begat Mani. Mani begat Melea. Melea begat Eliakim. Eliakim begat Jonam. Jonam begat Levi¹. Levi begat Mattitha. Mattitha begat Jorim. Jorim begat Eliezer. Eliezer begat Jose. Jose begat Er. Er begat Elmodad. Elmodad begat Cosam. Cosam begat Addi. Addi begat Melchi. Melchi begat Neri. Neri begat Salathiel. Salathiel begat Zorobabel. Zorobabel begat Rhesa. Rhesa begat Johannan. Johannan begat Juda. Juda begat Joseph. Joseph begat Semei. Semei begat Mattatha. Mattatha begat Maath. Maath begat Nagge. [גד] Nagge begat Esli. Esli begat Nahum. Nahum begat Amos. Amos begat Mattitha. Mattitha begat Joseph. Joseph begat Janni. Janni begat Melchi. Melchi begat Levi. Levi begat Matthat. Matthat begat Heli. Heli begat Joseph.

Know too, O my brother, that Mattan the son of Eliezer—whose descent was from the family of Solomon—took a wife whose name was Astha (or Essetha) and by her begat Jacob naturally. Mattan died, and Melchi—whose family descended from Nathan the son of David—took her to wife, and begat by her Eli (or Heli); hence Jacob and Heli are brothers, (the sons) of (one) mother. Eli took a wife and died without children. Then Jacob took her to wife, to raise up seed to his brother, according to the command of the law; and he begat by her Joseph, who was the son of Jacob according to nature, but the son of Heli according to the law; so whichever ye choose, whether according to nature, or according to the law, Christ is found to be the son of David. It is moreover right to know that Eliezer begat two sons, Mattan and Jotham. Mattan begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Joseph; Jotham begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Mary. From this it is clear that Joseph's father and Mary's father were cousins.

¹ Joseph, Juda, and Simeon should follow here. See Luke iii. 29, 30.

CHAPTER XXXIV¹.

OF THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE ANGEL TO YÔNÂKÎR (JOACHIM)
IN RESPECT OF MARY.

THIS Zadok, who was called Yônâkîr, and Dinah his wife were righteous before God, and were rich in earthly riches [حَد] and in goods and chattels; but they had neither fruit nor offspring like other people². They were reproached by the people for their barrenness, and they did not allow them to offer up the offering except after every one else, because they had no children among the people of Israel. And Yônâkîr went out into the desert, and pitched his tent outside the encampment, and he prayed before God with mournful tears, and put on garments of mourning; so also did Dinah his wife. And God heard their prayers and accepted the sacrifices of their tears. The angel of God came to them, and announced to them the conception of Mary, saying, 'Your prayer has been heard before God, and behold, He will give you blessed fruit, a daughter who shall be a sign and a wonder among all the generations of the world; and all families shall be blessed through her.' Then they two praised God, and Zadok returned to his habitation. And Dinah his wife conceived, and brought forth Mary; and from that day she was called Hannah (Anna) instead of Dinah, for the Lord had had compassion upon her. Now the name 'Mary' (Maryam or Miriam) is interpreted 'lifted up,' 'exalted;' and they rejoiced in her exceedingly. And after six months her parents said to one another, 'We will not allow her to walk upon the ground³;'

¹ Chap. xxxviii in the Oxford MS.

² See William Hone, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 8vo, London, 1820, Protevangelion and Mary; Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, p. 1; Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels*, pp. 3, 29, and 84 foll.; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Leipzig, 1853, pp. 53 foll.; Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Lipsiae, 1832, t. i, pp. 162 foll. For a list of other works on the Apocryphal Gospels, see Migne, *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes*, col. 962.

³ Then her mother caught her up and said, 'As the Lord my God liveth, thou shalt not walk again on this earth till I bring thee into the temple of the Lord.' Hone, *Apoc. New Test.*, Mary, chap. vi. 2.

and they carried her with sacrifices and offerings, and brought her to the temple of the Lord. And they sacrificed oxen and sheep to the Lord, and offered Mary to the high priest. He laid his hand upon her head, and blessed her, saying, 'Blessed shalt thou be among women.' Two years after she was weaned, they brought her to the temple of the Lord, even as they had vowed to the Lord, and delivered her to the high priest. He laid his hand upon her head, and blessed her, and said to her [אב] that she should give herself over to the aged women who were there. And she was brought up with the virgins in the temple of the Lord, and performed the service of the temple with joyful heart and godly fervour until she was twelve years old. Because she was beautiful in appearance, the priests and the high priest took counsel and prayed before God that He would reveal to them what they should do with her¹. And the angel of God appeared unto the high priest and said to him, 'Gather together the staves of the men who have been left widowers by their first wives, and are well known for piety, uprightness, and righteousness, and what God sheweth thee, do.' And they brought many staves and laid them down in the temple; and they prayed before God that day and its night. The chief priest went into the temple and gave to each of them his staff, and when Joseph took his staff in his hand, there went forth from it a white dove, and hovered over the top of the rod, and sat upon it. The chief priest drew near to Joseph and kissed him on his head, and said to him, 'The blessed maiden has fallen to thy lot from the Lord; take her to thee until she arrives at the age for marriage, and (then) make a marriage feast after the manner and custom of men; for it is meet for thee (to do so) more than others, because ye are cousins.' Joseph said to the chief priest, 'I am an old and feeble man, and this is a girl, and unfit for my aged condition; it is better to give her to one of her own age, because I cannot rely upon myself to watch her and guard her.' The chief priest said to him, 'Take heed that thou dost not transgress [אב] the command of God, and bring a punishment upon thee.' So Joseph took Mary, and went to his dwelling-place.

² Some days after the priests distributed various coloured silken

¹ Hone, *Apoc. New Test.*, chap. viii. 31.

² *Ibid.*, chap. ix.

threads to weave for the veil of the sanctuary; and it fell to Mary's lot to weave purple. And while she was in the temple in prayer, having placed incense before the Lord, suddenly the archangel Gabriel appeared to her in the form of a middle-aged man, and a sweet odour was diffused from him; and Mary was terrified at the sight of the angel.

CHAPTER XXXV¹.

OF THE ANNUNCIATION BY GABRIEL TO MARY OF THE CONCEPTION OF OUR LORD.

AT the ninth hour of the first day of the week, on the twenty-fifth of the month of Adar,—though some say on the first day of the month of Nisan, which is correct,—in the three hundred and seventh year of Alexander the son of Philip, or of Nectanebus², the Macedonian, six months after Elizabeth's conception of John, the archangel Gabriel appeared to Mary and said to her, 'Peace be to thee, O full of grace! our Lord is with thee, O blessed among women!' As for her, when she saw (him), she was terrified at his words, and was thinking what this salutation was. The angel said to her, 'Fear not Mary, for thou hast found grace with God. And behold, thou shalt conceive [aa] and bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Emmanuel, which is interpreted, "our God is with us." This (child) shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest.' Mary said to the angel, 'Behold, I am the handmaid of the Lord; let it be to me according to thy word.' And the angel went away from her. In those days Mary arose, and went to Elizabeth her cousin, and she went in and saluted Elizabeth. And it came to pass that when Elizabeth heard Mary's salutation, the babe leaped in her womb, and John in Elizabeth's womb bowed down to our Lord in Mary's womb, as a servant to his master. Mary remained with Elizabeth about three months, and then returned to her house. After the lapse of six months, Joseph saw that Mary had conceived, and he was troubled in his mind, and said, 'What answer shall I give to the high priest in respect of this trial which has befallen me?' And because he relied upon the purity of his spouse, he fell into perplexity

¹ Chap. xxxix in the Oxford MS.

² In the MS. *Niktibús*.

and doubt, and said to her, 'Whence hast thou this? and who has beguiled thee, O perfect dove? Wast thou not brought up with the pure virgins and venerable matrons in the temple of the Lord?' And she wept, saying, 'As the Lord God liveth, I have never known man nor had connexion with any one;' but she did not speak to him of the angel and the cause of her conception. Then Joseph meditated within himself and said, 'If I reveal this matter before men, I fear lest it may be from God; and if I keep it back and hide it, I fear the rebuke and penalty of the law.' For the Jews did not approach their wives until they made [יב] a feast to the high priest, and then they took them. And Joseph thought that he would put her away secretly; and while he was pondering these things in his heart, the angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'Joseph, son of David, fear not to take Mary thy wife; for that which is born in her is of the Holy Spirit.' He spake well when he said 'in her,' and not 'of her.'

And the priests heard of Mary's conception, and they made an accusation against Joseph, as if deceit had been found in him. Joseph said, 'As the Lord liveth, I know not the cause of her conception;' and Mary likewise swore this. There was a custom among the Jews that, when any one of them was accused with an accusation, they made him drink 'the water of trial¹;' if he were innocent, he was not hurt, but if he were guilty, his belly swelled, and his body became swollen, and the mark of chastisement appeared in him. When they had made Mary and Joseph drink of the water of trial, and they were not hurt, the high priest commanded Joseph to guard her diligently until they saw the end of this matter².

CHAPTER XXXVI³.

OF THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD IN THE FLESH.

ONE year before the annunciation of our Lord, the emperor of the Romans sent to the land of Palestine Cyrinus⁴ the governor, to write

¹ Num. v. 18.

² See Hone, *Apoc. New Test.*, Protevangelion, chap. xi; Cowper, *Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 48; Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*, p. 372; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apoc.*, p. 72.

³ Chap. xl in the Oxford MS.

⁴ Luke ii. 1-2. The name is written in the MSS. of 'the Bee' *Κυρίνος* = Quirinus.

down every one for the poll-tax, for the Jews were subject to the empire of the Romans; and every man was written down in his city. And [حده] Joseph the carpenter also went up that he might be written down in his city; and by reason of his exceeding great watchfulness for the blessed (Mary), he took her with him upon an ass. When they had gone about three miles, Joseph looked at her and saw that her hand was laid upon her belly, and that her face was contracted with pain; and he thought that she was troubled by the beast, and asked her about her trouble and pain. She said to him, 'Hasten and prepare a place for me to alight, for the pains of childbirth have taken hold upon me.' When he had lifted her down from the animal, he went to fetch a midwife, and found a Hebrew woman whose name was Salome¹. The heretics say that she was called Hadyök, but they err from the truth. When Joseph came to the cave, he found it full of brilliant light, and the child wrapped in swaddling clothes and rags, and laid in a crib. And there were shepherds there keeping watch over their flocks, and behold the angel of God came to them, and the glory of the Lord shone upon them; and they feared with an exceeding great fear. The angel said to them, 'Fear not, for behold, I announce to you a great joy which shall be to all the world; for there is born to you this day a Redeemer, who is the Lord Jesus, in the city [فد] of David: and this shall be

¹ The extract from the History of the Virgin runs as follows: 'When they drew near to Bethlehem, Mary said to Joseph, "The day of giving birth has come, and the birth-pains will not allow me to reach the city; let us enter this cave, for my womb" When she had gone into the cave, Joseph ran to call a woman to be with her. And lo, while he was running, there met him an old Samaritan woman, who was travelling from Jerusalem to go to Bethlehem. Joseph said to her, "Come, O blessed matron, and go into this cave, where there is a woman giving birth to a child." When the old woman came, Joseph was mixing for her , and they had nothing in the cave. When they went in they saw,' etc. Some words seem to have been omitted in the MS. after ~~فد~~ in the third line. I do not know the meaning of ~~فد~~. See Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 51; the notes in Thilo, *Codex Apoc.*, p. 377; and Wright, *Contrib. to the Apoc. Lit. of the New Test.*, pp. 2 and 3. In the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew two midwives are mentioned, Zelomi and Salome; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apoc.*, p. 75.

the sign unto you; ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, and laid in a crib.' And suddenly with the angel there appeared many hosts of heaven, praising God and saying, 'Glory to God in the heights, and on earth peace and tranquillity and good hope to men.' And the shepherds went and entered the cave, and they saw as the angel had said to them. The names of the shepherds were these: Asher, Zebulon, Justus, Nicodemus, Joseph, Barshabba, and Jose; seven in number.

CHAPTER XXXVII¹.

THE PROPHECY OF ZĀRĀDŌŠT CONCERNING OUR LORD.

THIS Zârâdôšt is Baruch the scribe. When he was sitting by the fountain of water called Glôshâ of Hôrîn, where the royal bath had been erected, he said to his disciples, the king Gûshnâsâph² and Sâsân and Mahîmad, 'Hear, my beloved children, for I will reveal to you a mystery concerning the great King who is about to rise upon the world. At the end of time, and at the final dissolution, a child shall be conceived in the womb of a virgin, and shall be formed in her members, without any man approaching her. And he shall be like a tree with beautiful foliage and laden with fruit, standing in a parched land; and the inhabitants of that land shall be gathered together³ to uproot it from the earth, but shall not be able. Then they will take him and crucify him upon a tree, and heaven and earth shall sit in mourning for his sake; and all the families of the nations shall be in grief for him. He will begin to go down to the depths of the earth, and from the depth he will be exalted to the height; [ع] then he will come with the armies of light, and be borne aloft upon white clouds; for he is a child conceived by the Word which establishes natures.' Gûshnâsâph says to him, 'Whence has this one, of whom thou sayest these things, his power? Is he greater than thou, or art thou greater than he?' Zârâdôšt says to him, 'He shall descend from my family; I am he, and he is I; he is in me, and I am in him. When the beginning

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. xli.

² Or rather, *Gushnasp*.

³ Or, according to another reading, *shall strive with one another*.

of his coming appears, mighty signs will be seen in heaven, and his light shall surpass that of the sun. But ye, sons of the seed of life, who have come forth from the treasuries of life and light and spirit, and have been sown in the land of fire and water, for you it is meet to watch and take heed to these things which I have spoken to you, that ye await his coming; for you will be the first to perceive the coming of that great king, whom the prisoners await to be set free. Now, my sons, guard this secret which I have revealed to you, and let it be kept in the treasure-houses of your souls. And when that star rises of which I have spoken, let ambassadors bearing offerings be sent by you, and let them offer worship to him. Watch, and take heed, and despise him not, that he destroy you not with the sword; for he is the king of kings, and all kings receive their crowns from him. He and I are one.' These are the things which were spoken by this second Balaam, and God, according to His custom, compelled him to interpret these things; or he sprang from a people who were acquainted with the prophecies¹ concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and declared them aforetime. [כג]

CHAPTER XXXVIII².

OF THE STAR WHICH APPEARED IN THE EAST ON THE DAY
OF THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD.

SOME say that that star appeared to the Magi simultaneously with the birth of our Lord. As for Herod's commanding that all children from two years old and downwards should be slain, it is not as if they required all that length of time for their journey, but they had some accidental delay either in their own country or on the road. Again, Herod did not command that the children should be slain immediately after his having met the Magi, but much time passed in the interval, because he was waiting to hear from them.

The holy Mâr John Chrysostom, in his exposition of Matthew, says,

¹ See Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Theil ii, pp. 439, 440, and 905.

² In the Oxford MS. chap. xlii.

Haşbân, Şardâlâh the son of Baladân, Merôdâch the son of Beldarân; these four brought frankincense. Some say that the offerings which the Magi brought and offered to our Lord had been laid in the Cave of Treasures by Adam¹; and Adam commanded Seth to hand them down from one to another until our Lord rose, and they brought (them), and offered (them) to Him. But this is not received by the Church. When the Magi came to Jerusalem, the whole city was moved; and Herod the king heard it and was moved. And he gathered together the chief priests and the scribes of the people, and enquired about the place in which Christ should be born; and they told him, in Bethlehem of Judah, [١٥] for so it is written in the prophet². Then Herod called the Magi, and flattered them, and commanded them to seek out the Child diligently, and when they had found Him to tell Herod, that he also might go and worship Him. When the Magi went forth from Herod, and journeyed along the road, the star rose again suddenly, and guided them until it came and stood over (the place) where the Child was. And when they entered the cave, and saw the Child with Mary His mother, they straightway fell down and worshipped Him, and opened their treasures, and offered unto Him offerings, gold and myrrh and frankincense. Gold for His kingship, and myrrh for His burial, and frankincense for His Godhead. And it was revealed to them in a dream that they should not return to Herod, and they went to their land by another way. Some say that the Magi took some of our Lord's swaddling bands with them as a blessed thing³.

¹ The Oxford MS. adds: 'They were laid in the ark, and afterwards in the land of Persia.'

² Micah v. 2.

³ See Hone, *Protevangelion*, Infancy, chap. iii. 4-10. The passage from the History of the Virgin Mary, given in the notes, is as follows: 'And Mary took one of the swaddling bands of Jesus, and gave it to the Persian Magi, and they received it from her in faith as a sublime gift They held a Magian feast, and made a huge fire, and cast the swaddling band into the fire, which they worshipped; and the swaddling band became like fire, and quenched that fire. Then they brought it out from the fire when it was like snow, even purer than at first. And they took it and kissed it and laid it upon their eyes, saying, "Verily without doubt this is the God of gods, for the fire of our god was not able to burn it or injure it." And they took it with faith and great honour.'

Then Longinus the sage wrote to Augustus Caesar and said to him, 'Magians, kings of Persia, have come and entered thy kingdom, and have offered offerings [כסף] to a child who is born in Judah; but who he is, and whose son he is, is not known to us.' Augustus Caesar wrote to Longinus, saying, 'Thou hast acted wisely in that thou hast made known to us (these things) and hast not hidden (them) from us.' He wrote also to Herod, and asked him to let him know the story of the Child. When Herod had made enquiries about the Child, and saw that he had been mocked by the Magi, he was wroth, and sent and slew all the children in Bethlehem and its borders, from two years old and downwards, according to the time which he had enquired of the Magi. The number of the children whom he slew was two thousand, but some say one thousand eight hundred. When John¹ the son of Zechariah was sought for, his father took him and brought him before the altar; and he laid his hand upon him, and bestowed on him the priesthood, and then brought him out into the wilderness. When they could not find John, they slew Zechariah his father between the steps² and the altar. They say that from the day when Zechariah was slain his blood bubbled up until Titus the son of Vespasian came and slew three hundred myriads of Jerusalem, and then the flow of blood ceased³. The father of the child Nathaniel also took him, and wrapped him round, and laid him under a fig-tree; and he was saved from slaughter. Hence our Lord said to Nathaniel, 'Before Philip called thee, I saw thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree.'

CHAPTER XL⁴.

OF OUR LORD'S GOING DOWN INTO EGYPT⁵.

WHEN the Magi had returned to their country, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, and said to him, 'Arise, take the Child

¹ See Hone, *Protevangelion*, chap. xvi. 9-28; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, p. 45; Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 24; Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.*, p. 265; Wright, *Contributions to the Apoc. Lit. of the New Test.*, p. 5.

² כסף: כסף = κατάστρωμα. See above, p. 73, note 3.

³ See *Taanith*, fol. 69, Tal. Jer., and *Sanhedrin*, fol. 96, Tal. Babli.

⁴ In the Oxford MS. chap. xlv.

⁵ Matt. chap. ii.

and His mother, [אָ] and flee to Egypt; and stay there until I tell thee.' So Joseph arose and took the Child and His mother by night, and fled to Egypt, and was there until the death of Herod. When they were journeying along the road to Egypt, two robbers met them; the name of the one was Titus, that of the other Dùmâchos (?). Dùmâchos wished to harm them and to treat them evilly, but Titus would not let him, and delivered them from the hands of his companion. When they reached the gate of the city called Hermopolis¹, there were by the two buttresses of the gate two figures of brass, that had been made by the sages and philosophers; and they spoke like men. When our Lord and His mother and Joseph entered Egypt, that is to say that city, these two figures cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'A great king has come into Egypt².' When the king of Egypt heard this, he was troubled and moved; for he feared lest his kingdom should be taken away from him. And he commanded the heralds to proclaim throughout the whole city, 'If any man knoweth (who He is), let him point (Him) out to us without delay.' When they had made much search and did not find Him, the king commanded all the inhabitants of the city to go outside and come in one by one. When our Lord entered, these two figures cried out, 'This is the king.' And when our Lord was revealed, Pharaoh sought to slay Him. Now Lazarus—whom Christ raised from the dead—was there, and was one of the king's officials, and held in much esteem by the lord of Egypt. He drew near to Joseph and asked them, [אָ] 'Whence are ye?' They said to him, 'From the land of Palestine.' When he heard that they were from the land of Palestine, he was sorry for them, and came to the king and pledged himself for the Child. And he said to the king, 'O king, live for ever! If deceit be found in this Child, behold, I am before thee, do unto me according to thy will.' This is the (cause) of the love between Lazarus and Christ. One day when Mary was washing the

¹ In the Thebaïd. For the opinions of the ancient writers on this subject see Tillemont, *Mém. Eccles.*, i. 8.

² When Christ entered Egypt, all the idols fell down and were broken. See Fabricius, *Evangel. Infantiae*, p. 175; Migne, *Dict. des Apoc.*, vol. xxiv, p. 926; Thilo, *Codex Apoc.*, p. 399; Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 63.

swaddling bands of our Lord, she poured out the water used in washing in a certain place, and there grew up there apûrsam¹ (that is to say balsam) trees, a species of tree not found anywhere else save in this spot in Egypt. Its oil has (divers) properties; if a man dips iron into it, and brings (the iron) near a fire, it shines like wax; if some of it is thrown upon water, it sinks to the bottom; and if a drop of it is dropped upon the hollow of a man's hand, it goes through to the other side. Our Lord remained two years in Egypt, until Herod had died an evil death. He died in this manner. First of all he slew his wife and his daughter, and he killed one man of every family, saying, 'At the time of my death there shall be mourning and weeping and lamentation in the whole city.' His bowels and his legs were swollen with running sores, and matter flowed from them, and he was consumed by worms. He had nine wives and thirteen children. And he commanded his sister Salome and her husband, saying, 'I know that the Jews will hold a great festival on the day of my death; when they are gathered together [سعد] with the weepers and mourners, slay them, and let them not live after my death.' There was a knife in his hand, and he was eating an apple; and by reason of the severity of his pain, he drew the knife across his throat, and cut it with his own hand; and his belly burst open², and he died and went to perdition. After the death of Herod who slew the children, his son Herod Archelaus reigned, who cut off the head of John. And the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in Egypt and said to him, 'Arise, take the Child and His mother, and go to the land of Israel, for those who sought the life of the Child are dead.' So Joseph took the Child and His mother, and came to Galilee; and they dwelt in the city of Nazareth, that what was said in the prophecy might be fulfilled, 'He shall be called a Nazarene.' In the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus the kingdom of the Jews was divided into four parts. To Philip (were assigned) two parts, Ituræa and Trachonitis; to Lysanias one part, which was Abilene; and to

¹ See Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 73, no. 53.

² The marginal note in A, fol. 66 *b*, reads: 'Know, O my brother readers, that in the copy of Murâd the priest ܡܘܪܐܕ is written; but I say that ܡܘܪܐܕ ܐܘܠܐܢܐ is correct. Say, my brethren, which is correct.'

Herod the younger the fourth part. And Herod loved Herodias, the wife of his brother Philip.

CHAPTER XLI¹.OF JOHN THE BAPTIST, AND OF THE BAPTISM OF OUR LORD².

JOHN the Baptist lived thirty years in the desert with the wild beasts; and after thirty years he came from the wilderness to the habitations of men. [A_S] From the day when his father made him flee to the desert, when he was a child, until he came (again), he covered himself with the same clothes both summer and winter, without changing his ascetic mode of life. And he preached in the wilderness of Judaea, saying, 'Repent, the kingdom of God draweth nigh;' and he baptised them with the baptism of repentance for the remission of their sins. He said to them, 'Behold, there cometh after me a man who is stronger than I, the latchets of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose. I baptise you with water for repentance, but He who cometh after me is stronger than I; He will baptise you with the Holy Spirit and with fire:' thereby referring to that which was about to be wrought on the apostles, who received the Holy Spirit by tongues of fire, and this took the place of baptism to them, and by this grace they were about to receive all those who were baptised in Christ. Jesus came to John at the river Jordan to be baptised by him; but John restrained Him, saying, 'I need to be baptised by Thee, and art Thou come to me?' Jesus said to him, 'It is meet thus to fulfil the words of prophecy.' When Jesus had been baptised, as soon as He had gone up from the water, He saw that the heavens were rent, and the Spirit like a dove descended upon Him, and a voice from heaven said, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' On this day the Trinity was revealed to men; by the Father who cried out, and by the Son who was baptised, and by the Holy Spirit which came down [A] upon Him in the corporeal form of a dove. Touching the voice which was heard from heaven, saying, 'This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye Him,' every one heard the voice; but John only was worthy

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. xlv.

² Matt. chap. iii.

to see the vision of the Spirit by the mind. The day of our Lord's birth was the fourth day of the week, but the day of His baptism was the fifth. When John rebuked Herod, saying that it was not lawful for him to take his brother Philip's wife, he seized John, and cast him into the prison called Machaerûs¹. And it came to pass on a certain day, when Herod on his birthday made a feast for his nobles, that Bôziyâ, the daughter of Herodias, came in and danced before the guests; and she was pleasing in the sight of Herod and his nobles. And he said to her, 'Ask of me whatsoever thou desirest and I will give it to thee;' and he swore to her saying that whatever she asked he would give it to her, unto the half of his kingdom. She then went in to Herodias her mother and said to her, 'What shall I ask of him?' She said to her, 'The head of John the Baptist;' for the wretched woman thought that when John should be slain, she and her daughter would be free from the reprove, and would have an opportunity to indulge their lust: for Herod committed adultery with the mother and with her daughter. Then she went in to the king's presence and said to him, 'Give me now the head of John the Baptist on a charger.' And the king shewed sorrow, as if, forsooth, he was not delighted at the murder of the saint; but by reason of the force and compulsion of the oath he was obliged to cut off John's head. If, O wretched Herod, [م] she had demanded of thee the half of thy kingdom, that she might sit upon the throne beside thee and divide (it) with thee, wouldst thou have acceded to her, and not have falsified thy oath, O crafty one? And the king commanded an executioner, and he cut off the head of the blessed man, and he put it in a charger and brought and gave it to the damsel, and the damsel gave it to her mother. Then she went out to dance upon the ice, and it opened under her, and she sank into the water up to her neck; and no one was able to deliver her. And they brought the sword with which John's head had been cut off, and cut off hers and carried it to Herodias her mother. When she saw her daughter's head and that of the holy man, she became blind, and her right hand, with which she had taken up John's head, dried up; and

¹ Μαχαροῦς, a fortress situated on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea; Josephus, *Antiq.*, xviii. 5. 2.

her tongue dried up, because she had reviled him, and Satan entered into her, and she was bound with fetters. Some say that the daughter of Herodias was called Bôziyâ, but others say that she also was called by her mother's name Herodias. When John was slain, his disciples came and took his body and laid him in a grave; and they came and told Jesus. The two disciples whom John sent to our Lord, saying, 'Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another¹,' were Stephen the martyr and deacon, and Ḥananyah (Ananias) who baptised Paul. Some say that the wild honey and locusts, which he fed upon in the wilderness, was [مَدَد] manna,—which was the food of the children of Israel, and of which Enoch and Elijah eat in Paradise,—for its taste is like that of honey. Moses compares it to coriander seed², and the anchorites in the mountains feed upon it. Others say that it was a root like unto a carrot³; it is called Ḳâmûṣ, and its taste is sweet like honey-comb. Others say that the locusts were in reality some of those which exist in the world, and that the honey-comb was that which is woven by the little bees, and is found in small white cakes in desert places.

CHAPTER XLII⁴.

OF OUR LORD'S FAST; OF THE STRIFE WHICH HE WAGED WITH THE DEVIL⁵; AND OF THE MIGHTY DEEDS THAT HE WROUGHT.

TWO days after His baptism, He chose eight of the twelve disciples; and on the third day He changed the water into wine in the city of Cana. After He went forth from the wilderness, He completed the number of the twelve, according to the number of the tribes of the children of Israel and according to the number of the months. After the twelve disciples, He chose seventy and two, according to the number of the seventy-two elders. When He went out to the desert after He had changed the water into wine, He fasted forty days and forty nights.

¹ Matt. xi. 3.

² See Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 209, no. 155.

³ Σταφυλίνος, explained by سداب, i. e. Arab. جزر, Pers. کزبر. See Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, p. 86, no. 64.

⁴ In the Oxford MS. chap. xlvi.

⁵ Matt. chap. iv.

Some say that our Lord and the devil were waging war with one another for forty days; others say that the three contests took place in one day. After He had conquered the devil by the power of His Godhead, and had given us power to conquer him, He began to teach the nations. He wrought miracles, [ⲙⲁ] healed the sick, cleansed the lepers, cast out devils, opened the eyes of the blind, made the lame walk, made cripples stand, gave hearing to the deaf, and speech of tongue to the dumb. He satisfied five thousand with five loaves, and there remained twelve basketfuls; and with seven loaves and two fishes He satisfied four thousand (men), besides women and children, and there remained seven basketfuls. And some writers say that our Lord satisfied forty thousand men and women and children with five loaves. He walked upon the water and the sea as upon dry land. He rebuked the sea when it was disturbed, and it ceased from its disturbance. He raised up four dead; the daughter of Jairus, the widow's son, the servant of the centurion, and His friend Lazarus after (he had been dead) four days. He subjected Himself to the ancient law of Moses, that it might not be thought He was opposed to the divine commandments; and when the time came for Him to suffer, and to draw nigh to death that He might make us live by His death, and to slay sin in His flesh, and to fulfil the prophecies concerning Him, first of all He kept the Passover of the law; He dissolved the old covenant, and then He laid the foundation for the new law by His own Passover.

CHAPTER XLIII¹.

OF THE PASSOVER OF OUR LORD².

WHEN the time of the Passover came, He sent two of His disciples to a man with whom they were not acquainted, saying, 'When ye enter [ⲙⲁ] the city, behold, there will meet you a man carrying a pitcher of water; follow him, and wheresoever he entereth, say ye to the master of the house, "Our Master saith, Where is the guest-chamber, where I may eat the Passover with My disciples?"' and behold, he will shew you a large upper chamber made ready and prepared; there make ye ready

¹ In the Oxford MS., chap. xlvi.

² Matt. chap. xxvi.

for us.' And because at that time crowds of people were flocking thickly into Jerusalem to keep the feast of the Passover, so that all the houses of the inhabitants of Jerusalem were filled with people by reason of the great crowd which was resorting thither, our Lord, by the power of His Godhead, worked upon the master of the house to make ready a large upper chamber without his being aware for whom he was preparing it, but he thought that perhaps some great man among the nobles and grandees of the Jews was about to come to him, and that it was right to keep a room for him furnished with all things (needful); because all those who came from other places to Jerusalem were received into their houses by the people of the city, and whatsoever they required for the use of the feast of the Passover they supplied. Hence the master of the house made ready that upper chamber with all things (needful), and permitted no man to enter therein, being restrained by the power of our Lord. Because a mystical thing was about to be done in it, it was not meet for Him to perform the hidden mystery when others were near. [ܡܪܝܢ] Mâr Basil says: 'On the eve of the Passion, after the disciples had received the body and blood of our Lord, He poured water into a basin and began to wash the feet of His disciples; this was baptism to the apostles. They were not all made perfect, because they were not all pure, for Judas, the son of perdition, was not sanctified¹; and because that basin of washing was in truth baptism, as our Lord said to Simon Peter, "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me," that is to say, "If I baptise thee not, thou art not able to enter into the kingdom of heaven." Therefore, every one who is not baptised by the priests, and receives not the body and blood of Christ our Lord, enters not into the kingdom of heaven.' Mâr Dâd-îshô' says in his commentary on Abbâ Isaiah²: 'When our Lord at the Passover had washed the feet of His disciples, He kissed the knees of Judas, and wiped the soles of his feet with the napkin which was girt round His loins, like a common slave; for everything which our Lord did, He did for our teaching.' Mâr Basil in his 'Questions' advises Christians to eat oil, drink wine,

¹ In the Oxford MS. this chapter ends here.

² Isaiah of Scêtê. See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 99; Wright's *Catal.*, p. 458 sqq., p. 868, col. 2.

and break their fast on this evening; for in it was the old covenant finished, and the new one inaugurated; and in it was the (chosen) people stripped of holiness, and the nations were sanctified and pardoned. Although this saint permits (this), yet the other fathers do not give leave (to do) this, neither do we, nor those of our confession. [ⲁⲟ]

CHAPTER XLIV¹.

OF THE PASSION OF OUR LORD.

THREE years and three months after His baptism, Judas Iscariot the son of Simon betrayed his Lord to death. He was called Iscariot (Sĕkhariôtâ) from the name of his town (Sĕkhariôt), and he had the sixth place among the disciples before he betrayed our Lord. Our Lord was crucified at the third hour of Friday, the ninth of Nisan. Caiaphas, who condemned our Lord, is Josephus. The name of Bar-Abbâ was Jesus². The name of the soldier who pierced our Lord with the spear, and spat in His face, and smote Him on His cheek, was Longinus; it was he who lay upon a sick bed for thirty-eight years, and our Lord healed him, and said to him, 'Behold, thou art healed; sin no more, lest something worse than the first befall thee³.' The watchers at the grave were five, and these are their names: Issachar, Gad, Matthias, Barnabas and Simon; but others say they were fifteen, three centurions and their Roman and Jewish soldiers. Some men have a tradition that the stone which was laid upon the grave of our Lord was the stone which poured out water for the children of Israel in the wilderness. The grave in which our Redeemer was laid was prepared for Joshua the son of Nun, and was carefully guarded by the Divine will for the burial of our Lord. The purple which they put on our Lord mockingly, [ⲙⲁ] was given in a present to the Maccabees by the emperors of the Greeks; and they handed it over to the priests for dressing the

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. xlviij.

² The Oxford MS. omits this sentence.

³ John v. 14. The Oxford MS. adds passages from Isaiah, Zechariah and the Psalms, and after these our Lord's statement that He would rise again and restore the temple in three days.

temple¹. The priests took it and brought it to Pilate, testifying and saying, 'See the purple which He prepared when He thought to become king.' The garment which the soldiers divided into four parts indicates the passibility of His body. The robe without seam at the upper end which was not rent, is the mystery of the Godhead which cannot admit suffering. As touching the blood and water which came forth from His side², John the son of Zebedee was deemed worthy to see that vivifying flow from the life-giving fountain. Mâr John Chrysostom says: 'When His side was rent by the soldiers with the spear, there came forth immediately water and blood. The water is a type of baptism, and the blood is the mystery of His precious blood, for baptism was given first, and then the cup of redemption. But in the gospel it is written, "There went forth blood and water³."' As to the tree upon which our Redeemer was crucified, some have said that He was crucified upon those bars with which they carried the ark of the covenant; and others that it was upon the wood of the tree on which Abraham offered up the ram as an offering instead of Isaac. His hands were nailed upon the wood of the fig-tree of which Adam ate, and behold, we have mentioned its history with that of Moses' rod. The thirty pieces of silver (zûzê) which Judas received, and for which he sold his Lord, were thirty pieces according to the weight of the sanctuary, and were equal to six hundred pieces according to the weight of our country⁴. [مدد] Terah⁵ made these pieces for Abraham his son; Abraham gave them to Isaac; Isaac bought a village with them; the owner of the village carried them to Pharaoh; Pharaoh sent them to Solomon the son of


¹ In the Oxford MS. the purple is said to have been made for Hiram, king of Tyre, who sent it to Solomon, and he placed it in the Sanctuary.

² In the Oxford MS. a long account of the baptism of Adam is introduced here.

³ John xix. 34. See Chrysostom's *Homilies on St. John's Gospel*, ed. Migne, vol. viii, col. 465, lines 24-30.

⁴ ١٥١ = Arab. مائة, Gr. δραχμή.

⁵ Melchior, one of the Persian Magi, offered to Christ thirty pieces of gold, which had been coined by Terah the father of Abraham. Joseph paid them into the treasury of Sheba for spices to embalm Jacob, and the queen of Sheba gave them to Solomon. Sandys, *Christmas Carols*, London, 1883, p. lxxxiii foll.

David for the building of his temple; and Solomon took them and placed them round about the door of the altar. When Nebuchadnezzar came and took captive the children of Israel, and went into Solomon's temple and saw that these pieces were beautiful, he took them, and brought them to Babylon with the captives of the children of Israel. There were some Persian youths there as hostages, and when Nebuchadnezzar came from Jerusalem, they sent to him everything that was meet for kings and rulers. And since gifts and presents had been sent by the Persians, he released their sons and gave them gifts and presents, among which were those pieces of silver about which we have spoken; and they carried them to their parents. When Christ was born and they saw the star, they arose and took those pieces of silver and gold and myrrh and frankincense, and set out on the journey; and they came to the neighbourhood of Edessa, and these kings fell asleep by the roadside. And they arose and left the pieces behind them, and did not remember them, but forgot that anything of theirs remained behind. And certain merchants came and found them, and took these pieces, and came to the neighbourhood of Edessa, and sat down by a well of water. On that very day an angel came to the shepherds, and gave them the garment without seam [

¹ As regards the name of 'arûbbhtâ (i. e. the eve of the Jewish Sabbath), it was not known until this time, but that day was called the sixth day. And when the sun became dark, and the Divine Care also set and abandoned the Israelitish people, then that day was called 'arûbbhtâ ².

Touching the writing which was written in Greek, Hebrew and Latin, and set over Christ's head, there was no Aramean written upon the tablet, for the Arameans or Syrians had no part in (the shedding of) Christ's blood, but only the Greeks and Hebrews and Romans; Herod the Greek and Caiaphas the Hebrew and Pilate the Roman. Hence when Abgar the Aramean king of Mesopotamia heard (of it), he was wroth against the Hebrews and sought to destroy them ³.

CHAPTER XLV⁴.

OF THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD.

SINCE the history of our Lord's Passion and Resurrection is recorded in the Gospel, there is no need to repeat it (here). After our Lord rose from the dead, He appeared ten times. First, to Mary Magdalene, as John the Evangelist records ⁵. Secondly, to the women at the grave, as Matthew mentions ⁶. Thirdly, to Cleopas and his companion, as Luke says ⁷. The companion of Cleopas, when they were going to Emmaus, was Luke the Evangelist. Fourthly, to Simon Peter, as Luke says ⁸. Fifthly, to all the disciples, except Thomas, on the evening of the first day of the week, when he went in through the closed doors, as Luke and [صند] John say ⁹. Sixthly, eight days after, to the disciples, and to Thomas with them, as John says ¹⁰. Seventhly, on the mount, as

¹ The two following paragraphs do not appear in the Oxford MS.

² Solomon here refers to the derivation of حاد from the rad. حاد, it set (of the sun), Heb. יָרַב, Arab. عَرَبَ.

³ See *The Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips, p. ٤٥; Cureton, *Anc. Syr. Doc.*, p. 107; and Wright, *مذاهب و معتقدات مسيحية*, *Journal of Sacred Lit.*, No. xx, New Series, Jan., 1865, p. ٥.

⁴ This chapter does not appear in the Oxford MS.

⁵ John xx. 11, 18.

⁶ Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.

⁷ Luke xxiv. 18.

⁸ Luke xxiv. 34.

⁹ Luke xxiv. 36-49; John xx. 19-23.

¹⁰ John xx. 24-29.

Matthew says ¹. Eighthly, upon the sea of Tiberias, as John says ². The reason that Simon Peter did not recognise Him was because he had denied Him, and was ashamed to look upon Him; but John, because of his frank intimacy with our Lord, immediately that he saw Him, knew Him. Ninthly, when He was taken up to heaven from the Mount of Olives, as Mark and Luke say ³. Tenthly, to the five hundred at once, who had risen from the dead, as Paul says ⁴. After His Ascension, He appeared to Paul on the way to Damascus, when He blinded his eyes ⁵; and also to Stephen, the martyr and deacon, when he was stoned ⁶.

CHAPTER XLVI⁷.

OF THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD TO HEAVEN.

AFTER our Redeemer had risen from the grave, and had gone about in the world forty days, He appeared to His disciples ten times, and ate and drank with them by the side of the Sea of Tiberias. At this point the heathen say to us, that if our Lord really ate and drank after His resurrection, there will certainly be eating and drinking after (our) resurrection; but if He did not really eat and drink, then all the actions of Christ are mere phantasms. To these we make answer, that this [مبدا] world is a world of need for food; therefore He ate and drank, that it might not be thought He was a phantom; and because many who have risen from the dead have eaten and drunk in (this) world until they departed and died, as, for example, the dead (child) whom Elisha raised, and the dead whom our Lord raised. Our Lord did not eat after His resurrection because He needed food, but only to make certain His humanity: for, behold ⁸, He once remained in the desert forty days

¹ Matt. xxviii. 16-20.

² John xxi. 1-24.

³ Mark xvi. 19; Luke xxiv. 50, 53.

⁴ 'After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep.' 1 Cor. xv. 6.

⁵ Acts ix. 3-9; 1 Cor. xv. 8.

⁶ Acts vii. 55-60.

⁷ In the Oxford MS. see fol. 177 b.

⁸ In the Oxford MS. there follows here a long discussion on the divine and human natures of Christ, in the middle of which (fol. 178 b) is a Syriac passage in which the names of Athanasius and Gregory are mentioned. The view there maintained is that Christ is God and man in the unity of one Person.

without food, and was not injured by hunger. Some say that after His resurrection our Lord ate food like unto that which the angels ate in the house of Abraham, and that the food was dissipated and consumed by the Divine Power, just as fire licks up oil without any of it entering into its substance. Our Lord remained upon the earth forty days, even as He had fasted forty days, and as Elijah fasted forty days, and as Moses fasted forty days at two several times, and as the rain continued for forty days during the flood, and as God admonished the Ninevites for forty days, and as the spies remained (absent) for forty days, and as the children of Israel wandered about in the wilderness for forty years, and like the child whose fashioning in the womb is completed in forty days. After forty days, our Lord took up [א.ב.] His disciples to the Mount of Olives, and laid His hand upon them, and blessed them, and commanded them concerning the preaching and teaching of the nations. And it came to pass that while He was blessing them, He was separated from them, and went up to heaven; and they worshipped Him. And there appeared to them angels, encouraging them and saying, 'This Jesus, who has been taken up from you to heaven, is about to come again even as ye have seen Him go up to heaven.' Then they returned to that upper chamber where they were, and stayed there ten days, until they received the Holy Spirit in the form of tongues of fire. Simon Peter said to his fellow-disciples, 'It is right for us to put some one in the place of Judas to complete the number of twelve;' and they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias, and he was numbered with the eleven apostles¹.

As concerning the manner in which our Lord entered heaven without cleaving it, some say that He went in as He did through the closed doors; and as He came forth from the virgin womb, and Mary's virginity returned to its former state; and like the sweat from the body; and as water is taken up by the roots of the olive and other trees, and reaches in the twinkling of an eye the leaves, flowers and fruits, as if through certain ducts, without holes or channels being pierced in them. Thus by an infinite and ineffable miracle our Lord entered into heaven without cleaving it. And if the bodies of us who are accustomed [א.ב.]

¹ A new chapter begins here in the Oxford MS., fol. 180 a.

to drink water and wine pour out sweat without our flesh being rent or our skin pierced, how very much easier is it for the Divine Power to go in through closed doors and within the firmament of heaven without rending or cleaving it?

¹ As regards the upper chamber in which our Lord held His Passover, some say that it belonged to Lazarus, and others to Simon the Cyrenian, and others to Joseph the senator; but Joshua the son of Nun, the Catholicus², says that it belonged to Nicodemus. The apostles remained in the upper chamber ten days after the Ascension, being constant in fasting and prayer, and expecting the Spirit, the Comforter, which our Lord Jesus Christ promised them.

CHAPTER XLVII³.

OF THE DESCENT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT UPON THE APOSTLES IN
THE UPPER CHAMBER.

TEN days after our Lord's Ascension, when the holy apostles were assembled in the upper chamber waiting for the promise of our Lord, of a sudden, at the third hour of the holy Sunday of Pentecost, a mighty sound was heard, so that all men were terrified and marvelled at the mightiness of the sound; and the chamber was filled with an ineffably strong light. And there appeared over the head of each one of them (something) in the form of tongues of fire, and there breathed forth from thence a sweet odour which surpassed all aromas in this world. The eyes of their hearts were opened, and they began interpreting new things and uttering wonderful things in the languages of all nations [اصب]. When the Jews saw them, they thought within themselves that they had been drinking new wine and were drunk, and that their minds were depraved. On that day they participated in the mystery of the body and blood of our Lord, and sanctified the leavened bread of the sign of the cross (the eucharistic wafers) and the oil of baptism.

Some men have a tradition that when our Lord broke His body for

¹ A new chapter begins here in the Oxford MS., fol. 180 b.

² See Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 165.

³ In the Oxford MS. chap. lii, fol. 181 a.

His disciples in the upper chamber, John the son of Zebedee hid a part of his portion until our Lord rose from the dead. And when our Lord appeared to His disciples and to Thomas with them, He said to Thomas, 'Hither with thy finger and lay it on My side, and be not unbelieving, but believing.' Thomas put his finger near to our Lord's side, and it rested upon the mark of the spear, and the disciples saw the blood from the marks of the spear and nails. And John took that piece of consecrated bread, and wiped up that blood with it; and the Easterns, Mâr Addai and Mâr Mârî, took that piece, and with it they sanctified this unleavened bread which has been handed down among us¹. The other disciples did not take any of it, because they said, 'We will consecrate for ourselves whenever we wish.' As for the oil of baptism, some say that it was part of the oil with which they anointed the kings; others say that it was part of the unguent wherewith they embalmed our Lord; and many agree with this (statement). Others again say that when John took that piece of consecrated bread of the Passover in his hand, it burst into flame and burnt in the palm of his hand, and the palm of his hand sweated, and he took that sweat and hid it for the sign of the cross of baptism. This account we have heard by ear from the mouth of a recluse and visitor (*περιοδευτής*), and we have not received it from Scripture [صلى]. The word Pentecost is interpreted 'the completion of fifty days.'

CHAPTER XLVIII².

OF THE TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES, AND OF THE PLACES
OF EACH ONE OF THEM, AND OF THEIR DEATHS³.

NEXT we write the excellent discourse composed by Mâr Eusebius of Caesarea upon the places and families of the holy apostles.

Know then that the apostles were twelve and seventy. When the

¹ See Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 239, 241, 358, and 608.

² In the Oxford MS. chap. liii, fol. 182 a.

³ See the lives of the apostles and disciples by Pseudo-Dorotheus, edited by Du Cange in the *Chronicon Paschale*, Paris, 1868, p. 164; Hanmer, *Eusebius*, pp. 532 foll., London, 1636; Cave, *Lives of the Apostles*, Cary's ed., Oxford, 1840; Pseudo-Epiphanius, *De Prophetis, eorumque obitu ac sepultura*, Migne, *Patrologia*

apostles had received the gift of the Holy Spirit, on the day following they fasted this feast of the apostles (which we keep)¹; but the Malkâyê (Melchites)² say that the apostles fasted eight days after. Their names are as follows.

Simon, the chief of the apostles, was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Naphtali. He first preached in Antioch, and built there the first of all churches, which was in the house of Cassianus, whose son he restored to life. He remained there one year, and there the disciples were called Christians. From thence he went to Rome, where he remained for twenty-seven years; and in the three hundred and seventy-sixth year of the Greeks, the wicked Nero crucified him head downwards³.

Andrew his brother preached in Scythia and Nicomedia and Achaia. He built a church in Byzantium, and there he died and was buried. [صعبد]

John the son of Zebedee (Zabhdai) was also from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Zebulun. He first preached in Asia (Ephesus), and was afterwards cast into exile in the island of Patmos by Tiberius Caesar. He then went to Ephesus, and built in it a church. Three of his disciples went with him: Ignatius, who was afterwards bishop of Antioch, and who was thrown to the beasts in Rome; Polycarp, who was afterwards bishop of Smyrna⁴, and was crowned by fire; and John, to whom he committed the priesthood and the bishopric after him. When John had lived a long time, he died and was buried at Ephesus; and John, the

Ser. Gr., vol. 43, col. 393 foll.; Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclés.*, Paris, 1701, 4to; Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Braunschweig, 1884; and Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 163 b.

¹ The Nestorian Fast of the Apostles begins on Whit-Monday and ends on June 29th. See Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii, p. 188; Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 501.

² The orthodox Christians, who accept the doctrines on the natures of our Lord as laid down by the Council of Chalcedon. For the origin of the name, etc., see Renaudot, *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, p. 119; and Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. i, p. 507; t. iii, pt. i, p. 354, col. 2.

³ **ܩܘܪܒܢܐ** = *κατὰ κεφαλῆς*. Hoffmann has mistaken the meaning of the words in his *Auszüge*, p. 111. See the *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xxvii, June 29.

⁴ B, C and the Oxford MS. have *Syria*, **ܣܘܪܝܐ**, **ܣܘܪܝܐ**; but A gives **ܣܘܪܝܐ**, which we must correct into **ܣܘܪܝܐ**.

disciple of the Evangelist, who became bishop of Ephesus, buried him¹; for he commanded them that no one should know the place of his burial. The graves of both of them are in Ephesus; the hidden one of the Evangelist, and the other of his disciple John, the author of the Revelation; he said that everything he had written down, he had heard from John the Evangelist.

James, the brother of John, preached in his city Bethsaida, and built a church there. Herod Agrippas slew him with the sword one year after the Ascension of our Lord. He was laid in Âkâr, a city of Marmârikâ². [مرد]

Philip also was from Bethsaida, of the tribe of Asher. He preached in Phrygia, Pamphylia and Pisidia; he built a church in Pisidia, and died and was buried there. He lived twenty-seven years as an apostle³.

Thomas was from Jerusalem, of the tribe of Judah. He taught the Parthians, Medes and Indians⁴; and because he baptised the daughter of the king of the Indians, he stabbed him with a spear and he died⁵. Habbân the merchant brought his body, and laid it in Edessa, the blessed city of Christ our Lord⁶. Others say that he was buried in Mahlûph, a city in the land of the Indians⁷.

¹ See Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, vol. ii, Dec. 27.

² This sentence is omitted by the Oxford MS. Dorotheus and Pseudo-Epiphanius say that he was buried in Judaea, though some MSS. of the former have ἐν πόλει τῆς Μαρμαρικῆς, the original of the Latin 'in arce Marmarica.' Μαρμαρικὴ is the most eastern land of N. Africa. Isidore of Seville says: 'Jacobus filius Zebedaei frater Joannis quartus in ordine. Hispaniae et occidentalibus locis evangelium praedicavit et in occasum mundi lucem praedicationis infudit. Hic ab Herode tetrarcha gladio caesus occubuit sepultus in Azimarmaria [arce marmaria].' See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 208, 209, and 214, note 1; *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xxxiii, July 25; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, p. 512.

³ See *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. xiv, May 1; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 26.

⁴ Oxford MS. بارض الهند والسند وبلد فارس in *India and Sind and Persia*.

⁵ See Wright, *Apoc. Acts*, vol. ii, p. 297; *Acta Thomae*, ed. M. Bonnet, p. 83 sqq.; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, i, p. 236.

⁶ See Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. i, pp. 49, 399, and 403; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 18; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, i. 31, and iii. 4 foll.

⁷ The Oxford MS. says that he was buried in India. See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, i, p. 246; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Dec. 21.

Matthew the Evangelist was from Nazareth, of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in Palestine, Tyre and Sidon, and went as far as Gabbûlâ¹. He died and was buried in Antioch, a city of Pisidia².

Bartholomew was from Endor, of the tribe of Issachar. He preached in inner Armenia, Ardeshîr³, Kĉĉarbôl⁴, Radbîn, and Prûharmân⁵. After he had lived thirty years as an apostle, Hûrstî⁶ the king of the Armenians crucified him, and he was buried in the church which he built in Armenia.

Jude, the son of James, who was surnamed Thaddaeus (Taddai), who is also Lebbaeus (Lebbai), was from [اصح] Jerusalem, of the tribe of Judah. He preached in Laodicea and in Antaradus and Arwâd⁷. He was stoned in Arwâd, and died and was buried there⁸.

Simon Zelôtes was from Galilee, of the tribe of Ephraim. He preached in Shĉmêshât (Samosâta), Pârîn (Perrhê), Zeugma, Hâlâb (Aleppo), Mabbôg (Manbig), and Kenneshrîn (Kĉinnesrîn). He built a church in Kyrrhos, and died and was buried there⁹.

James, the son of Alphaeus (Halphai), was from the Jordan, of the tribe of Manasseh. He preached in Tadmor (Palmyra), Kirkêsion

¹ الجبُول al-Jabbûl, a town in Coelesyria.

² See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, i, pp. 391 foll.; *Acta Sanctorum*, xlvi, Sept. 21; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii, 2, p. 127.

³ Oxford MS. اذاروشير. According to the Armenian Acts of Bartholomew (Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii, 2, p. 94), he went first to Golthon in Armenia, and in the 29th year of Sanatruk came back to the hill Artaschu; he next went to Her and Zerevant, and afterwards to Urbianos, where he was martyred.

⁴ Oxford MS. قطربل. قطربل was a place between Baghdâd and 'Ukbarâ, celebrated for its wine; but this can hardly come into account.

⁵ Oxford MS. فروران.

⁶ According to other MSS., *Rhûstnî* or *Hêrôstnî*. The king of Armenia in the time of Bartholomew was called Sanadrog (Sanatruk). Florival, *Moïse de Khorène*, ii, p. 233. See also Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii, 2, pp. 59, 99, and 104; and *Acta Sanctorum*, xxxix, Aug. 24.

⁷ Oxford MS. انطرطوس وجزيره اوراد. The latter name is more correctly رواد *Ruwâd*. Antaradus is now called *Anĉartûs*.

⁸ See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii, 2, pp. 142-200; and *Acta Sanctorum*, lx, Oct. 28.

⁹ See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii, 2, p. 147; *Acta Sanctorum*, lx, Oct. 28.

(Kirkîsiyâ), and Callinîcos (ar-Raḳḳah), and came to Baṭnân of Serûg (Sarûg), where he built a church, and died and was buried there¹.

Judas Iscariot, the betrayer, was from the town of Sêkharyût, of the tribe of Gad, though some say that he was of the tribe of Dan. He was like unto the serpent that acts deceitfully towards its master, because like a serpent, he dealt craftily with his Lord. Matthias, of the tribe of Reuben, came in in his stead. He preached in Hellas, and in Sicily, where he built a church, and died and was buried in it².

While James the brother of our Lord was teaching the Jews in Jerusalem, they cast him down from a pinnacle of the temple; and while his life was [محرور] yet in him, a fuller of cloth smote him upon the head with a club and beat it in; and afterwards they stoned him with stones³.

John the Baptist was of the tribe of Levi. Herod the tetrarch slew him, and his body was laid in Sebastia.

Ananias (Ḥananyâ) the disciple of the Baptist taught in Damascus and Arbêl⁴. He was slain by Pôl, the general of the army of Aretas⁵, and was laid in the church which he built at Arbêl (Irbil).

Paul of Tarsus was a Pharisee by sect, of the tribe of Ephraim⁶. When he had been baptised by Ananias, he wrought many miracles, and taught great cities, and bore and suffered dangers not a few for the name of Christ. Afterwards he went to Peter at Rome. When they divided the world between them, and the heathen fell to Paul's lot, and the Jewish nation to Peter, and they had turned⁷ many to the truth of Christ, Nero commanded that they should both die a cruel death. Then Simon asked to be crucified head downwards, that he might kiss that part of the cross where the heels

¹ See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 229-257; *Acta Sanctorum*, xiv, May 1.

² See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 258-269.

³ See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, p. 231; *Acta Sanctorum*, xiv, May 1.

⁴ So we read instead of *Aril*, following the Oxford MS., ومدينة اربل. Solomon was probably copying from an Arabic MS., in which the difference between اربل and اربل would be very slight.

⁵ The MS. C has *Aristus*.

⁶ The MS. A has: *Paul of Tarsus was of the tribe of Benjamin; he was a Pharisee by sect.*

⁷ Reading *فصله* in the plural with the MS. B.

of his Master had been. As they were going forth to be slain, they gave the laying on of hands of the priesthood to their disciples, Peter to Mark, and Paul to Luke. When Peter had been crucified, and Paul slain, together with many of those who had become their disciples, [محدث] Mark and Luke went forth by night, and brought their bodies into the city. Now Paul's head was lost among the slain, and could not be found. Some time after, when a shepherd was passing by the spot where the slain were buried, he found Paul's head, and took it upon the top of his staff, and laid it by his sheep-fold. At night he saw a fire blazing over it, and he went in (to the city) and informed the holy bishop Xystus (Sixtus) and the clergy of the church; and they all recognised that it was Paul's head. Xystus said to them, 'Let us watch and pray the whole night, and let us bring out the body and lay the head at its feet; and if it joins again to its neck, it will be certain that it is Paul's.' And when they had done so, the whole body was restored, and the head was joined to its neck as if the vertebrae had never been severed; and those who saw it were amazed and glorified God. From his call to the end of his life was thirty-five years; he went about in every place for thirty-one years; for two years he was in prison at Caesarea, and for two years at Rome. He was martyred in the thirty-sixth year after the Passion of our Lord, and was laid with great honour in the magnificent royal catacombs in Rome. They celebrate every year the day of his commemoration on the twenty-ninth of the month of Tammûz¹.

[محدث] Luke the physician and Evangelist was first of all a disciple of Lazarus, the brother of Mary and Martha, and was afterwards baptised by Philip in the city of Beroea². He was crowned with the sword by Hîros³, the judge (or governor) of the emperor Tiberius, while he was preaching in Alexandria, and was buried there.

Mark the Evangelist preached in Rome, and died and was buried there⁴. Some say that he was the son of Simon Peter's wife, others

¹ See *Acta Sanctorum*, xxvii, June 30.

² Oxford MS. مدينة حلب, i. e. Aleppo.

³ Oxford MS. حوراس. See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 356-360; *Acta Sanctorum*, lvi, Oct. 18.

⁴ See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 323-325; *Acta Sanctorum*, xii, April 25.

Nathaniel was stoned while he was teaching in Mount Hôrôn¹, and died.

Simon the Cyrenian was slain while he was teaching in the island of Chios.

Simon the son of Cleopas became bishop of Jerusalem. When he was an old man, one hundred years of age, Irenæus² the chiliarch crucified him.

Stephen the martyr was stoned with stones at Jerusalem, and his body was laid in the village of Kĕphar Gamlâ.

Mark, who was surnamed John, taught at Nyssa and Nazianzus. He built [ܡܢܚܘܿܬܐ] a church at Nazianzus, and died and was buried there. Some say that he is the Evangelist, as we have mentioned.

Cephas, whom Paul mentions³, taught in Baalbec, Hîmş (Emesa) and Nathrôn (Batharûn). He died and was buried in Shirâz⁴.

Barnabas taught in Italy and in Kûrâ; he died and was buried in Samos⁵.

they died, they were buried by the side of Nicodemus in Kĕphar Gamlâ, where Stephen was buried. Many years after (about A. D. 415), God revealed their place of burial to one of the saints (Lucian), and they sought for the remains of the bodies by digging, and found them; and there they built a church. Foll. 187 *b*, 188 *a*. See also Migne, *Biog. Chrét.*, ii. 73; Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.*, iii, p. 1047, i. 8.

¹ Oxford MS. *مدينة داوود في جبل حبرون* in the mount of Hebron, the city of David.

² *ܡܢܚܘܿܬܐ* seems to be a mistake for *ܡܢܚܘܿܬܐ*. B, C, however, have *ܡܢܚܘܿܬܐ* Hĕrĕôs, and the Oxford MS. *احراس (ܡܢܚܘܿܬܐ)*.

³ Galat. ii. 9; 1 Cor. i. 12. For a discussion of the identity of this Cephas with Simon Peter, see P. M. Molkenbuhr, *Dissertatio script. crit. An Cephas . . . fuerit Simon Petrus*, 4to, 1785.

⁴ Oxford MS. *وبشر اهل مدينة بعلبك وحمص وبنثرون وتلمد اهل مدينة سرمين* and *وقبر بكرامة*. He preached the Gospel to the people of Baalbek, Hîmş and Batharûn, and taught the people of Sarmîn; he was buried at Kurâmah (?). There is but little difference in writing between *بنثرون* and the correct *بنثرون*. Sarmîn approaches the reading of B, C *ܡܢܚܘܿܬܐ*; it is in the district of Aleppo. Shirâz is perhaps a mistake for *ܡܢܚܘܿܬܐ*, Shaizar.

⁵ The Oxford MS., like B and C, makes no mention of Barnabas. See also Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichte*, ii. 2, pp. 270-320; *Acta Sanctorum*, xxii, June 11.

Titus taught in Crete, and there he died and was buried ¹.

Sosthenes taught in the country of Pontus and Asia. He was thrown into the sea by the command of Nonnus ² the prefect.

Criscus (Crescens) taught in Dalmatia; he was imprisoned in Alexandria, where he died of hunger and was buried.

Justus taught in Tiberias and in Caesarea, where he died and was buried.

Andronicus taught in Illyricum, where he died and was buried.

The people of Zeugma slew Rufus while he was teaching in Zeugma.

Patrobas taught in Chalcedon, and he died and was buried there.

Hermas the shepherd taught in Antioch, and he died and was buried there.

Narcissus taught in Hellas, and he died and was buried there ³.

Asyncritus went to Beth-Hûzâyê (Khûzistân) ⁴, and there he died and was buried.

Aristobulus taught in Isauria, and there he died and was buried.

[**صحه**]

Onesimus ⁵ was the slave of Philemon, and he fled from him and went to Paul, while he was in prison; because of this Paul calls him 'the son whom I have begotten in my bonds.' His legs were broken in Rome.

Apollo the elect was burnt with fire by Sparacleus ⁶ (?), the governor of Gangra.

Olympas, Stachys and Stephen were imprisoned in Tarsus, and there they died in prison.

Junias was captured in Samos, and there he was slain and died.

Theocritus ⁷ died while teaching in Ilios, and was buried there.

Martalus (?) was slain while teaching the barbarians.

Niger taught in Antioch, and died and was buried there.

¹ See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, ii. 2, pp. 401-406; *Acta Sanctorum*, i, Jan. 4.

² Oxford MS. **ديوناني**.

³ The Oxford and Vatican MSS., as well as B and C, make no mention of Narcissus.

⁴ The Arabic name is Ahwâz, **الأهواز**. Oxford MS. **العراق**, 'Irâk.

⁵ The Vatican MS. omits Onesimus.

⁶ Oxford MS. **سفر قليس**.

⁷ Oxford MS. **يايادطوس**.

They dragged Lucius¹ behind a horse, and thus he ended his life.

While Alexander was teaching in Heracleôpolis², they threw him into a pit and he died.

Milus³, while he was teaching in Rhodes, was thrown into the sea and drowned.

Silvanus and Hêrôdiôn (Rhôdiôn) were slain while they were preaching in the city of Accô.

Silas⁴ taught in Sarapolis (Hierapolis?), and died and was buried there.

Timothy taught in Ephesus, and died and was buried there.

Manael was burnt with fire while teaching in Accô, and died. [محر]

The Eunuch whom Philip baptised, the officer of Candace the queen of the Ethiopians, went to Ethiopia and preached there. Afterwards, while he was preaching in the island of Parparchia⁵ (?), they strangled him with a cord.

Jason⁶ and Sosipatrus were thrown to the wild beasts while they were teaching in Olmius⁷ (?).

Demas taught in Thessalonica, and there he died and was buried.

Omius (Hymenaeus) taught in Melitene, and there he died and was buried.

They threw Thraseus⁸ into a fiery furnace, while he was teaching at Laodicea.

Bistorius (Aristarchus?)⁹ taught in the island of Kô¹⁰, and there he died and was buried.

Abrios (?) and Môtos (?)¹¹ went to the country of the Ethiopians, and there they died and were buried.

Levi was slain by Charmus¹², while he was teaching in Paneas¹³.

¹ A has *Luke*.

² Oxford MS. اياروفيليس.

³ Vat. MS. *Linus*.

⁴ The Vat. MS. omits Silas.

⁵ Oxford MS. فافاخيا.

⁶ The Oxford MS. omits Jason.

⁷ Oxford MS. في مدينة الروميوس.

⁸ Oxford MS. تارسيموس.

⁹ Oxford MS. ارستركوس.

¹⁰ Oxford MS. قوواي.

¹¹ Oxford MS. ابرانيون ومونطاس. The Vat. MS. omits these names.

¹² Oxford MS. جرموس. The Vat. MS. omits this name.

¹³ Oxford MS. كونياس.

Nicetianus (Nicetas) was slain in two while teaching in Tiberias¹.

While John and Theodorus were preaching in the theatre of Baalbec, they threw them to the beasts.

The prefect Methalius (?) slew Euechestion (?) and Simon in Byzantium.

Ephraim (Aphrem) taught in Baishân, and he died and was buried there.

Justus was slain at Corinth².

James taught and preached in Nicomedia, and he died and was buried there. [محمد]

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE NAMES OF THE APOSTLES IN ORDER³.

THE names of the twelve. Simon Peter; Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee; John his brother; Philip; Bartholomew; Thomas; Matthew the publican; James the son of Alphaeus; Labbaeus, who was surnamed Thaddaeus; Simon the Cananite; Judas Iscariot, in whose stead came in Matthias.

The names of the seventy⁴. James the son of Joseph; Simon the son of Cleopas; Cleopas his father; Joses; Simon; Judah; Barnabas; Manaëus (?)⁵; Ananias, who baptised Paul; Cephas, who preached at Antioch; Joseph the senator; Nicodemus the archon; Nathaniel the chief scribe; Justus, that is Joseph, who is called Barshabbâ; Silas; Judah; John, surnamed Mark; Mnason, who received Paul; Manaël, the foster-brother of Herod; Simon called Niger; Jason⁶, who is (mentioned) in the Acts (of the Apostles); Rufus⁷; Alexander; Simon the Cyrenian,

¹ The Oxford MS. makes no mention of this martyr.

² Oxford MS. موريشاوس.

³ See Matt. x, Mark iii, Luke vi, Acts i; and Pseudo-Dorotheus, Migne, *Dict. des Apocr.*, vol. ii, p. 207.

⁴ See Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, iii, pt. i, pp. 319-320, where lists of the twelve apostles and seventy disciples are given from the Vatican MS. of the Book of the Bee, from the Commentary of Bar-Hebraeus on St. Matthew, and from the Synopsis of 'Amr and Mârî, etc.

⁵ Oxford MS. مئاسوس.

⁶ Acts xvii. 5-9.

⁷ The Oxford MS. omits Rufus. Rom. xvi. 13.

their father; Lucius the Cyrenian; another Judah, who is mentioned in the Acts (of the Apostles); Judah, who is called Simon; Eurion (Orion) the splay-footed; Thôrus (?); Thorîsus (?); Zabdon; Zakron. These are the seven¹ who were chosen with Stephen: Philip the Evangelist, who had three² daughters that used to prophesy; [محمد] Stephen; Prochorus; Nicanor; Timon; Parmenas; Nicolaus³, the Antiochian proselyte; Andronicus⁴ the Greek; Titus; Timothy.

These are the five who were with Peter in Rome: Hermas; Plig̃tâ⁵; Patrobas; Asyncritus; Hermas⁶.

These are the six⁷ who came with Peter to Cornelius: Criscus⁸ (Crescens); Milichus⁹; Kîrîtôn (Crito); Simon; Gaius, who received Paul; Abrazon (?); Apollos.

These are the twelve who were rejected from among the seventy, as Judas Iscariot was from among the twelve, because they absolutely denied our Lord's divinity at the instigation of Cerinthus. Of these Luke said, 'They went out from us, but they were not of us¹⁰;' and Paul called them 'false apostles and deceitful workers¹¹.' Simon; Levi; Bar-Ḳubbâ; Cleon; Hymenaeus; Candarus¹²; Clithon (?); Demas; Narcissus; Slikîsus (?); Thaddaeus; Mârûthâ. In their stead there came in these: Luke the physician; Apollos the elect; Ampelius; Urbanus; Stachys; Popillius (or Publius)¹³; Aristobulus; Stephen (not the Corinthian); Herodion the son of Narcissus; Olympas; Mark the Evangelist; Addai; Aggai; Mâr Mârî.

It is said that each one of the twelve and of the seventy [هد] wrote a Gospel; but in order that there might be no contention and that the

¹ So all the MSS., but ten names follow, or eleven, if we read Andronicus, Junias, Titus.

² In Acts xxi. 9, Philip is said to have had *four* daughters. The Oxford MS. reads *four*, اربع.

³ Acts vi. 5.

⁴ Rom. xvi. 7.

⁵ Oxford MS. فيليطاس.

⁶ Oxford MS. ارما.

⁷ Seven names follow in all the MSS.

⁸ 2 Tim. iv. 10. The Oxford MS. omits Criscus and Gaius.

⁹ Oxford MS. ميليطاس.

¹⁰ See 1 John ii. 19. Solomon is mistaken as to the author of these words.

¹¹ 2 Cor. xi. 13.

¹² Oxford MS. سكندروس, Alexander.

¹³ Oxford MS. بولص, Paul.

number of 'Acts' might not be multiplied, the apostles adopted a plan and chose two of the seventy, Luke and Mark, and two of the twelve, Matthew and John.

CHAPTER L¹.

OF SOME MINOR MATTERS.

THESE are they who were married among the apostles: Peter, the chief of the apostles; Philip the Evangelist; Paul; Nathaniel, who is Bartholomew; Labbaeus, who is Thaddaeus, who is Judah the son of Jacob; Simon the Cananite, who is Zelotes, who is Judah the son of Simon.

The child whom our Lord called and set (in the midst), and said, 'Except ye be converted, and become as children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven²,' was Ignatius, who became patriarch of Antioch. He saw in a vision the angels ministering in two bands, and he ordained that (men) should minister in the church in like manner³. After some time this order was broken through; and when Diodorus went with his father on an embassy to the land of Persia, and saw that they ministered in two bands, he came to Antioch his country, and re-established the custom of their ministering in two bands⁴.

The children whom they brought near to our Lord, that He might lay His hand upon them and pray, were Timothy and Titus, and they were deemed worthy of the office of bishop.

The names of the Maries who are mentioned in the Gospels. Mary the Virgin, the mother of our Lord; Mary the wife of Joseph; Mary the mother [مريم] of Cleopas and Joseph; Mary the wife of Peter, the mother of Mark the Evangelist; and Mary the sister of Lazarus. Some say that Mary the sinner is Mary of Magdala; but others do not agree

¹ The Oxford MS. omits the following three chapters.

² Matt. xviii. 2. See Nicephorus, *Hist.*, bk. ii, chap. iii.

³ Socrates, *Eccles. Hist.*, chap. viii.

⁴ Assemâni thinks that this embassy is a mistake on the part of Solomon, arising from his having misunderstood a passage in Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. 2, cap. xxiv. See *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 321.

with this, and say that she was other than the Magdalene. Those who say that she was the Magdalene tell us that she built herself a tower with the wages of fornication; and those who say that she was other than the Magdalene, say that Mary Magdalene was called after the name of her town Magdala, and that she was a pure and holy woman.

CHAPTER LI.

THE NAMES OF THE EASTERN CATHOLICS, THE SUCCESSORS OF
THE APOSTLES ADDAI AND MÂRÎ¹.

1. Addai was buried in Edessa.
2. Mârî (was buried) in the convent of Kônî².
3. Abrîs, called in Greek A[m]brosius; the place of his grave is unknown; he was of the laying on of hands of Antioch.
4. Abraham was of the laying on of hands of Antioch; he was descended from the family of Jacob the son of Joseph; his grave is in Ctesiphon.
5. James, of the laying on of hands of Antioch, was also of the family of Joseph the husband of Mary; his grave is in Ctesiphon.
6. Aḥâ-d'abû[hî] was of the laying on of hands of Antioch; his grave is in Ctesiphon.
7. Shaḥlûphâ was of the laying on of hands of Ctesiphon, and he was buried there.
8. [ملط] Pâpâ³; his grave is at Ctesiphon.
9. Simon bar Ṣabbâ'ê was martyred at Shôshân⁴.
10. Shah-dôst⁵ was buried in Ctesiphon.

¹ Compare the lists in Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, pp. 387-392. For the lives of the Catholics of the East, see *ibid.*, pp. 391-457.

² مەرد و مەرد or مەرد و مەرد, in Arabic دَيْرُ قُنِّي *Dair Kunnâ*, 16 parasangs from Baghdâd, on the left bank of the Tigris, a mile from the river. See Yâkût in the *Mu'jam al-Buldân*; Abbeioos, *Acta S. Maris*, index.

³ Assemânî, ملط.

⁴ Assemânî, مەرد.

⁵ Assemânî, مەرد و مەرد.

11. Bar-Bēsh-shēmīn¹ was martyred and buried in Elam (Khūzistān).
12. Tūmaršā was buried in Ctesiphon.
13. Kāyōmā was buried in Ctesiphon; he abdicated the patriarchate, and another was put in his place, and was before him until he died.
14. Isaac was buried in Ctesiphon.
15. Aḥā was buried in Ctesiphon.
16. Yab-alāhā was of the school of Mār 'Abdā²; he was buried in Ctesiphon.
17. Ma'nā dwelt in Persia and was buried there.
18. Dād-ishō' was buried in Ḥêrtā³. In his days the strife between Nestorius and Cyril (of Alexandria) took place.
19. Bābōi was martyred and buried in Ḥêrtā.
20. Aḩaḩ (Acacius) was of the family of Bābōi the Catholicus; he was buried in al-Madāin⁴.
21. Bābai took a wife, and was buried at Ctesiphon.
22. Shilā took a wife, and was buried in his convent beside Awānā⁵.
23. Paul was buried in Ctesiphon.
24. Mār(i)-abā was buried in Ḥêrtā, and was a martyr without bloodshed.
25. Ezekiel was buried in Ḥêrtā.
26. Īshō'-yab of Arzōn⁶ was buried in Ḥêrtā. [ملج]
27. Sabr-ishō' was buried in Ḥêrtā.
28. Gregory was buried in
29. Īshō'-yab of Gēdālā⁷ was buried in

¹ Bēsh-shēmīn for Bē'el-shēmīn.

² See Assemānī, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 369, col. 2.

³ Ḥêrtā or Ḥirtā, the *Hirah* of the Arabs, الحيرة.

⁴ The later Arabic name for Ctesiphon, المدائن.

⁵ A place in the south or south-east part of the diocese of ܩܘܝܢ ܕܥܝܪܐܢ, *Bēth-Nāhādrē*, near Balad and opposite to Eski-Mosul. See Assemānī, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 477, col. 2; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 211-212, notes 1674 and foll.

⁶ Assemānī, ܐܪܘܘܣܐ. ܐܪܘܣܐ, 'Arçavneh, was a town and province of Armenia on the borders of Mesopotamia, north of Hişn Kaifā. Schoenfelder, p. 84, writes 'Jesusab mysticus!'

⁷ ܩܕܐܠ, *Judāl*, near Mosul.

30. Mâr[i]-emmêh was buried in Kêçtîmiyâ (?).
31. Îshô'-yab of Adiabene¹ was buried in Bêth-'Âbê².
32. George was buried in
33. John was buried in
34. Hĕnân-îshô' was buried in
35. Şĕlibâ-zĕkhâ was buried in Ctesiphon.
36. Pethiôn was buried in Ctesiphon.
37. Mâr[i]-abâ was buried in al-Madâin.
38. Jacob was buried in
39. Hĕnân-îshô' was buried in
40. Timothy was buried in his own convent.
41. Îshô' (Joshua) the son of Nôn (Nun) was buried in the convent of Timothy.
42. George was buried in the same convent.
43. Sabr-îshô'³ was buried in the same convent.
44. Abraham was buried in the same convent.
45. Athanasius⁴ was buried in the same convent.
46. Sergius was buried in the same convent.
47. Anôsh (Enos) was buried in the same convent. [ܐܢܘܫ]
48. John the son of Narsai was buried in the Greek Palace (at Baghdâd)⁵.
49. Joannes⁶ was buried in the Greek Palace.
50. John was buried in the Greek Palace.
51. Abraham was buried in the convent of 'Abdôn.
52. Emmanuel was buried in the Greek Palacé.

¹ In Syriac ܐܕܝܝܒ, *Hĕdaiyab*, the district of which Arbêl or Irbil is the chief town.

² The famous convent of Bêth-'Âbê was situated in the diocese of Margâ, not far from the right bank of the Great Zâb. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 226, note 1798.

³ Or ܐܝܫܘܫܐܢܐ, *Hĕnân-îshô'*.

⁴ Or ܐܬܘܢܘܫܝܘܫܐ, *Theodosius*.

⁵ *Dârtâ-dê-Rômâyé*, 'the house of the Romans' (the Byzantine Greeks), the seat of the Nestorian patriarchs at Baghdâd. See Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, pp. 439, 440, 450.

⁶ Assemâni, ܐܡܢܘܢܐ, 'Iωάννης; otherwise our writer commonly uses ܝܘܗܢܢܐ, *Yohannân* for John.

53. Israel was buried in the Greek Palace.
 54. 'Abd-ishô' was buried in the Greek Palace.
 55. Mârî was buried in the Greek Palace.
 56. Joannes¹ was buried in the Greek Palace.
 57. John was buried in the Greek Palace.
 58. Īshô'-yab was buried in the Greek Palace.
 59. Elijah (Eliyâ) was buried in the Greek Palace.
 60. John was buried in the Greek Palace.
 61. Sabr-ishô' was buried in the Greek Palace.
 62. 'Abd-ishô' was buried in the Greek Palace.
 63. Makkikhâ was buried in the Greek Palace.
 64. Elijah (Eliyâ) was buried in the Greek Palace.
 65. Bar-ṣaumâ was buried in the Greek Palace.
 66. 'Abd-ishô' was buried
 67. Īshô'-yab was buried in the church of Mâr Sabr-ishô'.
 68. Elijah (Eliyâ) was buried in the church of Mâr Sabr-ishô'.
 69. Yab-alâhâ was buried in the church of Mârt[i] Maryam (my lady Mary). [ܡܪܝܡ]
70. Sabr-ishô' was buried in the church of Mârt[i] Maryam².
 71. Sabr-ishô' was buried³
 72. [Mâr Makkikhâ was buried⁴
 73. Mâr Denhâ was buried⁴
 74. Mâr Yab-alâhâ the Turk⁵ was buried
 75. Mâr Timothy was buried⁴
 76. Mâr Denhâ was buried
 77. Mâr Simon was buried
 78. Mâr Elijah (Eliyâ) was buried
 79. Mâr Simon of our days, may he live for ever!⁶]

¹ See note 6 on preceding page.

² Assemânî omits **ܡܪܝܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܪܝܡ**. The MS. A has *in 'Atīkah*, i. e. **ܐܬܝܚܐܩܐ**, or 'the old (Town),' a quarter of Baghdâd on the east or left side of the Tigris.

³ This is from A alone, but correct.

⁴ Assemânî omits **ܡܪܝܡ**.

⁵ See Assemânî, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 456.

⁶ According to Assemânî, t. ii, p. 457, col. 1, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 621, col. 1, he was ordained Catholicus in 1504. The list has therefore been continued by the scribes of the different MSS. long after Solomon's time.

The names of the Catholics who were deposed and dismissed (from office) : Mâr(i)-bôkht, Narsai, Elisha, Joseph and Sôrên.

CHAPTER LII.

THE NAMES OF THE KINGS WHO HAVE REIGNED IN THE WORLD
FROM THE FLOOD UNTIL NOW.

THE MEDIAN KINGS WHO REIGNED IN BABYLON.

Darius the son of Vashtasp (Hystaspes) reigned 24 years.

Aḥshîresh (Xerxes) his son, 20 years.

Artaḥshisht the long-hand (Artaxerxes Longimanus), 41 years.

Daryâwash (Darius) the son of the concubine, 20 years.

Artaḥshisht (Artaxerxes) the ruler, 30 years.

Arses the son of Ochus, 4 years.

Daryâwash (Darius) the son of Ârsham (Arsanes), 6 years. [𐎠𐎡𐎢]

THE YEARS OF THE EGYPTIAN KINGS¹.

Alexander the son of Philip, 12 years. Ptolemy the son of Lagôs, 40 years. Ptolemy Philadelphus, 38 years². In his third year³ the fifth millennium ended. This (king) asked the captive Jews who were in Egypt, and seventy old men translated the Scriptures for him, from Hebrew into Greek, in the island of Pharos. In return for this he set them free, and gave back to them also the vessels of their temple. Their names are these. Josephus, Hezekiah, Zechariah, John, Ezekiel, Elisha; these were of the tribe of Reuben. Judah, Simon, Samuel, Addai, Mattathias, Shalmi; these were of the tribe of Simeon. Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Bâsâ, Adonijah⁴, Dâḳî⁵; these were of the tribe

¹ See Lepsius, *Königsbuch, Synoptische Tafeln*, p. 9.

² The MSS. have 'the son of Philadelphus,' both here and below.

³ According to Bar-Hebraeus it was in his sixth year; *Chron. Syr.*, ed. Bruns, p. 41. A list of the 72 translators is given in Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 a. See Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.*, p. 792, 15 a.

⁴ The Vatican MS. and Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601 have 𐎠𐎡𐎢.

⁵ Vatican MS. *Datîs*.

of Levi. Jothan¹, Abdî, Elisha, Ananias, Zechariah, Hilkiâh; these were of the tribe of Judah. Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sambât (Sabbateus), Simon, Levi; these were of the tribe of Issachar. Judah, Joseph, Simon, Zechariah, Samuel, Shamli²; these were of the tribe of Zebulon. Sambât (Sabbateus), Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesse, Matthias; these were of the tribe of Gad. Theodosius, Jason, Joshua, John, Theodotus, Jothan³; these were of the tribe of Asher. Abraham, Theophilus, Arsam, Jason, Jeremiah, Daniel; these were of the tribe of Dan. Jeremiah, Eliezer, Zechariah, [מלכ] Benaiah, Elisha, Dathî; these were of the tribe of Naphtali. Samuel, Josephus, Judah, Jonathan, Dositheus, Caleb; these were of the tribe of Joseph. Isalus, John, Theodosius, Arsam, Abijah⁴, Ezekiel; these were of the tribe of Benjamin.

After Ptolemy Philadelphus arose Ptolemy Euergetes; (he reigned) 26 years⁵.

Ptolemy Philopator, 17 years.

Ptolemy Epiphanes, 24 years.

Ptolemy Philometor, 35 years. The time of the Maccabees extended to this (reign), and in it the old Covenant came to an end.

Ptolemy Soter, 17 years⁶.

Ptolemy Alexander, 18 years⁷.

Ptolemy Dionysius, 30 years⁸.

THE YEARS OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

Gaius Julius, 4 years.

Augustus, 57 years. In the forty-third year of his reign our Lord Christ was born⁹.

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 a, col. 2, and Vatican MS. *Jonathan*.

² Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 a, col. 2, and Vatican MS. *Shalmî*.

³ Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601 wrongly *سليم . مسلم*. The Vatican MS. has also *Jonathan*.

⁴ Or, as pointed in the text, *Abbyâ*. Brit. Mus. Add. 14,601, fol. 162 a, col. 2, *سليم*.

⁵ Lepsius, 25 years.

⁶ I. e. Ptolemy Soter II. Lepsius, 36 years.

⁷ See the notes in Lepsius, p. 9 of the Tables.

⁸ Lepsius, 29 years.

⁹ For the authorities and their opinions on this subject, see Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii, p. 260.

Tiberius, 23 years. In the fifteenth year of his reign our Lord was baptised ; and in the seventeenth year He suffered, died, rose again, and ascended to heaven ¹.

Gaius (Caligula), 4 years.

Claudius, 14 years.

Nero, 14 years. [ملسد]

Vespasian, 10 years. Immediately after he came to the throne, he sent his son Titus against Jerusalem, and he besieged it for two years, until he uprooted it and destroyed it.

Titus, 2 years.

Domitian, 15 years.

Trajan, 20 years ². John, the son of Zebedee, lived until the seventh year of his reign.

Hadrian, 20 years.

Antoninus, 20 years ³.

Verus, 20 years ⁴.

Commodus, 14 years ⁵.

Severus, 20 years ⁶.

The house of Antoninus.

Alexander the son of Mammaea, 13 years.

Maximinus and Gordianus, 9 years.

Philip and Gallus, 10 years.

Valerianus and Gallius (Gallienus), 15 years ⁷.

Claudius and Tacitus, 16 years ⁸.

Diocletian and those that were with him, 20 years.

Constantine, 33 years ⁹.

¹ For the various opinions on this subject, see Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. i, p. 12.

² He reigned 19 years (A.D. 99-117). Solomon probably includes the reign of Nerva, 1 year.

³ He reigned 23 years (A.D. 139-161).

⁴ See Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. i, p. 846.

⁵ He reigned 12 years (A.D. 181-192). ⁶ He reigned 18 years (A.D. 194-211).

⁷ Philip reigned A.D. 245-249, i.e. 5 years. Decius came next and reigned 2 years. Gallus reigned 1 year, A.D. 252.

⁸ Claudius reigned 2 years, A.D. 269-270; and Tacitus died A.D. 276.

⁹ He reigned 31 years, A.D. 307-337.

THE KINGS OF THE PERSIANS FROM SHÂBÔR (SAPOR) THE SON OF HORMIZD¹.

In the fourth year of Constantine Caesar the Victorious, Shâbôr reigned in Persia 70 years. [𐬯𐬀𐬎]

Ardashîr his brother, 20 years.

Vahrân (Bahrâm) and Shâbôr, the sons of Ardashîr, 20 years.

Yazdagerd, the son of Shâbôr, 20 years.

Vahrân (Bahrâm), the son of Yazdagerd, 20 years.

Pêrôz, the son of Yazdagerd, 27 years.

Balâsh, the son of Pêrôz, 4 years.

Ķawâd, the son of Pêrôz, 41 years.

Chosrau, the son of Ķawâd, 47 years.

Hormizd, the son of Chosrau, 12 years.

From Shâbôr to this fifteenth year of Chosrau the son of Hormizd, in which he destroyed Dârâ², is three hundred and six years. The sum of all the years from Adam to this fifteenth year of Chosrau the conqueror, which is the nine hundred and sixteenth year of the Greeks³, is 5861 years. From Adam to the Crucifixion is 5280 years. The whole of the Jewish economy therefore, from the time they went out of Egypt until Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus, was 1601 years. From Abraham to this year is 2031 years.

OF THE YEARS THAT HAVE PASSED AWAY FROM THE WORLD.

From Adam to the Flood was 2262 years. From the Flood to Abraham was 1015 years. From Abraham to [𐬀𐬎𐬌] the Exodus of the people from Egypt was 430 years. From the Exodus of the people by the hand of Moses to Solomon and the building of the Temple was 400 years. From Solomon to the first Captivity, which Nebuchadnezzar led away captive, was 495 years. From the first Captivity to the prophesying of Daniel was 180 years. From the prophesying of Daniel to the Birth

¹ For a list of the Sasanian kings see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 436 a; and Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*, pt. i, p. 437.

² Schoenfelder, p. 86, *quo hoc genus expirat!* See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, pp. 239, 290 sqq.; Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. ii, p. 62.

³ I. e. A. D. 604. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 436 a.

of our Lord was 483 years. All these years make 5345 years¹. From Alexander to our Lord was 303 years. From our Lord to Constantine was 341 years. In the year 438 of Alexander the Macedonian, the kingdom of the Persians had its beginning². Know, O my brother readers, that from the beginning of the creation of Adam to Alexander was 5180 years.

CHAPTER LIII³.

OF THE END OF TIMES AND THE CHANGE OF KINGDOMS⁴; FROM THE BOOK OF METHIDIUS, BISHOP OF ROME⁵.

IN this seventh and last millennium will the kingdom of the Persians be destroyed. In it will the children of Ishmael go forth from the wilderness of Yathrib (al-Medinah), and they will all come and be gathered together in Gibeah of Ramah, and there shall the fat ones of the kingdom of the Greeks, who destroyed the kingdoms of the Hebrews and the Persians, be destroyed by Ishmael, the wild ass of the desert; for in wrath shall he be sent against the whole earth, against man and beast and trees, and it shall be a merciless chastisement. It is not [כִּי אֱלֹהִים] because God loves them that He has allowed them to enter into the kingdoms of the Christians, but by reason of the iniquity and sin which is wrought by the Christians, the like of which has never been wrought in any one of the former generations. They are mad with drunkenness and anger and shameless lasciviousness; they have intercourse with one another wickedly, a man and his son committing fornication with one woman, the brother with his brother's wife, male with male, and female with female, contrary to the law of nature and of Scripture, as the blessed Paul has said, 'Male with male did work shame, and likewise also the

¹ I can only make 5265 years.

² It should be 'in the year 538,' as the Sasanian dynasty was founded by Ardashîr I in A.D. 226.

³ In the Oxford MS. chap. liv, fol. 191 b.

⁴ See Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 53; and the revelation to Methodius in prison, edited by Brant, Basel, 1516, 4to, pp. 1-80.

⁵ Solomon has made a slip here: Methodius was bishop of Olympus and Tyre, but never of Rome.

women did work lewdness, and, contrary to nature, had intercourse with one another¹. Therefore they have brought upon themselves the recompense of punishment which is meet for their error, women as well as men, and hence God will deliver them over to the impurity of the barbarians, that their wives may be polluted by the sons of pollution, and men may be subjected to the yoke of tribute; then shall men sell everything that they have and give it to them, but shall not be able to pay the debt of the tribute, until they give also their children to them into slavery. And the tyrant shall exalt himself until he demands tribute and poll-tax from the dead that lie in the dust, first oppressing the orphans and defrauding the widows. They will have no pity upon the poor, nor will they spare the miserable; they will not relieve the afflicted; they will smite the grey hairs of the aged, despise the wise, and honour fools; they will mock at those who frame laws, and the little shall be esteemed as the great, and the despised as the honourable; their words shall cut like swords, [محد] and there is none who shall be able to change the persuasive force of their words. The path of their chastisement shall be from sea to sea, and from east to west, and from north to south, and to the wilderness of Yathrib. In their latter days there shall be great tribulation, old men and old women hungering and thirsting, and tortured in bonds until they account the dead happy. They will rip up the pregnant woman, and tear infants away from their mothers' bosoms and sell them like beasts, and those that are of no use to them will they dash against the stones. They will slay the priests and deacons in the sanctuary, and they will lie with their wives in the houses of God. They will make clothes for themselves and their wives out of the holy vestments, and they will spread them upon their horses, and work impurity upon them in their beds. They will bring their cattle into the churches and altars, and they will tie up their dogs by the shrines of the saints. In those days the spirit of the righteous and of them that are well versed in signs will be grieved. The feeble will deny the true faith, the holy Cross, and the life-giving mysteries; and without compulsion many will deny Christ, and become rebels and slanderers and boasters, denying the faith. With this chastisement shall the Christians be tried. For at that

¹ Rom. i. 26, 27.

time the righteous, the humble, the peaceful and the gentle will not be sought after, but liars and slanderers and accusers and disturbers and the obscene and those who are destitute of mercy, and those who scoff at their parents and blaspheme the life-giving mysteries. And the true believers shall come into troubles [מַצָּחִים] and persecutions until they despair of their lives. Honour shall be taken away from the priests, and the pastors shall become as the people. When the measure of their (i. e. the Ishmaelites') victory is full, tribulation will increase, and chastisement will be doubled upon man and beast. And there shall be a great famine, and the dead bodies of men shall lie in the streets and squares without any one to bury them, and (just) reckoning shall vanish and disappear from the earth. And men shall sell their brass and their iron and their clothes, and shall give their sons and their daughters willingly to the heathen. A man shall lie down in the evening and rise in the morning, and shall find at his door two or three exactors and officers to carry off by force¹; and two or three women shall throw themselves upon one man and say, 'We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel, only let us take refuge beneath thy skirts².' When men are oppressed and beaten, and hunger and thirst, and are tormented by that bitter chastisement; while the tyrants shall live luxuriously and enjoy themselves, and eat and drink, and boast in the victory they have won, having destroyed nations and peoples, and shall adorn themselves like brides, saying, 'The Christians have neither a God nor a deliverer;' then all of a sudden there shall be raised up against them pains like those of a woman in childbirth; and the king of the Greeks shall go forth against them in great wrath, and he shall rouse himself like a man who has shaken off his wine. He shall go forth against them from the sea of the Cushites, and shall cast the sword and destruction into the wilderness of Yathrib and into the dwelling-place [מִדְּבָר] of their fathers. They shall carry off captive their wives and sons and daughters into the service of slavery, and fear of all those round about them shall fall upon them, and they shall all be delivered into the hand of the king of the Greeks, and shall be given over to the sword and to captivity and to slaughter, and their latter subjection shall be one hundred times more severe than their

¹ I have omitted *לְבָרֵךְ* with MS. C.

² Isa. iv. 1.

(former) yoke. They shall be in sore tribulation from hunger and thirst and anxiety; they shall be slaves unto those who served them, and bitter shall their slavery be. Then shall the earth which has become desolate of its inhabitants find peace, and the remnant that is left shall return every man to his own land and to the inheritance of his fathers; and men shall increase like locusts upon the earth which was laid waste. Egypt shall be ravaged, Arabia shall be burnt with fire, the land of Hebron shall be laid waste, and the tongue of the sea shall be at peace. All the wrath and anger of the king of the Greeks shall have full course upon those who have denied Christ. And there shall be great peace on earth, the like of which has not been from the creation of the world until its end; for it is the last peace. And there shall be great joy on earth, and men shall dwell in peace and quiet; convents and churches shall be restored, cities shall be built, the priests shall be freed from taxes, and men shall rest from labour and anxiety of heart. They shall eat and drink; there shall be neither pain nor care; and they shall marry wives and beget children during that true peace. Then shall the gates of the north be opened, and the nations shall go forth that were imprisoned there by Alexander the king. [מגוג]

CHAPTER LIV¹.

OF GOG AND MAGOG, WHO ARE IMPRISONED IN THE NORTH.

WHEN Alexander was king and had subdued countries and cities, and had arrived in the East, he saw on the confines of the East those men who are of the children of Japhet. They were more wicked and unclean than all (other) dwellers in the world; filthy peoples of hideous appearance, who ate mice and the creeping things of the earth and snakes and scorpions. They never buried the bodies of their dead, and they ate as dainties the children which women aborted and the after-birth. People ignorant of God, and unacquainted with the power of reason, but who lived in this world without understanding like ravening beasts. When Alexander saw their wickedness, he called God to his aid, and he gathered together and brought them and their wives and children, and

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. lv, fol. 197 a. See Brant's edition of *Methodius*, p. 20.

adversary, on account of the assured tranquillity and certain peace; suddenly the gates of the north shall be opened and the hosts of the nations that are imprisoned there shall go forth. The whole earth shall tremble before them, and men shall flee and take refuge in the mountains and in caves and in burial places and in clefts of the earth; and they shall die of hunger, and there will be none to bury them, by reason of the multitude of afflictions which they will make men suffer. They will eat the flesh of men and drink the blood of animals; they will devour the creeping things of the earth, and hunt for serpents and scorpions and reptiles that shoot out venom, and eat them. They will eat dead dogs and cats¹, and the abortions of women with the after-birth; they will give mothers the bodies of their children to cook, and they will eat them before them without shame. [محصي] They will destroy the earth, and there will be none able to stand before them. After one week of that sore affliction, they will all be destroyed in the plain of Joppa², for thither will all those (people) be gathered together, with their wives and their sons and their daughters; and by the command of God one of the hosts of the angels will descend and will destroy them in one moment.

CHAPTER LV³.

OF THE COMING OF THE ANTICHRIST, THE SON OF PERDITION.

IN a week and half a week⁴ after the destruction of these wretches shall the son of destruction appear. He shall be conceived in Chorazin, born in Bethsaida, and reared in Capernaum. Chorazin shall exult because he was conceived in her, Bethsaida because he was born in her, and Capernaum because he was brought up in her; for this reason our Lord proclaimed Woe to these three (cities) in the Gospel⁵. As soon as the son of perdition is revealed, the king of the Greeks will go up and stand upon Golgotha, where our Lord was crucified; and he will set the royal crown upon the top of the holy Cross, upon which our Lord was

¹ The text has *weasels* (صُحَّامٌ = γαλιῆ), glossed by *cats* (مِصْبِي, a word of unknown origin).

² So B, C ܩܦܠܐ; but A has Nôphê, ܢܦܗܐ.

³ In the Oxford MS. chap. lvi, fol. 198 b.

⁴ See Migne, *Dict. des Apoc.*, ii, col. 618.

⁵ Matt. xi. 21.

crucified; and he will stretch out his two hands to heaven, and will deliver over the kingdom to God the Father. The holy Cross will be taken up to heaven, and the royal crown with it; and the king will die immediately. The king who shall deliver over the kingdom to God will be descended from the seed of Kûshath the daughter of Pil, the king of the Ethiopians; for Armelaus (Romulus) the king of the Greeks took Kûshath to wife, and the seed of the Ethiopians was mingled with that of the Greeks. From this seed shall a king arise who shall deliver the kingdom over to God, as the blessed David has said, 'Cush will deliver the power to God¹.' When the Cross is raised up to heaven, [مصدق] straightway shall every head and every ruler and all powers be brought to nought, and God will withdraw His providential care from the earth. The heavens will be prevented from letting fall rain, and the earth from producing germs and plants; and the earth shall remain like iron through drought, and the heavens like brass. Then will the son of perdition appear, of the seed and of the tribe of Dan; and he will shew deluding phantasms, and lead astray the world, for the simple will see the lepers cleansed, the blind with their eyes opened, the paralytic walking, the devils cast out, the sun when he looks upon it becoming black, the moon when he commands it becoming changed, the trees putting forth fruit from their branches, and the earth making roots to grow. He will shew deluding phantasms (of this kind), but he will not be able to raise the dead. He will go into Jerusalem and will sit upon a throne in the temple saying, 'I am the Christ;' and he will be borne aloft by legions of devils like a king and a lawgiver, naming himself God, and saying, 'I am the fulfilment of the types and the parables.' He will put an end to prayers and offerings, as if at his appearance prayers are to be abolished and men will not need sacrifices and offerings along with him. He becomes a man incarnate by a married woman of the tribe of Dan. When this son of destruction becomes a man, he will be made a dwelling-place for devils, and all Satanic workings will be perfected in him. There will be gathered together with him all the devils and all the hosts of the Indians; and before all the Indians and before [مصدق] all men will the mad Jewish nation believe in him, saying, 'This is the

¹ Ps. lxxviii. 31.

Christ, the expectation of the world.¹ The time of the error of the Antichrist will last two years and a half, but others say three years and six months. And when every one is standing in despair, then will Elijah (Elias) come from Paradise, and convict the deceiver, and turn the heart of the fathers to the children and the heart of the children to the fathers; and he will encourage and strengthen the hearts of the believers.

CHAPTER LVI¹.

OF DEATH AND THE DEPARTURE OF THE SOUL FROM THE BODY.

THE foundation of all good and precious things, of all the greatness of God's gifts, of His true love, and of our arriving in His presence, is Death. Men die in five ways. Naturally; as David said, 'Unless his day come and he die,' alluding to Saul². Voluntarily; as when Saul killed himself in the battle with the Philistines. By accident; such as a fall from a roof, and other fatal accidents. By violence, from devils and men and wild beasts and venomous reptiles. By (divine) chastisement; as the flood in the days of Noah, and the fire which fell upon the Sodomites, and other such like things. But (side by side) with all these kinds of fatalities runs the providence of God's government, which cannot be comprehended by the creatures, restraining (them) where it is meet (to restrain), and letting (them) loose where it is fitting (to let loose). This government is not comprehended in this world, neither by angels nor by men; but in the world which is to come all rational beings will know it. When the soul goes forth from [Ϟ] the body, as Abbâ Isaiah says, the angels go with it: then the hosts of darkness go forth to meet it, seeking to seize it and examine it, if there be anything of theirs in it. Then the angels do not fight with them, but those deeds which the soul has wrought protect it and guard it, that they come not near it. If its deeds be victorious, then the angels sing praises before it until it meets God with joy. In that hour the soul forgets every deed of this world. Consequently, no one who does not obtain remission (of sins) in this world can be free from the penalty of examination in that day. Not that there is torture or pleasure or recompense before the

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. lvii, fol. 200 a,² 1 Sam. xxvi. 10.

resurrection ; but the soul knows everything that it has done whether of good or evil.

As to where the souls abide from the time they leave their bodies until the resurrection, some say that they are taken up to heaven, that is, to the region of spirit, where the celestial hosts dwell. Others say that they go to Paradise, that is, to the place which is abundantly supplied with the good things of the mystery of the revelations of God ; and that the souls of sinners lie in darkness in the abyss of Eden outside Paradise. Others say that they are buried with their bodies ; that is to say, as the two were buried in God at baptism, so also will they now dwell in Him until the day of the resurrection. Others say that they stand at the mouth of the graves and await their Redeemer ; that is to say, they possess the knowledge of the resurrection of their bodies. Others say that they are as it were in a slumber, [سبات] because of the shortness of the time ; for they point out in regard to them that what seems to us a very long time is to them as a momentary nod (or wink) in its shortness¹. And just as he that is sunk in slumber departs from the life of this world, and yet does not arrive at absolute mortality, so also are they in an intermediate knowledge which is higher than that of this world, and yet attain not to that which is after the resurrection. Those who say that they are like an infant which has no knowledge, shew that they call even the knowledge of the truth ignorance in comparison with that knowledge of the truth which shall be bestowed upon them after the resurrection.

That the souls of the righteous pray, and that their prayers assist those who take refuge with them, may be learned from many, especially from Mâr Theodore in his account of the blessed Thecla. Therefore it is right for those who have a holy man for a friend, to rejoice when he goes to our Lord in Paradise, because their friend has the power to help them by his prayers. Like the blind disciple of one of the saints mentioned in the Book of the Paradise, who, when his master was dying, wept bitterly and said, 'To whose care dost thou leave the poor blind man?' And his master encouraged him, and said to him, 'I believe in God that, if I find mercy in His sight, at the end of a week thou wilt see ;' and

¹ See Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 322-323.

after some days he did see. The souls of the righteous also hold spiritual conversation with each other, according to the Divine permission and command which moves them to this by necessary causes. Neither those who have departed this life in the flesh are hindered from this (intercourse), [محب] nor those who are still clad in their fleshly garments, if they live their life in them holily.

CHAPTER LVII¹.OF THE QUICKENING AND THE GENERAL RESURRECTION, THE
CONSUMMATION OF THE MATERIAL WORLD AND THE
BEGINNING OF THE NEW WORLD.

AFTER Elijah comes and conquers the son of destruction, and encourages the believers, for a space and a time which is known to God alone, there will appear the living sign of our Lord's Cross, honoured and borne aloft in the hands of the Archangel Gabriel. Its light will overpower the light of the sun, to the reproach and putting to shame of the infidels and the crucifying Jews. As soon as the life-giving Cross appears before our Lord, as the Doctor saith, 'His victory comes before Him,' etc., then a powerful light will fill the whole vaulted space between the heavens and the earth, the radiance and light whereof will be above all (other) lights; and suddenly will the mighty sound of the first trumpet of the Archangel be heard, concerning which our Lord said, 'At midnight there will be a cry, "Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye forth to meet Him²."' At this trumpet the sun shall become dark, the moon shall not display its light, the stars shall drop from the heavens like leaves, and the powers of the heavens shall be moved. The earth shall totter and tremble, the mountains and hills shall melt, the sea shall be disturbed and shall cause terrible sounds to be heard. The rivers [منا] shall submerge the earth, the trees shall be uprooted, buildings shall fall, towns and villages shall be overturned, and high walls and strong towers shall be thrown down. The wild beasts and cattle and fowl and fish shall come to an end and perish; and everything shall be destroyed, except a few human beings who

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. lviii, fol. 202 b.

² Matt. xxv. 6.

whole human race will take place quicker than lightning and than the twinkling of an eye; from the generation of Adam to the latest generation they shall rise at the last trumpet. And though, according to the opinion of the Expositor¹, many sounds will be heard on that night, each one of which is a sign of what will happen, yet, according to the consent of the greater part of the expositors and of Scripture, three distinct trumpets will sound by which the whole work of the resurrection will be completed and finished. Michael the expositor and exegete, however, says otherwise in the book of Questions², speaking as follows: 'The world will not pass away and be dissolved before the vivification of the dead, but the coming of our Lord will be seen first of all, who will come with the spiritual hosts; and immediately our Lord's power will compel the earth to give up the parts of the bodies of men who have been slain and have become dust and ashes within it; and there will be a making ready and preparation of the souls to receive their bodies all together. If, before the vivification of the dead [אז], the world and all that is therein were to pass away, from whence pray would the dead rise? Those who say that the world will pass away before the vivification of the dead are fools and simpletons; for Christ will not make the world pass away before the vivification of the dead, but He will first of all raise the dead, and men will see with their eyes the passing away of the world, the uprooting of the elements, and the destruction of the heavens and the earth and the sun and the moon and the stars; and from here sorrow will begin to reign in the mind of the wicked, and endless joy in the mind of the righteous.'

CHAPTER LVIII³.

OF THE MANNER AND STATE IN WHICH MEN WILL RISE IN THE DAY OF THE RESURRECTION.

ALL classes and conditions of men will rise from the dead in the state of the perfect form of Christ, about thirty-three years of age, even as our

¹ Probably Theodore of Mopsuestia.

² See Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 147; Hoffmann, *Opusc. Nest.*, p. xxi.

³ In the Oxford MS. chap. lix, fol. 204 b.

Redeemer rose from the grave. We shall rise with all our limbs perfect, and with the same constitutions, without addition or diminution. Some say that the hair and nails and prepuce will rise, and some say they will not; as if they were superfluous for the completion of the nature of man. Some say concerning the resurrection that a likeness only will rise, without parts and without the composition of the limbs of man; a mere similitude of hands and feet and hardness of bones. Others say that the whole man will be cast into one crystalline substance, and that all his parts will be mingled together; and they do not grant him an ordered arrangement of composition. Others say that the vessels [انس] which are inside the belly, such as the bowels, liver, etc., will not rise; but they err and stray from the truth, and do not understand that if one of the parts of the body perish, it is not perfect. For Paul shewed plainly and laid down an example of the resurrection in the grain of wheat: just as that grows up entire with its glory, without any portion of it having perished, even so we; for the whole man shall rise with all his limbs and parts, and ordered in his composition as now, only having acquired purification from the humours. And this is not surprising, that if an earthen vessel acquires firmness and lightness when it goes into the fiery furnace, without any change taking place in its shape or form, but is lightened of its heaviness and density, whilst it preserves its shape uninjured; so also should the Holy Spirit burn us in the furnace of the resurrection and drive forth from us all the foul material of the present (life), and clothe us with incorruptibility. 'It is sown an animal body; it rises a spiritual body¹.' We shall neither see nor hear with all our bodily members, although some men have thought that the whole man will be sight and hearing; but we shall carry out action with these same usual limbs, if it happen to be necessary; although we shall not there need speech and conversation with one another, because each other's secrets will be revealed to us.

The things which certain stupid men invent, who indulge their fancy, and give bodily form to the punishment of sinners and the reward of the just and righteous, [انس] and say that there is at the resurrection a reckoning and a pair of scales, the Church does not receive; but each

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 44.

one of us carries his light and his fire within him, and his heaviness and his lightness is found in his own nature. Just as stone and iron naturally possess the property of falling to the earth, and as the air naturally ascends upward on account of its rarity and its lightness; so also in the resurrection, he that is heavy and lying in sins, his sins will bring him down; and he that is free from the rust of sin, his purity will make him rise in the scale. And our Lord will ascend to heaven, and the angels (will go) before Him like ambassadors, and the just and the righteous will be upon His right hand and His left, and the children behind Him in the form of the life-giving Cross.

CHAPTER LIX¹.

OF THE HAPPINESS OF THE RIGHTEOUS AND THE TORMENT OF SINNERS, AND IN WHAT STATE THEY ARE THERE.

It is right for us to know and explain how those suffer, who suffer in Gehenna. If they do suffer, how can we say that they are impassible? and if they do not suffer, then there is no torture for sinners; and if there be no torture for sinners in proportion to their sins, neither can there be happiness for the righteous as a reward for their labours. The suffering wherewith the Fathers say that sinners will suffer in Gehenna is not one that will pain the limbs, such as the blows of sticks, the mutilation of the flesh, and the breaking of the bones, but one that will afflict the soul, such as grief for the transgression of what is right, repentance for shameful deeds, and banishment from one to whom he is bound [محبوب] in love and for whom his affection is strong. For in the resurrection we shall not be without perception, like the sun which perceives not his splendour, nor the moon her brilliancy, nor the pearl its beauty; but by the power of reason we shall feel perfectly the delight of our happiness or the keen pain of our torture. So then by that which enables the righteous to perceive the pleasure of their happiness, by that selfsame thing will the wicked also perceive the suffering of their torment; (that is) by the power capable of receiving pleasure, which is the intelligence. Hence it is right for us to be certain that intelligence will not be taken

¹ In the Oxford MS. chap. lx, fol. 205 b.

away from us, but it will receive the utmost purification and refinement. The glorious and good things of the world which is to come are not to be compared with those of this world; for if all the glorious and good things and delights of this world were given to us in the world which is to come, we should look upon them as hateful and abominable, and they would not be able to give us pleasure or to gladden us; and our nature by the blessedness of its immortality would be exalted above all their glory and desirability. And if all the torments and afflictions and troubles of this world were brought near to us in the world which is to come, the pain of them would make no impression upon our immortal and immutable nature. Hence the pleasure of that world is something beyond all comparison more glorious and excellent and exalted than those of this world; and the torment of yonder is likewise something beyond all comparison more severe and more bitter than any that is here.

It is also right for us to explain the quality of the light of the righteous. The light of the righteous is not of a natural origin like this elemental light (of ours), but some of the light of our Lord—whose splendour surpasses ten thousand suns—is diffused and shed upon them. [𐌹𐌰] Each saint shines in proportion to his purity, and holiness and refinement and sincerity, as the blessed Paul has said, 'One star surpasseth another in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead¹.' And although all the saints will be happy in one kingdom, yet he who is near to the King or the Bridegroom will be separated from him whose place is at the end of the guest-chamber, even though his place be in the same chamber. So also with the sinners in Gehenna; their sentence will not be alike, for in proportion to the sin of each will be his torment. And as the light of the sun is not to be compared with the light of the moon, nor is the light of the moon like that of the stars, so also will the happiness of the righteous be, although the name and honour of righteousness be laid upon and spread over all of them. And as the light of our Lord's humanity will pass over all our limbs without distinction, and take the place of dress and ornament for us, so also with all our members shall we perceive the suffering and torment of Gehenna. The festal garments which our Lord has prepared for His saints, the children

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 41, 42.

of light, are impassibility; and the filthy garments which hinder us from entering into the spiritual bridal-chamber are the passions. In the new world there will be no distinctive names for ranks and conditions of human beings; and as every name and surname attributed to God and the angels had its origin from this world, and names for human beings were assigned and distributed by the government of this world, in the world of spiritual and intellectual natures there will be [𐌹𐌺] neither names nor surnames among them, nor male nor female, nor slave nor free, nor child nor old man, nor Ethiopian nor Roman (Greek); but they will all rise in the one perfect form of a man thirty-three years of age, as our Lord rose from the dead. In the world to come there will be no companies or bands but two; the one of the angels and the righteous, who will mingle and form one Church, and the other of the devils and sinners in Gehenna.

CHAPTER LX¹.

WHETHER MERCY WILL BE SHEWN TO SINNERS AND THE DEVILS IN GEHENNA, AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN TORMENTED AND SUFFERED AND BEEN PUNISHED, OR NOT? AND IF MERCY IS TO BE SHEWN TO THEM, WHEN WILL IT BE?

SOME of the Fathers terrify us beyond our strength and throw us into despair; and their opinion is well adapted to the simple-minded and transgressors of the law. Others of them encourage us and bid us rely upon Divine mercy; and their opinions are suitable and adapted to the perfect and those of settled minds and the pious. In the 'Book of Memorials' it is thus written: 'This world is the world of repentance, but the world which is to come is the world of retribution. As in this world repentance saves until the last breath, so in the world to come justice exacts to the uttermost farthing. And as it is impossible to see here strict justice unmingled with mercy, so it is impossible to find there strict justice mingled with mercy.' [𐌹𐌺] Mâr Isaac says thus: 'Those who are to be scourged in Gehenna will be tortured with stripes of

¹ Some portions of this chapter have been translated by Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, pp. 323-324. See also Schoenfelder's translation, pp. 99, 100. In the Oxford MS. chap. lxi, fol. 208 a.

love; they who feel that they have sinned against love will suffer harder and more severe pangs from love than the pain that springs from fear.' Again he says: 'The recompense of sinners will be this: the resurrection itself will be their recompense instead of the recompense of justice; and at the last He will clothe those bodies which have trodden down His laws with the glory of perfection. This act of grace to us after we have sinned is greater than that which, when we were not, brought our nature into being.' Again he says: 'In the world which is to come grace will be the judge and not justice.' Mâr Theodore the Expositor says: 'Those who have here chosen fair things will receive in the world to come the pleasure of good things with praises; but the wicked who have turned aside to evil things all their life, when they are become ordered in their minds by penalties and the fear that springs from them, and choose good things, and learn how much they have sinned by having persevered in evil things and not in good things, and by means of these things receive the knowledge of the highest doctrine of the fear of God, and become instructed to lay hold of it with a good will, will be deemed worthy of the happiness of the Divine liberality. For He would never have said, "Until thou payest the uttermost farthing," unless it had been possible for us to be freed from our sins through having atoned for them by paying the penalty; neither would He have said, "he shall be beaten with many stripes," or "he shall be beaten with few stripes," unless it were [مصدق] that the penalties, being meted out according to the sins, should finally come to an end.' These things the Expositor has handed down in his books clearly and distinctly.

So also the blessed Diodorus, who says in the 'Book of the Dispensation¹': 'A lasting reward, which is worthy of the justice of the Giver, is laid up for the good, in return for their labours; and torment for sinners, but not everlasting, that the immortality which is prepared for them may not be worthless. They must however be tormented for a short time, as they deserve, in proportion to the measure of their iniquity and wickedness, according to the amount of the wickedness of their deeds. This they will have to bear, that they suffer for a short time; but immortal and unending happiness is prepared for them. If it be then

¹ See Assemâni, *Bibl. Orient.*, t. iii, pt. i, p. 29, and note 2.

that the rewards of good deeds are as great (in proportion to them) as the times of the immortality which are prepared for them are longer¹ than the times of the limited contests which take place in this world, the torments for many and great sins must be very much less than the greatness of mercy. So then it is not for the good only that the grace of the resurrection from the dead is intended, but also for the wicked; for the grace of God greatly honours the good, but chastises the wicked sparingly.²

Again he says: 'God pours out the wages of reward beyond the measure of the labours (wrought), and in the abundance of His goodness He lessens and diminishes the penalty of those [مصلح] who are to be tormented, and in His mercy He shortens and reduces the length of the time. But even thus He does not punish the whole time according to (the length of) the time of folly, seeing that He requites them far less than they deserve, just as He does the good beyond the measure and period (of their deserts); for the reward is everlasting. It has not been revealed whether the goodness of God wishes to punish without ceasing the blameworthy² who have been found guilty of evil deeds (or not), as we have already said before.

* * * * *

But if punishment is to be weighed out according to sin, not even so would punishment be endless. For as regards that which is said in the Gospel, 'These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal⁴;' this word 'eternal' (*l'alam*) is not definite: for if it be not so, how did Peter say to our Lord, 'Thou shalt never wash my feet⁵,' and yet He washed him? And of Babylon He said, 'No man shall dwell therein for ever and ever⁶,' and behold many generations dwell therein. In the 'Book of Memorials' he says: 'I hold what the most celebrated of the holy Fathers say, that He cuts off a little from much. The penalty of Gehenna is a man's mind; for the punishment

¹ Reading *مصلح* with the Vatican MS. instead of *مصلح*.

² Reading *مصلح* for *مصلح*.

³ This sentence, from *ولا فينا ولا فينا ولا فينا*, seems to me to be untranslatable as it now stands.

⁴ Matt. xxv. 46.

⁵ John xiii. 8.

⁶ Isa. xiii. 20.

there is of two kinds, that of the body and that of the mind. That of the body is perhaps in proportion to the degree of sin, and He lessens and diminishes its duration; but that of the mind is for ever, and the judgment is for ever.' But in the New Testament *l'alam* is not without end. [1525] To Him be glory and dominion and praise and exaltation and honour for ever and ever. Amen and Amen.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

- Aaron, pages 52, 53, 55, 56,
58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 70,
74.
Âb, viii.
Abarbanel, 70.
Abbâ Isaiah, 93, 131.
Abbâyâ, 121.
Abdi, 121.
'Abd-îshô', iii, 119.
— the Catholicus, 119.
Abdon, 67.
'Abdôn, 118.
Abel, 25, 26, 27.
Abêl-Mêhòlâh, 70.
Abgar, 96, 99, 109.
Abijah, 68, 74.
— one of the lxx, 121.
Abilene, 88.
Abimelech, 67.
Abinadab, 68.
Abiram, 60.
Abiud, 75.
Abizan, 67.
Abraham, 35, 36, 41; cir-
cumcises his household,
42; offers up Isaac, 43;
his death and place of
burial, 43; 47, 50, 52,
54, 74, 85, 95, 101, 123.
Abraham the Catholicus,
116, 118.
— one of the lxx, 121.
Abrazon, 114.
Abrios, 112.
Abris, 116.
Acacius, 117.
Accad, 37.
Acco, 112.
Achaia, 104.
Âchâr, 37.
Achin, 75.
Achshaph, 66.
Achshklâyê, 38.
Acrôn, 67.
Adam, 4, 6, 7; his six hours'
stay in Paradise, 6; crea-
tion of, 15; Jewish tradi-
tion about him, 15, 16,
18; his sin, 21; cursed,
23; expulsion from Pa-
radise, 23; his knowing
Eve, 24; his age and
death, 28, 30; his body
placed in the ark, 31;
35, 41, 42, 45, 50, 65,
73, 85, 95, 123, 124,
135.
Adar, 66.
Addai, 99, 109, 114, 116.
— one of the lxx, 120.
Addi, 75.
Âdhâr, the month, vii, 78.
Adhòrgin, 84.
Adiabene, 118.
Adonijah, one of the lxx,
120.
Adullam, 66.
Africa, 105.
Aggai, 109, 114.
Aggêl, 109.
Ahab, 70, 71.
Ahaz, 18, 74.
Ahaziah, 68, 69.
Ahijah, 73.
Ahôr, 67.
Ahwâz, 73, 111.
Ahâ, 117.
Ahâ-d'abû(hî), 116.
Ahshîresh, 84, 120.
Ai, 66.
Akhlât, iii.
Akak, 117.
Âkâr, 105.
Âkdêmônâyê, 38.
al-Ahwâz, 73, 111.
al-Başrah, iii, 1.
al-Bawâzig, 1.
al-'Irâk, iii, 111.
al-Jabbûl, 106.
al-Kôsh, v, 71.
al-Madâîn, 117.
al-Medinah, 124.
Âlânâyê, 128.
Alani, 128.
Aleppo, 106, 108, 110.
Alexander the Apostle, 113.
Alexander the Great, ix, 72,
78, 97, 120, 124, 127,
128.
Alexander, son of Mam-
maca, 122.
Alexandria, 72, 108, 111,
117.
Alphaeus, 106, 113.
Amalekites, 51, 60.
Amaziah, 68, 69.
Ambrosius, 116.
'Amêdia, vi.
Âmid, 109.
Amittai, 70.
Amlâkyâ, 48.

- Amminadab, 74.
 Ammonites, 67.
 Amnâ, 38.
 Amnê, 38.
 Amon, 68, 75.
 Amorites, 37, 65.
 Amos, 69, 75.
 Ampelius, 114.
 'Amr, 113.
 Amram, 48.
 Ananias, 91, 107, 113.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Andrew, 104, 113.
 Andronicus, 67, 111, 114.
 Anianus, 68.
 Anikâm, 71.
 Anna, 76.
 Annunciation, the, 98.
 Anôsh, 118.
 Anshklâyê, 38.
 Antaratius, 106.
 Antartûs, 106.
 Antichrist, 5, 129, 131.
 Antioch, 104, 106, 111, 113, 115, 116.
 Antoninus, 122.
 Aphek, 66.
 Aphrem, 113.
 Apollon, 111, 114.
 Apostles, the, 5, 102, 109, 114.
 — names of the, 113.
 — fast of the, 104.
 — their lives and deaths, 103.
 — week of the, iv.
 Apûrsam oil, 88.
 Arabia, 127.
 Arabs, 70.
 Ârâch, 37, 43.
 Arad, 66.
 Aram, 36, 74.
 Aramean language, 39, 99.
 Arameans, 99.
 Arbêl, 37, 43, 107, 118.
 Arbôl, 43.
 Arbôth Moab, 65.
 Ardashîr, 123.
 Ardeshîr, 106.
 Aretas, 107.
 Aristarchus, 112.
 Aristobulus, 111, 114.
 Aristus, 107.
 Ark, the, 30.
 Arlam, 66.
 Armelaus, 130.
 Armenia, iii, 106, 117.
 Armenians, 38, 106.
 Arphaxar (Arphaxad), 34, 36, 38, 41, 72, 74.
 ar-Rakkah, 107.
 Arsam, 121.
 Arsanes, 120.
 Arscs, 120.
 Arshakh, 84.
 Ârsham, 120.
 Artabân, 84.
 Artâshshisht, 84, 120.
 Artaschu, 106.
 Artaxerxes Longimanus, 120.
 — the Ruler, 120.
 'Arûbhtâ, 99.
 Arwâd, 106.
 Arzôn, 117.
 Asa, 68, 74.
 Asâyê, 38.
 Ascalon, 70.
 Ascension, the, 11, 97, 100, 102, 105.
 Asher, 46.
 — tribe of, 105, 121.
 — the shepherd, 81.
 Ashimôn, 51.
 Ashkênaz, 38, 128.
 Ashtôn'âbôdan, 84.
 Asia, 104, 111.
 Asians, 38.
 Asklâyê, 38.
 Asshur, 36.
 Assur-nadin-sumi, 70.
 Assyria, 20, 36, 37, 71.
 Assyrians, 36.
 Astha, 75.
 Asyncritus, 111, 114.
 Athaliah, 68.
 Athanasius, 100.
 — the Catholicus, 118.
 Athor-mes, 48.
 'Atîkah, 119.
 Augustus, 121.
 Augustus Caesar, 86.
 Awânâ, 117.
 Azor, 75.
 Baalbek, 110, 113.
 Baal Peor, 63.
 Babai, 117.
 Babel, 37.
 Bâbôl, 117.
 Babylon, 37, 71, 72, 96, 120, 141.
 Babylonians, 71, 73.
 Baghdâd, 106, 116, 118, 119.
 Bahrâm, 123.
 Baishân, 36, 113.
 Baithônâyê, 38.
 Balaam, 82.
 Balad, 117.
 Baladân, 84.
 Balâsh, 123.
 Balsam, 88.
 Bar-Abbâ, 94.
 Bar-Bahlûl, 73, 128.
 Bar-Bê'sh-shêmîn, 117.
 Bar-Hebraeus, iii, 48, 67, 105, 113, 120.
 Bar-Kubbâ, 114.
 Bar-Sarôshwai, 73.
 Bar-Şaumâ, 119.
 Barak, 67.
 Barnabas, 110.
 — the watcher, 94.
 — one of the lxx, 113.
 Barshabbâ, 81, 113.
 Bartholomew, 106, 113.
 Baruch, 4, 81.
 Barwar, ix.

- Bâsâ, 120.
 Basil, 93; questions of, 93.
 Bašrah, iii, 1.
 Bassorah, 1.
 Batharân, 110.
 Baṭnân, 107.
 Baṭnâye, vii.
 Bawâzîg, 1.
 Baz, ix.
 Bâ-Zâbdâ, 20.
 Be'elmûth, 69.
 Beeri, 69.
 Beldarân, 85.
 Belus, 37.
 Benaiah, 121.
 Benjamin, 45, 46, 107.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Berachiah, 73.
 Beroea, 108.
 Bêth-Âbê, 118.
 Bethel, 60, 69.
 Bêth-Horon, Upper, 72.
 Bêth-Hûzâyê, 111.
 Bethlehem, 80, 84, 85, 86.
 Bêth-Mautêbhê, 66.
 Bêth-Nûhâdrê, 117.
 Bethsaida, 104, 105, 129.
 Bethuel, 69.
 — the Aramean, 43.
 Bêth-Wâzîk, 1.
 Bêth-Zabdai, 20.
 Bildad, 44.
 Bilhah, 45.
 Bistorius, 112.
 Bithynians, 38.
 Boaz, 74.
 Book of Chronicles, 65.
 — of Chronography, 34.
 — of the Dispensation, 140, 141.
 — of Memorials, 139, 140, 141.
 Bôziyâ, 90, 91.
 Bush, the burning, 52.
 Buzi, 72.
 Byzantium, 104, 113.
 Caesarea, 103, 108, 111.
 Caiaphas, 94, 99.
 Cain, 25, 26; his daughters, 27; his death, 29, 30, 33.
 Caiman, 28, 29, 34.
 Câlâl, 37.
 Caleb, 51, 59, 60.
 Calf, the golden, 56.
 Callinicos, 107.
 Calneh, 37.
 Calyâ, 37.
 Cana, 91.
 Canaan, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 65, 74; father of Sidon, 38.
 Canaanites, 37, 60.
 Candace, 112.
 Candarus, 114.
 Cannibals, 128.
 Capernaum, 129.
 Cappadocians, 37, 38.
 Captivity, the, 123.
 Caracalla, 122.
 Casluhîm, 38.
 Caspian Sea, iv.
 Cassianus, 104.
 Catholics, the Eastern, 116, 120.
 Cave, the double, 43.
 Cave of Treasures, 25, 26, 50.
 Cave of Treasures quoted, 6, 8, 16, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 39, 40, 48 (bis), 49, 84.
 Cephas, 110.
 — of Antioch, 113.
 Cerinthus, 114.
 Chalcedon, 104, 111.
 Chaldeans, 44, 72.
 Charmus, 112.
 Chersonesus, the Thracian, 128.
 Cherubim, the, 9, 11, 24.
 Chios, 110.
 Chorazin, 129.
 Chosrau, 123.
 Christ, vi, 4, 8, 11, 41, 45, 51, 72, 74, 83, 85, 87, 89, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 105, 107, 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131, 135, 137.
 Christians, 104, 124, 125, 126.
 Chronicles, book of, 65.
 Chronography, book of, 34.
 Chrysostom, John, 82, 95.
 Church, the, 9, 28, 85, 136, 139.
 Chushan, 67.
 Cilicia, 38.
 Claudius, 122.
 Cleon, 114.
 Cleopas, 99, 110, 113.
 Clithon, 114.
 Coelestria, 106.
 Commandments, the Ten, 55.
 Commodus, 122.
 Constantine, 122, 123, 124.
 Corinth, 113.
 Cornelius, 114.
 Cosam, 75.
 Cosbi, 63.
 Crescens, 111, 114.
 Crete, 111.
 Criscus, 111, 114.
 Crito, 114.
 Cross, the Holy, 125, 129, 130, 133, 137.
 Crucifixion, 24, 98, 123.
 Ctesiphon, 37, 116, 117, 118.
 Cush, 37, 130.
 Cushites, 37, 126.
 Cynocephali, 128.
 Cyprus, 38.
 Cyriacus, church of, vii, ix.
 Cyril of Alexandria, 117.
 Cyrinus, 79.

- Dâd-ishô', 55, 117.
 Dair Kunnâ, 116.
 Dâkî, 120.
 Daklâyê, 128.
 Dalmatia, 111.
 Damascenes, 36.
 Damascus, 36, 100, 107.
 Dan, 46, 107, 130.
 — tribe of, 121.
 Daniel, 71, 72, 123.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Danphar, 38.
 Dârâ, 123.
 Darius Hystaspis, 120.
 — son of the concubine,
 120.
 — son of Ârsham, 120.
 Darmêtâyê, 128.
 Dârtâ-dê-Rômâyê, 118.
 Daryâwash, 120.
 Dathan, 60.
 Dathî, 121.
 Datis, 120.
 David, 6, 7, 68, 74, 75, 79,
 80, 96, 110, 130, 131.
 Dead Sea, the, 90.
 Death, 53, 131.
 Debir, 66.
 Deborah, 67, 71.
 Decapolis, 109.
 Decius, 122.
 Deqlath, 20, 70.
 Demas, 112, 114.
 Dênâphâr, 128.
 Denhâ, 119.
 Denkâyê, 128.
 Devil, the, 91.
 Dîfâr, 128.
 Dinah, 46.
 — wife of Jonâkîr, 76.
 Diocletian, 122.
 Diodorus, 115, 140.
 Dionysius the Areopagite,
 9.
 Disciples, the Twelve and
 Seventy, 5.
- Dispensation, book of the,
 140, 141.
 Doctor, the, 133.
 Dodanîm, 38.
 Dog-men, 128.
 Domitian, 122.
 Dôr, 66.
 Doranîm, 38.
 Dorotheus, 105.
 Dositheus, 121.
 Dûmâchos, 87.
 Dunkâyê, 128.
- 'Ebêd-yêshû', iii.
 Eber, 36, 39, 40, 74.
 Eden, mount of, 19, 20.
 — abyss of, 20, 132.
 Edessa, 37, 96, 105, 109,
 116.
 Egil, 109.
 Eglon, 66, 67.
 Egypt, 4, 5, 46, 47, 50, 51,
 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57,
 59, 62, 72, 87, 88, 120,
 123, 127.
 — kings of, 120.
 Egyptians, 5, 20, 37, 51, 52,
 53, 54, 72.
 Ehûd, 67.
 Elagabalus, 122.
 Elam, 36, 73, 117.
 Elamites, 36.
 Eldad, 57.
 Eleazar, 61, 62, 63, 74, 75.
 Eli, 68.
 — the son of Melchi, 75.
 Eliab, 60.
 Eliakîm, 75.
 Elias, 131.
 — the scribe, iv.
 Eliezer, 51, 75.
 — the Rabbi, 13.
 — the Damascene, 43.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Elijah, 20, 70, 71, 91, 101,
 131, 133.
- Elijah the Catholicus, 119.
 Eliphaz, 44.
 Elisha, 70.
 — one of the lxx, 120, 121.
 — son of Japhet, 38.
 — the Catholicus, 120.
 Eliud, 75.
 Eliyâ the Catholicus, 119.
 Elizabeth, 78.
 Elkôsh, v, 71.
 Elmoad, 75.
 Elon, 67.
 Emdêrâthâ, 128.
 Emesa, 110.
 Emim, 38.
 Emmanuel, 78, 118.
 Emmaus, 99.
 Emrartâ, 128.
 Endor, 106.
 Engil, 109.
 Enoch, 20, 28, 74, 91.
 Enos, 28, 73.
 — the Catholicus, 118.
 Ephesus, 104, 105, 112.
 Ephraim, 71.
 — the Martyr, 113.
 — the Syrian, 47, 70.
 — tribe of, 106, 107.
 Ephron, 43.
 Epiphanius, 69, 70, 71, 72,
 73.
 Er, 74, 75.
 Erech, 37, 43.
 Esau, 38, 43, 45, 46.
 — children of, 38.
 Eshkênâz, 128.
 Eshkin, 128.
 Eski-Mosul, 117.
 Esli, 75.
 Essetha, 75.
 Ethiopia, 112.
 Ethiopians, 112, 130.
 Euestion, 113.
 Euphrates, iii, 20, 37, 38, 42.
 Eurion, 114.
 Eusebius, 67, 68, 103.

- Eve, 4, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 50.
 Expositor, the, 11, 135.
 Ezekiel, 72.
 — one of the lxx, 120, 121.
 — the Catholicus, 117.
 — convent of, iv.
 Ezra, 73.
 Flood, the, 30, 31, 32, 123.
 Fourteenth of Nisân, festival of, 14, 53.
 Gabbûla, 106.
 Gabriel the Archangel, 4, 9, 78, 133.
 — the scribe, ix.
 Gad, 46, 107.
 — tribe of, 121.
 — the watcher, 94.
 Gadarenes, 38.
 Gaius, 114.
 — Caligula, 122.
 — Julius, 121.
 Galatians, 38.
 Galilee, 88, 106, 109.
 Gallienus, 122.
 Gallius, 122.
 Gallus, 122.
 Gamaliel, 109.
 Gangra, 111.
 Garmidô, 128.
 Gath-hepher, 70.
 Gaza, 70.
 Gêdâlâ, 117.
 Geder, 66.
 Gedrâyê, 38.
 Gehenna, 6, 134, 137, 138, 139, 141.
 George, 118.
 Gêôthâyê, 38.
 Gershom, 51.
 Gezer, 66.
 Gibeah, 124.
 Gideon, 67.
 Gilhôn, 20, 48.
 Gilgal, 70.
 Glôshâ, 81.
 God, 3, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 31, 32, 33, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 63, 64, 65, 70, 73, 76, 77, 80, 81, 89, 100, 101, 110, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 139, 141.
 God the Father, 130.
 — the mount of, 52.
 Gog, 127, 128.
 Goiim, 66.
 Golgotha, 129.
 Golphon, 106.
 Gomer, 38.
 Gordianus, 122.
 Gôthâyê, 38.
 Goths, 38.
 Greek Palace, the, 118, 119.
 Greeks, 38, 94, 99, 104, 123, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130.
 Gregory, 100, 117.
 Guardian angel, 10.
 Gûndaphar, 84.
 Gundê-Shâbôr, 1.
 Gûshnâsâph, 81, 84.
 Gushnasp, 81, 84.
 Habakkuk, 71.
 Habbân, 105.
 Hadrian, 122.
 Hadyôk, 80.
 Hagar, 42.
 Haggai, 72.
 Hâlâb, 106.
 Halles, 38.
 Halphai, 106.
 Ham, 30, 32, 33, 38.
 — children of, 37, 38, 41.
 — thirty-six families of, 37.
 Hânanyâ, 107.
 Hânanyah, 91.
 Hannah, 76.
 Harklêim, 34.
 Harrân, 42, 45.
 Harranites, 36.
 Haşbân, 85.
 Haşerôth, 58.
 Haţrà, 37.
 Hâvilâ, 19, 37.
 Hazor, 66.
 Heap of witness, the, 20.
 Hebrew, the primitive language, 39.
 — origin of name, 42.
 Hebrews, 41, 49, 99, 124.
 Hebron, 66, 110, 127.
 Hêdaiyab, 118.
 Heli, 74, 75.
 Hellas, 38, 107, 111.
 Hênân-ishô', 118.
 Hopher, 66.
 Her, 106.
 Heracleópolis, 112.
 Hêrêos, 110.
 Hermas, 111, 114.
 Hermopolis, 87.
 Herod, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 97, 113.
 — Agrippas, 105.
 — Archelaus, 88.
 — the Greek, 99.
 — the son of Abgar, 109.
 — the tetrarch, 107.
 — the younger, 89.
 Herodias, 89, 90, 91.
 Hêrôdiôn, 112, 114.
 Hêrôstni, 106.
 Hêtâ, 117.
 Het-Heru-mes, 48.
 Hêtrê, 37.
 Hezekiah, 68, 69, 74.
 — one of the lxx, 120.
 Hezron, 74.
 Hierapolis, 112.
 Hilkiyah, 72.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Hîms, 110.

- Hiram, 117.
 Hiram, 95.
 Hirtâ, 117.
 Hîşn Kaifâ, 117.
 Holitî, 84.
 Holy Spirit, the, 6, 8, 15,
 71, 79, 89, 91, 98, 101,
 102, 104, 136.
 Hômd, v.
 Hôr, 62, 65
 Hôrdaphnê, vi.
 Hôrdaphnê, vi.
 Hôrdaphni, vi.
 Horeb, 52.
 Horin, 81.
 Hormah, 66.
 Hormizd, king of Persia,
 123.
 — the deacon, vi.
 Hôrmizdâd, 84.
 Horon, 40.
 Hôrdôn, mount of, 109, 110.
 Hôros, 108.
 Hosea, 69.
 Hôzâyê, 73.
 Hûhâm, 84.
 Humnâyê, Hunnâyê, 128.
 Hûnâ, Rabbi, 26.
 Huns, 128,
 Hûr, 56.
 Hûrstî, 106.
 Hymenaeus, 112.
 — the rejected Apostle, 114.
 Hystaspes, 120.

 Ibn Ezra, 43.
 Iban, 67.
 Ignatius, 104, 115.
 Ilios, 111.
 Illyricum, 111.
 India, 98, 105.
 Indians, 37, 105, 130.
 'Irâk, iii, 111.
 Irbil, 37, 107, 118.
 Irenaeus, 110.
 Ireth, 38.

 Îryâhô, 84.
 Isaac, 4, 42, 43, 45, 46, 50,
 52, 74, 95.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 — the Catholicus, 117.
 — the Syriac writer, 14, 139.
 Isaia, sawn asunder, 68, 69.
 Îsaurâyê, 38.
 Îsauria, 111.
 Îsaurians, 38.
 Iscariot. See Sêkharîôtî.
 Ishmael, 42, 124.
 Ishmaelites, 126.
 Îshô'-bar-Nôn the Catho-
 licus, 118.
 Îshô'-yab of Adiabene, 118.
 — of Arzôn, 117.
 — of Gêdâlâ, 117.
 Isidore of Seville, 105.
 Israel, 38, 48, 51, 52, 55, 67,
 68, 69, 70, 84.
 — children of, 4, 52, 54,
 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60,
 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67,
 91, 94, 96, 101.
 — kings of, 65.
 — the Catholicus, 119.
 Issachar, 45, 69; tribe of,
 106.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 — the watcher, 94.
 Italy, 110.
 Ituraea, 88.
 Îyâr, 54.
 Izdegerd, 84.
 Izhar, 60

 Jabal al-Jûdi, 32.
 Jabbûl, 106.
 Jabin, 67.
 Jacob, 43, 45, 46, 47, 50,
 52, 74, 75, 95.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 — the Catholicus, 118.
 Jah, v.
 Jair, 67.

 Jairus, 92.
 Jambres, 53, 55.
 James, brother of our Lord,
 51, 107.
 — the son of Alphaeus,
 106, 113.
 — the son of Joseph, 113.
 — the son of Zebedee, 105,
 106, 113.
 — of Nicomedia, 113.
 — the Catholicus, 116.
 Jannes, 53, 55.
 Janni, 75.
 Japhet, 30, 33, 38, 41,
 127.
 — families of, 38.
 Jared, 28, 73.
 Jarmuth, 66.
 Jason, 112, 113.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Javan, 38.
 — sons of, 38.
 Jazirat Ibn 'Omar, 20, 32.
 Jeconiah, 75.
 Jehoahaz, 68.
 Jehoiachin, 68, 69.
 Jehoiada, 72.
 Jehoiakim, 68.
 Jehoram, 68.
 Jehoshaphat, 68, 74.
 Jephthah, 67.
 Jephunneh, 51.
 Jeremiah, 72.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Jericho, 43, 66.
 Jerome, 70.
 Jerusalem, 17, 35, 36, 51,
 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 84, 85,
 86, 93, 96, 98, 105, 106,
 107, 109, 110, 122, 123,
 130.
 Jesse, 74.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Jesus, one of the lxx, 121.
 Jesus bar-Abbâ, 94.
 Jesus Christ, 1, 11, 69, 80,

- 82, 84, 89, 90, 98, 101, 102.
 Jethro, 50, 52, 57.
 Jews, 41, 71, 72, 80, 88, 93, 97, 102, 107, 109, 120, 133.
 Joachim, 4, 76.
 Joannes the Catholicus, 118, 119.
 Joash, 68, 73.
 Job, 4, 12, 43, 44.
 Jobab, 43.
 Jochebed, 48.
 Joel, 69.
 Johannan, 75.
 John, the son of Zebedee, 95, 97, 99, 100, 103, 104, 105, 113, 115, 122.
 — the Disciple of the Evangelist, 104, 105.
 — the Baptist, 5, 78, 86, 88, 89, 90, 107.
 — surnamed Mark, 113.
 — one of the lxx, 120, 121.
 — the Catholicus, 118, 119.
 — Chrysostom, 82, 95.
 — of Enzelli, iv.
 — the son of Narsai, 118.
 — a priest, ix.
 Jokneam, 66.
 Joġtân, 36.
 Jonachir, 4, 76.
 Jonah, 70, 71.
 — the priest, ix.
 Jonam, 75.
 Jonathan, one of the lxx, 121.
 Jônaton, 33.
 Jôphannâ, 51.
 Joppa, 129.
 Joram, 68, 71, 74.
 Jordan, 63, 64, 65, 66, 89, 106.
 Jorim, 75.
 Jose, 75, 81.
 Jose the shepherd, 81.
 Joseph the Patriarch, 4, 45, 46, 47, 54, 95.
 — husband of the Virgin Mary, 51, 75, 77, 78, 79, 86, 87, 88, 116.
 — the Senator, 97, 102, 109, 113.
 — one of the lxx, 120, 121.
 — the shepherd, 81.
 — father of Janni, 75.
 — or Justus, 113.
 — the father of Semei, 75.
 — the Catholicus, 120.
 Josephus, 67, 94.
 — one of the lxx, 120, 121.
 Joses, 113.
 Joshua, the son of Nun, 4, 37, 51, 57, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 94.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 — the Catholicus, 102.
 — Rabbi, 19.
 Josiah, 68, 75.
 Jotham, 68, 74.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Jubal, 29.
 Juda, 75.
 Judaea, 71, 89.
 Judah, land of, 84, 85, 105.
 — son of Jacob, 45, 50, 72, 73, 74, 105, 113.
 — king of Israel, 67.
 — tribe of, 106, 121.
 — mentioned in the Acts, 114.
 — surnamed Simon, 114.
 — one of the lxx, 120, 121.
 Judâl, 117.
 Judas Iscariot, 51, 93, 94, 95, 97, 101, 107, 113, 114.
 Jude, 106.
 Judges, the years of the, 4, 63.
 Jundai-Shâbûr, 1.
 Junias, 111, 114.
 Justus, 81, 111, 113.
 — the shepherd, 81.
 — or Joseph, 113.
 Kadesh, 66.
 Kadmônâyê, 38.
 Kainân, 39, 71, 73, 74.
 Kâmûs, 91.
 Kânûn, 32.
 Kardô, mount, 32.
 Kârshûni, vi, viii, ix.
 Kâthim, 38.
 Kaukêbâyê, 128.
 Kawâd, 123.
 Kâyômâ, 117.
 Kêlêmath, 25, 26.
 Kenneshrin, 106.
 Kenrâyê, 38.
 Kentôrah, 43.
 Kêphar Gamlá, 109, 110.
 Keren-happuch, 44.
 Kesrô, 84.
 Kêtarbôl, 106.
 Kêġimiyâ, 118.
 Keturah, 43.
 Kezia, 44.
 Khilât, iii.
 Khônî-Shâbôr, 1.
 Khosrau, 84.
 Khûzistân, 73, 111, 117.
 Kimchi, 70.
 Kings, the years of the, 67.
 Kînesrin, 106.
 Kîrâyê, 38.
 Kîrîton, 114.
 Kirjath-jearim, 70.
 Kirkêsiôn, 106.
 Kîrkisiyâ, 107.
 Kîshâyê, 38.
 Kitim, 38.
 Kô, 112.
 Kohath, 48.
 Kolpein, vi.
 Kônî, convent of, 116.

- Korah, 60, 61.
 Kosh, v, 71.
 Kûrâ, 110.
 Kûrâmah, 110.
 Kûryath-Adâmôs, 70.
 Kûshath, 130.
 Kyrrhos, 106.

 Laban, 45, 50.
 Labbaeus, 113, 115.
 La' bim, 38.
 Lachish, 66.
 Lahbim, 38.
 Lamech, 29, 74.
 Languages, the seventy-two,
 38, 39.
 Laodicea, 106, 112.
 Lashsharon, 66.
 Lazarus, 87, 92, 102, 108.
 Leah, 45, 46.
 Lebbaeus, 106.
 Lebbai, 106.
 Lëbôdâ, 25, 26.
 Levi, 45, 48, 56, 61, 62, 63,
 64, 74, 75, 107.
 — tribe of, 61, 121.
 — the rejected Apostle, 112,
 114.
 — the martyr, 112.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Levites, 70.
 Libnah, 66.
 Linus, 112.
 Lôdayê, 38.
 Longinus the sage, 86.
 — the soldier, 94.
 Lord, the, His name, 52.
 Lords, a class of angels, 9.
 Lot, 38, 42.
 Lûbâyê, 38.
 Lucian, 110.
 Lucius, 112.
 — the Cyrenian, 114.
 Lud, 36.
 Lûdayê, 128.
 Ludim, 37.

 Luke the Evangelist, 34, 99,
 100, 108, 114, 115.
 Lysanias, 88.

 Maath, 75.
 Mabbôg, 106.
 Macarius, 55.
 Maccabees, 94, 121.
 Macedonians, 38.
 Machaerûs, 90.
 Machpelah, 43.
 Mâdâi, 38.
 Madaïn, 117.
 Madon, 66.
 Magdala, 115, 116.
 Magdôl, 66.
 Magi, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 95.
 Magic, origin of, 39.
 Magog, 38, 127, 128.
 Mahalaleel, 28, 73.
 Mahimad, 81.
 Maḥlûph, 105.
 Maishân, 36.
 Maḥar, 66.
 Mâkâris, 55.
 Maḥbal, 34.
 Mâkhôzdi, 84.
 Makkedah, 66.
 Makkikhâ, 119.
 Makri, 48, 49.
 Malachi, 72.
 Mâlâh, 34.
 Malkâyê, 104.
 Mamre, 42.
 Ma'nâ, 117.
 Manaël, 112, 113.
 Manacus, 113.
 Manasseh, 68, 69, 74, 75,
 106.
 Manbij, 106.
 Mani, 75.
 Manshâ, 36.
 Mâr 'Abdâ, school of, 117.
 — Addai, 103, 114, 116.
 — Basil, 93; questions of,
 93.
 Mâr Cyriacus, church of, vii,
 ix.
 — Dâd-ishô', 55, 93, 117.
 — Denhâ, 119.
 — Elijah, 119.
 — Ephraim, 47, 70.
 — Eusebius, 67, 68, 103.
 — Ezekiel, convent of, iv.
 — Isaac, 14, 139.
 — John Chrysostom, 82, 95.
 — John of Enzellî, iv.
 — Makkikhâ, 119.
 — Mârî, 103, 114, 116.
 — Narses of Bêth-Wâziq, 1.
 — Sabr-ishô', iii, 117, 118,
 119.
 — Simon, 119.
 — Solomon of Bassorah,
 iii, 1.
 — Theodore, 11, 12, 42,
 132, 135, 140.
 — Timothy, 118, 119.
 — Yab-alâhâ, 117, 119.
 Marah, 54.
 Margâ, 118.
 Mârî, Mâr, 103, 114, 116.
 — (bar Shêlêmôn), 113.
 — the Catholicus, 119.
 Mârî-abâ, 117, 118.
 — -bôkht, 120.
 — -emmêh, 118.
 Mark, 100, 108, 109, 114,
 115.
 — surnamed John, 110.
 Marmarica, 105.
 Marmârikâ, 105.
 Martalus, 111.
 Martha, 108.
 Mârt Maryam, church of,
 vi, vii, 119.
 Mârûthâ, 114.
 Mary the Virgin, vi, vii, 4,
 51, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80,
 85, 87, 97, 98, 108,
 115, 116, 119.
 — history of, 80, 85.

- Mary Magdalene, 99, 115, 116.
 — wife of Cleopas, 115.
 — wife of Joseph, 115.
 — sister of Lazarus, 115.
 — mother of Peter, 115.
 Mattai, 70.
 Mattan, 75.
 Mattatha, 75.
 Mattathias, one of the lxx, 120.
 Matthan, 75.
 Matthat, 75.
 Matthew, 34, 82, 99, 100, 106, 113, 115.
 Matthias, 101, 107, 113.
 — the watcher, 94.
 — one of the lxx, 121.
 Matthia, 75.
 Maximinianus, 122.
 Maximius, 122.
 Medad, 57.
 Medes, 38, 105.
 — kings of the, 120.
 Medinah, 124.
 Mediterranean sea, 38.
 Megiddo, 66.
 Mēhârôk, 84.
 Melchi, 75.
 Melchior, 95.
 Melchites, 104.
 Melchizedek, 4, 33, 34, 35, 36.
 Melea, 75.
 Melitene, 112.
 Memorials, book of, 139, 140, 141.
 Mēnashshê, 36.
 Merari, 74.
 Merôdâch, 84.
 Meshech, 38.
 Mesopotamia, 99, 109, 117.
 Messiah, the, 41, 71, 72.
 Messianic generations, 73.
 Methalius, 113.
 Methodius, 124.
 Methuselah, 28, 74.
 Metrâyê, 37.
 Micah, 71.
 Michael, 135.
 Midian, 49, 50, 52, 57.
 Midianites, 63, 67.
 Mihârôk, 84.
 Milichus, 114.
 Milus, 112.
 Miriam, 58, 62.
 Misraim, 37.
 Misrâyê, 37.
 Mnason, 113.
 Moab, 62, 67.
 — mount of, 50.
 Moabites, 63, 67.
 Moses, 4, 11, 24, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 62, 65, 67, 91, 92, 95, 101, 123.
 Moses' rod, 95.
 Moses the deacon, iv.
 Moşul, vii, 117.
 Môtos, 112.
 Murâd, 88.
 Murrath, 54.
 Mûsâyê, 38.
 Mysians, 38.
 Nabîn, 67.
 Nadab, 55.
 Nagge, 75.
 Nahash, 74.
 Nahor, 39, 40, 42, 74.
 Nahshon, 74.
 Nahum, 71, 75.
 Nak'âm, 66.
 Naphath-Dor, 66.
 Naphtali, 46, 67, 70, 104, 121.
 Naphthah, 67.
 Narcissus, 111, 114.
 Narsai or Narses of Bêth-Wâziq, i.
 — Catholicus, 120.
 Nathan, 73, 74, 75.
 Nathaniel, 86, 110, 115.
 — the scribe, 113.
 Nathron, 110.
 Nawal, 128.
 Nazarene, 88.
 Nazareth, 51, 88, 106, 110.
 Nazianzus, 110.
 Nebo, mount, 65.
 Nebuchadnezzar, 96, 123.
 Nectanebus, ix, 78.
 Nectemiah, 120.
 Nekem'am, 66.
 Neri, 75.
 Nero, 104, 107, 122.
 Nerva, 122.
 Neshrôn, 66.
 Nestorians, iii.
 Nestorius, 117.
 Nicanor, 114.
 Nicephorus, 115.
 Nicetas, 113.
 Nicetianus, 113.
 Nicodemus, 102, 109, 113.
 — the shepherd, 81.
 — the archon, 113.
 Nicolaus, 114.
 Nicomedia, 104.
 Niger, 111.
 Niqtîbûs, 78.
 Nile, 20, 48, 72.
 Nimrod, 37.
 Nineveh, 37, 71.
 Ninivites, 70, 71, 101.
 Ninus, 37.
 Nîsân, 28, 33, 53, 78.
 Nişibis, 32, 37.
 Noah, 4, 24, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 41, 50, 72, 74, 131.
 Nonnus, 111.
 Nôphê, 129.
 Nûsârdêl, iv.
 Nyssa, 110.
 Obadiah, 69.
 'Ôbâr, 37.

- Obed, 74.
 Ochus, 120.
 Og, 67.
 Olives, mount of, 100, 101.
 Olmius, 112.
 Olympas, 111, 114.
 Olympus, 124.
 Omius, 112.
 Onan, 74.
 Onesimus, 111.
 Orech, 43.
 Orhá, 37.
 Orion, 114.
 Othniel, 67.

 Paddan Aram, 50.
 Paḡtâyé, 128.
 Palestine, 47, 50, 79, 83, 84,
 87, 106.
 Palgîn, 42.
 Palmyra, 106.
 Pamphylia, 105.
 Paneas, 109, 112.
 Pantîl, 48.
 Pâpâ, 116.
 Paradise, 4, 6, 13, 16, 18,
 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24,
 50, 55, 91, 98, 131, 132.
 — the Book of the, 132.
 Pârîn, 106.
 Parmenas, 114.
 Parparchia, 112.
 Parthians, 105.
 Parzâyé, 128.
 Passion, the, 93, 94, 99,
 108.
 Passover, 71, 92, 93, 94,
 102, 103.
 Pathrusîm, 38.
 Patmos, 104.
 Patrobas, 111, 114.
 Paul of Tarsus, 91, 100,
 107, 108, 110, 111,
 113, 114, 115, 124,
 134, 138.
 — the Catholicus, 117.

 Peleg, 36, 39, 41, 42, 74.
 Pentateuch, the, 13.
 Pentecost, 102, 103.
 Pêrath, 20.
 Pêrath-Maishân, 1.
 Pêrôz, 123.
 Pêrôzâd, 84.
 Perrhe, 106.
 Persia, 4, 5, 36, 83, 84, 85,
 105, 115, 117.
 — kings of, 123.
 Persians, 36, 96, 124.
 Peter (Simon), 107, 108,
 115, 141.
 Peter the scribe, viii.
 Peter bar Şaumô, vii.
 Pethiôn, 118.
 Pethkôm the Egyptian, 49.
 Pethuel, 69.
 Pharaoh, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49,
 52, 53, 54, 72, 87, 95.
 Pharez, 50, 74.
 Pharos, 120.
 Philemon, 111, 118.
 Philip, 86, 105, 108, 112,
 113, 114, 115.
 — the tetrarch, 88, 89, 90.
 — emperor of Rome, 122.
 — the Macedonian, 72, 78,
 120.
 Philistines, 37, 38, 51, 67,
 68, 131.
 Phineas, Phinehas, 51, 63,
 74.
 Phrygia, 105.
 Phut, 37.
 Pil, 130.
 Pilate, 95, 99.
 Pishôn, 19.
 Pisidia, 105, 106.
 Pislôn, 128.
 Pligîâ, 114.
 Pól, 107.
 Polycarp, 104.
 Pontus, 111.
 Popillius, 114.

 Pôsdî, 51.
 Pôt, 37.
 Pôtâyê, 37.
 Poiiphar, 46.
 Prochorus, 114.
 Prophets, deaths of the, 4,
 69.
 Prûbarmân, 106.
 Ptolemy Lagi, 120.
 — Philadelphus, 41, 120,
 121.
 — Euergetes, 121.
 — Philopator, 121.
 — Epiphanes, 121.
 — Philometor, 121.
 — Soter, 121.
 — Alexander, 121.
 — Dionysius, 121.
 — the computation of, 41.
 Puah, 67.
 Publius, 114.
 Puritans, viii.

 Questions of Mâr Basil, 93.
 — of Michael, 135.
 Quirinus, 79.

 Raamses, 54.
 Rachel, 45, 46.
 Rabbîn, 106.
 Rahab, 74.
 Raḡḡah, 107.
 Ramah, 109, 124.
 Raphkâ, 43.
 Râs'ain, 37.
 Rebecca, 43.
 Redeemer, the, 80, 94, 95,
 132, 136.
 Rehoboam, 68, 74.
 Rehôbôth, 37.
 Reḡam, 66.
 Resen, 37.
 Rêsh-ainâ, 37.
 Resht, iv.
 Resurrection, the, 133, 135.
 — of our Lord, 99.

- Reu, 39, 41, 74.
 Reuben, 45, 69, 70, 107.
 — tribe of, 120.
 Reuel, 43, 49, 56.
 Revelation, the, 105.
 Rhesa, 75.
 Rhoda, 109.
 Rhodes, 112.
 Rhôdion, 112.
 Rhûstnî, 106.
 Rodanîm, 38.
 Romans, 79, 80, 97, 99.
 Rome, 5, 104, 107, 108,
 109, 111, 114, 124.
 — emperors of, 121, 122.
 Romulus, 130.
 Rûbil, 45.
 Rufus, 111, 113.
 Ruth, 74.

 Sâbâ, 84.
 Sabbateus, 121.
 Sabbath, 56, 99.
 Sabr-ishô', iii, 117, 118, 119.
 Sâbthâ, 73.
 Salathiel, 74.
 Sâlekh, ix.
 Salmon, 74.
 Salô, 63.
 Salome, 80.
 — sister of Herod, 88.
 Saltrâyê, 128.
 Samaria, 66, 70, 73.
 Samaritan woman, the, 80.
 Samaritans, computation of
 the, 41.
 Sambât, 121.
 Samos, 110, 111.
 Samosâta, 106.
 Samrâyê, 37.
 Samson, 68.
 Samuel, 68.
 — one of the lxx, 120, 121.
 Sanadrog, 106.
 Sanatruk, 106.
 Santarôk, 84.

 Sapor, 123.
 Sarah, 42.
 Sarapolis, 112.
 Sardâlâh, 85.
 Sardânâ, 70.
 Sarmîn, 110.
 Sarûg, 107.
 Sâsân, 81.
 Satan, 5, 21, 22, 23, 26, 29,
 33, 40, 44, 91, 134.
 Saul, 68, 131.
 Scythia, 104.
 Sea, the Great, 36.
 Sebastia, 107.
 Sêkhariôt, -yût, 94, 107.
 Sêkhariôtâ, 94.
 Šêlibâ-zêkhâ, 118.
 Semei, 75.
 Sennacherib, 70.
 Sepharvaïm, 36.
 Septuagint, 41, 120.
 Seraphim, 9, 11.
 Sergius, 118.
 Seridâ, 71, 72.
 Serug, 39, 42, 74, 107.
 Seth, 27, 28, 30, 50, 73, 85.
 Severus, 109, 122.
 Shabâ, 84.
 Shâbôr, 123.
 Shah-dôst, 116.
 Shahlûphâ, 116.
 Shaizar, 110.
 Shakwithâ, 48.
 Shâlâch, 74.
 Shâlâh, 34, 39, 74.
 Shalmî, 120, 121.
 Shamli, 121.
 Shâmîm, 66.
 Shebâ, 37, 95.
 Shêbât, ix, 32.
 Shechem, 69.
 Shechinah, 11.
 Shelah, 74.
 Shêlâthêil, 34.
 Shêlêmôn of Bassorah, iii.
 Shelmath, 42.

 Shem, 30, 32-36, 38, 41, 50,
 72, 74.
 Shêmêshât, 106.
 Shîlâ, 117.
 Shiloh, 69, 73.
 Shimron-meron, 66.
 Shinar, 37, 41.
 Shîpôr, 48.
 Shîrâz, 110.
 Shîshrôn, 84.
 Shôbâkh, 70.
 Shôshân, 73, 116.
 Shuah, 74.
 Sichnûn, 19.
 Sicily, 107.
 Sidon, 38, 106.
 Sidonians, 38.
 Silas, 112, 113.
 Siloah, 69.
 Silvanus, 112.
 Simeon, 45.
 — tribe of, 71, 120.
 Simon Peter, 71, 93, 99,
 100, 101, 104, 107,
 113, 114, 115.
 — one of the lxx, 120, 121.
 — bar Šabbâ'ê, 116.
 — son of Sirâ, 73.
 — Zelotes, 106, 113, 115.
 — the Cyrenian, 102.
 — father of Judas Iscariot,
 94.
 — the leper, 109.
 — surnamed Niger, 113.
 — son of Cleopas, 110, 113.
 — the rejected Apostle, 114.
 — the watcher, 94.
 — who came to Cornelius,
 114.
 — Catholicus, 119.
 Šîn, the wilderness of, 62.
 Sinai, 50.
 Sind, 105.
 Sirâ, 73.
 Sirach, 73.
 Sitârûk, 84.

- Sixtus, 108.
 Slikîspus, 114.
 Smyrna, 104.
 Sodom, 38.
 Sodomites, the, 131.
 Solomon, 68, 74, 95, 96, 123.
 — of Bassorah, iii, 1.
 Sôph, 51, 66.
 Şôrâyê, 38.
 Sôrên, 120.
 Sosipatrus, 112.
 Sosthenes, 111.
 Sparacelus, 111.
 Stachys, 111, 114.
 Stephen the Proto-martyr, 100, 110.
 Stephen, others of the name, 111, 114.
 Şûâr, 71.
 Şûbâ, 32.
 Succoth, 54.
 Sumir, 37.
 Surdânôs, 70.
 Syriac, the language, 36, 39, 42.
 Taanach, 66.
 Tacitus, 122.
 Taddai, 106, 109.
 Tadmor, 106.
 Tamar, 50, 74.
 Tammûz, iv, v, 108.
 Tappuah, 66.
 Tarshîsh, 38.
 Tarsus, 111.
 Tashbî, 70.
 Tebtâyê, 38.
 Tekoa, 69.
 Tel Kêf, vii.
 Temple, the, 123.
 Terah, 39, 42, 74, 95.
 Teshrî, 32.
 Thaddeus, 106, 109, 113, 114, 115.
 Tharmêsîs, 48.
 Tharnêkâyê, 38.
 Thaubêlâyê, 128.
 Thebaïd, 87.
 Thecla, 132.
 Thēmânôn, 32.
 Theocritus, 111.
 Theodore of Mopsuestia, 11, 12, 42, 132, 135, 140.
 Theodoret, 115.
 Theodorus, 113.
 Theodosius the Catholicus, 118.
 — one of the lxx, 120, 121.
 Theodotus, one of the lxx, 121.
 Theophilus, one of the lxx, 121.
 Therkâyê, 128.
 Thesnakîs, 128.
 Thessalonica, 112.
 Thomas the Apostle, 98, 99, 103, 105, 113.
 Thôrisus, 114.
 Thôrus, 114.
 Thracians, 38, 128.
 Thraseus, 112.
 Thrêkâyê, 38.
 Tiberias, 111, 113.
 — sea of, 100.
 Tiberius, 104, 108, 122.
 Tigris, iii, 1, 20, 32, 116, 119.
 Timothy, 112, 114, 115.
 — the Catholicus, 118, 119.
 Tîras, 38.
 Tîrhân, 1.
 Tîrzah, 66.
 Tishbeh, 70.
 Titus, 111, 114, 115.
 — the emperor, 86, 122, 123.
 — the robber, 87.
 Togarmah, 38.
 Tola, 67.
 Tôrah, the, 55, 66.
 Tower of Babel, 41.
 Trachonitis, 88.
 Trajan, 122.
 Tree of Life, 21.
 — of good and evil, 20.
 Trinity, the holy, 15, 42, 89.
 Tubal, 38.
 Tubal-cain, 29.
 Tûbil, 38.
 Tuklâyê, 128.
 Tûmarsâ, 117.
 Turks, 43.
 Tyre, 95, 106.
 Tyrians, 38.
 Tÿtnâyê, vii.
 'Ukbarâ, 106.
 'Umkâ, 66.
 Upper Bêth-Horon, 72.
 Ur, 40.
 Urbanus, 114.
 Urbianos, 106.
 Uz, 43.
 Uzziah, 68, 74.
 Vahrân, 123.
 Valerianus, 122.
 Vân, iii.
 Vashtasp, 120.
 Verus, 122.
 Vespasian, 86, 122.
 Wardâ, iv.
 Warkâ, 37.
 Warzwâd, 84.
 Wêlôtâyê, 128.
 Xerxes, 120.
 Xystus, 108.
 Yab-alâhâ, 117, 119.
 Yaktân, 36, 43.
 Yaphthûim, 38.
 Yathrib, 124, 125, 126.
 Yathrô, 50.
 Yaunân, ix, 70.
 Yaunâyê, 38.

- Yazdagerd, 123.
 Yôkâbâr, 48.
 Yônâ, 42.
 Yônâkir, 76.
 Yophannâ, 51.
 Yôzâdâk, 35.

 Zâb, 1, 118.
 Zabdon, 114.
 Zabhdai, 104.
 Zaccai, 109.
 Zacchaeus, 109.
 Zadok, 75, 76.
 Zahar, 60.

 Zakron, 114.
 Zârâdôsh, 4, 81.
 Zarah, 74.
 Zarevant, 106.
 Zarwândâd, 84.
 Zebulun, 45.
 — tribe of, 104, 121.
 Zechariah, son of Jehoiada,
 72.
 — son of Berachiah, 73.
 — father of John, 86.
 — one of the lxx, 120, 121.
 Zedekiah, 69.
 — one of the lxx, 121.

 Zelomi, 80.
 Zephaniah, 71.
 Zerah, 43.
 Zerubbabel, 75.
 Zeugma, 106, 111.
 Zilpah, 45.
 Zimri, 63.
 Zipporah, 49.
 Zoar, 71.
 Zodiac, signs of the, 28.
 Zophar, 44.
 Zorobabel, 75.
 Zûr, 63.
-

LIST OF SCRIPTURE REFERENCES.

| | PAGE | | PAGE | | PAGE | | PAGE |
|-----------------|------|----------------|------|-----------------|------|------------------|------|
| Gen. i. 2 . . . | 7 | Exod. iii. . . | 47 | Judg. x. 3 . . | 67 | Psalms lxviii. | |
| i. 3 . . . | 12 | iv. | 47 | x. 8 | 67 | 31 | 130 |
| i. 6 | 13 | xii. 18. . . | 14 | xii. 7 | 67 | xc. i, 2 . . . | 6 |
| i. 9 | 13 | xii. 37. . . | 65 | xii. 9 | 67 | cvi. 30 . . . | 63 |
| i. 12. | 13 | xii. 40. . . | 47 | xii. 11 . . . | 67 | cxlviii. 4 . . | 9 |
| i. 14. | 14 | xiv. 21, 22. | 66 | xii. 14 . . . | 67 | | |
| i. 21. | 14 | xv. 1 | 54 | xiii. 1 | 68 | Prov. xxv. 16 | 3 |
| i. 25. | 15 | xv. 27. . . . | 55 | xv. 20 | 68 | Isaiah iv. I . | 126 |
| i. 26. | 15 | xxix. 45 . . | 7 | | | vi. 2 | 9 |
| ii. 7 | 7 | | | I Sam. iv. 18 | 68 | xiii. 20 . . . | 141 |
| ii. 9-17 . . . | 19 | Lev. xxiv. 16. | 64 | vi. 2 | 68 | Jer. v. 22 . . | 13 |
| ii. 18 | 18 | xxvi. 12 . . | 7 | xxvi. 10 . . . | 131 | Ezek. i. 18 . . | 9 |
| iii. 23 | 19 | | | | | Mic. v. 2 . . . | 85 |
| iii. 6-24 . . | 21 | Num. v. 18 . | 79 | I Kings ii. 11 | 68 | Matt. i. | 73 |
| iv. 22 | 29 | xvi. 27. . . | 61 | viii. 27 . . . | 8 | i. 6-16 | 74 |
| v. | 73 | | | xi. 42 | 68 | ii. | 86 |
| v. 3, 6, 9, 12, | | Deut. vii. I . | 37 | xiv. 21 . . . | 68 | iii. | 89 |
| 15, 21 | 28 | x. 22 | 65 | xv. 2 | 68 | iv. | 91 |
| vi. 2 | 27 | xvi. 13 . . . | 64 | xv. 10 | 68 | x. | 113 |
| vi. 16 | 30 | xxi. 18-20 | 64 | xxii. 42 . . . | 68 | xi. 3 | 91 |
| x. | 36 | xxi. 23 . . . | 64 | | | xviii. 2 . . . | 115 |
| x. 4 | 38 | xxii. 5 . . . | 64 | 2 Kings i. 13 | 70 | xxv. 6 | 133 |
| x. 7 | 37 | xxii. 6 . . . | 64 | viii. 17 . . . | 68 | xxvi. | 92 |
| x. 10 | 37 | xxii. 7 . . . | 64 | viii. 26 . . . | 68 | xxviii. 9, 10 | 99 |
| x. 30 | 36 | xxii. 26-29 | 64 | xi. 3 | 68 | xxviii. 16- | |
| xi. | 38 | xxiv. 16 . . | 64 | xii. 1 | 68 | 20 | 100 |
| xi. 20, 21 . . | 39 | xxix. 5 . . . | 67 | xiv. 2 | 68 | Mark iii. . . . | 113 |
| xi. 22, 23 . . | 39 | xxx. 1-7 . . | 64 | xiv. 25. . . . | 70 | xvi. 19 | 100 |
| xi. 24 | 39 | xxxi. 14-16 | 65 | xv. 2 | 68 | Luke ii. 1, 2 . | 79 |
| xii. | 42 | xxxiv. 6 . . | 65 | xv. 33 | 68 | iii. 23-38. . . | 73 |
| xiv. 18-24 . . | 33 | | | xvi. 2 | 68 | vi. | 113 |
| xv. 13 | 47 | Josh. i. 2, 3. | 66 | xvi. 2 | 68 | xxiv. 18 . . . | 99 |
| xxvi. 20 . . . | 20 | iv. 3 | 66 | xviii. 2 . . . | 68 | xxiv. 34 . . . | 99 |
| xxvii. | 45 | x. 5 | 37 | xxi. 1 | 68 | xxiv. 36-49 . | 99 |
| xxx. 21 . . . | 21 | xii. 9-24 . . | 66 | xxi. 19 | 68 | xxiv. 50, 53 | 100 |
| xxxi. 47 . . . | 21 | xxiv. 29 . . | 67 | xxii. 1 | 68 | John v. 14 . . | 94 |
| xxxvii. . . . | 46 | | | xxiii. 31 . . | 68 | xiii. 46 . . . | 141 |
| xxxix. | 46 | Judg. iii. 14. | 67 | xxiii. 36 . . | 68 | | |
| xli. | 46 | iii. 30 . . . | 67 | xxiv. 8 | 69 | Rev. iv. 6, 8 . | 9 |
| xlvi. 27 . . . | 65 | iv. 3 | 67 | xxiv. 18 . . . | 69 | | |
| l. | 46 | v. 31 | 67 | xxiv. 18 . . . | 69 | | |
| | | vi. 1 | 67 | I Chron. xxi. | | | |
| Exod. i. 5 . . | 65 | viii. 28 . . | 67 | 5 | 65 | | |
| ii. | 47 | ix. 22 . . . | 67 | Job i. | 43 | | |
| | | x. 2 | 67 | xxxviii. 7 . . | 12 | | |

قد عظمت مكث¹ الأزمنة التي استلذت² أكثر من الأزمنة³ المجاهدة المحدودة التي هاهنا عندنا في هذا الوجود. كذلك أيضا العذاب الذي يكون بدل الخطايا العظيمة الكثيرة جدا. تجدها يسيرة واحقر مما تظن عند عظم الرحمة حتى أيضا لا تكون⁴ القيامة محسوبة فقط. رحمة علي الاخيار وحودهم يوم الانبعاث من الموتى. الا وايضا من اجل الخطاة. لان رحمة الله تكرم الابرار والاخيار وكذلك ايضا تشفق علي الفجار عند عقابهم وقشرهم⁵ وايضا انا نقول عن عدل الله لانه اكثر يزيد الاجرة اكثر من اتعاب غاية⁶ الحد. وكذلك ميراث رحمته ينقص ويقصر العذاب عن اولئك المعذبون. وايضا يقصر طول الحدود عنهم. وهذا اوعده بمشارة رحمته ولا ايضا هكذا اعذب الي طول الدهور كما كان طول زمان السموات. بل انقص من ما استحقه. فذلك يجازيهم الانتقام. وكما ان عدله يوم ميزانه زايد الحد دائم بالتجار نحو الصديقين مع الصالحين والابرار والقديسين والتوابين⁷. وكذلك لم يكشف لاحد⁸ كم هي الرحمة التي استعادت انها تعذب المذمومات⁹ الصائرة من الخطاة فقط بلا فتور كما سبقنا اخبرنا من المتقدم. لان ليسو هكذا فهو لازم انتقام ودينونه كمثل ما هو ثابت لازم نعم الملكوت بغير زوال البتة¹⁰. فان كان ميزان العثرات¹¹ يتزن. فليس العذاب يكون¹² بلا انتها¹³. لان قال الانجيل المقدس ينطلقون اولئك الي عذاب الابد. والصالحين الي حياة الابد. فهذا الاسم الذي هو الابد ليسو محدودا بلا انتها¹⁴. واذ لم هو هكذا فكيف قال بطرس للسيد الي الابد لم تغسل لي رجلي. ولساعته عاد غسل له رجليه. وقال في كتاب احد الانبيا اني الي ابد الابد لا تعود بابل تعمر وعادت عمرت وفيها عالم لا يعد. وقيل ايضا عن قديسين اناس مجاهدين. كان الابد وجد لذاك يكون في عذاب الجحيم يسيرا من كثيرًا. فهذا تفسيره لانه بمعنايين. اولها انه وثانيها عذابين¹⁵. طبعي وعقلي. فاما كونه قال اعني قدر جملة الخطا وزمانه. فسحة وقصره¹⁶. واما تفسير العقلي هذا الذي يثبت¹⁷ اليا¹⁸ الابد¹⁹ فسوي من السيد حياة الابد وغنيمة الابد لان اسم الابد في الجديدة ليس لها انتها²⁰ والمجد لله دائما وعلينا رحمته اليا²¹ الابد اين²².

¹ MS. مكث. ² MS. استلذت. ³ MS. الأزمنة. ⁴ MS. تكون. ⁵ MS. غيابة.
⁶ Read لاحد. ⁷ MS. المذمومات. ⁸ MS. العثرات. ⁹ MS. يكن.
¹⁰ MS. انتهي. ¹¹ MS. عذبين. ¹² MS. تثبت. ¹³ So MS. Read
 الي الابد and الي الابد.

عجائب بالغه * ومريم القبطية كانت زانية غاية¹ للحد. فلما ندمت خرجت الي البرية عريانه ومكنت في تلك البرية تسعة واربعين سنة وصارت قديسه * وكما ان في هذا العالم توبه بهذه الاتعاب المشروحة الي حد النهاية² وفيها توبه تخلص الي اخر نسمة. فذلك ايضا في العالم الجديد عقاب الي اخر فلس يطلبه العدل منا. ان كسلنا عن عمل توبه * وايضا كما لا يكون³ هاهنا عقابا عادل اذ لم يخالطه مزاج من راحة. فذلك فم في العالم الجديد ليسو عقابا الا وبخالطه راحة. لان مار اسحاق القديس هذا كان اسقف مدينة نينوي فساح عريان في برية خالية اربعين سنة يرعا الحشيش. وكشف له الله امورا سماءية عقلية. وكتب كثير عن التوبه. وقال في بعض قوله. لان الذين يعاقبون بعذاب المحيم ويجلدون. هولاء تلحق بهم عناية رحمة بالعذاب لانه قال تكون قياسية مدة المجالد التي تكون من الود هناك الي الذين كانوا يعرفون انهم اخطو هاهنا بحسبه. وهم خجلون مرعوبين من ذلك العذاب المخيف هناك * وايضا قال هذا القديس لان عذاب جزاي الخطاه هذا صار عوض مجازاة النعمة. فعند الانبعاث يوفيهام اياه. والاجساد التي داست وخالفت نواميس الله وشرائعه. فهو عند الاخير مجدا كامل يمنحهم اذا تابوا. عند نسمة (sic) عظيمة هي رحمة الخالق لان من بعد ما اخطينا وهلكنا من الحياه عاد خلقنا خلقه ثانية * وايضا قال هذا القديس لان في العالم الجديد رحمة تكون⁴ ولا كثرة نعمة. وقال عالم اخر مفسر. لان في عالم الجديد عن الذين اختاروا هاهنا حسنات مشكورة هولاء ياخذون عوضها نعيم الخيرات. والارديا والاشرار الذين مالوا اذا عادوا يعاقبوا منها ورتبوا بدلها خوف بعقولهم ويندموا علي ما اذنبوا فيه. وبخاروا حسنات كي يستحقوا بارادة صالحه يتمسكون بها. هولاء يوهلون شفاعه من رحمة الله. ليسو فقط قال انه حتي يدي الانسان اخر فلس. واذ لم هو مقتدر علي كل شي⁵ اذا انتقم عقوبة الخطايا من المذنبون. فلم كان قال بانجملة ان ذاك الواحد عذاب كثير والاخر عذاب يسير. فلولا ان لهذا الامر منتها واخره فلم كان ذكره من قبل هذه الجهتين * فهذا قاله هذا المفسر علانية ظاهرة. وقال مفسر اخر لان الاجرة الصالحة مهياء لاعمال الخير عوض اتعابهم مستحقين ذلك من احكام العدل المانع وعذاب الارديا ليسو دائم. كيما لا يكون لهم ذلك بغير انتفاع. لانهم غير فانيين بالعذاب المهيا لهم كيما يكونوا معاقبون دهر يسير كما استحقوه علي قدر عمل نفاقهم. وعلي قدر جملة شرور خطاياهم. واما تلك التي⁶ ذكر. لانهم يعذبون زمان يسير بحتملوا ذلك. كذلك نعيم غير فاني بلا انتها ثابت عندهم * فان كان

¹ MS. غايث.² MS. النهايم.³ MS. يكن.⁴ MS. تكن.⁵ MS. شي. ⁶ MS. شي.

اولئك وحليتهم مثل رف حمام ام مثل النحل فرد حليه (sic) اي شكل. ليس تتغير صورة من صورة مثل ما نحن هاهنا. واحد اسود واخر اشقر. لان هذا العالم زرنا فيه بالغبار. تقوم هناك بالجمد. لا اسودا ولا ابيضا ولا شيئا ولا طفل صغير. ولا حرا ولا عبدا. ولا رومي ولا عبراني ولا يوناني. بل جميعهم بشكل واحد مثل الملائكة. ولا يكون هناك انثى ولا ذكر لان ليس يحتاجون الي نسل. ولا يكون احدا¹ قصير واخر طويل ام واحد اعمي ام مقعد ام مفلوج. بل جميعهم تامة واحدة علي رأي من هو ابن ثلثة وثلاثين سنة. كما انه قام ربنا من بين الاموات بقوة لاهوته. وليس يكون² هناك صنوف ومجامع والسن بل تجدهم لغة واحدة عقيله جنب الملائكة وجماعة وبيعة واحدة. وكذلك تجد في اللحيم الخطية³ علي جنب الشياطين بعذاب واحد ممّا ورحمة الرب علينا امين *

CHAPTER LXI,

ACCORDING TO THE OXFORD MS.

لان بعض القديسين تخوفنا⁴ خارج من طاقتنا. ويجعل فينا هذا قطع رجا. وفيهم من قد جعله الي اهل قليلين المعرفة والاطفال بعقلهم. والذين هم متجاوزين عن الشريعة. هذا نافع لهولاي زائد جدا. واخرين من الابا قد جعلوا تعزية وكثرة تقوي ومسد علي رحمة الاله. فهذا الذهن⁵ نافع لاهل الروع ليحفظ سرا داخل عقولهم. والي اهل المجاهدة الروحانية. هذا كايّن بهولا لان قد كتب تذكره هكذا. لان هذا العالم سمي عالم التوبة والاقترار بالخطايا. كما شرح ذلك يوحنا الصايغ قائل لاولئك الهاتفين الي صبغته. وطلب منهم اعتراف وتوبة واقترار⁶ بخطاياهم. واما العالم العتيد⁷ سمي عالم العقاب. فلما ان في هذا العالم يخلي الانسان بالاعتراف بخطاياه وحمل القانون بما يفرضه عليه الكاهن توبة. اعني صوم وسجود مطانوات⁸ وقطع الاطعمة. ومن شرب خمر وقطع زيت. صيام بالغ بخبز وما من عشية الي عشية. هذا يخلي لان اسقف واحد جعله بعض ملوك الكفر ذبح قدام الاوثان وعدما من كثرة ضعف البشرية من فزع. وعند ذلك هرب الي البرية وتعرا وصار مع الوحوش زمان طويل فلما فعل هذه التوبة تحنن الله عليه وصارو عنه

¹ Rather احد.

² MS. يكن.

³ Read الخطاء.

⁴ Read تخوفنا.

⁵ MS. الظهن.

⁶ MS. اقرار.

⁷ MS. العتيد.

⁸ Plur. of مطانوة, μετάνοια.

غير فاني وغير متغير لا يزوله شي¹ من الجهتين. لا من نعيم الصالحين ولا من عذاب الطالحين. فقد اتضح العدل لانه شي¹ اخر مجدا فضيل رفيع عالي من كل منظر. شبهه ذاك الذي لم يخطر علي ذهن² كسلان من الذي ينظرها هاهنا البته. كما ان النعيم الذي هاهنا كذلك العذاب الذي هناك افضل من شكل شبه عذاب هاهنا * وايضا ينبغي انا نفسر ما هو حال ذلك الضيا نعيم الصديقين اعلمك لان ما هو ذلك النور جوهره من شي³ من هذه العناصر المنظورة بل ذاك يكون⁴ من نور اللاهوت⁵ خاصة ربنا. ينبسط ويفيض علي الصديقين. الذي لو كان الف عاصر (sic) شمس من هذه المنظورة لم يكن لها قياس البته. وكل واحد من القديسين والصالحين والابرار يضي منه علي قدر قياسه وصفوه وطهارته وقداسته لان يستضي⁶ ذاك القديس كما يقول بولص الرسول علي راي الكواكب تجدها نجمة افضل من نجمة بمجدها * كذلك ايضا حياة الراقدين اذا نهضوا من البعث. انهم يقوموا بالمجد. بل جميعهم في ملك واحد متنعمون. الا تجدهم مميزون اعني الذي تنظره جنب الملك من الذي هو في اخر رتبة في العرس. وكذلك ايضا بهذا القياس تجد الخطاه في اللجيم. ليمسو مساوة واحد⁷ في عقابهم. بل كل واحد علي قدر زلاته يكون⁸ عذابه. وكما لم يقتاس نور الشمس مع ضو القمر بقياس واحد كذلك لم يقتاس معا نعيم الصالحين مع الكاملين والتوابين. وكما ان ضو القمر اشد من الكواكب. لانه ثلثة رتب كاملين وصالحين وتوابين. لانك تجد بعض التوابين قد حصل في الدرجة العليا مع الكاملين لاجل حده وشقاؤه وتوبته وإيمانه واتضاعه. وكما ان نور الشمس البرناسوت⁹ ربنا وضياه يجوز بجميع الاعضا بلا تمييز¹⁰. كذلك يكون¹¹ ضياه جأيز في جميع المذكورين. وهو يكون جمالهم وردا كسوتهم وهم في نعيم واحد وتصنيف ملك واحد * وكذلك عذاب اللجيم تحس فيها الخطاه بجميع اعضاها كيلا هو معد لاولئك الثلاثة رتب بنو¹² النور ليمسوا به مصائب اوجاع. لان ما يمنعا الي دخول الملكوت¹³ الروحاني غير الثياب¹⁴ الوسخه بالزنا وسفك الدم والظلم. ومحبة الذهب والفضه. هذه الاعراض والاوجاع اذا توسخنا فيها. ولم نظهرها بالاعتراف وتوبه¹⁵ وحمل القانون وهي التي قال في الانجيل الذي جاز الي العرس وثيابه¹⁶ وسخه مدنسه. ثم جعل الملائكة ربطوا يديه ورجليه ورماه خارج الي الظلمه القصوي¹⁷ * واما من اشكال

1 MS. شي. 2 MS. ظهن. 3 MS. شي. 4 MS. يكن. 5 Syr. **ܐܠܗܘܬܐ**.

6 MS. **ܡܝܠܗܝܢ**. 7 Read مساواة واحدة. 8 MS. يكن. 9 As if

يكن. 11 MS. يكن. 10 MS. **ܒܝܪܢܫܐ** or more correctly **ܒܝܪܢܫܐ** from **ܕܢܫܐ**

12 Read بني. 13 Syr. **ܡܢܫܐ**. 14 MS. الثياب. 15 MS. وتوبه.

16 MS. وتيابه. 17 MS. القسوي.

CHAPTER LX,

ACCORDING TO THE OXFORD MS.

فيمبغي انا نوضح عن عذاب الخطاه كيف يتعذبوا. وان قلنا انهم لم يتعذبوا فليسوا¹ ثم عقاب ام عذاب للخطاه. هذا لم يمكن. فاذا لم يعذبوا ويعاقبوا الخطاه على قدر خطاياهم ولا الصالحين ايضا ياخذوا نعيم الخيرات بدل اتعابهم * فاما العذاب الذي يعذبوا فيه الخطاه بالحجيم. قال قديسين اذكيا بروح القدس ليس هو شبهه² مثل هذا الذي هاهنا. قشر ضرب عصي وقطع اوصال. ام ذبح ام كسر اعضا. ذاك العذاب شبهه الاكابه³ التي تضني النفس وتهلكها حدة الندامة وشدة الاسف علي الامور القبيحة الوحشه وعلي لهبة نار الزنا وحب الرذائل التي ارتبط بحببتها في هذا العالم * واما عن محسوس كونه فينا عند القيامة مثل راي الشمس لانه لم يتكدر شعاعها ولا القمر ايضا حسن بياضه ولا الجوهره من سقل ضياها. بل عن تحقيق انا نحس بقوة كاملة بفكر ناطق علم روحانيا (sic) نعيمنا وعذاب عقابنا هناك بالجهتين. الابرار نعيمهم والخطاه حجيمهم * فاذا كان من حكم العدل لان القديسين والابرار والصديقين يحسوا التذاذهم⁴ ونعيمهم. كذلك ايضا تحس الخطاه في عذابهم وحدة عقابهم في القوة⁵ القابلة للذة التي⁶ هي التمييز * واخر من هذا عن تحقيق لم يفارقنا الذهن⁷ والفطنة والنمبه بل نكون⁸ صافيين فهمين من كثرة لطفنا وخفته وذكاوته. ولم تشبه خيرات ذلك العالم بقياس خيرات هذا العالم الموجود هاهنا. لان لم عطيت لنا جميع خيرات هذا العالم وملكه وماله الي الغاية ما يكون. لم نراها هناك في ذلك العالم الا شبه الرذاله⁹ والنفايه المحقوره. وان طلبناها ثم نتنعم فيها فلم نجدها. لان جوهر عقلنا عظيم هو بغبطة لانه لم يموت ولا يفنا من جميع حسناته ونعيمها * وكذلك ايضا لم يزول ام يفنا جوهرنا هناك من عقابه وعذابه. ولم كان جميع خيرات هذا العالم وشهواته وجميع عذابه وشدايده وشقاء فما هو الا حقيرا اذا قسناه في ذلك العالم العتيده¹⁰. لان جوهر انفسنا

¹ Apparently a contraction for هو فليس. The same form occurs several times subsequently. ² MS. شبهو. ³ Read الكآبه ? ⁴ MS. الشدادهم.

⁵ MS. القوي. ⁶ MS. الذي. ⁷ MS. الظهن. ⁸ MS. نكن. ⁹ MS. رذاله, but on marg. الرذاله. ¹⁰ MS. العثيد, Syr. حجام.

* كتاب النحلة *

- المقالة اربعة واربعين يدل فيها لاي سبب كان نزول ربنا الي مصر *
 — خمسة واربعين يخبر فيها قصة قتل يوحنا اعني قطع راسه *
 — ستة واربعين يخبر فيها علي حرب ابليس وامتحانه لربنا لما استعمل الصوم *
 — سبعة واربعين يخبر فيها علي الفصح المقدس *
 — ثمانية واربعين يخبر فيها عن الام السيد يسوع المسيح *
 — تسعة واربعين يدل فيها عن يوسف الرامي الذي كان ختام لبيلاطس *
 — [الخمسون] خبر يسير يدل كيف سلم السيد والدته القديسة مرت مريم
 ليوحنا ابن زبدي عند الصلب * كي نرجع الي عند ابنت¹ من بين
 الاموات *
 — [الحادية والخمسون] وايضا خبر اخر كيف جاز ربنا الله الكلمة الي السماوات ولم
 يفتحها *
 — ثمانية وخمسين تخبر كيف كان حلول روح الله القادر المساوي العقل والنطق
 جوهر واحد *
 — ثلثة وخمسين يوضح فيها علي بشارة الرسل والبلد الذي يختص كل واحد
 منهم ايما هو * ويوضح دفنهم باي حال انتقل من العالم بركاتهم علينا
 امين * وايضا نكتب اسما الرسل واحد بعد واحد كلمن هو بدرجته
 موصوف كما ذكرهم متي الانجيلي الرسول مقدمهم *
 — اربعة وخمسين يدل فيها عن تغيير الممالك من واحد كتاب اسمة اسمة (sic)
 مثا داوس اسقف روميه *
 — خمسة وخمسين تدل علي ياجوج² وماجوج المسجونين بالجزيريا *
 — ستة وخمسين يدل فيها علي مجي الاعور الدجال ابن الهلاك *
 — سبعة وخمسين اوضح يسير باختصار علي خروج النفس من الجسد بسلام
 ربنا امين *
 — ثمانية وخمسين خبر يسير يدل علي انبعاث القيامة جميع *
 — تسعة وخمسين تخبر علي ايما شكل منظر البشر يوم القيامة *
 — ستون يخبر فيها علي نعيم الصالحين وعلي عذاب الخطائين وايما هو شكل
 سياسته * وايضا نكتب قصة يسيرة ان كان يلحق الخطاه رحمة بالجحيم
 ام لا من بعد انهم يعذبون وتمض فيهم العقاب. ويقبلوا تلك العقوبة
 وان كان يدركهم رحمة متي يكون *

¹ So the MS. ; perhaps البعث.² MS. حاجوج.³ Syr. ܡܫܚܘܬܐ ; MS. بالجزيا.

- المقالة التاسعة عشر يدل فيها علي خروج ادم وحواء (sic) ♦
- عشرون يخبر فيها عن كور الحداد والقرح ♦
- احد وعشرون يدل¹ فيها صفة نوح والطوفان ♦
- الاثنى عشر وعشرين يدل فيها عن ملكيزدق ابن مالك ♦
- الثالثة وعشرون يوضح فيها نسبة اولاد سام وروسا اجيالهم² سبعة وعشرين
جيل ♦
- الرابعة والعشرون يوضح فيها اجيال اولاد حام ♦
- الخامسة والعشرون يدل فيها علي قبائل يافث ♦
- السادسة والعشرون ♦
- السابعة والعشرون نرجع ايضا الي قدام ♦
- الثامنة³ والعشرون يخبر فيها عن ابينا ابراهيم ♦
- التاسعة والعشرون يوضح فيها اخبار ايوب الصديق ♦
- الثلاثين يدل فيها لما بارك اسحاق ليعقوب وترك عبسوا ♦
- احد وثلاثين ♦
- الاثنى عشر وثلاثين يدل فيها اخبار موسي وبنى اسرائيل ♦
- الثالثة وثلاثون يوضح فيها العصاة التي كانت مع موسي ♦
- اربعة وثلاثون ♦
- خمسة وثلاثون فيها خبر قضاة بني اسرائيل وملوكهم باختصار يسير ♦
- السادسة وثلاثون يخبر فيها كيف كان انتقال الانبيا من هذا العالم ♦
- سبعة وثلاثين تدل علي نسبة سيدنا يسوع المسيح ♦
- ثمانية وثلاثين يدل فيها علي بشارة جبرائيل الملاك الي يواقيم وحنه بالقديسة الطاهرة مرت مريم ام ربنا والاهنا وسيدنا يسوع المسيح ♦
- تسعة وثلاثين بشارة جبرائيل الملاك الي العذرى الطاهرة⁵ مرت مريم القديسة ♦
- الاربعين يدل فيها علي ميلاد ربنا الشريف ♦
- احد واربعين يدل فيها عن ما سبق دليله من واحد عالم اسمه زدوشات
وتقبل عنه ان اسمه بروخ ♦
- اثنين واربعين تدل عن ظهور النجم وعن الميلاد الشريف ♦
- ثلاثة واربعين يخبر فيها علي مجي ملك الفرس الي بيت لحم ♦

¹ MS. تدل.

² MS. ³ MS. ⁴ MS. ⁵ MS.

⁵ MS. العظاهرة.

THE HEADINGS OF THE CHAPTERS,

EXTRACTED FROM THE OXFORD MS.

- المقالة الثانية يدلّ علي فكر الله الأزليّ علي خلقه كون الدنيا ❖
 — الثالثة تفسير يبيّن فيه¹ كون السبع طبائع بهدوء لطيف غير مدرك² ❖
 — الرابعة يدلّ فيها³ خلقه الأرض والماء والهوا والنار ❖
 — الخامسة يدلّ فيها علي تكوين السما ❖
 — السادسة يدلّ فيها عن مراتب الملائكة انها تسع تجمّات⁴ اعني درجات ❖
 — السابعة يخبر فيها دليل الظلمه ❖
 — الثامنة يدلّ فيها النور اي الضوء ❖
 — التاسعة يدلّ فيها خلقه⁵ الجلد ❖
 — العاشرة يدلّ فيها كيف كان خلقه الاشجار والنبات ونظام المحور والانهار ❖
 — الحادي عشر⁶ تخبر عن خلقه كون ضياء النجوم ❖
 — الثانية عشر يخبر فيها كيف خلقت فيها السماك والديابات والتنانين⁷ ❖
 — والطيور الذين في الماء وبر⁸ الماء ❖
 — الثالثة عشر تدلّ علي خلقه الوحوش⁹ والبهايم ❖
 — الرابعة عشر يصف بها كيف جبل الله تبارك وتعالى اسمه لابينا¹⁰ ادم في
 — يوم الجمعة بعينها التي تقدم ذكرها في الأوّل ❖
 — الخامسة عشر يدلّ فيها عن خلقه حوا ❖
 — السادسة عشر يخبر فيها عن خلقه كون الفردوس ❖
 — السابعة عشر لاجل خطية ادم وسببها ❖
 — الثامنة عشر يدلّ فيها عن خروج ادم وحوا من الجنة ❖

¹ MS. فيها. ² MS. مدرك. ³ We should have expected the prep. علي here and elsewhere in these headings. ⁴ MS. والهواي. ⁵ From **الجلد**, τάρμα. ⁶ MS. خلقت. ⁷ The reader will notice that the grammatical form of the numerals is often incorrect. ⁸ MS. والتنانين (sic). ⁹ I. e. out of. ¹⁰ MS. والوحوش. ¹¹ MS. لادونا.

- الثاني والأربعون. في صوم سيدنا وجهاده¹ مع الشيطان ❖
 الثالث والأربعون. في فصح سيدنا ❖
 الرابع والأربعون. في الام سيدنا ❖
 الخامس والأربعون. في قيامة سيدنا ❖
 السادس والأربعون. في صعود سيدنا ❖
 السابع والأربعون. في نزول روح القدس² علي السليحية³ في العلية ❖
 الثامن والأربعون. في تلماذ السليحية⁴ وفي مواضع⁵ كل واحد واحد منهم وفي⁶ موتهم ❖
 التاسع والأربعون. اسامي السليحيين واحد بعد واحد ❖
 الخمسون. في نكت⁷ صغار الذين تزوجوا من السليحيين ❖
 الحادي والخمسون. اسامي⁸ الجبالقة⁹ المشرقيين خلفا السليحيين ❖
 الثاني والخمسون. اسامي الملوك الذين¹⁰ ملكوا في العالم من الطوفان والي الان¹¹ ❖
 الثالث والخمسون. في اخر الزمان¹² واختلاف الممالك من كتاب مثنديوس¹³ اسقف روميه ❖
 الرابع والخمسون. في ياجوج وماجوج المحبوسين في الشمال ❖
 الخامس والخمسون. في مجي الدجال ابن الهلاك ❖
 السادس والخمسون. في الموت وانفصال النفس من الجسد¹⁴ ❖
 السابع والخمسون. في النشور والقيامة¹⁵ الكلية وانتهت عالم الاسطقسانت وابتدا¹⁶ عالم الجديدي ❖
 الثامن والخمسون. في كيفية القيامة وباي زي يقومون الناس يوم القيامة ❖
 التاسع والخمسون. في نعيم الابرار وعذاب الخطاة كيف يكون هناك ❖
 الستون. في رحمة الله تعالي هل تدركهم الخطاة بعد اخذ القصاص منهم وبالهمهم وقصارتهم ام لا وان ادركتهم فمتي تدركهم ❖

¹ At fol. 96 b, وفي جهاده. ² MS. جهمه. ³ At fol. 108 b, السليحيين.

⁴ At fol. 110 a, السليحيين. ⁵ Ibid., أماكن. ⁶ Ibid., وعلي. ⁷ MS. فكت.

⁸ At fol. 121 a, اسما. ⁹ Ibid., للجبالتي, καθολικός. ¹⁰ MS. الذي.

¹¹ At fol. 123 b, والينا. ¹² At fol. 127 a, الأزمن. ¹³ Ibid., مثنديوس.

¹⁴ At fol. 136 a, الجسم. ¹⁵ At fol. 139 a, وقيامة. ¹⁶ Ibid., وبدو.

♦ كتاب النحلة ♦

- الثامن عشر. في اتصال ادم بحوا¹ ♦
 التاسع عشر. في ظهور² صنعة الخداه ♦
 العشرون. في نوح والطوفان³ ♦
 الحادي والعشرون. في ملكزديق⁴ ♦
 الثاني والعشرون. في اولاد نوح من ثلث بنين اثني وسبعون قبيلة⁵ ♦
 الثالث والعشرون. في النسبة من عهد الطوفان الي الآن⁶ ♦
 الرابع والعشرون. في القصر⁷ ♦
 الخامس والعشرون. في ابراهيم ♦
 السادس والعشرون. في تجربة ايوب ♦
 السابع والعشرون. في بركة اسحاق ليعقوب ♦
 الثامن والعشرون. في يوسف ♦
 التاسع والعشرون. في موسي وبني اسرائيل⁸ ♦
 الثلثون. في عصاة موسي ♦
 الحادي والثلاثون. في ايشوع ابن نون وفي مدبري وملوك بني اسرائيل⁹ ♦
 الثاني والثلاثون. في موت الانبيا وكيف ماتوا ودفنوا¹⁰ ♦
 الثالث والثلاثون. في تدبيرات الله الجارية في الحديثه وفي قبائل المسيح¹¹ ♦
 الرابع والثلاثون. في بشاره الملاك الي يوناخير¹² بهريم ♦
 الخامس والثلاثون. في بشاره جبرائيل لمريم بحمل سيدنا ♦
 السادس والثلاثون. في ولادة سيدنا بالجسد ♦
 السابع والثلاثون. في نبوة زارادوشث الذي هو باروخ الكاتب¹³ ♦
 الثامن والثلاثون. في الكوكب الذي ظهر في المشرق في يوم ولادة سيدنا ♦
 التاسع والثلاثون. في مجي المجوس من فارس ♦
 الاربعون. في نزول سيدنا الي مصر ♦
 الحادي والاربعون. في يوحنا المعمدان¹⁴ وفي عماد سيدنا ♦

¹ At fol. 23 b, اجتماع ادم مع حوا.
² At fol. 26 a, ظهور الة.
³ At fol. 26 b, في نسل نوحا.
⁴ At fol. 30 a, ملكيزداق.
⁵ At fol. 32 a, merely في بنين نوحا وتقسم.
⁶ At fol. 34 b, والنسبة التي من الطوفان والينا.
⁷ At fol. 36 a, وفي بنين المدبرين.
⁸ At fol. 44 a, وفي بني اسرائيل.
⁹ At fol. 66 b, وكيف دفنوا كل واحد منهم.
¹⁰ At fol. 70 a, في قبائل المسيحيه.
¹¹ At fol. 74 b, merely في يوناخير.
¹² At fol. 78 a, في نبوة زارادوشث علي سيدنا.
¹³ At fol. 93 a, المعمدان. From the Syr.
¹⁴ حَضْبُ = عماد ; صَحْحَبُ =

وفيه تفاهة. فدعه لغيرك. وربما غيرك يستفيد منه ويصلح له. والذي هو حلو ويحلّي حنك خاطرك. تقوت¹ منه وشبع جوعك. وان كان² قليل ولا يكفيك. اجث عن الاصل واطلب هناك تمامه وكماله. وتتم حاجتك. واعلم ايها الاخ ان في كل موضع فيه المحبة الحقيقية. فليس هناك فزعه. وفي موضع الانبساط ليس فيه حذر ولو لا انتكالنا³ علي محبتك التي ما فيها دنس. ما كنا نهجم ولا نتخطأ⁴ علي الاشيا التي هي اعلي من قدر ضعف معرفتنا فقد قال بعض العلما اذا وجدت عسلا فكل بالمقدار. ليلا تشبع منه وتاديه بالقي. يعني لا تمتح عن الامور الالهية ♦

ذكر الفصول التي في هذا الكتاب ♦

- راس الاول. في ازالة ارادة اللد تعآ⁵ في خلقة البرايا في⁶ القدم ♦
 الثاني. في خلقة السبعة جواهر بالصمت ♦
 الثالث. في⁷ الارض والماء والهوا والنار ♦
 الرابع. في⁸ السما ♦
 الخامس. في⁹ الملائكة ♦
 السادس. في الظلمة ♦
 السابع. في النور السا¹⁰ ♦
 الثامن. في¹¹ الرقيع ♦
 التاسع. في خلقة الاشجار والنبات وخلقة الابحار¹² والانهر ♦
 العاشر. في خلقة الانوار ♦
 الحادي عشر. في خلقة التنانين والسمك والطيور ودبيب الماء¹³ ♦
 الثاني عشر. في خلقة الحيوانات والدواب ♦
 الثالث عشر. في جملة¹⁴ ادم ♦
 الرابع عشر. في تصوير¹⁵ حوا ♦
 الخامس عشر. في الفردوس ♦
 السادس عشر. في خطية ادم ♦
 السابع عشر. في خروج ادم وحوا من الفردوس ♦

¹ MS. تقوة. ² MS. وانكان. ³ Apparently for انتكالنا. ⁴ Conjug. V. from

في خلقة. At fol. 8 a, ⁷ من. At fol. 6 a, ⁶ تعالي. For ⁵ خطر.

علي. At fol. 8 b, ⁸ علي. At fol. 9 a, ⁹ Perhaps الساطع. At fol. 13 a, ¹⁰ في خلقة.

في خلقة. At fol. 13 b, ¹¹ في خلقة. At fol. 14 a bis, ¹² والطيور والدبيب. At fol. 16 a, ¹³ في خلقة.

خلقة. At fol. 17 a bis, ¹⁴ خلقة. At fol. 16 b, ¹⁵ خلقة. At fol. 17 a bis, ¹⁶ خلقة.

الينا. وهمتك في خدمتنا. التي¹ بالمحبة للخاذقة والاتضاع المسيحي كملتها. وقد كان في وقت وقت. يحدث لنا مجمعا حقاني علي اشيا اشيا صنعها الله في تدابيريه في هذا العالم الأسطقصات والذي² هو مزعم ان يصنعه في عالم النور ومن اجل الالم المساوي. الذي هي لدغة³ اللسان قد امتحننا. وما كنا نقدر ولا نستطيع لتعريفك الفضائل المفيدة الذي كنت تسال ضعفنا كما يجب. وبهذه العلة كنا نمتنع من المفاوضات المفيدة من الكتب المقدسة. فلما اراد الله وقسم لنا بفرق بعضنا بعض. وظهرت فينا علامة الشيخوخة التي هي رسول الموت. ودخلنا في السنين وشخنا. راينا ان بلسان القلم وشفاء⁴ المداد نعرفك باختصار جميع تدابير الله في العالمين. وقد جمعنا ولقطنا من فردوس الكتب الالهية. ومن كلام الابا الملافنة⁵ والعلماء. اخبار وفصول علي الكل. ووضعنا اساس بنياننا علي ابتدا خلقه هذا العالم المحسوس. وجعلنا الانتها عالم الجديدي. وسمينا هذا الكتاب كتاب النحلة. لانه ملقط من ازهار الناموسين. ومن انوار الكتب المقدسة. قد جمعنا ووضعنا فيه لفائدتك. وكما ان النحلة للحقيرة بانحثة شفاقة. تطير وترقط⁶ علي انواع الازهار المختلفة الالوان. وعلي الانوار المختلفة الرائحة. وتلقط من جميعهم مواد يصلح ويليق لعمل صنعتها. فاول ما تجمع مواد من الازهار وتحمل علي افخاذها وتجيب⁷ لمسكنها. وتجعله اساسا لبنيانها في عمل الشمع. وحينئذ تلتقط بقمها من الطل السماء.ي. الذي علي ازهار نيسن. وتاتي وتنفخ في تلك البيوت⁸ وتصنع الشهد والعسل. لاستعمال الناس ولقوتها ايضا. هكذا ونحن الضعفا فلسنا⁹ من جبال كتب العتيقة فسل¹⁰ الكلام المجسم ووضعناه هاهنا كالاساس لبنيان الناموس الروحاني. وكما ان النحلة تحمل مادة الشمع علي افخاذها من اجل تفاهتها وعدم طعمها. ولمادة العسل تجيب بقمها لاجل حلاوة طعمها وعذوبتها. هكذا نحن وضعنا الناموس المجسم موضع الاساس والارض. والناموس الروحاني موضع المظلة والسما لبنيان برج الروحاني. وكما ان الوراز¹¹ والبستاني الشاطر يدور في البساتين¹² ويبحث علي اجود الانواع والفاكهة. ويأخذ منهم اغصان وغروس ويغرس في ارضه. هكذا وايضا نحن دخلنا في فردوس الكتب وفسخنا منهم فسوخ¹³ وقصبان. وغرسنا في ارض كتابنا هذا لفائدتك ولراحتك. وانت ايها الاخ حيث تتفرج بين هذه الغروس. الذي تبصر منهم انه لا يصلح له

¹ I have added this word. ² MS. الذي. ³ A vulgar form for لثغة. See Dozy's *Supplément*. ⁴ MS. وشفاء. ⁵ Plural of ملغان = صحف.

⁶ For وتسقط. ⁷ From جاب = جاء ب. ⁸ MS. البيوا. ⁹ ههنا = قَسَل here.

¹⁰ ههنا = قَسَل here. ¹¹ Perhaps for الورداد, literally rose-gardener. ¹² MS. البساتين. ¹³ I.e. cuttings, from قَسَعَ = قَصَّ.

يغرسها في ارضه. وهكذا نحن دخلنا الي بساتين الكتب. وفسخنا^١ لنا منها قصبان خلف وسراغيف. وغرسناهم في ارض ورق كتابنا هذا تعزياً ومنفعة وفرجة عقليه لكل واقفاً علي نظرها^٢ ✦ وانت ايها اللبيب عند ما تجعل عقلك يتفرج بين هذه الغروس الوسط وراء المنظورة. وتظن انها ولاش حقيرة. اتركه لغيرك^٣. والتي تجدها حلوه لذيهه كي تغذوا^٤ فيها ذهنك^٥ وتشبع نفسك مجاعتها. وتروي عطشها اذكرنا^٦ ✦ فان رايت انها قصيرة ولم هي كفواً انها تقنع. فتامل^٧ جدا من اين هي نسبة اصلها ومن هناك تعرف قنوع طلبتك ✦ تكون تعلم ايها الاخ اللبيب. الموضع الذي فيه المحبة الحقائيه. فليس عندك هناك خوف من مكروه. والبلدة التي لك فيها ذلة^٨ ابعدت^٩ الفزع وسكن فيك الامن ✦ ولولا نحن متوكلين^{١٠} علي محبتك الغير مالوفة. لم كنا جسرننا علي تصورها. ام نهجم علي الامور العالیه علي قدرنا وطفولية معرفتنا. لانه قيل لبعض الاذكياء اذا وجدت غسل ابتاع^{١١} منه علي قدر حاجتك. ليلاً اذا شبعت منه تتقي^{١٢}. تفسيره لا تفحص عن امورا موجودة. بل تق^{١٣} بالايمان الصادق. والمجد لرنا وسيّدنا يسوع المسيح وعلينا رحمته امين ✦

CHAPTER I,

ACCORDING TO THE MUNICH MS.

علي قوة سيدنا يسوع المسيح نبتدي ونكتب كتاب مقطوف الذي يدعي كتاب النحلة. تاليف صفيّ الله مار شليمون مطران الفراء وميشان. الذي هي البصرة. يا رب ساعدني برحمتك امين ✦

في الاول مبدا الكلام ✦

لم يمكن للابنا حتي يضعوا بضائع للابا. الا الابا للابنا الروحانيين. كما قال المغبوط فولوس. لكن ضرورة المحبة الزمتنا ان نوفيك. يا ايها الاخ اللبيب وعكازة شيخوخيتنا صفي الله مار نرسي^{١٤} اسقف كونيشابور وبيت وزيق. نذكر الان اجتهادك

١ فسح = فسح. ٢ ناظرها Marg. ٣ MS. الغيرك. ٤ MS. and لديهه. ٥ تغدوا.

٦ MS. ظهناك. ٧ MS. فتامل. ٨ MS. ذلة. ٩ MS. ابعده. ١٠ MS. متوكلين. ١١ Read ابلىع?

١٢ For تتقي. ١٣ For تق. The MS. actually has تق. ١٤ نرسي has been

partially erased, and ابراهيم written on the margin.

كتاب النحلة

CHAPTER I,

ACCORDING TO THE OXFORD MS.

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد له المجد والشكر دايمًا امين *
بارشاده. وعنايته. نبتيه. ونكتب مقالات لازمه نحتاج اليها الاذكياء. كي نصدّ بها
كثيرين الفضول. وقد يسمّا هذا الكتاب للجمع من الكتب المعروفة بالبيعة المقدسه
العتيقه والحديثه¹. ويقال ايضا انه علي رأي النحلة التي تجمع من الزهور الدنج²
علي جسم افخاذها. لتعمر لها بيت وهو قاعدة بدو³ البنائنه⁴. قال بولص لسان
العطر ورسول الرب يسوع المسيح. لم يلزم الابن كي يدّخر دخيره لابيّه. بل يلزم
الاب واضع⁵ الجوهره لابنه * وكان واضع لهذه الامور المقدسه الاب القديس سليمان
مطران الفراه. من كان سواره بعض الاخوه من نظارته⁶. اسقف كوشبر⁷ بلد وزيق اسمه
نرسي. صلاتهما وبركاتهما تشملنا اجمعين ولاولاد البيعه المقدسه بني المعموديه
الطاهره امين امين ابن وامين *

اول مقاله تسمّا مقدّمه الكتاب بسلام ربنا امين *

من اجل الحبّ العامي الي جميع القديسين لحافظين وصايا ربنا يسوع المسيح
الروحانيّين يضطرنا كي نساويهم الاجره بما تلفظه حقارتنا. كذلك نجازيك تعبك ايّها
الاخ الحبيب نرسي. مسند ضعف شيوختنا. عفيف الله السيّد الاب اسقف كوشبر.
واننا ذكرنا همّة محبتك وحرصك علي خدمه ضعفنا. مضافه الي⁸ تواضع الرب
يسوع المسيح. فانت ايضا كملتته * واذا كنت يا ابي لاجل محبتك الروحانيّه
جعلت تسالني في اوقات عند اجتماعنا الروحاني من اجل اخبارنا. وصرت تفحص عنه
وتفرع⁹ الي الغايه. مقاله. مقاله. كيف خلق البارّي تعالي ذكره وتبارك اسمه عناصر

¹ MS. والحديثه. ² Wax. A non-classical word, apparently akin to the Hebrew זָבֵד.

See Dozy's *Supplément* and Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, 9th ed., art. 227. ³ MS. بذو.

⁴ So MS. Read البنيان ⁵ Read وَضَع ⁶ Read نظارته ⁷ Marg. كوشبر. added by a later hand. Apparently corrupted from the Syriac form **ܟܘܫܒܪܘܫܝܘܬܐ**.

⁸ الي is repeated in the MS. ⁹ MS. **ܟܘܫܒܪܘܫܝܘܬܐ**.

EXTRACTS FROM THE ARABIC VERSIONS

OF THE

BOOK OF THE BEE.

דאריא דאריא ל רבתי דאריא. רבתי דאריא. רבתי דאריא. רבתי דאריא. רבתי דאריא.
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 רבתי דאריא. רבתי דאריא¹⁶ דאריא דאריא. רבתי דאריא. רבתי דאריא. רבתי דאריא.

¹ B C omit דאריא. ² B C omit דאריא. ³ A דאריא (sic). ⁴ B C דאריא.
⁵ C דאריא. ⁶ C דאריא דאריא; B דאריא / always. ⁷ A דאריא. ⁸ C דאריא.
⁹ A דאריא. ¹⁰ A דאריא דאריא. ¹¹ B דאריא. ¹² A omits דאריא.
¹³ A דאריא. ¹⁴ B adds דאריא. ¹⁵ B C דאריא דאריא. ¹⁶ B C דאריא.

וְהִנֵּה אֵין מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה. וְעַתָּה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים הַקֹּל
 הַזֶּה וְהִנֵּה אֵין מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה. וְעַתָּה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים
 הַקֹּל הַזֶּה וְהִנֵּה אֵין מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה. וְעַתָּה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
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 וְעַתָּה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים הַקֹּל הַזֶּה וְהִנֵּה אֵין מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 יְהוָה. וְעַתָּה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים הַקֹּל הַזֶּה וְהִנֵּה אֵין
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה. וְעַתָּה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים הַקֹּל הַזֶּה
 וְהִנֵּה אֵין מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְהוָה. וְעַתָּה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים
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1 A omits וְעַתָּה. 2 C פֶּן. 3 A omits וְעַתָּה; C omits וְעַתָּה.
 4 B C אֵין מִלְּפָנֶיךָ. 5 C פֶּן. 6 A אֵין מִלְּפָנֶיךָ.

גז * על ידו נחלקו ארבעה דברים.

גז דם כחלי כאלמנטים. ¹ ² ונבדקו כחיותם ונבדקו
 נבדקו כחיותם ונבדקו כחיותם. ³ ונבדקו כחיותם ונבדקו
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 נבדקו כחיותם ונבדקו כחיותם. ¹⁸ ונבדקו כחיותם ונבדקו

¹ C דם; B דם; C דם. ² B דם. ³ A דם. ⁴ B דם.
⁵ B דם. ⁶ B דם. ⁷ B דם. ⁸ C דם. ⁹ A דם.
¹⁰ B C דם. ¹¹ B C דם. ¹² B C דם. ¹³ B דם.
¹⁴ B דם. ¹⁵ C דם. ¹⁶ B דם.
¹⁷ A דם. ¹⁸ B דם.

◊ דבכא דהכחא כח ◊

◊ ארבעה ארבעה, ¹ חמשה עשר

◊ וְעַתָּה הַעֲבֹדוּ בְּיַד אֲרֻמֵי חַמְשֵׁי עָשָׂר

◊ וְהַיְזִיחוּ כִּי עֲבָדוּ חַמְשֵׁי עָשָׂר

◊ וְעַתָּה כִּי הַיְזִיחוּ חַמְשֵׁי עָשָׂר

◊ וְעַתָּה כִּי הַיְזִיחוּ חַמְשֵׁי עָשָׂר

◊ כִּי הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם

◊ וְעַתָּה כִּי הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ

◊ וְעַתָּה כִּי הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ

◊ וְעַתָּה כִּי הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ

כִּי הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ

מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ

מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ

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◊ וְעַתָּה כִּי הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ

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מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ

מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ

¹ B C חמשה. ² A מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ and מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ. ³ B C فُحِب. ⁴ A B מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ. ⁵ B מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ. ⁶ A מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ. ⁷ A וְעַתָּה. ⁸ B C omit מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ. ⁹ B C omit מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ. ¹⁰ A omits מִיַּד הַיְזִיחוּ. ¹¹ B C omit the next paragraph.

יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לַיהוָה וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְאֵל אֲחֵרִים
וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְבָרִים וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵל אֲחֵרִים ✧

✧ אֵל אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים ✧

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לְאֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים

✧ אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים ✧

¹ A אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים. ² C אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים. ³ A C omit אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים; C אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים. ⁴ C אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים.
⁵ A C אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים. ⁶ A אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים. ⁷ B C אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים.
⁸ B C אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים. ⁹ A אֵלֵי אֲחֵרִים.

- ◊ קהילות קטנות יבנות יחד כי לא
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ ארבעה קטנות² יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות³ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ יבנות יחד.⁴
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ קהילות קטנות¹ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ יבנות יחד.⁵
- ◊ יבנות יחד, יחד קטנות יבנות יחד.
- ◊ יבנות יחד, יחד קטנות⁶ יבנות יחד.
- ◊ יבנות יחד, יחד קטנות⁷ יבנות יחד.

¹ A omits יחד; B C. ² C יחד; A has יחד/יחד only.
³ A C omit יחד; B C. ⁴ B C omit this line. ⁵ B C omit this line.
⁶ A יחד; B C. ⁷ A יחד.

✧ קהילות קדומות ✧

- ✧ קהילות¹ יבמות ואלה יבמות
- ✧ יבמות ואלה יבמות²
- ✧ יבמות יאלף יל
- ✧ יבמות קילין וסביבם
- ✧ קהילות³ יבמות ואלה יבמות
- ✧ קהילות³ יבמות קהילות וסביבם
- ✧ יבמות ואלה יבמות
- ✧ יבמות קהילות
- ✧ יבמות ואלה יבמות
- ✧ קהילות³ יבמות קהילות קהילות
- ✧ קהילות³ יבמות קהילות
- ✧ קהילות⁵ יבמות קהילות ואלה יבמות⁴
- ✧ יבמות ואלה יבמות⁶
- ✧ יבמות ואלה יבמות
- ✧ קהילות יבמות ואלה יבמות⁷
- ✧ ואלה יבמות קהילות קהילות ואלה יבמות
- ✧ קהילות קהילות⁸ יבמות ואלה יבמות
- ✧ קהילות קהילות יבמות ואלה יבמות⁷
- ✧ קהילות קהילות⁸ יבמות קהילות
- ✧ קהילות קהילות יבמות ואלה יבמות⁹
- ✧ קהילות קהילות⁸ יבמות ואלה יבמות
- ✧ קהילות קהילות⁸ יבמות ואלה יבמות

¹ B C omit קהילות. ² A C omit יבמות ואלה יבמות. ³ A blank space is left in A for this name. ⁴ A makes no mention of Már Abbá. ⁵ A B omit קהילות. ⁶ A writes יבמות ואלה יבמות twice. ⁷ A omits this line. ⁸ A omits קהילות. ⁹ B omits קהילות.

ܘܒܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ² ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ⁴ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ³

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ⁷ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ⁶ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ⁵

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ⁹ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ⁸

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹⁰ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹¹ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹² ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹⁴ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹³ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹⁵ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹⁸ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹⁷ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹⁶

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ¹⁹ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ

¹ C omits ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ² A ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ³ B ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ;

C ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ⁴ C ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ⁵ C ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. All the MSS. have ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ, but give seven

names. ⁶ B ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ; C ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ⁷ A ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ⁸ B ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ⁹ B

ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ¹⁰ C ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ¹¹ B ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ¹² C ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ¹³ C ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ.

¹⁴ C ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ¹⁵ B ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ¹⁶ C ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ¹⁷ C ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ.

¹⁸ A omits from ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ to ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ; a space of one and a half lines is left blank;

C omits ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ. ¹⁹ C adds ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ after ܘܢܚܘܢܝܢ.

כְּחֵינְיָאֵתְּ מִיָּמֵי רַבְּהֵי. וּפְלִיפְּיָא¹ מִתְּרַבְּרָא וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
כְּחֵינְיָאֵתְּ וְיִזְכֹּר בָּרַחֲמֵי הַיְיָ. כִּי יִזְכֹּר עַל לִי אֵל אֱלֹהֵי²

⊛ כְּכַל מַעֲשֵׂי. כִּי יִזְכֹּר⁴ כִּי יִזְכֹּר³

אֱלֹהֵי עַל מַעֲשֵׂי הַיְיָ. בְּיָמֵי⁵ בָּרַחֲמֵי הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵי
⊛ כְּחֵינְיָאֵתְּ

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר הַיְיָ בְּיָמֵי כְּחֵינְיָאֵתְּ כִּי יִזְכֹּר

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר הַיְיָ בְּיָמֵי כְּחֵינְיָאֵתְּ כִּי יִזְכֹּר⁷

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר הַיְיָ בְּיָמֵי כְּחֵינְיָאֵתְּ כִּי יִזְכֹּר

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר הַיְיָ בְּיָמֵי כְּחֵינְיָאֵתְּ כִּי יִזְכֹּר⁸ כִּי יִזְכֹּר

אֱלֹהֵי הַיְיָ. כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר אֵל¹⁰ אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי⁹

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר¹¹ כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר¹²

אֱלֹהֵי הַיְיָ. כִּי יִזְכֹּר¹³ כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר

⊛ כְּחֵינְיָאֵתְּ כִּי יִזְכֹּר

אֱלֹהֵי הַיְיָ. כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר הַיְיָ בְּיָמֵי כְּחֵינְיָאֵתְּ כִּי יִזְכֹּר

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר

⊛ כִּי יִזְכֹּר הַיְיָ בְּיָמֵי כְּחֵינְיָאֵתְּ¹⁴ כִּי יִזְכֹּר כִּי יִזְכֹּר

¹ A אֱלֹהֵי. ² B C omit כִּי יִזְכֹּר. ³ A omits כִּי יִזְכֹּר. ⁴ A כִּי יִזְכֹּר;
C כִּי יִזְכֹּר. ⁵ A אֱלֹהֵי. ⁶ A אֱלֹהֵי. ⁷ A אֱלֹהֵי. ⁸ C כִּי יִזְכֹּר.
⁹ B כִּי יִזְכֹּר; A כִּי יִזְכֹּר. ¹⁰ A כִּי יִזְכֹּר and כִּי יִזְכֹּר. ¹¹ B C אֱלֹהֵי.
¹² C אֱלֹהֵי. ¹³ A C אֱלֹהֵי. ¹⁴ B כִּי יִזְכֹּר.

מַצֵּה מִיָּדוֹ . אֲבִיבֵי קָרָם , מִתְּחִילָה כְּבָבִי וְאֶתְּמַר
 אֲפֹתָ² . כְּעֵשֶׂה דַבָּר¹ קָרָם , מִתְּחִילָה בָּא . וְאֵלֶּכֶם חַיִּים לִי
 כְּתוּבֵיהֶם כְּכֹהֵן , יִשְׁמַרְתֶּם חֻמְרֵי כֹהֵן מִלְּמַדְרַשׁ וְעַתָּה
 ✧ , מֵאַחַר , יִבְחָר³

✧ כְּיִצְחָק כְּשֵׁם וְאֵלֶּיךָ כֹּהֵן כְּכֹהֵן⁴ בְּעַד כְּבָבִי כְּיִצְחָק
 כְּעֵשֶׂה דַבָּר אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה לְעֵשֶׂה וְאֵלֶּיךָ⁵ כְּכֹהֵן
 ✧ כְּעֵשֶׂה דַבָּר⁶ חֲדָשׁ לְפָנֶיךָ . וְאֵלֶּיךָ

✧ חֲדָשׁ אֲפֹתָ⁸ לְפָנֶיךָ⁷ וְאֵלֶּיךָ כְּיִצְחָק כְּכֹהֵן

✧ לְפָנֶיךָ יִבְחָר¹⁰ דַבָּר . וְאֵלֶּיךָ יִבְחָר⁹ בָּא וְאֵלֶּיךָ⁹

✧ אֲפֹתָ לְפָנֶיךָ יִבְחָר¹¹ בָּא וְאֵלֶּיךָ¹¹

✧ יִבְחָר¹³ דַבָּר . וְאֵלֶּיךָ יִבְחָר¹² בָּא וְאֵלֶּיךָ¹²

✧ , מֵאַחַר לְפָנֶיךָ כְּכֹהֵן . וְאֵלֶּיךָ יִבְחָר¹⁴ בָּא וְאֵלֶּיךָ¹⁴

כְּכֹהֵן , מִתְּחִילָה וְאֵלֶּיךָ¹⁵ יִבְחָר¹⁵ בָּא וְאֵלֶּיךָ¹² יִבְחָר¹²

✧ דַבָּר

✧ אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה לְפָנֶיךָ , יִבְחָר¹⁶ בָּא וְאֵלֶּיךָ¹⁶ יִבְחָר¹⁶

✧ אֲפֹתָ¹⁸ כְּכֹהֵן¹⁷ אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה לְפָנֶיךָ וְאֵלֶּיךָ¹⁷ יִבְחָר¹⁷

✧ יִבְחָר¹⁹ דַבָּר . וְאֵלֶּיךָ יִבְחָר¹⁸ בָּא וְאֵלֶּיךָ¹⁸

✧ יִבְחָר¹⁹ דַבָּר . וְאֵלֶּיךָ יִבְחָר¹⁹ בָּא וְאֵלֶּיךָ¹⁹

✧ דַבָּר כְּכֹהֵן , מִתְּחִילָה . וְאֵלֶּיךָ יִבְחָר²⁰ בָּא וְאֵלֶּיךָ²⁰

¹ A דַבָּר. ² A אֲפֹתָ. ³ B יִבְחָר; A C יִבְחָר. ⁴ C omits כְּכֹהֵן.
⁵ A אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה לְפָנֶיךָ. ⁶ B C omit יִבְחָר דַבָּר. ⁷ A C omit אֲפֹתָ. ⁸ A C
 אֲפֹתָ.
⁹ The place for this name is left blank in A. ¹⁰ A C אֲפֹתָ.
¹¹ B makes no mention of this martyr. The place for his name is left blank in A.
¹² The space for this name has been left blank in A. ¹³ A אֲפֹתָ. ¹⁴ B C
 אֲפֹתָ.
¹⁵ B אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה לְפָנֶיךָ. ¹⁶ C אֲפֹתָ. ¹⁷ B C omit יִבְחָר.
¹⁸ A אֲפֹתָ. ¹⁹ C אֲפֹתָ.

מבואר ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב
נכתב ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב
נכתב ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב

✧ ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב ✧

ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב
נכתב ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב
נכתב ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב

✧ ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב ✧

נכתב ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב
נכתב ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב
נכתב ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב

✧ ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב ✧

נכתב ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב
נכתב ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב
נכתב ואלו נאמר ואלו כתיבתה נכתב

✧ ואלו נאמר ✧

¹ A omits ואלו. ² B ואלו נאמר; C ואלו נאמר. ³ B ואלו נאמר.
⁴ B omits ואלו. ⁵ A C ואלו נאמר. ⁶ A omits ו. ⁷ B C ואלו נאמר. ⁸ B C omit
from ואלו נאמר to ואלו נאמר. ⁹ A omits ואלו נאמר; C ואלו נאמר. ¹⁰ A C omit ואלו נאמר.
¹¹ A ואלו נאמר. ¹² A omits from ואלו נאמר to ואלו נאמר. ¹³ C ואלו נאמר. ¹⁴ A omits
from ואלו נאמר to ואלו נאמר. ¹⁵ C ואלו נאמר. ¹⁶ C ואלו נאמר. ¹⁷ B ואלו נאמר.
ואלו נאמר. ¹⁸ A omits ואלו נאמר; B ואלו נאמר. ¹⁹ C ואלו נאמר. ²⁰ A B omit
ואלו נאמר. ²¹ A ואלו נאמר; C ואלו נאמר.

וְיָבִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶת-בְּנֵי לְוִי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי

⊛ וְיָבִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי

וְיָבִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי

⊛ וְיָבִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי

וְיָבִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי

⊛ וְיָבִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי

וְיָבִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי

וְיָבִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי

⊛ וְיָבִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי

וְיָבִיאוּ אֵלַי אֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי בְּנֵי-אֶלְפָּאֵי

1 A בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי. 2 B וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי; C וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי. 3 A וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי; C וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי (sic).
4 B omits this name; C וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי. 5 A makes no mention of James the son of Alphaeus. 6 A B וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי. 7 A B וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי; C וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי. 8 B C omit וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי.
9 A omits וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי. 10 B C וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי, and omit from וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי to וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי.
11 B C omit from וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי to וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי. 12 B וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי. 13 C וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי.
14 C omits וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי. 15 A B omit וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי.
16 B C omit וְאֶת-בְּנֵי אֶלְפָּאֵי.

נחמיה אלמלא אנל ויבא. אנל נחמיה ¹ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ² אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ³ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ⁴ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ⁵ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ⁶ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ⁷ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ⁸ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ⁹ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ¹⁰ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ¹¹ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ¹² אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ¹³ אלמלא. אנל נחמיה ¹⁴ אלמלא.

¹ A C omit אנל. ² A omits from אנל to אלמלא. ³ A C omit אנל. ⁴ B אנל. ⁵ C omits אלמלא. ⁶ A B omit אנל. ⁷ A B אנל. ⁸ A C omit אנל. ⁹ B אלמלא. ¹⁰ C omits אנל. ¹¹ C אנל. ¹² B אלמלא. ¹³ A omits אנל. ¹⁴ A C omit אנל.

1 למלך ארץ ישראל ויהי חג אשכנז 2 למלך אשכנז 3 למלך אשכנז
 4 למלך אשכנז 5 למלך אשכנז 6 למלך אשכנז 7 למלך אשכנז 8 למלך אשכנז
 9 למלך אשכנז 10 למלך אשכנז 11 למלך אשכנז 12 למלך אשכנז
 13 למלך אשכנז 14 למלך אשכנז 15 למלך אשכנז 16 למלך אשכנז

1 C למלך. 2 B למלך אשכנז. 3 C למלך. 4 C למלך. 5 BC למלך.
 6 B omits למלך. 7 A C למלך, and A omits למלך. 8 B למלך. 9 BC omit למלך.
 10 BC למלך אשכנז. 11 BC omit למלך אשכנז. 12 B למלך אשכנז.
 13 B למלך. 14 C למלך; BC omit למלך. 15 BC omits למלך. 16 BC omit למלך.

നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ശുദ്ധമനസ്സോടുകൂടി ¹ തിരസ്കരിച്ചാൽ
 മരണമുണ്ടാകും. ² നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ³ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ.
 നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ⁴ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ⁵ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ.
 നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ⁶ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ⁷ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ.
 നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ⁸ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ⁹ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ.
 നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ¹⁰ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ¹¹ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ.
 നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ¹² നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ¹³ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ.
 നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ¹⁴ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ¹⁵ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ.
 നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ¹⁶ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ¹⁷ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ.
 നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ¹⁸ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ¹⁹ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ.
 നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ. ²⁰ നൂറുവായാസം ചെയ്താൽ.

¹ A omits *ശുദ്ധമനസ്സോടുകൂടി*. ² B *നൂറുവായാസം*. ³ A *നൂറുവായാസം*. ⁴ A B *നൂറുവായാസം*.
⁵ A *നൂറുവായാസം*; A B omit *നൂറുവായാസം*. ⁶ B omits *നൂറുവായാസം*; C *നൂറുവായാസം*. ⁷ B *നൂറുവായാസം*.
⁸ A C omit *നൂറുവായാസം*. ⁹ B *നൂറുവായാസം*. ¹⁰ A *നൂറുവായാസം*. ¹¹ In A written upside down, *നൂറുവായാസം*. ¹² B *നൂറുവായാസം*. ¹³ B *നൂറുവായാസം*. ¹⁴ A omits from *നൂറുവായാസം*. ¹⁵ C *നൂറുവായാസം*.
¹⁶ A B *നൂറുവായാസം*. ¹⁷ C *നൂറുവായാസം* and omits *നൂറുവായാസം*. ¹⁸ C *നൂറുവായാസം*. ¹⁹ A *നൂറുവായാസം*. ²⁰ A *നൂറുവായാസം*.

.כלל אפי' נא נ'כ'נ'ל, מ'כ'כ' מ'מ'י'כ'נ'ר' כ'כ'א¹ פ'נ
 .נ'כ'נ' י'ח'י'ש'כ' נ'י'ב'ל א'נ'כ' א'נ'כ'² .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 .מ'ח'י'ב'ל'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' א'נ'כ' ל' נ'א .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 א'ל ח'י'כ'י' א'כ'ר'י'ת'³ .י'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' כ'כ'י'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' א'נ'כ' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'⁴ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'⁵ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'⁶ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'⁷ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'⁸ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'⁹ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'¹⁰ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'¹¹ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'¹² .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'¹³ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'¹⁴ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'¹⁵ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'¹⁶ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'¹⁷ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'¹⁸ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'
 נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר' .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'¹⁹ .נ'כ'נ'ר' נ'כ'נ'ר'

¹ B אכ'כ' . ² A omits א'נ'כ' . ³ A א'כ'ר' and omits א'ל ; C א'כ'ר' . ⁴ C א'כ'ר' .
⁵ A C omit א'נ'כ' . ⁶ C omits א'כ'ר' . ⁷ B C א'כ'ר' . ⁸ B א'כ'ר' ;
 A C א'כ'ר' . ⁹ C א'כ'ר' . ¹⁰ C א'כ'ר' . ¹¹ B א'כ'ר' . ¹² A omits
 א'כ'ר' . ¹³ A omits א'כ'ר' . ¹⁴ C א'כ'ר' . ¹⁵ A C א'כ'ר' . ¹⁶ C א'כ'ר' . ¹⁷ B א'כ'ר' .
¹⁸ A omits this word . ¹⁹ C א'כ'ר' .

אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים¹. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים². וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים³. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים⁴. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים⁵. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים⁶. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים⁷. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים⁸. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים⁹. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים¹⁰. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים¹¹. וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי
 אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים¹². וְכֵן הָיָה כִּי

¹ A אֲשֶׁר. ² A omits הַמַּלְאָכִים. ³ B וְכֵן הָיָה. ⁴ B אֲשֶׁר; C אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. ⁵ A C אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. ⁶ C אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. ⁷ A אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. ⁸ C אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. ⁹ A B add אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. ¹⁰ C אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. ¹¹ B אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים. ¹² C אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים.

וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה¹ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה² אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה³ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה⁴ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה⁵ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה⁶ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה⁷ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה⁸ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה⁹ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה¹⁰ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה¹¹ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה¹² אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה¹³ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 וְכֵן אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה¹⁴ אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה
 ✧ כְּשֵׁי אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה ✧

✧ כְּשֵׁי אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה ✧

כְּשֵׁי אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה

¹ C אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה. ² B אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה.
³ B C אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה. ⁴ C אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה.
⁵ B omits אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה; C omits אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה. ⁶ C אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה. ⁷ C אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה.
⁸ B omits אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה. ⁹ A C omit אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה. ¹⁰ C אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה. ¹¹ C אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה.
¹² A B omit אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה; C אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה. ¹³ C omits אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה. ¹⁴ B C
 omit אֲנִי וְכֵן כְּבֹדָה.

תיצא ותיקח חשבון דבריך וידע מה שאתה עושה
אשר אתה עושה. ואתה תראה מה שאתה עושה.
אשר אתה עושה. ואתה תראה מה שאתה עושה.
אשר אתה עושה. ואתה תראה מה שאתה עושה.
אשר אתה עושה. ואתה תראה מה שאתה עושה.

וג' : כל שם חסידים נשאל עליו.

והנה יהי שם חסידים נשאל עליו. ואתה תראה מה שאתה עושה.
אשר אתה עושה. ואתה תראה מה שאתה עושה.
אשר אתה עושה. ואתה תראה מה שאתה עושה.
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אשר אתה עושה. ואתה תראה מה שאתה עושה.
אשר אתה עושה. ואתה תראה מה שאתה עושה.

¹ א) חסידים. ² ב) חסידים חסידים. ³ א) חסידים; C
חסידים. ⁴ C חסידים, חסידים; C חסידים. ⁵ C חסידים. ⁶ C חסידים. ⁷ B חסידים. ⁸ C חסידים.

וכן. וכן כתיבתה ופירושה ¹ כתיבתה
 .כתיבתה ופירושה ² כתיבתה
 וכן כתיבתה ופירושה ³ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ⁴ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ⁵ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ⁶ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ⁷ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ⁸ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ⁹ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ¹⁰ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ¹¹ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ¹² כתיבתה

✧ כתיבתה ופירושה ✧

כתיבתה ופירושה ¹⁰ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ¹¹ כתיבתה
 כתיבתה ופירושה ¹² כתיבתה

¹ A כתיבתה. ² A omits כתיבתה. ³ A omits כתיבתה. ⁴ A omits כתיבתה.
⁵ B C כתיבתה. ⁶ A omits כתיבתה. ⁷ A כתיבתה. ⁸ B C כתיבתה.
⁹ C כתיבתה. ¹⁰ B C כתיבתה. ¹¹ A omits כתיבתה. ¹² B C כתיבתה.

קְדוּשַׁת הַשָּׁמַיִם קִיּוּם בְּיַד הַמַּלְאָכִים אֲשֶׁר לְפָנֵי הַקָּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא.
 הַקָּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא מְשַׁבְּחֵהוּ וְשׁוֹמְרֵהוּ וְשׁוֹמֵרֵי שְׁמֵהוּ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי
 מִשְׁכַּנּוֹתָיו וְשׁוֹמְרֵי עֲבוֹדָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֲמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי
 אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 ❖ הַקָּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא שׁוֹמֵר אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ

❖ אַל תִּשְׁכַּח אֱמוּנָתוֹ ❖

הַקָּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא שׁוֹמֵר אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ
 ❖ הַקָּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא שׁוֹמֵר אֱמוּנָתוֹ

❖ אַל תִּשְׁכַּח אֱמוּנָתוֹ ❖
 הַקָּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא שׁוֹמֵר אֱמוּנָתוֹ

וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ וְשׁוֹמְרֵי אֱמוּנָתוֹ

1 B C אָמוּנָה. 2 B C omit מִשְׁכַּנּוֹתָיו. 3 A אֱמוּנָתוֹ. 4 B אֱמוּנָתוֹ.
 5 A אֱמוּנָה. 6 B C omit this word. 7 A omits אֱמוּנָה. 8 A omits
 אֱמוּנָה. 9 C אֱמוּנָה. 10 A omits ?. 11 B C אֱמוּנָה.

- ✧ ל. חַל שְׂמֵכִים דְּנִלְכָרָא לִנְחִינִי כְּיִזְמַר
- ✧ לט. חַל שְׂמֵכִים דְּרַבְרַב לְיִזְמַר כְּכִלְמִי דְּיִזְרַי
- ✧ לו. חַל חֲלָמִים דְּיִזְרַי דְּכַבְּשִׁי
- ✧ לז. חַל נְבִישׁוֹת דְּיִזְרַי דְּחִיטָּהּ אֲרִיִּי שְׂפִיזָא
- ✧ לח. חַל חֲכָמָה דְּאִישׁוֹ, כְּכִרְיִיעָא חֲסִיג חֲלָמִים דְּיִזְרַי
- ✧ לט. חַל ¹ חֲכָמָה דְּחִיטָּהּ דְּיִזְרַי חַל פִּיזָא ² חֲמִילָא דְּבִלְעָא
- ✧ מ. חַל ³ חֲכָמָה דְּיִזְרַי לְיִזְרַי
- ✧ מא. חַל מִשְׁמַח חֲכָמָה. חַל חֲכָמָה דְּיִזְרַי
- ✧ מב. חַל חֲכָמָה ⁴ דְּיִזְרַי חַל דִּיזְרַי דְּחַבֵּר שְׂפִיזָא
- ✧ מג. חַל חֲכָמָה דְּיִזְרַי
- ✧ מד. חַל מִשְׁמַח דְּיִזְרַי
- ✧ מה. חַל שְׂמֵכִים דְּיִזְרַי
- ✧ מז. חַל ⁵ חֲכָמָה דְּיִזְרַי דְּמִשְׁמַח ⁶ דְּחַל עֲלִיבְתָא
- ✧ חכ. חַל חֲכָמָה דְּעֲלִיבְתָא חַל ⁷ חֲכָמָה. חֲכָמָה
- ✧ חל. חַל חֲכָמָה דְּיִזְרַי ⁸ חַל חֲכָמָה
- ✧ חט. חֲכָמָה דְּעֲלִיבְתָא ⁹ חֲכָמָה דְּעֲלִיבְתָא חַל חֲכָמָה
- ✧ ט. חַל חֲכָמָה וְחֲכָמָה ¹⁰
- ✧ י. חַל חֲכָמָה דְּיִזְרַי דְּחֲכָמָה ¹² חֲכָמָה דְּאִישׁוֹ

¹ B חֲכָמָה. ² C omits these two last words. ³ B חֲכָמָה.
⁴ A omits חֲכָמָה. ⁵ C חֲכָמָה. ⁶ A B omit חֲכָמָה. ⁷ B
חֲכָמָה. ⁸ B חֲכָמָה. ⁹ C omits חֲכָמָה and חֲכָמָה.
¹⁰ C חֲכָמָה. ¹¹ C חֲכָמָה. ¹² A חֲכָמָה.

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים ¹אֵל ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים אֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

◊ בַּחֲבֵל הַדְּבָרִים ◊

¹ B אֵל.
word.

² B אֵל הַדְּבָרִים.
⁵ A omits אֵל הַדְּבָרִים.

³ A B אֵל הַדְּבָרִים.

⁴ C omits this

הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 ✧ ✧ ✧ קהילותא דקובא ✧ ✧ ✧

✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא
 ✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא
 ✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא
 ✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

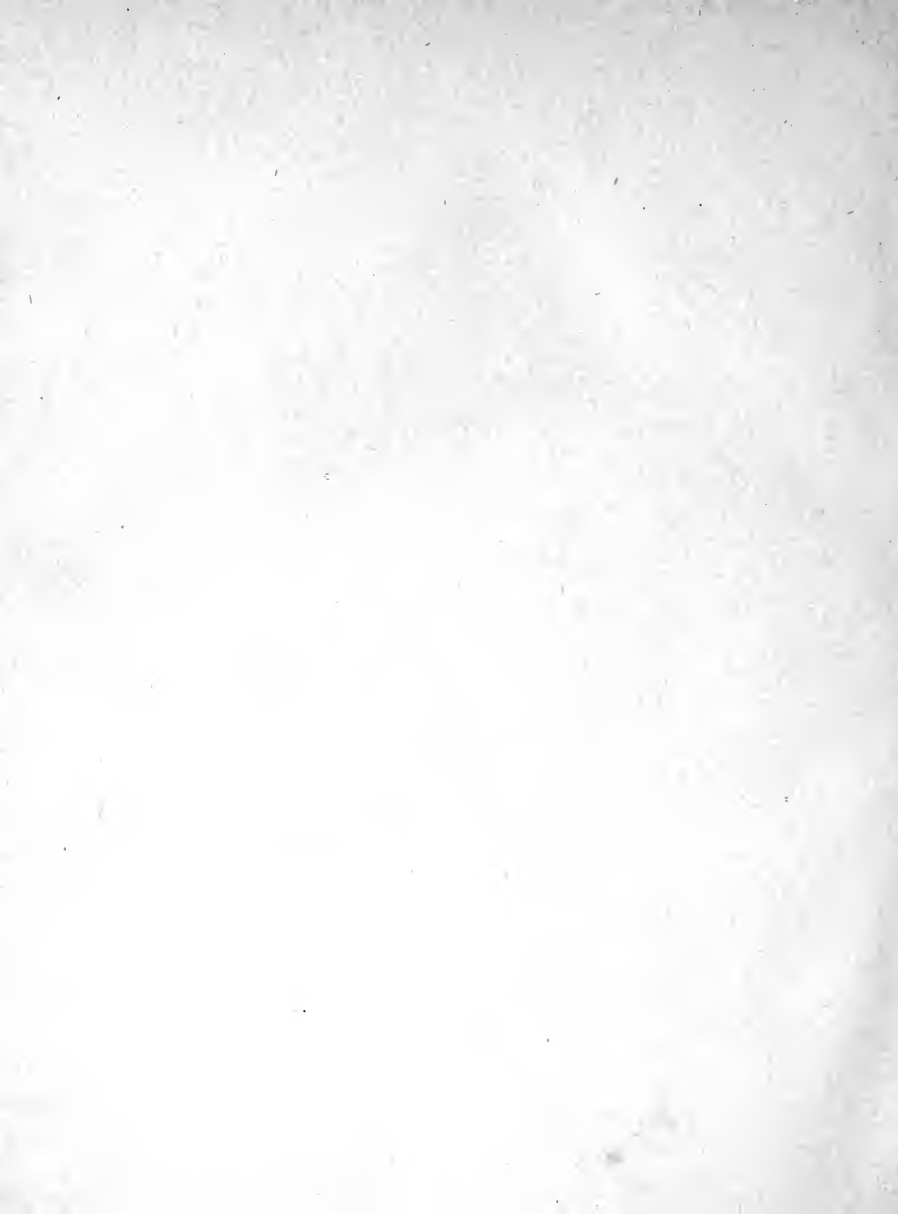
✧ קובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא דקובא ✧

¹ C קובא דקובא.
² C קובא דקובא (sic); B קובא דקובא; C קובא דקובא.
³ C קובא דקובא.
⁴ C קובא דקובא.
⁵ In this list A reverses the order of chapters vii and viii. Further on the MSS. agree with each other in this particular.
⁶ B קובא דקובא.
⁷ A קובא דקובא.
⁸ A קובא דקובא.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a form of Hebrew or a related Semitic language. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. The script is dense and somewhat difficult to decipher due to its cursive nature and the presence of some ink bleed-through or fading. The text appears to be a collection of words or phrases, possibly a list or a specific type of liturgical or administrative document. There are some larger characters or symbols interspersed within the lines, which might be decorative or have specific meanings within the script.

Handwritten symbol or character, possibly a decorative element or a specific marker within the text.







CIRCULATE AS MONOGRAPH

NOT WANTED IN ROSE

