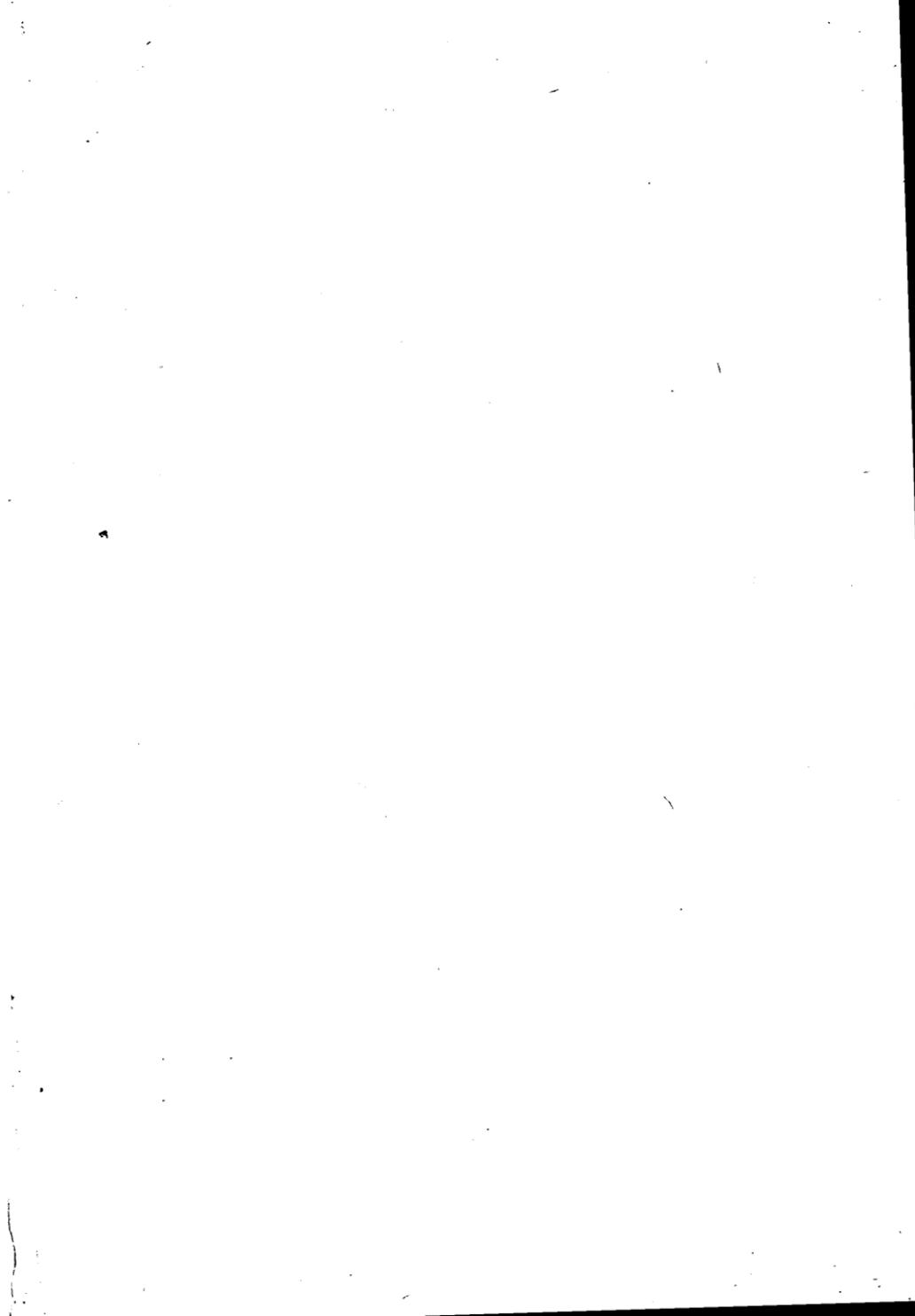
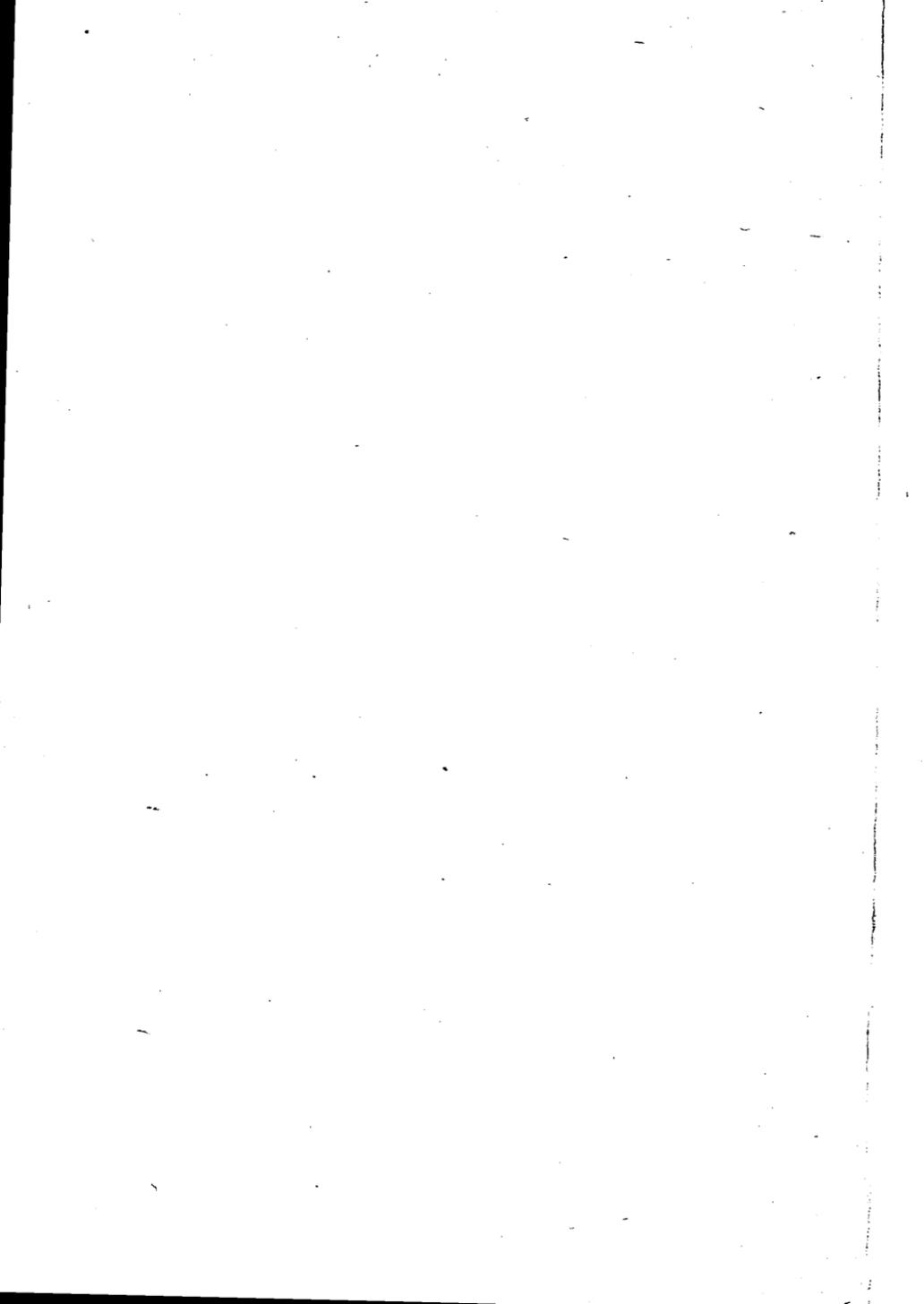


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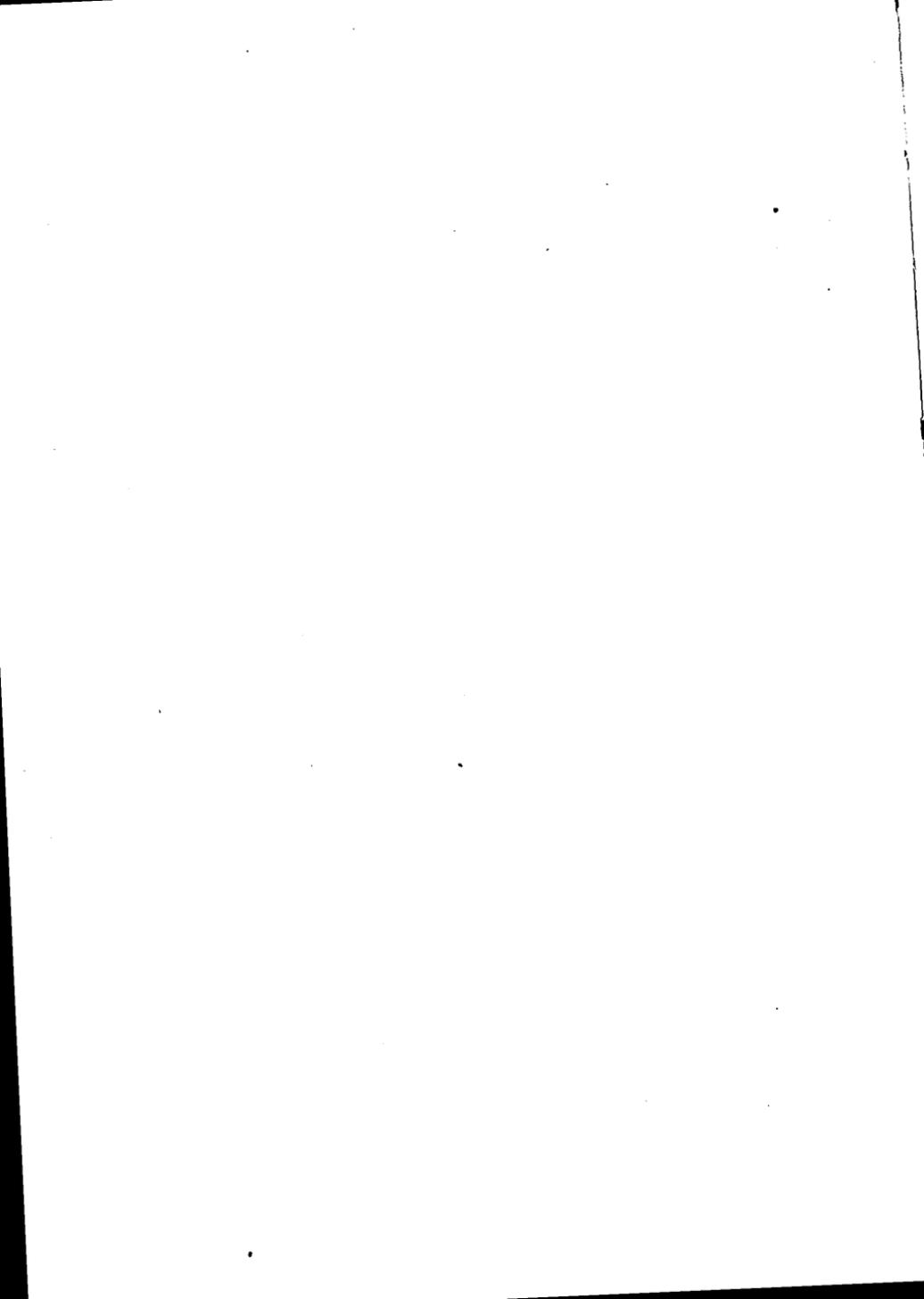
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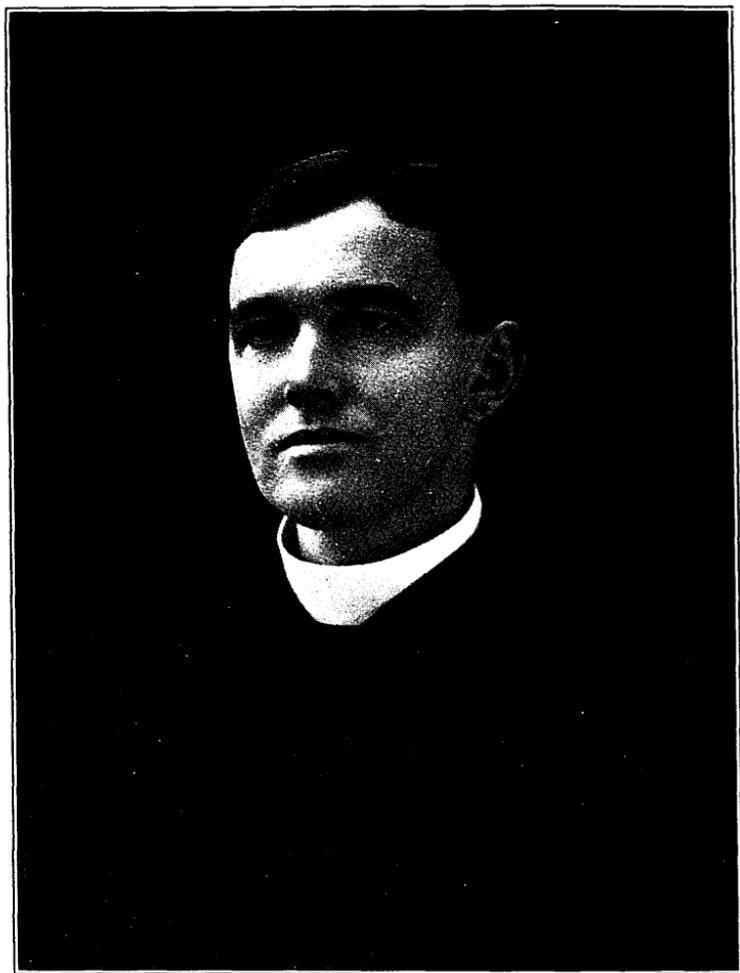
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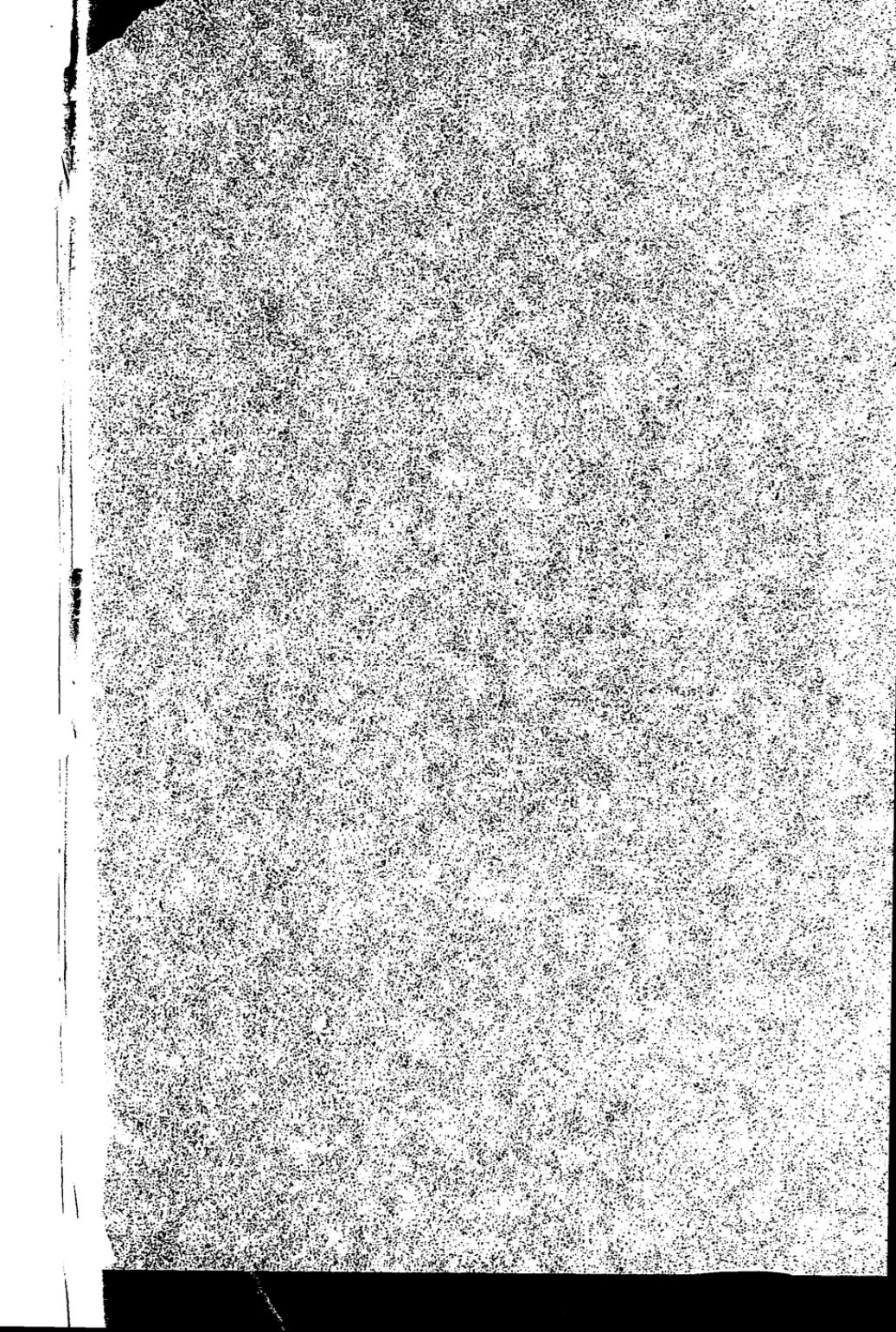
THE REV. CHARLES WAN



JAMES WAND MITCHELL, M.A., C.F.



THE REV. CHARLES WAND MITCHELL, M.A., C.F.



Ephraem Syrus, Saint.

**S. EPHRAIM
REFUTATION
OF MANI, MARCION, A**

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE
B.M. ADD. 14

BY THE LATE
C. W. MITCHELL,

FORMERLY RESEARCH SCHOLAR
EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

AND COMPLETED BY
A. A. BEVAN
AND
F. C. BURTON

VOLUME
**THE DISCOURSE CALLED
AND SIX OTHERS**

PUBLISHED
THE TEXT AND TRANSLATION
BY
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1921**

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THE
UNION
JIM'S PROSE
TATIONS

ION, AND BARDAISAN

FROM THE PALIMPSEST
ADD. 14623

THE LATE

HELL, M.A., C.F.

RESEARCH STUDENT
COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

COMPLETED BY

A. BEVAN

AND

BURKITT

VOLUME II

CALLED 'OF DOMNUS'

OTHER WRITINGS

PUBLISHED FOR
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BY

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1921

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PREFACE.

THE present Volume is the continuation and completion of that published in 1912 for the Text and Translation Society by the late C. W. Mitchell. After Mr. Mitchell's death at the Front (3rd May, 1917), the various papers and proof-sheets belonging to this work were placed in the hands of Prof. A. A. Bevan and of the present writer, then away in France. On a survey of the material it appeared that about half the Syriac text (pp. 1-128) had been passed for press and printed off; a good deal of the remainder was in type, but only partly corrected, and some was still only in MS. About half the translation was made, but still needing revision. Professor Bevan and I have therefore completed the text and the translation, and I have verified the Syriac, as far as my eyes would go, with the Palimpsest in the British Museum. We have further compiled a list of passages where corrections were necessary, both in the former Volume and in the earlier part of this.

I should have wished that at least part of the Introductory Essay might have been Mr. Mitchell's work, but the only thing of the sort among his papers was a rough draft of an Introduction, written before Volume I. was published, when what he had deciphered from the Palimpsest was a mere collection of detached fragments, not a continuous text. This being the case, no other course was open to me but to write a wholly new chapter, explanatory of the documents here edited.

CHARLES WAND MITCHELL, son of Mr. Robert Mitchell, Maple Braes, Lennoxville, Quebec, was born April 9, 1878. He was educated first at the little country school near his home, then at the Lennoxville Academy; he then had a distinguished career at Bishop's College University, Lennoxville, ending as a Lecturer in 1901. He came up to Cambridge in 1902 as an Advanced Student, passing the required standard in the Theological Tripos in 1903 and the Oriental Languages Tripos (Hebrew and Aramaic) in 1904. He must have worked hard and been well trained in

Canada, for in 1903 his knowledge and power of expression was much above that of the average student, and it was no surprise to those who had seen his work to hear that he gained the Tyrwhitt University Scholarship (Hebrew) in 1903, and the Jeremie Prize (Septuagint, etc.) in 1904.*

In the following year (1905) Mitchell was appointed Hebrew Master at Merchant Taylors' School, London, a post which he held till he went out to the Front as a Chaplain. He was ordained in 1907, and took his M.A. in 1912.

The very sympathetic notices that appeared in various papers and periodicals at the time of Mitchell's death speak of his varied interests in Merchant Taylors' School, in the parish work of S. Thomas, Telford Park, Streatham Hill, with which he was connected, and of his admirable devotion as an Army Chaplain in the most acute form of Active Service. It is right here, however, to give the chief place to his services to Oriental scholarship, by which indeed he will be permanently remembered.

A full though characteristically modest account of his work of decipherment will be found in the Preface to Volume I. Mitchell had begun before he left Cambridge to work at the portion of S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations, which had been published by Overbeck in 1865, but never translated into English; † his new post at Merchant Taylors' School allowed him leisure and also easy access to the British Museum, where the MS. of the Refutations has its home. This MS., which in its original state must have been a very handsome book, now survives in two parts, very differently preserved. The first 19 leaves (*i.e.* two quires) are very much in their original condition; they are as legible to-day as when they were written some 1400 years ago, and any one who knows the Syriac alphabet and the ordinary rules of Syriac grammar can transcribe them. This is the portion published long ago by Overbeck (B.M. Add. 14574). The remaining 88 leaves (*i.e.* nine quires), or very nearly five-sixths of the whole, were turned into a Palimpsest in 823 A.D.; that is to say, the quires were unbound, the sheets of vellum washed, so that the writing was effaced, and then when covered with fresh writing the leaves were bound up into a new volume (B.M. Add. 14623), the new order of the leaves being of course

* As an "Advanced Student" under the then regulations Mitchell's name does not appear in the regular Class List, but merely as having attained the required standard.

† A not very satisfactory German translation is given in K. Kessler's *Mani* (Berlin, 1889).

quite different from the old. These operations were very thoroughly carried out. It is difficult entirely to eradicate older writing in this way, but the excellent facsimiles given in Vol. I. will show the reader that the MS. has a most discouraging appearance to any one who sets out to read the older text. I myself had spent some time over it twenty years ago, and did not feel inclined to go on.* It was Mitchell's great merit that he had the courage to go on. He began to copy out what he found legible, and gradually the new fragments amounted to a considerable body of text, which he began to print.

In 1908 the work of printing was stopped by what he describes as 'a fortunate turn of events,' *i.e.* by the decision of Dr. Barnett, keeper of Oriental manuscripts in the British Museum, to apply a reagent to the illegible portions of the palimpsest. The happy result is described in Mitchell's preface. What however is not to be found there is a statement of the fact that it was Mitchell's patience and perseverance in transcribing so much of the faded writing that moved the authorities of the British Museum to relax their usual rules.

It is not to be supposed that even after the reagent has been applied it is an easy matter to make out the older writing of B.M. Add. 14623. It is hard enough to verify what has been correctly deciphered, and doubly difficult to make out the text for the first time. To do it needs patience, determination, a good knowledge of Syriac idiom and of Ephraim's style, and specially good and trained eyesight. All these Mitchell had, with the result that he was able to transcribe whole columns of text that at first sight seem absolutely invisible. He made mistakes now and then, of course, but the general correctness of his decipherments has been attested by the discovery in other MSS. of short extracts from the Refutations.†

The text of these Refutations, which shed such a flood of light upon religious and philosophical thought in the Euphrates Valley sixteen centuries ago, will always be connected with the name of C. W. Mitchell, but his interests and activities were in no way confined to the past. He was a man of fine physique, and an enthusiastic teacher and leader of boys and young men. And he never forgot that he was a Canadian. When the first Canadian contingent came over and landed at Plymouth he felt it impossible that they should be in the post of danger and he stay behind in England, and in 1915 he became a Chaplain to the Forces, first

* My results were published in *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel* (Texts and Studies vii 2), Cambridge, 1901, pp. 73, 74.

† See p. cxii.

at Shorncliffe, then with Bishop Gwynne during the winter of 1915-16 at General Head Quarters, and finally, as he wished, he went to the Front as Chaplain to the 8th Battalion East Yorks.

I have written at length about Mitchell's services to Oriental and Patristic literature, because this is the place to do so and because his permanent fame will be connected with that side of his activity. But I have no doubt, if testimony be worth anything in human affairs, that it was as a Padre in the very Front Line that he found the life that was most congenial to his whole being. "One sees here," he wrote to me from France (28 Feb., 1916), "another palimpsest: and ancient features in town and countryside are disappearing beyond all the subtleties of chemistry to restore." Yet he was still more concerned about his men. "He was always up near the men," wrote Col. de la Perelle, his Commanding Officer, himself a Canadian, "nothing on earth could keep him away;" and it was while he was helping the doctor to bandage the wounded near the firing line that he was fatally wounded near Monchy, on May 3, 1917.

It is impossible not to regret that one who had so many and such varied gifts of service and encouragement for his fellow-countrymen should have had his career cut short so early. But this at any rate may be said of C. W. Mitchell, that it was given to him to exhibit the example of a life of singular consistency, devoted to the highest ideals that he saw before him. His decipherment of S. Ephraim's Refutations is a permanent contribution to Syriac literature and to the understanding of ancient religious ideas, and when in the future scholars ask what manner of man it was that made this contribution to our knowledge of the distant Past, they will learn that it was one who felt he could not give real help and real encouragement to men in danger and discomfort without himself sharing in the danger and discomfort to which they were exposed, and who met an early death because he did share in the dangers of these others.

He lies buried outside Arras, near the Amiens Gate.

"A good life hath but few days :
But a good name endureth for ever." *

F. C. BURKITT.

* Eccclus. xli 13.

ST. EPHRAIM'S REFUTATIONS

VOLUME II

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SYRIAC TEXT

TRANSLATION.

AGAINST BARDAISAN'S "DOMNUS."

A DISCOURSE MADE BY THE BLESSED SAINT P. 1.
EPHRAIM AGAINST THE DISCOURSE WHICH IS
CALLED "OF DOMNUS," WHICH WAS COMPOSED
BY BARDAISAN AGAINST THE PLATONISTS.

KNOW, O my beloved, that in (?) everything it is right for us to know the (just) Measure of everything. For by this knowledge all [advantages] are found, just as . . . all injuries are produced by all arrogance. For whenever we know¹ how to approach anything by measure there is nothing that is able to hurt us. For even those hurtful things are not able to hurt us as long as we approach them² by measure.

But that thou mayest know how great is the victory of correct measure, see that nowhere does it put us in the wrong; for even in the case of fire, though it is a harmful thing, when our bodies P. 2. approach it by measure an advantage is produced for us out of its harmfulness. And if without measure starving men make use of food death is produced for them out of its (*i.e.* the food's) vital force. O correct measure, which produces out of hurtful things advantages for those who may be hurt!

For as heavy burdens teach weakness to excuse itself from (lifting) any weight which it is unable to bear, so it would be right also for an uninstructed imagination to refrain from an investigation in which it is unable to speak convincingly. For some have been found who are wise in something or other, but

¹ Read **ⲉⲃⲉⲛ** for **ⲉⲃⲉⲛ**, p. 1, l. 12.

² Read **ⲉⲃⲉⲛ** for **ⲉⲃⲉⲛ**, p. 1, l. 21.

have come near to be detected ¹ in directions where they themselves are not wise. For their boldness has made them think that because they are wise in one direction, so also they are wise in all directions.

- P. 3. But any craftsman who makes a promise about any craft which has not been learnt by him is reproved when he approaches the work which belongs to that craft. But if a craft is able to reprove him who does not know how to deal with it, investigation is not too feeble to reprove also by its silence the ignorant man who desires to approach it (*i.e.* investigation) as one who knows. For wise men, perfect and righteous, have humbled themselves that they might be as though they were ignorant men even in that which they knew—not that they wished to destroy their knowledge, but that by making themselves needy the Fulness which is enough to fill up all our needs might incline towards them. If therefore such just men as knew were not arrogant, how shall we sinful ones be arrogant in such matters as we do not know? For whoever comes forward humbly as a learner, that humility of his places him under the weakness of confessing that he does not know; but whoever comes forward with arrogance as one who knows, he is one who has exalted himself above (the limit of) moderation, because arrogance knows not how to be subject to moderation. For if arrogance allowed itself to be subject to moderation, it would not be arrogance at all. For arrogance cannot be arrogance unless it exalts itself [*above its proper measure . . . for a man is not to be blamed (by being asked) why he does not know something which he could not know*]. But if he says 'I know,' whereas it is known that he cannot know it, [*then his arrogance is really arrogance, because though he does not know*] he is unwilling to be humble. . . . And if he teaches another. . . . For he who is humble and learns from a teacher, he is able . . .

- P. 5. * * * * *
 i. 27.

Thus the Greeks spoke words of knowledge and . . . they said also various things that were in [*metaphor*] and as if in parables, and these without the tradition (*of their meaning*) no one [*can*] know . . .

* * * * *

¹ For the rendering, see Galatians vi 1, syr.vg.

we (?) blame the speaker, because he is not able to know what he P. 6.
says. I. 9.

But this which I have mentioned is found in the case of great sages, namely that one confesses 'I do not know.' For this is their great knowledge that when they do not know a thing they confess that they do not know it. For that same knowledge is able to accuse ignorance, because that ignorance cannot accuse itself. For if a man confesses about something that he knows it and again about something else that he does not know it, he gains a victory as about that which he knows. For in both these cases he has spoken the truth, and because he does not lie in either of them his truth is victorious, since it triumphs and defeats falsehood and is crowned.

But thou knowest that it is said in the book (called) 'Of Domnus' that "the Platonists say that there are *σώματα* and also *ἀσώματα*," that is to say, corporeal and incorporeal things. But these inquiries do not belong to the Platonists, even if they P. 7.
are written in the writings of the Platonists; but they are the inquiries of the Stoics which Albinus¹ introduced into his book which is called 'Concerning the Incorporeal,' according to the custom followed by sages and philosophers who in their writings set forth first the inquiries of their own party and then exert themselves to refute by their arguments the inquiries of men who are opposed to their school of thought.

But in the writings of the Stoics and the Platonists this took place, for the Platonists say that there are *σώματα* and *ἀσώματα*, and the Stoics too (say) the same thing. But they do not agree in opinion as they agree in terms. For the Platonists say that corporeal and incorporeal things exist in nature and substance, whereas the Stoics say that all that exists in nature and substance is corporeal (*lit.* is a body), but that which does not exist in nature, though it is perceived by the mind, they call incorporeal. But the Philosopher of the Syrians (*i.e.* Bardaisan) made himself a laughing-stock among Syrians and Greeks, not only in that he P. 8.
was unable to state but also in that he did not really know the

¹ Albinus (c. 152 A.D.) wrote an Introduction (*Εἰσαγωγή*) to the Platonic Dialogues, but the work here referred to is different and does not seem to be extant.

teaching of Plato ; and in (his) simplicity he hastened to calumniate Plato by (ascribing to him) the inquiries of others, though Plato had a great struggle against these (very) inquiries, which Bardaisan thinks belong to Plato.

But these inquiries (were conducted) according as the Stoics invented names for things, and because they (were expressed) as in parables . . .

* * * * * * *

1. 24. [as I have said above, Bardaisan accepts (as literal fact) the parables of the Stoics.]

* * * * * * *

1. 38. When [a man sees] a fire [burning] in a Temple or a [Palace] the sight [compels] him to be confused, and he will run in every direction, because he cannot extinguish that great fire . . . that

P. 9. weakness hastens to contend for great things, and though it knows that its insignificance cannot produce conviction it is no longer able to remain quiet : lo, our insignificance also [is stirred up by the hearing of these errors, and though our insignificance knows] that it can[not] produce conviction about these things, yet it cannot refrain from argument about them.

1. 21. But see . . . "for they have not the three dimensions (*τὸ τριχῆ διάστατον*)," namely length and breadth and height, "nor do they [have] colour (?)¹" . . . "and time and place . . . and outline and length and breadth and the [marks] that things are known [by]."

P. 10. But . . . that a man should say concerning the sun that it is mortal, . . . it is on account of the appearance which he sees in the sun that he says this concerning it ; for it is produced (*lit.* born) in the East and . . . in the South . . . and extends (its rays) as far as the West . . . and called the sun mortal, he hastens to blame (it) ; for he who blames is himself blameworthy. The fact therefore that the Stoics have called these things incorporeal I [admit] that I may say how and why and wherefore.

1. 19. . . . but they are names applied to (?) corporeal things and substances. For they have begun by saying concerning Space, namely (that) this Space exists in name and in meaning, as I have said ; for because it has a name (*lit.* by reason of its name)

¹ Read | , p. 9, ll. 25, 26.

it is expressed by a sound and because it has a meaning it is perceived by the mind. And, because it is perceived by the mind, if thou, O hearer, dost not hear (at all) with the mind thou canst not hear *it*. For consider that it is a necessary result that Space should both exist and not exist. And if these two (possibilities) cannot (both) be, Space cannot exist and receive a name, that is to say, exist in name, though it has no body or substance. P. 11. For all things, whether they be substances or bodies, can exist in this thing (*i.e.* Space) which is incorporeal.

But if Space likewise has a body and substance, it is found that it is not Space but something which is in the midst of Space; so that the truth is found (to be) that the Space in which all bodies exist has no body or substance. For if it is a body it is limited somewhere; but if it is limited it touches upon some body and is (thereby) limited. And again, what is that thing in the midst of which it is placed, so that it is a companion and a limiter for it (*i.e.* for Space)? But if that body is an impediment to it, then also again something surrounds that body; that is to say, that Space which belongs to *it* (*i.e.* the aforesaid "something") cannot be surrounded by anything. And on this account note carefully with thy mind, O hearer, and see that necessity compels (us) to say that that Space will not have a body.¹ For as long as we say that Space is some kind of body by that (statement) the P. 12. former reasoning continues to be overthrown and built up (afresh). And again let us turn back to the truth concerning it, namely to say that it (*i.e.* Space) is incorporeal and also that on account of this it is not in a place, as the Stoics have said. For that which can dwell in the midst of a place² is not (itself) a place, for one place cannot dwell in the midst of (another) place; and if it be not so, all those things which were said above have been confuted.

For if one corporeal Space be discovered which has substance and another Space be discovered which is incorporeal, then the corporeal may dwell in the midst of the incorporeal—this is a thing which can be stated indeed, but cannot be (in reality). But I venture to say . . . as many have thought, even though

¹ *Lit.* 'will belong to that which is incorporeal.' On p. 11, l. 44, add ~~at~~ at the end of the line.

² Here and in what follows it has been found necessary to render *qthrū* sometimes by 'Place' and sometimes by 'Space.'

they were unable to demonstrate (it) in practice. But that two places exist (?) in one another one cannot even . . . assert . . .

P. 13. For because a single entity is found . . .

* * * * *

l. 17. which is also a substance, from that substance there is produced in us a likeness to this (substance) . . .

* * * * *

we cannot produce out of a shadow another shadow. No other Space can¹ exist besides this, though, because of the heaven and earth that came into being, in the midst of the created things that came into being inside the world distinctions have arisen that are called 'Places,' either [North] or [West].² Now these are names of lands or habitations; but the Place in the midst of which these places are, that is what we say is incorporeal.

l. 24.

P. 14.

Can it be therefore that because this place has no substance it is not (really) a place? . . . we are not able to demonstrate. Both things therefore have been found to be true, (namely) that it exists and that it does not exist, that is to say, that it exists in name and meaning, but that it does not exist in body and substance. And a thing which does not exist in substance is a thing to which these three dimensions do not belong. For everything which is a substance or a body has three dimensions (?). And on this account also they have not wished [to reckon] God Who [is above all] with the things they call incorporeal, nor can they (do so), because of that which they were saying, that . . . is a body. Now this Space also has neither length nor breadth; for these are names of measurements (which belong) to bodies that exist in the midst of it. . . . it is necessary that these three dimensions³ (?) should be found (to belong) to them. But just as that Space includes (*lit.* has received) all bodies, though it has no body, so it includes all measurements though it cannot be subject to measurement.

P. 15.

For see that Height and Depth also are (so) named on account of the heavens. But store up (?) these things in thy mind,

¹ Read ܟܘܢܢܐ for ܟܘܢܢܐ , p. 13, l. 28.

² The words in square brackets are uncertain; perhaps they are place-names.

³ Read ܟܘܢܢܐ for ܟܘܢܢܐ , according to p. 14, l. 26 ff., and p. 17, l. 18.

and see that there is not any other body in the middle but only Space, which is incorporeal. And when thou hast considered (the matter) thus, create in thy mind height and depth—art thou able (to do so)? For which of the directions wilt thou call Height, and which again wilt thou name Depth, seeing that height is called Height on account of the heavens above thee? When therefore the cause on account of which it has been called Height is removed it is clear that the Space which remains has neither height nor depth. And so also (it may be said of) Length and Breadth—they have arisen and exist through corporeal causes. And when those causes are removed it is clear that these P. 16. names likewise do not exist. For (in the case of) that Space of which we are speaking, through what (*i.e.* in relation to what) does its height become high, and through what does its length become long, seeing that these measurements belong to substances, so that when the extent and dimension of a substance is long it is called the Length? And because one side is shorter in its measurement it is called the Breadth, while also (in the case of) a Round it is likewise clear for what reasons it is (called) a round.

But that thou mayest know that the Bardesanists have not even heard that Philosophers have . . . seeing that this length and breadth is placed by Bardaisan in that measurement of Space, when he says that ¹ "Space also has been measured that it holds so much (*i.e.* a definite quantity)." For if he supposes that Space is measurable it is necessary that length and breadth also should belong (?) to Space, a statement which I have contradicted above.

[This]² same length and breadth therefore the Philosophers have there also [perhaps]³ called incorporeal, and just as Space is measured in virtue of what it is (?), so they reckon them (*i.e.* P. 17. length and breadth) in virtue of what they are, so that thou mayest know that they also are things distinct from Space, that is to say, they are names and notions, but not bodies and

¹ Read, perhaps, ^[] for ^[], p. 16, l. 33: the MS. is illegible.

² Read ^[], p. 16, l. 43.

³ Read ^[] for ^[], p. 16, l. 45.

substances. For thou measurest a body which has length, but length itself, which is produced by a name and is called Length, thou canst not measure (and) ascribe to it three dimensions, for this Length is produced by the conjunction of body and speech.¹ For the body produced the measure, and speech produced this name which is called Length. Thou art able therefore to measure the extent and width of that body, and when thou hast measured (it) thou givest the name of Length to that which thou hast measured. But thou canst not turn round (and) measure the name which is called Length, because it is not a substance at all; for it is a bare name whereby the notion of that which thou hast measured is perceived (by the mind).

P. 18. Since then this name has no substance, let us say therefore that it does not exist. And how does it not exist, seeing that apart from this name no creature can be measured? Therefore also this name which is called Length both exists and does not exist. And so also all words both exist and do not exist, but they exist (as) signs by means of which we understand everything 'that'¹² has body and substance, whereas they (*i.e.* words) have no body, and though by means of them we speak about all substances they themselves have no substance.

For I say that I *buy* and I *sell*; but the thing which I buy or sell is some substance, whereas these verbs³ and the nouns called 'buying' and 'selling' have no substance. Therefore substances which are bought or sold have these three dimensions, but these nouns have them not, for they are incorporeal. And that I may not write to thee at great length (it is enough to say that) thou hast often heard this with respect to Time and Number and with respect to everything which is incorporeal. For with regard to everything which is like these or similar to these, (we may say that) its branches divide there, for these (*i.e.* Time and Number) are the roots from which all the branches shoot forth. And though it would suffice that thou shouldst know all of them by means of a single one nevertheless they (*i.e.* philosophers)

P. 19.

¹ *Lit.* 'between body and word.'

² Read ^{ⲓⲛ} ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓ for ⲁⲛⲓⲛⲓ, p. 18, l. 16.

³ In Syriac a Verb is called a 'word' (ⲛⲁⲃⲗⲁ) and a Noun is called a 'name' (ⲛⲉⲙⲁ).

have abundantly demonstrated these things to him who seeks them, in order to assist the weakness of the seeker.

Hear therefore with respect to a sign (*σημείον*) and a line that they too are incorporeal things (dependent) on bodily substances which exist, that is to say, a horse or an eagle or one of the various bodies and substances. When some one begins to portray them . . . , at the (very) commencement, when thou seest, thou knowest whether he wishes to portray a horse or a lion, and before the artist portrays (anything) on the tablet, the likeness of the horse is portrayed in his mind, and if the artist wishes to add (extra) limbs thou blamest him by reason of the substance of the horse which the truth fashions.

But if I say to thee, "I intend to draw a line," thou knowest not what (line) I shall draw for thee; for a line has not any sub- P. 20.
stance, as a horse has a substance, so that if he (*i.e.* the artist) adds or subtracts thou canst convict him. But if thou thinkest, "He is drawing a straight line," he draws for himself a crooked one; and if thou thinkest that he is making it (to consist) of four angles he can make it (to consist) of eight¹ angles. For when artists portray the likenesses of bodies which they perceive they cannot add or subtract anything; and when they portray the likenesses of substances which they do not perceive they portray them in their proper colours and shapes. And if he adds in one of the substances anything which is not in the (true) image of that substance, he is blamed. But in the case of a line he adds and subtracts anything that he wishes, and he is not blamed, because there is no real substance (which is) the likeness of that line so that thou couldst blame him. And because it has not substance it does not exist, and because it does not exist we have on that account also called it incorporeal.

But Bardaisan has said that even a line is measured by that body, whatever it be, in which it is. Hear this (word) as (thou P. 21.
hast heard) that which I have said concerning Space, in the case of which the terms Length and Breadth are used, not, however, (as applying) to it but to that which exists in Space. For consider that before a horse is portrayed it is pictured in thy mind, and thou knowest what is its length and breadth. But (in the case

¹ Read *ἑξήκοντα* for *ἑξήκοντα*, p. 20, l. 15.

of) a line, before it is formed thou knowest not its length and breadth, because it has not length and breadth. For if they belonged to it it would be known before it is formed, as the length and breadth of all animals is known in our mind before they are portrayed, except such animals as are invisible to us, or the likenesses of angels, whose length and breadth, when we see them once, are pictured in our mind as (in the case of) those things which are visible to us. But (in the case of) a line, though thou seest it always, thou hast never yet limited it, and this (is) because, as I said, it has no 'bound' likeness or fixed body (such) that if the draftsman of the line departs from the likeness he can be blamed. That line therefore has no length or breadth before it is formed on the tablet, in the way that even before a man is born we know the fashion of his length and breadth; but this line, which has no substance, when it is drawn (*lit.* falls) upon a tablet or upon (some other) body these three dimensions arise for it. But they (*i.e.* the dimensions) belong, not to it, but to that thing with which it is associated; for if they were its own they would belong to it even apart from this tablet.

P. 22.

But I say to thee briefly—there are these three classes which are incorporeal, one class (consisting) of fixed nouns which are given to bodies and substances; and another class of nouns which are given to notions, like these of Space and Time and Number; and another class (consisting of) verbs which are used¹ with reference to anything. And whereas these three classes are incorporeal, they have nevertheless called these seven names only "incorporeal." And why (none) but these names, seeing that 'Gold' and 'Silver,' even if these also are names (or 'nouns'), are ἀσώματα, *i.e.* incorporeal? Nevertheless, because they have been given to bodies and substances, they also are corporeal names. When therefore thou hearest a name which some one uses and he calls out 'gold,' or 'silver,' or 'eagle,' or 'earth,' at the mere mention of the name thy imagination fixes itself on the corporeal substance, and thou knowest whether it be soft or hard, or bitter or sweet. And so also when some one speaks to thee of colours. But if, on the contrary, he mentions to thee 'Time' or 'Number' thy imagination does not fix itself on

P. 23.

¹ Read ܐܘܨܚܘܢ for ܐܘܨܚܘܢ , p. 22, l. 35.

bodies or substances. For what substance belongs to Time, or what body belongs to Number or Space? Nor dost thou know whether they be black or white, whether they be soft or hard.

And if thou sayest that likewise Height and Length are names and are used of bodies and substances, [*I reply*] that at first they exist by themselves and stand without the support of any body whatsoever, but afterwards [they are applied] also to P. 24. bodies according to common usage; for a man says 'length' even though bodies and their extent have not previously been mentioned, for "the name of Length¹ and Breadth—these names exist by themselves without the support of any body"; but afterwards a man says "the length of a stone" and "the breadth of it"—these, lo, stay upon the bodies by favour. But if thou sayest 'Iron' or 'Brass,' with the name² there stays the substance also, and the name of Iron or Brass cannot be said (*i.e.* without implying the qualities of these substances). . . .

* * * * *

. . . And on this account they are 'bound' names, and these also l. 33. [are attached] to 'bound' substances; for these names of Iron or Brass or Stone . . . but it is right (?) that incorporeal names l. 42. should be detached, and, because they are not as 'bound' substances, perhaps on account of this they have called them *ἀνώματα*

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. . . that indeed 'there is a time for everything'³ . . . l. 18.

* * * * *

(Here follows) yet another fashion (of argument). There is P. 26. nothing which is not named as being in Space or in a place.¹ 2. There is nothing which is not in Time and subject to Time and performed within (the limits of) Time. There is nothing which has not or does not become subject to Number and Measure. There is nothing which does not possess Length and Breadth. There is no body or person who does not bear a Mark by means of which he (or it) is distinguished from others, like the point which distinguishes one word from another. There is nothing

¹ The second *χωρος* in p. 24, l. 8, appears to be a dittography.

² Read *ἰσχυρὸν ὄνομα*, p. 24, l. 21, and *ἰσχυρὸν*, l. 22.

³ Ecclesiastes iii l.

which is formed or written without a Line being in its form or in its writing. There is no clang or buzzing or humming or sound without one of these seven sounds, or of those seven vowels (?), or seven Syllables, being in it. And therefore here (*i.e.* in this connection) also the Stoics made the seven syllables ἀσώματα, so as to include everything within them just as (they include) these writings which have no sound.

P. 27. But just as there are names of horses which are derived from the Sun, that is to say Ἡλιοδρόμος, and from Fire, (that is) Πυρολάμπος, and again from Water, Πήγασος, so there are among our names other names which are derived from each of those seven names, besides these words, which are verbs¹ and not names, as I said above.

P. 28. But leave all of them (?), and hear the sound of the tongue, which has in it and within it (musical) tones, which convey a meaning to the hearer when they are varied in the mouth, and these tones and variations of the voice are called verbs, such as, 'eat,' 'drink,' 'rise,' 'sit.' Now these are variations of the tongue within the mouth and changes of sound, but the sound, because it exists (?), has been apprehended (*lit.* overtaken) by the hearing; whereas the meaning of these variations of the tongue and of sound is perceived by the mind. For nothing which reaches the hearing is (actually) severed from the tongue or from the sound, as if thou givest a piece of thy flesh or of thine eyelids thou givest some substance which can be felt and seen. But in this case (*i.e.* when the above-mentioned words were uttered) the ear heard thine own voice as it came. And if they (*i.e.* the speakers) are Persians, the mind fails to perceive the meaning of the words, though the ear did not fail to hear the sound. But if the meaning were any sort of substance, the ear would perceive it also, just as it perceives the sound. And lo! also by a gesture a man conveys a meaning, and in this case hearing is in abeyance and thou hearest with the eye (?). And (yet) nothing is severed from the gesture or from the things written and reaches the eye, but [the eye]² sees something [of

¹ See the note to p. viii.

² Read 
(p. 28, l. 18 ff.).

which] the meaning is seen by the ^{mind}—it (*i.e.* the mind) perceives it. And even an unlearned eye sees a book because it is really a thing seen. But these senses . . . do not perceive . . . the meaning (of the book), because that meaning is not seen by the eye, nor tasted by the mouth, nor smelt, nor handled. But that meaning which is heard by the ear in the sound can attach itself (*lit.* can come) to a gesture, and the ear does not hear it in the gesture, but the eye [sees] that whereby really the meaning was spoken. . . . but it has not departed to (any other) place, P. 29. because it exists (?). But the meaning can be expressed (?) by anything, because it is incorporeal.

So all these words and names of everything that exist are not bodies but meanings (or notions), so that they may not wander about among all words and names. . . . For during the day and l. 19. the night all objects (?) which are in space are visible to us. And so even (in the case of) these six notions which are associated with this (space), it is not the notions themselves that are visible or audible, but that thing has an appearance of its own and a special mark ¹ of its own. For without a voice I hear its voice, even when no one has spoken to me about it. But the notions, if thou dost not speak to me ² about them, have no voice, but within (the compass of) thine own voice thou utterest those notions which have no voice. But it is here that Bardaisan erred and went astray, for he said concerning notions that they are audible. But the Stoics did not err, for they said that they (*i.e.* notions) are perceived by the mind. P. 30.

* * * * *

. . . sight perceives with the eye, voice with the tongue, smell l. 5. with the nostrils, taste with the palate, but touch [with all] the body, and these things are 'bound' and not separable; but notions are not 'bound' [*to one sense, for if*] thou think 'surely it is bound up with the voice, consider . . .

For see that unless thou hast sung or called I know not l. 27. whether thy voice is beautiful or not, and unless thou hast seen (something) it is also the same (as regards) thy sight, and unless

¹ Read ^{mind} for * * κ, p. 29, l. 30.

² Read ~~acm~~ for ~~acm~~, p. 29, l. 37.

P. 31.

thou hast smelt it is also the same (as regards) thy sense of smell, and unless thou hast heard I know not whether thy hearing be quick, and so also (with) thy foot and thy hand.¹ For as regards each of these a man is able to learn it (*i.e.* its qualities) by means of it. But as regards thy notions, even without thy tongue and thy voice I can know by means of writings whether they (*i.e.* thy notions) are good or wise, though writings are (only) signs of notions. For writings are divided up into syllables, but a notion is not divided; and a book, moreover, is visible, whereas a notion is not visible. And it is not right that the Greeks should be blamed for the appellations which they bestowed. For these appellations were not invented with a view to judgement and discussion, but for the notion of why it was so. It would therefore not be right that we should pass judgement on a thing which was not designed for judgement but for (expressing) a notion. For authors would not even have been able to compose anything, if they did not employ these appellations. For those things are known which introduce judgement and discussion.

For even these very words which are spoken are included within these seven *ἄσώματα*, for from these same seven Names² [every]thing begins to be spoken,³ while the limner⁴ asserts concerning Geometry that with its lines all works and all designs are made, and (also) what the Greeks called *ἐπιφάνεια*, Manifestation, *i.e.* the appearance of anything whatsoever, for there is nothing, either of things visible or of things invisible,⁵ which has not an appearance of its own.⁶

P. 32.

But the causes of appearance are these: that is, according as the intervening distance is far or near, and according to the

¹ כַּד כַּד . קַדְקַד for * * קַדְקַד, p. 30, l. 39.

² For כַּדְכַּדְכַּד, p. 31, l. 33, read כַּדְכַּדְכַּד.

³ For כַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּד, p. 31, l. 34, read כַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּד.

⁴ כַּדְכַּד, p. 31, l. 35 (*sic*): pronounce *sarrūtū* or *sūrtū*.

⁵ Instead of . כַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּד, p. 31, l. 44, read (in two lines)

כַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּד
כַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּדְכַּד

⁶ Compare Aristotle, *Metaphysica* vi 2, 2: "It is held by some that the boundaries of a body, such as the visible surface (*ἐπιφάνεια*) and outline (*γραμμή*) and extreme points (*στικμῆ*) and its isolation (*μόνασ*), are real (*ὄντα*), more real than the solid itself."

greatness or smallness of the object seen, and according to the healthiness or unhealthiness of the eye¹ itself, and moreover according to the faintness or intensity of the light which reveals (the object); for by much light the eye is dazzled and that object which is (usually) visible is swallowed up or hidden, as the stars by the sun. On the one hand therefore the darkness is a revealer, like the light, since in the darkness the stars are bright and visible, which are hidden by the light, as the sons of darkness (are hidden) by the day.

But the cause of the eye failing (*lit.* slipping) is that the sight of the eye wanders by reason of the distance of the (intervening) distance, and on that account it (*i.e.* the eye) does not see. But if there were something in which the sight might be shut up, as in a tube, [*the sight*] would be able to go forth to see that object which it cannot (now) see on account of the distance . . .

* * * * * P. 33.

But again [*in the case*] of the stars, that same (intervening) distance which belongs to them by day belongs to them also by night, and the eye which could not see them by day was able to see them by night. And why (is this so), unless it be that the darkness is for the eye as it were a tube and its sight is concentrated and goes up to the stars, while the light of the stars, on the other hand, descends to the eye as it were into a pit? And so too a fire by night is seen from a great distance, but by day it is not seen even a quarter of this distance.

* * * * * P. 34.

[*Even by day the stars might be seen, if the light of the sun was obscured.*] . . . he (?) cannot see by that light which is outside (of the eye) that which he saw by the light which is within (the eye). Consider again and fix the eyes also on the sun, and see that, if the light is not concentrated (into the eye) little by little and (so) comes to its place, the eye cannot see. And again, if a lamp be extinguished at night on the way, observe that because the eye is distracted by the rays of the lamp (it is only) when it has concentrated the light into itself little by little that it can see.

¹ Read ~~κατα~~ (*sic*) for ~~κα~~ * ~~κα~~, p. 32, l. 8.

But that thou mayest learn well how tubes concentrate scattered things and propel (*lit.* send) them, consider also the fire-hoses (*σὶφῶνες*), and see to what a height they propel and scatter the unstable water. Consider moreover aqueducts and see how water is collected in cisterns and pipes and (then) it ascends and does service on heights that are hard of access. And so would the eye be able to see from afar, if there were instruments to (assist) the eyesight. Look also at the mouth of a kiln, how it concentrates and sends forth the smoke, and it circles and is carried up on high. But when the smoke goes out into the open air it wanders (*i.e.* is dissipated) and is scattered and swallowed up after the manner of the aforesaid eyesight. Consider moreover the breath which we send forth from our mouth gently, and see that when it is concentrated in the furnace of a blacksmith or in the fireplace of a goldsmith its blast goes forth strongly because of its concentration. Furthermore, if this wind that blows is compressed between the clefts of a mountain, or in the opening through a wall its breath beomes stronger because of its accumulation. Consider moreover a trumpet, and see that the voice which in us was weak and, when it went forth from us, wandered (*i.e.* was dissipated), as soon as its wandering motions are concentrated in the trumpet, observe how far the concentration of that voice carries. Again, make (*lit.* take) an experiment for thyself, (namely) if thou openest thy mouth wide and criest, thy voice wanders and is weak; but if thou compressesst thy lips a little on the outer side and makest with them as it were a spacious hollow on the inner side thy voice is concentrated and increases, especially if thou art looking downward and not upward. Again, observe a carpenter (and see) that when he considers the straightness of the wood—because the sight of his eye is scattered as long as it (*i.e.* his eye) is altogether open—the workman closes half of his eye, that he may concentrate it (*i.e.* the sight) against the straightness of the wood.

P. 36.

P. 37.

Again, inhale breath from thy mouth and inhale also from thy nostrils, and see that the inhaling power of thy nostrils is strong enough to concentrate (and) bring in the air, because the nostrils are compressed and hollow (?) like cavities and tubes. And if

a workman is comparing (?) depth with height he makes a small hole for himself, in order that he may concentrate and cause to pass through it the sight of the eye, and that he may estimate (*lit.* weigh) the extent (*lit.* surface) of the depth and reckon it in comparison with the height. But I say that if smell and heat were concentrated they likewise would be found travelling to a distance. But it must be so; for rest cannot be stable, because that air which sets things in motion (*lit.* the dragger of things) is (constantly) travelling and knows not how to rest. For it is by the air that everything is drawn along.

Consider again that he who blows a flute or he who utters cries with a mouth that inhales and exhales the air (does so) in order that the air may be a vehicle for the voice or the flute-blowing. For the air is a vehicle for everything. Moreover when a man looks in the direction of the sun, if he does not place P. 38. his hand above his eyes and shelter them, their sight is not concentrated (enough) to look (steadily). And likewise when a man carries a lamp, if he does not spread his hand above the lamp and ward off the rays from his eyes, his eyesight is scattered and cannot travel to a distance. And when a man looks into a basin of pure water he sees in the collected water below the colour of the sky and likewise a bird, if it happens to fly above the aforesaid basin.

But because everything is given to us by measure, we also see by measure, along with everything else. For beings above and below, along with everything which is created, act by measure. But if there be some who exceed (others), as (it may be said) that cattle eat more than birds, and a wild beast drinks more than creeping things, and the sun is brighter than the stars, though (even so) all these are subject to measure. For increase the blaze and see that the heat increases; and likewise the sight becomes less through much fasting, and when the sight P. 39. is weak errs (*lit.* slips). But the contrivances which I have mentioned assist our weakness.

Know moreover that Dark and Light are the opposites of one another; the opposite indeed is not assisted by its opposite, nor is Light injured by that which is akin to it, but the sight (is

injured) by the Light, because the sight wanders right and left, like water that wanders in a plain. But in the dark, because it (*i.e.* the sight) does not wander right and left, and as . . . in a tube . . . and the sight [comes] up to the torch or the . . ., on that account they are seen by the eye; and the sun does not hide the stars when it rises—for light does not become the opposite of the star which is akin to it—but the rays scatter the sight of the eye and it (the eye) cannot see the stars. For lo! a lamp, although ¹ (?) it is seen at noon on account of its nearness . . . that which is swallowed up is seen neither by reason of distance nor yet on account of nearness (?). But light cannot swallow up anything because its concentrated nature . . . nor does it swallow up the darkness; the darkness is wholly destroyed and ceases (to exist), because there was nothing in the sky, for it (*i.e.* the darkness) is incorporeal.

P. 40.

There are these two natures only coming to meet one another, namely sight and the illuminated object; the latter comes with its light visibly towards the eye, and sight goes to meet the illuminated object invisibly, like the invisible scent which comes from visible blossoms. For if it were not the fact that some sight (or other) is sent out and goes forth from the eyes, how would those animals which see by night see in the darkness? For there is no light of which we can say that it is. . . . For the rays do not belong to the eyes nor . . . nor to the water, but to the light which comes and strikes its rays upon it (*i.e.* the water); and if the beams ² were striking upon a mirror and turning back to it (*i.e.* are reflected towards the eye), they are thought to belong to the mirror. But if they belonged to the mirror, they would be seen in it also at night, in the absence of the light; for also when the sun diffuses (its light) upon the water, lo! thou seest the sun and its rays (therein), but we do not say that that which is seen ³ in the water belongs to the water. And when it (*i.e.* the sun) declines and the shadow in its turn falls upon the water, how can we see the rays in the water, seeing that they are not in the water? For everything that is polished,

P. 41.

¹ Read ܩܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ (?) , p. 39, l. 39.

² Read ܐܘܪܐ for ܩܝܡܝܢܐ (?) , p. 40, l. 46.

³ Read ܕܥܝܢܐ for ܕܥܝܢܐ , p. 41, l. 17.

when the light of the sun strikes upon it . . . so that when the sun shines upon them the sight ¹ (of the eye) which gazes at them wanders. But as for dark-coloured stones and (other) black substances, know that also upon them when the rays strike the light is spread, but (only) on those white substances, which are akin to the light, does the light show its power. Nor again do rays go forth from unpolished bodies or from substances that P. 42. do not glitter,² as they go forth from polished objects or from substances that glitter. But as ³ everything which falls into a mirror is seen when it sinks into the midst of the mirror and is thought to belong to the mirror, although it does not belong to it, so also those rays were thought to belong to the mirror, although they did not belong to it, as I have said. But as when hard substances strike against one another a sound is engendered ⁴ from between them—and it was not the case that that sound was (previously) within them and was inaudible, for it is their nature to engender ⁴ a sound by striking together—in like manner also (in the case of) the eye and the illuminated object, by the striking of both of them, in combination with one another, sight is engendered ⁴ in the eye.

As therefore heat that goes forth from a fire, and rays from a lamp, and perfume from spices are weakened when they go far from their sources, so also the sight diminishes as it goes to a distance. For (only) in a small measure is perfume deposited P. 43. in a blossom and light in a lamp and heat in a fire ; on this account also they penetrate to a distance (only) in a measure and begin to grow weak as they go to a distance. For (in the case of) fountains of abundant water their flow is even, because there is an abundant and material (*lit.* solid) outflow. But effulgence perfume, and heat are not corporeal, nor do they really flow like a literal (*lit.* bound) fountain. For lo ! the voice which is in us is a thing bound within us, and as it goes away it likewise grows faint, and by the mechanism of a trumpet it becomes something

¹ Read *ܟܘܘܢܐ* for *ܟܘܘܢܐ* (?), p. 41, l. 33.

² A word used of gaudy attire in the Life of Rabbula 189₁₉. The Note to p. 42, l. 2, should be deleted.

³ Read *ܟܘܘܢܐ* for *ܟܘܘܢܐ*, p. 42, l. 7.

⁴ Note, in view of Ephraim's argument against Bardaisan (p. xxii), that the word for 'engender' is, literally, 'give birth to.'

measure. For a man calls, and there is a certain measure to which his voice reaches, but (*lit.* and) when the contrivance of the trumpet steps in it causes the voice to pass over that former (?) limit. Oh! what a thing is Contrivance! since it makes Nature to become something different. And on that account there is no excuse for the sinner, seeing that Nature itself is compelled to follow the will, when that will desires to compel Nature. For P. 47. God created the world and adorned it with natural objects; and, (yet) if contrivance had not afterwards adorned the world, the world would be a waste. And that I may bring to thee a testimony from near at hand, consider thy limbs, that is to say, thy senses, and see that God created them as (He created) natural objects which are bound (by necessity). But by the gift which comes from Him thou teachest thine eye another (kind of) sight, (that) of many books, of seals, of pearls and the like. Again thou teachest thy hand to write and to work at a forge and to engrave, and so also (thou teachest) thine ear the hearing of many sounds.

And again, as for what Bardaisan says, that "if a perfume or a voice reach to us we should all equally perceive them"—lo! in the case of the light, which reaches all eyes equally, why does one man see more than another? If he says that (it is) because of weakness or disease or other things of the same kind, it all tends to show that what he has now failed (to apply, namely) that if a P. 48. perfume approached us equally we should all perceive it equally. For it (sometimes) happens that he who is near a thing does not see it, while another, though he is far off, sees that object which is placed on the (very) eye of the former. And so likewise (he errs) in that he says concerning the voice also that "it reaches the ear of (every) man equally, if his ear is not dull."

But from this very thing learn that if, moreover, thou diffusest a perfume by measure in all directions thou wilt see that all (men) are not able to smell equally; nor do they hear equally, nor . . . foods touch all mouths equally, and yet all mouths 1. 33. do not taste equally

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But so Bardaisan juggled¹ even by names and supposed that P. 49.

¹ *Lit.* 'sailed about': see p. 221, l. 35, and delete the Note, p. 48, l. 48'

the nature (of things) is like their names. For because 'light' in the Aramaic language is called as masculine, and 'eye' feminine in the same,¹ he hastily coupled them together in a foolish phrase, saying that "Light, like a male, sows perception in the Eye." And lo, he, Bardaisan, calls the moon feminine² in the Aramaic language: when³ therefore (?) the eye looks at the moon, does that female sow perception in a female? Well, then, because in the Greek language 'sun' and 'eye' are both called masculine, when the eye looks at the sun a male sows perception in a male, according to the teaching of Bardaisan!

¹ Read ܠܘܟܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ for ܠܘܟܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, p. 49, l. 7.

² 'Moon' is either masculine or feminine in Syriac.

³ Read ܠܘܟܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ for ܠܘܟܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, p. 49, ll. 18, 19.

END OF DISCOURSE COMPOSED AGAINST BARDAISAN.

AGAINST MARCION I.

ANOTHER (DISCOURSE) AGAINST THE (FALSE) P. 50.
TEACHINGS.

To the true Scriptures of the Church all the Teachings bear witness that they are true ; but as for the Scriptures belonging to the Teachings, only the Teachings bear witness concerning them, because the Scriptures of the Church do not appeal to the testimony of the Scriptures of the Teachings. Moreover to our Scriptures the Jews bear witness, for in every place. . . . For inasmuch as God knew that the Teachings were about to go forth into the world He worked great Signs beforehand . . . and the dividing of the sea and the cloud, and the Pillar and the Quails and the Manna and all the Signs¹ and all the Wonders. . . .

* * * * *

in order that they might bear witness concerning that people P. 51, l. 4.
that it was the people of God. . . . Moreover (to ?) other countries some of them were scattered formerly, and (they bear witness) to-day concerning the aforesaid Jews and concerning their laws, as that (passage) in which it says,² 'The LORD hath brought evil upon this place, as He said.'

But the Edicts which had been written by Nebuchadnezzar³ and by Darius were deposited among the archives of the aforesaid kingdom first of all, and then they were sent to the (various) countries. And lo ! also the kings of the countries bear witness concerning⁴ the books of the Hebrews in the chronicles which

¹ Read  p. 50, ll. 28-30.

² Jeremiah xl 2 ff.

³ Read , p. 51, l. 28.

⁴ Read  (?) for , p. 51, l. 37.

P. 52. belong to them, according to that which is said ¹ in Ezra, 'Learn and see that this city is a warlike city from of old,' together with that other (passage in) which he says, 'Learn again and see that Darius commanded concerning this city that it should be built.' ² Thus the miracles which were wrought in the midst of Egypt were inscribed in the archives of Aegyptus; and, again, the miracles which were wrought in the midst of Babylon were in the annals belonging to the kings of Babylon, and also (in those) belonging to the Greeks, and the Romans likewise, as well as (in) those of the aforesaid country of Jerusalem. For lo! even to this day Tablets ³ which are even now inscribed and set up bear witness to the people of the aforesaid city that they must not venture to enter within their limits.⁴ All these witnesses which I have enumerated to thee, together with the aforesaid teachings (and) together with the Hebrews, are witnesses to our Scriptures that they are true. But to the Scriptures of the aforesaid teachings, as I have stated before, those teachings alone bear witness. And would that they all bore witness to the Scriptures of one another! ⁵ For even if this were thought to be in their favour, inasmuch as their witnesses were many, yet it would be all against them that the testimony of each one of them about his fellow was a denial of his own teaching. For how could he be veracious who proclaims Seven Gods, when another asserts after him in confirmation who proclaims only Two Gods? Or how could he who proclaims Three Gods assert (anything) in confirmation of both of them? Thus all the teachings are refuted by the Jews, because the Scriptures belonging to the Jews are truer than all the teachings. But the Jews themselves, who by means of their true Scriptures have been able to overcome many teachings, are refuted by the Church. . . .

P. 53. Therefore to ⁶ the one God whom we proclaim the Jews bear

¹ Read **ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲛⲓ** for **ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲛⲓ**, p. 51, l. 40.

² Ezra iv 15, vi 1 ff. (paraphrased).

³ This refers to the **ⲱⲓⲃⲁⲛⲓ** set up round the Temple; one of these was discovered by Clermont-Ganneau in 1871. Ephraim probably knew of them through Josephus (*BJ* v 5, 2).

⁴ *I.e.* Foreigners are not to enter the Jews' sacred limits. The MS. clearly reads **ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲛⲓ**, p. 52, l. 42.

⁵ This is meant ironically.

⁶ Read **ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲛⲓ** (?) for **ⲛⲓⲃⲁⲛⲓ**, p. 53, l. 29.

witness together with the Marcionites (?) . . . Bardaisan together with Mānī. For though Bardaisan said [*seven Entities constitute*] the world he nevertheless said concerning the Law that it was given by God. And Mani again, though he said that [He] who spoke by the Prophets exists as the result of a 'mixture,' nevertheless said concerning Him that He is in heaven. And Marcion, though he introduced a 'Stranger,' nevertheless, (while) he was crying out all the [time (?)] about the [. . .] of P. 54. the 'Maker' and about His preaching and about the people that is His, yet our Scriptures that are in the hands of the Marcionites were bearing witness on [our] behalf. But the blasphemies [of] the Marcion[ites]—it is [the books of] the Marcionites only that bear witness to them.¹

The followers [of Marcion] therefore name our God 'the Just One': yet we see that His worshippers are afflicted in this world, and His prophets were . . . in the region of the Maker . . . but on the other hand (*lit.* side) we see that the unjust and the doers of evil enjoy themselves, and He is found to be good towards evil men and something different towards those who are His own. For He promises² enjoyments to those who keep His commandments, and lo! afflictions surround them. And He said concerning the unjust 'Cursed art thou.' . . . And he who is³ blessed according to the Law runs on foot in front of him who is cursed in the Scriptures; for Elijah the prophet ran in front of Ahab the⁴ unjust, while Ahab the . . . was sitting in his chariot. P. 55. Again, the prophets of Baal were battering at Jezebel's table, and the true prophets [were] housing themselves⁵ in caves.

The followers (?) of Marcion say concerning each of these things, that is, concerning the justice of the Just One and concerning the grace of their own (God), that it did not come and bring relief to the just in this world (?). But [see that] the grace of the Maker [lo.] is extended even over the followers of Marcion.

¹ For the details of the reconstruction of this passage, see the list of *Corrigenda*. The Palimpsest is to me (F. C. B.) illegible.

² Read ~~ⲙⲁⲛⲓ~~, p. 54, l. 35.

³ Read ~~ⲙⲁⲛⲓ~~ for ~~ⲙⲁⲛⲓ~~, p. 54, l. 42.

⁴ Read ~~ⲙⲁⲛⲓ~~ for ~~ⲙⲁⲛⲓ~~, p. 54, l. 47.

⁵ Read ~~ⲙⲁⲛⲓ~~ ~~ⲙⲁⲛⲓ~~ for ~~ⲙⲁⲛⲓ~~ * ~~ⲙⲁⲛⲓ~~, p. 55, l. 9.

And if they say that an Alien Force is opposed to them, who is it, on the other hand, who is opposed to Mercy? And, again, who constrained Him that His mercy should afford a covering to Philosophers and Magians and all manner of doctrines? And (as for) the babes and the seed-corn and the plants and the possessions of the followers of Marcion, who causes them to grow? And who sends down the rain for them, or who causes the sun to shine for them? Who commands the earth to bear them, and governs the sky for them? Thou seest that all the grace of our Maker is (shown) towards the followers of Marcion and moreover towards those who are ungrateful like them; but in the case of the righteous and the prophets the contrary of these things (takes place), namely humiliation and ignominy. For Jeremiah the prophet is cast into a miry pit, while Zedekiah, an unjust man, is living in luxury. Or can it then have been the case that an Alien severe One [*came and was favouring*] the wicked and oppressing the good?

P. 56.

But it was not the Stranger—who did not exist—that had . . . already announced earthly things to the simple-minded, while, on the other hand, among all of us he ¹ taught the likeness of true things by means of his faithful ones and by means of his righteous ones; by means of these two (methods he taught) two classes of persons, namely the class of the mature (?), and another (consisting) of the simple-minded. For he gladdened the simple-minded with promises of the earth, and oppressed (?) the mature by severe afflictions. But let us see to what our own affliction is like; is it like that of [the simple-minded] or that of his prophets? If we are like the prophets in our afflictions, how do the followers of Marcion say that (only) in recent times have afflictions been announced? And, again, let us ask the Jews also, that is to say, the Jews and the righteous ones who were among them, Whom ought we to resemble? [The others] ² rather than them we ought to resemble.

P. 57.

Let them then look at us and at the righteous, and let them see if we are like them in our afflictions. And if we are like the righteous in our afflictions, it is also the fact that the Law is

¹ Read *جلم* for *جلم*, p. 56, l. 26.

² Read *رؤس* for *رؤس*, p. 57, l. 5.

with us. For unto whom was it right that the Law of the afflicted and destitute ones should be given, to us the afflicted and destitute, or to those who even until to-day are expecting to go up to Jerusalem, and are eagerly looking till now for the milk and honey? Thou seest, therefore, O Marcion, that if in the midst of all this maturity the simple-mindedness of the Jews has not been outgrown (*lit.* weaned), since these (qualities) still exist in them, how could numerous countries attain to maturity, seeing that one country (*i.e.* the country of the Jews) with all this exertion ¹ was not able to attain to maturity?

But if the associates of Marcion, whom we have left behind (in our discussion), come and agree with him and say to us, If the Creator was one and knew that Adam would sin against Him, P. 58. why then did the Creator create?—let all the sects (*lit.* teachings) know that they too are included in this (objection). For why did not their Gods come or prevent (it), so that he (*i.e.* Adam) should not be created, or so that they might set right and assist that which had been created? For why did not their Gods prevent the Maker from creating that which is not good? And if they did not prevent Him at that time, who will send (?) after them to-day? And perhaps it was for that reason that God caused Adam to dwell for nine hundred and thirty years outside the enclosure of the Tree of Life, in order that it might be seen that there was no other God who could be found to break into the enclosure, which the Just One had enclosed by means of the Cherub and the point of the sword,² and to bring him (*i.e.* Adam) in. For if there had been another God more compassionate than this one and stronger than our Maker, he would have broken into the enclosure—which was not then broken into—and would have brought the mortal Adam into the presence of the Tree of Life, that he might eat thereof, so that, just as in consequence of his eating of the Tree of Knowledge we all die, P. 59. likewise in consequence of his eating of the Tree of Life we might all live by means of him. But if he remained for nine hundred

¹ For *καθ' ἑαυτὸν*, l. 39, see p. 100, l. 4.

² The 'Cherub' and the 'point of the sword' are taken *verbatim* from Gen. iii 24 syr.vg, but the enclosure (or 'hedge') of the Tree of Life is not a Biblical phrase.

and thirty years outside the enclosure of Paradise and did not find any other God to bring him inside the enclosure of Paradise, and afterwards (God) dissolved him and caused him to return to his dust, and no other God was found to raise him from the dust¹—acknowledge, O Marcion, the justice of Him who said, I am God and there is none beside Me!

P. 60. But if Marcion says that the sole reason that the Stranger did not come previously was that at the last his grace might be seen, [*let him know*] that God had already shown a small measure of grace in connection with His justice, so that His great grace was not deemed strange when it was manifested in its time. And therefore He who showed a small measure of grace towards Adam at that time—when no strange God had shown his grace towards him—is known to be the same (God) who showed great grace at this time, (a grace) of which they say that it is the grace of the Stranger. For God had decreed this in His justice concerning Adam, (saying) that ‘In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.’ For our God decreed justly and in order that He might in His love warn Adam who was existing in a good state, lest he should exist in an evil state. But when Adam did not take warning and fell from grace, Justice overtook him, according as it (had) decreed that ‘In the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.’ But God turned in [*the way*] of grace and tempered the harshness of justice, that Adam might not die that very day but that he might live nine hundred and thirty years [and] then die.

P. 61. [*As He gave to Adam*] nine hundred and thirty years at that time on account of His compassion, (so) He has kept him alive even now in the life everlasting on account of His grace. For He gave to him in the beginning a temporal life, in order to show that. . . . For He gave to Adam in mercy—which (signifies that) He gave to him by means of our Lord—life everlasting. But if they apply the term ‘strangeness’ to² every (?) grace,³ then (?) also in relation to Adam ‘strangeness’ was displayed. For the same (God) decreed that, ‘In the day that thou eatest

¹ וְיָדַע is Pael Imperative, p. 59, l. 20.

² Read לַחַד (?) for לַחַד, p. 61, l. 3.

³ Read כִּי כָל חֵן אֵינָהּ זְרָמָה (?) , p. 61, l. 4.

thou shalt die'—and how is He found keeping him alive for nine hundred and thirty years ?

About John, again, from whence . . . let the Jews therefore be asked whether John did come, or no. . . . [*If he says*] that John did come, from whence hast thou this, O Marcion ? 1. 38. Perhaps he says from the testimony to ISU. . . .¹

* * * * *

P. 62.

The Jews say that in the days of the Messenger the King's Son I. 6. also comes, seeing that John also when he [heard] the report of [ISU] that he had come [asked] him, 'Hast thou then come, or look we for another ?'² And he (*i.e.* John the Baptist) does not say, 'they look,' but 'we look,' in order to show that he and his contemporaries, in his own days and in those of his contemporaries, were looking for Him.

If therefore the Jews say that if Elijah comes the Messiah also has come, and (as) John thought concerning ISU, when He came, that He was he, was not this because he firmly believed that he was to come in his own days, even John's ? On that account he thought concerning Him, when He came, that it was he, or did not even John know when the Messiah was to come ? And why then did he (*i.e.* John) come ? If he came to smooth the way before Him, then he came to clear away stones. But if he came to call sinners to repentance and to baptize the P. 63. repentant, he was sent to purge away sins by means of water. It is evident that these were prepared as it were for the guest-chamber of Him that was to come, and it is manifest that He has come. If He dwells in pure hearts, He is therefore spiritual ; but if He who was coming was not spiritual, because He was David's Son, let him (*i.e.* Marcion) explain to us which was the way that John (was) smoothing for Him. For in honour of kings, or kings' sons, ways are levelled and stones cleared away before them. But before (the coming of) this One he said that minds should be purified. What is probable ? That David's Son . . .³

¹ ISU. It is clear from these treatises that this transliteration of the Greek 'Ἰησοῦς must have been used by the Syriac-speaking Marcionites, but it is not preserved elsewhere in extant Syriac literature, the genuine Semitic form *Yeshu'* or *'Isho'* (*i.e.* Joshua) being found without exception.

² Luke vii 19, but differing from the Syriac Bible.

³ Hole in MS.

not to David himself ? Or can it be that David also, in the days of his sovereignty, was dwelling in minds and not in palaces ? And if David was dwelling in palaces, and also David's son is to dwell in palaces, what (was) John preparing for him ? minds instead of palaces ? Or can it be that John smoothed ways and prepared palaces, though he was not even dwelling in the cultivated land ?

- P. 64. But nevertheless, although John was the Messenger of the kingdom, he did not go straight to the capital of the kingdom. Why did he leave the cultivated land and go out to the desert ? Or can it be that he who sent him came into the desert and that on that account he who was sent also was preaching in the desert ? But if they drove him out, did they not treat him rightly ? For what did they see in him that was likely to make them believe that he was the Messenger of Him who was coming ? Perhaps (they were convinced by) the fact that he was imprisoned, or that he was removed, or that the girl played with his skull ! But perhaps thou wilt say that they did these things to John by the power of Herod. And if he is the Messenger of that Messiah to all nations, was he really not greater than Herod even there ? Or can it be that even the general of Herod was greater than the King of the nations ? . . . But if thou sayest that these men, on account of their subjection, were more submissive than . . . , whereas Herod was not subjected and submissive but he subjected. . . .

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1. 20. For if in truth he was His herald . . . a Messenger for the
1. 28. King. Can it be that he who is coming is really persecuted
1. 34. like his Messenger ? . . . Or is he really killed like him ? But
if at his coming [*they did*] not [*recognise him, how does he*] resemble
him (*i.e.* John) ?

* * * * *

- P. 66,
1. 29. . . . For even if he were not 'in his days,' but yet were really
like him in every respect, this would suffice, even by itself, to
refute them (by showing) that he cannot be 'strange' to one
whom he resembled in every respect. And if this one point
would suffice to refute them, how much more credible will it be
P. 67. that he is not 'strange' to this man (?) also who happened to

be in his days, seeing that at the mouth of two witnesses every word is established !

But if thou sayest that therefore not (only) John is like ISU, but also Elijah and Jeremiah, who preceded him, thou sayest well. But are these whom thou citest like him or not ? If they are like him, lo ! it is against thee that thou canst not turn round (?) and say that by chance, as it were, John only happened to be like him. But lo ! thou saidst that there are many men of former times who are like John, and these are all like ISU, so that now we have found that humility existed before ISU. And if humility existed before him, what is that one new thing which he brought with him (and) which was not in those three (*i.e.* John, Elijah, and Jeremiah) and in their other associates who were like them ?

Why forsooth do they say that there was no fasting (in the world), seeing that when all the scattered groups (*lit.* fragments) of the followers of Marcion are gathered together they cannot keep the fast of Ezekiel,¹ nor have they (ever) prayed, nor do they (now) pray, a prayer like that of the friends of Daniel ? ² P. 68. If they say, 'We are praying the whole day,' let us see whether their prayer is accepted. But perhaps they will say, '(It is,) for how do you know that it is not accepted ?' I say, 'From the fact that He does not do for them here (?) anything at all.' And if they say that He does (something) for them, let them show (it) us, and we will accept (it) ! For Daniel used to pray three times a day and by means of his prayer he interpreted dreams and brought back the People from Babylon, and angels used to come to him at the time of his prayer. But the Marcionites, because they pray more than Daniel, as they say, will not accomplish more than he, nor even as much as he, but less ³ than he. But since they pray more than the righteous, as they say, and yet are not answered even as much as sinners (are answered), it is clear that, because they pray to one who does not exist, on that account they are not heard or answered when they

¹ Read *לְעִזְכֵּיאל* for *לְעִזְכֵּיאל* (misprint), p. 67, l. 44.

² Ephraim seems to have regarded the Song of the Three Children as an integral part of the Book of Daniel.

³ Read *קָל* for *קָל*, p. 68, l. 31.

pray. But if we pray concerning great and heavenly things,
 P. 69, l. 6. these are additions. . . . What is the new (kind of) prayer
 which he brought with him ?

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l. 21. Perhaps thou wilt say that these things were not announced in
 the Old (Testament), for in the New (Testament). . . .

P. 70. * * * * *

l. 17. by means of the prophet, and speaks thus that he should give
 again his cheek to him who smites. . . .

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l. 36. to the prophets he sent it and also to ISU. And if ISU did not
 send the prophets and the Maker did not send ISU, then from
 these same sufferings of the prophets ISU [*took an example*] that

P. 71. he might adorn himself with them in the midst of the world
 when he came ; because he saw that these very (qualities) were
 pleasing (*lit.* chosen) and agreeable to one who loves, he invested
 himself with them and made use of them, so that he might
 attract the inhabitants of our world by the humility which was
 pleasing to them. And if he attracts us by something that is
 pleasing to us, how can that which is pleasing to us be strange
 to our nature ? For even if they had not been in the prophets,
 but are greatly pleasing to our nature (it would equally follow).¹
 Or do they say that he *changed* our nature and (the nature) of the
 former prophets ? Who changed their nature ? Was it ISU ?
 Wilt thou not then tell us that he was in the world ? And if
 he was in the world, then the world was in him² ; and if the
 world was in him, he is the Creator's Son, as the Scriptures say,
 and he is not the Stranger's Son, as the followers of Marcion
 erroneously assert. But if he was not in the world,³ who pre-
 viously sowed in our world the pleasing qualities of ISU ?

Did then the Maker really know that by means of these he
 (*i.e.* ISU) was destined to lead created beings astray, and did He
 give them to us beforehand, in order that we might not go astray
 P. 72. after ISU when he came ? And where is that (passage which

¹ Read *ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܣܝܘܬܐ*,
 p. 71, l. 15 f.

² See John i 10 (C, not syr.vg).

³ Delete the footnote, p. 71, l. 37.

says) that 'there is none that knoweth the Father save the Son' ?¹ P. 72. And again, that which says that 'none of the princes of the world knew him' ?² And if it be that because the Maker did know He announced them to us beforehand, did He not thereby really lead us astray so that we should think concerning ISU that he was from Him, when he announced these very things which He also had announced to us ? But let us suppose that these things belong to ISU ; can it be that he actually changed the prophets, and that they were then able to fulfil these commandments ? And if he actually changed the prophets, how can he announce to us that we should accomplish them, when he has not yet changed our nature ? In virtue of the fact that he incites us by 'Blessed are the humble in their spirit,'³ will he really change our nature ? And if five hundred Beatitudes do not change our nature, if he utters (*lit. gives*) them we are not able to fulfil in this nature that which we are not able to fulfil in this nature without a change. Or is it because he cannot that he does not change it ? Or because he does not wish ? If he cannot, how was he able to change the nature of the former ones ? And if, though he was able, he really did not wish, how did he consent to change (that) of the former ones ? And if he P. 73. did not wish to change (them), why will he change us by means of laws which are strange to our nature ? But if the laws are akin to our nature, and our nature to the laws, where⁴ is that 'Strangeness' of the Stranger ? . . .

That thou mayest know that these others also [*agree*] with I. 26. these former ones which I have enumerated to thee [*I will cite*] the words of David, when he says,⁵ 'My knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh is wasted for want of ointment,' and Job says,⁶ 'Sackcloth have I girded on my skin, and I have⁷ sprinkled my head with dust.' And again David says,⁸ 'I have made sackcloth my raiment.' Who therefore remains to the Stranger ?

¹ Luke x 22 (not as in the Syriac Bible).

² 1 Cor. ii 8 (*knew it*, syr. vg.).

³ Matt. v 5 and 3 (inaccurately cited).

⁴ Read ~~ܟܘܪܐ~~ (?), for ~~ܟܘܪܐ~~, p. 73, l. 8

⁵ Ps. cix 24.

⁶ Job xvi 15.

⁷ Read ~~ܟܘܪܐ~~, p. 73, l. 38.

⁸ Ps. lxxix 11 [12].

P. 74. . . . of those things which ISU commanded there is found in our Scriptures ; so that if he preached mercy, it is found in David . . . mercy is more (?) pleasing to Him than fasting from bread (?), for he says,¹ ' This is not the fast which I have chosen, saith the LORD, that thou shouldst bend thy neck like a rush and spread out sackcloth and ashes for thyself, but this is the fast which I have chosen, saith the LORD, that thou shouldst loose the bonds of iniquity, and give thy bread to the hungry, and bring the alien into thine house.' And, again, if fasting is pleasing to the Stranger, lo, Elijah and Elishah and the sons of the prophets (are examples thereof), and lo, John, who fasted in his own days (*i.e.* in the days of the Stranger)! If then these (persons) are pleasing [*to the Just God*], as also they are indeed pleasing to Him, why does He torment His friends here? Either there is something compassionate [*in Him and gracious*] to those who are here tormented; or if there is nothing [He is] very wicked, and they are wronged [by Him] on whose account they are here tormented! And how [is manifested] the Justice of the Just One?

P. 75. [*See*] also, O Marcion, that [these] two Gods, namely the Maker and the Stranger, are both of them angry² at the same thing, and take pleasure in the same thing, and are gratified by the same thing. For the Maker is angry at hateful things, and the Good (God) also is angry at hateful things—if it be right to admit that the Good (God) is angry with those who have committed no offence whatever against Him. And so also both of them are gratified by good things, for . . . it is evident that they are both angry at adultery and theft and other hateful things, and that they are both gratified by sackcloth and fasting and prayer. For what has happened to these two Gods that they should have one will? Is it not clear that either there is (only) One God, or that they are both One, for as one they both will with one will?

And that thou mightest know that this is so, the Maker sanctified Moses and sent him to Egypt, and since Moses wished to take his wife with him by force, He (*i.e.* the Maker) constrained

¹ Isaiah lviii 5 ff. (not quite accurately cited).

² Read  for , p. 75, l. 5.

him by means of an angel ¹ to send her back, that He might show how pleasing holiness is to Him. And the Stranger also acted likewise towards Simon (Peter), although he did not P. 76. compel him; and (the fact) that he did not compel him, was it because it did not [become] ² Him to compel, not only because He is good but also because He is not our Creator? And again, when the People had been sanctified, He did not allow them to approach the holy mountain because they were turning again to married life; but the People were standing at a distance, and Moses the holy was speaking, and God was answering with a voice. And again, the disciples also were standing in silence, and Simon only was speaking. And perhaps thou wilt say, Was there not among them John, a virgin, and were not all his companions holy? (But I reply, Nay—) for here (*i.e.* at Sinai) also were not the People holy in relation to the Maker? And Joshua was a virgin, and ³ he (*i.e.* Moses) was brought in with Joshua only. Lo! here also it is found that ISU resembles the Maker; for the Maker sanctified the chief of His prophets, and ISU sanctified the chief of His apostles.

But if on account of the holiness which He preached you P. 77. think concerning Him that He is a Stranger, then (are we to suppose that) Elijah was caught up to the heavens of the Stranger? For He ⁴ would not have taken up and made to ascend to His heavens one who by his holiness wished to be the opponent of the Creator, who wished that by means of marriage the creation should be fruitful and multiply. For by the case of Elijah, so to speak, all the creation of the Creator has been made void. But how could Elijah have been received (into the heavens) on account of that one thing? . . . For the P. 78, l. 14. priest was not allowed to enter the Tabernacle unless he was sanctified in his body. . . . But if that single [*virgin*] of the l. 38. Maker had preceded those many [*virgins*] of the Stranger,

¹ See Exod. iv 24-26: the same view of the passage is taken by Aphraates (*Wright*, p. 110, l. 11 = *Pat. Syr.* i 257) and by Ephraim elsewhere (*ES* i 205C).

² 𐤀𐤃𐤁 appears to be the reading in p. 76, l. 5, not 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀. Some word like 𐤀𐤃𐤁 is required, or 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤀.

³ See Exod. xxiv 13.

⁴ *I.e.*, apparently, the Creator.

that He was manifested only to righteous men, whereas the Stranger (was manifested) to sinners—lo, He was manifested P. 81. to the whole People without exception! And if thou sayest that they were righteous, (I answer) Lo, on account of their iniquity they all fell in the wilderness and, except in the case of two, they did not enter into the land of promise. We have thus compared ISU with the Maker, and it has been seen that the Maker was antecedent to ISU in humiliation. And if thou sayest that ISU was actually crucified, thou sayest that it seemed so (?), and not the truth. And if thou addest that He also went down to Sheol and ascended, thou sayest (it) without believing (it). For thou dost not confess the [coming to life of] ¹ the body. But inasmuch as (?) it is true that He was actually manifested, the Maker anticipated Him in manifestation. How therefore canst thou liken ISU to that Stranger, who is strange to Him in every respect? And (why) dost thou wish, on the other hand, to account Him strange to the Maker when He resembles Him in every respect?

But if Marcion still persists in cavilling, let him be asked again as to whether he believes the word of the Stranger or not. If he believes it, what did He (*i.e.* the Stranger) testify concerning John? That John forsooth was a liar, or a true man? Did P. 82. He say concerning him that he was in error, or that he was an enlightener of such as are in error? If then John is a true man, and not a reed shaken by every wind,² why [therefore] is he shaken and does he think about Jesus³ that he [was] the Messiah of the Law. And if [John knew] the word of ISU to be 'No,' [lo,] then ISU really lied in that he said concerning John that he (*i.e.* John) did send to him. But if in truth John was shaken and sent to ISU, the word of ISU was also a lie, when he testified concerning John that he was not a reed shaken by every wind.

Thus both of these assertions cannot stand. For either he was shaken, or he was not shaken. If he was shaken he was a

¹ Read ܩܝܣܐ | ܩܝܣܐ for ܩܝܣܐ | ܩܝܣܐ , p. 81, l. 25. The MS. is illegible.

² Luke vii 24.

³ ܩܝܣܐ does appear to be the reading of the palimpsest. It is the only occurrence of the ordinary Syriac form of the name 'Jesus' in the anti-Marcionite treatises.

reed, and why did he (*i.e.* ISU) say that he was not a reed? And if he was not a reed, then he was not shaken. And can it be that he wrote (a letter) and dispatched it to him, and sent to him¹ (saying), 'Art thou He that cometh?' But it is wonderful to hear that John believes in David's Son, and yet ISU bears witness in saying² concerning him that he was not a reed and he has been found to be going astray after the Stranger, though the Messiah who is (mentioned) in the Law is strange to him (*i.e.* to the Stranger) in every respect. And were it not for the testimony of ISU, who said that he was not a reed, it would have been³ possible to say that because John was humble and happened (to live) in the days of ISU who preached humility, by reason of⁴ his humility which resembled his (*i.e.* the humility of ISU) he abandoned the exalted Son of David and loved the humble ISU; but that (passage) which says that he was not a reed does not permit us to hold this opinion concerning John.

But as for this John, who erred [*in thinking that it was necessary*] that he should send to Him, did he really know the time, or did he send to Him though he knew that it was not He? And what then compelled him to send to Him? If (it was) that his disciples might learn from ISU . . .

P. 84.

* * * * *

I. 46.

P. 85.

I. 41.

P. 86.

And if thou sayest that because He is kind He did not wish to [*injure*] John, then because He is kind will He not [*condemn*] the heathen and the [*wicked*] and [*will*] He bear witness to all the [*false*] teachings that they are true? . . . and, what is greater than all things which (consist) of dust and ashes (?), He caused them to attain to all this discernment; if He secretly punishes them for their grievous sins, He becomes an⁵ evil Being (?).

And if they say that the sole reason that ISU said concerning

¹ Read $\overline{\text{אל}} \text{אלה אלה} | \overline{\text{אם יצא אהרן}}$, p. 82, ll. 41, 42: see p. 86, ll. 21, 22, and for the combination of $\overline{\text{אם}}$ and $\overline{\text{אל}}$, see Matt. xi 2, 3 SC.

² Read $\overline{\text{אם אהרן}}$, p. 82, l. 48 (compare l. 18).

³ Read $\overline{\text{אם}}$ for $\overline{\text{אם}}$, p. 83, l. 10.

⁴ Delete note ^a (p. 83, l. 16), *i.e.* the MS. reads $\overline{\text{אם אהרן}}$ (*sic*).

⁵ Read $\overline{\text{אם}}$ (?) for $\overline{\text{אם}}$, p. 86, l. 3.

John 'Blessed is he, if he is not offended in me,'¹ was in order that he might show that he did not communicate (*lit.* deliver over) to him that other (utterance) which he said concerning him, that he was not a reed—why did he say it? But if the sole reason of his saying it was in order to show that John was true in his teaching, then he did not send to ISU, and ISU himself made him (*i.e.* the Evangelist) a liar who recorded that John sent to him, when (in reality) John did not send to him. And if what he said is true, namely that he sent to him, then is not John true? And if ISU had wished to send to him (saying) 'I am He,' would he not have been going astray after him? But he said 'Blessed is he if he is not offended in me.' Whom then do they call a stumbling-block? Is it not he who turned back from (being) with him? John therefore was one who believed in ISU, and on that account ISU sent (saying) 'Blessed is he if he remains steadfast and is not offended in me.' Or can it be that by means of the beatitude he actually wished to deceive John? And was P. 87. John deceived or not? If he was not deceived, then the bribe of the Stranger was lost. And did not the Stranger know that his bribe would not be accepted by John? And if he knew, why did he allow his bribe to be lost, that is to say, the bribe of that praise of his?

But concerning Moses and Elijah who were found on the mountain in company with ISU, what do they (*i.e.* the Marcionites) say that they were doing in his presence? But they say that they were guardians there. And what, pray, were they guarding, since there was nothing on the mountain? And if there had been anything on it, the Maker would have had the Cherub and the point of the sword with which to surround the mountain.² And if because ISU was a stranger to Him (*i.e.* to the Maker) they were guarding the mountain for Him, then, as between the mountain and the sanctuary, which of them was greater³ to the Maker, that He should cease to guard His city and

¹ Luke vii 23, but the wording is that of Matt. xi 6 C. Epiphanius (*Haer.* 324) says Marcion read this 'corruptly' (*παρηλλαγμένον*), referring the application of the saying to John: we may infer that the corruption consisted in reading *ἐὰν μὴ* for *ὅς ἐὰν μὴ*.

² See Gen. iii 24, and above, p. 58.

³ Read as in the text, and delete the note to p. 87, l. 37.

P. 88. His sanctuary and send them (*i.e.* Moses and Elijah) to guard a mountain in which there was nothing? If He did not set forth some symbol there for us, let them tell us what ¹ such persons as Moses and Elijah were doing there. And if they say, 'You are asking us concerning your own (affairs) also,' then leave that (question) of ours as to what they were doing, and tell us (?) your own (opinion), namely on what account ISU went up thither. Was it in order to fight that he went up thither? . . . did he make war against the Maker or . . .? . . .

* * * * *

1. 38. These [two, why] were they sent? For the Maker had myriads of angels, if to make war [He desired] . . . Or were they with
 1. 46. him to say to him (*i.e.* to ISU): "If thou ² art really buying, in order to buy mankind,³ what is the price ⁴ of mankind? And if thou art taking mankind, why didst thou beforehand take the Twelve and the Seventy-two ⁵ from the [flock] ⁶ of another? . . . ⁷ Or can it be that thou art taking mankind
 1. 12. hence? And art thou not, lo, he that ⁸ said that before the foundation of the world thou knewest them?⁹ Why then ¹⁰ didst thou not take them before, when as yet [*thou didst not intend to buy?*]" . . . If again they returned and said to him " [As for] mankind, because thou art about to buy them,¹¹ if thou didst take them beforehand, nothing hinders (?): this mountain that thou hast gone up—and why? ¹²—was this mountain also really required for thee? And if it is required for thee, give

¹ On this use of ܕܘܕܬܐ see Wright's *Joshua the Stylite*, chap. xvi. line 1 (p. 11 of the Translation).

² Read ܕܘܪܐ for ܕܘܪܐ , p. 89, l. 1.

³ Or, 'men,' and so throughout the paragraph.

⁴ Read ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ for ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ , p. 89, l. 3.

⁵ Read ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ for ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ , p. 89, l. 8.

⁶ This word (p. 89, l. 9) is illegible, but for the idea of 'flocks' and 'shepherds' in Marcionite sources, see p. 106, l. 40 ff.

⁷ The three illegible lines must express something like "before the price was agreed upon."

⁸ Read ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ | ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ , p. 89, ll. 15, 16.

⁹ See Eph. i 4.

¹⁰ Supply ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ (or ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ), p. 89, l. 19.

¹¹ Read ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ (or ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ) for * * ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ , p. 89, l. 21.

¹² For ܕܘܪܐܘܢܐ , see p. 91, l. 23.

the Maker's or the Stranger's? And if they did not suffer, why did the Maker not come against him? Or can it be that He really knew that Moses, etc., would be sufficient to meet the attack of the Stranger, and therefore He did not come? For lo, even the Stranger did not contend with them, and it is clear that he really perceived that they were stronger than he, and on that account he remained quiet (and refrained) from engaging in battle. And as to his preparing battle with the Maker, if [*his desires hankered*]¹ after men, why was he [lo,]² unable to P. 94. create this? And if to create men he was too weak, how much more was he too weak to wage war against God! Again, the Stranger who proclaimed there, 'This is my Son and my Beloved,' whom did He wish to cause to hear (it)? Can it be that He was calling to Moses, etc., that He might make them His disciples? Or that He might warn them not to say anything to him (*i.e.* to ISU)? And from which heavens did He call? Was it from the heaven of the Maker? And why did He descend to it? If, as it were, on account of the aforesaid Maker the Stranger descended to it, then He did not snatch away men only but also the heaven. Or can it be that the Stranger purchased the angels who were in the heaven together with the heaven? But if those who were above were not purchased by Him, why did He pass through their abodes? But if (the voice) came that it might be a witness to the Son, who had no witness on earth, lo! seeing that the voice came from the heaven of the Maker, who is to tell us that he is P. 95. not the Son of the Maker, in a case where the voice which came was coming from the heaven of the Maker, especially when the mountain was the mountain of the Maker, and the cloud of Moses, etc., belonged to the Maker, and the prophets likewise who were on the mountain (were the prophets) of the Maker?

For if the voice had come from the heaven of the Stranger perhaps it would have been reasonable for us to think that in order that mankind might not be mistaken, owing to the mountain and the cloud and Moses, etc., on that account the voice was coming to them from the heaven of the Stranger, so as to overthrow the opinion which they had concerning ISU. But if even the voice

¹ P. 94, l. 3, is illegible, but the sense seems to be as above.

² Read $\overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{w}} \overline{\text{r}}$ for $\overline{\text{r}} * \overline{\text{r}}$, p. 94, l. 5.

which came was from the heaven of the Maker, it did not by any means disown him (by asserting) that he was not the Son of the Maker, but it actually confirmed it that he is the Son of the Maker, and the servants of his Father's house, who had come to do him honour, were witnesses (thereto).

- P. 96. For if there had been a battle, the Maker would not have remained silent, He who even when there was another God did not refrain from (saying) 'I am God and there is none beside.' And if when there were idols, whose nature showed (*lit.* answered) that they were not gods, He was proclaiming 'I am He and there is none beside,' (can we suppose that) in a case when a God was warring against a God the Creator went into a hiding-place, that the creation might go astray after the Stranger? For if in connection with idols He had been silent, (yet) here it would be right for Him to cry out. How much more when He was not silent even towards dead idols! But seeing that the questions relating to a war have, as in a (real) war, overcome and silenced the question of purchase, now that the tale about a war has come to an end, let us turn to the question of purchase. Explain to us then, What is the purchase which the Stranger made, and from whom did He purchase it? And, moreover, by means of what did He purchase it? And that thing by means of which he purchased that which He purchased, of what nature was it? Was that which He gave of the nature of the aforesaid Good Being, or did He really ¹ create (something) and give (it)? And was not that which the Stranger created fairer than that which the Maker created for Himself? And if that which He (*i.e.* the Stranger) created for Himself was fairer, why did He sell unadvisedly and become a laughing-stock? And if that which He gave was something smaller, the weakness of the Stranger was seen in His creative action. And how was the wise Just Being persuaded to give to the Stranger something great ³ in return for something small? . . . Was it . . . bodies that are from HULE that he bought, or souls? And if ⁴ it was souls,
- P. 97.
- P. 98.
l. 17.

¹ Read קִיָּב for קִיָּב , p. 96, l. 38.

² Read בְּרֵאשִׁית for בְּרֵאשִׁית , p. 97, last line, and delete the note.

³ Read בְּרֵאשִׁית for בְּרֵאשִׁית , p. 97, l. 10.

⁴ Read נְשָׁמָה for נְשָׁמָה , p. 98, l. 20.

then why [did he not buy] the bodies? . . . they say that l. 32. because the souls had been polluted (*lit.* had become turbid) He came to purify them. But if those souls were not polluted, then did not the Stranger who purchased them make a mistake about them? And even if ¹ the souls were polluted, on which account he came ² to buy them, [*was he not alien to their nature?*]

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P. 99.

And if they should say that 'He purifies the nature of l. 8. the Souls' . . . because 'a fire is kindled in mine anger and l. 19. it will burn unto the lowest Sheol.'³ If He is a nature from whom fire is kindled and it then consumes Him in His turn, (in the case of) everything else ⁴ which is found to belong to that nature fire will therefore be kindled from it and will then consume it in its turn. For if thou bringest some of the water of the sea into a royal city bitterness is (still) in it. And so too the souls which (come) from the Maker are polluted as the source (*lit.* root) from which those souls came is polluted. For it is unlikely that they will say that the fruits are changed when the root of the fruits is not changed. And if they say that that root P. 100. also is changed, then how ⁵ did He (*i.e.* the Stranger) not exert Himself in the case of the root as in the case of the fruits, that the perfect goodness ⁶ of the Stranger might be proclaimed? But the Apostle says,⁷ 'Eve shall live on account of her children': then the Maker will have lived ⁸ on account of the souls which (came) from Him. Or did the Maker not wish to live thus? And how did the souls which (came) from Him consent to live? But if the nature of the souls is the same, their will also is the

¹ Read ܩܪܐ for ܩܪܐ , p. 98, l. 40.

² Read ܩܪܐ for ܩܪܐ , p. 98, l. 42.

³ Deut. xxxii 22. The use of this verse by Marcionites as a proof-text is attested also by Eznik (J. M. Schmid's tr., p. 200).

⁴ For ܩܪܐ ܩܪܐ , p. 99, l. 27, read perhaps ܩܪܐ ܩܪܐ , *i.e.* every kind (or 'species').

⁵ Read ܩܪܐ (*sic*) for ܩܪܐ , p. 100, l. 3, and delete the note.

⁶ Read ܩܪܐ for ܩܪܐ , p. 100, l. 7.

⁷ 1 Tim. ii 15: ܩܪܐ (p. 100, l. 11) is right, and the note should be deleted. The reading and interpretation of the passage agrees with Ephraim's own Commentary (Ephr. *arm* in Epp. Pauli, p. 248).

⁸ Read ܩܪܐ ܩܪܐ for ܩܪܐ ܩܪܐ , p. 100, ll. 11, 12.

same. And if their will is different, their nature also is strange, and they are not from the Maker. And let them tell us whence are those souls; for it is probable that they are not from the Maker. For He would not sell them (if they were really His), because He would not hate His own nature and love a nature which was not His own. And if He was selling His nature for something which was not akin to His nature, there is a great kinship between Him and the Stranger, for lo! one affection is found in both of them; and moreover one will belongs to both of them, namely that the Just One should love the nature of the Stranger and sell some of His possessions to Him, and that the Stranger should love the nature of the Just One and purchase from Him. And it will also be (considered) that that nature of the Just One, which is bought as being something precious, surpasses (the other); for if the nature of the Just One were not more excellent than that of the Stranger, the Stranger would not have actually purchased it. But what did the Stranger give to those whom He purchased? And if He gave them a kingdom, can it be that He gave them one greater than that of Elijah and Enoch? And why then did He not bring with Him some of His good things hither also? Or (was it) because our domain is not worthy of them, (and) did He on that account not even introduce them into our domain? In that case they are greater than the aforesaid ISU, inasmuch as our domain is worthy of ISU and unworthy of His (*i.e.* the Stranger's) good things. And if (it was) in order that they might not be defiled, then he (*i.e.* ISU) was defiled when he entered our domain. . . .

P. 102.

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END OF DISCOURSE AGAINST THE (FALSE) TEACHINGS.

AGAINST MARCION II.

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P. 103.

about which Zechariah says, 'Lo ! thy King cometh unto thee,'¹ l. 5. in order to show us (?) that he is a king. And that other (passage) which Daniel uttered,¹ 'One like a son of men came, and to him He gave the kingdom.' And one (coming) was in humility, as all the Prophets bear witness about [it], and the other in [exalt]ation, as the Scriptures bear witness

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P. 104.

But just as, O Marcion, when David [*mentioned*] the Messiah l. 19. who is (foretold) in the Law, our Lord proved from David that he (*i.e.* the Messiah) is not David's son—and the matter remained in doubt among the Scribes—in like manner, when John recognised our Lord. . . .

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l. 43.

And when [he] explained that he is David's son that cometh, how being David's son is he the Lord of David, seeing that David P. 105. testifies and our Lord confirms ? As Malachi testifies concerning John, 'Behold I send my messenger before thee,' and our Lord confirms it that John was Elijah,² give me evidence from the other Scriptures that John is [*the messenger*] of whom Malachi spake.

Therefore according to the testimony of David and the confirmation of [*our Lord*], David's son, concerning this son of David [and] about this Lord of [David], are there then two Messiahs or two natures ? For [*if in some respects he is the son of David*] and in some respects the lord of David, is it not [*clear that the*

¹ Or, 'He came like a son of men': this peculiar phrase is that of syr.vg, Dan. vii 13.

² Read ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲕⲁⲓ for ⲛⲁⲗⲁⲕⲁⲓ, p. 105, l. 10.

two natures come together and] are mingled as one, and in relation to the manhood (he is) the Messiah and in relation to the Godhead [*he is lord*]. For why was a body required for God ?

P. 106.
l. 30.

* * * * *
. . . so that if ye believe and do not doubt and "if there is in you belief," is it false belief, like (the belief) of that blind man ¹ or the belief of strangeness ?

P. 107.

"Because John was near to die, he sent his flock by the hand of two under-shepherds to the Lord of the flock : our Lord began to teach concerning him—'Did ye go out to see a great man on account of his raiment ?'" This man, the meek and humble, and, if not, a trembling reed ² shaken by every wind, does he not thus go astray [a little], and is bent and beaten about by all manner of reports ? Because he knew whose coming he announced (*lit.* before whom he announced), for the witness of the truth and the herald of the kingdom of the Lord of the kingdom is taught by the truth. If our Lord ISU, therefore, bore witness to John that he was meek, let us learn from this humility which of the Messiahs the humble herald resembles (*lit.* approaches), that Messiah (who is) the source of humility, or that one at whose side thousands fall. For it is necessary that the herald of the dispensation (*lit.* time) should be himself similar to the dispensation. But Malachi says, The messenger of the covenant, lo ! he cometh, and who ³ endureth the day in which he cometh ?' But if the herald is humble and meek, and he who is heralded is set on high and exalted, lo, in this also there is strangeness !

P. 108.

But (as for) our Lord who says, 'John is greater than all who are born of women,' not because he saw the greatness of the herald, as ye say, that it was great and splendid like that of him who was heralded, (it was not) on account of this that He said (it). Either give us the splendour of John which was eminently great as (befitted) that of the herald who (went) before the Pre-eminent One, or explain to us why our Lord called him great. For even as all the prophets were 'just,' like Him

¹ *I.e.* the blind man who called Jesus 'son of David' (Luke xviii 38). P. 106, l. 17, appears to read 'Thy faith hath saved thee' (Luke xviii 42).

² Read  for , p. 107, l. 1.

³ Read  for  (misprint), p. 107, l. 30.

who sent them, so also this man, His herald, is like Him who is heralded. For if the greatness of him who is heralded is not shown in the announcement concerning him, who will believe that he is a great one? And if He performed signs, read (of them), and if He worked miracles, declare (them). For (with regard to) those messengers whom our Lord sends at the last and that token which appears before that terrible coming, is the sign (*σημείον*) thereof terrible and glorious like the thing itself, or can it be that it is alien to Him in His lowliness?

But it was not Moses or one of the prophets who said concerning John "He is greater than all who are born of women." What is there about him ¹ that magnifies John? But can it be that the bonds of Herod magnify him, or that the head-asking ² of the daughter of Herodias exalts him, or that the executioner confirms for him (the application of) that (passage), 'Who can endure the day in which he cometh?' A herald who was humbled P. 109. and slain came before Him who comes on the clouds to destroy the slayers, and a lowly messenger who did not stand up for himself was sent before the King before whom no created beings can stand! And he with whose head the girl played, ³ who will believe that he was the apostle of that ⁴ Stone which will cause all falsehood to pass away? ⁵ . . . and let us bring forward the aspects of the two Messiahs, and let us look at the aspect of John and see which Messiah he resembles—that Stranger [in whose] days ⁶ he came beforehand, or this (Messiah) who is in the Law, of whom as yet not even a rumour had been heard; for even from . . . and proximity (?) it was possible to learn their true nature. Set therefore the two Messiahs over against one another, and set John between (them); with whom then does the slain herald agree, with the slayer or with the slain one? Whom does the meek and [despised] one resemble? Him who was

¹ *Lit.* 'this set in the midst.'

² Read $\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \delta\iota\kappa\epsilon$, p. 108, l. 42.

³ Read $\delta\iota\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon$ for $\delta\iota\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon$, p. 109, l. 13.

⁴ See Dan. ii 34, *seq.*

⁵ Read $\iota\delta\delta$, p. 109, l. 17, and delete the note.

⁶ Read $\omega\delta\omega\omega\omega$ for $\omega\delta\omega\omega\omega$, p. 109, l. 25.

- P. 110. humbled or the shatterer of all . . . ?¹ And if it was because John announced the coming of that Messiah (*lit.* announced before that Messiah) that he became great, it is still the same thing; for he caused us to ascribe the majesty of that King to the herald and the messenger who preceded Him, as is also the custom of kings and their messengers.² Or can it be that the majesty of him who was to come consisted in humility? For lo! [*the majesty*] of humility was also upon His herald, together with the rest (of His qualities). But because John was the messenger of the kingdom he was also wholly forgotten by them (?). When he comes, that Just One and the greater of the [two]³ Messiahs, does a herald or a messenger go before him? Or [*will it be sudden?*],⁴ that terrible coming of His, and does no messenger and herald come before it? But if another herald does come before it, . . . he is greater than John. For that majesty which was ascribed to John bears witness concerning this (Being) that He is greater than John. And is that messenger who comes before that subjugator of the nations thus subjected and humbled and persecuted as John was? If thus is his coming (?), the contest is ours, for if the messenger is thus humbled and scorned, how does the lowly announce the coming of the Mighty One, and the scorned (announce) the coming of the Exalted One? Who will believe that he is the Messenger of the Saviour in a case where he cannot stand up for himself, or does not show terrible signs and does not cast fear and trembling upon mankind? But if the messenger who comes is great and mighty, how necessary is it that He too should be great! For (He is) like the Sun, and the herald also is a ray that precedes Him. If therefore it is so—as indeed it is—John, the humbled and lowly, announced the coming of Isu, who differs, by reason of his lowliness, from that high exalted King who is coming; and he is alien, by reason of his abasement, to that mighty messenger who is sent before the face of that Mighty One. But does the Messiah come to save Israel or to torment it? If he comes to
- P. 111.

¹ Read ^{ⲓⲛ}ⲛⲓⲣⲁⲛⲓ, p. 109, l. 44.

² *I.e.* An ambassador must be treated with the respect due to a king.

³ Read ^{ⲓⲛ}ⲁⲙⲃⲁⲥⲁⲧⲁⲓ for ^{ⲓⲛ}ⲁⲙⲃⲁⲥⲁⲧⲁⲓ *, p. 109, l. 24.

⁴ I cannot make out l. 27.

save it, his messenger therefore convicts of sins or preaches salvation. But if he is one who convicts, when they repent P. 112. then they are saved. And if they do not wish to repent, does he preach to them ease or salvation? But if he preaches destruction to them, all those things which Israel expects are annulled. And if he preaches salvation to them, by his character of Saviour he offers them a foretaste of the great salvations which come after him, as Moses did in Egypt.

Let us see therefore what foretaste of salvation John offered to them; and, in the second place, lo, the Jews acknowledge all (manner of) prophets and righteous men, and this man, who is greater than all of them, they not only slew but do not even acknowledge! When therefore the Just and Upright One comes, whom this persecuted and slain one announced beforehand, will He avenge his ill-treatment and murder and the refusal to acknowledge him upon all the tribes of the Jews, who unto the last continually refuse to acknowledge him, or will He not? If He does not avenge (him), where is the Just One who delivered even the observer of the Law (and) avenged him on the Gentiles? ¹ This man, who is greater than all the Prophets, P. 113. He does not avenge! And if He executes vengeance on all these Tribes, who disbelieve in John and continue to do so, then He who comes is the destroyer of the Jews and not their Saviour. For those who slew His messenger slew Him Himself, and those who deny His herald are not able to acknowledge Him.

But if when all these sins are openly committed (*lit.* are in the midst) they are not punished, why was it necessary that John should come to baptize and absolve from transgressions, seeing that not one of the transgressions is punished?

But there is no one who is kinder than He who forgives all these transgressions; and how is it that this justice shows neglect, (this justice) which in no case neglected to punish? Has that grace which comes to Israel at the last compelled us to say that it is alien to that justice which wrote for Israel ² 'blow for blow'? But if sins are punished, that baptism which remits sins is necessary at the last; for lo, the baptism of John ceased

¹ Probably an allusion to Dan. vi.

² Exod. xxi 25.

P 114. (to exist) among the Jews thenceforward. Who therefore can bring it (back), and who can baptize, now that John is dead? And if it (*i.e.* baptism) is not necessary at the last, why was it formerly necessary? Is it withheld by Grace or by Justice?

But (thou wilt say), 'Lo, these very things by means of which thou judgest me, (by asking) why they are not found in connection with John, are the things by means of which thou too art judged as to why they are not found in connection with John. For lo, the prophet testifies and our Lord confirms that those things which are said concerning Elijah are fulfilled in him (*i.e.* in John).' But I say that the herald is like Him who is heralded, that as about Him terrible things are written and as if¹ in this world He is doing them, but it is at the last He is ready to do them. But the roots (*i.e.* causes) of retribution, since they come from this quarter, prophecy takes up, in order to pluck the fruits from their roots, according to that (passage), 'Lo, the kingdom of God among you!'²—And they did not (then) see those good things and the pleasures of the Kingdom, but because He is the root of the aforesaid pleasures He says 'Lo, the Kingdom!' Because those words which John proclaimed [*give an earnest of what is to come*]³ he called things of Yonder things of Here, just as in the case of a murderer who is slain after twenty years, the hour in which he committed the murder has slain him, as (it befell) Adam.⁴

P. 115.

And if thou sayest that they likewise teach that there is a proof (?) respecting these associates (?), then also the Messiah who is (mentioned) in the Law has two comings, one in which he deposited pledges, and another in which he redeems pledges. For from the actions of John I demonstrate (that he has) two comings, one to which the actions (?) of John bear witness that it was not a Lowly One who came to announce the advent of the Exalted One, and another (coming) promised by (*lit.* the promises of) Malachi in the passage "He cometh as a fiery furnace," that is to say, on account of the retribution which was hidden in the preaching of John, (the retribution) which

¹ Read $\alpha\omega$ for $\omega\alpha$, p. 114, l. 29.

² Luke xvii 21 *SC* (not syr.vg).

³ I cannot translate or amend p. 115, ll. 5-7.

⁴ See Gen. ii 17 ("in the *day* when thou eatest thereof," etc.).

is revealed at the last, as he said also concerning his Lord, "Thousands shall fall at thy side,"¹ and "Peace at the last,"² and as that (passage says), 'The LORD God shall give him the throne of David his father.'³

Now the Baptism at the hands of John was so alien that not P. 116. even the angels and righteous men and prophets were aware of it; let that Strangeness, therefore, of which no one was aware, appear in the days of this Strangeness of ISU, of whom no one had been informed; but it was right that the Strangeness of our Lord should be bound together with the Strangeness of John by the conduct of our Lord, as John also was with the Law: Old Testament and New Testament (meet) in the new Baptism of John.

But nevertheless if our Lord was David's Son, as all the prophets bear witness, and if He was not David's Son, as David too testifies and our Lord also confirms, on your account then it was said that He is not David's Son, so that this very Strangeness to which ye have recourse might be found within the Scriptures, in order that your error might be hampered from running (abroad) throughout the world.

¹ Psalm xci 7.

² Psalm xxxvii 37.

³ Luke i 32.

AGAINST MARCION III.

P. 117. ANOTHER DISCOURSE AGAINST MARCION.

If the organs ¹ of the body suffice for the gifts of the Good (God), O Marcion, that is to say, the eye for His light, and the ear for His voice, why then does the body not live at the last? But if the body does not suffice for these good things at the last, no[thing] else in this world suffices for them. Therefore neither is the heart sufficient for knowledge of the Stranger, nor hearing for the study (*lit.* reading) of Him. Moreover, as to the fact that the souls do not sin in the Kingdom, is it because of their nature, which is good, that they do not sin? And how then did the evil body change the good nature? But if the Stranger changes them there, though they are evil, what sin did the body commit so as to be deprived of this desirable change? But if the souls

P. 118.

are good there, is it because they enter that region that they are good, or are they good from the point where they stripped off their bodies? If this desirable state ² be due to the place, let the body also enter into it, and likewise all men [*in whom*] are sins. . . .

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P. 119,
l. 5.

. . . [And as] Fire is not [separa]ted from Heat, so Evil is not constituted apart from its power. But how and wherefore does that which is hot retain its natural heat, when that which is cold did not remain in its natural state? If therefore it is an Existence and an Entity, they are [not] changed in nature. But if that creative power has made out of nothing something good, it [can] ³ be changed in character. For this ye have learnt, (namely) that they are created from nothing, because a thing which is created from nothing can be changed into

¹ For this translation of *haddāmē*, generally rendered 'limbs,' see p. xxi, l. 11, where Ephraim says "by thy *haddāmē*, that is, by thy senses."

² ~~κθία~~ (*sic*), perhaps a scribe's mistake for ~~κθια~~, 'purity.'

³ Read ~~κθ~~ for ~~κθ~~ * *, l. 24.

anything. And if it is not created, it is always 'bound' by its essential nature; for, (in the case of) a thing which can be changed into anything, its change bears witness concerning it that it [*does not come*] from an unchangeable Existence. But if it is possible for the souls to strip off their bodies, they (*i.e.* the souls) are purged of all evils. Why did he who came come? Was it to bring life to the body which P. 120. [was] without life, or to come and change the soul which was (already) alive? . . . And henceforth they are dragged again I. 17. from struggle to struggle, and therefore also weapons and crucifixion¹ are necessary to them² (?) in the Kingdom. And if not, for what reason are the souls which are very evil here not evil there? For if this is due to the place then also their Creator is able to bring them up to a place which is raised above and higher than HULÉ. And if they say that they (*i.e.* the souls) cannot conquer even there, (I reply that) if it be the fact that the Stranger constrains us to conquer in the region of Evil and (in) the body of Sin, how much more will the Maker give us the victory in a place which is raised above Evil and also above the body of Sin! But if even thus it (the soul) cannot conquer, it is then unjust in the Stranger to demand of us victory in a P. 121 region where there is no possibility of our being victorious. But if, when the souls have stripped off the body of Sin and are lifted up again to a region which is raised above Sin, the souls are still polluted even there, how do they say that in that region of the Good they are purged? And why then do they blame the body by asserting that 'it causes the soul to sin,' when in reality, in all this interval of time, the nature of the soul is found to be evil? And how at the present time do the souls become good in the Kingdom? For if the Stranger creates a new mode of existence (*lit.* another creation) for them there, if He is able to change the mode of existence of the soul, it may be that He can change the soul's nature. But if the nature is changed by creative power, then the evil was not in the essence (of the soul) but in the creative power, and hence the Maker can change

¹ The MS. clearly has $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$, but perhaps it is a scribe's error for $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$, 'clubs,' or for $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$, 'force' (cf. *Overbeck*, p. 369, ll. 13, 14).

² 'for it' (*sic*) MS.

P. 122. the nature according to His will, as also other created beings testify who serve according to the will of their Creator. And therefore when ISU came to us, He ought to have made use of creative power and not of preaching, for creative power changes natures, whereas preaching does not; and this is proved to thee by craftsmen, that is to say, even by potters and smiths.

But if when our Lord came He did not wish to change the natures, was it as a kind and wise Being that He did not wish to change the natures? Was it as a kind and wise Being that He did not wish to destroy that which was well adjusted? Or was it as an evil and envious Being that He did not wish to adjust that which was badly constructed? But if it was because our Lord saw it to be rightly fashioned that He did not even adjust any part of it, how do they say that the Maker repented of the work to which¹ our Lord Himself testified that it was rightly fashioned? Or how again, when our Lord praises it, do they find fault with it? But know that by the fact that He praised the latter one it is seen that He agrees with the former one, and by the fact that they find fault they themselves are seen to disagree with the latter (and) also with the former. But in which (respect) is our Lord seen to have praised the work of the Maker? Is it not by the fact that [*they find fault, but He was*] one who repaired the normal arrangement?² For it was not abnormal eyes, alien to nature, that our Lord gave to the blind man, but eyes in accordance with nature. [*If He were*] a Stranger, it would be reasonable that just as He gave us laws which were alien to the Maker in like manner He should give us also physical organs which are alien to the Maker. But if He changed laws but did not wish to change physical organs, it is seen that the organs are (works) of God, and our Lord, who changed the laws from generation to generation, did not change the organs in any generation.

P. 123.

But they say, 'The sole reason of His not changing (them) was that they might not think concerning Him that He was a Stranger, and (so) persecute Him.' The laws therefore which He changed, did He change them in order that they might

¹ Read $\alpha\omega\tau$ for $\alpha\omega\tau\alpha$, p. 122, l. 29.

² P. 122, ll. 44, 45, are obscure, but the sense seems to be as above.

think concerning Him that He was not a Stranger? In which of the two circumstances, then, was strangeness most powerfully to be seen, in the change of laws or in the change of organs? For even a feeble human being can change laws, but (only) a powerful Maker can change organs. Would that He had changed [the] mind and had not changed the law, so that [a man] might see its excellence and not its difficulty! For when new creations came to pass [in] men more strangeness P. 124. [would arise]. . . .

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For just as by the fact that He [changed] the laws He shewed 1. 22. strangeness, [so] by the fact that He did not change the bodily organs He annulled the strangeness. But if our Lord [made] the two of them one—for He gave to the hearers additional interpretations which were not in the Law, but He did not give to those who were to be healed additional organs which were not in nature, (it was) in order that when contumacious persons treat Him as a stranger because He abrogated laws they may be convicted of error by the fact that He maintained the normal arrangement of nature. Again, He gave new laws and maintained primeval nature, in order that when He is treated as a stranger on account of the new laws primeval nature may come forward and prove concerning Him that He is not the son of a P. 125 stranger.

But if He is a stranger, as they assert concerning Him, then this thing which He did was exceeding foolish; for He abrogated the former commandments and maintained the former nature. For, as I have already said, He ought, as a strange law-giver, to have created ¹ on that account a strange nature also, so that, just as His law was seen to be something more than the former law, in like manner His creation also might be seen to be something more than the creation of the Creator. But if “in His law our Lord was a stranger, but in His action one of the household,” ² this is (a description of) the foolish Marcion, who is partly inside and partly outside. And they ought therefore, if they are lovers of true things, to remain in doubt; for if they called Him a stranger on account of the new sayings which He uttered, then

¹ ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ (p. 125, l. 12) is a scribe's blunder for ~~ⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~.

² This is evidently quoted as a Marcionite saying.

P. 126. because He did not create a strange creation the bold preaching ought to have been buried in silence (*lit.* confined within silence). For the Marcionites preach two things concerning our Lord which are at variance with each other, for "He abrogated the former laws and healed injured organs." But here this man, whoever he may be, is seen to be alien to the creation in virtue of his teaching and akin to it in virtue of his activity.¹ But let us see which is the true 'strangeness,' that which consists in sayings or that which consists in deeds. If that which consist in sayings is true, their contentious doctrine is true, but if that which consists in deeds is true our faith has received the crown.

P. 127. Let us know therefore who was a stranger to the world— He who instituted in it new laws, or He who created in it strange creatures? For He who institutes in the world new laws is not a stranger to the world, since in that world new laws have been issued from generation to generation; but He who created strange creatures was perhaps considered to be a stranger, since no strange creature has (ever) appeared in the world. If therefore the Marcionites proclaim that our Lord gave eyes to the blind, it is a good thing that from their own mouth their condemnation is proclaimed. For instead of bestowing strange eyes, that it might be known that He was a stranger, He restored to health these former ones, that it might be known that He is that (Being) who existed in former times. But this thing, which they proclaim to others, is to themselves a thing unheard of; for their hearing is at variance with their tongue, just as their intention is at variance with their Maker. For the Creator and Lawgiver abolished the former laws and gave other laws, but He did not abolish the former sun and create another sun; again He replaced the Old Covenant (*διαθήκη*) by a New Covenant, but He did not abolish the old heaven and create another heaven. With regard therefore to Him who creates natures and gives laws, just as it was easy for Him to change laws so it would have been easy for Him to change natures. But wherefore He who changed laws did not wish to change the creation thou mayest hear from us abundantly, if there is not with thee that contentiousness which is wont to resist abundant (proofs), which, though it is

¹ The same word as is translated 'creative power,' pp. lv (last line), lxiii f.

supposed that with its labour it really acquires them, does not [know] that it is driving away from beside itself an acquisition without labour. For the contention of the hearer is [an impediment to] the gifts that come forth from the mouth of the speaker.

Hear therefore why it was that He who abolished the former laws did not abolish the former creatures! He created the creatures in accordance with His own perfection, but He gave P. 128. many laws in account of our imperfection. For if we had abided perfectly by the law which He has written on the heart—(the law) which was followed by Abel and by Enoch who did not taste death—laws varying from nation to nation would not even be required. Thus where the creatures (are concerned, permanence of species is due to) the perfection of the Creator, who in all respects is perfect; and where laws (are concerned, the diversity is due to) the imperfection of man, who in all respects is audacious. God, therefore, did not abolish the former creatures, lest we should think that He had actually received advice or had been taught to create creatures superior to the former creatures; but He gave many laws, that in many (ways) He might restrain the audacity which did not abide by the former law which was written on the heart.

But man, on account of his imperfection, when he does something, is taught by his experience of former things to do something more than (those) former things; whereas the Creator, since He is perfect in His Wisdom, even before He creates, each separate thing that He wishes to do is completely visible to Him. But perhaps thou wilt say, 'Lo, creatures were transformed in Egypt!' They were transformed in Egypt on P. 129. account of the tyranny of Pharaoh, but they did not undergo transformation on account of ¹ . . .

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P: 130.

[For the Will that bound the course of Nature ² (is able to alter l. 29. it) and we learn that He who relaxed the Laws was Himself the

¹ Here follows a very illegible page, containing an allusion to Hezekiah and the Sundial (Isaiah xxxviii 8), p. 129, ll. 15-22.

² Not quite the same phrase as James iii 6.

1. 38. *establisher of the Laws.*] For a composite nature cannot remain in its composite state without the . . . power of its Creator, and a law cannot be annulled without the good will of its Maker ;
- P. 131. for where there is power to make there is also wisdom which directs the things that are made, and where there is Justice which punishes sins there is also Grace. . . . For consider that One who is good cannot shew mercy save to those who have transgressed His just law, for if He has compassion with regard to the law of another He has deflected from goodness and also ignored justice, so as to incline altogether towards iniquity. For that Stranger who becomes the pardoner of debtors necessarily wrongs the creditor. " But," it is said, " He paid our debt by His death." But know that we owed a real debt : if therefore He died in reality, He also paid our debt in reality ; but if it was in appearance that He died, that debt of ours also was paid in by a fraud. Yet know that the Good One also was pleased by this deception, that He should come and pay our debt by a fraud. Yet He who is just and mighty is not mocked, for in virtue of His justice He does not act wrongly and in virtue of His might He is not mocked. For the Just One would not act wrongly so as to come, when our debt has been paid, and demand the paid debt afresh, nor again would the Mighty One be mocked, so to allow His real possessions to be snatched from Him, without receiving anything real in exchange for His real possessions. " But," it is said, " though the Just One is mighty, the Good One is nevertheless mightier than He." If therefore He overcame Him by might, how ¹ do they bring in the term ' purchase ' ? [*Call*] Him therefore a doer of violence and not a purchaser. But if He made a real purchase, as one who acted humbly, how was ' might ' involved in the affair ? For either let them choose for themselves that He purchased as a humble and true (Being), or else let them choose for themselves that He did violence, as one who is mighty and tyrannical.
- P. 132.

But since the followers of Marcion were ashamed to be sponsors for the term ' violent robbery ' (as applicable) in the case of the Stranger, they have used with reference to Him the term ' purchase in humble fashion,' and because they are refuted in

¹ *Lit.* " How do they name purchase in the midst ? "

the matter of the purchase, they have used with reference to Him the term 'might,' so that when it is asserted against them that He did violence they say that He merely purchased, and when again it is asserted against them that the Maker did not wish to sell his possessions they say that He (*i.e.* the Stranger) is mightier than He (*i.e.* the Maker). Each of the (two) assertions P. 133. therefore annuls the other. For if it is a 'purchase in humble fashion,' consent (*lit.* will) and not compulsion is involved, but if the purchaser overcomes by force he does not really purchase but seizes by violence. If therefore they introduce (the mention of) His might, which is a plausible term, (the notion of) violent robbery comes in with it . . .

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* * * * * P. 134.

let them learn that it is a doctrine (artificially) constructed l. 26. and . . ., which has no foundation (*lit.* root); for the poets likewise construct fables out of bare names, their fables being devoid of foundation, for the poets make use of names . . .

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On that account He gave that which is His own in order that He l. 21. may take that which is not His own. And again, if there is no affinity between the purchaser and the seller, in their mutual action, they cannot give to one another or receive from one another. For that which they give is profitable to both, and again that which they receive is pleasing and profitable to both. But if they have heard only the word 'purchase' and hence have introduced the mention of 'strangeness' (*lit.* and from it have named strangeness), they ought to have made mention of 'strangeness' from the days of Isaiah onwards, who said ¹ "For nought have ye been sold," and thenceforward it would have been a purchase in reality, that the People was sold, that it should serve its masters. But if there is no strangeness in F: 136: a real purchase, how can there be strangeness in a fraudulent

¹ Isaiah lii 3.

purchase? But if they say that the Just One did not perceive the Good One, (I reply) 'And how was it that that Good and Humble One came to purchase something which its owner did not wish to sell—something which it did not even enter His mind to sell?' But if they say something that pleases them they must hear something that does not please them. For it pleases them to say this, that this Just One did not perceive that Good One; but it does not please them that some man should say concerning that Good One that He robs with violence. But this (statement) which does not please them is derived from that (statement) which pleases them. For if the Just One did not perceive the Good One, He therefore did not even contemplate the selling of His possessions to Him, for lo, He did not even perceive that He (*i.e.* the Good One) existed! But if He did not perceive Him and moreover did not contemplate the selling (of anything) to Him, it necessarily follows that if He sold (anything) He was compelled by force to sell that which He did not wish to sell. But perhaps they may say that even if the Good One compelled the Just One by force it was only for our salvation that He compelled Him by force. Know that in this respect He was on a level with all robbers. For he also who goes forth to take by robbery a possession that is not his own puts pressure on the possessor by reason of his love for the possession; and, in a word, all those who take away things from their owners, it is because of the love which they have for the things themselves that they grieve the heart of their possessors. But they say, "Even if the Good One put pressure on the Just One by snatching us from Him, He only took us to Himself in a loving manner." (But this is no argument), for what thief is there who will steal a precious pearl from his neighbour and will not keep it lovingly and carefully after taking it away? And on this supposition all evil-doers are found to be acting, not in an evil manner, but mercifully and kindly. For what robber is there who goes forth to take away or to filch something hateful and [undesirable] in his own eyes? Why therefore have the Marcionites adorned with fair titles One who in His conduct is not different from evil-doers? But far be it from us to speak thus concerning our Lord! But it is only on account of them (*i.e.*

P. 137.

P. 138.

the Marcionites) that we are obliged to say these things for their refutation, so that if they are convinced these things will not be reckoned to us to our detriment, on account of the advantage (which accrues) to them, and if they are not convinced they will pay the penalty for it, that ¹ their confusion (of mind) led us to use words that are not seemly. But even if we utter the blasphemy (only) with our lips, and not in our heart, nevertheless who is there who wishes to taste, even with his lips (only), the deadly poison? For as to that which is not seemly, would that it had never in our life (?) entered our mind!

But nevertheless let us return to our former subject, which we abandoned for a while on account of the pretext of 'purchase.' If therefore before the coming of ISU this [convention]² existed, O Marcion, that is to say, that though laws were changed from generation to generation the order of nature³ was fixed and continued (*lit.* came) through all generations, we see that if our P. 139. Lord came and diverged from this [convention]² of the Maker it is evident that He was 'strange' to the Maker. But if He proceeded in accordance with this order it is manifest that this beseeemed the Son that His steps should hasten in the footprints of Him that begat Him, for He also . . . But the Son I. 17. also preserved by His healing the normal arrangement of the former body, that He might testify, as their Father did, that the creatures were created aright from the Beginning. Our Lord therefore is not found to resemble a destroyer, nor a stranger, for He did not injure healthy organs . . . nor, again, when He healed did He bestow abnormal organs, nor, again, did He [*make it* I. 33. *appear*] to them by His creative power that He was alien to the Maker, but He preserved organs that were healthy, and cured organs that were hurt. But (?) He who preserves healthy organs, in order that they may not be hurt, plainly testifies concerning Him who created them that He is perfect and (that) it is not right that His arrangement should be hurt. But He who P. 140. sets in order organs that have been hurt testifies concerning

¹ Read $\delta\alpha\sigma\sigma\gamma$ for $\delta\alpha\sigma\sigma$, p. 133, l. 15.

² The word $\pi\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$, which occurs twice in this context, is legible in the Palimpsest. It is probably a distortion of some foreign word, e.g. τὸ εὐάρεστον or the Latin *orbita*.

³ *Lit.* 'natures,' i.e. the various distinct species.

a creative power (shared) in common, (namely) that He is a fellow-workman to Him who set them in order from the Beginning ; and it is evident that it was a love (shared) in common which constrains Him to set in order by a common mode of workmanship the common work. For when the work of a craftsman is injured it cannot be set right save by him who made it, or by a fellow-workman to him who made it. These are two things from which the Marcionites have deflected, for they are not willing to call our Lord ' the Maker,' nor (do they admit) that He was (sent) by the Maker. But His active power itself deprives those who deprive Him of active power, especially because that active power of His was repairing the work of the Creator. But it is clearly seen that this is a thing learnt from Him, (I mean) that primeval Teacher who is the Architect of the creation. But this active power was sent as to the first of creatures,¹ in order that it might be known that by this same active power the creatures had been created. For the repair of a work can only be wrought by means of that workmanship which set it in order.

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But when this perfect Disciple of that perfect Architect came, not that He was a learner, nor was His Teacher instructed, in virtue of that workmanship which (proceeded) from Himself (and) in which the normal arrangements were included from the Beginning—when He came, therefore, He ordered aright the hands which He had made, that they might give alms to those who lacked health, whereas He found them (such) that, instead of giving alms from that which was their own, they committed thefts from that which was not their own. But because the hands did not perform that service on account of which He created them He was empowered, as a just Maker, to command that the hands should wither up. But instead of this He commanded that hand which was withered to be stretched forth ;² for He knew the effrontery of the Marcionites, that if when He was restoring and repairing the corruption of the natures they call Him ' strange ' to Nature, if His deed had been contrary to Nature how much more would they have considered Him ' strange ' ? But because they are perverse, perhaps if our Lord had done contrary to Nature they would not have considered

P. 142.

¹ Cf. Colossians i 15. -² Luke vi 10.

Him 'strange!' But even if they had been as it were able to learn perversely, yet for the upright Teacher it was not seemly that because of the perverse ones He also should teach¹ perversity,

* * * * * 1. 13.

a rent worse than the former one² . . . 'unless' they were 1. 16. willing to learn. For if in the [straight] way the followers of Marcion are not [*able to walk, in slippery places how*] can they [direct] their goings?³

¹ Read ܐܠܗܐ for ܐܠܗ , p. 142, l. 10.

² Luke v 36 (Matt. ix 16).

³ The concluding sentence is mostly illegible, but the reference to the 'rent' is clear. Probably we should read ܐܠܗܐ ܓܘܕܐ for ܐܠܗ * ܘܕܐ in l. 18.

END OF DISCOURSE AGAINST MARCION.

AGAINST BARDAISAN.

P. 143.

A DISCOURSE AGAINST BARDAISAN.¹

I. BARDAISAN, lo, declares—that even without the sin of Adam—the Body would turn to its dust,—that Flesh does not cleave to Spirit,—that the dregs run downward—and the fine material upward,—and . . .—the one its height and the other its depth.

II. His opinion is diseased, similar—to the infirmity of Bardaisan,—his whole mythology is sickly.—“For if,” says he, “[it is] by Adam—we die the Death of here below,—it would have been right² that He who came—should have³ given Life here below—that he might render recompense for the usury paid.”

P. 144.

III. But our judges are judged—before that Truth which is from judgement;—they are being judged, the judges—of all judgements that [are] judged in error.—The truth of it judges the judges,—for Verity [cometh] in judgement;—by its truth it is the victor—of the wickedness hidden in the judges.

IV. When by artifice Error judges—that it may conquer the truth,—it is judged secretly—by the knowledge of the truth.—Wherefore not again has Verity [come]—if open audacities have changed it,—for its victory in truth—holds the crown over it.

V. To the word of truth . . . the healthy ear [*is a test* :] . . . —the healthy mouth also is a test⁴—to fruit sweet [and bitter]—the mouth teaches the taste—to the eye that has erred by the sight.

VI. For that inexperience—of the eye which sees [all forms] —is obedient to the mouth which tries [all] tastes—[that thou]

¹ The general metrical scheme of this piece is a stanza of eight lines of seven syllables each, but several stanzas have a line too few or too many and three lines are a syllable too short (x 8, lii 1, xciv 1).

² Read $\kappa\alpha\theta\omega\ \mu\eta$ for $\kappa\alpha\theta\omega$ * *, p. 143, l. 20.

³ Read $\kappa\alpha\theta\omega$ for $\kappa\alpha\theta\omega$, p. 143, l. 22.

⁴ *Lit.* ‘furnace,’ as in lxxviii 5, 6, and elsewhere.

mayest learn [thereby the wholesomeness] of fruits ; [so] also the inexperience—of the ear that hears all words—(is obedient) to the heart that tries all words—that thou mayest learn thereby the force of the words.

VII. Let us be like to the ordinary (physical) body—whose P. 145. organs are equal in love,—for the sound organ that has stumbled—its fellow that is skilful¹ admonishes it.—Let the lover[s] of truth also become—one Body against Error—that [our] lack may be filled— . . .

VIII. A true decision bears witness—that the transgression of Adam—turned the Body to a principle²—that looses the fixing of its life,—for if we have seen that our Lord also—fixed the mortal Body—with life that cannot be loosed—His truth has borne away the crown.

IX. Our disputation has entered a contest—that from two sides, lo, is approached,—that on two sides it may be crowned,—for in that one involves the other—in the common contest they are alike.—For if our Lord put on the Body—with the life of Paradise He rewarded it,—because it lost its life there.

X. Compare, then, and let us take the [trial]s³ of our Lord that thou mayest know, if they are like—to bodily and mortal ones,—whether He put on the Body, or not.—Begin then with the Birth—and go on to finish with the Death—and include in the middle—His human mode of life.³

XI. For they are bound one to the other—His truths that bound Error ;—in that His Death persuades us about His P. 146. Birth—that He put on a mortal Body ;—His Resurrection bears witness to His Death—that the Body which died was raised.—For His Birth is bound up with His Death,—and His Death is bound up with His Resurrection.

XII. For our Lord has fixed the traditions—of His truth like the bodily organs,—[which] He has fixed in one another,—that when contention and Error—wish to cut off an organ—the Body all of it wails—and the organs [from all] sides—are crying out about that one which is cut off.

XIII. The Truth is living and life-giving to all,—lo, the

¹ Read ~~ἡ σοφία~~ for ~~ἡ σοφία~~, p. 145, l. 3.

² *Lit.* 'root.'

³ Stanza x, l. 8, has only six syllables.

tastes of it bear witness to it.—For lo, by a myriad trials¹—the affair of our Lord is learnt,—that in the Body He died and was raised,—and His Birth and His Death have become a test²—for the very Body which He put on,—that not in appearance and fraud did He put it on.

XIV. [When] He confessed His [mys]tery to Thomas,—who by touch wished to examine Him,—He gave His Body to the touch of the hand,—that the sense of touch also should be a test¹ to Him;—there came to him the word of Truth,—that will cast out all contention,—“For a spirit hath not bones”;³—in truth He put on His bodily organs.

P. 147.

XV. For even if . . . —proclaims that our Lord was clothed with a Body,—Contention stops up its ears⁴—and in perversity proclaims something else,—that our Saviour did not put on the Flesh.—And if its perversity in truth justifies us—how much more will His correctness⁵ justify us?

XVI. But I think that Truth—thus conquers Error—not when . . . —the eloquent . . . to run,—but . . . with Him—his running surpasses their running,—as . . . — . . . and is crowned.

XVII. * * * * *
for what reason and wherefore—the Body cannot for ever—be accompanied for ever by the soul.

XVIII. [For] if we say that it is a House— . . .

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XIX. For a snare, lo, is spread— . . .

XX. And if . . .

XXI. These things that [are] supposed⁶—to be strange to one another,—[and also] are not acceptable to one another—are one, and are from one, and in one,—for they exist in one creation—and from one Air are nourished—and by one Death⁷ are cut off⁸—and to one Working are obedient.

¹ Read ܩܘܪܒܐܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܐܢܐ for ܩܘܪܒܐܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܒܐܢܐ , p. 146, l. 27.

² *Lit.* ‘furnace’: see lxxviii 5 f.

³ Luke xxiv 39.

⁴ Read ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ for ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ , p. 147, ll. 10, 11.

⁵ Read ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ for ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ , p. 147, l. 17.

⁶ Something is missing in this line: read ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ .

⁷ Read ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ for ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ .

⁸ Read ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ for ܕܥܘܢܐܢܐ . . .

XXII. But see the seed, that as . . .

. . . —that in the bosom of its mother it may take refuge,—and P. 149. leaven out of all bosom[s]—in the mass of dough takes refuge alone.—The bosom of the earth is the opposite of the [seed],—and when aforetime it was growing up in it—in the mode of [its species] it grew up.¹

XXIII. * * * * *

XXIV. * * * * *

—whether the

Will [of] the Creator—begat the wealth of diversities—that are regarded as opposites,—or that there are Entities, strangers—and not related to one another—and . . .

XXV. That Error much distresses me— . . .

. . . in the Beginning,—that what they say about the end— P. 150. we may say to them about the beginning.

XXVI. I know that if . . .

XXVII. * * * * *

XXVIII. * * * * *

XXIX. * * * * *

XXX. What good therefore [has] death,—if when life abounds— . . .

* * * * *

XXXI.² Now let us turn for a little—to a question which P. 151. is before this,—that she may not be bereaved by having been left—let Truth then run to meet her—holding fast the victory of her sister—and announcing to her about Error,—that it had become a mark for the arrows—that she also may begin to mock at it.

XXXII. Body and Soul have been invited—to Paradise, and in Paradise—they were honoured and returned in disgrace,—they were disgraced and have returned in honour ;—Body and Soul entered together,—Body and Soul went out together,—by death they were separated one from the other,—and in resurrection again they are joined.

¹ Read ܘܢܝܘܢ for ܘܢܝܘܢ , p. 149, l. 10.

² Stanzas xxxi-xlii are preserved also in the upper writing of B.M. Add. 14623 : see Introduction.

XXXIII.¹ The death that God decreed—for Adam after he sinned,—it is not the wicked Killing—whereby men kill their fellow-men ;—the killing of Abel the righteous—was from the Free-will that wronged him,—and the death of Adam the sinner—was from the justice that required him.

XXXIV. It was not the case then because—the killing of Abel the righteous was previous—to the death of Adam the sinner ²—that Abel died first—by that death that is from God :
P. 152. —Free-will in its audacity—made an assault on Abel in its envy,—and brought in killing before death.

XXXV. By that sentence from the Judge—Adam died first,—by that killing from Man—Abel was killed first ; ³—they stand in the domain—of Justice and of Free-will,—Justice is not wronged—and Free-will is not constrained.

XXXVI.⁴ And lo, there go down from the beginning—the two ways of death,—one of sentence and one of killing.—For as Free-will brought in—killing before death in the Beginning,—so Justice brought in—death after sin.

XXXVII. He ⁵ Who knew beforehand that the killed—would be killed by the killers—by the killing set a bound to their life—though He be far from the blame—of the killers who have dared to kill,—and is far also from (the blame for) the accident—of the killed man who is killed by sudden death.

XXXVIII. If therefore, one who is killed—goes not in sentenced time it is an accident,—and if he goes in his time it
P. 153. is a scandal—for it justifies the one who killed him,—yet God is high—above accident and also above scandal ;—it is not an accident, in that the sentenced time drew nigh—and it is not a scandal, in that there is about to be a judgement.

¹ B.M. 17193 contains St. xxxiii–xlii, and B.M. Add. 14731 contains St. xxxiii–xxxvi, xli–xlii.

² Sinner] guilty, 14731.

³ xxxv 3, and by that killing of Man, 17193.

⁴ Abel was the first killed one, 17193.

⁵ Stanza xxxvi is legible in the Palimpsest, except the first line ; it is preserved in the upper writing, also in B.M. Add. 17193 and 14731, which come from another exemplar. Yet in all these the stanza has only seven lines. Therefore some of the other stanzas, preserved only in the Palimpsest, which have less than the eight lines, are probably irregular owing to the author, not to a defect in the transmission.

⁵ xxxvii 1. He] God, 17193 (unmetrically).

XXXIX. But however much, lo, they are explained—these things have need of explanation,—for it is hard (to explain) how—there should chance in the one hour—the hidden sentenced time of him who is killed—and also the will of the killer,—that the man killed should go in his sentenced time—and the killer with his weapon be held guilty.

XL. Let us turn aside now from these things—for it was not these things we are concerned with ;—an investigation against those in error—we have been concerned with to conquer therein.—For not a little loss is it—that has entered through Bardaisan,—that inexperienced folk who have heard have suffered loss—of the merchandise of their lives.

XLI. And that ignorant folk may not go astray,—saying that “Abel, he died first,”—and disturb the comparison—that is struck between our Lord and Adam :—let them know that killing is of man—but the sentenced time is from God ;—for as regards Abel wickedness killed him,—but as regards Adam the P. 154. Just One made him die.

XLII. But not even for this will there be—an opportunity for thee to hinder the inexperienced—in that as regards our Lord it was men who killed Him—and as regards Adam the Just One made him die :—Adam that sinned against Justice—God in the sentenced time made him die,—but our Lord that killed wickedness—by wicked men was the killing of Him.

XLIII. If the Body depends upon the Soul,¹—lo, the Soul also like the Body—upon another Power depends wholly—namely, on that Power which gives life to everything.—And as (in the case of) the Soul if it lets go—of the Body, it (the Body) is undone and falls to pieces,—the Power also that gives life to the Soul—if it lets it go, it (the Soul) is undone.

XLIV. If the Body, that is mixed with—the Soul and is its companion,—they say cannot cleave to it,—the light one, because of the weight of it (the Body),—how can they cleave,—Entities corporeal and heavy,—to that Power which is above everything subtle—to live in it for ever and ever ?

XLV. Well, then, let us also say—that if the Body because of its weight—breaks away from the limpid Soul,—that limpid P. 155.

¹ See Vol. I, p. civ, and the Corrigenda in this volume.

substance is also separated—from the Power that is more limpid than it,—[and as] in the case of the Body—the same retribution comes to it (the Soul)—from that Power which took hold of it.

XLVI. For to both of them it (the Soul) is strange—to that limpid one and to the turbid one ;—to the turbid one because of the impurities,—[to] the limpid one because of its refinement.—If the one is for ever in it—the Body would be ever beside it ;—it does cleave to that which is more limpid than [it],—and that which is more [turbid] than it cleaves to it.

XLVII. For it is not the Power of its nature— . . .

* * * * *

XLVIII. As for the Entities that Bardaisan brought in—he is to be accused because he taught—that one is heavier¹ than its fellow—and one is lighter than its fellow ;—he put the evil ones as the lower,—he put the good ones as the upper,—he put Light and Wind as fine,—Fire and Water as heavy.

P. 156.

XLIX. If the lower one . . . —does not adhere to the one higher than it,—neither does Water that is corporeal—[cleave] to Fire that is lighter,—nor Fire to limpid Wind—nor does Wind cleave to Light,—nor any of them to God—Who is higher than all of them and more refined.

L. But if they are acceptable as friends,—all these Entities to one another,—those that are heavy and those that are light,—and possess and are possessed by one another,—that Highest One who gave them their level—does not treat the lowest one as alien ;—and if He treat the lowest one as alien—He cannot treat the middle one as akin.

LI. For on one side of the two is with him—weakness or wickedness ;—but if He be Evil, how is He the Good One ?—and if He be weak, how is He the Creator ?—and if as the Good One He humiliated Himself—unto the middle (Entities) which were at strife,²—all of them with all He would have reconciled—that His kindness might not suffer loss.

LII.³ But look upon Man—and see that all of them are reconciled :—his heat is from Fire,—his cold from Wind,—his

¹ Read ~~ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ for ~~ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~, p. 155, l. 35.

² *Lit.* 'had been angry' (~~ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~, *sic.*), p. 156, l. 30.

³ Omit ~~ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ~~ (*sic.*), p. 156, l. 34, so that Stanza lii, line 1, has only six syllables : see the Note at the beginning of this Discourse.

dampness from Water,—his dryness from the Dust;—in the midst of him dwells Life,—creative power holds him firm.

LIII. And even if these (theories) were so,—that things P. 157. should be so would be difficult,—as, if there were Entities,—it would be difficult that they should be made (into anything).—an Entity cannot be destroyed,—an Entity cannot be arranged;—in that it is an Entity it is indestructible,—in that it is an Entity it is unarrangeable.

LIV. That Creator Who is unable—to destroy the Entities that exist—by the same analogy again is unable—to arrange the Entities that exist;—for He did not create the existence—therefore He cannot destroy it,—He did not moreover arrange its fixing—therefore He cannot undo it.

LV and LVI.¹ And if He cannot undo—the existence of other Entities,—(an existence) which is bound by its Nature,—the Maker also is unable—to make anything and arrange (it).—But let Him make the trial,—the very Maker from Himself,—that as He cannot be arranged—the Entities cannot be made;—by this moreover we shall understand as—the Body consists by the Soul,—the heavy by the power of the light,—the Soul also is similar to the Body—in regard to the Power that is more subtle than all.

LVII and LVIII.² Against them let us say their words,— P. 158. who say that the Stranger—blew His Life into the Entities and girded them;—how to strange³ Life—are the Entities akin so that they lived?—If indeed the Stranger blew His Life—into the Entities so that they became alive,—the Soul makes itself akin to the Body,—as He made His Life akin to the Entities—that had been strangers to His Life.—But if by the Master the servants lived,—how much more does the Body live—by the life of the Soul its colleague?

LIX. “Reason,” as they say,—“is the strange Leaven that is hidden—in the Soul,” which is without knowledge;—to the Body and Reason it is strange!—If so be then the Body cannot—cleave to the Soul, being earthy,—neither can it (the Soul) cleave—to the Reason which is Divine.

¹ Stanzas lv and lvi together have only fourteen lines.

² Stanzas lvii and lviii together have only thirteen lines.

³ Read ~~εἶδος~~ for ~~εἶδος~~, p. 158, l. 6.

LX. We have therefore no contest—to expla[in] and persuade them—that are thrown into the contest ;—and when struggling on their behalf—their struggle will be on our behalf,—for them the labour and for us the crown,—that when arguing on behalf of the Soul—their argument becomes (one) on behalf of the Body.

P. 159. LXI.¹ Let us demonstrate therefore all the more—from the created things that are before us :—for lo, Fire is subtle—in comparison with Water that is corporeal,—[and] Wind [also in comparison with] Light—it also is denser than Light ;—the Soul also in comparison with the Body—as their saying goes is “subtle”—and in comparison with Reason it is “corporeal.”

LXII. Let us demonstrate therefore that all—Natures are devoured by one another,—substances both corporeal and spiritual.—For oil is devoured by Flame,—and Flame is devoured by Wind ;—and the oil is not perceptible in Flame—and Flame is not [perceptible] in Wind,—for everything is easy to the Possessor of all things.

LXIII.² Water again is placed in the middle—between Winter and Summer,—so that if the cold be fierce—it makes it a bodily substance—that embodies it in a hard form,—and if the heat be fierce—it makes it a spiritual substance—that absorbs it in a subtle way.

LXIV. * * * * *

P. 160.

LXV. [And if so be] that Bardaisan says—that because of its weight it (the Body) remains therein,—from the fine [substance] of the Soul ;—lo, when the heavy one de[parts]—[there departs]³ also the light part,—like a vapour [and a puff of air (?) it becomes]⁴—and like a breath⁵ it is for a while—and flies away lightly.

LXVI. Lo, . . . —of the Entities that Bardaisan brought

¹ Stanza lxi has nine lines.

² Stanza lxiii has only seven lines.

³ P. 160, l. 10, read $\text{ܠܝܚܝܐ} . \text{ܠܝܚܝܐ} \text{ܠܝܚܝܐ}$.

⁴ P. 160, l. 13, for $\text{ܠܝܚܝܐ} \text{ܠܝܚܝܐ}$ read $\text{ܠܝܚܝܐ} \text{ܠܝܚܝܐ}$.

⁵ P. 160, l. 14, for ܠܝܚܝܐ read ܠܝܚܝܐ .

in,—corporeal ones as he says,—in all Folds and Limbos¹—
If there be any corporeal it is refined— . . . created all accord-
ing to His Will.

LXVII. * * * * *

LXVIII. When the resurrection comes to pass—this comes to
pass as the result of it;—and if every one had been raised . . . — P. 161.

* * * * *

LXIX. . . . in Adam . . . all . . . were dying—though as
yet they were not born,—from the womb . . .

* * * * *

LXX. * * * * *

* * * * *

LXXI. The Second Adam also— . . . and was raised up
in Sheol,—He brings all that are [there],—in Him they were
living secretly,—and when their resurrection drew nigh—there
sprang upon them the voice of . . . —in that as a dead man
made the living die—the voice of resurrection makes them alive.

LXXII. For that first Thousand²—is the type of that last P. 162.
Thousand,—in that as the death of Adam put to death—all those
that that Thousand [*had brought to life*] . . .
delivered—one that flew away and one that was rescued.

LXXIII. Our Lord also in the last Thousand—raises the
Dead by His resurrection—in that all the Dead are found in His
Thousand,—and there comes the Deluge of Fire—in the midst
of which the Wicked sink—and the Righteous in it are delivered ;
—like Enoch the living [are] snatched away,—in the manner of
Noah the Dead are rescued.

LXXIV. But Bardaisan in this has ^{erred}³—and wishes to
make us also err therein,⁴—in this [he has greatly gone astray ;]
—he has died, and caused all [his comrades] to die.—“ Our
Lord also, (says he) Who was raised,—(why) did He not raise all
Bodies,—that as their undoing was in Adam—their reconstruc-
tion should be by our Lord ? ”

¹ P. 160, l. 21, read ~~masse~~ *masse* ~~in~~ *in* ~~his~~ *his* ~~is~~ *is* : see St. lxxxv 5.

² The word ~~ship~~ which occurs in this and the following Stanza is
clearly masculine in lxxiii 1. Therefore it cannot mean ‘Ship,’ but
must refer to the Ages of the World.

³ Read ~~is~~, p. 162, l. 27.

⁴ Read ~~is~~ (*sic*) for ~~is~~, p. 162, l. 28.

P. 163. LXXV. Lo, Adam not at the moment—when he died and fell did he cast down everything,—but he died in his sin—and the world died in the sentence on him ;—our Lord also not at the moment—when He was raised did He raise everything,—but He lived by His glorious acts—and the world lived in the pledge He gave.

LXXVI. In the hour that Adam died and fell—the earth was full of living beings,—and on his account only did Death reign ;—our Lord also gave life now—when Sheol was full of the dead—on His account only does Resurrection reign.—Death spread from one on all,—from [one also] spread Resurrection.

LXXVII. It did not suffice Bardaisan to look—upon [*the matter from both* (?)] sides ;—on the one side he looked only—and not even on that as it is,—for his eye did not [see] clearly,—that when he was declaring about Adam,—he that has slipped in one thing—has slipped in everything.

LXXVIII. But he does not know that that Body—which died in Adam the Messiah has made alive.—The Nails bear witness to His dying,—the Watchers bear witness to His Resurrection,—and the Nails that came out of the furnace—have become furnaces (*i.e.* tests) for our Truth ;—the fixing of them admonished

P. 164. Thomas that He was not—raised with [?] His Soul by Himself.

LXXIX.¹ Bardaisan insists that if so be—that these Bodies died in Adam—it was right for our Lord Who came—that He should raise up the Bodies from the grave ;—but if the Bodies He did not raise,—it is clear² that the death of the Soul—Adam brought in by his sins,—for the Souls which he brought down to Sheol—our Lord brought up with Him.

LXXX. He [finis]hes³ his word with another,—“ for lo,” says he, “ our Lord says—‘ Every one that keepeth My word—death for ever he shall not taste,’⁴—and lo, all those who kept it have died—[. . .]⁵”—For he has confused and dissolved words—to the confusion of the inexperienced ear.⁶

¹ Stanza lxxix has nine lines.

² Read ⲛⲟⲩⲁ for ⲛⲟⲩⲁ, p. 164, l. 10.

³ Read ⲛⲟⲩⲁ, p. 164, l. 17.

⁴ John viii 51 f.

⁵ I cannot translate this line, p. 164, l. 24.

⁶ Read ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ, p. 164, ll. 27, 28.

LXXXI. And [the] word the argument of which is something else—he makes into stuff for his argument,—for he considered about this same death—that the Souls which are hindered in every place—in all depths and Limbos¹—and that “have kept the word of our Lord,”— . . .² from within the Body,—are exalted³ to the Bridal chamber of Light!

LXXXII. According to the doctrine of Bardaisan—the Death that Adam brought in—was a hindrance to Souls—in P. 165; that they were hindered at the Crossing-place—because the sin of Adam hindered them,—“and the Life,” he [says], “that our Lord brought in—is that He taught verity and ascended,—and [brought] them across into the Kingdom.”

LXXXIII. “Therefore,” he says, “our Lord taught us—that ‘every one that keepeth My Word—death for ever he shall not taste,’—that his Soul is not hindered—when it crosses at the Crossing-place—like the hindrance of old—wherewith the Souls were hindered—before our Saviour had come.

LXXXIV.⁴ He is caught in one of two things:—in that every one that kept the Word of our Lord—(and) died before our Lord; . . . —but if he is hindered at the Crossing-place—his soul has tasted Death,—and if he had crossed the Crossing-place—what is that which he said about our Lord—that He had crossed it first of all?

LXXXV.⁵ For if Lazarus when he died—had gone up to the Bridal-chamber of Light—an injury⁶ our Lord did him—in that He turned him back to his body the Prison-house;—and that which our Lord was saying—to Martha, that “Thy Brother shall rise,”⁷—from whence then did He say he P. 166 should rise—from the height, or from the deep?

LXXXVI. As a Physician He did justly—in that sin the

¹ For the ‘Seven Limbos,’ see p. 204, l. 44 f.

² For *ܠܚܝܘܬܐ* (p. 164, l. 38) it would be possible to read *ܠܚܝܘܬܐܝܘܬܐ*, ‘into life,’ which has the required three syllables.

³ P. 164, l. 39 *ܠܚܝܘܬܐܝܘܬܐ*, ‘are exalted,’ is more probable than *ܠܚܝܘܬܐܝܘܬܐܝܘܬܐ*, ‘are introduced.’

⁴ For the corrected text of Stanza lxxxiv, see the Corrigenda.

⁵ Stanzas lxxxvi–xciv are preserved also in the upper writing: see Introduction.

⁶ injury] + then 14623 (unmetrically).

⁷ John xi 23.

bringer of pains—He was rooting out from mankind ;—for that Primal Serpent—had bitten the Primal Adam—not with teeth but with advice,—He¹ too healed the wound—with commands and not with drugs.

LXXXVII. If the Soul it was He came to teach—according to their word it would be right—that the Souls in Sheol He should teach—that they should not steal nor commit adultery ;—and if in Sheol it is not for Souls—to lend or be in debt, then—to Body-and-Soul in its contest—He comes to conquer and to crown.

LXXXVIII.² An example He depicted—and a likeness He impressed—and a mirror He fixed by His Body,—that was victorious and tasted suffering—and was raised and put on glory ;—and He taught that every one who thus—conducts himself is thus glorified—and he that fights thus conquers—and he that conquers thus is crowned.

P. 167.

LXXXIX.³ Adam, too, by him He depicted—an example for every one to look at,—that he sinned and was sorry and brought to confusion—and was cursed and went forth and was brought low—and departed and was undone and destroyed,—and He taught that every one whose support is wickedness—even his profit is loss.

XC.⁴ In both worlds he is mocked at,—in both worlds he carries disgrace :—by the steps that Adam went down,—by them it was our Lord brought him up.—In the beginning He gave him verity—instead of the falsehood that the Serpent gave him,—in the end He gave him Life—instead of Death that the Tree gave ;—He conjoined with him his life,—the equilibrium of which Death had divided.

XCI. Seeing that of all Bodies that die—the Body of our Lord rose only—Bardaisan erred and supposed—that it was the Souls that our Lord raised up,—and he did not consider that the death also of Adam—had reigned in Adam first,—

¹ He] our Lord, 14623 (unmetrically).

² Stanza lxxxviii is also preserved in B.M. Add. 12155 and 14532, without variation, except that 12155 reads ' He was ' for ' that was ' in l. 4. Stanza lxxxviii has nine lines in all four copies.

³ Stanza lxxxix has only seven lines.

⁴ Stanza xc has ten lines.

and thus after nine hundred years—the leaven of it had spread in all generations.

XCII. Our Lord also when He was raised up—in Him Life P. 168. reigned first,—like the Death that reigned in Adam ;—and as with Adam after a period—his Death reigned over all,—our Lord also after a time—His Resurrection was reigning over all,—that the usuries paid might be like to one another.

XCIII.¹ His Leaven that makes all alive spread—in all the lump of the Dead—that, lo, is kneaded in the bosom of Sheol,—so that if after nine hundred years—the Leaven of Death reigned in us,—lo, after a little—His living Leaven will conquer mortality.

XCIV.² And now if so be this suffices,—as also it does suffice,—this argument of ours has been spoken—about the Body and about its Resurrection ;—the rest of the discourse of it which remains,—the matter of it shall be ours for another day,—that we may gain by our disputation—discoveries about our Faith.

XCV. Where he has fallen we have risen,—and where he has slipped we have been strengthened,—and where he failed we seem—to have acquired the fortunes of Adam,—in that wickedness ruled over Him in the beginning,—Death ruled over P. 169. him in the end,—in that his Body and his Soul sinned together—Death divided his equilibrium.

XCVI. I give thanks to Thee, my Lord,—that Thou hast not stinted me, nor hast Thou filled me :—Thou hast not stinted me that I may grow,—and Thou hast not filled me, so that I may ask.—Satiety knows not how to ask,—and hunger ceases not to beg ;—Thou hast satisfied me to abate my hunger,—Thou hast made me hungry to awake my supplication.

¹ Stanza xciii has only seven lines.

² The first line of Stanza xciv (otherwise a regular one of eight lines) has a syllable short : see the Note at the beginning of this Discourse.

ON VIRGINITY.

P. 170. A DISCOURSE OF S. EPHRAIM ON VIRGINITY.

I.¹ PUT off, O Body, that Old Man ² which is altogether hateful, that it may not wear out the newness that thou inhabitest and hast put on ; for the recompense of its interest is contrary with its clothes, in that if thou hast been renewed it will return and wear thee out : O Body, hear my counsels ! Put it off ³ by (good) conduct, that it may not clothe thee in (bad) habits.

II. For, lo, our Lord has made thee, O Body, new in water, and the Architect of Life has built thy oldness, in that He formed with His Blood and built for it a shrine for His habitation ; do not let dwell instead of Him that Old Man in the shrine He has renewed : O Body, if thou dost make God to stay in thy shrine, thou also wilt be a temple of His kingdom and a priest of His sacrifice.

III. For this Old Man is reproved by Nature that teaches and the Book that proclaims, for its wickedness is between two just things, that if it sins in respect of what is without law, its Nature will reprove it, and if it sins in respect of law, the Book will reprove it. Lo, it wounds and they heal ; on the track of wickedness they bring in regret, whereby he that sins is healed.

¹ The whole of this Discourse was copied out by the monk Aaron (B.M. Add. 14623, foll. 23a¹-25a¹) from the old MS. before the writing was effaced. Where the transcript can be checked by the still legible portions of the original it is found to be quite faithful, the few variations being almost all due to the adoption of a more modern style of spelling.

The text, both in the Palimpsest and in Aaron's transcript, is divided up into paragraphs or stanzas, which I have numbered, as in the case of the previous piece, but the Discourse on Virginity is not in regular metre. On this question, and the relation of the piece to the *Hymns de Virginitate*, printed at the end of Lamy's *Ephraim*, vol. ii, see the Introduction.

² See Col. iii 9.

³ +therefore Aa.

IV. Him that rebels they treat with contempt, and him that returns they bind up his wounds ; they justify the Judge, they reprove the rebels, they care for and heal those who return : for they know that they will be measured with one Evil one, who hurts everything, who is fresh in every generation, and is a companion to every one, and hurts every hour ; they also are companions to every one, and are fresh in every generation, and are found at every hour.

V. Hearken to Nature and Law declaring his evil corruptions ! For the People (of Israel) who committed adultery under the Law, P. 172. and the Peoples who fornicated without Law, changed their Nature and behaved contrary to their Nature ; Nature and Law have appealed against him, whose dispositions the Disturber has corrupted.

VI. The humble ones have stolen away from marriage under pretext of discipleship, and when they are halfway he (the ' Old Man ') has set behind them the shame of stumbling and in front of them hateful desire ; being ashamed to revert to marriage, they fall and are taken in the snares.

VII. How light are thy wings, O Virginity, that soar ¹ and go up to where thy Bridegroom sits at the right hand of the Lord of the Heights ! Flee from the counsel of the deceiver, for he who apportions debt to the inexperienced is wont to cast his whole property for nothing to the loss of the merchants (?).

VIII. He impoverished the treasures of great Adam, who with his money acquired a weight of debt. O Body, do not borrow from him that does not ask back what he has lent, that if thou pay him his silver the debt impoverishes.

IX. For accompanying its desires are apprehension and P. 173. doubt and contempt with disgrace, and they reject and give pain to the doers of them, and the faces only are open and pure of the chaste ones who have put it (? the ' old man ') off ; do not be joined, O Body, with hateful love, of which however much the deed is dead, the anxiety of it lives secretly.

X. Subtle and cunning is his (the ' Old Man's ') discipleship, in that by all sorts (of means) he will be bestowing his gifts upon the good. The mouth of the poor he stops with his bread ; with

¹ See p. 35, l. 34, and *Overbeck*, p. 123, l. 12.

his free meals he sells free-men into slavery. The belly he has bribed and it has been corrupted ; (he has bribed) the eye to overlook, and the mouth to keep silence, and the ear to make ¹ his hateful reports. His silent wine is talkative in those that drink it ; it babbles in their voices instead of its master.

P. 174. XI. For he is cunning, in that first he puts on the mouth of his snare food as a bait ; his love goes in front of his corruption, like Judas, who kissed and killed. The Pure One kissed the unclean, to teach that his kisses are a poison and death is moulded by them secretly ; this is one who if thou raise him up will recompense thee with a fall, who when he rises lulls to sleep, the desire of whom is deadly. And thy own flesh makes it live and resurrects it (this desire), and when it is alive therein it turns and kills it. O Body, if thou give life to deadness, there will be death also for thy life.

XII. Let Fire be a demonstration for thee, that is buried and dead in secret, and the rubbing of wood with wood brings it to life for the destruction of both of them ; but when it (*i.e.* Fire) has come to life it turns to burn the substance that brought it to life by its companionship. Oh, the evident illustration !—that Wood is made a grave for Fire, and when the one has been resurrected from it, it is destroyed by that one !

XIII. For Freedom is as life and as soul to the desires, and by it they live ; and if from it thou cut and cast them off they become dead. It is given authority that by its will faults stand and by its will sins fall ; it is the likeness of the Most High whose Power upholdeth everything, and if He should withdraw it everything would fall.

P. 175. XIV. The Judge is just, in that He does not immediately a man has sinned requite him. Wherefore regret comes because of two things : that if he repents it will have wiped out his wickedness, and if he rebels it will have taken away from him all excuse ; wherefore in all faults regret is on the watch to carry witness to the court of Justice.

XV. Learn, O Body, Repentance and not every-day regret ; for Repentance is as ² a Healer to our wounds, but this regret is a stalk of straw, and it brings a relapse of pains every day.

¹ ?=to transmit.

² as] *om.* Aa.

XVI. The signature is on every tax-collector's bond for him who owes money; so by the same illustration regret is a tax-collector in its silence for him that is in debt for sins. O Body, if thou hast accustomed thyself to repent and again thou sin, thy regret is the signature of thy bond.

XVII. It is written ¹ that if a man have wronged his wife, her parents shall go forth and declare her virginity, because the judges could not see the secret things; the tokens of virginity on the veil were declaring the truth before the judges. But because thy own Bridegroom is one that seeth secret things, P. 176. to thy secret Lord in virginity ² show the secret things in the flesh; not in thy veil ³ but in thy body shew injuries, and do not ⁴ in veils thy own virginity shew to thy Bridegroom.

XVIII. In the guise of a lamb the cunning Amnon ⁵ approached the ewe, and when he had deceived her about what was hers he did what was his; in that he saw that virginity was rebellious in her nest, the healthy wolf that made himself ill deceitfully made her enter his den and so trapped her; the invalid that was torpid got up to the contest and snatched away the crown that was for her shame.

XIX. That Athlete who saw that as long as he was standing he did not throw, and he hasted and fell, and so threw off and broke the yoke with cohabitation, and dared even to adultery, and the wicked one who sowed in the chamber his harvest, in his field the sword ruined him, who had ruined virginity, and he who had spotted it with its blood washed in his own blood. They made him drunk and rose up and dragged him away; and for that he had ill-treated the sheep, vengeance was demanded in the time of sheep-shearing.

P. 177.

XX. If a virgin be ill-treated in the field Moses the Stammerer, ⁶ the advocate of truth, he is persuaded about her that "the girl cried out and there is no help." For thine own self, O virginity,

¹ See Deut. xxii 13 ff. Aa begins 'For it is . . .'

² 'to thy Lord in thy virginity,' Aa.

³ in thy veil], 'in beauty,' Aa (*sic*).

⁴ 'and do not' (conj.)] 'virginity,' Palimpsest (*sic*), 'virginity and do not,' Aa. Apparently a mere scribes' blunder, the scribe of the Palimpsest having written **𐤃** before **𐤌**.

⁵ 2 Sam. xiii.

⁶ See Exod. iv 11, and Overbeck, p. 150, l. 20: cf. also Deut. xxii 27.

who is there to persuade, that in the midst of peace art taken captive and art silent? Do not give thyself to captivity in the midst of peace, that peace may not bind thee in the court of Justice.

XXI. As for the married women and virgins that were in Midian, he killed those which had played the harlot and kept alive those on whom was set the seal of virginity. But if virginity kept alive heathen women, how much more will it keep alive pure ones?

XXII. And lo, in the chamber and lo, in the field they are lying in wait for thee, O Virginity! Thou didst enter the chamber, the cunning Amnon stole thy wealth; thou didst go forth into the field, the brigand Shechem robbed thy treasure. Whither wilt thou go, O lonely Dove? For lo, many in every place are they that hunt for thee!

XXIII. The hunters of thee, O Virginity, that have hunted thee are hunted; by the contrary are they required. For Shechem,¹ who met with thee in the field and took thee captive, in his house they slaughtered him; and Amnon again, who in the chamber lay in wait for thee and took thee captive, in the field they dragged him off. They ruined thee and they were ruined; and there was drawn in their case an illustration that he who ruins thee is ruined.

P. 178.

XXIV. O Virginity, inexperienced Dove, cunning is thy hunter and thou art innocent, ingenious is thy deceiver and thou art simple! in that Amnon who under pretence of food was seeking what he was not seeking, and with food for which he was not hungry served the desire of the flesh for which he was hungry. O the Deceiver, who was seeking that which he did not require, that under pretext of it he might be finding thee!

XXV. For he asked her for tarts²—alas for the expert in tarts!—she went in and placed (them) for the uplifted at heart: the serpent was clothed in the appearance of sickness that the hand might contemptuously spare him and so he might strike her. He whose desire deceived virginity and polluted it, wrath deceived the desire and ruined him.

¹ Gen. xxxiv 2, 25 f.

² 2 Sam. xiii 5 ff. The Peshitta has the same word for 'cakes' and 'hearts.'

XXVI. Tamar rent her tunic, for she saw she had lost her P. 179, virginity. She got a tunic instead of that tunic; her virginity that she had lost was not got again. The rents of her garment workmen sufficed to heal; but the loss of her virginity for One alone is easy to heal. O Virginity, whose loss is easy for all, and whose reparation for the Creator of all alone is easy!

XXVII. Tamar feared to keep silence and was ashamed to speak; but because she could not keep silence nor speak she rent her clothes, that the open rents might be heralds for the secret virginity that was ruined. Ah, the confusion and dismay of the king's daughter, whose pearls that were hanging on her could not console her for the one that was lost!

XXVIII. She was a King's daughter on whose limbs were carried stones and beryls, but the virginity alone surpassed them all; wherefore the unclean one despised the beryls and chose the pearl, he rejected the coin-ornaments and snatched the tokens of P. 180. virginity. The thief knows thy value, O Virginity, but thou didst not perceive how much thou art worth.

XXIX. From the royal jewel-house he chose out and stole the pearl, which when he got it left him, that pearl which is lost away from its owner and does not remain in the treasure of the thief!

XXX. Eve¹ the inexperienced found the Serpent, the poisonous one whose words are sweet; she cherished him with love, and he smote her to destruction. Do not find for thyself also the treasure-trove of Eve, that thou mayest not find for thyself in it regret. For if she had shut the door of her hearing before his speaking, the door of Paradise would not have been shut in her own face; in that she gave a place within her mind to the word of the Evil One, the pure Garden vomited and cast her out.

XXXI. Keep thy bosom in sanctity that the pure bosom of Paradise may receive thee. Do not become dust, the food of the accursed Serpent, for dust is his bread, and thou art chosen salt, which if it go bad cannot afresh become new salt. P. 181.

¹ A new paragraph should clearly begin here, but it does not even begin a new line in the Palimpsest. Aaron's transcript has an ordinary stop before 'Eve,' not the ornamental stop which marks a paragraph.

XXXII. Jephthah's ¹ Daughter who washed in her blood was baptized and she sent up from herself the pearl that rooted out ² fear, and to the treasure on high it ascended; the girl that stretched out her neck to the slaughter of the sword, the pure pearl consoled her that went with her. And she that here destroys virginity, apprehension becomes her companion in the day of remembrance, and in the Resurrection fear becomes her leader before the Judge, though she have greatly repented.

XXXIII. Jephthah's Daughter wished to die, so that the vow of her father might not be made void: do not thou make void with thine eyes the vow of virginity that thy mouth has vowed. Jephthah poured out the blood of his daughter; but thy own Bridegroom, his holy Blood was shed for thy fault.

P. 182. XXXIV. Lo, therefore the unique Blood bought the virgin blood with which thy door is sealed, in the likeness of doors that were sealed with the blood sprinkled in the midst of Egypt ³; for as often as that same blood was sealed upon the doors outside, life was dwelling within after the type of virginity in peace.

XXXV. Oh, the blood that was a wall to the treasure of life, that was within it and by it conquered death! That is, that as they were a little wearied in sprinkling it and (as) it comforted them much by its protection, thy perfection and thy virginity are walls that keep and are kept; that inasmuch as they are kept safe for a little they have kept safe much.

XXXVI. The married woman wished to die that adultery might be made void; the virgin died that the vow might not be made void. If so be therefore that cohabitation, the mother of seed, wished to die that it might not receive stolen seed whose sower is accursed, let not the virgin steal the unclean seed, for a pure embryo is the embryo in the midst of her.

P. 183. XXXVII. Do not leave off, O Body, from the virginity that by grace has revived our country, and as a sojourner dwells in our land. And if any one persecute her and uproot her nest, because she cannot turn and build it her wing quickly takes up on high the bird of the height, that grows old in one nest and if disturbed ⁴ she has left it for ever.

¹ Judges xi 30 ff: syr.vg also has 'Nepthah' for 'Jepthah.'

² 'moved away,' Aa.

³ Exod. xii 21 ff.

⁴ Lit. 'taken up'—the same word as in the preceding line.

XXXVIII. And when the friendship of Angels has flown away there enters in its place the Devil's friend Desire, that is the adversary of Virginitv. Joseph persecuted her from within his body, that the friendship of Angels might not dwell in it; with the Angels she doth flee to go forth. And who is there who will not weep that instead of that peaceful one there entered in and dwelt in him one full of sores? ¹

XXXIX. Let youthfulness be afraid of Wine that despoiled the old age of Lot. But if Wine did that which is difficult, that women by him should have stolen pregnancy, how much more forsooth will it do that which is easy, that men by it should steal virginitv? The girls despoiled the treasure of the old man; keep thou ² thy treasure-house from those that are young.

XL. Be afraid again of Wine in that it disgraced Noah the P. 184. precious; and he that had conquered the Deluge of water from a handful of wine was conquered, and him that the Flood which was outside him did not overcome, the wine which was within him in silence did steal. If wine disgraced and cast down Noah, the head of families and tongues, thee forsooth, O lonely one, how it will conquer!

XLI. Do not trust in wine, for it is an impostor and an agitator that surrenders thy fortress, that the captive-taker may come and take captive thy freedom into handmaidenship, that thy love may follow his will.

XLII. And when moreover thou hast lost thy true Bridegroom and got in his stead a false one, when thou hast the consolation that even if thou hast lost but yet thou hast found (*what will it profit thee?*): because his love is lying and deceitful and alights on everything, it does not cleave to thee, and then the regret will be great.

XLIII. When on this side and on that thou art deserted and art orphaned on two sides, the True One will have left thee P. 185. because thou hast left him, and the lying companion that thou

¹ The reference must be to the Story of Joseph and Asenath (E. W. Brooks, *The Book of Joseph and Asenath*, S.P.C.K., Hellenistic-Jewish Texts, No. 7). In this tale, though both hero and heroine are represented as the perfection of beauty and virtue, yet the affair ends in a real marriage, which to Ephraim was a sad falling-off!

² + 'therefore,' Aa.

hast loved will have let go of thee and left thee at the cross-roads ; and whither then will thy gaze wander, a simple Dove¹ that has uprooted her nest and gone forth in her love after a Serpent ?

XLIV. Thy Pearl is a pearl that from two thieves flies away to be lost, for it is Merchants who are single that can get it, and if they have become unclean both of them lose it. O Pearl, that is greater than all ! And he is the fool, with his hands he presents the Pearl to the Thief !

XLV. It is easier for him that is drunk with wine than for him that is drunk with hateful love, for the counsel and teaching of wide-awake hours are dreams to him, and a beating is like no beating. Strong fetters are weak to him ; despised is the rod, and weak is a stick, and disregarded is the cane. Admonition is to him a story, and reproof like a tale passes through his ears ; contemptuous usage is like a treat and spitting in the face like dew.

P. 186.

XLVI. For there is not in his heart a path-finder for the words that have beaten upon his ears. The gates of his ears are open, one opposite the other ; the word that goes in into his one ear goes out on the opposite side through the other. The speech that they pour into him is driven outside, it goes forth altogether ; his teacher supposes that the teaching goes in, but he does not perceive that he pours it all out, and it is spilt, because there is no place in his mind to receive.

XLVII. For filled and heaped and choked up are the bosoms of his imaginations from the drop of evil love, that has dropped there and become a great sea ; and lo, arguments plunge and emerge,² like sailors whose ships have been wrecked, and lo, the thought there is unclean, like a ship that has no skipper, and when Law like a sailor wishes to bring it into a good harbour it struggles with its sailor and loves its own loss.

P. 187.

XLVIII. O Youthfulness, mistress of (various) courses (of life), do not complete [thy] courses in the maze of desires ; when that which works in thee and takes away thy strength has

¹ Dove] 'Fish,' Aa. This absurd blunder is of interest, because it also occurs in the transliteration into Syriac of "Aenon near Salim" (John iii 23), where syr. *C*-vg. have 'En Yon, while syr. *S* and the Arabic Diatessaron have 'En Non.

² The same phrase occurs in Ephraim's Comm. on Genesis (*ES* 1 15A), where it is used of the Light not yet concentrated in Sun and Moon.

dismissed and left thee (it will be) that thy Old Age may come to mockery, because a hateful course thou hast kept for shame.

XLIX. Lighten, O Youthfulness, thy course in the contest, that a crown may adorn thy Old Age; for when Old Age has faded and its intelligence diminished, they remember the humility of its Youthfulness, which concentrated its intelligence; men abhor it seeing the blemishes of its Body, but they cherish it seeing its secret plants of the Spirit.

L. Paint, O Youthfulness, thy victories on thy members, by which thou wilt become precious when thou growest old: paint on thy hands all charitable acts, with the visiting of the sick seal thy footsteps; paint on thy heart the image of thy Lord.

LI. And if the nailed-up Tablets that the carpenter has constructed and the painter painted have become precious, yea, are P. 188. revered by reason of the Figure of Royalty, how much more therefore will thy limbs become precious, on which are painted the images of thy King?

LII. Youthfulness is like a branch of fine fruits that is fair in the summer, and when its fruits and its leaves have been stripped off it becomes hateful, and every one turns his face from it, and what was desired of all becomes the despised of all. O inexperience! do not shew thy beauty to those outside, which when it has become hateful and aged those that see despise it.

LIII. O Eye! let not the beauty of Youthfulness take thee captive, in which are hidden the blemishes of Old Age. For the limbs of youthful vigour, a fair spectacle, carry them, but Old Age convicts them, that a borrowed beauty was dwelling upon them, one that while yet it stays and alights goes off and flies away.

LIV. But if there should chance to be a royal captivity, and thy humility should be exposed in the field, the unclean compulsion of the captor argues for thee that thou art holy, as Sarah also P. 189. was holy in the unclean bosom of foul Pharaoh, she whose heart with her free-will did not commit adultery¹; her will was a priest to her bodily frame, and with its hyssop it purged the body that was defiled by force. For as a priest can cleanse the

¹ Read ~~it~~ (sic) for ~~it~~, p. 189, l. 4.

temple in which he serves, so a pure Will can cleanse the Body, the Temple in the midst of which it acts as a priest.

LV. For it is a marvel in Man, that though he is one, he is to himself a Temple, he is to himself a Priest, he is to himself a Pontiff, he is to himself a Sacrifice ; he is the Offering, and he is the Offerer of the Offering : for he is like that Lamb of God, who was to Himself everything.

END OF DISCOURSE ON VIRGINITY.

AGAINST MANI.

ANOTHER DISCOURSE AGAINST MANI.

P. 190.

LET Mani be asked about that Archon, that if he be from the Evil Part, that is, from an essence loving adultery, as they say, why did he say 'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' etc.? (Let him be asked this) that thou mayest know that he (the Archon) commanded that which was approved by him. And because of sins he extirpated the Hebrews altogether . . . and [if] he l. 15. is a Mixed Being, half and half, he ought to command that . . . how did he say 'There is none beside Me'? And how l. 22. again did he kill Jesus? And if 'men were intoxicated, they would not pay attention to these things, not even if he had commanded,' then a command to sin was really pleasant to P. 191. the sinners. For if when he said 'Do not commit adultery,' they did go on committing adultery, how much more if he had commanded them to commit adultery! But if he is a lover of Good things and on account of them makes commands, let them say who was annulling his commandments that they should not be performed? If Satan was annulling them, lo, they are both from the one evil Essence, as they say! How is it fighting half with the Good and half with the Evil? But if because in this one the mixture of Good was greater this very thing is pleasing to him, then evil beings are good beings in whom he has not made another power greater. And lo, evil beings like good ones become related to him! And why then did that Archon not receive Jesus, the Good? For lo, as they say, there is a means whereby the Good may be mixed with him and be accepted by him, (so) that if it is mixed with him it is acceptable to him. Till Jesus had come, then, he was mixing (for men) his good words, why did he not mix in them (*i.e.* in

men) Good Parts? When even those good words that are mixed in him he does not accept, neither therefore can he accept the Parts. For as his evil hearing is strange to the good Word, so also his hateful essence is strange to the better Part. For if with their will the evil ones accept the mixture of Parts, how did they not accept the mixture of Words? And if by force the Parts are mixed in them, why does the Good expect the Words to be mixed in them of their own (free-)will?

But see that in fruits and in seeds and in fountains there exists evil that kills, but good that gives life [is also] in them for men, how does the evil overcome the good? For lo, the good is in the majority. In fruits . . .

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P. 193. [how was the 'mixture' arranged in wolves and lambs? If (the
 II. 7-15. Maker) had wished, could not he have arranged for HULE the bodily organs of lambs?]

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I. 40. . . . for it would have been right that He (the Maker) should do to Himself that very thing which He does to others. But [they] say 'Even the Maker does first to [Himself] what He does to

P. 194: others.' But let them know that the Maker [did] what He did

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I. 13. that is, that it will preserve itself and will destroy the other. That Entity, if it is an Entity, how does it bring forth anything the taste of which is not in its own essence and nature?

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I. 31. [If] the Maker [rejoices] in it and also that which is made rejoices in it, that is, God and man, then the Destroyer will be grieved at that destruction and (so will) the destroyed, except things given in legislation on the condition that the chastiser is satisfied by them and the transgressor is grieved by them? But as when a transgressor becomes of the same will as the chastiser there is no suffering, so when one who is to be destroyed submits to the

P. 195. will of the destroyer there will be no destruction. And as the will of the chastiser is not that he should suffer, so also will be the will of the destroyer, that is, that he should not be pained. For the just Entity, as it is just in itself, so it is just also towards another: the contrary then of this should be found in the case of

the wicked Entity. For the just Entity does not destroy itself nor others; the wicked Entity, what is it?—one that preserves itself as a just one and treats one that has not transgressed against it as a wicked one: which very thing with many (others), and more than many, bears witness against it that it is not an Entity but a compound.

And if they should say that the Sons of Darkness are divided one against another, then also about each one of them is said the same that is spoken about all of them, that is, that each one of them is divided also against his own members, as he is divided also against his mates. For if there is concord in each one of them it should be found in all of them, and so division also; and if they with themselves are at war and do not cease from war one with another, how did they come to make war with the P. 196. Light? For lo, that adversary that they have among themselves, it is either because he is akin to the Light their adversary, or he is a third party made to be an adversary to both of them, to [which] we ought to give a place and essence by itself. And then, in the nature of Light also is there an adversary? But if there is none, because it is one nature, what I have said above has been verified, that it is because of two natures mingled in one another that division arises, as also Body and Soul bear witness. But which of the natures is greater, O Mani? The Dark or the Light? If the Dark was greater, it could not be overcome by Light. But if Sons of the Dark be killed, as they say, why not all of them, if so be that their nature is mortal? And if so be that at the End it is actually bound, because it does not die, then he is refuted, in that he lied about their death.¹

And for what reason do the Natures hate one another? For lo, Body and Soul that are from him (the Archon) are friendly to one another! And if (it is) because one is mingled with the other, for the mixture can change our nature, then because, lo, in Body and in Soul there has been a change [*have they* P. 197. *become one nature?*] . . .

l. 4.

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¹ I.e. about the death of Entities. The subject of discussion is the nature of the Archon who rules this world.

- I. 45. . . . for all I require . . . about these mixed things . . . how
 P. 198. [can] Heat receive Cold and be warm like it seeing that this
 Essence is in Heat ? But if by mixture with its fellow it becomes
 not-itself, then also [Evil] by mixture with Good becomes not-
 itself. And what then . . .

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- I. 16. But know that if the strife becomes a discussion about one
 of the created things, it is from created things their fellows
 that we will bring an analogy for witness and not from a divine
 Nature. For God Who is not made—it is not possible for us
 to take an analogy from Him for things made ; so also about
 Entities—we do not take from created things an analogy for
 them, except from their own selves. Now let us take an analogy
 from this great Entity, about Whom we all bear witness, that
 if it can be subject to ¹ these sufferings it is necessary that we
 P. 199. believe about these other Entities also that they also can be
 subject to these sufferings ; but if the witness of this Entity (is)
 that it is not subject to these sufferings, it clears all the Entities
 that exist, that they also are [not] subject to these sufferings.
 Therefore by the witness of the True Entity the word of Error
 has been vanquished which brought Entities into the world. But
 if without witness thou compellest me to believe thee that there
 are Entities, be thou also compelled without evidence to believe
 me that there is no other Entity but the One. I have no
 witness greater than thy defeat, for what is the victory of the
 athlete but the vanquishing of his opponent ? Nor again
 can Entities remove themselves from those places that they
 are in, for who set them there that he should remove them
 thence ?

- Now as to that thou blamest me, (saying) ‘ why is Evil found
 in the midst of the works of the Good, for that Good one that
 thou speakest about, is not Evil really found in the midst of
 His works ? ’ But if Evil in His works is mingled, how hast thou
 been profited by the new and strange opinion that thou hast
 brought in ? For is it by the Evil that thou art offended or by the
 P. 200. opinion ? If by the Evil thou art offended, how hast thou been
 profited by the purification whereby thou dost purge out the dregs

¹ *Lit.* ‘ fall under.’

from the [clear substance], for lo, the poison that is in the midst of His works is killing thee! But if the opinion offends Free-will, Him that generated the opinion we ought to call the Evil. For see, that if that Evil is still established in our midst, Him therefore we are required to judge and blame for the Evil who was able to take away the Evil from our midst. For if no Evil ought to be found in the midst of His good works, how, lo, is it found? For it is from that very thing which thou blamest that thou shouldst be blamed. For if it (the Evil) is left as a defect—worse and worse! And if again it is left as a surplus, it is possible that by some means or other Good will be the cause of Evil. But if it is so, then the matter would be worse if Evil had not existed, for this would be a great evil, that those Good things should be annulled which are accomplished by means P. 201. of Evils. Just as therefore when a physician does not do evil things then he does evil, especially that (thereby) the alleviations are annulled that are accomplished by means of pains and drugs, so when he does the evil, that evil is good, where all the cures are generated by it.

Therefore it is about Diseases that we are having a discussion. The diseases of the Body, are they from mixtures?—let the Mixer be blamed! But the diseases of the Soul, are they from Free-will?—let the Giver of it be blamed. But God forbid that He should be blamed, by blaming Whom the blamers of Him are to be blamed, because they have dared to blame Him that is not to be blamed! But from that which thou sayest to me, that ‘Nothing can come to be, except from an Entity,’ from this very saying learn that those Entities also cannot come to be. For this opinion of thine is harder than mine. For how will the Entities be found to be not made and not created? With thy mind taste this that I say. But thou sayest ‘Dost thou not believe that the one Entity exists?’ Then to Faith thou dost conduct P. 202. me, and not to Discussion. Thou therefore that compellest me to concern myself with Faith, what compels thee to compel me to run to Discussion and not to Faith? But if thou dost turn to Discussion I will leave Faith alone! What do I [acknowledge]? There exists an Entity, called God. But thou sayest ‘Lo, the world exists; if thou wilt, call it an Entity, and

if thou wilt, [set down] that from Entities it is made. Is it not necessary for thee to acknowledge that that essence exists? Then that necessity which has bound me to acknowledge this paradox that 'it cannot really be investigated, but it is believed without investigation'—that necessity has bound me to believe that 'from Nothing everything comes to be,' another paradox which without investigation is to be believed!

But instead of all these things which thou hast said above, this which is unexceptionable I say 'How dost thou compel me to believe that there exists a God invisible and intangible?' Wilt thou compel . . .

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P. 203. and how Four Entities that are visible . . . Now the Fire devoured the Water and the Dust and the Stones and the Ox,¹ and they became nothing. But a thing that exists in essence cannot become nothing. Now (this came to pass) that God might make known that from nothing created things [will become] nothing. If therefore thou dost not believe this, learn by experiment as a fool, because . . .

l. 33. Look at this, that God in the Beginning made the Earth from nothing, [and] He turned and generated everything from the Earth. For just as the Earth is from nothing and from it is everything, so in Fire everything (becomes) nothing, and at the last it also turns to nothing. But if thou say that this work is subtly divided in the midst of the Air, pound and break up anything thou wilt and examine (?) it in the Sun that comes in through the window, and see that it appears to thee that thou dost see [it]; therefore also the flame of a fire [that] has gone out or Water that is dried up is (more) subtle.²

P. 204.

Let us say further against Mani that a thing which by sins was cast down from its place as a thing—by righteousness and by keeping the commandments could it be restored? If the ZIWANE also through sins were mixed with the Darkness, it is necessary that by means of fasting and prayer they should be 'refined.' But if it was in order that the Darkness might be

¹ Evidently a reference to 1 Kings xviii 38.

² The meaning appears to be that mechanically pounded grit is after all visible, however small it be pounded, but dried-up water is quite invisible.

caught through them that they were mixed (with it); now that it has been caught, by all means it is required to know how the Sons of the Light may return to their place. And if so they do not go up, never can they return to their place. For if cleansing is required, as they say, 'fountains of refining' as others say, how [blind] is Bardaisan . . . to cleanse and to refine that which is mixed in the Sea and in the dry Land and in the Heaven and in the Earth and in all that is in them, and in the Seven Limbos¹ and in the Ten Firmaments, as they both have said? Therefore these their disciples make their words void. For if the refinings are many and great but their disciples are few P. 205. and dispersed, how by Five Initiates can that be separated and refined which thousands and myriads do not suffice for? For if they had been wise they ought to have contrived to find a Teaching suitable for a few, so that it might be believed that a few could suffice for it. For if any one set out that he with a few workmen would suffice to cut through a great mountain or to dam a mighty river, then by those feeble ones who are with him is it not clear that he is making a mock of himself? For with many and strong men that on which he set out is to be done, or not at all: how much more (is it absurd) that he set out with Five to do that for which Five Hundred was too few?

They also actually proclaim a refining and cleansing of all Rivers and Sources and Fountains, when between them all they cannot refine the water of a single Spring! And so look at everything, at Fruits and Produce and Crops and Vegetables and Fishes and Birds,—how many can eat of all these that are P. 206. in all quarters, both by sea and land? For if it were so as they say, Kings and their countries and Lords and their retinues and Captains of armies and their forces ought to be placed over these matters, so that by many coming from all quarters the Light which is in all quarters might be refined. But the Romans are omitted, who had not heard the news of the Refinings, and the Greeks and the Hebrews and the Barbarians and the Arabs, for they refine more than all, seeing that not even . . .² escapes

¹ Syr. ܩܘܢܝܢܐ: see Agst. Bardaisan LXXXI. (p. lxxvii).

² MS. ܩܘܢܝܢܐ. Does this mean 'that which belongs to dead bodies,' or has the scribe omitted some word like ܩܘܢܝܢܐ?

them! All these therefore are unemploy'd in Refining, and 'a pair of Initiates refine,' they say, 'and cleanse the mixture' which is too great for all!

- P. 207. For if by the knowledge and the Faith of the school of Bardaisan and Mani the creation is being cleansed and refined, and otherwise there is no way, when do these feeble ones look forward by themselves to finish the creation? But if they should say that all peoples are refining and cleansing the Light from the Darkness, and the Good Parts from the Evil, know further that for their shame they are compelled to say so, though they on all sides cannot avoid shame. For how is Light refined in the mouth of the unbelievers, and how are the Parts of the Soul cleansed . . . how are they . . . to proclaim the truth about Refining, for lo, those also who do not believe cleanse and refine?

. . .

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- l. 32. that which is in their teaching, for lo, from Adam even unto Bardaisan and to Mani. Vainly then they were going and . . .

P. 208.

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- l. 17. And if they should say for their shame that there were some of old time Teachers of the Truth,—for they say about Hermes in Egypt, and about Plato among the Greeks, and about Jesus who appeared in Judæa, that 'they are Heralds of that Good One to the world,'—(what does it prove)? For if so be that they did proclaim these (doctrines) of the Manicheans as they say, if Hermes knew the Primal Man, the Father of the ZIWĀNĒ, and if he knew the Pillar of Glory and the . . .¹ of Splendour and the Atlas and the rest of the others that Mani proclaimed and even worships and prays to; and if Plato knew the Virgin of Light . . .² and the Mother of the [Living], or the war or . . .,—but
- P. 209. he did know . . . and Hera and Athena and Aphrodite the adulterous Goddess!—and if Jesus proclaimed to them the Refining in Judæa, and if He taught the worship of the Luminaries that Mani worships, he who they say is the Paraclete, that comes

¹ The MS. has $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\lambda\alpha$, quite legible in a good light. Evidently the $\phi\epsilon\rho\rho\gamma\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ (*Splenditenens*) was named. We should have expected $\delta\alpha\varsigma$ in the gap (Cumont, *Recherches*, i, p. 22), but the traces are more

like $\text{---}\overset{\square}{\text{---}}\text{---}$.

² Two words illegible.

after three hundred years : and when we have found that the teachings of these or their followers agree the one to the other, or those of one of them to those of Mani, there is justification ! But if they do not agree, refutation is at hand. But why is it that Astrology, even though it is a lie, agrees with itself in its teaching, and Magianism with its tradition, and Geometry with its calculation, and Medicine with its book ? And the disciples of Plato learned his teaching and teach it to this day, and the disciples of Jesus both learned and taught what they heard from Him ; and so do the disciples of Marcion and Bardaisan and Mani. If they also with Hermes and Plato and Jesus and others from the Beginning were proclaiming a Refining in succession, as Mani says, how is it their disciples are not proclaiming their teaching in Egypt and in Greece and in Judæa like that which Mani teaches to-day ? For how is what Jesus teaches like what P. 210. Mani teaches ? So that by this teaching of our Lord, which is open and manifest let that one be convicted who has much wronged God and the Dead.

For Hermes taught that there was a Bowl,¹ filled with whatever it was filled with, and that there are Souls excited by desire, and they come down beside it, and, when they have come close to it, in it and by reason of it they forget their own place. Now Mani teaches that the Darkness made an assault on the Light and desired it, while Hermes teaches that the Souls desired the Bowl ; and this is a little (more) probable, even though both are lying, but it is (more) probable, because it, the Soul, desires to remain in the Body and delay in its Habitation and dwell in its House and be fondled in its Bosom. But Mani compels a man to hear him seriously though he is talking nonsense, for ' the Darkness (he says) loved the Light its opposite '—and how does Water love Fire that absorbs it, or Fire Water that quenches it ? And how did Fire love Light ? How, pray, will it be benefited by it ? For ' Fire loved Fire, and Wind Wind, and Water Water.' Or, perhaps, are these Natures of Darkness P. 211. male and those from the Good One female ? And if not, what is the sense of this, that they loved one another ?

¹ For the doctrine of the Bowl or Vortex (*κράτηρ*), see Mead's *Thrice-greatest Hermes*, vol. i, pp. 414 f., 454 : also Macrobius, *Sonn. Scip.* i 12.

These things therefore Hermes did not teach, nor did Jesus, because Jesus taught the opposite of all of them. For He quickened bodies and raised the dead, whereas neither Hermes nor Plato believe in the resurrection of the body.

But indeed how did Water love Water and both went astray? For, lo, if an evil man sink in water the evil Water drowns him and does not remember that it is of his race, and if a good man be drowned in water the good water does not recognise that it is of his family. And so the Wind loved the Wind and they became one thing—and against the just and the unjust they come up in the contrary direction and batter their faces! And so the Light makes no distinction between the unclean and the clean. And how do they worship that which has no discrimination? And if because of His grace,¹—neither the Water His fellow-kinsman is good which drowns the righteous, nor the Fire which burns the humble! And (see) that even the Sun burns the fruits and torments the reapers, and sees those that are oppressed with its heat and does not produce the fruits as one that is good; and in the country of the far East² they say three things are at ease in the shade, Men and Cattle and Wild Beasts, for the Sun not to burn them with the fierceness of its rays. And how, pray, did the Sons of the Darkness endure its burning, seeing that bodies are of the same family as they are and they cannot endure its heat? For if this heat is of the same nature as these bodies, how is that which is of one Entity tormenting and being tormented from itself? And if it is from that other nature, then how could this which is injured endure that which injures? But it is wonderful and difficult and incredible that it even 'eagerly desired it and was pleased with it.'

P. 212.

And if Fire was mixed with Fire, and Water with Water and Wind with Wind, it necessarily follows that Light also (was mixed) with Light! Now that these Natures are akin one to the other all reasonable beings know, apart from madmen—but perhaps even madmen apart from the Manicheans. For we know the causes whereby Water is transformed, and witness is

P. 213.

¹ Sic MS. Perhaps ~~κἀγαθῶν~~, 'goodness' is intended, not ~~κἀγαθῶν~~, 'grace,' but even so the sentence is an anacoluthon.

² Lit. 'of the Sun-rising.'

borne uniformly to this that, lo, by trees it is transformed into Wine and into Oil and into the many tastes thereof. What therefore shall we say? That Wine is not akin to Water, or that Oil also is not of its family? And if Wine and Oil that, lo, are very distinct from Water, even though they seem to be strangers are not strangers, how much more is Water akin to Water, though it be bitter? For as it is diverse in plants so it is diverse in countries, though the true Word of Providence places it and the countries and the plants under the one Will that creates all things.

Furthermore we will confute them from another quarter, in that if Fire has been mixed with Fire, when pray are they being refined and separated one from the other? For if they were being refined they would also be recognised, in that Fire had become dimmer than it was because of the refining away of that other that was separated from it. For there are old men that have lived more than a hundred years and they have not perceived that this Fire after a hundred years is colder or dimmer than P. 214. that was, nor was that of a hundred years ago hotter or stronger or brighter or clearer than this; nor has Water become weaker than Water was, nor Wind than Wind; and (so) these Natures stir up an unfalsifiable refutation against those who wished to tell all these lies about plain things. For these Natures that have not become weaker and are not becoming weaker prove about Bardaisan and Mani that there is no sense in their teaching.

But if something from behind moved the Element of Wind and impelled it, as Bardaisan says, it would impel it towards its diameter,¹ that is, against the Element of Light it would cast it. For opposite the Western one it is set in the East. For if from the North-West the Wind was hurled by whatever it was that hurled it and cast it on the Fire it did not make it go down below upon the Darkness in the middle; for it turned the Fire to the South, and took it away, and it went forth into empty Space. And because they are Atoms, as Bardaisan says, inas- P. 215. much as it is in intention that the distinction between each of them is apprehended,² it is clear that the Entities were not also

¹ I.e. its diametrically opposite Element.

² I understand the word here translated 'intention' to refer to the

hurled one into the other like bodies into bodies. And it is to be supposed about them in their own selves that Wind cannot set in motion the Light of the Sun.

But if the Elements were impelled from above downwards, what prevented it from impelling the Fire to go down alongside of the Darkness, if the pretext of Darkness was required for the Maker to make? And if the Wind blew, lo, it would have separated the Atoms, because they had not yet been mixed by the force of creative power. And even that Wind would not have been able to blow, because it had not yet even acquired the faculty of blowing by the regulation (of the Maker); for if by reason of creative power the Fire acquired brightness and the Light extension and Water flow, it is clear that before their regulation they did not have these (properties), nor did the Darkness, because it also still consisted of scattered Atoms.

For if when [*the regulation*] was not . . . the Water and the Wind would not have sufficed of itself to blow and the Fire to [glow] and the Darkness to smoke, and the Light and the Fire and the Wind . . .

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- l. 12. and it would have been made more hateful than it was (before) by the regulation of this Maker, who they say really did make things more beautiful than they had been in their original essence. Or should we say the true (constitution) of this Fire is not of that which Bardaisan says?—for truly indeed it is not of it. It is not as if what I am saying does exist, but on the contrary I assert that it does not exist, not as one that likes it to be so, but as one that is convinced, not without consideration, but by prudent investigation. For if from the very same thing come Light, Wind, Darkness, experiment, vision—let us see therefore if this is established by its own power, without conjunction with anything else, and let us see if it (the Fire) kindles Wind like chips of wood, or has power with Darkness as with reeds! And if this defect that it has to-day it did not have of old and that immemorial non-defect it does not have to-day, it is necessary that either the
- P. 217.

Elements themselves, To use S. Paul's terminology, the *φρόνημα* of Fire, *viz.* 'to kindle,' is essentially distinct from that of Water, *viz.* 'to make wet.'

Maker really disturbed things ignorantly—which God forbid!—or that with a mouth that is not ashamed to repeat the truth the true conclusion may be said without shame, which is that that man spoke falsely who constructed Entities that do not exist. So that from these Entities, about which Bardaisan spoke, there is no way for created things like those (around us) to come into being, for they do not allow their natures, being 'bound' in essence, to come to regulation as the artificer asks. For creatures which are from nothing, as and also as much as it pleases the Maker, so He creates and fixes them: He changes, transfers, and dissolves, even illuminates.

But if they are Atoms of essence, as they say, that cannot be dissolved but can be concentrated, let them prove to one who P. 218. wishes to ask without contention how Natures that are not constructed can be constructed, unless the fixing of their essence has been dissolved, that is, their Atoms? But if they (the Atoms) had been actually dispersed, they are collected by wisdom and contracted by diligence, and therefore let us say to him what Bardaisan said to another.¹ And if the texture of the essence of these Atoms was really loosely woven and porous, that is, the dispersal of their nature, they can be concentrated by wisdom and condensed by artifice. And if this is all the 'creative power' it is very weak, in that its operation only went as far as putting things together. But if created things also were created out of these atoms, I want to learn how, when atoms cleave to atoms, a Soul comes into being, and when other things cleave to others a Body comes into being? What is the glue and paste that holds them from being dissolved? If this bandage also is made of atoms, yet another bandage is required also for the bandage itself to bind it, [*seeing that*] what is made of sand cannot bind atoms of sand to be one body, because it is not established even P. 219. for itself to bind its own self and substance.

For brass that is smelted from sand, as long as thou addest its atoms one to the other it increases and becomes a great heap of sand (only), that is, one does not cleave to the other

¹ It is a pity that we do not know what Bardaisan said! The meaning seems to be that substances that can be divided and separated can be reconcentrated and regrouped.

unless they go into the furnace and are dissolved one by one by Fire from the bond of their nature ; and when the fixing of them one to the other is dissolved, then there comes to all of them one mixing [in] the melting-pot, and one power that moulds, like that of stones, which, if they are not dissolved and turned to lime, cannot be moulded and become one lump of brass. If therefore also these Atoms of Entities can each one of them be smelted, and their essence be destroyed though it be not regulated, and their nature be dissolved though it be not a composition, they have confessed though unwillingly that they were not even Entities but made things, and are not even Natures 'bound' in essence but Natures regulated by creative power, are not Creatures that have come into being from something but from nothing.

- P. 220. And if we adapt ourselves to them, whereas truth does not adapt itself to falsehood at all, if creatures were or are derived from Atoms, how was or is Knowledge and Intention derived from Atoms ?

Now, there are some of their wise men, the hidden ones who perversely say something subtly, that 'there are other Atoms, of Reason and of Power and of Intention,' that is, three other Entities, that 'they have been sent from the LORD of All upon the Primal Darkness and upon [this] regulation' and 'some of these Atoms were mingled and are mingled with those others'; as Bardaisan says, that 'the Power of the Primal Utterance which remained in created things, it makes everything.'

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- I. 35. of ourselves, when we have no knowledge of ourselves. And therefore human nature is freed from all guiltinesses, and the blame has been attached to One Whom blame does not touch. But if this blasphemy cannot be believed, there is found as it were a condition belonging to it that knowledge is not . . . from God, not even as heat from Fire. For if it were so, it would be necessary that as the heat of Fire is like itself and is not divided against itself, so also our knowledge would not be divided against God, if it were of God ; and therefore that neither from God nor from the Entities is really his true self, seeing that from nothing the whole man was
- P. 221.

created. And this one thing bears witness about everything, that it also was created from nothing.

But that thou mayest know that as far as these things assist Bardaisan, so far he draws them after his will, and where they fail him and are obscure, he too sails off in a vague way. For he declared that the names of the Months were not given without reason, but as allegories, and he began from First Teshri, for (he says) 'About the name of¹ first beginning this Month proclaims with its name,' and not to be lengthy, let us say rapidly that he went on and interpreted the names of the Months as far P. 222. as Nisan. And when he arrived at the name of Nisan and saw that its name did not suit his interpretation, nor those of the five other Months after it, he interpreted as far as that point and stayed, and explained as far as Adar and stopped.

But if from God allegories had been placed in the names of the Months, in all the Months of the year he would have designed allegories and types in their names. For lo, Nisan, that is greater than all,—and its name does not agree with its activity, that is, its name (does not agree) with the Redemption that took place in it. Because therefore there chanced to be names for the Months which chanced by accident he gathered from them an explanation and persevered and made from them interpretations, and brought things from the dialect of Beth Garmai and from the dialect of Edessa; and compassed sea and land to make one proselyte!

And see the fruit at variance with its root, in that his son is at variance with his explanation! For Bardaisan said and declared, that as if by Prophecy the First Month was called TESHRI, and the one after it MARHESHWAN, 'in which all things creep,' and P. 223. he did not say 'Teshri and Teshri.'² But his son, in order that he also might establish another allegory which he had himself put together, and also that pure lips might speak it and chaste ears hear it, did not say 'Teshri and Marheshwan' but 'Teshri and Teshri.' For he says thus in his Hymn: 'O TESHRI, Mother of the year, Produce for us another TESHRI,' and this he

¹ The MS. has 'the name of the name of'—probably by a mere accident of transcription.

² *Teshri* is October and *Marheshwan* November. These are the old Aramaic names: the Edessenes generally called October 'Teshri I, and November 'Teshri II.'

says about the Mother of Life, asking her to produce and leave behind a daughter after her own likeness.

P. 224. So again Bardaisan said thus about the Entities and their colours; for he said 'the Light is white, the Fire is red, the Wind is blue, the Water is green,' though these (notions) are stolen by him from the Greeks. As therefore he declared that each of the Entities has a colour of its own, so each of them has its own smell, and its own taste, and its own texture,¹ and its own voice. For five aspects each must be found for each of the Entities, corresponding to the five senses which we have; as he said 'Everything that exists has its own Power and its own Colour and its own Aspect, and the rest of whatever belongs to it. Let him declare to us therefore what is the texture of Light, and what is the taste of Wind, and what is the smell of Fire, that thou mayest know that here also with the Natures he goes into them as far as he does go, as in the names of the Months, and he shewed from them as far as he did, so as to shew his Philosophy. And when other sides sank away from him and were hidden, he began sailing off, and when . . . and he did not establish himself upon them he paid no attention to them and passed over and began with something else, and beguiled his hearers to suppose that those other things also that had not been spoken of he knew all about, like those kindred matters which had been spoken of.

P. 225. So again he put the Darkness because of its weight the lowest of all of them (*i.e.* of the Entities). And if the Darkness be the heaviest, know that the Water being lighter is above it in its boundary; and because Fire also is lighter than Water, it must be that it is above the Water; and again because Wind also is lighter than Fire it is clear that it too is above the Fire; and because Light is lighter than Wind it is manifest that it is above the Wind. For each of them is lighter than the heavier one underneath it, but heavier than the lighter one above it. And in this correct proportion and just balance there is found the element of Water between the Darkness and the Fire, the one cold underneath it, and the other hot above it; and there ended the construction of the Aramaean Philosopher.

¹ Lit. 'touch.'

For if the Wind smote the Fire which was underneath it and bent it downwards, the Fire did not reach to the Darkness, for the great element of Water stands between it and the Darkness, and therefore that extinguishing Intermediary did not allow the arouser of the Darkness to rub against it and its smoke to diffuse so as to reach to its companion (in Darkness). For it is necessary that if the natures of the Entities are true to their names, if the Fire is a Fire in truth, and not an idle name, then the Water also is Water indeed. And if the opposite to the Fire P. 226. was the Water, then it did not let the Fire approach the Darkness. And because the Water was the neighbour of the Darkness, again cold on cold was added to the Darkness, the opposite of what those people designed (when they say) 'the heat melted its cold and its smoke was diffused'; whereas if it had diffused itself and gone up, because they stand one above the other as their Natures teach us, light and heavy, would not 'the beginning of the lowest part' of all of them alone have been destroyed, as Bardaisan says? For how can heavy and light things in one rank or in one boundary stand in equilibrium? The scales of a balance, or water and oil put in a vessel, prove that the lighter stands above and the heavier below. And therefore when 'the Darkness sought to go up and reach to the heels and the skirts of the upper Light,' when it 'made an assault to go up,' did it overwhelm completely the Water and the Fire and the Wind, and was 'the beginning P. 227. of the lowest part of the Light' only destroyed? And therefore they are refuted, and the School of Bardaisan cannot go on inventing from his principles.

Again the Manicheans say a thing that is refuted from itself; for their words are wont to quarrel one with the other, because they have not acquired unity from love nor equilibrium from truth. For they say that the Darkness has been mixed with Light, a word that may seem probable to the inexperienced, but to thinkers self-contradictory; and because that speaker was afraid of what he had said, in that he knew that many . . .

* * * * *

the Holy Scriptures reprove those who transgress beyond the limit of the Scriptures. But as robbers and thieves without law . . .

* * * * *

. . . to be land for their tares.

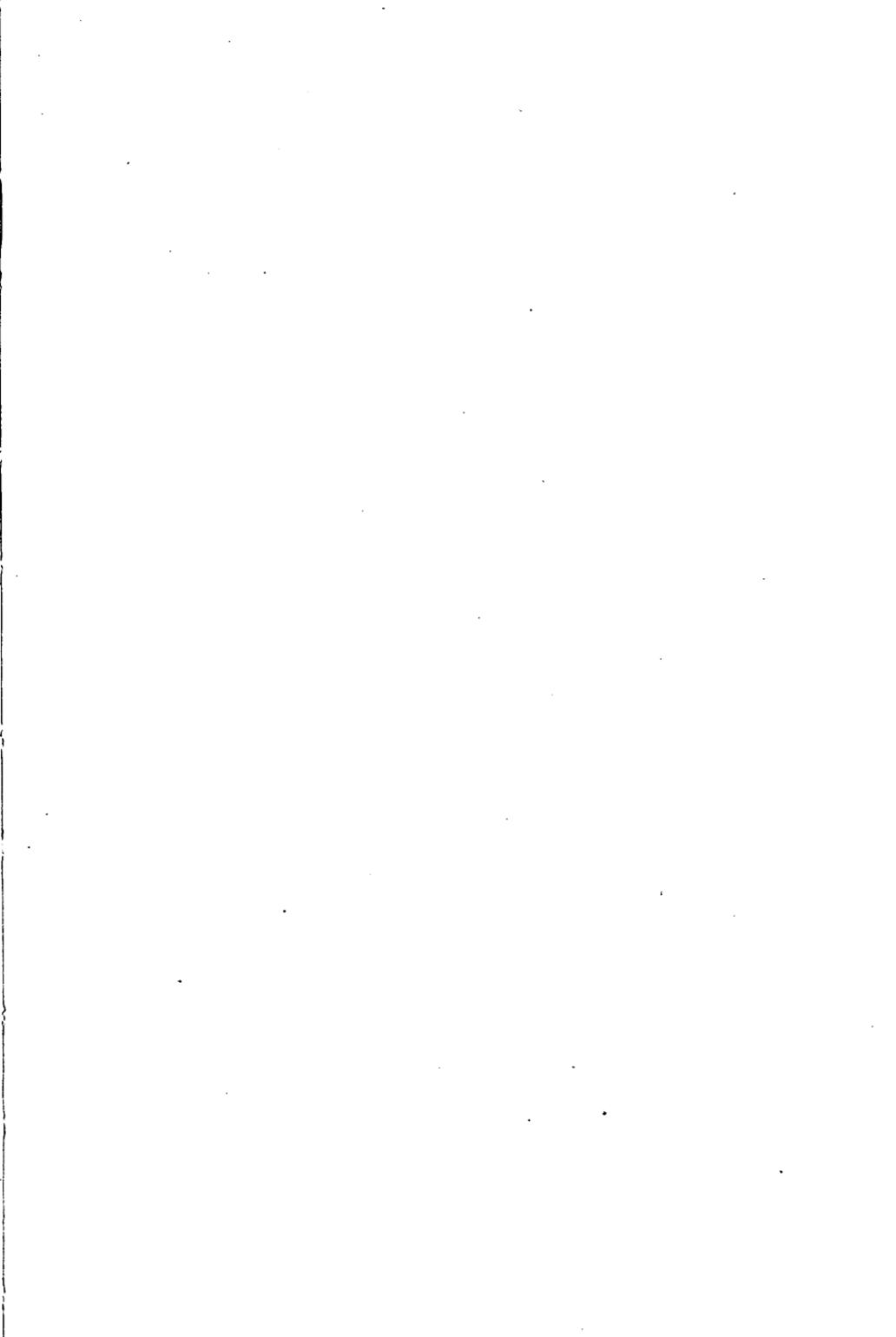
Therefore let them establish that if there are bound [Natures], that is, Light and Wind and Water and Fire . . . that knowledge is not in them. But if they are corporeal Bodies, things corporeal cannot eat spiritual Natures. But if from their skins are the Heavens, and from their excrement the Earth, and from their bo[n]es the Mountains, lo, they have . . .

* * * * *

. . . If from the sheath-skins again of their bodies came Heaven and Earth, what sheath-skins belong to Light and to Wind and to Fire and to Water and to Darkness? And therefore if all these sons of the Darkness . . .

* * * * *

The end of this Discourse is not preserved in the Palimpsest, but the missing part was probably not longer than two of these pages: see p. cxi.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

	A. GR.	A.D.
MARCION left the Catholic Church	449	138
BARDAISAN born	11 July, 465	154
MANI born	527	216
„ first proclaimed his Religion,	20 March, 553	242
„ killed by Bahram (Varanes I)	586	275
S. EPHRAIM died	9 June, 684	373

For Marcion, Bardaisan, and Ephraim, these statements are taken from the *Chronicon Edessenum* (ed. Guidi, 1903). The date of Mani's birth is given by Mani himself in the *Shāpuraḳān* (quoted by Al-Bīrūnī, pp. 121, 190); his Religion is dated according to *An-Nadīm* (Flügel, p. 149, corrected in Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 412). The *Chronicon Edessenum* puts Mani's birth in 240 A.D., by a confusion with the date of the proclamation of Manicheism.

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

By F. C. BURKITT

1. *The MS. Sources.*

THE texts edited in these volumes of S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations are the contents of a sixth-century MS. in the British Museum, the two parts of which are numbered Add. 14574 and Add. 14623. The technical description of these MSS. is given in a separate Note: it will suffice here to say that 14574 contains the first 19 leaves (*i.e.* the first two quires) in their original condition, while 14623 consists of the 88 leaves which a monk named Aaron used in 823 A.D. for transcribing a fresh volume of miscellaneous contents. The original writing was washed out, and as Aaron's own hand is both small and thick it is often very difficult to decipher the ancient script underneath; the new order of the leaves, moreover, bears no relation to the old, so that it was one of Mr. Mitchell's first difficulties to discover the original sequence of the fragments he transcribed. But this was happily and completely done, and one result was to establish the fact that, irregular as the order was, the 88 leaves of Add. 14623 contain nothing but leaves from the same ancient codex, and that no intermediate gaps occur. The 88 leaves of 14623 are actually the 88 leaves that once came after fol. 19 of Add. 14574. We may therefore reasonably infer that very little is missing at the end, and treat what survives as a connected whole.

From the scribe's point of view the volume consisted of two parts, of nearly equal size. Part I contained the Five Books addressed to Hypatius, edited in vol. i of this edition; this part has the headline 'Of Hypatius' at the middle and ends of the quires. Part II is more miscellaneous: it consists of seven pieces, none of which have any organic connexion with the others, though

they are all by S. Ephraim. The first of these is directed against certain opinions of Bardaisan about Space and Perception which were contained in a work of his called 'Of Domnus (ܕܘܡܢܘܫܐ).' Accordingly the scribe uses 'Of Domnus' for the headlines of his Part II, but the title is merely a scribe's fancy, and the remaining six pieces have nothing to do with Domnus. It is not even certain what the title 'Of Domnus' for the lost work of Bardaisan really signified. It may have been a work addressed to a certain Domnus, just as Ephraim's 'Of Hypatius' is the scribe's short title for Ephraim's Five Books addressed to Hypatius. But nothing is known of such a personage. There was a Domnus Bishop of Antioch, the rival of Paul of Samosata, in 269 A.D., but the name was not common in early times.

Following Ephraim's polemic against Bardaisan's *Domnus* come three tracts against Marcion, succeeded by a metrical discourse against Bardaisan, and a quasi-metrical discourse on Virginité. It is not easy to see why this latter piece was included in the collection, as it has nothing to do with the heresies attacked in the other pieces. Finally there is a prose tract against Mani, which appears to have concluded the volume; this work is quite distinct from the Discourses to Hypatius, and contains some important references to Manichean doctrines and nomenclature, as well as some direct quotations from lost works by Bardaisan and his school.

I have been able to supply from other sources a certain number of confirmations and additions to the text of Add. 14623, so ingeniously deciphered by Mr. Mitchell. These are: (1) a long quotation from Book IV and a short quotation from Book V of the *Hypatius*,¹ both taken from one of the ancient collections of doctrinal Extracts in which the Nitrian Library was so rich. The two quotations together make up 103 lines, which is just as long as one of the three-column pages of the MS, or as one of the pages of the English translation.² Short as the extracts are they afford a most valuable indication of the degree of accuracy which Mr. Mitchell was able to attain in the difficult work of decipherment, and encourage readers who cannot examine the Palimpsest

¹ For details, see the List of Additions and Corrections.

² It is about 2½ pages of the printed Syriac.

for themselves to accept the Syriac text as printed in these volumes with a very considerable measure of confidence.

(2) Similar extracts from the metrical Discourse against Bardaisan will be found noted in the text of this volume. The longest of these are taken from Add. 14623 itself, as the monk Aaron, before obliterating the ancient writing, copied out the equivalent of six pages of the printed Syriac, *i.e.* between two and three pages of the ancient MS. A good deal of the part thus copied out by Aaron and now preserved in the upper writing of 14623 is practically illegible in the ancient writing, so that the extracts make a considerable addition to our knowledge.

(3) Aaron copied out the whole of the Discourse on Virginity, which therefore survives entire. Unfortunately, from the point of view of the modern scholar, this is much the least interesting piece in the volume, but as in the case of the other extracts it enables us to check Mr. Mitchell's work in parts where the Palimpsest is too illegible to make a continuous text. It is curious that Mr. Mitchell should not have noticed these extracts from the lower text in the upper writing, all the more as the extracts from the Discourse against Bardaisan had been published long ago by Overbeck. But it was a fortunate oversight, for (as I said above) it enables us to check the accuracy of his work of transcription.

(4) The Discourse on Virginity, which is written in a poetical style, but not in any regular metre, was afterwards turned into metrical Hymns by a process of curtailment and transposition. This form survives in Vat. Syr. cxi. (A.D. 522) and some later MSS. in the British Museum. The text is printed by Lamy at the end of his vol. ii., but as we possess Aaron's transcript of the original there was no need to record the variations.

2. *S. Ephraim as a Controversialist.*

From the point of view of a modern scholar, whose chief interest is to recover the lost works and theories of ancient thinkers, whether orthodox or heterodox, S. Ephraim's literary methods are very unsatisfactory. He makes few direct quotations from the writers whom he is controverting, nor does he explain the

outlines of their system, or distinguish the books of his opponents. It is all piecemeal work. No effort is made to understand the opponent's system as a whole, but single debating points are taken, sometimes with a good deal of ingenuity, in order to shew the weak places of the adversary. As we do not possess the corresponding Marcionite or Bardesanian polemic against the Catholic system, the result is to give an impression of Catholic common sense as opposed to heretical fancy or perverseness.

This is unfortunate in two ways. At the time, no doubt, it was quite an effective method of convincing Ephraim's supporters that reason was on their side and folly on the side of the vaunted heretical philosophy. In our day it has sometimes an opposite effect. We see that justice is not being done to the heretics, that the Catholic writer, who alone now survives, is both judge and advocate. We dimly feel that the controversy is about great subjects, that these heretics were thinkers conscious of the difficulties of the greater problems of human life, some of which still perplex us, and we sometimes, by a kind of reaction, tend to assume that the heretical systems were really philosophical, nearer to our ways of thinking than the world in which the Catholic controversialist lived. At least we tend to assume that the systems of the greater heretics were consistent wholes.

Yet this is by no means certain. I venture to hope that a really consistent philosophy, unhampered by definitely wrong beliefs, whether about the physical or moral world, would have had more power of successful resistance. The religion both of Marcion and of Mani must have had in them much that corresponded to human needs, or they would not have had their long and honourable records of persistence under persecution; but they were both hampered by irrational elements.

One point may be urged in S. Ephraim's favour. So far as we know, though he is unsympathetic he is not unfair. He does not seem actually to misrepresent the theories of his opponents or to misquote them. The worst that can be said is that he seems totally unconscious of the difficulties involved in these controversies, and this all the more as his work is wholly critical and destructive, except to a certain extent in the treatise against Bardaisan's *Domniva*. He is content with picking holes in his antagonists

and does not give us his own philosophy, except by scattered hints.

On this perhaps a few words may be said, mainly with regard to the meaning of certain Syriac terms. Ephraim may be described as a Monist and a Materialist. That is to say, he recognises only one self-existing original entity or being (ܥܕܢܐ, *Īthyā*), viz. God. The opposite to an *Īthyā* is ܩܝܢܐ (p. 219, l. 41), i.e. a thing made. What we see around us in this world are made things, things which came into being by God's will. Properties and characters were given to made things by God's will, and so, if He wills it, their properties are liable to change. An *Īthyā*, on the other hand, does not and cannot change; it has a 'bound nature' (ܩܝܢܐ ܥܕܢܐ).

At the same time, created things do actually exist; they have 'substance,' which varies according to the 'nature' of the thing. For 'substance' the Syriac is ܩܝܢܐ (*knōmā*), and for 'nature' ܩܝܢܐ (*kyānā*). The word *knōmā* is of considerable interest, inasmuch it has been chosen to render ὑπόστασις, i.e. 'Person' in speaking of the Trinity, while *bar kyānā* ('of the same Nature') is used for ὁμοούσιον. The special value of the use of these words in these treatises is that S. Ephraim is employing them philosophically, yet quite apart from their special theological use to render certain Greek technical terms.

I have translated *knōmā* by 'substance,' but this meaning shades off into 'individuality,' and no doubt this was the aspect of the word that made it appropriate to render *Hypostasis* or *Person* in the Trinitarian sense. On p. 63, l. 30, we find "David his *knōmā*," i.e. "David in his own person," as distinguished from some son or descendant of David. Yet I think there is in *knōmā* always the notion of reality, i.e. of materiality. Ephraim talks about 'black *knōmā*' (p. 41, l. 36), and in p. 174, l. 20, it is used of wood. The whole passage indeed is worth quotation, as it exhibits very well Ephraim's philosophy of substance. "Fire," he says, "is buried and dead imperceptibly (in wood), and the rubbing of one bit of wood with another brings it to life, to the destruction of both. For when it has come to life it turns and burns the substance which gave it life by being conjoined with it." That is to say, Fire is a separate substance really existing within

the substance of wood. On the other hand, verbal nouns like 'buying' and 'selling' have no substance (p. 18, l. 34 f.); they are only notions in the mind.

Ephraim's argument to prove that Space has no substance should be read at length (pp. iv—viii). It seems to me a very creditable piece of reasoning, especially in view of the fact that he did not possess two pieces of mental apparatus which facilitate our discussions of such subjects. He had no word for 'Space' as such, which we can so easily represent to our eyes by the use of a capital letter and (where necessary) of inverted commas; and neither he nor his opponent Bardaisan had the idea of Cartesian axes, whereby all space is rendered manageable by dividing it into eight cubes all meeting at a definite point, from which measures can be taken.

What is perhaps more remarkable is that Ephraim does not regard Darkness as substantial (p. 40, ll. 7—12). No doubt he was helped to this view by the contrary views of Bardaisan and Mani, who held Darkness to be something positive.¹ After all, it is partly a question of terminology. Whatever the corresponding Greek and Latin words may mean, 'Darkness' in English is wholly unsubstantial, the mere absence of Light. But *ܠܫܫܘܢܐ* (*heshshōḫā*) in Syriac means the Dark substance, τὸ σκοτεινόν, quite as much as the state of Darkness, τὸ σκότος. In translating the notions of Bardaisan and Mani into English it is therefore often more appropriate to speak of *the Dark* or *the Dark substance* than of *the Darkness*.

Kyānā, 'nature,' is exactly φύσις. It implies generally a set of qualities or characteristics. No transliteration of οὐσία is used in these treatises, and *parsōpā* occurs only once (ii. p. 26, l. 16), where it seems to mean 'person' in the ordinary English sense, *i.e.* 'individual.'

¹ On this subject see the remarkable catena of passages, brought forward in illustration of Milton's *Paradise Regained* iv 397—400, by J. E. B. Mayor in the *Journal of Philology* LVI, pp. 289—292 (1903). To S. Basil the Darkness was an evil Power, but to S. Augustine, as to S. Ephraim, it was only the absence of Light.

3. *The System of Marcion.*

These treatises tell us more about Syriac-speaking Marcionites than is told in any other extant source. The main result is to shew that they were very similar in their beliefs and practices to the Marcionites elsewhere, especially as described in Eznik's well-known chapters against them.¹ In fact, it is very likely that Eznik's account is not so much an original description of the Armenian Marcionites known to him as a translation from some early Syriac writer.

It is important to notice at the outset that S. Ephraim's polemic against Marcion differs in one respect from that of Tertullian and Epiphanius: there is no controversy about Marcion's Gospel. Marcion, who rejected the authority of the Old Testament as the work of the Adversary of Jesus, considered that most of the writings current among Christians had been interpolated in the interests of Judaism, and the only Gospel he received was a shortened recension of Luke. According to Tertullian and Epiphanius, with whom almost all modern scholars are in agreement, Marcion's Gospel was an arbitrary mutilation of the text, while Marcion no doubt regarded it as the genuine Evangel purged of alien elements. In any case it was obviously a variant form of the canonical Luke, and opponents of Marcion who were accustomed to use the Canonical Luke were concerned to vindicate the superiority of the text familiar to them. But Ephraim and the branch of the Catholic Church to which he belonged habitually used the Diatessaron, not the four separate Gospels. He seems to have been quite unfamiliar with the Gospels as separate literary works (though he knew something about the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel),² and probably did not recognise Marcion's Gospel as being one of the Canonical Four used by Greek and Latin orthodox Christians. However that may be, he says nothing about it. Possibly he did not even know the Marcionite Gospel itself, and only bases his polemic on Marcionite theological and controversial works which quote it.

¹ Eznik of Kolb, *Against the Sects*, trans. by J. M. Schmid (Vienna, 1900), pp. 172-178, 204-5; the original Armenian of the most important sections is to be found in Petermann's *Grammar and Chrestomathy*, pp. 14-17.

² See, for instance, vol. i. p. xc.

The most striking new fact about Marcionite usage brought out by these treatises is that the Syriac-speaking Marcionites used a different transliteration of the name 'Jesus' from the orthodox. The ordinary Syriac for 'Jesus' is ܝܫܘܥ (pronounced 'Isho' by Nestorians but *Yeshu'* by Jacobites), which is simply the Syriac form of the Old Testament name Joshua.¹ This form ܝܫܘܥ was used not only by the orthodox, but also by the Manichees. It was therefore a surprise to find that Ephraim in arguing against Marcionites, and certainly in part quoting from their books or sayings, uses the form ܝܫܘ, a direct transcription of the Greek Ἰησοῦ (or Ἰησοῦσ). As it is always written ܝܫܘ, never ܝܫܘܥ, I suppose the pronunciation intended is IESU rather than ISU, but I have retained Mitchell's ISU (vol. i. p. li), not only for uniformity but also because it was desirable to emphasise the strangeness of the form ܝܫܘ.

When Ephraim uses this Marcionite transliteration he is evidently basing his argument on Marcionite texts. The question therefore does arise, how far his references to Gospel incidents are quotations from the Marcionite Gospel. My first impression on reading the First Discourse against Marcion (pp. 50-102) was that he was working on a copy of that Gospel, or at least was conscious of its main peculiarities. After an argument about Adam and the nature of his punishment he goes on to discuss the message of John the Baptist to ISU (pp. 61-87), and this is followed by a discussion of the Transfiguration. Both these incidents are contained in Marcion's Gospel, and most of the textual allusions might be regarded as taken from Luke, though the wording often differs from the ordinary Syriac. But a closer examination made this view more than doubtful: I think Ephraim was, as usual, quoting the Diatessaron loosely from memory, and I do not think there is any tangible evidence that he knew that certain of his Gospel references were taken from passages and incidents which had no place in Marcion's Gospel-book, so that their citation had no weight in an argument against Marcionites. Thus on p. 64, l. 24, and p. 109, l. 13, he has sarcastic references to 'the girl,' *i.e.* the daughter of Herodias, playing with John the Baptist's head,

¹ No distinction is made in the Syriac Old Testament between the various spellings of the name Joshua in Hebrew (*Yehōshua'*, *Yēshua'*).

while on p. 108, l. 45, the 'soldier of the guard' is mentioned. But the whole incident of Herod's banquet is absent from Luke, and therefore from Marcion's Gospel, while the 'soldier' (*espu-klātrā*) is mentioned only in Mk. vi 27. Again, on p. 72, l. 26 f., Ephraim quotes 'Blessed are the meek in their spirit': this is an inaccurate combination of Matt. v 5 and Matt. v 3, but neither element of the quotation is represented in the Lucan Beatitudes, accepted by Marcion. Further, 'Blessed is he, except he be offended in me,' on p. 86, l. 6 f., agrees neither with the Syriac vulgate nor with the Sinai Palimpsest text of Lk. vii 23, but it does agree with the Curetonian text of Matt. xi 6. Finally, on p. 82, l. 5, John is called a Light-bringer, which recalls Joh. v 35, but has no parallel in Luke.

These passages are decisive enough to shew that Ephraim, unlike Tertullian and Epiphanius, is not attempting to confute Marcion out of his own recension of the Gospel. Still less is there reason to regard the few references to S. Paul as taken from the Marcionite 'Apostle.' The most interesting of these, from a textual point of view, is the quotation of 1 Tim. ii 15 on p. 100, l. 10 f.,¹ but the argument could have meant little to a Marcionite, because Marcion never accepted the Pastoral Epistles.

The most we can learn from Ephraim about the Biblical exegesis of the Marcionites comes from the few passages which he directly quotes from them. The two most striking of these are to be found on p. 106 in the Second Discourse and on p. 125 in the Third. On p. 106, ll. 38-42, Ephraim suggests that the only reason Marcionites can allege for John the Baptist believing at all in Jesus is a fantastic faith in the unknown: "'Because,' they say (ܐܠܗܐ), 'John was near to die he sent his flock by the hand of the two under-shepherds to the Lord of the flock.'" And again, on p. 125, ll. 40-47, Ephraim says: "'Two things the Marcionites proclaim about our Lord, which are contrary to each other, for they say (ܐܠܗܐ), 'He annulled former Laws and healed diseased organs.'" The interest of these simple sentences, which are

¹ Ephraim's argument is: "'Eve,' says the Apostle, 'shall be saved because of her progeny': well, then, the 'Creator' will be saved because of the Souls which owed their origin to Him!"

shewn by the use of the particle ܠܗ to be quotations,¹ is that they seem to be polemical, isolated bits of Marcionite answer to orthodox criticism. It is not to be expected that they will be very profound or convincing, because they deal with points on which the Marcionite theory was weakest, *viz.* the events of the Gospel history. John the Baptist was a specially inconvenient figure, for he is altogether linked up with the Old Testament and Jewish religion, and yet he appears as a forerunner of Jesus. If John recognised Jesus at all he must, as Epiphanius says (*Haer.* xlii, p. 325), have known of Him before, while to the Marcionites Jesus is the Son of the Stranger, and His coming was altogether unexpected and unprepared. And with regard to the second quotation, it is easy for Ephraim to shew the inconsistency of regarding the cure of human bodies or organs as good, seeing that the whole domain of matter, or *Hylē*, is accounted by Marcionites as altogether outside the plan of salvation.

One feature of Ephraim's polemic with the Marcionites that cannot help striking the reader who comes to it after reading the tracts against Bardaisan or Mani is its more Biblical character. The religion of Marcion was essentially Christian and Biblical. He is a Dissenter from the orthodox interpretation of the Bible, but his philosophy starts from it. Bardaisan, on the other hand, appears in these controversies as a Cosmologist or Natural Philosopher with a system of his own, who found in the Gospel, as he found in Greek philosophy, certain things which he adopted because they seemed to be in harmony with his own views. Mani also is a thinker, more or less independent of Biblical *data*. Both to Bardaisan and to Mani their cosmological notions are an essential part of their religion. But I have the impression that Marcion was only a cosmologist by accident, that he was essentially concerned with morals and the working of the mind and what may be called the psychology of forgiveness.

Ephraim makes some telling points against him over the Voice at the Transfiguration. Marcion, we know, had a clumsy presentation of the Universe as consisting of three Regions, one 'above' the other. In the highest dwelt the Kind Stranger ;

¹ ܠܗ corresponds exactly to 'inverted commas,' but unfortunately there is no corresponding word or sign to mark the ends of quotations,

in the lowest, on the earth, was the domain of Matter ; between them, above the earth, was the domain of the Creator or Maker, the God of Justice and Law, who had made Man out of Matter in his own image. When the Voice came at the Transfiguration, saying, 'This is My Son,' how, says Ephraim, did they know it was the Stranger's Voice, and not that of the God of the Law ? If it was the Stranger, speaking from the heavens above us, how had He got there ? This is a good debating point ; but just as we see how very much easier the controversy between Ephraim and Bardaisan would have been, if they had considered Space as measured with Cartesian axes, so I venture to think Marcion would have made his meaning clearer if he had placed his Kind Stranger in a 'fourth dimension.'

The essential thing about the Kind Stranger who can and will forgive freely is that He is not in or of this tangible and measurable world. At least this is so, except in so far as the very notions in Marcion's mind are part of the whole of Nature. With this proviso, the whole of Marcion's system is essentially built upon the same lines as the religion outlined in Huxley's famous Romanes Lecture. Nature is red in tooth and claw, in this world an eye is exacted for an eye and a tooth for a tooth (or its equivalent). Action and reaction are equal and opposite, and the Law of the Conservation of Energy seems to be unbroken. But Man can imagine, more or less, another world where this is not the case, and his mind can take refuge in this fairyland, which is outside the visible universe.

Marcion did not, as a matter of fact, put his thoughts in this way. He was, as Ephraim says (p. lvii), 'half in and half out' of orthodox thought, and so was liable to charges of inconsistency. His great merit is that he felt the charm of the Gospel message apart from the sanction of the Old Testament. Ephraim starts off his polemic against Marcion by appealing to the miracles of the Exodus, and to alleged confirmations of Old Testament wonders in the archives of Egypt and Babylon, an argument which now only raises a smile. But Marcion's position is not similarly affected by modern discovery : the God to Whom he gave his allegiance was always outside of this visible world, and if the visible world has been found not to be geocentric that matters

less to him than to those whose God had His throne 'above the bright blue sky.'

Apart from their views about the Bible the Marcionites appear in these treatises as an ultra-pietistic school, who fast more than Ezekiel and pray more than Daniel. Indeed, they claim to pray all day (p. xxxi *med.*). The early orthodox Syriac-speaking Church esteemed virginity so highly, that we need not be surprised that Ephraim does not touch upon Marcion's rejection of Christian marriage. According to vol. i. p. 129, l. 1 (p. xciv), the Marcionites worshipped towards the West.

4. *The System of Bardaisan.*

The treatises of Ephraim add little fresh to what we knew already about Marcion and the Marcionites, but they do add greatly to our knowledge of Bardaisan's system. So scattered and piecemeal, however, are the bits of information which Ephraim gives us that I will begin by quoting what Moses bar Kepha says about him.¹

"Bardaisan held about this world that it is composed of Five Entities (*Īthyē*), viz. Fire and Wind and Water and Light and Darkness. Each of these was standing in its own region, Light in the East, Wind in the West, Fire in the South, Water in the North, the Lord of them all in the Height, and their Enemy, the Dark, in the Depth below. Once upon a time, whether from some external body or by chance, they were hurled² one against another, and the Dark ventured to come up from the Depth to mingle together with them. Then the pure Entities began to run away and flee from the Dark and appealed to the mercy of the Most High to deliver them from the dirty colour that was mingled with them, *i.e.* from the Dark. Then, says he, at the sound of the commotion the Word (*Mēmṛā*) of the Intention of the Most High, which is the Christ, came down and cut off the Dark from being in the midst of the pure Entities, and it was hurled down and fell to the lower part of its nature, and He set

¹ Text and Translation given in F. Nau's *Bardesanes* (Patrologia Syriaca I, vol. ii, p. 513-515).

² *ܐܘܠܗܝܢ*. Read *ܐܘܠܗܝܢ* as on p. 215, l. 14, or *ܐܘܠܗܝܢ* as vol. i. p. 69, l. 43.

up each of the Entities into its order in the mystery of the cross. And as for that mixture which came into being from the Entities and the Dark their enemy, He constituted from it this World and set it in the midst, that no further mixture might be made from them and that which has been mixed already, while it is being cleansed and refined by ¹ conception and birth until it is perfect."

Moses bar Kepha died 903 A.D., more than five centuries after S. Ephraim, but this account exactly agrees with what we read about Bardaisan's system of the universe on pp. 214-5, so that it may be taken as substantially accurate and used as the starting-point of our description. The most essential feature of Bardaisan's system is that 'God' with him is not the Creator and Source of the stuff of which the Universe is made, but the Arranger of it into an ordered Cosmos. God is not the sole *Īthyā*, the sole self-existent Being or Entity; besides God there are the four pure substances of Light, Wind, Fire, and Water, and the foul Dark substance. These only make up six Entities, while Ephraim everywhere treats Bardaisan as teaching that there are Seven ²: it appears to me that the Seventh Entity is Space itself, concerning which Bardaisan said that 'God is in the midst of Space' (vol. i, p. xcvi). 'Greater,' says Ephraim, 'are the praises which Bardaisan uttered concerning Space than those which he uttered concerning the God in the midst of Space' (p. xcvi).

If Space be the Seventh Entity of Bardaisan, we see the point of Ephraim's elaborate discussion of the substantial existence of mathematical Space in the first of the treatises edited in this volume. Ephraim comes to the conclusion that Space is not a thing but a notion; to Bardaisan, on the other hand, it was a thing of limited extent,³ outside of which nothing existed, while within it God and the Entities, good and bad, lived and moved and had their being.

The configuration of things before ever the world was, which is implied by Moses bar Kepha and by Ephraim on pp. ci, cii,

¹ Read *ⲛⲓⲛ* for *ⲛⲓⲛⲓ*. For the meaning see *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 160, note 2.

² *E.g.* p. 53, l. 4; *ES.* ii 550 D.

³ "Space is measurable and holds so much," p. 16, l. 33-35 (=p. vii).

may be represented by Fig. 1. Another configuration of the system of Bardaisan is set forth on p. cvi and in the metrical Discourse, Stanza XLVIII, p. 155, and is represented by Fig. 2. Ephraim tries to shew that each configuration is inconsistent

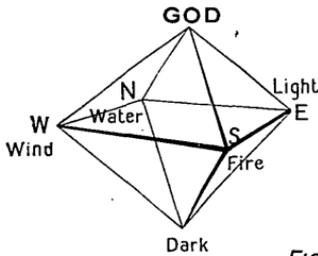


FIG. 1

with itself when used to explain the origin of our World, but he does not complain that the two configurations are inconsistent with each other. He is so quick to press debating points of this kind, that I think we may infer from his silence that the two configurations were put forward by Bardaisan less as absolute

GOD
Light
Wind
Fire
Water
Dark

FIG. 2.

physical realities, than as presentations or diagrams explanatory of his ideas. No doubt Bardaisan taught that God and the uncreated Entities existed in Space before our World came into being, but the actual disposition of these Entities must, even to a Gnostic teacher of the 2nd century, have been conjectural. What Bardaisan was concerned to assert was that things were originally in a happy state of equilibrium, that something occurred to disturb this equilibrium whereby general disaster was threatened, but that God came to the rescue and confined within certain limits

the damage already done and provided for its eventual reparation.¹

This corresponds in a sense to the ordinary Christian doctrine of the 'Fall,' but it differs from it inasmuch as it puts the Fall before the construction of our World—nay more, it makes the Fall to be the cause of this World, not a regrettable incident occurring after this World had been made. In this, as we shall see, the Bardesanian doctrine agrees with Manichaeism: in fact, the religion of Mani becomes more comprehensible if the ideas of Bardaisan are recognised as one of its formative elements.

An accusation brought three times by Ephraim against

¹ See the Bardesanian Dialogue *De Fato*, ad fin. (*Patr. Syriaca*, ii 611), where stress is laid on the regulation (*tukḥūnū*) of the Elements or Natures, and their mixture (*muzzūgū*) in this present Cosmos, whereby their primordial vehemence is mitigated.

Bardaisan is that he picked out analogies here and there where they suited his theories, without attempting to consider the similar instances where his theories would not work. He 'sailed about,'¹ rather like a butterfly. No doubt the philosophy of S. Ephraim is more or less open to the same reproach, but it is likely enough that there was in Bardaisan something of the Dilettante. I shall therefore not attempt to exhibit his Philosophy as a system, when perhaps it never had essential coherence, but rather pick out features of interest which can be gathered from Ephraim's very unsympathetic refutations.

This world and its inhabitants having been the result of a pre-mundane accident, it is not surprising that Bardaisan did not believe in the resurrection of the body. Man, according to Bardaisan, is naturally mortal² (I); it was Abel, not Adam, who died first (XLI). Our Lord only raises Souls (XCI): if Death came from Adam's sin, our Lord ought to have rewarded His redeemed with life in this world (II, LXXIV, LXXIX). 'He that keepeth My Word shall not taste Death,' said our Lord, yet all have died; therefore He did not redeem the Body (LXXX). The Body is heavier than the Soul, and not really akin to it (I, LXI, LXV); it cannot cleave to it for ever (XLIV). The effect of Adam's sin was to prevent Souls after death from what Bardaisan calls 'crossing over,' while on the other hand the Life or Salvation brought by our Lord was that He enabled the Souls to cross over into the Kingdom (LXXXII) or, as it is elsewhere called, 'the Bridal-chamber of Light' (LXXXI, LXXXV).

The Body, according to Bardaisan, is incapable of thought, while the Soul is merely ignorant; following the imagery of the Gospel Parable (Matt. xiii 33), he says that the Leaven is the Divine faculty of Reason (*mad'ā*) which God places in the Soul, where it works by its own inherent energy till the whole Soul becomes rational and therefore Divine (LIX, LXI). This Reason he regards as a 'stranger' in the Soul, *i.e.* it is a gift from God, not a mere natural development.³

¹ Pp. 48, 221, 224.

² The numbers refer to the Stanzas in the Metrical Discourse.

³ In the *De Fato* (col. 572, ll. 6-9) Man is regarded as being composed of Reason (or mental Faculty), of Soul, and of Body. Here *mad'ā* is used in the plural.

Bardaisan was evidently known as 'the Aramaean Philosopher,'¹ and no one has ever questioned his command over the language and literature of his native land. But on pp. iii—v Ephraim raises the question of his competence in Greek philosophical literature. He says that Bardaisan has mixed up the doctrines of Plato with those of the Stoics, which are contrary to Plato's own teaching, naming (but not quoting) a lost work of Albinus as proving his point. Further on (p. xxii), he accuses Bardaisan of basing his theories of vision upon the accidents of Aramaic gender, regardless of the fact that his analogies would not hold good in Greek. The question therefore arises: Did Bardaisan know Greek? Or rather, seeing that Bardaisan lived part of his life at the court of Edessa and therefore probably could speak Greek, had he a really first-hand knowledge of any department of Greek literature?

It is difficult to say for certain; the impression I get is that he had little or no first-hand knowledge of Greek writings, and I venture to hazard the conjecture that a good deal of the vaguely Hellenic air of the theories opposed by Ephraim is due to Harmonius, the son of Bardaisan, who is said by Theodoret (*Haer.* 22) to have studied at Athens and become familiar with the language and philosophy of Greece. Harmonius adhered to his father's doctrines; it seems only likely that some of the confusion between Platonic and Stoic teaching, pointed out by Ephraim in his treatise against Bardaisan's *Domnus*,² may be due to the not too accurate learning of an Oriental student picked up in a Western University.³

But did S. Ephraim himself know Greek? According to the traditional *Life* it was an acquirement of his latest years and ascribed to miracle, and this would fit in with the internal evidence of his genuine works, apart from the *Domnus* treatise. After all, Ephraim gives us no quotations from Plato or the Stoics, or even from Albinus (p. 7, l. 9), and it is the same with the account of

¹ So p. 225, l. 25: on p. 8, l. 1, the title is 'Philosopher of the Aramaeans.'

² See p. iii. f.

³ Epiphanius, *Haer.* 477, represents Bardaisan as skilled both in Syriac and Greek, but that seems to come from his mistaken idea that the *De Fato* is a Greek original, not a translation from the Syriac.

Hermetic doctrine in the final treatise (p. xcix). There is nothing in these treatises to prevent us from regarding the information about Greek literature and philosophy which they contain as based on hearsay. No doubt Ephraim was pretty well informed, and he may very likely have taken some pains to find out how far Bardaisan's statements were to be trusted. Possibly also other Syriac writers, some of whom may have known Greek, had done their best to controvert Bardaisan in the century and a half which elapsed between the publication of *Domnus* and S. Ephraim's refutations. In any case, the controversial tracts here edited do not compel us to ascribe to Ephraim linguistic and literary acquirements which the rest of the available evidence about him make improbable.

That Bardaisan really did regard things in general from a rather narrowly Mesopotamian point of view is clear from his curious etymologies of the names of the Months, about which Ephraim writes on p. cv. The Mesopotamian year began in October; the name of the first month was Teshrī, and that of the second in early times was Marḥeshwān.¹ *Teshrī* seems to be connected with *sharri*, 'to begin,' as *teshmeshtā*, 'service,' is connected with *shammesh*, 'to serve'; *Marḥeshwān* might easily suggest the Syriac word *rhash*, 'to crawl' or 'creep,' though this derivation would not account for the final syllable. At any rate, Bardaisan brings forward these derivations, which Ephraim controverts on the common-sense ground that if the names of the months were significant they would all be significant, whereas Bardaisan failed to find a plausible Syriac derivation for Nīsān, *i.e.* April, or for the months which follow.

We know, of course, more about ancient Kalendars than either Bardaisan or Ephraim. The names of the Mesopotamian months, used also by the Jews after the Exile, are Babylonian, and Marḥeshwan is known to be an Aramaic corruption of *Arah samna*, 'the eighth Month.' The Babylonian year began at the Vernal Equinox with the month Nisan; while the October beginning, which put Teshri in the first place, seems to have been the immemorial native Aramaean starting-point. In any case it goes back to 312 B.C., the beginning of the Seleucid Era.

¹ Μαροσώανης, Josephus, *Ant.* i. 3, 3.

The name Marḥeshwān for November was dropped by the Edessenes at least as early as the Diocletian persecution, and the first four months of the Syriac year were called Teshrī I, Teshrī II, Kānōn I, Kānōn II, instead of Teshri, Marḥeshwān, Kislew, Tēbēth. It may be gathered from what Ephraim says on p. 222, l. 34, that the old name Marḥeshwān was in his days only used in Beth Garmai, *i.e.* in the district where Nineveh was and Mosul is.¹

We learn, further, that the son of Bardaisan, *i.e.* almost certainly the Harmonius referred to above, speaks of Teshrī II for November, whereas his father uses the old name Marḥeshwān. The extract quoted on p. 223, ll. 14–17, is interesting on several accounts. In the first place, it is in 7-foot metre :—

Ō Teshrī, 'emmā ḏshaḥḥā,
'auleḏ lan Teshrī ḥrēḥā.²

“ O Teshri, Mother of the Year,
Produce for us another Teshri ! ”

This is the metre in after years especially associated with S. Ephraim's own name, and so it bears out the tradition that Ephraim took the metres, which Harmonius is credited with having introduced into Syriac literature, and turned them into vehicles for orthodox doctrine.³

Further, Ephraim tells us that this couplet refers to the ‘Mother of Life,’ asking her to produce and leave behind a daughter after her own likeness. This is quite in the same range of thought as the short extracts from Bardaisan Hymns quoted by Ephraim in the 55th of the Hymns against Heresies (*ES.* ii 557, 558). Those Hymns are said there to be written by the ‘sons’ of Bardaisan, while this couplet about Teshri is said to be written by his ‘son.’ Doubtless in either case Harmonius is meant. There is a distinct difference of atmosphere between this poetry and the words or opinions definitely given as those of Bardaisan himself.

¹ Teshri, in Babylonian Tashritum, is really derived from a root akin to *sharri*, ‘to begin,’ but it seems to mean ‘Dedication,’ not ‘beginning.’ In any case it was only the seventh month of the Babylonian Year.

² I here use Greek letters for the aspirated sounds.

³ Sozomen, *H.E.* iii 16. Ephraim says of Bardaisan himself that ‘he brought in measures’ (ܠܚܘܒܝܢ ܕܡܘܨܪܝܢ, *ES.* ii 554A), but Harmonius may very well have been the first to introduce strict scansion.

But, it may be asked, is not Bardaisan known to have been a poet? Did he not write the Syriac poem known (in modern times) as 'The Hymn of the Soul'? In reply I venture to urge that one result of the texts published in these volumes is to render any connexion of Bardaisan with any part of the 'Acts of Thomas' improbable. As I have published two separate translations of the great Hymn from the 'Acts of Thomas,' one of them under the name of *The Hymn of Bardaisan*,¹ a few remarks on this statement may not be out of place.

Even in the little book called *The Hymn of Bardaisan* I had stated that it was doubtful whether it was the work of Bardaisan himself (p. 4), but I then thought it had been really made out that the Acts of Thomas were full of 'Bardesianian' teaching. By 1904, in the book called *Early Eastern Christianity*, I had become much less certain of this, and now after a very careful study of these 'Refutations' of S. Ephraim it appears to me that the doctrines of Bardaisan are altogether different from those of the Acts of Thomas. What, then, were the reasons which made modern scholars assume any connexion between these schools of thought? My friend Prof. A. A. Bevan sums up Ephraim's accusations against Bardaisan, as known before the publication of these treatises, under three heads:—(1) denial of the resurrection of the body, (2) belief in a divine 'Mother,' (3) belief in eternal beings subordinate to the supreme God. These three heresies are all present in the 'Hymn of the Soul,' so that a presumption is created that its doctrine is Bardesianian.²

It may be urged on the other side with regard to (1) that it is a common characteristic of almost all schools of early Christian thought except orthodox catholicism. As to (2) there is very little to connect the 'Mother' referred to in Ephraim, *Ed. Rom.* ii. 557, with the Queen of the East in the Hymn. For the latter a much nearer parallel is found in that passage of Aphraates (*Patr. Syr.* i. 840¹²) which speaks of the Holy Spirit as a Christian's Mother. And as to (3) the subordinate divine Powers in the Hymn, the 'Nobles' who set their seal to the Letter of the

¹ Essex House Press, 1899. The other translation is in *Early Eastern Christianity*, 1904, a revised form of which will be found in *THE QUEST*, vol. v. (July, 1914).

² See Bevan, *The Hymn of the Soul*, p. 5.

supreme 'King of Kings,' they are mere personages of the Heavenly Kingdom, the Celestial Hierarchy, while the 'eternal beings' set by Bardaisan alongside of God are material elements, the Light, the Wind, the Water, the Fire, and the crude Dark Stuff that exists in the depth below. Of these, the characteristic *Īthyē* of Bardaisan, there is no trace in the Hymn of the Soul or in the rest of the Acts of Thomas.

But the reason against ascribing the Hymn to Bardaisan, which seems to me most clearly to emerge from a study of the Refutations published in this work, is the entire absence of the mythic and poetical element in all that Ephraim quotes from him. In these Refutations 'the Philosopher of the Aramaeans' appears as a matter-of-fact man of science, a teacher of positive doctrine about the physical constitution of the world in which we live. To us, no doubt, it is science falsely so called, speculations as groundless as his derivations of the names of the Months. But such as it is, it is positive doctrine about matter and sense-perception; there is no parabolic setting-forth of the meaning of human life or the ways of Divine redemption.

Moreover, the attitude of Bardaisan towards life is essentially different from that characteristic of the tale of Judas Thomas, including the great Hymn. The Acts of Thomas sets forth a philosophy of life essentially ascetic, and there is nothing ascetic in the attitude of Bardaisan. It is true that he regarded man as naturally mortal, and held that only the immortal soul is redeemed by Christ. But he did not reject marriage, as the Acts of Thomas does. In the Hymn itself there is nothing about marriage or generation, but the food and dress of 'Egypt' are regarded as unclean, and not merely as things temporary and perishable.

I venture to think that the reason which made it even plausible to suggest that the Hymn of the Soul came from the school of Bardaisan was the very little positive knowledge that we possessed of the actual teachings of Bardaisan. In the first volume of this work Mr. Mitchell, under the influence of the theory here controverted, was at pains to point out all the references and parallels to the Hymn of the Soul that he could find in the 'Refutations.' They are to be found on p. lxxxix and p. cvii of vol. i. Of these, the first merely deals with the meaning of the

word *sāykā* as a standing epithet for a Serpent or Dragon: I willingly admit that it must mean 'the Swallower,' not 'the Loud-breathing,' all the more because the ancient Greek translation of the Hymn itself is now found to translate the word by *τὸν καταπότην*. The other passage¹ has really very little in common with the Hymn except the word *shabrā*, i.e. 'childish' or 'inexperienced.' Certainly Ephraim cannot be referring directly to the Hymn in this passage, for he asks how the Soul leaves Understanding behind, or how the Soul forgets, whereas in the Hymn this is directly explained as the result of eating the unclean food of the Egyptians. It is much more probable that in vol. i. p. cvii, there is no reference at all to the Hymn, but only to that question, at all times interesting, as to how the Soul of man can have forgotten, if it really had had a conscious pre-existence.

5. *The System of Mani.*

The Refutations of Ephraim in the case of the doctrines of the Manichaeans, as in the case of the Marcionites, are chiefly useful as a confirmation and a check to our previous knowledge. The system of Mani, as it appears in these works, is essentially the same religion that is described and controverted in the *Acta Archelai* and by Titus of Bostra. The special value here of what S. Ephraim has to tell us comes from his early date and the fact that he writes in Syriac. He is only a little later than the other two authorities, and what he reports is undistorted by the veil of Greek language and thought. Ephraim died in 373, so that his Refutations appeared less than a century after Mani's own death.

Just as we started with the account of Bardaisan by Moses bar Kepha it will be convenient in dealing with Mani to follow the account of Theodore bar Khōnī as set forth by Cumont in *La Cosmogonie Manichéenne*,² because this work gives us more of the actual Syriac terms used by Syriac-speaking Manichees than any other authority except our Refutations.

The Manichees taught their disciples that the first thing they had to do was to distinguish the *Two Principles*, that is

¹ See the Corrigenda in this volume to vol. i. p. 158.

² *Recherches sur le Manichéisme par Franz Cumont, I. La Cosmogonie Manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khōnī*, Brussels, 1908 (cited as *Cumont*).

to say, the Light, which is essentially Good, and the Dark, which is essentially Evil. Or rather it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Evil arises by a mixture of the Dark with the Light, and that when such a mixture has taken place, progress towards a better state of things, redemption, salvation, deliverance, is only to be obtained by straining out the Dark from the Light. Besides the Two Principles it was further necessary to understand the *Three Moments*, that is to say the Past, the Present, and the Future.¹ In the *Past*, the Dark and the Light were separate, but the Dark somehow conceived a passion for the Light its opposite and made an assault upon it, whereby a portion of the Light became mixed with the Dark, was in fact swallowed by it: in the process of this struggle the present world and the race of men came into being, not being wholly of the Light or of the Dark, but being essentially mixed and therefore evil, *i.e.* incongruous. In the *Present* the Intelligence which belongs essentially to the Light has contrived a mechanism, whereby the Light is being gradually refined from the Dark and the Dark confined by a wall or prison, so that never again can it overpass its boundary. In the *Future*, when this refining process is completed, all the Parts of the Light now imprisoned in Men and Animals and Plants will have been refined away: what is left will be burnt out, so far as it is destructible, and the remainder, being wholly of the Dark, will join the original powers of darkness in their eternal prison.

The Two Principles of Light and Dark are thus alone primitive: the ultimate cause not only of that which we see around us, but even of the hierarchy of Light, has been the Attack made by the Dark upon the region of Light. Evil began by Darkness desiring the Light (i. p. xxix); it conceived a passion for Good and made an assault on it (i. pp. xxv, xlix, lxxviii; ii. p. xcix *med.*), it felt, touched, ate, sucked, tasted, and swallowed it (i. pp. xlv, lxxxv). Mani naturally could not explain, any more than Bardaisan could, how this first disturbance of the eternal order took place, but he seems somewhere to have expressed it, that it was as if the Dark from a far distance smelt and perceived that there was 'something pleasant' beyond his region (i. p. lx). Ephraim misses

¹ On the Two Principles and the Three Moments, see P. Alfarc, *Les Écritures Manichéennes*, ii. 66 f.

the point when he merely seizes on it to ask how the Light was far distant from the dark when the two regions lay side by side : Mani's point is, that the beginning of Evil is unregulated desire.

It will be convenient to notice here the asceticism of the Manichæan religion, because it influences even the terms of Mani's cosmology. All generation was to Mani doubly hateful, for it was a fresh mixture. To take life was to cut the Parts of Light imprisoned in a living body ; to produce fresh life was to perpetuate a state of things that ought never to have been. It was equally wrong to sow and to reap, and the Initiates—the Righteous (*zaddikē*), as they called themselves—were not willing even to break bread lest they pain the Light which is mixed with it (i. p. xxx), their food, as we learn from other sources, being wholly prepared for them by mere disciples. In accordance with this the Manichæans appear to have avoided all words which describe the production of the Hierarchy of Light by words like 'beget,' or even 'create.' We hear of the Father of Greatness, and the Mother of the Living, but the Primal Man is not styled their Son : Mani seems to have carried through the idea of the Logos, or mere Word, as the producing organ. The Father of Greatness neither espouses the Mother of Life nor begets the Primal Man, but calls (𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀)—and they exist.¹ There is no syzygy of the Aeons in Manicheism, as in the system of Valentinus ; Ephraim suggests a marriage of the various elements of Light and Dark (ii. p. xcix end), but only by way of sarcasm. When therefore the ZIWĀNĒ are called 'Sons' of the Light and the Primal Man is called their 'Father,' these words of relation are used only in a general way to denote origin.

According to Theodore bar Khōnī the Manichees called the

¹ *Cumont*, p. 14, has practically this explanation. H. Pognon, *Coupees de Khouabir*, p. 185, note 1, points out that 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 for 'create' occurs also in Mandaean writings, and is inclined to see in it a dialectical peculiarity, but it seems to me that this use of the word 'to call,' instead of 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 or 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀, is due to theological and philosophical tendencies, not to dialect. W. Brandt is evidently of the same opinion, for he says (*E.R.E.*, art. MANDAEANS, § 9) : "The word 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀, 'call,' as used for 'call into being,' can be traced to the Biblical Genesis." This 𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀 is translated *évoquer* by *Cumont* : the *Acta Archelai* used *προβάλλειν*. This Manichee term is also attested by An-Nadīm (*Flügel's Mani*, p. 65, l. 5).

ultimate Supreme Good Being ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ, *i.e.* 'the Father of Greatness' but neither He nor His five Attributes or Manifestations, *viz.* Intelligence, Reason, Thought, Imagination, Intention,¹ are mentioned as such in Ephraim's Refutations. The 'Mother of the Living' is just named in ii. p. xcvi. On the other hand 'the Primal Man' and his five ZĪWĀNĒ come in for frequent notice. The Primal Man (ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ) is not Adam, but a Heavenly Being evoked for the purpose of repulsing the attack of the Dark upon the realm of Light. According to Ephraim (i. p. xc) the Manichees interpreted John i 4 as referring to this personage, but as he truly remarks the 'Greek' has a plural (τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων).

The first combat between Light and Dark ended in the victory of the latter. The Dark struck the Primal Man senseless and 'swallowed' his Five ZĪWĀNĒ. That these were five in number is stated in i. pp. lxxix, xc, xcvi. The odd thing is that they are never directly enumerated. From p. lxxix we learn that four of them were Light, Wind, Water, and Fire, but what was the fifth? Our chief Arabic source (Flügel, *Fihrist*, p. 87) says 'the gentle breeze,'² the *Acta Archelai* vii says ἴλη. There is evidently some confusion here. Cumont, following Beausobre, thinks of a palaeographical confusion between YAH and AHP, but if this were all it remains curious that Ephraim never names the Air as one of the Sons of the Light.

The word *Zīwānā* (? Brilliant) seems to have applied to others of the heavenly Hierarchy, for Theodore speaks of Jesus the *Zīwānā*, who aroused Adam to consciousness (*Cumont*, p. 46).³

The Manichees appear to have been unwilling to represent this all-important combat as entirely a victory for the Dark.

¹ In Syriac ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ (1), ܩܕܝܫܐ (2), ܩܕܝܫܐ (3), ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ (4), ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ (5): see Kugener's Note in *Cumont*, p. 10, for the renderings here adopted and adhered to as far as possible throughout this volume. The word for 'Manifestations' is ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ, corresponding to the Rabbinic *Shechinah*: even the passage quoted by Kugener from Ephraim (*ES.* iii 568A) in *Cumont*, p. 9, shews that the word suggests *manifestations* of the invisible Godhead.

² النسيم Augustine (*c. Faust.* ii 3) seems to have had *aer*: see Flügel's *Mani*, p. 213.

³ ܩܕܝܫܘܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ (vol. i. p. 101, l. 18), translated 'Sons of the Bright Ones' on p. lxxix, is otherwise quite unattested and can hardly be right.

On the one hand the Primal Man was left lying unconscious on the field and his *Ziwānē* were swallowed by the Dark, on the other both Ephraim (i. p. lxxix) and Titus of Bostra (A 17) tell us that the *Ziwānē* were used by the Primal Man as a bait (δέλεαρ) to catch the Sons of the Dark and so to return them to their own place.

However that may be, the result was that Light was mixed with the Dark, and the problem then was, first, how to restrain the Sons of the Dark, and secondly, how to separate the Light that had been mixed in them. These Sons of the Dark were called by Manichees ܐܘܪܝܢܐ (Archons), a word which always has in Syriac the sinister significance of a Demoniac Ruler. In vol. ii. p. xci it is twice used in the singular of the Evil Power.

The Primal Man recovered from his swoon, and aided by fresh Light-powers ¹ he 'hunted the Sons of the Dark and flayed them, and made this Sky from their skins, and out of their excrement he compacted the Earth, and of their bones he forged and raised and piled up the Mountains' (i. p. xxxiii), and he did all this in order to strain out from them by rain and dew the 'Parts of the Light' that had been mixed in them. According to Theodore bar Khōnī this mixed material world, composed of the parts of the Archons, who yet have particles of Light mingled in their substance, is held in place by five heavenly powers, who are also named in Greek and Latin sources. They are

ܐܘܪܝܢܐ	Φεγγοκάτοχος	<i>Splenditenens</i>
ܐܘܪܝܢܐ		<i>Rex Honoris</i>
ܐܘܪܝܢܐ		<i>Adamas Heros</i>
ܐܘܪܝܢܐ		<i>Gloriosus Rex</i>
ܐܘܪܝܢܐ	Ἔμοφόρος	<i>Atlas Maximus</i>

Of these the ܐܘܪܝܢܐ (*Sabbālā*), the Supporter, is mentioned in ii. 208₃₉ (=p. xcvi), and the *Splenditenens* in the preceding line. Unfortunately only the latter half of the title is legible. The former part (end of l. 37) cannot be read, but it was certainly not ܐܘܪܝܢܐ or ܐܘܪܝܢܐ. To me it looks more like ܐܘܪܝܢܐ or ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, but the fact is that the script has perished. This is all the more

¹ These (*Cumont*, p. 20) are the Friend of the Lights, the Great Ban, and the Living Spirit. Of these only Ban is mentioned by S. Ephraim (i. pp. xxx, xlvi, lxxv).

provoking as the meaning of the Syriac word used by Theodore is doubtful.¹

The Archons being thus chained up, Theodore tells us that a certain amount of the absorbed Light was refined out of them at once, and from it was made the Sun and Moon and the Stars. But much yet remained in the Archons, and so a new personage was contrived, the Messenger (ܡܨܝܚܐ), called also the Virgin of Light by Ephraim, who 'manifests her beauty to the Archons, so that they long to run after her' (i. p. lxi f.).² As a result, the details of which may be studied in Cumont's Note (pp. 54-68), plants and animals were produced on the Earth by the Archons, who, fearing to lose all the Light they had absorbed, at last produce a new being, Adam, which they form in the image of God, *i.e.* in the image of the Primal Man, the divine ܡܨܝܚܐ ܡܨܝܚܐ. Once again their design fails, for Jesus the *Ziwānā* (ܙܘܘܢܐ) comes, it is not explained how, to Adam as he lies inert upon the ground. Adam looks at himself and recognises who he is, *i.e.* that he is a being at least partly made of the Light.³ 'Jesus made him stand up and gave him to eat of the Tree of Life.'⁴ Then Adam looked and wept, he lifted up his voice like a roaring lion, he tore his hair, he beat his breast, and said, "Woe, woe to the creator of my body, to him who has bound my soul to it, and to the rebels who have enslaved me!"⁵ Ephraim does not refer to this striking passage, which Cumont regards as the actual peroration of the *Epistula Fundamenti*, one of the most widely read writings of Mani.

So much for the *Past*. In the *Present*, according to Mani, a great mechanism has been contrived for refining out of the world what is left of the Parts of the Light that had been absorbed: the arrangement of this mechanism was in fact the salvation

¹ The Greek and the Latin terms must surely represent the general meaning, all the more as one of the chief functions of *Splenditienens* is to hold the world suspended, like a chandelier. It seems to me probable that ܡܨܝܚܐ must be an adaptation of the Assyrian *šabit* (Assurnazirpal, for instance, calls himself *šabit liṭi*, 'holder of hostages'). Compare also the Jewish Aramaic ܡܨܝܚܐ, 'tongs.'

² The Virgin of Light is named also in ii. 208, l. 44.

³ *Cumont*, p. 46 f.

⁴ According to the *Acta Archelai* x Jesus was Himself the Tree of Life. But the text may not be sound.

⁵ *Cumont*, p. 48 f.

brought by Jesus, when He came on earth and those that saw Him supposed erroneously that He was really a man.¹ By it the Light that is separated out is conveyed to the Moon, whereby it waxes for fifteen days, and then when full discharges its load of Light for another fifteen days into the Sun.

The Pillar of Glory (ܩܘܠܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ) is named in ii. 208, l. 37 (=p. xcvi), the only place where the original Syriac term is known to occur. This 'Pillar' is either the way up to the Moon, as the Fihrist seems to imply, or that in which redeemed souls wait till all is fulfilled, as is stated in the *Acta Archelai*. In either case the Manichees appear to have meant by it the Milky Way. It is also called in the *Acta Archelai* the Perfect Man, *Vir perfectus*. Epiphanius changes ἀνὴρ into ἀήρ, but thereby the imagery is spoilt, for it is evidently taken from Eph. iv 13 (εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον) : the redeemed souls are collected in the Pillar of Glory till all the particles of the absorbed Light have been refined out of the substance of the Archons and the Primal Man is perfect again.²

The most potent agents in refining out the Light are, of course, the fully initiated disciples of Mani, but exactly how they did it cannot be ascertained from S. Ephraim, for obvious reasons. It is not very difficult to be sarcastic with this part of the Manichaean system, and Ephraim takes advantage of most of the obvious openings. What is more interesting is the very small number of the highest class of Initiates, the K̄PHALPĀLĒ (ܩܦܗܠܦܠܐܝܬܐ, ii. 205⁷, 206²⁷). In the first of these passages Ephraim speaks of Five, in the second of a Pair, which perhaps means much the same thing. Certainly these personages were able to give all their time to their mysterious work, for there was very little else that it was permitted to a fully initiated Manichee to do. They might neither take life nor produce it, whether animal or vegetable, so that agriculture and cooking were as much taboo as murder and adultery. In i. p. xciii Ephraim depicts the initiate Manichee women, the ZADDĪKĀTHĀ, as sitting idle from religious motives. It is curious to hear a fellow-countryman of S. Alexius and S. Simeon Stylites rebuking the unworldly inactivities of the Manichees!

¹ *Acta Archelai* viii.

² It should be noted that the belief that the Spirits of the Just live on in the Milky Way is Stoic : see *Somnium Scipionis* (circa med.).

In general, as may be seen from the peroration of the Hypatius Discourses, the lives of the Manichaean devotees must have been spent in a manner not unlike that of the ' Sons of the Covenant ' and other Christian ascetics of the East : ' their works are like our works, as their fast is like our fast ' (i. p. cxix). No doubt they spent a good deal of their time in transcribing and ornamenting their sacred writings, as may be gathered from S. Augustine and from the remains of very handsome MSS. dug up in Turfan in Central Asia. In this they were followers of Mani himself, who ' painted in colours on a scroll the likenesses of the wickednesses which he created out of his mind ' (i. p. xciii).

As to the *Future*, the Manichees, like the Christians, looked forward to a victorious end of the present state of things. When all the Parts of the Light have been refined out of the base material, Evil, which is the result of the mixture of Light and Dark, will have disappeared. The Earth of Light (𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰𐌹 𐌲𐌹𐌸), in which God dwells and which is itself Divine (i. pp. lviii, lix, xevi), will be complete and inviolate, and the powers of the Dark will be confined inside their own domain, round which BĀN, the Heavenly Builder, has now built a wall and fence, to be the Grave of the Darkness for ever (i. pp. xxx, xlvi, lxxv).

Such are the main outlines of the system of Mani, on almost every part of which the Refutations of S. Ephraim throw a certain amount of fresh light. This is not the place to attempt a critical study of the sources and connexions of this fantastic Religion, that had in spite of almost continual persecution so long and sometimes so victorious a career. I shall only bring forward one point, on which the Refutations curiously confirm the evidence of the *Acta Archelai*, of Titus of Bostra, and of Evodius, as its elucidation seems to have an important bearing upon the origin of Mani's stock of ideas.

Evodius, the friend and correspondent of S. Augustine, tells us (*De Fid. c. Manich.* 5) that the Manichees taught that the Souls which deliberately preferred Darkness to Light and the sensual life to redemption will remain for ever conjoined with matter in the region of the Dark. Such souls, together with the rest of the Dark substance from which all the Light has been extracted, will

be compacted together in a great round Clod (*globus*). Titus of Bostra tells us the same,¹ and the same doctrine is set forth in the *Acta Archelai* x, the original Greek of which, as quoted by Epiphanius, speaks of the evil man as being for ever *δεδεμένος εἰς τὴν βῶλον*. In agreement with all this we read at the end of the Third Discourse to Hypatius (i. p. 87, l. 35 ff.):² ‘How do they say that some of these Souls who have sinned much and done much wickedness and blasphemed much and have been guilty of great unbelief, those which are found like dregs in the midst of that which they call BOLOS, as they say, that when the Fire dissolves all, within it is collected every thing that is mixed and mingled in created things from the Lights, and “those souls who have done much wickedness are assigned to the realm of the Darkness when it is tortured.”’

It is clear from all these testimonies that the Manichees not only held this doctrine, but that they called this mass of burning filth the BOLOS, a word which is not Syriac at all, but the Greek for ‘a clod.’³

Alexander of Lycopolis, himself a heathen, treats Manichaeism as a New Christianity. This view of it has been unpopular in recent years, for modern scholars have preferred to see in it a more or less independent Oriental Religion, and have tended to consider the form of it which spread to the West and to which Augustine was for so many years a convert as an adaptation fitted to a land where Catholic Christianity had become the established religion. But the name of the *Bolus*, now attested in the Syriac of Ephraim, cannot have come from anything but a Greek source. It suggests to us that Mani drew his inspiration from the West as much as, if not more than, from the East around him.

And the Bolus does not stand alone. That Mani did call himself the ‘Paraclete’ is confirmed by Ephraim (ii. p. 209¹¹),⁴ but

¹ *Tit. Bost.* A 41: the sinful souls . . . ἐν τῇ βῶλῳ ἐμπαγήσασθαι ἅμα τῇ κακίᾳ λέγων.

² Mr. Mitchell’s translation, p. lxxii, should be corrected and note ¹ deleted.

³ So little is *ܒܘܠܘܫ* a Syriac word that the ancient Syriac version of Titus of Bostra (made before 411 A.D.) transliterates it in the form *bōlārā* (T.B. 31¹⁶).

⁴ Naturally this only means ‘I am the one that Jesus in the Gospel said would come,’ not ‘I am the Holy Spirit’: see Flügel’s *Mani*, note ⁵⁶.

this term, though Greek, would have been taken by him from the Syriac Bible. More to our purpose is the fact that the Receivers of the Light, *i.e.* the Sun and Moon, called **ܩܠܒܢܐܢ** in i. 20⁴²=p. xxviii, are elsewhere called **ܩܠܒܢܐܢܐ** (i. 15⁴³=p. xxxvi, i. 28⁶=p. xlii), *i.e.* *ὑποδέκται*, a word not very common in literature, the only meaning given for it in Sophocles' *Lexicon* being 'receivers of taxes.'¹ Here again, therefore, a Manichee technical term is taken from the Greek.

HYLE, *i.e.* *ὑλη*, is another Greek term which according to Ephraim is used by all three of the systems which he is controverting, but it is only really prominent in Marcion's terminology (i. pp. lxiii, xcix, c) and, if it was really used by the Manichees in the East, it was no doubt borrowed by them from the Marcionites or the Bardesarians.²

Perhaps the truest idea of the direction of Mani's thought may be gathered from the titles of his seven chief works, catalogued for us by An-Nadīm.³ Five of these, the Mysteries, the Giants, the Precepts, the Treasure (and we may add the Living Gospel, omitted by An-Nadīm), tell us nothing. One, the *Shāpūrakan*, was composed in Persian for the benefit of Sapor the Sasanian Monarch, but the seventh, which Alfarc identifies with the *Epistula Fundamenti*, bore the Greek title of *Πραγματεία*.

Whether Mani himself knew Greek is another matter. If we have been right in calling in question Bardaisan's first-hand knowledge of Greek literature it will not be likely that Mani the Babylonian had much real acquaintance with genuine Greek books or thought. What I have in view is the question whether the system of Mani is to be thought of as a form of Oriental Religion which took on a Christian veneer in the Catholic West, or as a peculiar and eclectic Christian Gnosticism. The Greek terms to which I have here called attention appear to me to shew that the non-Oriental, Western, element in Mani's system is much larger than the scholars of the last sixty years have tended to admit.

In particular I cannot agree with the Swedish scholar

¹ It occurs in this sense in *Fayum Towns Papyri*, No. cxliii.

² It seems to me possible that *ὑλη* was used by Greek-speaking Manichees as an equivalent for the Syriac *ḥeshshōḫā*, the elemental Dark.

³ Flügel's *Mani*, p. 72 f.

Dr. Gillis Wetter in his attempt to represent Manicheism, apart from the personal influence of Mani, as a sort of offshoot of the Mandaean religion.¹ Brandt is on the contrary of opinion that 'in the verifiable parallels the Mandaean versions seem to be secondary,' and says further: "The religious teachings of the two faiths, however, were essentially distinct in character; the fundamental dualism of the Manichaeic system—a doctrine that finds a soteriological design even in the creation of the world, and involves an ascetic mode of life—is far removed from the Mandaean view' (*E.R.E.*, MANDAEANS, § 18). On the other hand Dr. Wetter is doubtless right in laying emphasis on the personal influence of Mani himself, the Prophet of his own new Religion.² The missionary impulse, maintained over two hundred years, the notable steadfastness in danger and persecution, which characterise the Manichees, prove that their bizarre and unscientific theology was to them in some respects a satisfaction of their needs, a way of salvation from the perplexities of this painful world. And if history has any general lesson to teach us about new Religions, it is that they arise when a system or view of the world, which is not too far away from popular aspiration, is combined with a forceful and attractive personality.

Much, therefore, in the initial success of the new Religion depended on Mani himself. And much in the new Religion appealed at once to human religious instincts. It is natural to wish to be a son of the Light. Children cry in the Dark, and 'a pleasant thing it is to behold the sun,' even in sultry Mesopotamia. Moreover Mani seemed to his followers to have explained what the old religions which had gone before him had only hinted at. But beyond these generalities the philosophy which underlies the whole structure has even now a certain appeal, still perceptible through its fantastic barbarian trappings. The Religion of Mani does explain the presence of Evil in the world we live in, and it does combine practical pessimism with ultimate optimism—perhaps the most favourable atmosphere for the religious sentiment. It is true that the Manichees regarded the world we live in as the result of a regrettable accident, so that no

¹ Gillis P:son Wetter, *Phōs* (Uppsala, 1914), pp. 106–120.

² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

true improvement is possible till it is altogether abolished. As regards this world they are frankly pessimistic : it was bad to begin with, and it will go from bad to worse. But they believed that Light was really greater and stronger than the Dark, that in the end all that was good in their essence would be collected in the domain of Light, a realm altogether swayed by Intelligence, Reason, Mind, good Imagination, and good Intention ; and though at the same time there would always exist another region, dark, and dominated by unregulated Desire, it would only be peopled by beings for whom such a region was appropriate, and they would be separated off for ever from invading the region of Light and so producing another Smudge, such as our present world essentially is, according the Manichean view.

To sum up, the Religion of Mani can hardly be comprehended as a heresy from orthodox Catholicism in the sense that Monophysitism, or Arianism, or Montanism, or even Marcion's religion, are 'heresies.' If Arianism be the brother of Catholicism, the Manichean religion is at most a cousin. And Ephraim's Refutations go far to shew that the connecting links are the philosophy of Bardaisan and the organisation of the Marcionites. In common with the Marcionites the followers of Mani were organised as a community of unmarried ascetics with a recognised penumbra of adherents, who supported and maintained them. The orthodox in the Euphrates Valley seem to have organised themselves in Ante-Nicene times on much the same way, but as soon as the Government of the Roman Empire became Christian the Syriac-speaking Church followed the customs of the West, and the *Bnai K̄yāmā* became an order within the Church instead of its rank and file. But to the Marcionites and to the Manichees the monastic constitution was essential, as it is to the Buddhists further East.¹ From the Marcionites also Mani may very well have derived his rejection of the authority of the Old Testament.

The relation of the thought of Mani to Bardaisan is even closer, as will have appeared even in this slight sketch of their

¹ There is no tangible evidence that Mani derived any part of his system from Buddhist sources. No doubt his missionaries represented their message as the true Buddhism, just as in Christian lands they represented their message as the true Christianity.

respective doctrines. In fact we learn from the Fihrist (Flügel, p. 102) that the very first chapter of Mani's *Book of the Mysteries* was concerned with the Daisanites, *i.e.* the followers of Bardaisan. With Bardaisan Mani shares the concepts of the attack by the primordial Dark upon the Pure elements of Light, Wind, Fire, and Water, the control of the damage done by the Good God, and a plan for the eventual redemption of souls from the power of the Dark element.

It has been said of a prominent English statesman that his mind fastens on images and banns concepts: I fancy that this is the difference between Mani and Bardaisan. Bardaisan's cosmology is a conflict of forces, Mani's is a drama enacted by a crowd of supernatural persons. Mani, and (so far as we know) Mani alone, excogitated the *Splenditenens*, the monstrous story of the androgynous Virgin of Light, and the fantastic explanation of the waxing and waning of the Moon. The odd thing is that it should have found so much credence, not only in the immediate time and place of Mani the Founder, but even in the far West for a time and for so many centuries in Central Asia.

No doubt the religion of Mani shews many signs of its strictly Babylonian origin. The mere fact that the special region of Evil was placed in it towards the south shews that its home was an over-hot country. No doubt also many features in it are akin to Persian or even to old-Babylonian religion and never had their counterparts in Greek thought, whether Christian or Pagan. Nevertheless the 'Christian' element remains fundamental. This is clear above all from the important rôle played in Manicheanism by the creation or formation of Adam and Eve. The Manichee myth is quite different from the story in Genesis, but it is founded upon that story. Mani, like Marcion, rejected the Book of Genesis—which is only another way of saying that his system of thought had been profoundly influenced by it. But Genesis and all the lore connected with Genesis came to Mani from the West, from the Greek-speaking lands, or, as in the case of that which he took from Bardaisan, from sources profoundly influenced by Greek thought, Christian and Heathen.

To conclude this Essay, let me quote the very weighty judgement of Professor Alfarcic upon the religion of Mani and its

literature (*Les Écritures Manichéennes*, i. 128): 'The Persian, Arab, and Chinese authors who have written upon the Manichees supply what is lacking in their Latin, Greek, and Syriac predecessors. They generally speak in more direct terms about the Manichean works quoted, because they are less afraid of their diffusion, and being less earnest in their polemics they give us a more objective view. Moreover some of them, such as An-Nadīm and Al-Bīrūnī, have in any case more historic sense than Hegemonius (the reputed author of the *Acta Archelai*), Epiphanius or even Augustine. But they know very little about Christianity, and they do not take much interest in doctrines which are derived from it. Thus they are apt to pass over specifically Christian details in Manicheism which belong to the Bible, and to throw into high relief the reminiscences of pagan mythology which interested them more, thereby giving a false idea of the Manichean literature.'

F. C. BURKITT.

NOTE ON THE MS. OF THE REFUTATIONS.

On pp. (6) and (7) of Vol. I Mr. Mitchell gave Tables showing the ancient and the present arrangement of the Quires of the ms, so far as the parts edited in Vol. I were concerned. These are repeated here, together with the parts edited in Vol. II.

TABLE I

SHOWING THE RELATION OF PRIMITIVE QUIRES TO
THE MODERN ARRANGEMENT.

Ancient				Modern	
Quire and Leaf.				Quire and Leaf.	
I.	Original order preserved in B.M. Add. 14574, ff. 1-9				
II.	Original order preserved in B.M. Add. 14574, ff. 10-19				
B.M. Add. 14623					
III.	1 = Folio 14 =	II.	6		
	2 = " 10 =		2		
	3 = " 9 =		1		
	4 = " 12 =		4		
	5 = " 16 =		8		
	6 = " 11 =		3		
	7 = " 15 =		7		
	8 = " 18 =		10		
	9 = " 17 =		9		
	10 = " 13 =		5		
IV.	1 = Folio 19 =	III.	1		
	2 = " 22 =		4		
	3 = " 21 =		3		
	4 = " 23 =		5		
	5 = " 20 =		2		
	6 = " 27 =		9		
	7 = " 24 =		6		
	8 = " 26 =		8		
	9 = " 25 =		7		
	10 = " 28 =		10		

Ancient		B.M. Add. 14623		Modern	
Quire and Leaf.				Quire and Leaf.	
V.	1	=	Folio 29	=	IV. 1
	2	=	" 36	=	IV. 8
	3	=	" 44	=	V. 6
	4	=	" 34	=	IV. 6
	5	=	" 46	=	V. 8
	6	=	" 41	=	V. 3
	7	=	" 33	=	IV. 5
	8	=	" 43	=	V. 5
	9	=	" 31	=	IV. 3
	10	=	" 38	=	IV. 10
VI.	1	=	Folio 42	=	V. 4
	2	=	" 39	=	V. 1
	3	=	" 35	=	IV. 7
	4	=	" 47	=	V. 9
	5	=	" 37	=	IV. 9
	6	=	" 30	=	IV. 2
	7	=	" 40	=	V. 2
	8	=	" 32	=	IV. 4
	9	=	" 48	=	V. 10
	10	=	" 45	=	V. 7
VII.	1	=	Folio 64	=	VII. 5
	2	=	" 75	=	VIII. 7
	3	=	" 71	=	VIII. 3
	4	=	" 74	=	VIII. 6
	5	=	" 77	=	VIII. 9
	6	=	" 70	=	VIII. 2
	7	=	" 73	=	VIII. 5
	8	=	" 76	=	VIII. 8
	9	=	" 72	=	VIII. 4
	10	=	" 63	=	VII. 6
VIII.	1	=	Folio 59	=	VII. 1
	2	=	" 66	=	VII. 8
	3	=	" 67	=	VII. 9
	4	=	" 65	=	VIII. 7
	5	=	" 78	=	VIII. 10
	6	=	" 69	=	VIII. 1
	7	=	" 62	=	VII. 4
	8	=	" 60	=	VII. 2
	9	=	" 61	=	VII. 3
	10	=	" 68	=	VII. 10

TABLE I

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Ancient		B.M. Add. 14623		Modern	
Quire and Leaf.				Quire and Leaf.	
IX.	1	=	Folio 88	=	IX. 10
	2	=	" 52	=	VI. 4
	3	=	" 56	=	VI. 8
	4	=	" 84	=	IX. 6
	5	=	" 57	=	VI. 9
	6	=	" 50	=	VI. 2
	7	=	" 83	=	IX. 5
	8	=	" 51	=	VI. 3
	9	=	" 55	=	VI. 7
	10	=	" 79	=	IX. 1
X.	1	=	Folio 85	=	IX. 7
	2	=	" 58	=	VI. 10
	3	=	" 80	=	IX. 2
	4	=	" 86	=	IX. 8
	5	=	" 54	=	VI. 6
	6	=	" 53	=	VI. 5
	7	=	" 81	=	IX. 3
	8	=	" 87	=	IX. 9
	9	=	" 49	=	VI. 1
	10	=	" 82	=	IX. 4
XI.	1	=	Folio 8	=	I. 8
	2	=	" 7	=	7
	3	=	" 6	=	6
	4	=	" 5	=	5
	5	=	" 4	=	4
	6	=	" 3	=	3
	7	=	" 2	=	2
	8	=	" 1	=	1
	(9)		[not extant]		
	(10)		"		

At the time of the making of the Palimpsest foll. 42 and 45, 80 and 87, must have been refolded, so that what had been the inner pages became outer pages.

Headlines on the 5th and 10th versos of each ancient Quire, e.g.  fol. 37a (= VI. 5), and  fol. 57a (= IX. 5). When therefore we find  on fol. 4a, we must infer that it is the 5th leaf of Quire XI, which therefore has lost two leaves. Similarly Quire I of Add. 14574 has lost one leaf, the text beginning on the verso

of what would have been I. 2. No doubt there was a blank guard-leaf at the beginning, now torn off; probably there was as much at the end. What is lost therefore is most likely not more than one or two pages of text, possibly only a few lines.

TABLE II

GIVING THE TRANSCRIBED LEAVES OF THE PALIMPSEST ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF THEIR NUMBERING IN THE CATALOGUE, AND THE PAGES OF VOL. I AND VOL. II ON WHICH THE TEXT OF EACH LEAF BEGINS.

Folio 1 begins in Vol. II, p. 225	Folio 30 begins in Vol. I, p. 176
" 2 " " 220	" 31 " " 146
" 3 " " 218	" 32 " Vol. II, p. 1
" 4 " " 215	" 33 " Vol. I, p. 137
" 5 " " 211	" 34 " " 124
" 6 " " 207	" 35 " " 164
" 7 " " 202	" 36 " " 115
" 8 " " 198	" 37 " " 173
" 9 " Vol. I, p. 33	" 38 " " 151
" 10 " " 28	" 39 " " 160
" 11 " " 46	" 40 " " 181
" 12 " " 37	" 41 " " 133
" 13 " " 63	" 42 " " 155
" 14 " " 23	" 43 " " 142
" 15 " " 50	" 44 " " 120
" 16 " " 42	" 45 " Vol. II, p. 10
" 17 " " 59	" 46 " Vol. I, p. 129
" 18 " " 55	" 47 " " 168
" 19 " " 68	" 48 " Vol. II, p. 6
" 20 " " 85	" 49 " " 190
" 21 " " 77	" 50 " " 126
" 22 " " 72	" 51 " " 135
" 23 " " 81	" 52 " " 108
" 24 " " 94	" 53 " " 175
" 25 " " 103	" 54 " " 170
" 26 " " 98	" 55 " " 139
" 27 " " 89	" 56 " " 113
" 28 " " 107	" 57 " " 122
" 29 " " 111	" 58 " " 155

INDEX OF BIBLICAL ALLUSIONS.

THE following List contains all the Biblical allusions in the Refutations which have any textual interest, but mere references by Ephraim to a Bible personage or event are not included. The larger Arabic figures refer to the page of the Syriac text, the smaller to the line.

GENESIS		ECCLESIASTES	
i 14 ^b	i 27 ⁴⁷	iii 1	ii 25 ¹⁸
i 26	i 114 ³³	EZRA	
iii 24	ii 58 ³² 87 ²⁹	iv 15	ii 51 ⁴¹
EXODUS		vi 1 f.	ii 51 ⁴⁶
iv 11	ii 177 ⁴	ISAIAH	
iv 24-26	ii 75 ³⁷⁻⁴⁵	xlv 18	i 134 ²⁵
xxi 25	ii 113 ³⁹	lii 3	ii 135 ⁴⁴
DEUTERONOMY		lviii 5 ff.	ii 74 ¹¹⁻²³
xxii 27	ii 177 ⁶⁻⁸	ZECHARIAH	
xxxii 22	ii 99 ¹⁹⁻²³	ix 9	ii 103 ⁶
JOB		MALACHI	
i 8	i 103 ⁴	iii 1	ii 105 ⁶
xvi 15	ii 73 ³⁶	iv 1	ii 115 ³⁶
2 SAMUEL		JEREMIAH	
xiii 5 ff.	ii 178 ²⁹	xl 2, 3 ^a	ii 51 ²²⁻²⁵
PSALMS		EZEKIEL	
xxxvii 37	ii 115 ⁴⁵	viii 7-16	i 125 ²⁵ 126 ²⁴ 128 ¹¹⁻²³
lxix 11 (12)	ii 73 ⁴⁰	DANIEL	
xci 7	ii 115 ⁴³	iii 23 ff.	ii 68 ¹
civ 1	i 41 ⁷⁻¹¹	vii 13	ii 103 ¹¹
cix 24	ii 73 ³²	xii 13	i 142 ⁸

MATTHEW		xvii 21	ii 114 ³⁹
v 5, 3	ii 72 ²⁶	xviii 13	<i>Overbeck</i> 28 ¹³
vii 18 (see Lk vi 43)		xviii 42	ii 106 ¹⁷
vii 20	i 184 ²³	xxiv 39 ^b	ii 147 ¹
ix 16 (see Lk v 36)			
xi 6	ii 86 ^{5, 34}		
xiv 28	<i>Overbeck</i> 27 ^{7, 18, 27}		
xxiii 15	ii 222 ³⁶		
MARK			
vi 27	ii 108 ⁴⁵		
LUKE			
i 32	ii 115 ⁴⁷		
v 36	ii 142 ¹³		
vi 10	ii 141 ³²		
vi 43	<i>Overbeck</i> 55 ²¹		
vii 19	ii 62 ¹⁴ 82 ⁴³		
vii 23 (see Matt xi 6)			
vii 24	ii 82 ⁸		
ix 35	ii 93 ¹ 94 ¹⁵		
x 1	ii 89 ⁸		
x 22	ii 72 ¹		
		JOHN	
		i 4	i 121 ⁴⁴ -122 ³
		viii 51f.	ii 164 ²¹
		x 8	i 143 ⁸
		xi 23	ii 165 ⁴²
		xx 25	ii 163 ^{39, 41}
		I CORINTHIANS	
		ii 8	ii 72 ⁴
		iii 16, 17	i 123 ⁴³
		EPHESIANS	
		i 4	ii 89 ¹⁶
		COLOSSIANS	
		i 15 ^b	ii 140 ⁴⁰
		iii 9	ii 170 ²
		I TIMOTHY	
		ii 15	ii 100 ¹⁰

Note on the Text of certain Passages.

As in his other works, so here, S. Ephraim is a witness for a text of the Syriac OT almost exactly agreeing with that of our mss and printed editions. In several instances he quotes with the slight inaccuracies of a man who has not verified his allusions. Thus the long quotation of Isaiah lviii 5-7^a is not accurate, but it contains the characteristic renderings of the Peshiṭta, such as *ܠܘܬܐ* (= 'bulrush,' lit. 'crooked stick') in v. 5 and *ܠܘܬܐܪ* in v. 7. Similarly the allusions to Ezek viii 7-16 contain the characteristic word *ܠܘܬܐܪܐ* (= 'porch,' lit. 'screen' or 'railings'), as in the printed text of syr. vg.

The following passages contain points of textual interest.

Exod iv 24-26 (vol. ii, p. 75 = xxxiv f.)

This is an allusion only, but it states that God constrained

interesting in a Syriac writer, because these Books are not part of the Syriac Canon.¹ It is important therefore to notice that Ephraim's reference to the Book of Ezra, though introduced by ܐܘܪܐܝܠ, is not an exact quotation but only gives the sense of a couple of passages. It is noteworthy that the same phenomenon recurs in the only two allusions in Aphraates to Ezra (or possibly the last verses of Chronicles), both of which occur in the same Homily XIX.

Dan iii 23 ff. (vol. ii, p. 68¹ = xxxi)

The effective prayer of the friends of Daniel (ܐܘܪܐܝܠ ܕܢܘܨܝܐ) is evidently the 'Prayer of Azarias,' which was therefore an integral part of the Peshiṭta text as known to Ephraim.

All the 'apocryphal' portions of Daniel are found in the MSS of the Peshiṭta, e.g. B.M. Add. 14445, written A.D. 532.

Dan vii 13 (vol. ii, p. 103¹¹ = xlviï)

ܐܘܪܐܝܠ ܕܢܘܨܝܐ ܕܢܘܨܝܐ

This agrees with the printed text in the peculiar rendering of ܘܢܢ ܒܪ ܐܢܝܢ. For ܐܢܝܢ ܒܢ ܐܕܡ in Ezekiel, the Syriac has simply ܐܢܝܢ, the ordinary word for 'man.'

In the following Notes to the NT allusions, *S* denotes the Sinai Palimpsest, *C* Cureton's ms, *P* the Syriac Vulgate.

Matt v 5, 3 (vol. ii, p. 72²⁶ = xxxiii)

ܐܘܪܐܝܠ ܕܢܘܨܝܐ ܕܢܘܨܝܐ

Blessed are the meek in their spirit.

This is a mixture of the first and following Beatitudes, but ܐܘܪܐܝܠ agrees with *SC* and Aphraates against *P* (ܘܢܢ).

Matt vii 20 (vol. i, p. 184²³ = cxix)

ܐܘܪܐܝܠ ܕܢܘܨܝܐ ܕܢܘܨܝܐ

From their fruits [ye] shall recognise them.

ܐܘܪܐܝܠ *C*, ܐܘܪܐܝܠ *P*. Lk vi 44 has ܘܢܢ.

[Hiat *S*.]

[See Corrigenda.]

¹ There is actually no ms of Ezra or Nehemiah among the Nitrian mss in the British Museum!

Matt xi 6 (vol. ii, p. 86^{6.34} = xxxix)

. ܘܒܠܘܟܘܢ ܠܟ ܘܘܥܠܘܟܘܢ

Blessed is he, if he be not offended in me.

So *C*. For ܠܟ, *S* has ܠܟ ܠܗ and *P* has ܠܟ ܠܘܠܗ. In Lk vii 23 both *S* and *P* have ܠܟ ܠܗ.

Matt xiv 28 (*Overbeck*, p. 27^{7.18.27} = *Mitchell*, vol. i, pp. v, vi)

This is not a quotation at all, but a mere allusion to S. Peter walking on the water. The textual interest of the passage is that the Apostle is twice called 'Peter' (ܘܦܦܬܪܘܢ) by Ephraim, once 'Simon' (ܘܫܡܥܘܢ). The name *Peter* is exceedingly rare in Syriac texts, *Simon* or *Kepha* (ܟܦܬܪܘܢ) being preferred, even in *P*. In Matt xiv *P* has *Kepha*, while *S* and *C* have *Simon Kepha*. The use of ܘܦܦܬܪܘܢ by Ephraim in this passage may be compared with ܘܦܦܬܪܘܢ (i.e. Ægyptus) in vol. ii, p. 52^{6.1}

It may be remarked that in another reference to the same incident S. Peter is called 'Simon' (vol. i, p. 57¹⁰ = p. lvi).

Matt xxiii 15 (vol. ii, p. 222³⁶ = cv)

. ܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ

And he (Bardaisan) went round sea and land to make one proselyte.

The verb in *SC* and *P* is ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ 'ye go about,' but Aphraates has ܘܢܘܩܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܢ in agreement with Ephraim, so that doubtless ܘܢܘܩܘܢ stood in the Diatessaron.

Mark vi 27 (vol. ii, p. 108⁴⁵ = xlix)

. ܠܦܘܠܘܪܐܘܪܐ (espuklātrā)

The same transliteration of σπεκουλάτορα is found in *S* and *P*.

It is worth noticing that Ephraim twice (pp. 64²⁴, 109¹²) states about John the Baptist that 'the girl played with his skull.' Where did he get that from? It is not in the Gospels, nor in the medieval *Life of John the Baptist* by 'Eurippus' (*Vassiliev*, pp. 1-4).

Lk i 32 (vol. ii, p. 115⁴⁷ = liii)

. ܘܘܥܠܘܟܘܢ ܘܘܥܠܘܟܘܢ ܘܘܥܠܘܟܘܢ ܘܘܥܠܘܟܘܢ ܘܘܥܠܘܟܘܢ

The LORD God will give him the throne of David his father.

So also *P*. [Hiant *SC*.]

¹ See F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshē* ii 92-96, 119.

Lk v 36, Matt ix 16^b, Mk ii 21^b (vol. ii, p. 142¹³ = lxxv)

. ܠܟܘܢܐ ܩܢ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢܐ

A rent worse than the former one.

I entered this passage under Luke v 36, because it is known that Marcion read $\mu\epsilon\iota\zeta\omicron\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\ \gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, but the clause ($\kappa\alpha\iota\ \chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omicron\nu\ \sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\alpha\ \gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$) properly belongs only to Matt ix 16^b and Mk ii 21^b. In each case *S* has ܠܟܘܢܐ ܩܢ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢܐ ܠܟܘܢܐ in agreement with Ephraim's allusion, but *P* has in Matt ܠܟܘܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢܐ and in Mark ܠܟܘܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢܐ. [Hiat C.]

Lk vi 10 (vol. ii, p. 141³² = lxxiv)

A mere allusion to the man with the withered hand.

Lk vi 43 (*Overbeck* 55²¹ = *Mitchell*, vol. i, p. xxvi)

. ܠܟܘܢܐ ܠܟܘܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ

There is no good tree that bringeth forth bad fruits.

For ܩܢܐܢܐ *S* and *P* have ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ. Matt vii 18 has 'cannot.' [Hiat C.]

Lk vii 19 (vol. ii, p. 62¹⁴ = xxix; p. 82⁴³ = xxxviii)

. ܠܟܘܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ p. 62

Hast thou come? Or for another are we looking?

ܠܟܘܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ p. 82

Art thou he that cometh?

The quotation on p. 82 agrees with the Biblical text (*S* and *P*), but the first part of that on p. 62 is different, so that it is just possible that Ephraim may reproduce the wording of the Marcionite version.

Lk vii 24 (vol. ii, p. 82⁸ = xxxvii)

. ܠܟܘܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ

A reed shaken with every wind.

The Biblical text omits 'every,' but Ephraim repeats ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ not only on p. 82, l. 28, but also elsewhere, p. 107, l. 2.

Lk ix 35 (vol. ii, p. 93¹ = xlii; p. 94¹⁵ = xliii)

. ܠܟܘܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ ܩܢܐܢܐ

This is my Son and my Beloved!

This is the Old Syriac rendering of $\delta\ \nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\sigma\ \mu\omicron\nu\ \delta\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ where-

Lk xxiv 39^b (vol. ii, p. 147¹ = lxviii)

. לול לול לול לול לול לול

'For there are no bones to a spirit.'

An allusion merely, and in 7-syllable metre.

Joh i 4 (vol. i, p. 121⁴⁴⁻⁴⁶ and 122¹⁻³ = xc)

. לול לול לול לול לול לול לול p. 122

That Life is the light of men.

According to Ephraim this is the reading of 'the Greek Gospel,' while 'the Gospel' has לול instead of לול לול. By itself לול (i.e. 'man') might be singular or plural, and the Manichees perversely took it as singular, interpreting the phrase of the Primal Man, not of mankind. The natural interpretation of Ephraim's terms is that by 'the Gospel' he means the Diatessaron, and by 'the Greek Gospel' he means the Separated Gospels, such texts as *S* and *C*.

S is not extant here: *C* and *P* omit לול. Ephraim in his Commentary on the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 29 and 53) quotes 'the Greek,' meaning apparently the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshē*.

Joh viii 51 f. (vol. ii, p. 164²¹ = lxxvi)

. לול לול לול לול לול לול לול

Whosoever keepeth my word, he shall not ever taste death.

These words are repeated in Joh viii 52. *S* and *P* have לול instead of לול לול, which was required to make a 7-syllable line. In the Greek, followed by *P*, the verb is 'see' in *ver.* 51, but 'taste' in *ver.* 52: *S* has 'taste' in both places. לול comes last in *S* and *P*. [Hiat *C*.]

Joh xi 23 (vol. ii, 165⁴² = lxxvii)

. לול לול לול לול

'Thy brother shall rise.'

So *S*: but *P* has לול לול לול.

Joh xviii 40 (vol. i, p. 185^{11 f} = cxix)

. לול לול לול

Bar Abba the robber.

This is as in *P*, both *S* and *C* not being extant. This rendering of ληστής is the usual one in *S* and *C*, but in about half the passages *P* substitutes לול.

[See Corrigenda.]

Dom Connolly's argument that the phrase ܡܠܚܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܢܐ (ܡܠܚ) ܡܠܚܘܬܐ implies that the work in which it occurs is a translation from the Greek, not an original Syriac writing, still has weight. It should be observed that in Rom i 20 ܡܠܚܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܢܐ ܡܠܚܘܬܐ stands for $\text{\AA}\pi\text{\AA}\ \kappa\text{\AA}\tau\text{\AA}\iota\sigma\text{\AA}\epsilon\omega\sigma\ \kappa\text{\AA}\sigma\text{\AA}\mu\text{\AA}\nu\text{\AA}$.

Col i 15^b (vol. ii, p. 140⁴⁰ = lxiv)

Allusion merely.

Col iii 9 (vol. ii, p. 170² = lxxx)

Allusion to the 'Old Man' (ܡܠܚܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܢܐ).

1 Tim ii 15 (vol. ii, p. 100¹⁰ = xlv)

ܡܠܚܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܢܐ ܡܠܚܘܬܐ

'*Eve shall live because of her children.*'

Here *P* has ܡܠܚܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܢܐ ܡܠܚܘܬܐ , which is nearer to $\text{\sigma\omega\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota}$ $\text{\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\eta\sigma\ \tau\epsilon\kappa\text{\nu}\text{o}\gamma\text{o}\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma}$. But the Commentary of Ephraim (extant in Armenian, Latin tr., p. 248) agrees with the allusion in the Refutations, for it says 'but she shall be saved because of her children (*wasn tsnanditz iurotz*).' It does not appear from Ephraim's Commentary whether he referred the verse to women in general or, as here, to Eve.

The general result is that out of some 20 passages from the Gospel there is only one agreement with *P* against *S* and *C*, viz. in the term for the Nails of the crucifixion. On the other hand there are several striking agreements with *S* or *C*, such as the Seventy-two Disciples, and the rendering of $\text{\epsilon\text{\nu}\tau\text{\AA}\sigma\ \acute{\iota}\mu\text{\AA}\omega\text{\nu}\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu}$ in Lk xvii 21 by ܡܠܚܘܬܐ without a copula. The Gospel allusions of Ephraim in these Refutations are, in a word, just like his allusions in his other works, and imply an almost exclusive use of the Diatessaron, with occasional reference to the Greek Gospel, i.e. the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshē*.

F. C. B.

INDEX

H = *Hypatius* (i.e. Vol. 1); D = *Donnus*; M = *Agst. Marcion* I, II, III;
B = *Stanzas on Bardaisan*; V = *On Virginity*; Mani = *Agst. Mani*.

- ܝܚܟܐ H 14¹⁵ 31¹¹ 47²⁵ 52³⁸ 53⁴¹; D 35³⁸ 37^{30r};
 M 148³⁸; Mani 203⁴⁸.
 ܠܗܘܘܢ ܠܘܟܐ H 172⁴⁶.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ M 80³⁸.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ (spelt ܡܘܨܝܟܐ) H 160⁴⁷; M 111²; B 145²³ &c.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ D 38¹⁸; Mani 210⁸ 21.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ M 52⁶ (elsewhere ܡܘܨܝܟܐ, 52⁴ 75³⁹ &c.).
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ H 114¹⁰ 22⁴⁰ 119¹⁸; M 58-61 115¹⁵; B (31
 times); V 172³³.
 Adam's 930 (or 900) years' life, M 58-61; B 167⁴⁰
 168²⁰.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ ܡܘܨܝܟܐ B 161³⁴.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ Mani 222¹¹.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ Mani 205⁴⁵.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ H 11³⁶.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ H 11⁴¹ 12¹⁷ 92¹⁰; D 46³⁷ (= mechanism);
 M 140¹⁰ 47¹⁴¹ 8; B 144⁷; Mani 218²².
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ ܡܘܨܝܟܐ M 140⁵ 17.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ H 121⁴⁴ 47.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ D 46⁵.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ M 116²⁰.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ M 138³⁸ 139².
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ Mani 222³⁵.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ M 52¹⁵ 57²².
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ :— ܡܘܨܝܟܐ ܡܘܨܝܟܐ M 113⁵.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ M 54^{47f}.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ H 44³⁷, see ܡܘܨܝܟܐ.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ H 103⁴¹ 129⁴; Mani 213¹⁰.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ M 100³⁹ 135²⁶.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ H 105¹ 177²; M 73⁶ 126³; B 148⁶
 149¹⁵ 32¹⁵⁶ 20¹⁵⁸ 10¹³; Mani 212⁴⁰
 213²⁰.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ Mani 213³² 224²⁸.
 ܡܘܨܝܟܐ H 83² 98¹⁵; V 186²⁶.

- ܡܝܬܐ M 63^{35r}.
 ܡܝܬܝܢܐ D 31⁴⁰ (=ܡܝܬܝܢܐ).
 ܡܝܬܝܢܐ Mani 209³.
 ܡܝܢ H 19³⁵ 116⁹ 120⁴⁴ 138²⁹; Mani 205²⁴.
 ܡܝܝܢ D 35²⁹ (=ܕܝܝܢܐ).
 ܡܝܝܢܐ (constr.) H 39³⁰; M 140³⁶; V 170²⁰: ܡܝܝܢܐ
 M 141⁴ &c.
 ܡܝܝܢܐ :— ܡܝܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ V 185⁴.
 ܡܝܝܢܐ M 52⁵, ܡܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ M 51²⁹.
 ܡܝܢܐ H 13^{10 15} 67²² 122⁴⁸ 123⁴; Mani 190² 191³⁰.
 ܡܝܢܐ D 8³⁹ (? = ܕܝܝܢܐ).
 ܡܝܢܐ (Aramaic) H 122⁷; D 7⁴⁷ 8¹; Mani 225²⁶.
 ,, (Jeremiah) M 56⁷ 67⁹ 70³².
 ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ H 60³⁵ 63²³, ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ H 67⁴⁴ 134¹¹.
 ܡܝܢܐ M 56²¹.
 ܡܝܢܐ M 73⁴⁷ 80⁴³ 135⁴¹.
 ܡܝܢܐ H 118^{33 38} 120⁴⁸.
 ܡܝܢܐ H 120⁴⁶.
 ܡܝܢܐ, see ܡܝܢܐ.
 ܡܝܢܐ D 26¹⁶ 30⁴⁸.
 ܡܝܢܐ Mani 209³.
 ܡܝܢܐ (Space) D 10f 16³³ &c.

 ܡܝܢܐ M 52¹¹ 68²¹.
 ܡܝܢܐ V 172⁷.
 ܡܝܢܐ H 57^{30 33}.
 ܡܝܢܐ B 144¹² 157^{21 24} 165⁹; V 175⁶ 179³⁹.
 ܡܝܢܐ :— ܡܝܢܐ H 176³⁴.
 ܡܝܢܐ M 122⁴⁶ 140^{31 45} 141³⁷.
 ܡܝܢܐ Mani 218.
 ܡܝܢܐ :— ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ H 35²⁵ Mani 208¹⁸.
 ܡܝܢܐ (attention) D 36³⁷.
 ܡܝܢܐ H 87⁴³.
 ܡܝܢܐ :— ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ Mani 216³⁰.
 ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ Mani 200³⁵.
 ܡܝܢܐ :— ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ H 27²⁹.
 ܡܝܢܐ ܡܝܢܐ H 94⁴⁰.
 ܡܝܢܐ, see ܡܝܢܐ, ܡܝܢܐ, &c.
 ܡܝܢܐ H 70³⁵.
 ܡܝܢܐ B 164²⁶.

- אלה :— אלהים M 57²⁵.
 א H 33² 39²⁰ 94⁴².
 אלהים H 35¹⁷.
 אלה (Baalite) M 55⁵.
 אלה Mani 202²⁷.
 אלה Mani 202²⁸ 34.
 אלה Mani 221³.
 אלה M 91⁴⁷.
 אלה B 146³⁹ Mani 204².
 אלה H 185¹².
 אלה M 103¹¹.
 אלה H 22¹⁰ Mani 206²⁰.
 אלה H 8⁴ 9²⁸ (27 times); D 8¹³ 26 (10 times);
 M 53³³ 35; B (12 times); Mani 204³⁸ (16
 times): in all named 67 times.
 called אלהים אלהים D 8¹, אלהים
 אלהים Mani 225²⁵.
 אלהים D 16²⁵ Mani 206³³.
 אלהים Mani 223³.
 אלה :— אלהים H 71²⁶.
 אלה (sorcerer) H 120⁴⁶.
 אלה H (8 times); M (4 times); B (twice); M
 (twice).
 אלהים H 67¹⁹ 34⁴² Mani 208⁴⁴.
 אלה (after אלה) M 58²².

 אלהים D 31³⁶.
 אלה (to soar) D 35³⁴ V 172²³.
 אלה M 75²⁶.
 אלה (colour) Mani 223²⁵ 34 224⁴ (also H 112⁷ &c.).
 אלה (angles) D 20¹³ 15.
 אלה B 145¹¹ 163² &c.
 אלה H 185¹².
 אלה M 140²⁶ B 169⁸ &c.
 אלה M 75¹⁵ 102⁵.
 אלה M 122³⁴ 38.
 אלהים B 164⁴⁰ 165³⁵.
 אלהים H 28^{9ff}.
 אלהים M 64⁴¹.
 אלהים Mani 214³⁶.

- 𐭩𐭪** M 69³⁴ 71^{6 10} 72²⁵ 91³⁴.
𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 (𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩) D 19²².
𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 Mani 222³⁴.
𐭪𐭩 :— 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 M 134²².
𐭪𐭩𐭪 :— 𐭪𐭩𐭪 𐭪𐭩 D (*passim*).
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 D 21⁴⁵.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 D 17²².
 𐭪 (redundant) :—
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 M 123⁹ 125¹⁸.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 𐭪𐭩𐭪 Mani 208¹⁸.
𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 (goldsmith) D 36¹.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 B 153³⁵.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 M 138¹⁶.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 H 44⁴; M (15 times).
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 𐭪𐭩 M 63–116 (16 times).
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 :— 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩𐭪 𐭪𐭩 M 118⁷.
 𐭪𐭩 H 9²⁹ 44¹ 63⁷, 𐭪𐭩𐭪 69¹⁵.
 𐭪𐭩 :— 𐭪𐭩 𐭪𐭩 M 123¹⁸ 126²⁷ 138⁴³.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 Mani 214^{26 30} 215^{14 17}.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 Mani 214²⁹.
𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩𐭪 (διάστارا) D 9²², see also 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 H 43⁴¹ 103¹¹; M 116^{20r} 124¹¹ 127^{12f}.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 (of the soul) Mani 210²⁸.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 :— 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩𐭪 H 54⁷ 83²⁹.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 :— 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 B 162^{13 25}.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪, 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩, M 98f &c.; B 155¹² &c.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 H 7¹⁹; B 159^{19r 23r}; Mani 204⁷ 215³⁵.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 Mani 206²³.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 M.142¹⁰.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 :— 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩𐭪 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 D 64³.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 Mani 210⁴ &c.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 Mani 214³⁵.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 Mani 212⁴.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 H 142⁷; M 68^{16 27} 80⁴⁴ 103¹⁰.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 𐭪𐭩𐭪 M 68¹, see 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 D 19³⁵ 22²¹; V 187³⁵.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 M 51⁴⁷.
 𐭪𐭩𐭪 :— 𐭪𐭩𐭪𐭩 H 11⁴²; D 27²⁸ &c.

- കിന്ദ Mani 209².
 ക്ക M 128⁹; B 151²⁷ 152⁷ 153³³ 41.
 ക്ക (‘vowel’ or ‘syllable’) D 26³² 31³.
 ക്ക (‘organs,’ not ‘limbs’) M 117² &c.,
 cf. ക്കി ക്കി ക്കി ക്കി ക്കി D 47¹¹.
 (contra: ക്കി M 125⁴⁴ &c.)
 ക്ക :—
 ക്ക ക്ക ക്ക D 43²⁷ 46⁴⁰; ക്ക ക്ക ക്ക Mani 198⁷ 9
 (the opposite of ക്ക ക്ക ക്ക H 14¹¹,
 ക്ക ക്ക ക്ക D 7²⁸).
 ക്ക ക്ക (= ‘whereas’) D 22⁴; Mani 211¹²
 220² 226¹⁸.
 ക്ക :— ക്ക B 158³⁹ 168³³.
 ക്ക H 70¹³ 71¹⁹ 140⁴¹ 45 141¹⁴ 33^f 41 46 142¹³ 21 ;
 M 98¹⁸ 120³²; Mani 193¹⁵.
 ക്ക V 187¹⁸ 20 (=mental power); Mani 220¹⁷
 (=Reason): see ക്കി.
 ക്ക Mani 212⁴³: ക്ക (=an expert)
 V 178³¹.
 ക്ക H 34² 52³⁸ 103⁴² 172⁴³; B 160¹⁴.
 ക്ക H 18¹⁴ 36³⁸ 77¹²; M 58⁴¹.
 ക്ക ക്ക D 26⁴⁵.
 ക്ക H 36⁷ 14.
 ക്ക H 20²⁵ (sic):— ക്ക ക്ക H 19³⁹.
 ക്ക H 15⁴³ 28⁶ (=ὑποδέκται, receivers of taxes).
 ക്ക H 44²¹ 78¹²; D 27²³.
 ക്ക H 78⁴⁴.
 ക്ക :— ക്ക M 90¹⁶.
 ക്ക M 64²⁸ 34^f 65¹ 108⁴⁰.
 ക്ക ക്ക M 108⁴³, see ക്ക.
 ക്ക H 143¹⁹.
 ക്ക Mani 208²² 34 209³⁷ 210⁸ 19 211⁵ 12.
 ക്ക H 166²⁵.
 a in apodosi:—
 after ക്ക H 169⁴ (sic); M 72⁴⁶ 87³⁵ 92⁷
 100³.
 after ക്ക M 80⁶ 83¹⁶.
 see also . . . ക്ക . . . ക്ക . . . ക്ക
 B 146¹⁶⁻²⁰.

- ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ H 125³.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ :—ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ Mani 210¹³.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ, see also ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ (= 'once upon a time') H 64²⁵ 69⁵ 71¹⁸.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ (sale) M 132–136 138³⁴.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ (= a Manichee, زنديق) H 30¹⁸.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ H 128².
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ M 76¹⁴ 77¹¹ &c.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ H 48²⁸.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ Mani 208³⁹.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ H 80³⁰ 101^{9 18 33} 122¹² 128⁶; Mani 204¹⁷
 208³⁶: Five in number, H136²⁷.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ :—ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ M 120²⁰.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ M 103⁵.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ :—ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ D 42^{2 6}.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ H 158³¹; D 26²⁷.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ :—ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ M 118¹⁸.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ H 64³.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ D 16³⁵.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ (exalted) H 40¹¹.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ Mani 218¹⁷.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ :—ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ D 36⁵.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ :—ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ M 82^{22 33f}.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ H 69¹³ 109^{22 26}; D 35¹⁷; Mani 218^{8f}.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ Mani 217².
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ (usury, pledge) M 115^{23f}; B 143²³ 168¹³; V170⁸.
 ,, (corruption) M 141³⁸; V 171⁴² 173³⁶ 179^{10 14}.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ M 116³⁹.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ Mani 222³⁶.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ M 100¹⁰; V 180^{13 21}.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ H 119¹⁸ &c.; B 166⁹ 167²³.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ B 158⁴.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ Mani 218^{40ff}.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ M 129¹⁹.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ H 125^{27 37} 129⁴⁰; M 67⁴⁴.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ H 127⁴⁰.
 ܘܠܝܢܝܘܫܝܢ M 94³² 132²⁹ &c.

ἄἱς Mani 197³⁴.

ἄἱς :—

ἄἱς ἄἱς M 81²⁵.

ἄἱς (beast, not 'reptile') D 38³⁸; (wild
beasts, not 'cattle') Mani 212⁸.

ἄἱς H 88^{31 46}.

ἄἱς H 40²⁶ 41^{18 37} 72-75 (11 in all).

ἄἱς H 155^{34 43}.

ἄἱς (vb. with ε) M 127¹¹.

ἄἱς (conj.) M 126³⁸ 141¹⁸.

ἄἱς V 176¹² 177³⁰ 178^{4 17}.

ἄἱς B 148¹⁵ 149³ 158²² 167⁴¹ 168^{15 20 23}.

ἄἱς H 142³; M 101²¹ 128¹⁰; B 162²².

ἄἱς B 150⁵.

ἄἱς :— ἄἱς Mani 200⁷.

ἄἱς :— ἄἱς H 92¹.

ἄἱς :— ἄἱς M 57³¹.

ἄἱς H 128^{22 f}.

ἄἱς B 144¹⁴.

ἄἱς M 127³⁹ &c.

ἄἱς M 126⁹ 127³¹.

ἄἱς H 4²⁸.

ἄἱς :— ἄἱς, see ἄἱς.

ἄἱς *passim*, see ἄἱς.

ἄἱς . . . ἄἱς, an aid to sight, though
contrary to Light, D 32^{18 f}; like a pipe, D 33³¹;
not in the sky, for it is incorporeal, D 40⁹; the
Dark diffuses smoke, Mani 216⁷ 225⁴⁰.

ἄἱς (to polish, to ornament) D 47²³.

ἄἱς M 53^{5 9} 95³⁵ &c.

ἄἱς M 105¹⁷.

ἄἱς (report) M 62¹² 107⁶ 109²⁸.

ἄἱς M 116¹³.

ἄἱς B 162²⁰.

ἄἱς Mani 219²¹.

ἄἱς M 72³¹, 86⁴⁶.

ἄἱς M 100⁷.

ἄἱς H 57¹⁴.

- דָּבָר D 20²⁸.
 דָּבָר M 110².
 דָּבָר (Joshua) M 76^{36 38}.
 ,, (Jesus) H 121¹⁹; M 82¹³; Mani 190²⁶ 191^{30 40}
 208²⁵ 209^{6 31 38} 210¹ 211^{7f}.
 (Note. דָּבָר occurs 33 times in M, only 210⁴
 in Mani.)
 דָּבָר, דָּבָרָא, H 1⁸ 31⁴ 87⁵ 168¹³; M 98⁶; Mani
 194¹³ 195⁴⁶ 219³.
 דָּבָרָא:— דָּבָרָא, from דָּבָרָא Mani 195^{8f}, but from
 דָּבָרָא 196¹⁶.
 דָּבָרָא M 61⁴⁰ &c., very much commoner than דָּבָרָא.
 דָּבָרָא Mani 204⁴.
 דָּבָרָא (= test) B 163^{42f}, also H 5²⁰ 12³ &c.
 דָּבָרָא H (52 times); D 49²⁰; M (35 times); B 166¹;
 V 183³⁵ 184¹⁵; Mani (4 times).
 דָּבָרָא H 9⁴²; D 39⁹ 46²⁰; M (11 times); B (5 times);
 Mani (3 times): never ironically.
 דָּבָרָא, see דָּבָרָא.
 דָּבָרָא H 33⁴³; M 59²⁶ 86^{4 14} 123²¹.
 דָּבָרָא B 164³⁴ 165^{1 3 13 17}.
 דָּבָרָא B 164⁴⁴ 165¹⁶.
 דָּבָרָא דָּבָרָא Mani 209²¹.
 דָּבָרָא B 160²¹, see דָּבָרָא.
 דָּבָרָא Mani 219²⁵.
 דָּבָרָא:— דָּבָרָא דָּבָרָא Mani 224¹⁸.
 דָּבָרָא H 145²¹.
 דָּבָרָא M 96¹⁰; V 177²⁸ 178⁵ 188²⁵.
 דָּבָרָא:— דָּבָרָא M 90¹⁶.
 דָּבָרָא (technical terms) D 31^{9 12 22}.
 דָּבָרָא, followed by דָּבָרָא H 16⁴⁰ 17^{9 25}, by דָּבָרָא
 H 17⁴¹ 18¹⁵.
 דָּבָרָא דָּבָרָא דָּבָרָא Mani 226³².
 דָּבָרָא D 45²⁵, see דָּבָרָא.
 דָּבָרָא B 160³⁹.
 דָּבָרָא (vaults) H 40²⁷ 73^{6 12}.
 דָּבָרָא H 41²²; Mani 219⁹.
 דָּבָרָא M 58³² 87²⁹.
 דָּבָרָא B 152³⁸ 153^{4 6}.
 דָּבָרָא M 81³⁶.

- ד :— דָּ אֵיזְרָאֵל H 57⁴.
 .דל, followed by a stop, H 63² 175⁸.
 דל H 48²⁷ 106¹⁶ 151¹³; M 100⁴; Mani 207⁹.
 דהרל M 57³⁹.
 דל, the seat of knowledge, H 12¹³ 152⁹.
 דהרל ('tarts') V 178²⁹.
 דל :— דָּלֵהֶם Mani 218²¹.
 דל B 160¹².
 דל M 90²⁵; B (10 times); V (6 times).
 דל M 52²⁰.
 דל V 183²⁹.
 דל H 18⁶ 287^(sic) 78⁴⁸; M 52³⁷.
 דל B 150²⁵.
 דל H 118³⁴.
 דל H 118 ff (15 times).
 דל B 168¹⁸.
 דל M 68³¹ (*sic*).
 דל H 11⁶.
 דל B 165³³.
 דל Mani 222²⁹.
 דל M 55³¹.
 דל Mani 209²⁴.
 דל Mani 207².
 דל (Midian) V 177¹⁸.
 דל (= 'anything') :— דל H 88²⁷.
 דל (loam) H 88⁴⁸.
 דל B 145³ (*sic*).
 דל H 22¹ &c. (6 times); M (8 times); V 177³, see
 דל.
 דל (= Moses and Elijah) M 91
 &c. (8 times),
 דל M 88².
 cf. דל (= Shadrach, Meshach and
 Abednego) M 68¹.
 דל :— דל B 148⁵.
 דל (read דל) B 148¹⁸.
 דל Mani 209²⁵.
 דל :— דל M 138³⁴.
 דל H 157⁴⁵; B 164³¹ 167¹² 168³³; V 172³⁰.

- ܡܘܠܬܐ M 107²⁸ 115³⁵.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ H 5⁵.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ ('verb') D 18³¹ 22³⁵ 27⁷ 21.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ (speech) D 17^{23f}.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ (ܡܘܠܬܐ) H 146²², see 183²⁰; (ܡܘܠܬܐ) B 162¹⁹;
 ܡܘܠܬܐ ܕܡܘܠܬܐ V 184⁵.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ :— ܡܘܠܬܐ ܡܘܠܬܐ Mani 215⁹.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ ܡܘܠܬܐ Mani 198³⁴.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ ܡܘܠܬܐ H 3³¹; M 125⁴⁸.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ (=ܡܘܠܬܐ) H 158⁹.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ :—
 ܡܘܠܬܐ, ܡܘܠܬܐ (of the Light, &c.) H 7⁴⁴ &c.;
 Mani 190³ &c. (40 in all).
 ܡܘܠܬܐ H 147²⁸.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ H 8⁵ &c. (31 times); M 53³⁴ 41; Mani 190¹ &c.
 (15 times).
 ܡܘܠܬܐ ܡܘܠܬܐ H 28⁷ 29¹⁹ 38³⁷ 43³³ 128¹ 129⁴².
 ܡܘܠܬܐ H 18³⁸ 21⁴⁰ 46 29⁴³ 30^{17ff} (sing.) 38³
 43³³ 115²² 185⁵; Mani 208³¹ 212⁴⁷
 227⁸.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ Mani 218³⁷.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ (The Seven) H 161²⁶; B 160^{21(?)} 164³⁶; Mani
 204⁴⁵.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ H 97³⁶.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ :— ܡܘܠܬܐ (ܡܘܠܬܐ) M 108³⁷ 109³⁷ &c.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ M 132²³.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ M 52⁴ 75³⁹ 128⁴⁸; V 182²; Mani 208²³ 209⁴⁴;
 see ܡܘܠܬܐ.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ :— ܡܘܠܬܐ Mani 220²².
 ܡܘܠܬܐ M 60⁴⁸ &c. (33 times); B
 (29 times); V 170¹⁶; Mani
 210⁴.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ (Martha) B 165⁴¹.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ (castle) H 38²⁰.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ Mani 222⁴⁷ 223¹¹.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ H 152¹⁹; B 143¹⁵; V 187³¹.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ H 44²⁴ &c. (11 times); M (16 times); Mani
 209³⁴.
 ܡܘܠܬܐ ܡܘܠܬܐ M 55²³ 35⁴⁵ 56⁴² 67⁴¹ 69¹¹ 71³⁴
 132³¹ 142¹⁹.

𐎎𐎎𐎎 (sic) H 129¹ 185⁷; M 61²⁸ 68²⁵
 125⁴¹ 126³⁴ 137⁴⁷; spelling
 uncertain in M 53³² 54⁸ 10¹¹
 140²⁰ 141³⁶ (never clearly
 𐎎-).

𐎎𐎎 (measure): — 𐎎𐎎𐎎 D 17²⁴ 38²⁶ &c.

𐎎𐎎 H 124⁴⁸; M *passim*; B 163³⁸.

𐎎𐎎𐎎 𐎎𐎎 M 105^{22f} 109²⁰ 34.

𐎎𐎎 𐎎𐎎 M 78¹⁴.

𐎎𐎎 (of Light) Mani 215³⁶.

𐎎𐎎 H 100²⁵; D 5³⁵ 8²⁰; M 134³¹ 33.

𐎎 :— 𐎎𐎎𐎎 𐎎𐎎 V 186³².

𐎎𐎎𐎎 M 51²⁸.

𐎎 :— 𐎎𐎎𐎎 B 149¹⁰ (read 𐎎𐎎𐎎).

𐎎𐎎 D 36³⁷ (the Carpenter's half-shut eye).

𐎎𐎎 M 121¹⁸; B 147⁴³ &c.

𐎎 V 187²⁰.

𐎎𐎎 and 𐎎𐎎 *passim*.

𐎎𐎎 𐎎 H 75³⁹ &c.; Mani 204²⁷.

𐎎𐎎 means 'Sun and Moon' Mani 209⁸,
 but 𐎎𐎎 often means the same
 as 𐎎𐎎.

The two 𐎎 of 𐎎𐎎 and 𐎎𐎎 give
 birth to 𐎎 in the Eye D 42^{32f}.

𐎎 B 162²⁴; V 184³ 11.

𐎎 :— 𐎎𐎎 Mani 214²⁵.

𐎎 (𐎎𐎎𐎎 𐎎𐎎) V 174^{12f}.

𐎎 (= 𐎎) H 72³⁵ 73¹.

𐎎, 𐎎𐎎, B (14 times), not 𐎎 : also V 174²⁵
 &c.

𐎎𐎎 B (12 times), not 𐎎𐎎 : also
 V 181²¹ &c.

𐎎𐎎 𐎎 B 161⁴⁵.

𐎎 (to 'strike,' of rays) D 40⁴⁴ 46 41²⁶ 38 42³³.

𐎎 V 186³⁰.

𐎎𐎎 V 186²⁸.

𐎎 B 166¹².

𐎎 Mani 222^{2f} 21.

𐎎 M 108²⁴; B 151⁵.

- ܘܗܗ H 5⁴⁷ &c.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ H 44²⁷ &c. : ܘܗܗܘܗ ܡܠܟ M 59⁴¹.
 ,, (Marcionite), ܘܗܗܘܗ ܡܠܟ M 80⁴ : cf.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ ܘܗܗ 71³² 125¹.
 ,, (Bardesianian), breathed His Life into the
 Entities, B 158³.
 ܘܗܗ B 166¹⁰.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ Mani 216³⁶.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ B 143¹³.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ V 176³⁸ 178⁷.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ B 148³⁹, mistake for ܘܗܗܘܗ.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ B 158⁴⁹.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ M 119⁴³ &c. ; B 164-167.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ V 181⁵ 25³².
 ܘܗܗ H 65⁴⁰.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ H 65⁴¹ ; D 26²⁸.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ (diacritic point) D 26¹⁹.
 ܘܗܗ M 62⁴⁵ 63²³.
 ܘܗܗ Mani 225²⁷.

 ܘܗܗܘܗ Mani 208³⁹.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ :— ܘܗܗܘܗ Mani 200²⁵ 13.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ H 141¹⁹ (of Marcion).
 ܘܗܗܘܗ M 142¹³.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ (masc.) H 21⁴ 22⁴⁵ 23⁸ 26⁴.
 ,, (fem.) H 15²⁸ 16¹³ 17⁸ 18³¹ 46²⁷ 27³³ : called
 ܘܗܗܘܗ 23³³.
 ܘܗܗ M 58³².
 ܘܗܗܘܗ (ܘܗܗܘܗܘܗ) M 58³¹ 59¹⁰⁷.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ :— pl. ܘܗܗܘܗܘܗ D 196¹⁰.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ :— ܘܗܗܘܗ M 90²¹ (*sic*), ܘܗܗܘܗ M 81².
 ܘܗܗܘܗܘܗ D 26³³ 35.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ :— ܘܗܗܘܗܘܗ (author) M 130⁴⁶.
 ܘܗܗܘܗܘܗ D 6⁴⁵ 7²⁵.
 ܘܗܗܘܗܘܗ D 6-8 22⁴⁸ 24⁴⁸ 25⁴⁴ : the Seven *Asomata*
 D 22⁴¹ 31³¹.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ :— ܘܗܗܘܗ M 109⁵.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ H 16²² 80¹⁴ 112²¹ ; B 159³⁷.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ H 152⁵ ; D 30³⁴ 37⁵.
 ܘܗܗܘܗ B 163¹⁸ 20.

- 𐭪𐭥𐭥 B 163¹⁸ 20.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 Mani 218¹⁶.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 D 7-8 10⁵ 12¹⁰ 26³⁶ 29⁴⁷: their 'metaphors'
 D 8^{15f}; see also 5^{33f}.
 (spelt 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 D 12¹⁰).
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 :— 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 M 139¹.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 H 119²⁹ &c.; Mani 191¹².
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 Mani 212⁴⁶.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭪𐭥 (sic) Mani 212⁴⁴.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 H 182³³; D 32³⁶ 33³¹ 35¹³ 23 37¹¹ 39²²: how
 Light comes from the Stars, D 33^{31f}.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 D 35¹⁶.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 :—
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 (foolish) M 125⁵ 26.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (Adam's sin) B 143² 152²³.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 ('notion,' 'meaning') D 14²¹ 17⁹ 44 22³¹
 27¹⁷ 30 28²: not a substance D 28⁶ 29^{23f},
 but Bardaisan considered 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 as
 things D 29³⁹ 45.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 H 12⁹ 83²⁹.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 M 50²⁹.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 H 94³.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (i.e. 'Bartimaeus') M 106³⁶ 123³ 126³⁵.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 D 19¹⁹; M 108²⁸.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 H 75³⁶; 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (constr. sing.) V 177⁴.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 H 2¹¹ &c. (13 times).
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 Mani 217¹.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 Mani 205²².
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (empty) Mani 214⁴⁶.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (polished) D 41²⁵ 42⁴.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 (Sarah) V 189¹.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 H 39⁴⁴.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 M 81⁴⁰.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 Mani 218^{15f}.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 M 112¹⁵ 22 119⁹ 139²⁹; Mani 217^{13f}.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 H 12⁴³.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 M 86¹.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (sic) D 31³⁵.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 (outline) D 9³⁰ 19^{19f}.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥 Mani 210³⁸.
 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 Mani 212⁸.

- 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰 H 29²⁷.
 𐍄𐍅𐌹𐌳𐌰 D 27¹.
 𐌹𐌳𐌰 Mani 221³⁶.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰 M 134^{30 36}.
 𐌹𐌳𐌰 D 36⁶.
 𐍄𐍅𐌹𐌳𐌰 D 26⁴⁷.
 𐌹𐌳 H 48¹¹ 49¹² 164⁶ 174²⁹; D 15⁴¹; M 131¹⁴;
 B 168⁴⁰; Mani 220³² 222¹⁰ 225²⁴.
 𐌹𐌳 M 81¹¹.
 𐌹𐌳 M 122⁴.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 :— 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰 M 55⁴.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 H 14⁴¹.
 𐌹𐌳𐌰 H 52¹³.
 𐌹𐌳 M 70¹⁹ 113³⁹, see Exod xxi 25.
 𐌹𐌳 (of the Entities) Mani 213³⁹ 214^{9 18}.
 𐌹𐌳𐌰 (of Fire) Mani 214¹.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰 D 8²⁷.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 M 125²⁶; Mani 191¹⁷ &c.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰 H 29¹⁵.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 H 160^{23r} 164^{5 s}; M 80³⁵ 85⁴⁶; Mani 206²³.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 D 8^{6r}; Mani 208²⁴⁴⁴ 209^{27 37} 211¹³.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰 D 6⁴⁴ 7^{4r}.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰 D 7²².
 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰 D 7⁴⁸; M 55³¹; Mani 225²⁵: see 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳𐌰 Mani 224²⁰.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 M 73³⁸; V 176³⁵.
 𐍄𐍅𐌹𐌳𐌰 H 58⁴.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 (𐌸𐌹𐌳) Mani 206^{3 13 15}.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 Mani 214⁴³.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 M 114⁴³ 115¹.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 H 12¹⁸.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 :— 𐌸𐌹𐌳 B 162^{11 21}.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 :— 𐌸𐌹𐌳 V 177⁴.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 V 186³.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳, 𐌸𐌹𐌳 Mani 214⁴⁷ &c. (17 times).
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 M 67⁴¹.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 Mani 202^{26 33}.
 𐌸𐌹𐌳 H 63³⁹; M 59¹³ &c.

- αια B 160¹⁵ 162¹² 167⁴¹ 168¹⁵.
 αια :— αιαδκ H 65³³.
 αια D 27⁴⁷.
 αια M 51²⁶.
 αια M 131 &c. (10 times).
 αια B 143²⁴; V 170³.
 αια M 129²; V 189³.
 αια :— αιαδκ M 56⁹; Mani 210²⁹.
 αια H 63⁹.
 αια D 26¹⁶, see αια.
 αια (= Mani) Mani 209¹¹.
 αια B 151¹⁸.
 αια H 178¹⁴; M 85⁴⁵.
 αια M 124³².
 αια :— αια M 109⁴⁴.
 αια M 104²⁶ 125³¹; V 173¹.
 αια H 29² 6⁴⁵.
 αια M 96¹ 13¹⁸.

 αια Mani 200⁴⁴ &c.
 αια D 47³ 6; M 137⁴⁶.
 αια M 56¹⁰.
 αια H 184³¹; M 67³⁸ 43 73-75.
 αια B 166³¹ 167⁴; Mani 222¹⁹.
 αια H 69⁴⁶ 123³ &c. (9 times); Mani 207¹⁹.
 αια M 67⁴⁵ 68⁶ 75²⁴.
 αια H *passim*; M 119⁴⁴ 121¹³; B 156⁹ 160²³; Mani
passim.
 αια M 206¹⁷.
 αια V 188¹.
 αια Mani 223⁶.
 αια B 161³² 41.
 αια B 163³⁹ 41.
 αια H 64²¹.

 αια H 42²² 69¹⁸ 175¹⁸.
 αια :— αια κια H 11²⁰.
 αια M 67¹ 19 83¹³, B 153¹² &c.

- 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 :— 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 M 127¹⁰; B 153³⁵.
 𐌲𐌹𐌺𐌰 H 44²⁴.
 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 𐌸𐌹𐌸 H 11⁹ 101⁷ 121³⁷ 122⁹ 123²⁵; Mani 208³⁴.
 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 H 112¹⁵; Mani 220²³.
 '𐌰 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌸 Mani 220³¹.
 '𐌰 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌸 Mani 221⁴².
 𐌸𐌲𐌹𐌺𐌰 𐌸𐌹𐌲𐌹𐌺𐌸 Mani 216¹⁵.
 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 (= virginity) M 75⁴⁷ &c.
 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌰 Mani 223²⁹.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰 ('sound,' 'voice,' as distinct from the 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰)
 D 27^{20 ff.}
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 𐌺𐌰 B 161⁴⁵.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 𐌺𐌰 Mani 206¹⁷.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰 𐌲𐌹𐌺 M 135³⁷.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰 :—
 𐌸𐌺𐌰 ('is established') Mani 216³⁸;
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 '𐌺 𐌲𐌹𐌺 M 104²⁵ 125³¹.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰 (philosophical standpoint) D 7²⁰.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 𐌸𐌲𐌹𐌺𐌰 (the Three Dimensions) D 14^{26 31}
 15⁴ 17¹⁸ 18⁴⁰ 22¹⁵.
 𐌸𐌲𐌹𐌺𐌰 Mani 211¹⁴: see on 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰, 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰, B 154³⁷ 157⁴⁵ 159^{4 11 38}; V 173¹³;
 Mani 203⁴⁶ 204⁹ 220¹⁴.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 M 122⁵.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰 H 81²⁸ 174²⁸; M 84^{26 39} 122^{33 35 43}.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰 :— the heavens are a 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 𐌸𐌺𐌰 D 45²⁵.
 𐌺𐌰 𐌸𐌺𐌰 B 159²⁶, see 𐌸𐌹𐌸.
 𐌺𐌰 Mani 227²⁴.
 𐌺𐌰𐌰 M 98²⁹ 110²⁷; V 181^{9 21}.
 𐌺𐌰𐌰 (of the Baptist) M 82-84 86¹² 107¹.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 (= self) H (20 times), M 63³⁰; (= ὄλωσ) H 23⁷.
 ,, (= substance) H (20 times), D *passim*, B 159¹⁷,
 V 174²⁰ (of wood), Mani (6 times).
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰𐌰 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰, black substances, D 41³⁶.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 H 51⁴⁷.
 Verbal nouns like 'buying' and 'selling' are only
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 and have no 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰 D 18^{34 f.}
 Compare 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰𐌰, 'species,' sort,' D 26¹⁶.
 𐌸𐌺𐌰𐌰𐌰 H 128^{16 f.}

𐎠𐎡𐎴 :— 𐎠𐎡𐎴 B 151².

𐎠𐎡𐎵 :— 𐎠𐎡𐎵 M 75^{8ff}; B 156³⁶.

𐎠𐎡𐎶 *passim* (over 30 times).

𐎠𐎡𐎷 (intention) H 69²² 112⁴⁴ 113⁴⁸ 153⁴⁴;
D 2²² 23¹⁵ 27; M 89²² 127²; V 180³²; Mani
215² 220⁷ 18; see also *Overbeck* 36^{12ff}.

The other words for 'mind' occur as follows:

𐎠𐎡𐎸 V 187¹⁸ 20, Mani 220¹⁷; 𐎠𐎡𐎹
H 20²⁶, B 158²⁰ 25 31 159¹²; 𐎠𐎡𐎺
(imagination) H 65¹⁷ 19 69²¹ 71¹⁹ 110¹⁹ 24,
V 186²⁷.

𐎠𐎡𐎻 M 107¹.

𐎠𐎡𐎼 :— 𐎠𐎡𐎼 (desisted) M 138³⁵; B 154²² 26.

𐎠𐎡𐎽 D 35¹⁸, 𐎠𐎡𐎾-35⁴⁵.

𐎠𐎡𐎿 Mani 204³⁵.

𐎠𐎡𐏀 :— 𐎠𐎡𐏀 𐎠𐎡𐏀 Mani 204⁴⁶.

𐎠𐎡𐏁 Mani 199³⁵(*sic*) 201^{25ff}.

𐎠𐎡𐏂 B 152²⁰.

𐎠𐎡𐏃 :— 𐎠𐎡𐏃 V 185⁵.

𐎠𐎡𐏄 B 166³².

𐎠𐎡𐏅 M 52²; V 182⁵.

𐎠𐎡𐏆 :—

𐎠𐎡𐏇 H 52³⁰ 91⁹ 130¹ 131¹ 134⁴⁷; M 61¹⁸ 81⁴¹;
Mani 190¹.

𐎠𐎡𐏈 (ζητήσιν) D 71⁷ 19 8⁸ 16.

𐎠𐎡𐏉 H 158¹²; B 153²⁸ 154⁵; V 180¹⁴.

𐎠𐎡𐏊 B 144³² 38.

𐎠𐎡𐏋 B 152³² 36 153³ 5; see *Overbeck* 34¹².

𐎠𐎡𐏌 :— 𐎠𐎡𐏌 M 111³³ 122⁴⁸ 139³⁵.

𐎠𐎡𐏍 H 33²¹.

𐎠𐎡𐏎 H 121¹⁵; Mani 225³⁹.

𐎠𐎡𐏏 M 87^{6ff}.

𐎠𐎡𐏐 :— 𐎠𐎡𐏐 (ulcered) V 183²⁶.

𐎠𐎡𐏑 H 49⁴⁰; M 81²¹ 99²²; B 163¹⁵ 164¹⁴ 166²¹ 23
168¹⁸.

𐎠𐎡𐏒 (cultivated land) M 63⁴⁵ 64⁷; (?) Mani 208⁴⁸.

𐎠𐎡𐏓 M 92⁴⁰ 96⁴⁶ (*sic*).

𐎠𐎡𐏔 V 177³³ 178¹.

- κίμα** H 154⁴⁵ ff.
κουλ (=Paul) M 100⁹.
κουλ (sheath-skin) H 132³ ff.
κωα (fem. sing.) H 11¹³ 12²⁰ 44²⁶; M 127¹⁵ f.
 „ (masc. pl.) H 44³³ 42 45⁹ 135⁴.
λαμα (Peter) H 57¹⁰; M 76¹ 26: see *Overbeck* 27⁷ 18 27.
κωα (masc.) M 127⁹ ff.
λαμα H 172¹⁶ 25 47.
κλε :— **κλδερ** (to play) M 64²⁴ 109¹³; (to relate)
 B 143¹ 163³⁰.
κλδωα H 95⁸ 100²⁶ 140¹⁷; B 143¹⁶.
κλω (?) B 147²⁹.
μα, **κμα**, M 62⁴², B 155³ &c.
κδμα B 143⁹: see also M 118¹⁰.
λα :— **κλα** M 111⁶ 31 115³².
ια :— **ιακ** (=έκόσμησε) Mani 216¹².
κδια M 118¹⁰.
κια H 176³³.
λα :— **κλα** (exalted) M 83¹⁹ 107³⁵ 111⁹
 115³².
κια M 86²¹.
κιοα M 109¹⁶.
κικ Mani 226¹⁶ &c.
κδαι V 173¹⁹.
κικ δω M 63⁵.
κικ (?) H 152¹⁵.
κδικ (the XII Tribes) M 112³⁹ 113⁵.
κικ H 72¹³ 118¹²; M 131¹⁶.
κδικ H 157³ 7.
κικ D 32²⁸ 39² 41³³; M 131¹³ 140²⁰; B 145³
 163³¹ 33.
κδκα M 134¹¹; B 154³⁰.
κδκα M 78⁸.
κδκα M 123⁴², but **κδκα** 138²⁷.
κκα B 146³⁷ 163⁴⁵.
κκ (insist) M 120⁴⁷ 132¹; B 164³; V 172³⁸.
 „ (avenger) M 131⁴; B 151³¹; V 174⁴⁴: (?) M 142¹².

I take this opportunity of using what would otherwise be a blank page to point out that we have in Vol. I, p. 162, ll. 25-27, what seems to be a literal quotation of three lines from a Manichæan Syriac poem, having (like the 'Hymn of the Soul') six syllables to the line.

The fragment runs—

ܝܘܡܝܢ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܡܝܙܳܐܪ ܙܳܐܪ

ܡܝܢܝܳܢܗܳܢ ܕܢܳܦܳܫܳܗܳܬܳܗ

ܒܳܕܳܡܳܝܳܫܳܬܳܐܳܠܳܐܳܢ ܘܳܫܳܠܳܟܳܐܳܢ.

Yōm min yōm miz'ar z'ar
minyānhēn dnaphshāthā
badmīstal-lān wsālkhān.

“Day by day diminishes
 The number of the Souls (on earth)
 As they are refined and mount up.”

It was recognised in Vol. I, p. cix, that Ephraim is quoting from a Manichæan source, but the translation there does not suggest the rhythm which I think I can perceive in the Syriac.

F. C. B.

מאמר דבב

לחיי ארץ ישראל למלך

מאמר דבב דבב דבב דבב

לחיי ארץ ישראל למלך

B.M. Add. 14,623

Fol. 40
Col. 3
l. 20.

15 אה ליה דבב

דבב דבב דבב

Fol. 32b
Col. 1

ל. אה ליה

דבב דבב דבב

דבב דבב דבב

20 דבב דבב דבב

25 ל. אה ליה

דבב דבב דבב

דבב דבב דבב

דבב דבב דבב

דבב אה דבב

דבב * דבב דבב

דבב * * * דבב

דבב * * * דבב

דבב דבב דבב

דבב דבב דבב

דבב דבב דבב

25 אַחֲרָיִם * * * אַחֲרָיִם

•••••••• אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

30 אַחֲרָיִם * * * אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

* * * אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

35 אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

40 אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

45 אַחֲרָיִם * * * * *

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

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אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

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אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

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אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

* * * * * * *

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

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אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

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אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

אֲחֵרֵי אַחֲרָיִם אַחֲרָיִם

* * * * * * *

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5

10

15

COL. 3

20

25 [?]כי [?]ל [?]אלה

[?]י [?]אם * * *

[?]אלה [?]הנהגות

אם [?]אלה [?]הנהגות

* * אל * * *

30 * * * אל [?]הנהגות

* * * * * * *

[?]הנהגות [?]אלה [?]הנהגות

Col. 2 [?]אם [?]הנהגות

* * * אל [?]הנהגות *

35 * * * * * [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות * * * * *

[?]הנהגות אם * * *

* * * * * [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות [?]אלה [?]הנהגות

40 * * * * * [?]הנהגות

* * * * * [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות אם [?]הנהגות

אלה [?]הנהגות * * *

* * * * * [?]הנהגות

45 * * * * * [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות * * * * *

* * * * * [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות

* * * * * א * *

* * * * * הנהגות

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות

* * * * * [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות * * * * *

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות

* * * * * [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות

* * * * * [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות * * * * *

[?]הנהגות * * * * *

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות

* * * * * [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות

[?]הנהגות * * * * *

[?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות [?]הנהגות

5

10

15

20

25 קבא ש דאן
 קבא ש א
 ובה קבא ש
 Col. 3 קל
 אום קא ש
 30 קא קבא ש
 אום קא ש
 דאן קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קל קבא ש
 35 אום קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 דאן קבא ש
 קבא ש
 40 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 דאן קבא ש
 קבא ש
 45 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש

קבא ש קבא ש
 אום קל קבא ש
 אום קבא ש
 קבא ש קבא ש
 דאן קבא ש
 אום קבא ש
 קבא ש קבא ש
 אום קבא ש
 אום קבא ש
 10 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 15 אום קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 20 אום קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש
 קבא ש

25 לל כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 אפיקחל משה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

30 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

35 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

40 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

45 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

COL. 2

כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

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5
 Fol. 48b
 COL. 1

כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה
 כחגה כחגה כחגה

10

15

20

25 חי נ ל
כי נ נ
נח ל נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ
* * * * ל
30 * * * * נ נ נ
נ * * * * נ * * * *
נ נ נ * * * *
נ נ נ * * * *
נ נ נ נ * * * *
35 נ נ נ נ נ נ
. . . . נ נ נ נ
* * * * נ נ נ
נ * * * * נ * * * *
נ נ נ נ נ נ
40 נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
45 נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ * * * * נ * * * *
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ

נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
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5 נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
10 נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
15 נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
20 נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ
נ נ נ נ נ נ

Fol. 48a

Col. 1

25 ~~א~~ קראל
 אלא . פשוטהא
 נא נא אפ אפ
 אפ אפ אפ אפ
 קאל² אל אפא

30 א . קראטהא
 אפ קראל נא
 קאל אל אפ
 אפ אל אפ
 אפ קראל

35 קרא אפ נא
 נא אפ אפ אל
 אל אפ אפ
 אפאפאפא אל
 קרא אל נא

40 קרא אפ אפ
 קרא אפ אפ
 קרא אפ אפ
 אפ אל אפ
 אפ אפ אפ

45 אל אפא קרא
 אפא אפ אפ
 קראל אפא
 אפ אפ אפ

Col. 3

. קראאפ קראל אל
 אפ אפ אפ אפ
 אפ אפ קראא
 אפ אפ קראל
 אל אפ אפ 5

אפ אפ אפ
 אפא
 אפ אפ אפ
 קראל אפ אל
 אפ קראא 10

אל אפא אל
 אפ אפ אפ
 אפ אפ אפ
 אפ אפ אפ
 אל אפא 15

אפא . אפא
 אפא אפ אפ
 אל . אפ אפ
 קראאפ קראל
 אפ אפ . אל אל 20

אפא אפ קראל
 . אפ אפ אפ
 אפא אפ אפ
 אפ אפ אפ אל

Col. 2

20

^a 1. 29, read קראל

25 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 30 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
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 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 35 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
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 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 40 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
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 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 45 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁

𐤀 * * * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁
 * * * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀 * * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀 * * * * * * *
 * * * * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 5
 * * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁 * * * * *
 𐤀 * * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁
 * * * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 10
 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 * * *
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 * * * * * * *
 * * * * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 15
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 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 * 𐤀𐤁 * 𐤀𐤁 *
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 20
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 COL. 2
 𐤀 * * 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁 * * *

25 קטעל קאמ קטע
 און אפן קייע
 און קאטל קלג
 אײַנפֿירן קאמ
 קאמײַט^a דינעקע
 30 קטעל קל ק
 קל קל וײַסע
 קל . קייע
 קל קל קעטל

Fol. 45a
 Col. 1

און קייע קל
 35 ק * יא * ד * קל
 קל קל
 קל קל קל
 קל קל אײַסע
 און קל קל קל
 40 קל . און קל
 קל קל קל
 קל קל קל * * *
 קל קל קל
 קל קל
 45 קל קל קל
 * * יא * * יא
 קל * קל *
 קל קל קל

קל קל קל
 קל קל קל
 קל קל קל
 קל קל קל
 קל קל קל
 5 קל קל קל
 10 קל קל קל
 15 קל קל קל
 20 קל קל קל
 קל קל קל
 קל קל קל
 קל קל קל

^a l. 29, read קאמײַט

25 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק

COL. 2
30

קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק

35 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק

40 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק

45 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק

קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק * * *
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק

קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק
 קטני קטני חזק

קטני קטני חזק
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COL. 8

25 כִּי אֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּב
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30 חֲסִידֶיךָ כִּי יִשְׁבְּרוּ
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 כִּי אֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּב

35 חֲסִידֶיךָ כִּי יִשְׁבְּרוּ
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 כִּי אֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּב
 מִכָּל־עֲוֹנוֹתָיִךְ
 כִּי אֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּב

40 מִכָּל־עֲוֹנוֹתָיִךְ
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45 מִכָּל־עֲוֹנוֹתָיִךְ
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COL. 2

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 מִכָּל־עֲוֹנוֹתָיִךְ
 כִּי אֵלֶּיךָ יָשׁוּב

מִכָּל־עֲוֹנוֹתָיִךְ
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Fol. 75b COL. 1

^b l. 33, read כִּי

^a l. 6, read מִכָּל־עֲוֹנוֹתָיִךְ

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^a l. 28, read 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

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Fol. 71b
 COL. I

קאַמאַל דע יִשׁ

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^a l. 21, read אַן

^b l. 22, read קאַמאַל

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 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁
 40 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁
 .o.o.o.o.o 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁
 45 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 * * * o
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 * * *
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁 *
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁 * * * *

𐤏 * 𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁
 𐤏𐤁 * 𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁
 𐤏𐤁 * 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁 5
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁 * * *
 * 𐤁𐤁 * 𐤁 * 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁
 * * * 𐤏𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁 10
 * * * 𐤏 * 𐤁 *
 .o.o.o.o.o 𐤏 * * * o *
 * * 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 * * *
 * * * 𐤁 𐤏 * * * 𐤏 15
 𐤏𐤁𐤁 * 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏 * *
 𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁
 𐤏 * * 𐤁 𐤏 * *
 * * * 𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁 .𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 20
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 COL. 2
 𐤏𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁
 𐤏𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤁𐤁

25 *כעס כעס* *כעס כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס כעס*
 כעס כעס *כעס*
 COL. 2 *כעס כעס* *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
 30 *כעס כעס* *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
 35 *כעס כעס* *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
 40 *כעס כעס* *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
 45 *כעס כעס* *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*

כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
 5 *כעס כעס* *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
 10 *כעס כעס* *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
 15 *כעס כעס* *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
 20 *כעס כעס* *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*
כעס כעס *כעס*

* * * * * * *^a

25 . 0 . 0 . קמחא

* * ח * * * *

קמחא * * *

קמחא קמחא * *

* * * * * * *

30 * * * קמחא * א

* * א קמחא

קמחא חא קמחא

* * א קמחא

* * א קמחא

35 * קמחא קמחא

קמחא קמחא * * *

* * * * *

Fol. 77a

COL. 1

קמחא קמחא קמחא

קמחא קמחא קמחא[?]

40 קמחא קמחא קמחא

קמחא קמחא קמחא

קמחא קמחא^b קמחא

קמחא קמחא קמחא

קמחא קמחא קמחא

45 קמחא קמחא קמחא

קמחא קמחא קמחא

* * * * * * *

ק * * * * *

* * קמחא קמחא

* * קמחא קמחא[?]

קמחא קמחא 5

קמחא קמחא

קמחא קמחא * ק

קמחא קמחא קמחא

קמחא קמחא קמחא Col. 3

קמחא קמחא קמחא 10

קמחא קמחא קמחא

* * * קמחא קמחא

קח * א * * * *

קמחא קמחא קמחא

ק * א * קמחא קמחא 15

* * * * * * *

קמחא קמחא קמחא

* * * * * * *

* * א * קמחא קמחא

ח * * * קמחא * ק 20

קח * * * * * *

קמחא * * * * *

* * * * * חאחאחא

^a l. 24. Seven lines are illegible.

^b l. 42, read קמחא

עבדא עבדא

25 אבא אבא

אבא אבא

אבא אבא

אבא אבא

אבא אבא

30 אבא אבא

אבא אבא

אבא אבא

אבא אבא

אבא אבא

35 אבא

אבא אבא

אבא אבא

אבא אבא

אבא אבא

40 אבא אבא

אבא אבא

COL. 2 אבא אבא

אבא אבא

אבא אבא

45 אבא אבא

אבא אבא

. אבא

אבא אבא

Fol. 70b
Col. 1
5

10

15

20

^a 1. 9, read perhaps אבא ^b 1. 14, omit אבא as a dittography.

25 קטורה וקרא
 על מל קינא
 נ ק לטוה
 ללו ואלוה
 ילל מ וקרא
 30 קרא וק
 אל מ קווי
 על מל ואלוה
 נ דקידו קינ
 יקו קומח
 35 לל קלו דלול
 נ ו ו ו
 קרא קינ על
 קינח יקו
 ילל קווי
 40 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 45 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח

דקידו . קווי
 ילל קווי קינח
 נ קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 5 דקידו קינח
 קווי קינח קווי
 קינח קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 ילל קווי קינח
 10 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 15 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 20 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח
 45 קווי קווי קינח
 קווי קווי קינח

5

10

15

COL. 3

20

* l. 6, read perhaps קווי

25 קציע חאל קציע
 חפא ק * * * ק אק
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל

30 קציע חאל קציע
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל

35 קציע חאל קציע
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל

40 קציע חאל קציע
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 * * * * ק * * *
 קציע חאל קציע חאל

45 קציע חאל קציע
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל

אק חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל

קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל

קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
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 קציע חאל קציע חאל

קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל

קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל
 קציע חאל קציע חאל

Fol. 70a
 COL. 1
 20

25 . 0 . 0 . קלרר מלג
 קחאצאצאצאצאצאצאצא
 לא? לל מלחא
 קחאצאצאצאצאצאצאצא
 . מל מל מל מל מל

30 . מלמל קלרר מל
 קלרר קלרר מל
 מל קלרר מל

COL. 3 קחאצאצאצאצאצאצאצא
 מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל

35 מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 קלרר קלרר מל
 קחאצאצאצאצאצאצאצא
 קחאצאצאצאצאצאצאצא
 קלרר מלמלמלמלמלמל

40 קלרר מלמלמלמלמלמל
 מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 . מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 קחאצאצאצאצאצאצאצא

45 קחאצאצאצאצאצאצאצא
 קלרר קלרר מל
 קלרר מלמלמלמלמלמל
 קלרר קלרר מל

למלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 קלרר קלרר מל
 למלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 קלרר מלמלמלמלמלמל

מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 קלרר קלרר מל
 מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 קלרר מלמלמלמלמלמל
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מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל
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 קלרר מלמלמלמלמלמל
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 מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל

מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 קלרר קלרר מל
 קלרר מלמלמלמלמלמל
 מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל
 מלמלמלמלמלמלמלמל

5

10

15

20

ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 25 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 * * * * *
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 30 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ *
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 Fol. 73b
 COL. 1 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 35 ןאָרװװ^a ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 40 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 45 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ

ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 5 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 10 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 15 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 20 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ
 25 ןאָרװװ ןאָרװװ

^a l. 35, read either ןאָרװװ or ןאָרװװ

COL. 2

כסמ כלו כלו

כסמטו כמ אכ

25

אמאכא אמאכא

כמל²א^a כלו כלו

כלו אמ כסמ

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

. כסמ אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a אמ כלו

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a 5

אמאכא אמל כמ

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

30

אמאכא כלו

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

: כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a 10

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

35

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

. . . . כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a 15

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

40

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a 20

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

45

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

כמל²א^a אמאכא

כמל²א^a כמל²א^a

^a l. 2, perhaps כמל²א^a

25 לאל רבם. ויהי
 כל חסדך וחסדך
 כל אלהים אלהים
 ויהי

אלהים ויהי
 כל חסדך וחסדך
 כל אלהים אלהים
 ויהי

Fol. 76a

כל אלהים אלהים

ויהי חסדך ויהי 5

30 * * כל אלהים

אלהים ויהי חסדך

אלהים * * ויהי

אלהים ויהי חסדך

* * ויהי חסדך

אלהים ויהי חסדך

ויהי חסדך ויהי

אלהים ויהי חסדך

אלהים ויהי חסדך

אלהים ויהי חסדך 10

35 ויהי חסדך ויהי

אלהים ויהי חסדך

אלהים ויהי חסדך 16

40 אל אלהים ויהי

אלהים ויהי חסדך

* * * * * ויהי

אלהים ויהי חסדך

אלהים ויהי חסדך

אלהים ויהי חסדך 20

45 ויהי חסדך ויהי

אלהים ויהי חסדך

^a l. 48, read רב

25 .o.o. 𐤀𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤕𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 30 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 35 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 40 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 45 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓

𐤓 * 𐤓 * * * 𐤓
 * * * * * * *
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 * * * 𐤓
 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓𐤓 5
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓 * * * 𐤓 * * *
 * * * 𐤓 * * *
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 * 10
 * 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓
 * * * 𐤓 * * *
 * 𐤓 * 𐤓 * * *
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓 𐤓 𐤓𐤓 20
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓

Fol. 72b
 Col. 1
 15

כח ואלהיאל

Fol. 76a
COL. 2
l. 18

כ * א כ ויאל
 20 יל כח ואל
 כח ואל כח
 ואל כח ואל
 כח ואל כח
 25 ואל כח ואל
 כח ואל כח
 ואל * * *
 כח ואל כח
 30 ואל כח ואל
 * * כח * * כח
 ואל כח ואל
 כח ואל כח
 35 * * * * * * *
 ואל * * * * *

כח ואל כח
 ואל כח ואל
 ואל כח ואל
 ואל כח ואל
 5 ואל כח ואל
 ואל כח ואל
 ואל כח ואל
 ואל כח ואל
 10 ואל כח ואל
 ואל כח ואל
 ואל כח ואל
 ואל כח ואל
 15 ואל כח ואל
 ואל כח ואל

COL. 3
15

· 0 · 0 · 0 · 0 · 0 · 0 · 0 · 0 · 0 · 0 ·

COL. 3
25

25 יִצְרָא לְאֵל קָדְשׁ
 מְלֵאכֵי אֱלֹהִים
 כְּהֵן גַּם כֵּן
 כְּהֵימֵל : כִּיבֵן
 חֵסֶד כִּי־שָׁחַח
 30 * * * * * מְהֵרָא
 אֵשׁ כְּמֵלֶךְ גַּם
 כְּהֵימֵל כְּהֵימֵל
 מְהֵרָא גַּם
 כִּי־שָׁחַח^a חֵסֶד כֵּן
 35 כְּהֵימֵל[?] מְהֵרָא
 חֵי־לִי חֵי־לִי כֵן
 לֵב־לִי מֵלֵב
 אֵשׁ לְאֵל חֵסֶד
 כְּהֵימֵל כְּהֵימֵל
 40 חֵסֶד גַּם גַּם
 יִבֵּן מְלֵאכֵי : כִּי
 מְהֵרָא מְהֵרָא
 חֵסֶד אֵשׁ לְאֵל
 גַּם אֵשׁ גַּם
 45 כְּהֵימֵל כְּהֵימֵל
 . כִּי־שָׁחַח[?] כִּי־שָׁחַח

כְּהֵימֵל כֵּן
 אֵשׁ מְהֵרָא לְאֵל
 לֵב־לִי לְאֵל חֵסֶד
 לְאֵל חֵסֶד
 5 כְּהֵימֵל כֵּן
 . חֵסֶד אֵשׁ חֵסֶד
 כְּהֵימֵל לְאֵל
 אֵשׁ מְהֵרָא
 לְאֵל אֵשׁ
 10 כְּהֵימֵל מְהֵרָא
 כִּי־שָׁחַח מְלֵאכֵי
 לְאֵל אֵשׁ מְהֵרָא
 כְּהֵימֵל מְהֵרָא
 15 לְאֵל אֵשׁ לְאֵל
 מְהֵרָא מְהֵרָא
 כִּי־שָׁחַח מְלֵאכֵי
 לְאֵל אֵשׁ לְאֵל
 20 מְהֵרָא אֵשׁ גַּם
 יִצְרָא חֵסֶד
 חֵסֶד לְאֵל לְאֵל
 לְאֵל מְהֵרָא חֵסֶד

^a l. 34, read כִּי־שָׁחַח?

אֶלְמֵי אֶלְמֵי

25 מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

30 מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

35 מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

COL. 2 מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

40 מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

45 מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

מִלְּבַחֵי אֶלְמֵי

אֶלְמֵי אֶלְמֵי :

אֶלְמֵי אֶלְמֵי

^a I. 10, read אֶלְמֵי?

^b I. 21, read אֶלְמֵי?

25 כחכ כלל פיקא:ת
 פיקא:ת פק
 חכפיקא :כ.ג.מ.מ
 כמפיקא פיקא
 כחכ:ת פיקא:ת

30 * * * כלל ?מ
 פמא כחכ
 דאפז דמל
 * * * מ כלל

COL. 3 חפז פיקא:ת מ

35 ?כמל * * *
 כחכ כ * * *
 * * * * * פ
 פמא כחכ:ת
 פל כמל פ

40 פז פמא מ כחכ
 כחכממ פ פיקא
 * * פמא חל
 * ל כחכ חל
 מממל פק פמא

45 מ כלל * *
 * ח * י פיקא
 * * * * * פ
 * * * * * כחכ

מ כ כלל
 מממל כחכ:ת
 כחכמל ח *
 מ פ * * מ
 כחכ:ת מ כ 5

חל מ. חלמל
 מל כמל חל
 חלמל דמל
 מממל כמל
 כמלמל מל מל 10

.o.o. ממל מלמל
 מל פמא חל
 מל? כמל פ
 מלמל . כ * * ח?
 ?מל ח * מ 15

כחכ:ת מלמל
 * * * מ כ
 מלמל כמל
 מל כמלמל ?מ
 מל? פמא כחכ 20

כחכ * כ ל
 פיקא? כ * * ל
 חל * * * *
 כמלמל מ * * מ

25 קראל ממשה
 כלל קחאקא
 מו כהק חאק
 כלל קחאק
 קחאקא קחאק

30 קחאקא קחאקא
 .o.o.o.o חאק
 * * * כל * * *
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא

35 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא

40 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא

45 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא

COL. 2

קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא 5

קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא 10

קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא 15

קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא 20

קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא
 קחאקא קחאקא

Fol. 59b
COL. 1

25 רחוקה היתה
 רחוקה רחוקה
 * * * * *
 רחוקה רחוקה
 * * * * *

רחוקה היתה
 רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה
 * * * * *
 * * * * * 5

30 רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה
 * * * * *
 רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 * * * * *

רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה
 * * * * *
 רחוקה * * * * * 10

35 רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *

* * * רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה
 * * * * *
 * * * * * 15

40 * * * * *
 .o.o.o רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה * * * * *

* * * * *
 * * * * *
 רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 * * * * * 20

45 * * * * *
 רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 * * * * *

רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה
 רחוקה רחוקה רחוקה

COL. 2

חשבונין א
 25 .מחשבונין כחלף
 יצאנה בך כל
 אה מלמך מלמך
 אה אה מחשבונין

Fol. 66b
 COL. 1

אה אה אה אה
 30 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה

35 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה

40 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה

45 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה

אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה

אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה

אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה

אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה

אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה
 אה אה אה אה

^a l. 35, read אה

* * * * *
 25 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 .o.o. Kthara ml am
 * * * * *

Fol. 66a
 COL. 1

K l a l k a n a
 30 . K am m h t a
 K a n n K a n n
 l a ml K am
 K a a a n n
 n a m a m h a m
 35 a m n a n n a a n a
 K l a a m h a m h a l
 a i a a m a n n a n n
 K a a a m l ml
 K a n n n a n n l a n n
 40 a n a ml K am
 n a n n a m a m
 K a a a a m h a m h a l
 K a n n n a . h a m
 a m h a i h i
 45 a n a^b a i a a K l a
 m h t a n n a^b a m[?] a m[?]

* * * r * am
 * * a r * * *
 * * h a l a K am
 * * * * *
 K i i i i a n n a n n COL. 3
 5
 K l a ml h a m
 K a n n K a n n
 ml[?] a l a n n a * *
 a m a m h a n n[?]
 n a n n a n n a n n a n n 10
 * * * K a n n a
 * * * a n n a n n
 * * * * * * * *
 * * * * * * * *
 K i i i i a n n a n n a n n 15
 a a a K am K a n n[?]
 * * * * n K l a
 * * * * * n n
 * * * * * * * *
 a i a a n n l * * * * 20
 K a n n a * * a m
 * * a n n a n n a n n
 n * a * * a n

^a l. 28, twelve lines are illegible.

^b ll. 45, 46, perhaps K ml a n a m

25 .o.o.o. קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק * קקקק

30 קקקק * קקקק * קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

Col. 2 קקקק קקקק

35 קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

40 קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק * קקקק

45 קקקק קקקק * קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק * קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק 5

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק * קקקק * קקקק 10

קקקק קקקק

קקקק * קקקק

קקקק * קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק 15

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק קקקק

קקקק * קקקק

קקקק * * * קקקק 20

* * קקקק * * *

* קקקק * * *

* * * * * * *

קקקק * * * *

* * * נ * *

25 נחל מלל * * *

* * * * * נ * *

נחל * * * * *

* * * נ * * * *

* * * נ * * *

30 * * * חלל * * * * *

? * * * חלל * * *

אנני נאני * * *

. 0. 0. נחל * * *

נחל * * * * *

35 * * * חלל * * * * *

נחל * * * * *

נחל * * * * *

נחל * * * * *

COL. 2 נחל * * * * *

40 נחל * * * * *

* * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * *

* * * * * * * *

נחל * * * * *

45 נחל * * * * *

Fol. 78b
COL. 1

^a l. 21, about six lines are illegible.
^b l. 38, about twenty lines are illegible.

25 אס וּמִן כ * א
 אַמֵּלֵךְ כְּלֹחֵךְ
 כִּי מִשְׁחָה
 * * אֵלֶיךָ אֵן

COL. 3

מִשְׁחָה כְּלֹחֵךְ
 30 ח * * * מַל * * ל
 כִּי־אֵלֶיךָ מִשְׁחָה
 אֵן מִשְׁחָה אס
 אס מִשְׁחָה * *
 כְּלֹחֵךְ כִּי־כֵן

35 מִשְׁחָה מִשְׁחָה כ * ב
 * * אֵלֶיךָ אֵן
 אֵן־כֵּן כְּלֹחֵךְ
 אֵן * * אֵלֶיךָ
 אֵן אֵן אֵן

40 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן אס
 אֵלֶיךָ אֵן
 אֵן־כֵּן . כִּי־אֵלֶיךָ
 אס אֵן־כֵּן אס
 אֵלֶיךָ אס כֵּן

45 אֵן * א * * *
 אֵלֶיךָ * אֵן
 אֵלֶיךָ אֵן אֵן
 אֵן אֵן . אס

אס מִשְׁחָה־כֵּן
 חֵן־כֵּן חֵן־כֵּן
 מִשְׁחָה־כֵּן * * *
 אֵן־כֵּן חֵן־כֵּן
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן 5

* * * אֵן־כֵּן
 . 0 . חֵן־כֵּן חֵן־כֵּן
 אֵן־כֵּן * * *
 * א * * א * *
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן 10

אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן * * *
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן 15

אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן * * *
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן 20

אס אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן * * * *
 אֵן־כֵּן אֵן־כֵּן * * * *

Fol. 69b
COL. 1

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 25 יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּיַד יְהוָה
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 30 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 35 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 40 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 45 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 5 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 10 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 15 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 20 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע

^b l. 44, read ml

^a l. 18, read וְהָיָה?

25 הַשְׁמֵרָה כְּשֶׁבָּרַךְ
 הַשְׁמֵרָה יְהוָה כִּי
 כִּי אֵל אֱמֵן
 כְּשֶׁבָּרַךְ יְהוָה
 אֵל אֱמֵן
 30 לְהַלְלֵהוּ כִּי יְהוָה
 אֵל אֱמֵן כִּי
 כְּשֶׁבָּרַךְ יְהוָה
 כִּי יְהוָה יְהוָה
 כִּי יְהוָה יְהוָה
 35 כִּי יְהוָה יְהוָה
 40 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 45 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה

• כִּי יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 5 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 10 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 15 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 20 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה
 יְהוָה יְהוָה

COL. 2
5

COL. 3
40

20

25 אר מל רלך

עלע א * חר[?]

COL. 2

אר לרלך מל

* * ואלע * *

* * * * * *

30 מ אר * *

ואלע ירלך

רל[?] אר[?] אר

א * אר אר

א אר אר אר

35 א * * * * *

* * * * * א

* * * א אר

רל אר ירל

אלע אר

40 א אר אר אר

א * * אר אר * *

* * * * אר

אר אר אר ירל

* א * אר אר אר

45 .o.o.o.o. אר

ירל אר

אר אר אר אר

א * * אר אר רל

אר * * א אר

אר * * אר * *

אר אר אר אר

אר אר * * * *

אר אר אר אר

א * אר אר

רל אר אר אר

* * א א * א

א א א א א

א א א א א

א א א * * * *

א א א א א

א א א א א

א * * * א א

א א א * * * *

א * * א א א

א א א א א

א א א א א

א א א א א

א א א א א

א א א א א

א א א א א

א א א א א

א א א א א

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25 כֹּה יִזְעַק לְ
 וְעַם כְּיִזְעַק
 מִחַל יִזְעַק יִזְעַק
 יִזְעַק וְעַם לְ
 כֹּה אֵלֶּה מִשָּׁה
 מִלְּמַלְאָכָה אֵשׁ
 COL. 2
 30 לְ : כִּי כִי
 כֹּהם כִּי כֹּה
 יִזְעַק מִיְּהוָה מִלְּ
 יִזְעַק וְעַם הַ
 לְכִי מִמַּלְאָכָה
 35 כִּלְעָזָה^b כִּי יִזְעַק
 הַ לְכִי הַ
 לְכִי הַ לְכִי הַ
 מִשָּׁה הַ הַ הַ
 אֵשׁ הַ הַ הַ
 40 כֹּהם הַ הַ הַ
 יִזְעַק הַ הַ הַ
 מִמַּלְאָכָה אֵשׁ
 הַ הַ הַ הַ
 הַ הַ הַ הַ
 45 הַ הַ הַ הַ
 כֹּהם הַ הַ הַ

? אֵשׁ אֵשׁ אֵשׁ
 מִלְּ כֹהם כְּיִזְעַק
 כִּי
 מִלְּמַלְאָכָה כֹּה
 לְ אֵשׁ יִזְעַק 5
 מִמַּלְאָכָה מִשָּׁה
 : כִּי יִזְעַק לְ
 לְכִי כֹהם הַ
 . מִלְּ כֹהם יִזְעַק
 כִּי הַ הַ הַ 10
 מִמַּלְאָכָה יִזְעַק
 הַ הַ הַ הַ
 מִיְּהוָה הַ הַ
 מִלְּמַלְאָכָה הַ הַ
 כִּי הַ הַ הַ 15
 הַ הַ הַ הַ
 מִמַּלְאָכָה מִשָּׁה
 יִזְעַק לְ הַ הַ
 ? אֵשׁ אֵשׁ מִחַל
 מִלְּ הַ הַ אֵשׁ 20
 מִמַּלְאָכָה כֹּהם^a
 . מִשָּׁה מִחַל יִזְעַק
 מִחַל מִשָּׁה הַ

^b l. 35, read מלכא

^a l. 21, read יזעק

25 * * * * * למ קינץ

* * * * * אל

0000 * * * * *

* * * * * למ קינץ

COL. 3

למ קינץ

30 000 למ קינץ

ל * * * * *

קינץ למ קינץ

למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

35 קינץ למ קינץ

40 למ קינץ

* * * * * למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

* * * * * למ קינץ

למ קינץ

45 למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

למ קינץ

* * * * *

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

5

קינץ למ קינץ

10

* * * * *

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

15

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

20

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

קינץ למ קינץ

* * * * *

* * * * *

25 קטב קסב קגז
 אבא אבא אבא
 * * קטב קגז
 קטב קגז * *
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 30 קטב קסב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז * * * *
 * * * * קטב קגז
 35 * * * * קטב קגז
 * * * * קטב קגז
 קטב קגז * * * *
 קטב קגז * * * *
 40 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 COL. 2 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז * * * *
 45 * * * * קטב קגז
 קטב קגז * * * *
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז

קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 5 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 10 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 15 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 20 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז
 קטב קגז קטב קגז

Fol. 62a
Col. 1

COL. 2

25 אר לוחי רומ
 לל אר . עב .
 רעו לל רעו
 לל רעו

Fol. 60a
 COL. I

לל רעו רעו
 30 לל רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו

35 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו * * * רעו
 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו

40 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו * * * רעו
 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו

45 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו
 רעו רעו רעו

לל רעו רעו

לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו

לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו

לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו

לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו

לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו
 לל רעו רעו

5

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15

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25 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 30 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 35 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 40 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 45 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל

קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 5 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 10 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 15 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 20 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל
 קלל קלל קלל

COL. 3

5

10

15

20

Fol. 61b
COL. 1

40

45

^a l. 41, read קלל קלל

^b l. 42, read קלל קלל

25 קינא? אום קינא

* * * * * אום

מל * אום

* * * אום קינא

קום אום קינא

30 * אום קינא אום

קינא? אום קינא

* * * * * *

* * * אום קינא

* * * אום קינא * *

35 א * * * * * א

* * * * * *

קינא? אום אום

א * * אום * * *

* * אום * * *

40 . 0 . 0 . 0 . * * * *

* * * * * *

אום * * * *

א * * * * * *

אום * * * *

45 * * * * * *

COL. 2 אום אום אום אום אום

אום אום אום אום אום

אום? אום אום אום? ? ? ?

אום אום אום אום

* * * * * *

* * * אום * *

* * * אום אום

* * * אום אום

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

אום אום אום אום

* * * אום אום

אום אום אום אום

* * * * * אום

* * אום אום אום

* אום * * * * *

Fol. 61a
COL. 1
10

15

20

25 25 25 25 25
 30 30 30 30 30
 35 35 35 35 35
 40 40 40 40 40
 45 45 45 45 45

5 5 5 5 5
 10 10 10 10 10
 15 15 15 15 15
 20 20 20 20 20

^a l. 46, read mlh'hl?

COL. 3
20

קטנת אה קיט
 25 קיט מ
 קטנת קטנת
 קיט^a ל א
 מ מ
 . אה קיט
 30 קטנת אה קיט
 קטנת מ קיט
 מ . מ קטנת
 ל א קיט
 מ . מ קיט
 35 קטנת קיט
 קטנת . מ
 קטנת א
 קטנת קטנת
 קטנת קטנת
 40 מ קיט
 . קטנת מ
 קיט קטנת
 קיט קטנת
 קטנת אה
 45 ק קיט
 ק קטנת

* * * * * א[?]
 קטנת[?] * * * ק
 קיט ל[?]
 * * * * * קיט
 קטנת * * * * * 5
 קיט אה ק
 o.o.o. ק[?] ל[?]
 קיט ק
 קיט * * קטנת
 * * * קטנת 10
 קיט * * קטנת
 * * * קטנת
 * * * * * * * *
 * * * * * * * *
 א קטנת * 15
 * * * * * * * *
 * * * * * * * *
 ק * * * * * *
 ק אה * *
 קיט קיט 20
 קטנת . קיט Col. 1
 קיט ק
 ק קטנת

^a l. 27, read קיט

25 אר . קאימל אר
 קמל קאי קל
 אום ל יחר
 לר קלר אום
 יחרל קמ

30 קמ קיאי קמ
 אום קמל קמ
 קאי אום קמ
 אום קמל יחר
 קמ קמ קל

35 אום קמל קל

Fol. 68b

COL. 1

קמל אום קמ[?]

קמל אום קמ[?]

* * * ק די יחרל

* * * * * *

40 אר * * * * *

* * * * * *

קמ * * * *

קמ אום יחר

* * * קל אום * *

45 * * * * * *

* * קמל אום

* * * * * *

* * * * * *

קמל אום קמ
 קמל קמ
 אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ

COL. 3

קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ

5

10

קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ

15

קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ

20

קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ
 קמל אום קמ

אהו אהו אהו
 25 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 30 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 35 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 40 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 45 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו

אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 5 אהו אהו אהו
 10 אהו אהו אהו
 15 אהו אהו אהו
 20 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו
 אהו אהו אהו

COL. 2

^a l. 3, read אהו

^b l. 11, read אהו

למלא: כיצד

...אשר... .o.o.o.

Fol. 88b
Col. 3
l. 11

כחיצונו * * *

עוד * * * * *

כחיצונו כח * *

* * ל * * *

20 כחיצונו כח * *

* כח כחיצונו כח

? כחיצונו * * ל

? כח * * * * *

כח * * כח * *

כחיצונו כח * * * * 5

כחיצונו כח * *

כחיצונו כח * *

Col. 3 כח * * כח

? כח * * * * *

25 כח * * כח

כח * * * * *

ל * * * * *

כח * * * * *

* * ? כח

כח * * * * * 10

* * * * * כח

כח * * * * *

* * * * * ל כח

? כח * * * * *

30 כח * * * * *

כח * * * * *

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* * * * * כח

כח * * * * * 15

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כח * * * * *

כח * * * * *

* * ל * * *

הגלגל * * * *

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הגלגל * * * *

הגלגל * * * *

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הגלגל * * * *

20 * * * * *

הגלגל * * * *

COL. 2 * * * * *

הגלגל * * * *

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הגלגל * * * *

25 ה * * * *

הגלגל * * * *

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הגלגל * * * *

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הגלגל * * * *

30 הגלגל * * * *

הגלגל * * * *

הגלגל * * * *

25 ר * * * כַּעֲשֵׂה
 * * * * *
 לַ הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי
 * * * ר * * *
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30 עַל הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
 הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ
 ר * * * * *
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי

35 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
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40 * * * * *
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 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי

COL. 3 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
 45 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
 * * *

הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי
 הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי
 הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי
 הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי
 הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי

הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי
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הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי
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הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי
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 הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי
 הַגְּלוּת מִיֵּי

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COL. 2

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Fol. 88a
 COL. 1
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25 גַּם כִּי שֶׁבַח הַיְיָ
 כְּהַשְׁבֵּחַ הַיְיָ
 לְשֵׁן הַיְיָ . כְּהַשְׁבֵּחַ
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 מִשְׁבַּח הַיְיָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 30 מִיָּדָיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 35 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 כְּהַשְׁבֵּחַ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 40 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 45 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

Fol. 52a
 Col. 1

מִשְׁבַּח הַיְיָ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ
 כִּי הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 כִּי הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 כִּי הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 כִּי הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 5 אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 10 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 15 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
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 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 20 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
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 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִלְּפָנֶיךָ הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ

COL. 3

25 כח פחיתות
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 COL. 3 כח פחיתות
 35 כח פחיתות
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 40 כח פחיתות
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כח פחיתות
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 20 כח פחיתות
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^a l. 44, read מילת?

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 Fol. 56a
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כִּי־כִּי . כִּי־כִּי
 מְלִיכָה לְמַעַן
 20 כִּי וְכִי כִּי
 לְמַעַן לְמַעַן
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 כִּי לְמַעַן לְמַעַן
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 לְמַעַן לְמַעַן
 כִּי־כִּי לְמַעַן
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 לְמַעַן לְמַעַן
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Fol. 56a
Col. 2
l. 25

Col. 3
10

15

.0.0.0. מלאה נחמה
 כי נח נח נח
 25 כי נח נח נח
 נחמה נחמה נחמה
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 30 כי נח נח נח
 נחמה נחמה נחמה
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 40 נחמה נחמה נחמה
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 15 נחמה נחמה נחמה
 20 נחמה נחמה נחמה
 COL. 2

25 .o.o.o.o. קאמ * * * ל

אל[?] קאמ קאמ

קאמ * * *

א * 0 * * ל

קאמ קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

5

30 קאמ * * * קאמ

ל * קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ קאמ

* קאמ קאמ

* קאמ קאמ *

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

10

Fol. 84b

COL. 1

35 * * * קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ

15

40 קאמ * * * קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ קאמ

* * * * * קאמ

* * * * * * * *

קאמ קאמ * * * *

קאמ * * קאמ

קאמ קאמ * * *

קאמ קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ קאמ

20

45 קאמ קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ * * *

קאמ קאמ * * *

קאמ קאמ קאמ

קאמ קאמ קאמ

COL. 2

25 מל ק . קיבא
 קצא קביל
 : קצא קצא
 מל קצא
 קצא קצא קצא

30 קא . קצא
 מל קצא
 קצא קצא
 קצא קצא
 קצא קצא קצא

35 קצא קצא
 קצא קצא
 קצא קצא
 קצא קצא
 קצא קצא

COL. 3
40

קצא קצא
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45 מל קצא
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קצא קצא
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5 : קצא קצא
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קצא קצא
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 קצא קצא 15

קצא קצא
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 קצא קצא
 קצא קצא 20

קצא קצא
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25 . כתיב דת פופה .
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30 כתיב כתיב כתיב
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35 כתיב כתיב כתיב
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40 כתיב כתיב כתיב
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כתיב כתיב כתיב
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 כתיב כתיב כתיב 20

45 כתיב כתיב כתיב
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Fol. 84a
 Col. 1

25 אעפ"י שכל
 אף על פי שכל
 אעפ"י שכל
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30 אעפ"י שכל
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35 אעפ"י שכל
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40 אעפ"י שכל
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45 אעפ"י שכל
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 אעפ"י שכל

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Col. 2

25 [?]אם כולל כל
 כשׂא אלו
 כזו כל כולל
 כל כולל .אלו
 כולל כולל

30 כולל כ. כולל
 כולל כולל

COL. 2 כולל כולל כולל
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35 כולל כולל כולל
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40 כולל כולל כולל
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45 כולל כולל כולל
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כולל כולל כולל
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25 אלהים ארץ [?] יצא
 יצא אלהים יצא
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 30 אלהים א אלהים
 35 אלהים א אלהים
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Col. 3

20

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 30 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
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 35 𐤏𐤏𐤏 * * * 𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
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 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏 𐤏² 𐤏
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 𐤏 * 𐤏𐤏 * * *
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 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏 * 𐤏
 𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏 COL. 3
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏
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25 * * * א * * *

* עב לל קלע

לל קלע דג וז

קלע קלע קלע

קלע קלע קלע

30 קלע קלע

* * * קלע

קלע * * קלע

קלע קלע * * קלע

קלע קלע קלע

35 קלע קלע קלע

קלע קלע קלע

קלע * * קלע

קלע קלע

קלע * * * קלע

40 קלע קלע קלע

קלע * * * קלע

קלע * * קלע

קלע קלע קלע

קלע קלע קלע

45 קלע קלע קלע

* * * קלע

קלע קלע * * *

קלע קלע * * *

קלע קלע

קלע קלע קלע

Fol. 83a
Col. 1

25 קאמא זאקא
 אק . אק קייעו
 זאקא אקא אקא
 קאקא קאקא
 אקא

30 אקאקא אקא
 COL. 3 אקאקא אקא
 אקא אקא
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 אקא אקאקא

35 אקאקא אקא
 אקא אקאקא
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40 אקאקא אקא
 אקאקא אקאקא
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 אקא אקאקא

45 אקא אקאקא
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 אקא אקא

אקא אקא אקא
 אקאקא אקאקא
 אקא אקא אקא
 אקא אקאקא
 אקאקא אקאקא 5

אקא אקא אקא
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 אקא אקא אקא
 אקא אקא אקא
 אקא אקא אקא 10

אקא אקא אקא
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 אקא אקא אקא
 אקא אקא אקא
 אקא אקא אקא 15

אקאקא אקאקא
 אקא אקא * *
 אקא אקא אקא
 אקא אקא אקא
 אקא אקא אקא 20

אקא אקא אקא
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25 ל. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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30 ל. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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35 כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

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כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. 15

40 כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

* * כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. 20

45 כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ. כ.

25 א * * * * *
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30 א * * * * *
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35 א * * * * *
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COL. 3
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א * * * * *
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 א * * * * *

25 וּמְדַבֵּר כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כִּי אֵין יְהוָה
 כִּי כִּיבֵן הָאֵל
 כִּי כִּיבֵן הָאֵל
 כִּי כִּיבֵן הָאֵל

30 * * * * *
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 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב

35 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 * כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב

40 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב

45 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב

כִּי כִּיבֵן הָאֵל
 כִּי כִּיבֵן הָאֵל
 כִּי כִּיבֵן הָאֵל
 כִּי כִּיבֵן הָאֵל
 כִּי כִּיבֵן הָאֵל

כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 * * כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב

כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
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כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
 כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
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כְּשֶׁלֶב כְּשֶׁלֶב
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Fol. 55a

COL. 1

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COL. 3

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^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל
 40 ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל
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^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל
^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל
 45 ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל
^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל

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 15 ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל
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^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל ^לל^ל
 COL. 2

^a l. 21, [לחב] לחב transcript.

מאמר גמול

○ ○ גמול ○ ○

15 מאמר גמול
 משהוא על מ
 [אם] לך לך
 משהוא משהוא
 משהוא משהוא
 20 משהוא * *
 משהוא משהוא
 משהוא משהוא
 משהוא משהוא
 ○.○.○.○ משהוא

III.

25 משהוא משהוא
 משהוא משהוא
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 משהוא משהוא

I.

^aמשהוא משהוא
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 * * משהוא * * 10

Fol. 55b
Col. 3
1. 20

II.

משהוא משהוא
 משהוא משהוא

Col. 2

^a I. 1, משהוא C.W.M. (see LXXVII. 6), משהוא Add. 12,155 and 17,193 (in quoting the first line of the Discourse). The Palimpsest might be read either way.

* * * * * רמא

ממדיח כל

25 רמא רמא א

רמא א רמא

* * * * * רמא

רמא א

רמא רמא

30 רמא רמא

VI.

א רמא רמא

רמא רמא

[רמא א] רמא

א רמא רמא

35 רמא רמא

רמא [רמא]

א רמא

רמא רמא

רמא א רמא

40 א רמא רמא

א רמא רמא

. . . . רמא רמא

VII.

רמא רמא

IV.

רמא רמא

. . . . רמא

V.

רמא רמא

* * * * *

* * * * * רמא

רמא רמא

COL. 3
20

XXIV.

* * * * *
 25 אר * * * * *
 קאיב אב קעגן
 קיחא זלנר
 קיחעגן קאלעגן
 קלעגן קעגן
 30 אב קעגן אר
 קלע קעגן אר
 קעגן קעגן
 * * * * *
 * * * * * קעגן
 35 קעגן

XXV.

אב קעגן אר
 קעגן * * * * *
 קעגן * * * * *
 40 אב קעגן אר
 א * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 קעגן קעגן
 45 אב קעגן אר

קעגן * *
 קעגן קעגן
 אב קעגן אר
 קעגן קעגן
 קעגן קעגן 5
 * * * * *
 אב קעגן אר
 קעגן קעגן
 קעגן * * * 10

XXIII.

קעגן אר
 קעגן קעגן COL. 3
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * * 15
 אב קעגן אר
 קלע קעגן אר
 * * * * *
 קעגן קעגן
 קעגן קעגן אב 20
 * * * * *
 קעגן קעגן
 אב קעגן אר

קינא קל² ק²
 קינא קל *
 25 קינא קל ק
 קינא ק* ק²
 קינא קל ק² *
 * * קי קל ק²
 * * * קמ קמ
 30 0.0. קמ קי ק² * *

XXI.

קינא קל²
 קינא ק² ק²
 קל * * ק²
 קינא קל²
 35 קמ קמ קמ
 קינא ק² ק² ק²
 קמ קמ קמ
 קינא ק² ק² ק²
 קמ קמ קמ
 40 קמ קמ קמ * *
 0.0. קמ קמ ק²

XXII.

קינא קל² ק²
 * * * ק²
 קינא קל * ק

קינא ק² ק² * *
 קינא ק² קל ק²
 קמ קמ קמ
 קמ קמ ק * *
 קמ קמ ק² ק² 5
 0.0.0. קמ קמ קמ

XIX.

קינא קמ ק²
 קמ קמ ק * *
 קמ קמ ק * *
 ק * * * * * * *
 קמ קמ * *
 קמ קמ ק²
 קמ * * * ק * *
 ק * * * ק² 15
 קמ קמ קמ
 קמ קמ * קמ
 0.0.0. קמ קמ קמ

XX.

קמ קמ קמ
 ק * * * ק * * * 20
 קמ קמ קמ קמ COL. 2
 קמ ק² ק² ק * *

רִיבֵּן * * * *

* * * * *

COL. 2

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ
הַיָּבֵשׁ הַיָּבֵשׁ

25

... מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ * *

XXX.

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ

רִיבֵּן * * * *

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ * * *

30

רִיבֵּן * * *

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ

* * * * *

* * * * *

35

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ

רִיבֵּן * * *

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ * * *

... * * *

XXXI.

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ

XXVI.

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ

* * * * *

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ * * *

רִיבֵּן * * * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

(XXVII.)

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ * * *

* * * * *

מִן הַיָּם הַיָּבֵשׁ * * *

* * * * *

* * * * *

Fol. 85b
COL. 1

^a l. 22, seventeen lines are illegible.

^b l. 39. § 14623, fol. 22b (Overbeck 132). The supplements from this source to the decipherable readings of the Palimpsest are given between " § " (§ indicates "begins," ¶ "leaves off.")

קצת מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 25 מן המן * * * *
 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 30 * * * * *
 * * * * *

XLVIII.

מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 35 מן המן [מן]
 מן המן מן המן
 COL. 2 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 40 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 * * * * *

XLIX.

* * * * *
 * * * * *

מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 * * * * *

XLVI.

מן המן מן המן 10
 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן 15
 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 מן המן מן המן
 * * * * * 20

XLVII.

* * * * *
 * * * * *

25 מאשיח אמר
כיהו כיהל
אן אל לבו
כאל כח כש
כיהו משיח אן
 ☉☉☉☉☉ . אל

XLIV.

30 כיהו כיהל אן
כח אן
משיח אמר
כח אל כיהו
כיהל אל כאל
משיח אן
כח אן כיהו
 35 כח אן כיהו
אל כיהו
כח אל כיהו
כח אן כיהו
 כח

XLV.

40 אן כיהו כיהל
כיהו אן כיהל
כח אן כיהו

כח אן כיהו
 כח

XLII.

כח אן כיהו
כיהו . כח
כיהו כיהל 5
אן כיהו כיהל
כח אן כיהו COL. 3
כח אן כיהו
כח אן כיהו 10
כח אן כיהו
כח אן כיהו
כח אן כיהו
 כח אן

XLIII.

כח אן כיהו 15
אן כיהו כיהל
אן כיהו כיהל 20
אן כיהו כיהל

^a l. 14. ¶ 14623 (Overbeck 134), 14731, 17193.

^b l. 41. אן] No doubt Ephraim wrote אן.

* * 0 * KLo Kolo

Kuoi Kolo

25 La om mura

. 0 . 0 . La Kolo

LXIII.

Ku woth mo

duo Kolo

Kathelo Kolo

30 Kathelo Kolo

om Kolo

Kolo Kolo

duo Kolo

duo Kolo

35 Kolo Kathelo

Kuoi om

om Kolo?

Fol. 80b

COL. 1

. 0 . 0 . 0 . duo Kolo

LXIV.

Kathelo? L * w al

40 * * * * * *

* * * * * *

K * * * * *

K * * * Kolo

* * * K * duo

LXI.

Ku Kolo

Kolo Kolo

COL. 3

Kolo Kolo

om Kolo Kolo

Kolo Kolo

5

Kolo Kolo

om Kolo

Kolo Kolo

om Kolo

Kolo Kolo

10

Kolo Kolo

Kolo Kolo

. 0 . 0 . om Kolo

LXII.

Ku Kolo

om Kolo

15

Kolo Kolo

Kolo Kolo

Kolo Kolo

Kolo Kolo

Kolo Kolo

20

Kolo Kolo

Kolo Kolo

25 אמ קרא יחזק
אמ קח מ קל
 30 אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל

LX.

אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
 35 אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
 40 אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל

LVII, LVIII.

אמ קח מ קל
 5 אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל

COL. 2
10

אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל

15

LIX.

אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל
אמ קח מ קל

20

קט * * 0 קמ
 * * * * *
 25 * 0 * * * * *
 * * * * * 0
 ק * 000 ק * *
 קטו קטו
 ק 0 000

30 קטו ק * * 0
 קטו * 0000
 0 * קטו
 . 0 . 0 . 0 . קטו

LXXI.

0 קטו קטו
 35 קטו * 0 קטו
 קטו קטו
 קטו קטו
 0 * * * 0
 0 קטו 000 קטו

40 קטו קטו
 קטו קטו
 קטו * * 0 קטו
 קטו קטו
 קטו קטו
 45 קטו קטו קטו

ק * * 0 * * * 0
 קטו * * *
 קטו ק * * קטו
 קטו קטו * * 0
 קטו קטו 5
 קטו קטו
 . 0 . 0 . 0 . קטו

LXIX.

קטו * * *
 קטו * * *
 : 000 קטו * * 10
 קטו קטו
 קטו קטו קטו
 * * * * קטו

* * * 0 * * *
 קטו קטו 15
 קטו קטו * * *
 קטו קטו קטו
 * * * * 0 * *
 . 0 . 0 . 0 . קטו

LXX.

* * * * * * * 20
 * * * * * * *
 קטו קטו קטו 3

* * * a ללללל
 * * * d
 25 * * * . ללל
 קק לל לל * *
 ללללל

LXVII.

COL. 2
30

? ללללל ? ללללל
 * * * * *
 * * * * * ללללל ללל
 ללללללל לללל
 * * * * * a * *
 * * * לללל * * *
 * * * ללללל ללל
 35 ללל ללל לללל
 ללללל ללל
 ללללל לללל ללל
 ללללל * * * *
 לללללל ללללל

LXVIII.

40 ללללל ללללל
 ללל לללל ללללל
 לללל . לללל ללל
 לללל לללללל
 * * * לללל * לל

ללללל לל לל
 ללל ל * לל * *
 לללל * * *
 o o o o * * *

LXV.

לללל * * * * 5
 לללל ללללל
 : ללל ללל ללל
 לללל ל * * * ל
 ללל ללל לללל
 * * * ל * * * לל 10
 לללל לל לל לל
 לללל ללל לל
 ל * * לללל
 לללל לללל
 לללל לללל לל
 לללללל לל 15

LXVI.

* * * * * לל
 לללל ללללל
 לללללל ללללל
 ללללל לל לל 20
 לללללל לללל
 ללללל ללל לל

רעב וקצת
 .ג. רל וקצת
 15 רל רעב רעב
 וכו' .רע
 וכו' וכו'
 וכו' וכו'
 וכו' וכו'

רעב רעב רעב
 רעב רעב רעב

XCVI.

20 רעב רעב רעב
 רעב רעב רעב
 רעב רעב רעב
 רעב רעב רעב
 רעב רעב רעב

רעב רעב רעב
 רעב רעב רעב
 רעב רעב רעב
 רעב רעב רעב
 רעב רעב רעב
 רעב רעב רעב

כשכחם מן ה. כחיה
. קפחא קפחא

IV.

25 אפוא קפחא^c
אפוא קפחא
. קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא

30 קפחא קפחא . קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא
35 קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא
. קפחא קפחא

V.

40 קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא^d
קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא

קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא^a קפחא
קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא⁵
. קפחא קפחא

III.

קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא¹⁰
קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא

COL. 2
15

קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא^b קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא²⁰
קפחא קפחא קפחא
קפחא קפחא קפחא

^a l. 2. קפחא] *pr.* אק אא.

^c l. 25. § Aa, fol. 23a².

^b l. 19. אק] *om.* אא.

^d l. 41. קפחא אא.

אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ

אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ^a
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
15 אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ

II.

אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
20 אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ

I.
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
Fol. 86a
COL. 3
ad fin.

אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
Fol. 54b
COL. 1

אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ
אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ

^a l. 13. אֵלֵינוּ] *pr.* אֵלֵינוּ Aa.

^b l. 14. אֵלֵינוּ] *om.* Aa.

NOTE.—The whole of this Discourse was copied out by the monk Aaron (B.M. 14623, foll. 23a¹–25a¹) from the old MS. before the writing was effaced. Aaron's transcript, where it certainly differs from the text of the Palimpsest, is quoted as Aa.

𐤏𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏^b
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
 25 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 30 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

VIII.

𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
 35 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
 40 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

IX.

𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

Fol. 54a
COL. I

^a l. 3. 𐤏𐤏𐤏 Aa.

𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏^a 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏⁵
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 COL. 3
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏

VI.

𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏¹⁰
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏¹⁵
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏
 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 . 𐤏𐤏𐤏²⁰

VII.

𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏

^b l. 22. 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 Aa.

25 *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*^b *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
 30 *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*

XVII.

ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*^d
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
 35 *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
 40 *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*

ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
 5 *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
 10 *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*

XV.

ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
 15 *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*
 20 *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*

Fol. 53b
COL. 1

XVI.

ḥayyā *ḥayyā* *ḥayyā*

^a l. 15. *ḥayyā*] *om.* Aa.

^c l. 28. *ḥayyā* Aa.

^b l. 22. *ḥayyā* Aa.

^d l. 33. *ḥayyā*] + *ḥayyā* Aa.

25 כוּן . כִּי־אֵל כִּי־כֹהֵן

מִיָּד הִשְׁמִיטֵהוּ

COL. 3 . 0. 0. 0. 0. 0. אֵלֶּיךָ יָבֹא

XIII.

יִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע

וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע

יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה

30 מִיָּד הִשְׁמִיטֵהוּ

יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה

וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע

וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע

יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה

35 מִיָּד הִשְׁמִיטֵהוּ

יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה

וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע

וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע

יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה

40 מִיָּד הִשְׁמִיטֵהוּ

יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה

XIV.

יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה

וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע

יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה

45 מִיָּד הִשְׁמִיטֵהוּ

וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע

יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה

וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע

XII.

יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה

וְיִשְׁמַע יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמַע

𐤒𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓
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 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤒𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓
 25 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓

XXII.

𐤒𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓^c
 30 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓^d
 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓
 35 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓

XXIII.

Fol. 53a
 COL. I 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓^e 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓
 40 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓^f 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓

^a l. 6. 𐤓𐤓𐤓] 𐤓𐤓𐤓 Aavid.
^c l. 29. 𐤓𐤓 Aa. ^d l. 32. 𐤓𐤓𐤓 Aa. and the Palimpsest (sic).
^e l. 39. 𐤓𐤓𐤓 Aa*, *moz corr.* ^f l. 40. 𐤓𐤓𐤓] *pr.* 𐤓 Aa^{corr.}

·o·o·o·o·o· 𐤒𐤓

XX.

𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒
 𐤒𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓 COL. 3
 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓 5
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 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓. 𐤒𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓. 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 10
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓^b 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓. 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓 15

XXI.

𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓. 𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤓𐤓𐤓
 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓𐤓 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤓 20

^b l. 14. 𐤓𐤓 Aa.

כאשר לא מנחה
כלל לא מנחה
... 0. מנחה לא מנחה

. 0. מנחה לא מנחה
כאשר לא מנחה
כאשר לא מנחה
לא מנחה לא מנחה
לא מנחה לא מנחה
לא מנחה לא מנחה
... 0. 0. 0. מנחה לא מנחה

XIX.

0. מנחה לא מנחה
25 מנחה לא מנחה
. מנחה לא מנחה
לא מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה
30 מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה
35 מנחה לא מנחה
40 מנחה לא מנחה

XVIII.

מנחה לא מנחה 10
מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה 15
מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה
מנחה לא מנחה 20

COL. 2

^a ll. 2, 3. [מנחה לא מנחה] sic, מנחה לא מנחה Aa.
^b l. 5. [מנחה לא מנחה] sic, מנחה לא מנחה Aa.
^c l. 7. [לא] מנחה לא מנחה Palimpsest (sic), מנחה לא מנחה Aa.
^d l. 8. § Aa, fol. 23b.

𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 . 𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤁^b 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁 . 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁
 25 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀^c
 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁
 𐤀.𐤀.𐤀.𐤀. 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀

XXV.

𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 30 . 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀.𐤀.𐤀. 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 COL. 2 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 . 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 35 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 . 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 . 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 40 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 . 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 .𐤀.𐤀.𐤀.𐤀. 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀

𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 5 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 . 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 10 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 .𐤀.𐤀.𐤀. 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀

XXIV.

𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀^a 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 15 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 20 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀
 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀

^a l. 14. 𐤁𐤁𐤀 Aa.

^b l. 23. 𐤀𐤁𐤁] + 𐤀𐤁 Aa.

^c l. 26. § Aa, fol. 24a¹.

כִּינֵי קָדִים . כִּינֵי
••••• חֲכֹחַ אֲבֵי קָדִים

XXXIII.

25 חֲכֹמִים אֲחֵי חֵן
אֲבֵי חֵן . חֵן חֵן

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
כִּי . חֵן חֵן

אֲחֵי אֲחֵי חֵן
כִּינֵי חֵן חֵן

30 חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

אֲחֵי חֵן חֵן חֵן^d
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

35 חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

••••• חֵן חֵן
XXXIV.

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

40 חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

כִּי חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
••••• חֵן חֵן

XXXII.

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן⁵
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן^b
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

COL. 2
10

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן^c
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

15

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

20

חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן
חֵן חֵן חֵן חֵן

^a l. 2. חֵן חֵן] Palimps. (sic), חֵן חֵן Aa.

^b l. 9. חֵן חֵן] חֵן חֵן Aa. ^c l. 15. חֵן חֵן] § Aa, fol. 24a².

^d l. 33. חֵן חֵן Aa.

קוֹיִם קִיִּיִּים
 קִיִּיִּים אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 25 הֵלֶךְ . קִיִּיִּים
 • קִיִּיִּים^b אֲשֶׁר הֵלֶךְ

אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 . אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 קִיִּיִּים קִיִּיִּים
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 5 . אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר

XXXIX.

קִיִּיִּים אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 COL. 2 . קִיִּיִּים אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 30 אֲשֶׁר . אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 קִיִּיִּים אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 . אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר

אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר . אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 10 אֲשֶׁר

XXXVIII.

אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 . אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 35 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 40 אֲשֶׁר^d אֲשֶׁר . אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר

אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר^a אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 15 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר . אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 . אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 20 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר
 אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר

^a l. 13. אֲשֶׁר Aa.

^b l. 26. אֲשֶׁר Aavid.

^c l. 34. אֲשֶׁר] § Aa, fol. 246^l.

^d l. 40. אֲשֶׁר] + אֲשֶׁר Aa.

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Fol. 87a

Col. 1

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XLVIII.

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XLIX.

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^a l. 5. 0000000000, 0000000000 Aa.

^b l. 8. 0000000000] 0000000000 Aa^{vid}.

^c l. 11. 0000000000 Palimps.^{vid} and Aa.

^d ll. 25, 29, 32. 0000000000 Palimps.^{vid} and Aa.

25 קמו . קינין

אמל אדם אדם
קבץ קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
אם אמל קל קנין

30 קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין

35 קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין

40 קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין

COL. 3 קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין

45 קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין

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קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין

COL. 2

קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין

10

קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
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קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין

15

קנין קנין קנין

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קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין

20

קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין
קנין קנין קנין

קנין קנין קנין

25 קדוהו קדוהו
 קדוהו קדוהו קדוהו
 קדוהו קדוהו קדוהו
 קדוהו קדוהו קדוהו

Fol. 49a

Col. 1 חל * * * * *

30 * * * * * אל
 * * * קדוהו חל
 * * * * *
 קדוהו * * * * *

35 יא * * * * *
 * * * * * קדוהו
 קדוהו קדוהו חל
 קדוהו * * * * *

40 * * * * * יא
 * * * * * חל
 חל חל חל חל חל

45 * חל חל חל חל חל
 * חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל

חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל

חל חל חל חל חל
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 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל
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חל חל חל חל חל
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 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל

חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל

חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל
 חל חל חל חל חל

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10

15

20

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

30 * * * * *

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

Fol. 82b
Col. 1

נב כח כח נב

35 נב כח כח נב

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

40 נב כח כח נב

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

45 נב כח כח נב

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

* * * * *

נב כח כח נב 5

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

נב כח כח נב

נב כח כח נב 10

נב כח כח נב

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נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

נב כח כח נב 15

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

נב כח כח נב 20

* * * * *

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

נב כח כח נב
 נב כח כח נב

25

COL. 2
25

קנאי קלפן יל

קמממ קמממ

* * א * ח

* * יל קמ

קמ קל קמ

30 * * * ק קמ

קמ קמ * *

קמ קמ קמ

קמ קל קמ

* ל קמ קמ

35 * * ק ק ק

קמ קמ קמ

קמ קמ * * ק

קמ קמ קמ

* * * ק ק

40 * * קמ קמ

* * קמ קמ

* * * קמ קמ

קמ קמ קמ

קמ קמ קמ

45 * * קמ קמ

קמ קמ קמ

קמ קמ קמ

* * ק קמ

קמ קמ קמ

* * * קמ קמ

קמ קמ קמ

קמ קמ קמ

קמ * * * * *

קמ קמ קמ

קמ קמ קמ

קמ קמ קמ

קמ קמ קמ

* קמ קמ * א

קמ קמ * * *

* * * * * ק

* * * * * ק

קמ קמ קמ

קמ קמ קמ

* * קמ קמ

* * קמ * *

קמ קמ קמ * *

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קמ קמ * * *

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קמ קמ * * * *

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 * * * * * COL. 3

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 * * * * * 15

 COL. 1

 20

^a The rest of this column (about 30 lines) is illegible.

25 * * * * * לפ

מלא * * * * * מלא

30 * * * * * לפ

מלא * * * * * מלא

35 לפ * * * * * לפ

מלא * * * * * מלא

40 לפ * * * * * לפ

מלא * * * * * מלא

45 לפ * * * * * לפ

מלא * * * * * מלא

5

10

15

Col. 2

20

25 . תלך דא דא דא
 ל דא דא דא
 COL. 2 דא דא דא
 דא דא דא
 30 דא דא דא
 35 דא דא דא
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 40 דא דא דא
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 45 דא דא דא
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דא דא דא
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 15 דא דא דא
 20 דא דא דא
 דא דא דא
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25 אַמֵּל בְּנֵי כְּבוֹדֵיךָ
 לִלְבָבוֹתֵיךָ . לִלְבָבוֹתֵיךָ .
 כְּעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
 כְּעֵשֶׂת לֵב יָד
 אֵל . אֵל .

30 .וּכְבוֹדֵיךָ כְּבוֹדֵיךָ
 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
 כְּעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת

Fol. 5a
 Col. 1

כְּבוֹדֵיךָ כְּבוֹדֵיךָ
 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת .

35 בְּנֵי כְּבוֹדֵיךָ
 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת .
 אֵל וְעֵשֶׂת
 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת .

40 כְּעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת .
 כְּעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת .
 אֵל וְעֵשֶׂת

45 כְּעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
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 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת

כְּעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
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 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת 5

וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
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וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
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וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
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 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת 20

וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת
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 וְעֵשֶׂת וְעֵשֶׂת

25 קיזק קיא אס
 קאקא . קיזק
 קיזק קיא
 קיא קיא
 קיא קיא

30 קיא קיא
 קיא קיא
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35 קיא קיא קיא
 קיא קיא : קיא
 קיא קיא . קיא
 קיא קיא . קיא
 קיא קיא

40 קיא קיא
 קיא קיא
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 קיא קיא

COL. 3

45 קיא קיא
 קיא קיא
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 קיא קיא

קיא קיא
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קיא קיא
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 קיא קיא

5

COL. 2

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25 רחוקים הם . רחוקים

אדם רחוקים הם

. רחוקים הם

אדם רחוקים הם

רחוקים הם רחוקים

30 רחוקים הם . רחוקים

רחוקים הם רחוקים

רחוקים הם רחוקים

רחוקים הם רחוקים

רחוקים הם רחוקים

35 רחוקים הם רחוקים

40 רחוקים הם רחוקים

Fol. 4b
Col. 1
45

רחוקים הם רחוקים

5

Col. 3

10

15

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𑀓𑀲 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

25 𑀓𑀲 𑀧𑀲 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀧𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲

𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲

𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲

𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲

30 𑀧𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲

𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲

𑀧𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲

𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲

𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲

35 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲

𑀧𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

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𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

40 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

COL. 2 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

45 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

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𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 * *

𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 5

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 * 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

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a 10

Fol. 4a

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𑀓𑀲 𑀓𑀲 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

COL. 1
1. 8

𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 . 𑀓𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 15

𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓 𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀯𑀢𑀺𑀓

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Fol. 2b

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* Fol. 3a is illegible.

Fol. 2a
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25. אומיא דאורכתי
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COL. 2

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25 קיאקא אס קאס

: קא קא קא קא

קא קא קא קא

Fol. 1a

COL. 1

* * * קאקא

קא קא * * *

30 קיא קיא קיא

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קא * קא קא

קאקא קאקא

* * * קא קא

35 קיא קא קא

קא קא קא קא

קאקא קאקא

* * * קא

קאקא קאקא

40 קאקא * * *

קא * * קא

קא קא קא קא

קאקא קאקא

קא קא קא קא

45 קא קא * * *

קא קא קא קא

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קאקא קאקא

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25 חלליתך אמתך
 יתנהו קרן אמתך
 קצתך . יתנהו
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5 amla κ hara . κ ira κ ise
κ are κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ
κ κ * * * * κ κ κ κ κ κ
κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ κ

NOTE.—The rest of this discourse is lost, but what is missing is probably not more than one leaf of Add. 14623: see p. cxi.

25 *kuwaia kima*
niaia kima
ku kima
ku kima
ku kima
 30 *ku kima*
ku kima
ku kima
ku kima
 35 *ku kima*
ku kima
 * * * * *
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 40 *ku kima*
ku kima
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ku kima
 45 *ku kima*

* * * * *
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 5 *ku kima*
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ku kima
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 10 *ku kima*
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 15 *ku kima*
 * * * * *
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 20 *ku kima*
ku kima
ku kima
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COL. 2

COL. 3

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^a The whole of COL. 2 is illegible, except a few letters.

p. 63, ll. 28, 29 (p. xxix, end). There is a hole in the vellum: the text appears to be

ⲙⲟⲩⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ
ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ

The only letter lost appears to be a *α* before ⲛⲓ in l. 29.

p. 63, l. 39, ⲛⲓⲛⲓ] read ⲛⲓⲛⲓ (*sic*).

p. 64, l. 28, read ⲟⲩⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ (and also in l. 36).

p. 67, l. 44; p. 68, l. 31: see p. xxxi, and delete the note on p. 68.

p. 71, ll. 15, 16, 37: see p. xxxii.

p. 72, ll. 4, 23: delete footnotes ^a and ^d.

p. 73, ll. 8, 28: see p. xxxiii.

p. 74, l. 7, read probably ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲛⲓ.

p. 75, l. 5: see p. xxxiv.

p. 76, l. 5: see p. xxxv.

p. 79, ll. 40, 43: see p. xxxvi.

p. 81, l. 25; p. 82, l. 13: see p. xxxvii.

p. 82, ll. 41-42, 48; p. 83, ll. 10, 16; p. 86, l. 3: see p. xxxviii.

p. 87, l. 37: see p. xxxix.

p. 89, ll. 1, 3, 8, 9, 15-16, 19, 31: see p. xl.

p. 89, ll. 40, 41; p. 90, ll. 3-4, 16, 21-22; p. 91, ll. 14, 17: see p. xli.

p. 92, l. 7, ⲛⲓⲛⲓ] *sic*.

p. 92, l. 40; p. 93, ll. 20, 27: see p. xlii.

p. 93, ll. 3, 5: see p. xliii.

p. 96, ll. 38, 46; p. 97, l. 10; p. 98, l. 20: see p. xlv.

p. 98, ll. 40, 42; p. 99; l. 27; p. 100, ll. 3, 7, 11, 12: see p. xlv.

Against Marcion II.

p. 103, l. 10, read ⲛⲓⲛⲓ.

p. 105, l. 10: see p. xlvii.

p. 107, ll. 1, 30: see p. xlviii.

p. 108, l. 42; p. 109, ll. 13, 17, 25: see p. xlix.

p. 109, l. 44; p. 110, ll. 24, 27: see p. l.

p. 114, l. 29; p. 115, ll. 5-7: see p. lii.

Against Marcion III.

p. 118, ll. 10, 24: see p. liv.

p. 120, ll. 21, 22: see p. lv.

p. 122, l. 29: see p. lvi.

p. 125, l. 12: see p. lvii.

p. 125, l. 41; p. 126, l. 34: read ⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ (*sic*), and see Index.

- p. 18, l. 16 : see p. viii.
 p. 20, l. 15 : see p. ix.
 p. 22, l. 35 : see p. x.
 p. 23, l. 12 : read חַל מַחַל (two words).
 p. 24, ll. 8, 21, 22 : see p. xi.
 p. 28, l. 18ff, read כָּל־כָּל־כָּל (see p. xii).
 כָּל־כָּל
 כָּל־כָּל־כָּל 20
 כָּל־כָּל־כָּל
- p. 29, ll. 30, 37 : see p. xiii.
 p. 30, l. 10, read כָּל־כָּל־כָּל .
 p. 30, l. 39 ; p. 31, ll. 33, 34, 44 : see p. xiv.
 p. 32, l. 8 : see p. xv.
 p. 36, l. 6 : כָּל־כָּל כָּל־כָּל (*sic*), so delete the note. The word is perhaps for כָּל־כָּל and to be regarded as the plural of כָּל־כָּל . Translate, therefore, 'yawning clefts,' p. xvi, l. 17.
 p. 38, l. 39 : read כָּל .
 p. 39, l. 39 ; p. 40, l. 46 ; p. 41, l. 17 : see p. xviii.
 p. 41, l. 35, כָּל־כָּל (*sic*, the Palimpsest is quite legible).
 p. 41, l. 33 ; p. 42, ll. 2, 7 : see p. xix.
 p. 42, l. 39, read כָּל־כָּל , and p. 43, l. 31, read כָּל־כָּל .
 p. 43, l. 37, כָּל־כָּל *sic*, so delete the note.
 p. 45, l. 15 : see p. xx.
 p. 47, l. 7, כָּל־כָּל read כָּל־כָּל (*sic*), over an old erasure.
 p. 48, l. 48, כָּל (*sic*) : see p. xxi.
 p. 49, l. 31, כָּל־כָּל read כָּל־כָּל .

Against Marcion I.

- p. 50, ll. 28-30 ; p. 51, ll. 28, 37 : see p. xxiii.
 p. 51, l. 40 ; p. 52, l. 24 (*sic*) ; p. 53, l. 29 : see p. xxiv.
 p. 53, l. 35—p. 54, l. 13 (p. xxv). I have failed to read or restore this important passage, and the translation on p. xxv must be taken as giving only the general sense. I suggest כָּל־כָּל for כָּל־כָּל (p. 54, l. 4) and כָּל for כָּל (l. 6), also כָּל־כָּל for כָּל־כָּל (l. 9).
 p. 54, ll. 14, 15, read כָּל־כָּל כָּל־כָּל | כָּל־כָּל כָּל־כָּל .
 p. 54, ll. 35, 42, 47 ; p. 55, l. 9 : see p. xxv.
 p. 56, l. 26 ; p. 57, l. 5 : see p. xxvi.
 p. 61, ll. 3, 4 : see p. xxviii.

- p. 204, l. 39. The traces of letters look like ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛⲟ or ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛⲟ :
the first two letters are almost certainly ⲛⲁ .
- p. 206, l. 24, ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛ (*sic*) : see p. xcvi.
- p. 208, l. 18, ⲛⲁ] there is only room for one letter before ⲛⲁ .
- p. 211, ll. 39, 40, ⲛⲁ and ⲛⲁ (*sic*) : see p. c.
- p. 218, l. 45, ⲛⲁ] the last two letters are certain, and neither of
the first two goes above or below the line.
- p. 219, l. 27, ⲛⲁ] the ⲛ and ⲁ (i.e. *nūn* or the first half of *hēth*)
are certain, but the whole looks more like ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛ .
- p. 220, l. 19, ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛ (*sic*), for ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛ ; but in 220, l. 27,
 ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛ is written ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛ .
- p. 220, l. 25, ⲛⲁ] only the last letter is legible.
- p. 221, ll. 41-42, ⲛⲁⲃⲓⲛ (*sic*) : see p. cv.

3. Volume I, Translation.

- p. xii, l. 1. 'conclusions' should be 'divisions.'
- „ ll. 8-16. Here the word translated 'frames-of-mind' and
'Mind' is *tar'ūthā*, elsewhere rendered 'Intention.' Further,
in the *De Virginitate* xiv-xvi Ephraim distinguishes
between mere regret and pious repentance: here the word
used corresponds to 'regret.' Render therefore: "And
how again, when these two Intentions have been swallowed
one by the other, and have become one thing like friends, do
they separate one from the other and stand one against the
other like enemies? For that Intention which makes us
regret after sins, before the sins where was it? And that
Intention which was effervescing before adultery, after
adultery how does it regret? These are Intentions which
are like leaven to one another, so that they interchange one
into the other and are interchanged the one by the other."
- p. xxix, l. 4. For 'servants' read 'husbandmen.' The reference
is to Matt xxi 33 ff, not to Matt xx 1 ff.
- p. xxxiii, l. 2. For 'Natures' read 'substances' (i.e. *knōmē*).
- p. xxxiv, l. 2. For 'some of' read 'out of.'
- „ l. 3. „ 'revealed' „ 'evident.'
- p. xxxv, l. 10. Delete 'as.'
- „ l. 25. Begin a new paragraph with 'And after.'
- „ l. 26. For 'fornicators' read 'harlots': all the words
are fem.

- p. 129, l. 2, read $\omega\delta\alpha\omega\iota\lambda$.
 p. 133, l. 38, read $\Delta\kappa\tau\omega\kappa$ (as elsewhere).
 p. 138, l. 15: see p. lxiii.
 p. 139, l. 12, read $\kappa\delta\tau\omega$.
 p. 140, l. 19, $\kappa\delta\tau\omega\tau$] the τ appears to be prefixed by a corrector.
 p. 142, ll. 10, 18: see p. lxxv.

Against Bardaisan.

- p. 143, ll. 20, 22: see p. lxvi.
 p. 145, l. 3: see p. lxvii.
 p. 145, l. 20, $\kappa\tau\omega\delta\omega$] read $\kappa\tau\omega\delta\omega$.
 p. 145, l. 45 $\omega\omega\omega\omega\omega$] read $\omega\omega\omega\omega$.
 p. 146, l. 27; p. 147, ll. 10–11, 17; p. 148, ll. 31, 39, 40: see p. lxxviii.
 p. 148, l. 18, $\omega\omega\omega\omega\omega$] read $\omega\omega\omega\omega\omega$.
 p. 149, l. 10: see p. lxxix.
 p. 155, l. 35, read $\kappa\tau\omega\delta\omega\omega$ (*sic*).
 p. 156, l. 29, read $\omega\delta\omega\delta\omega\kappa$ (*sic*).
 p. 156, ll. 30, 34: see p. lxxii.
 p. 158, l. 6: see p. lxxiii.
 p. 160, ll. 10, 13, 14: see p. lxxiv.
 p. 160, l. 21; p. 162, ll. 27, 28: see p. lxxv.
 p. 163, l. 29: read perhaps $\delta\kappa\tau\omega\omega\omega\omega\omega$.
 p. 164, l. 10, 17, 27–28: see p. lxxvi.
 p. 164, ll. 38, 39: see p. lxxvii.
 p. 165, ll. 20–32 (Stanza LXXXIV, p. lxxvii). I cannot restore the text of this stanza completely, so I give details of the legibility of the Palimpsest. Line 21 (end), read $\Delta\tau$ (*sic*). Line 22, $\delta\omega$ is certain. Line 24, $\omega\tau$ certain, $\omega\omega$ illegible. Line 25 begins with Δ , then delete $\omega\omega$ (*sic*), and add plural marks to $\kappa\delta\tau\omega\omega$. Line 28, the last letter of $\omega\tau\omega$ is doubtful. Line 29, read * ω $\kappa\delta\omega$ * * Δ (rest uncertain).

De Virginitate.

- p. 189, l. 4, $\omega\omega$] read ω (*sic*).

Against Mani.

- p. 201, l. 6. The stop is clear in the Palimpsest.
 p. 204, l. 37. For the second word $\omega\omega$ would make sense, but the Palimpsest is practically illegible.

- p. ci, Note². For 'l. 31' read 'l. 29.'
- p. civ, l. 13. For 'it does not hang in it when it is weary' read 'on it (i.e. the Body) the Shadow hangs without its being fatigued:' see also *Agst. Bardaisan*, Stanza XLIII.
- p. cv, ll. 8, 9. For 'And there is a passage where he said deceitfully,' read 'and sometimes it (the Body) tells a lie.' The next word ('Likewise') begins a new sentence.
- p. cvii, ll. 26, 27. For 'return to' read 'remember.'
- p. cxvi, l. 3. For 'do' read 'transgress.'

- p. xxxvi, l. 10, and p. xlii, l. 11. For 'Receiving-Vessels' read 'Receivers' (*ὑποδέκται*): the word seems to mean 'receivers of taxes.'
- p. xlvi, l. 13. For 'Gen. viii' read 'Gen. xi 4.'
- p. xlvii, l. 24. For 'P. 38' read 'P. 39.'
- p. lvii, l. 8. For 'denied' read 'devised,' in both places.
- p. lx, l. 10. ,, 'mountain' ,, 'distance' (i.e. not *tūrā* but *taurā*).
- p. lxii, ll. 27 ff. Read "But if the Darkness acquired Imagination without Speech and Intention without an object (?) it had come to have a Knowledge which it had not (formerly)."
- p. lxiii, l. 27. For 'sometimes HŪLĒ acquired Thought' render 'once upon a time HŪLĒ acquired Imagination.' The reference is to the unique beginning of Desire.
- p. lxix, Note 3. For 'p. 48' read 'p. 81.'
- p. lxxii, ll. 2, 3. For 'one whom they call BOLOS' read 'that which they call BOLOS,' and instead of Note 1 read 'See Archelaus in *Epiphanius* 646 and Titus of Bostra A 41 (*Lagarde*, p. 25¹⁸).' The whole passage (to l. 7) should run: how do they say that some of those Souls which . . . have been guilty of great unbelief, those that are found like dregs in the midst of that which they call BOLOS, as they say, that "when the Fire dissolves all, it is into the midst of it (the BOLOS) that there is gathered everything which is mixed and mingled in created things from the Lights," and "those Souls which have done much wickedness are assigned to the realm of the Darkness when it is tormented"?
- ,, l. 21. For 'the' read 'this.'
- ,, l. 26. ,, 'clay' ,, 'loam.'
- p. lxxxiv, l. 9. Prefix 'our' to 'Freewill.'
- p. lxxxv, ll. 6-9. Translate: "And what, pray, is the Nature of all this harmful (element), seeing that this Darkness that comes from it confuses us by its colour, while Satan who comes from it kills by reasonings? And (on the other hand) the Primal Light it crushed with its teeth!"
- That is to say, is the Evil Principle material, acting on bodies, or rational, acting on souls?
- p. lxxxix, l. 26. Add a comma after 'learnt.' In Note 1 it should be remarked that the ancient Greek translation of the Hymn of the Soul renders the word by τὸν καταπότην (*Bonnet, Acta Thomae* 2, p. 220, l. 8).
- p. xciii, l. 31. Delete 'idle and.'

FEB 18	1957	Prof. Vöörbus
FEB 5	1957	WED
MAR 27	1958	Prof. Vöörbus
MAR 9		
OCT 8	U.S.	Chicago Lutherans Seminary
JAN 2	1958	Prof. Vöörbus
JUN 16		2
MAY 24	60	G. Taylor
JUN 24	65	C. D. S.
OCT 25	1965	Prof. Vöörbus
		Lutheran Church of America
JUN 19	1967	Fredrick I H
JUN 10	1967	RENEWED
AUG 2	1967	RENEWED
MAR 5	1968	Rev. W. D. Knappe 4855 W. Homer, Chgo 34
JUN 19	1967	Yes Sealy 413707 Atlantic

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