

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS
IN SYRIAC AND GARSHÙNI
BY A. MINGANA.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS
BY RENDEL HARRIS.

FASC. 1.

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

INTRODUCTIONS.
BY RENDEL HARRIS.

I.

A TREATISE OF BAR ṢALIBI AGAINST THE MELCHITES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“ Gold and Grace did never yet agree !
Religion always sides with poverty ! ”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II.

GENUINE AND APOCRYPHAL WORKS OF IGNATIUS OF ANTIOCH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ign., ad Smyrn., c. 11.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and the supposed faithless priest is addressed as

“ You dear and beloved ram who became the prey of a wolf ! ”

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

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

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

“ wipe off the dirt from your hearts.”

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

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

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

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

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

ἀναζωπυρήσαντες ἐν αἵματι Θεοοῦ,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PREFACES, TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

BY A. MINGANA.

(i) *A Treatise of Barṣalībī against the Melchites.*

PREFATORY NOTE.

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

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

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

¹ *Gesch. der Syr. Lit.*, pp. 295-298.

² Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii, 210-211.

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

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

TRANSLATION.

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

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

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

¹ 1 Thes. v. 21-22.

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

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

CHAPTER I.

On the Sign of the Cross.

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

An intelligent man like you should weigh his words in the balance of justice before uttering them. If you have not acquired a subject from a book, nor learned it from nature, the two sources which embrace all the universe, how then can you neglect the truth of both book and nature, and follow something that is not based on any real foundation ? The Book says : " Remove not the eternal landmark ; "² now if the landmark is nature and book, in rejecting them both we naturally trespass on the boundaries of truth. Christ did not destroy the law but fulfilled it,³ and we⁴ contend that we are not to follow nature and the law, but to step in strange paths ! Do we not fear then a rebuke from David who says : " When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers."⁵ Among the peoples whom you have mentioned there is injustice,

¹ See Acts viii. 27. The author identifies Sheba with Ethiopia.

² Prov. xxii. 28 and xxiii. 10 (Peshitta).

³ Cf. Matt. v. 17.

⁴ Sic Cod.

⁵ Ps. l. 18.

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

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

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

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 23.

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ John xx. 25.

² John xx. 27.

³ Read *Mnaikitha* for *mainoktha*.

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

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

CHAPTER II.

Also on the Sign of the Cross.

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

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

¹ Matt. xxv. 33.

² Matt. xviii. 16.

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

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

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

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

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

Our ecclesiastical historians are in accord with their ecclesiastical historians in what they wrote concerning the Emperor Constantine, that at the hour of the day in which the sun was hottest, he saw in heaven a column of light in the shape of a cross, on which there were the words "By this sign thou shalt conquer," and after the pattern which he saw he fashioned the cross. Now what do the Greeks say about that column? Was it in the shape of double columns, like the two fingers, or in the shape of one column? If in the shape of double columns, two of which stretched perpendicularly and two horizontally, why is not the fact mentioned in any ecclesiastical history? If the column of light was in the shape of one column only, corresponding with one finger, why should we not have greater right¹ than the Greeks? And why should we not make the sign of the cross on ourselves with one finger² only, and from left to right as we, and not as they, do?

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

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

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

¹ Read *Sharririnan* for *Sharririn* (copyist's inadvertence).

² Read *Sib'a* for *Siba*.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Remove the *dalath* before *middaim*.

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

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

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

¹ Matt. vi., 24.

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

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

Even the Greeks when brought face to face with the words of Athanasius the Great and Cyril the Wise are put to shame and believe like them in one nature of the Word who became flesh ;¹ this is written in their books and they believe in it like ourselves, but they explain away the expression "one nature" and say afterwards "two natures" contrary to the teaching of the Doctors, and give a meaning of their own to the words used by Cyril the Great, and pretend that he really meant two natures, and this in spite of the fact that those Arabs and Persians of the East and the South who are Christians² understand like us the doctrine of one nature in the Word who became flesh, and they are known to be Arabs or Persians by the fact that they are not versed in any other language but Arabic and Persian. Let now the subject end here.

CHAPTER III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Your words would have been very true, if only the Chalcedonians would listen to you. For your sake we shall compromise and accept them: but come now to Melitene which is not under their power and see how they tear at our people like wolves. Anyone who through his unstability and weakness falls (and joins them), they baptize again, and they openly call us³ heretics and untruthful, and out of their own free will they do not allow anyone to enter their churches. I remonstrated several times with them, but because of their arrogance they did not desist. Were it not for a reason that I will not disclose, and for the fact that they would have been sneered at by outsiders, I would have revealed their falsehood, and they would have been despised by all; but mendacity often succeeds.

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

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

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

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

³ Possibly read *lan* for *laik*.

⁴ Through the Mohammedan Arabs and Saljūks.

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

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

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

¹ Rom. xiv. 2.

² Rom. xiv. 3.

³ Put a *lamadh* before *namōsa*.

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

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

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

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

¹ Gal. i. 8.

² Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

CHAPTER IV.

On the wicked Rites and Habits of the Greeks.

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

Peace is a very beautiful and praiseworthy thing, O honourable one, but not all peace ; this is known from the sentence uttered by our Saviour ; " I am come not to cast peace on the earth but sword ; for I am come to set a father at variance against his son, and a daughter against her mother."¹ Learn, therefore, that peace with immoral passions and with the enemies of truth drives us away from God. The theologian² says : " A just war is better than a peace which separates from God." Examine well the saying of this Doctor who teaches us that peace with everybody is not advantageous.

Now who makes the Christians pagan except themselves ? A pagan is much better than a³ Christian who forsakes the true faith and follows strange religions, and is unjust, immoral, adulterous, a murderer, a liar, or a breaker of the law. Go now to the Capital⁴ of which you are so proud and see how much immorality prevails in it, and what is still more terrible, how they call immorality " father."⁵ Bring also to it with you foodstuffs of any kind⁶ and see how they will steal them from you and swear that they have not done so.

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

¹ Matt. x. 35.

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

³ Read *aīna* for *aikanna*.

⁴ Constantinople.

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

⁶ Read *meddaim* for *mādāin*.

⁷ Cf. Arabic *rūm*.

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

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

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

If one is obliged to follow them for the sake of these rites which you have mentioned, the Hebrew people had also similar rites ; indeed the Torah was not read by everybody, but only by the elders and the priests, and the prophetical Books were only read on some special days, and what was read in Jerusalem was also read in every country in which Jews were found, and their sacrifices were offered in one³ place. David in his days set up twenty-four singers, every two

¹ 1 Tim. ii. 12.

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

³ Read *bhadh* for *biyadh*.

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

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

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

¹ Prov. ix. 10.

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

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

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

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

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

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

² *Penkītha* is the name of the West Syrian Breviary.

³ Matt. vii. 21.

⁴ Here : musical tunes and melodies with metrical compositions.

⁵ Here : didactic composition in poetry.

through which he destroyed Bardaisān's lustful *Kinātha*. And Mar Severus recited *ma'nyātha* against the poets and against the 'onyātha of the Greek Sustius.¹ And John Chrysostom arranged the *stichera* against the Arians who had composed 'onyātha through which they used to deceive the simple folk. The same may also be said of the *Canons*, etc., which really did harm to the Church, since they have been in it the cause² of the cessation of the reading and interpretation of scripture and the art of preaching. Show me if in the time of the Apostles there were musical tones and 'onyātha, apart from the reading and interpretation of scripture and the art of teaching and preaching.

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

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

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

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

³ Office books, breviary.

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

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

CHAPTER V.

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

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

What you have mentioned has been arranged by the ancient Fathers in the matter⁵ of *Ma'niyātha* and the service of nocturns, as we have stated above. The Church, however, is in no need of them, and I would suggest to you and to every God-fearing man that instead of canticles and prayers containing musical melodies which bring no profit to the singer nor to the hearer, to make use of the Books of the Old and New Testaments and the writings of the Fathers, and to read a chapter from each one of them at every festival. Both the reader and the hearer will derive profit from these lessons. Be

¹ Beginning of a prayer which means : “ Peoples rejoice.”

² Cf. Is. lx. 16 and lxv. 18, etc.

³ Beginning of a prayer which means : “ Two disciples.”

⁴ Lit. *eight echadia*.

⁵ Read *bsharba* for *bsharka*.

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

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

Let it be also known to you that musical tunes and melodies with *Canons*, *stichera* and the rest of them have come down to the Greeks from outsiders, that is to say from the pagan Odysseus who having experienced the sweetness of the song of sirens which dwelt in the sea of Scylla, perceived a desire to learn it ; and because these sirens sang men used frequently to throw themselves into the sea, bewitched as they were by their song, and were eaten by them. Odysseus, however, resorted to a stratagem : he plugged with wax the ears of the sailors, and some men tied him and his companions with chains of iron, and they floated on the sea. When the sirens saw them they began to sing songs of various melodies, but those men whose ears were plugged did not hear the sweetness of the song, and those who were attached with chains of iron could not throw themselves into the sea because of their being strongly tied, and so they little by little learned the melodies and introduced⁴ them to mankind. Examine, then, the origin of the

¹ 1 Peter iii. 15.

² 1 Cor. xiv. 19.

³ Is. lviii. 1.

⁴ Change the *yodh* into a *wāw*.

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

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

If Christians were such as they, what would you be yourself ? If you answer that you are a Christian, rise up and go to them and see what they will call you. If they are not heretics, then the Syrians are. If you pretend that both sides are right, no one from either side will believe you, neither from our side nor from the side of the adversaries. They call us heretical Jacobites, and we call them Chalcedonians, Nestorians, and heretics. If you have enough power in you like your namesake Joshua,¹ son of Nun, to reconcile them with one another, we ourselves will help you in everything. But what union is there between light and darkness ? Many believed that it would be good to join the adversaries, but this has proved a stumbling block to them and finally their downfall. When Ahab had pity on Benhadad and saved his life, God got angry with him and with his people, and he was rejected from power, and Hazael² killed him.³

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

I am tempted to be amazed at your simplicity, O brother, how it easily contradicts itself. You contended that your heart⁴ does not allow you to anathematize Nestorius and his companions, and you have at the same time unknowingly anathematized him. Anathema is a separation from God, and when you have separated them from the Church and rejected and denounced them, you have anathematized them. Do you then believe that anathema means anything else ? The word "anathema" is used in two meanings. The first meaning is found in the sentence of Moses : "every 'anathema'⁵ which is

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

² For Samuel of the MS.

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

⁴ Read *libbukh* for *lakh*.

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

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

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

It is written that we cannot serve two masters,³ O brother. If they call God their King, they are deprived of an earthly king; and if they seek the earthly one, they forsake the heavenly one. This is also known by what God said to Samuel: In asking for an earthly king, the Jews "have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me," Creator and God, "that I should not reign over them."⁴ You see how⁵ God Himself decreed by His words that any one who has an earthly king is deprived of the heavenly one. We follow the words of God, and do not contend that a man has two kings; if it was so he would be bound to "love the one and hate the other, and hold to one and despise the other."

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

¹ Num. xxx. 2.

² 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

³ Matt. vi. 24.

⁴ 1 Sam. viii. 7.

⁵ Eliminate one *aikanna*.

⁶ The author is at some pains to distinguish between "Romans" whom "he calls Franks" (Arab. *Rūmaniyyūn*, Syr. *Rōmāyē*), and "Byzantines" (Arab. *Rūm*, Syr. *Rōmāyē*, *Yaunāyē*) whom he calls "Greeks."

⁷ 1 Tim. vi. 10.

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

CHAPTER VI.

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

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

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

To whom shall we now speak, and on whom shall we pour our wrath ? On those who foolishly utter fallacies like these, or on people⁵ who listen to them ? In what passage did Jeremiah prophesy about Constantinople, and who is the commentator who understood it in that sense ? Jeremiah was taken to Egypt ; and according to some people, he even composed his Lamentations over Jerusalem in Egypt. It is not written in the Lamentations that he prophesied about the Metropolis, nor about a town that would stand on its site. If they are so untruthful in palpable subjects like this, how much more will they be so on the subject of faith which is thinner than a hair ?

¹ Col. iii. 5.

² Or : sackcloth. A wool garment is an emblem of poverty and penitence. Cf. the word *Sūfi* (from which the Mohammedan *Sūfis*, and *Sūfism*) which means "woolly" from *Sūf* "wool."

³ Jas. ii. 17.

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

⁵ Read *aw 'al* for *akh-d*.

They raved also another falsehood to the effect that it was Euphemia the martyr who gave them the articles of faith of the Council of Chalcedon. In this they show that they have received their faith from a dead woman ; and to this effect they even hang in their Churches the picture of something which is unreal. The fact is that the Council assembled in the temple of Euphemia, and the *Tomos* of the unholy Leo and the other book containing the articles of faith were laid in the font of the saint ; but it is nowhere written that the saint rose from the dead and confirmed them ; what they are uttering is pure lie, and their powerful pillars, and the enemies of the truth, such as Joannes Damascenus, Theophilus, and Theodore of Harrān did not write these lies, I mean the untruth concerning Jeremiah and Euphemia, because they knew that they were lies. Damascenus, however, indulged in another falsehood in writing that a child rose up to heaven and heard the angels say : “*Sanctus es Deus, Sanctus es Omnipotens, Sanctus es Immortalis,*” without the addition : *Qui crucifixus es pro nobis.*¹ Against this we wrote at length (in another book) and we reproved him and showed that “no man hath ascended into heaven but he that descended out of heaven.”² We rebuked them that their faith has come down to them from a woman, and that their *trisagion* has emanated from a child not yet in his full senses, and not from an angel or a man in his full senses. You, however, believe not the untruth³ that they have uttered against the Armenians.

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

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

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

² John iii. 13.

³ Which untruth ?

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

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

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

This also is untrue. James, the brother of our Lord, is buried in Jerusalem, and James, son of Zebedee, is in the west, south of the city of Rome ; Peter and Paul are in Rome, and John, son of Zebedee is buried in Ephesus, where also is the mother of God. The Apostle Thomas was buried in India, and his bones were transferred to Edessa. Ezechiel and the three children¹ are in Babylonia with Daniel, and the prophet Isaiah is in Jerusalem. The rest of the prophets and apostles are likewise in all directions, and all are not in the Metropolis. As to St. Basil, all the Emperors strove to transfer his bones from Cæsarea to the Metropolis, but they did not succeed. The great Meletius² was transferred from the Metropolis to Antioch. As to the wood of the Holy Cross, it was in Jerusalem, and in the time of Shahrbaraz and Chosrau it was carried to Persia, and in their time also it was brought back and sown in the middle, and half of it reached the Metropolis.

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

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

¹ Lit. Companions of Hananiah.

² Meletius of Antioch who died in 381.

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

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

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

Concerning John the Baptist, Theodoret, the helper of the Greeks, wrote that in the days of Julian the Apostate, pagans took² his bones from the urn and burned them.³ John of Asia⁴ also wrote that in the time of Justinian one of the prefects of Palestine who was like a pagan

¹ Mark vi. 28.

² Add a *wāu* to the verb.

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

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

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

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

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

Manchester Guardian, 2 February, 1927.

² Matt. xxvii. 25.

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

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

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

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

¹ Or possibly : O our beloved !

² Matt. xviii. 20. ³ Isa. lxvi. 1, with slight changes.

⁴ Isa. lxvi. 2, with slight changes.

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

CHAPTER VII.

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

Let us go on with our investigation of the words of this writer¹ and see how he inclines to all winds, and how he possesses zeal and kindness, but not in the sense in which the Apostle intended these to be.

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

How well has Esau³ been tested and his hidden mind disclosed ! In everything that you have propounded you have shown⁴ that you are not holding your faith from conviction but out of hypocrisy. On the one hand you persuade us not to blame those who out of their own free will have trampled on the anathemas of the Synod of Ephesus and decreed another canon. On the other hand you gave them authority to blame us on the score that they are our superiors and directors. Show us where you get the information that they have that precedence of us which would entitle them to blame us, and be our superiors. If you say that it is because they were evangelized before us, we demonstrated in our previous letter to you⁵ that their evangelization did not precede ours. If you pretend that they are our superiors because some of their books have been translated by us, we have proved decisively that all the Doctors of the Church are not Greek.

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

¹ I.e. Rabban 'Isho'.

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

³ He refers to his adversary.

⁴ Eliminate the *wāw* before the verb.

⁵ This letter seems to be lost.

⁶ Read *minnan* for *minkhon*.

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

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

I am amazed at the way you have accepted as true the falsehood of liars. Who saw (the Fathers of that Council) and counted them as amounting to such a number ? Who read their unofficial proceedings and deliberations ? As for us we read everything in books and we know what was done and spoken there, and how long the Council lasted ; we have also written with us the names of all the bishops who assembled in it, and those who subscribed to it by proxy, and the number of all them amounts only to three hundred and sixty-three. To what extent can the deceivers lie ! They believe that it is by the magnitude of the number of the Fathers that truth is made manifest. Three hundred and seventy bishops assembled in the town of Made-colinus¹ subscribed to the wickedness of Arius, and wished² to throw away Athanasius the Great, because he did not agree with them.

Now what do you say ? Had the high number of men in this case greater right than one man, or had this one man, Athanasius, greater right than all of them ? Learned men even among the Greeks testify that Athanasius was right. Picture, therefore, in your mind and know that Dioscorus and the bishops who were with him had likewise³ greater right than the other three hundred who out of their fear of the king and for the love of their sees⁴ put their signatures to the *Tomos* of Leo. Abraham was in his days the only one who served God, the rest being idol-worshippers. But listen to what the holy Theologian⁵ says : "Three men who gather together in the name of God, are more numerous before His eyes than several myriads who deny His Godhead. Would you honour all the Canaanites more than one Abraham, or the Sodomites more than one Lot, or the Midianites more than one Moses ?" And he added afterwards :

¹ Sic cod. ; it is Mediolanum (Milan).

² Read *Sbau* for *Sba*.

³ Read *aph* for *aphain*.

⁴ Or *chairs* ; see Pseudo-Philoxenus in my *Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, 1925, p. 63.

⁵ i.e. Gregory Nazianzen.

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

You further write : "Those *Kānōnē*² which are called *Koklia* are invented by the Jews."

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

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

When did it happen that a kingdom has been stolen ? It is God who removes kings and raises up kings. He removed the kingdom from the Franks³ and bestowed it on the Greeks. That a kingdom, however, is stolen without the wish of God is known from the fact that Absalom stole the kingdom from his father David, and the people leaned towards him. That a king does rise without the order of God is also borne out by the prophet who testifies and says : "He reigned but not by me, and he governed but not by my will."⁴ Wicked kings reign by the tacit permission of God ; this occurs especially when iniquity is on the increase among the people. If God gave the kingdom to the Greeks, it follows that it is He who also gave it to the Arabs and the Turks for such a long time. The fact, however, is not so, and the subject is different from the one that concerns us.

You write : "The foreign⁵ merchants who go in and out of the

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

² Names of ritual prayers = *Canons*.

³ i.e. the Romans.

⁵ Lit. of different tongue.

⁴ Hos. viii. 4.

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

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

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

You say : "There is no charity like theirs." This is also untrue. Where is the one who has been fed¹ in the bazaars of their Capital ? Indeed how many needy and destitute people walk in its bazaars ? Some Christians who had gone there because of their poverty told² us that they have no mercy at all,³ and that when they wish to eat bread they close their doors and bolt them, and the poor man hoarsens his voice in crying and sighing from hunger, and no man gives him bread. Here we will end this subject.

CHAPTER VIII.

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

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

¹ Read *ettsin* for *ezdben*.

² Add a *waw* to the verb.

³ Read *dsakh* for *nsakh*.

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

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

To which of the Apostles, who were the first to be evangelized, did God give in this world, kingdom, government, and wealth ? On the contrary, they toured the world in want, privation, poverty, and need. Has not the Son of God Himself plainly declared that He "hath not where to lay His head."⁵ Peter and John said to the man that was lame : " Silver and gold have we none, but in the name of Jesus rise and walk."⁶ The Lord of all did not bestow any worldly honours, nor any earthly kingdom, which in reality is nothing, on all these saints who forsook everything and followed him. If every poor man were despised⁷ before God and wrong in his faith, and if the man who⁸ has wealth and kingdom were right in his faith, it would have been high time for you to despise Lazarus, the poor, full of sores, and to extol the rich man who was "clothed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously ;"⁹ it would have also been good opportunity for you to praise the faith of the sons of Hagar¹⁰ who reigned in the earth from end to end, and are prosperous in the world, while the Christians are lowly, wretched, under subjection, and poor.

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

¹ Allusion to the Patriarchal See of Antioch.

² Col. iii. 1-2.

³ John xviii. 36.

⁴ John xii. 26.

⁵ Matt. viii. 20.

⁶ Acts iii. 6.

⁷ Remove the waw before *shit*.

⁸ Cf. Luke xvi. 19 sq.

⁹ Add a *wāw* to *hāw*.

¹⁰ The Arabs.

ye that it hath hated me before you."¹ And : "If ye were of the world, the world would love its own."² And : "If they persecuted me, they will also persecute you."³ And : "Ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice."⁴ And : "Love of this world is enmity against God."⁵ What do you say against all these ? Your Lord has shown that it is the one who possesses neither kingdom nor government who is accepted by Him. He who is here in subjection and strong in faith is going to⁶ rejoice in the kingdom of heaven which will never perish.

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

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

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

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

¹ John xv. 18.

² John xv. 19.

³ John xv. 20.

⁴ John xvi. 20.

⁵ Rom. viii. 7 (Syr.).

⁶ Remove the *waw* before 'thidh.'

⁷ Add the words *hraitha* or *ddhamya*.

⁸ This quotation is from the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*Pat. Syr.*, ii. 1230).

⁹ Is. lvii. i.

You write : “ Why should we (Syrians) be proud because we were evangelized first ? The Christ has said : ‘ Many shall be last that are first, and first that are last.’ ”¹

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

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

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

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

¹ Matt. xix. 30.

² Col. iii. 11.

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

⁴ The beginning of the sentence is somewhat corrupt.

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

Listen now to what the Doctors say concerning *Canons* and *Kinātha*, of which you are proud. The poets and the composers of *Kinātha*, call sometimes a *Kinta* angelic, and some other times they compare the singers to Moses and to the three children. They confined¹ their Biblical references concerning those who fasted in repentance to the Ninevites, and to the publican. Through high-toned *Zummārē* you may forget or completely lose the power of penitence. We are commanded to "pray with the spirit and to sing with the understanding."² This is something difficult for a Greek to do, since his mind is concentrated on music.

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

¹ Add a *wāw* to the verb.

³ Ps. li. 16-17.

² 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

⁴ Amos xv. 23.

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

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

CHAPTER IX.

On the Sign of the Cross.

Let us examine now your other points. You write : "Show me a Christian who believes in Christ who crosses himself with one⁵ finger that we also should do the same. What is there that matters in the act itself ; if you wish, cross yourself with one finger, and if you wish, do it with two fingers."

¹ Matt. vii. 20.

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

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

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

⁵ Add an *Alaph* to *ḥdhā*.

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

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

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

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

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

² 1 Cor. viii, 13.

³ 1 Kings xviii. 21.

⁴ Put a *Dalath* before *lū*.

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

Show us how are the Greeks your Fathers. The kind of pride you are taking belonged to the Jews who used to have pride in Abraham and say : "We have Abraham to our father,"³ but Christ⁴ answered them : "God is able from these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." Listen also to John Chrysostom how he rebukes those who take pride in carnal fathers, in origin, in earthly possessions, and in country, in all of which the Greeks your fathers and friends take pride : "Why are you proud that you are from a great country, while I would command you to be a stranger to all the earth ? And why do you take pride in earthly possessions, you man, who, if you wish, can easily render all the world unworthy of you ?"⁵

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

¹ That of Nicaea.

² A town in Osrhoene.

³ Matt. iii. 9.

⁴ It was John the Baptist. The writer's or the copyist's inadvertence.

⁵ Here is the whole passage : "Cur enim de patria altum sapis, quando-ego, inquit, in toto orbe te peregrinum esse jubeo ? Quando licet tibi tales esse, ut totus mundus te non sit dignus ?" *Pat. Gr.*, lvii. 181. Much of what follows is also taken by Barsalibi from Chrysostom (*ibid.*, 181, 182).

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

Neither the Greeks are our fathers nor the Romans, nor are the Jews the fathers of Christians : all these are loose¹ expressions and old women's tales. If Yawan,² the father of the Greeks, was born before Aram, our father, there might have been occasion for discussion, but when this is not the case, how did you then glory in the not very weighty words of those haughty and arrogant people. It is written in the prophets : "A son honours his father, and a servant his master ; if I am a father, how is it that you do not honour me, and if I am a master, how is it that you do not fear me, saith the Lord Sabaoth."³ What do you say about this ? God says that He is the Father and the Lord of us and them and of all peoples, and you establish them as our fathers, our lords, and our superiors because of some of their *Canons* that happened to be translated in our Service-books ! This is not the saying of a wise man.

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

CHAPTER X.

On the Trisagion.

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

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

¹ Add a feminine τᾶν to the adjective.

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

³ Mal. i. 6.

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

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

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

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

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

² John xii. 41.

³ John x. 9.

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

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

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

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

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 3.

² Is. vi. 3.

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

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

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

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

¹ Gal. vi. 14.

² Or : "to the crucified." In which passage ? At the end of the sentence is the redundant verb *kārē*.

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

⁴ Cf. Is. xiii. 14.

⁵ Is. xiii. 12-14.

⁶ 2 Cor. iv. 4.

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

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

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

¹ Jer. xv. 19.

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

Let it be also known to you that it is very pleasing and agreeable to God that there should be no divisions in the Churches of Christians ; it would have been also more just that the Greeks should have torn and pulled at¹ their own flesh, but they are so steeped in iniquity as to say that there are no other Christians but themselves, and they inflict more harm on our community and on that of the Armenians than the Turks. As I said above, I warned several times the Greeks of Melitene that they and the Syrians and Armenians should love one another and not to growl at one another like wolves and lions, but their madness reached such a pitch as to say like their fathers : " You are not Christians " and other similar ugly offensive words which are in keeping with their iniquity.

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

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

¹ Read *nbasbsūm* for *nnaskiston*.

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

Here end the ten chapters.

جبا. بـ رجاـ اـمـ زـعاـ لـ حـةـ
هـ وـ بـ عـبـاـلـهـ يـعـدـهـ حـرـجـاـ لـ لـ لـ.
اـلـ وـ بـ جـبـمـ لـ لـ اـوـ جـبـمـ اـوـ حـبـهـ.
حـمـ وـ بـ عـبـاـلـهـ اـلـ لـ لـ. مـارـبـهـ وـ فـدـاـ
اـلـ جـهـهـ بـ جـمـ حـنـسـ. مـالـهـ بـ
خـلـاـ بـ قـفـاـ مـعـبـ بـ بـعـمـ حـمـ حـلـ.
اـلـ اـخـاـ اـخـاـ سـبـاـ رـجـاـ اـنـهـ مـعـنـاـ. مـاـ
اـنـلـ اـنـهـ لـ لـ. مـالـهـ حـلـانـعـ رـجـداـ زـوـدـ.
بـبـاـ بـ بـرـبـ رـجـاـ اـنـهـ بـبـاـ. بـ تـعـجـبـهـ.
حـرـقـهـ لـ لـ لـ. اـنـ حـدـانـعـ رـجـداـ زـوـدـ.
حـلـاـ بـ بـرـجـاـ بـ بـعـدـمـوـدـ حـمـ حـلـاـ وـهـ
اـلـ لـ رـجـاـ حـبـهـ. بـجـهـ حـجـاـ وـنـهـ
صـيـونـهـ زـلـ اـنـهـ بـلـ لـ اـنـخـاـ بـاـ رـجـاـ
بـدـ صـيـونـهـ زـلـ لـ اـنـخـيـعـ بـاـ بـ اـنـهـ
مـنـ بـ الـ لـ لـ دـ حـلـ. اـنـهـ حـلـ. اـنـهـ
رجـمـ حـنـاـ. اـنـخـاـ اـخـاـ سـبـاـ رـجـاـ اـنـهـ
بـ حـلـانـعـ لـ لـ لـ. لـ اـنـلـعـ اـنـهـ مـعـنـاـ لـ حـلـ.
بـعـدـ حـنـهـ اـنـهـ. بـجـهـ حـدـانـعـ بـ
رـجـداـ مـهـ اـنـهـ اـنـهـ حـمـ حـنـاـ. اـنـ حـلـ.
رـجـاـ حـلـانـزـرـهـ اـنـهـ حـلـانـزـرـهـ حـبـهـ.
اـلـ اـخـاـ رـجـاـ. اـلـ اـنـخـيـعـ مـعـنـاـ اـنـهـ
صـيـونـهـ مـهـ لـ لـ بـ اـنـهـ مـعـنـاـ رـنـنـهـ.
رـجـاـ. مـهـ لـ لـ وـ بـ اـنـهـ تـنـهـ، مـعـنـاـ.
بـ جـمـ حـدـهـهـ مـادـصـ مـعـنـاـ لـ حـلـانـزـرـهـ.
وـلـانـهـ. وـ حـاـ اـنـهـ بـلـكـهـ اـنـهـ.
بـعـدـ اـنـهـ. اـنـلـعـ رـجـداـ فـنـعـ حـنـاـ بـعـدـ
شـبـهـ. بـعـدـ اـنـهـ. اـنـلـعـ رـجـداـ اـنـهـ.
شـتـكـهـ. بـعـدـ اـنـهـ مـلـلـاـ حـلـ.
اـنـ بـهـ. وـ فـنـلـاـ. اوـ اـنـلـعـ رـجـداـ اـنـهـ.
كـشـوـاـ حـامـهـ اـنـهـ فـنـعـ. مـعـ اـنـهـ
مـلـكـهـ. وـهـ مـلـهـهـهـ حـنـهـ وـ اـنـهـ.

مـعـنـاـ مـهـنـمـ ظـلـمـ بـعـدـ اـنـهـ
مـعـنـاـ حـمـنـقـاـ وـ اـنـهـ. لـ جـهـاـ. مـهـنـاـ
اـنـ بـهـاـ مـهـنـقـاـ وـ جـهـاـ. بـعـدـ اـنـهـ
لـ وـنـبـاـ حـمـنـقـاـ. اـنـ لـهـ بـهـاـ فـنـعـ
لـ وـبـاـ وـ اـنـاـ. اـفـاـ حـمـنـقـاـ وـ اـنـهـ
بـعـدـ اـنـهـ مـهـنـاـ لـ حـنـ. مـعـنـاـ
مـهـنـاـ مـهـنـاـ لـ حـنـ. بـعـدـ اـنـهـ
مـهـنـاـ. بـعـدـ اـنـهـ مـهـنـاـ لـ حـنـ.
رـجـاـ رـنـنـهـ رـجـاـ. بـعـدـ اـنـهـ بـعـدـ
مـنـكـ بـعـدـ بـعـدـ بـعـدـ رـجـاـ. مـعـنـاـ اـنـهـ
مـهـنـقـاـ. المـلـاـ. لـ حـلـانـعـ عـنـقـاـ اـنـهـ
بـعـدـ اـنـهـ وـ اـنـهـ. مـاـنـعـ اـنـهـ حـنـاـ.
اـنـ اـنـلـعـ رـجـداـ وـ فـنـعـ حـنـ. مـعـنـاـ. اـنـ
بـعـدـ اـنـهـ لـ اـنـهـ. اـنـهـ بـعـدـ اـنـهـ بـعـدـ
بـعـدـ سـيـونـهـ وـ جـمـ حـنـاـ بـعـدـ
بـعـدـ مـهـنـقـاـ مـهـنـقـاـ. اـنـلـعـ رـجـداـ
اـنـهـ. اـنـلـعـ رـجـداـ. اـنـهـ مـهـنـقـاـ.
حـمـ حـمـهـهـ بـعـدـ مـهـنـقـاـ اـنـهـ.
حـبـاـ حـلـانـزـرـهـ اـنـهـ. اـنـهـ
حـمـ حـمـهـهـ. بـعـدـ مـهـنـقـاـ اـنـهـ.
بـعـدـ كـشـهـ. وـ فـنـلـاـ. اـنـلـعـ رـجـداـ
حـنـ. اـنـهـ اـنـهـ. اـنـهـ مـهـنـقـاـ وـ اـنـهـ
سـلـفـ. وـهـ بـعـدـ حـنـ. اـنـهـ

عَنْهُمَا حَذَّرَنَا مَاصِنَا هُمْ حَسِيبُوا حَبَابَهَا
مَنْ بِجَهَّهِ وَقَاسِيَّهُ مَلِيَّهُ نَاهِدَهُ لَهُمَا
إِرْجَحَا مَلَكَهُ . يَلْهَمُ الْمَالِكَهُ حَذَّرَا
مَصِنَا خَصِّفَهُ بِهِ حَابِيَهَا لَهُ
مَلَكَهُ أَهَدَهُ مَلَكَهُ . مَعْ جَهَّهِ مَانِيَهُ
رَحَلَلَا مَبِيسَهُ أَهَفَهُ مَأْنَتَهُ مَنْتَهَا
لَعِيَهَا . حَلَامَهُ مَارِلَكَهُ . لَهُ
بَهْلَهُ مَنَاسِفَهُ لَهُمَا . حَهُنَّ وَهُمْ فَنَا
أَهَا . أَدَ لَلَّهَا رَنْحَهُ أَنْهَفَهُ سَعِيَهُ
أَفْنَيَهُ بَهْلَهُ بِهِ مَهُهَا لَهُ
إِرْجَحَا سَهَهُ . أَدَ حَسِنَا رَحَدَا أَوْهَ
وَنَزَمَهُمْ أَمْهَهُ وَبَلْغَهُ بِهِ حَذَّرَهُ مَهَادَهُ
إِرْجَحَا إِبَهَهُ . مَلَكَهُ لَهُمَا
لَأَخْصَفَهُ . بَهِهِ بِهِ وَهُمَا لَبَصَهُ
وَجَهَلَهُ بِهِ حَبِيَّهُ وَحَنَنَهُ بِهِ
جَهَلَهُ مَسْعِهُ مَاجِدَهُ إِرْجَحَا مَهَهُ
وَمَعْجَلَهُ لَهُ بَعْهَهُ . مَهَهُ لَهُ مَنْجَدَهُ
وَجَهَهُهُ بِهِ طَوْهُ مَعْ لَهَبَهُ . حَهُنَّ وَهُجَ
مَهْبَهُهُ لَهَفَطَلَا تَحْرِيَهُ . نَلَهُ شَهَا
وَسَعِيَهُهُ خَمَهَهُ طَلَاهُهُ . حَهَا بَعْهَهُ .
مَلَهُهُهُ حَسِيَّهُهُ فَنَحُ . مَهَسَ
مَهَاجَلَهُ بَعْهَهُ بِهِ سَعِيَهُ . أَهَمَهَا
وَمَهِنَهُهُ . مَنَا سَلَلَا . بِهِ مَنَا اهَنَهُ
وَهَنَنَهُ . هَهَلَا إِرْجَحَا بِهِ حَلَلَهُهُ
أَهَقْنَدَهُهُ مَلَاهَهُهُ . بِهِ مَلَهُهُ . وَهَنَهُهُ
وَهُهُ لَهَهُهُ . أَدَ مَعْجَلَهُ حَمَنَهُ
أَنْهُهُهُ . وَهَا أَجَهُهُ مَنَنَهُ . وَمَهِبَهُ
إِبَهَهُهُ بِهِ مَعْجَدَهُ حَجَنَهُ بِهِ مَعْجَلَهُ
حَبِيَّهُهُ سَبَبَهُهُ فَنَمَعَهُ . لَا مَهْرَمَا مَهِبَهُ
وَلَهَنَهُ . لَهَفَطَلَا لَا آنَلَهُ بِهِ مَهْبَهُهُ
تَحْرِيَهُ إِرْجَحَا . بِهِ حَرَضَهُهُ

مرحبي حفلاتي رحـلـا . حـلـفـ لا يـعـبـدـ
لـهـمـ بـرـحـلـهـ حـبـرـ حـلـاـمـ أـمـقـدـسـاـ
شـهـ مـدـنـهـ حـلـلـهـ أـبـاـمـ حـلـلـهـ . اـمـحـ
جـنـسـهـ حـلـلـهـ أـبـاـمـ حـلـلـهـ . اـمـحـ
بـعـدـهـ حـلـلـهـ حـلـلـهـ وـوـقـعـهـ . مـضـلـلـهـ
بـعـدـهـ مـلـطـاـ . حـلـلـانـ حـلـلـهـ مـرـحـلـيـعـ.
هـنـهـ بـهـنـهـ حـلـمـ لـلـعـفـتـاـ مـلـكـنـهـاـ.
الـأـمـهـ بـخـلـاـ بـعـدـهـ مـفـرـدـهـ حـلـلـهـ
مـاسـنـاـ، بـخـلـدـاـ لـلـعـادـهـ حـلـلـهـ بـعـدـهـ
لـهـنـاـ بـلـلـهـ حـلـلـهـ اـوـانـهـ . لـلـ
حـلـلـلـيـعـاـ وـبـهـ هـنـاـ بـهـلـاـ وـالـحـمـهـ
حـلـهـ بـعـدهـ حـلـلـلـلـاقـتـصـيـ . لـلـ
هـنـعـ بـلـلـمـحـلـاـ وـصـمـ وـبـلـلـهـ حـلـلـهـ
حـلـلـهـ مـهـبـعـ وـبـهـ بـهـ مـدـنـاـ . مـبـ هـنـاـ
بـهـلـهـ، بـهـلـاـ وـمـحـمـهـ . مـحـاسـنـاـ مـهـبـعـ
بـاـنـهـ هـنـاـ اـبـاهـ . هـنـ بـلـاـ فـلـاـ وـاـفـلـاـ بـهـ
غـلـفـ حـلـهـ . اـمـ اـنـ اـنـهـ حـلـمـ .
بـأـنـلـاعـ حـلـلـهـ حـلـفـ هـنـاـ بـنـيـةـهـ وـهـنـاـ
سـلـيـ وـانـاـ مـرـحـلـهـ حـلـلـانـ حـلـلـهـ .
لـأـوـعـ هـنـاـ بـهـ وـمـعـ حـصـبـاـ سـفـ مـلـاـ
لـهـبـهـ مـلـاـ لـأـوـعـ هـنـاـ لـأـمـبـهـ اـنـهـ حـمـهـ
سـبـعـاـ. اـنـعـ حـلـلـانـ مـرـحـلـهـ اـنـ .
حـوـبـهـ وـجـدـهـ مـدـفـعـ اـنـهـ مـحـانـيـاـ
مـحـمـ اـسـنـانـهـ مـلـهـ بـهـ اـدـعـ وـبـأـنـلـاعـ
رـحـلـهـ لـلـفـ هـنـاـ مـحـفـيـعـ . كـمـ هـنـعـاـ
لـلـ اـمـهـهـ . سـهـ اـنـهـ بـهـ اـنـاـ وـبـأـنـلـاعـ
رـحـلـهـ . هـنـاـ مـحـفـيـعـ . هـنـهـ هـنـعـاـ
هـنـيـ اـبـاهـ . مـلـهـ سـلـيـ اـنـهـ لـأـمـلـهـنـهـاـ.
هـنـهـ مـحـبـيـعـ اـمـ اـفـرـسـ حـمـهـ . مـرـحـلـهـ
لـهـ مـهـنـاـ . مـحـفـيـعـ لـهـنـاـ مـلـهـلـهـاـ.
لـأـكـ مـعـنـهـ لـأـوـعـ هـنـاـ مـلـهـلـهـ

مَنْهُ لِمَا بَعْدَهُ لَا يَخْشَى مَهْرَبَةً
أَوْ فَتْلَةً . حَلَّفَنَا لَا وَسْطَ لَهُ لَهُمْ
مَحْدَابَةً وَابْيَعَ جَنْشَنَ . اَعْدَى لَا وَسْطَ
اَنَّ حَلَّفَتْنَا . وَابْيَعَ لَوْزَ حَنْنَا لَا
مَحْفَلَانَهُ وَابْدَهُ . اَهْلَ حَفْنَ حَمْ
بَنْكَنَا وَابْنَ حَبَّ اَهْلَ اَدَلَّهَ
بَعْدَمَدْ بَهْنَهَا حَلَّفَنَا . اَفَ
بَيْهَ حَلَّفَنَا . وَابْنَهَنَ حَسَّانَ
وَبَنَهَا لَا مَحْدَابَسَ . اَلَّا لَمَنْهَ بَيْ
مَسْدَنَهُ . حَنَّهَا مَعْجَدَهُ وَهَنَّهَا
مَحْسَنَهُ اَنْعَنَ حَنَّهَا حَمَّهُ . بَيْهَ اَلَّا حَمَّهُ
وَبَنَهَا بَيْهَ حَنَّهَا وَبَلَّهَا وَمَحْمَّهُ . لَا
مَحْمَّهُ اَنَّهُ بَيْهَ مَعْجَدَهُ لَهُنَّ
مَدْنَهُ اَعْدَى اَنَّهُ وَانْعَنَ حَنَّهَا اَنْعَنَهُ
لَا اَبْدَهُ اَبَا . مَلَّا وَسْطَ اَنَّهُ حَمَّهُ . اَدَمَهُ
وَهَنَّهُ اَسْبَهَ حَلَّا حَلَّافَنَ وَحَمَّهُ .
وَلَا مَلَّهُنَّهُ بَهْنَهُ ، وَلَهُلَّا حَلَّهُ حَسَّ
بَيْهَ حَتَّهَا . بَيْهَ لَمَنْهَنَهُ لَا
مَحْمَّجَنَهُ حَمَّهُ . عَلَّسَ اَنَّهُ وَاهَ
مَنَ اَنَّهُ بَوَّلَهُ لَهُنَّهُ بَلَّا وَبَلَّهُ .
بَلَّهُ حَمَّهُ حَمَّهُ خَامَهُ . مَلَّ نَفَّهُ
لَهُنَّهُ نَفَّهُ . مَرَّهُ لَلَّاهِبَّهُ لَا
وَابْدَهُ وَابْنَهُ بَلَّهُ حَعْنَا بَهْنَهُ
مَلَّهُمَ وَصَنَعْهُ مَهْنَهُ . اَلَّهُ خَمْبَنَهُ بَهْنَهُ
لَمَّا بَيْهُ حَلَّفَتْنَا . اَوَسَعَ مَلَّهُنَّهُ
تَحْبِيَهُ مَدَحَنَبَهُ . وَلَهُنَّهُ مَحْكَلَهُ لَهُنَّهُ
اَلَّا حَلَّبَهُنَّهُ . وَلَهُنَّهُ مَعْجَدَهُ
اَعْدَانَهُ . حَمَّبَهُنَّهُ . وَاتَّخَى مَهْنَهُ حَلَّصَهُ
مَنْلَهُنَّهُ . قَبَسَهُ حَفَّلَهُ . وَنَفَّلَهُ
حَانَنَهُنَّهُ . مَجَبَهُنَّهُ . وَهَنَّهُ . وَخَمْعَهُ لَهُ
مَلَّهُنَّهُ . قَنَعَهُ اَنَّهُ . وَنَهَّهُهُ مَهْنَهُ .

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لهم اغثنا بفتح حفظ حفنة حفنة
وحللها بحسب حفنة بحسب حفنة...
حفنة مائة حفنة عفوفاً عبلاً
محظى حفنة... فحب حفنة سبع
محنة... لا بل الحمد لله ملهم حفنة...
الله حفنة... مسافر حفنة انت انت الله
محنة... حفنة... حفنة... حفنة... حفنة
حفنة... او احلا الله افع... مثلاً حفنة
املاً... حفنة... حفنة اعم من حفنة...
من حفنة حفنة... مثلاً... مثلاً... مثلاً...
محبته حفنة... مثلاً... مثلاً... مثلاً...
حفلها... ملهمها... حفنه... ملهمها...
حفلها... ملهمها... حفنه... ملهمها...
حفنة... ملهمها... حفنه... ملهمها...
حفنة... حفنة... ملهمها... انت... حفنة...
عما نبهك... عما نبهك... عما نبهك...
عنها... ملهمها... حفنة... وفنا...
ملهمها... نبهك... الا... وفنا... مع... حفنة
وحفنة... ملهمها... حفنة... ملهمها...
ناته... ملهمها... حفنة... حفنة... حفنة
ونحن... نحبها... وحبها... حفنة... حفنة
ملهمها... الان... انت... حفنة... انت...
ناته... ملهمها... ناته... حفنة... حفنة
او حفنة... مع... حفنة... وفنا... الله... انت...
ملهمها... حفنة... حفنة... حفنة...
ملهمها... حفنة... حفنة... حفنة...
حفنة... حفنة... حفنة... حفنة... حفنة
حفلها... حفلها... حفلها... حفلها...
حفلها... حفلها... حفلها... حفلها... حفلها

نَعْلَمُ . لَا أَنْتَ مِنْ يَأْوِي مَلَكًا فَهُوَ
لَكَ . مَلَكًا لَيْلَةَ الْمَحْرُومَةِ مَلَكًا سَبْطًا
لَهُمْ بَلْ كَذَّابٌ لَهُمْ مَالًا نَعْلَمُ . مَلَكًا
لَهُمْ وَلَا سَرْفًا لَعْنَى وَ مَلَكًا حَمْرَانَةِ
وَ حَمْلَبَانَةِ ائِمَّةَ إِنْدِهَا بَعْضَ حَمَانَةِ وَ
وَ بَطْلَمَ مَلَكًا سَفَّارًا . مَدْحُورًا لَهُ
أَسْمَاءَ بَعْدًا . مَنْ أَبْكَاهُ مَلَكًا . هـ
أَوْ حَمْدَانَةَ مَنْهُمْ هُمْ حَلْمَ مَلَكًا
مَلَكَهُمْ حَمْرَانَةَ حَلْمَهُمْ . مَذْهَبًا
مَهْمَشًا مَسْنَفًا لَهُمْ مَلَكُ مَلَكَاتِ . لَا
مَلَكَرَبًا لَيْلَةَ الْمَحْرُومَةِ . مَهْبَبًا
مَهْمَشَةَ الْمَهْمَشَةِ . مَهْمَشَةَ
مَلَكَهُمْ مَلَكَلَا مَنْهُمْ أَوْسَطَ قَرْبَانَةِ
مَسْعَى سَبَابَ حَلْمَنَةِ بَهْنَانَةِ
مَدَانِيَّةِ سَكَنَةِ بَعْضِ مَلَكَاتِ سَنَنَةِ . هـ
قَبْصَنَةِ وَلَوْنَانَ بَعْضِ لَاسْتَهْبَانَةِ .
عَمْلَيَّةِ وَ حَدَّلَلَلَهَدَيَهِ حَلْمَنَةِ
سَنَنَةِ هَذِهِ سَلَةَ بَعْضَهُ حَمْدَانَةِ ~
وَ دَلَمَعَ حَبْلَانَةِ . مَلَكَهُمْ لَأْلَوْنَانَ ~
سَلَةَ كَهْنَانَةِ . وَهَمَالَةَ بَلَسْطَنَةِ . هـ
حَلْمَنَةِ اَفْلَا حَسَنَةَ حَسَنَنَةِ . لَا أَوْ
حَسَنَتْ حَيَا . مَلَكَهُ مَلَكَانَةَ . مَهْرَبَهُ وَدَمَهُ
اَهْنَهَ اَفْلَا نَهَا . مَهْدَنَةَ وَ فَهْمَهَنَةَ
نَهَنَهَا خَلْصَ . مَهْنَبَهُ وَهَنَهَا اَسْ
طَافَا مَهْنَفَهُ وَبَعْ جَهْنَمَلَكَهُمْ لَهُمْ
هَذَنَةَ مَهْنَرَا سَلَهُ حَدَنَةِ . اَوْ تَنْحَى
جَهْنَمَلَكَهُنَانَةِ . مَهْنَسَهُ حَلَلَانَهُ
اَسْمَ نَقَانَةِ . مَهْلَهَهُمْمَعَ حَمَدَلَلَانَةِ ~
مَهْسَلَهُنَانَةِ . مَهْمَهَهُنَانَةِ . لَا لَهَنَهَا

حَرَثُلَامْ بِوَنْصَ صَفَنَا مَحْدَدَا . مَهْنَلْيَ
أَمْتَنْ وَوَمَدَا وَبَعْسَا أَبَهْ حَهْ حَهْ بَلْ
حَهْنَنَا . أَكْنَا أَنْمَ مَهْنَنَا بَعْسَى وَاجْدَهْ
وَبَعْدَهْ حَلْ مَهْلَاهْتَنْ . بَعْسَى حَهْ
حَهْمَهْ مَهْمَهْ بَعْسَى ؛ مَهْمَهْ مَهْمَهْ
مَهْمَهْ مَهْمَهْ مَهْمَهْ . بَلْسَى . مَجْمَعْ حَبْدَهْ
مَهْلَاهْتَنْ ؛ أَقَحْ حَهْ سَ لَهَمَهْهَنْ
بَسَعْ . أَلَا حَتْهَهْ سَ . حَهْهَهْ بَحْ
جَيْلَاهْ مَهْمَهْهَنْ . مَلَانَسَمْ . وَأَمْهَنْ
مَهْمَهْ بَعْدَهْ مَهْمَهْ مَهْمَهْ . أَلَا لَا
هَارَهَهْ . أَوْ دَهْبَلْهَهْ بَعْ مَهْمَهْ
مَهْمَهْلَاهْ . بَعْ مَهْمَهْلَاهْ لَهَمَهْ سَهْ
حَهْهَهْ أَصْهَمَهْ مَهْمَهْ حَاجْ . مَهْمَهْ مَهْمَهْ
حَهْ لَهَمْ لَهَمَهْ . يَاهْ لَاهْدَهْ لَهَمْ
أَهَمْ . حَهْ . هَهْهَهْ أَدَهَهْهَهْ هَهْهَهْ
بَهَهْلَهْلَهْ أَهَهْ . مَهْ مَهْنَهْ نَاهْهَهْ
مَهْمَهْ بَاهْهَهْ . مَهْمَهْ بَاهْهَهْ مَهْمَهْ .
جَيْهْ حَسَمَهْ حَدَهَهْهَهْ . حَهْ . مَهْ سَهْ
بَعْ . مَهْمَهْ بَعْدَهْ . بَعْدَهْ مَهْمَهْ
أَسَنَا . أَكَنْهَهْ مَهْنَهْهَهْ بَعْ مَهْمَهْ ~

مَهْمَهْهَهْ . أَقْيَهْ مَهْمَهْ حَلَّا . نَهْ . مَهْنَهْ
لَهَمْ . مَهْمَهْهَهْ أَسَمَهْ . فَلَاهْلَهْهَهْ وَهَاهْ
حَدَهَهْلَهْهَهْ . أَهَهْهَهْ . مَاهْهَهْ . مَهْهَهْ
هَهْ . وَلَهَمْهَهْ مَهْمَهْهَهْ لَاهْلَهْهَهْ .
جَيْلَاهْلَهْهَهْ . مَلَاهْلَهْهَهْ . مَهْمَهْلَهْهَهْ
حَهْهَهْهَهْ . أَهَهْهَهْ . لَهَمَهْهَهْ . سَهْ . مَهْ . أَبَهْ
حَهْ . أَلَاهْهَهْ حَزَهْهَهْ . مَهْدَهْهَهْ أَهَهْهَهْ . بَهَهْ
مَهْمَهْهَهْ . أَهَهْهَهْ . بَعْدَهْهَهْ . بَعْدَهْهَهْ
بَهَهْ . حَهْ . أَبَهْ بَعْسَى . مَهْهَهْ
بَعْسَى مَهْنَهْهَهْ . مَهْ . بَعْسَى مَهْنَهْهَهْ
وَأَهْنَا عَهْنَهْهَهْ . وَأَهْنَا . مَهْهَهْلَهْهَهْ . أَهَهْهَهْ

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لَكْ بِعْ بِيْ أَنْتُمْ بِأَنْ هَذِهِ تَقْدِيرٌ
بِعْ بِيْ هَذِهِ أَنْ حَدَّثْنَا لَكْ بِعْ مَجْمَعٌ
حَدَّفْ لَا اسْمَهُ بِأَنْ لَا لَهُمْ - لَكْ
حَدَّفْ لَا رَأَيْتُ لَهُمْ أَنْ مَنْ جَدْ وَخَلَّ
لَهُمْ بِعْ لَهُمْ بِعْ مَدْفَعْنَى - لَهُمْ
بِعْ حَدَّفْ لَا مَدْلَجَلَّا - لَهُمْ لَهُنَّا
بِعْ جَاهَلَهُمْ بِعْ حَاجَهُهُ بِعْ حَفَّنَاهُ
بِعْ حَفَّنَهُهُ حَفَّنَاهُ بِعْ مَفْعَهُ - شَاهَ
لَهُمْ شَاهَنَاهُ بِعْ حَفَّنَهُهُ بِعْ حَفَّنَاهُ
أَفْنَنَهُ بِعْ حَفَّنَاهُ لَا لَعْنَتَاهُ -
بِعْ حَلَّمَنَاهُ بِعْ حَفَّنَاهُ أَبْهَمَهُ بِعْ
عَدَادَهُنَّاهُ أَهَادَهُ بِعْ حَفَّنَاهُ ۝ وَهُنَّ
بِعْ حَفَّنَاهُ بِعْ حَفَّنَاهُ ۝ فَإِنَّا حَفَّنَاهُ
بِعْ حَفَّنَاهُ أَهَدَهُ حَدَّارَبَهُ وَأَهَدَنَاهُ
لَهُمْ حَفَّنَاهُ مَهْسَلَنَاهُ أَنَّهُ مَضَلَّاً
أَرَى حَدَّمَهُ وَمَلَمَيَّهُ لَمْ أَهْبَطَهُ
وَمَنْسَعَ أَبْهَرَهُ بِعْ حَفَّنَاهُ لَهُمْ وَهُنَّ
مَلَكَهُ ۝ وَفَقَهُ مَهْمَهَهُ مَعَنَاهُ حَبَّلَا.
وَهُنَّا أَمَعَ لَهُمْ ۝ وَمَلَكَهُ ۝ مَلَكَهُنَّا.
مَلَكَهُ مَلَكَهُ مَلَكَهُ مَلَكَهُ مَلَكَهُ
مَنْهُونَهُ لَهُنَّا - مَلَكَهُ مَلَكَهُ ۝ بِعْ
لَازِخَهُ لَهُمَا - مَيْخَاهُ بِعْ وَهُنَّ
بِعْ بَصَهُ لَهُنَّاهُ ۝ بِعْ وَهُنَّهُ مَهْمَهَهُ
بِعْ حَمَدَهُنَّاهُ ۝ بِعْ خَامَهُنَّاهُ جَذَّ -
بِعْ حَمَدَهُنَّاهُ ۝ بِعْ خَامَهُنَّاهُ جَذَّ
وَهُنَّهُ مَجْدَهُ ۝ لَهُمَا مَهْدَهُ مَهْدَهُ
بِعْ حَمَدَهُنَّاهُ ۝ بِعْ خَامَهُنَّاهُ مَهْمَهَهُ
عَهُمَا مَهْمَهَهُ بِعْ خَامَهُنَّاهُ ۝ بِعْ حَمَدَهُ
بِعْ حَمَدَهُنَّاهُ ۝ بِعْ خَامَهُنَّاهُ مَهْمَهَهُ
بِعْ مَهْتَنَاهُ مَهْتَنَاهُ بِعْ مَهْتَنَاهُ

للهنّهنا . مفتخراً لخليعٌ
عقلاني واحتداً لخلصت ومحظى
لخت نادٍ ، ملءٍ ، رسالهٔ صحتناً نادٍ
مجدهم لـم بـعـدـهـاـ الـأـجـدـيـعـ مـعـنـاـ
حـسـنـاـ . مـلـكـتـ سـبـحـ مـلـكـهـاـ .
وـمـنـعـنـاـ مـجـهـزـهاـ أـنـ اـنـهـاـ . حـسـنـ
واـوـمـعـ حـدـهـ جـهـنـمـاـ . لـاـ مـسـهـ لـهـ
لـخـ لـهـنـاـ . خـارـجـ فـجـسـ حـلـقـ اـسـيـ
هـسـابـ . مـرـجـ اـوـشـ مـحـظـ . مـجـلـلـاـ
لـأـجـيـاـ بـعـدـهـاـ . لـهـنـةـ وـلـكـيـهـ
هـنـهـ حـنـنـاـ اـجـهـوـنـ مـحـبـيـاـ ~
لـخـتـمـهـاـ . لـاـ حـمـنـنـهـاـ . بـلـلـلـامـ
جـمـ . . لـلـلـاـ لـأـنـهـ دـهـ . مـحـبـيـاـ لـهـ.
لـهـنـ سـقـاـ لـمـ مـعـهـ دـوـنـ حـلـقـهـاـ .
بـلـهـيـهـ . مـهـيـ لـلـأـنـهـاـ . مـلـىـ
مـشـهـرـاـ اـنـعـاصـ رـضـيـ وـلـهـنـ لـهـ
لـهـجـدـاـ . قـدـبـ حـصـنـاـ كـنـصـنـ مـدـهـيـهـ
لـأـجـيلـلـهـمـهـ لـهـنـ وـأـنـهـ وـنـجـلـيـهـ
لـأـنـهـ بـعـدـهـاـ لـهـ . لـاـ لـأـنـهـ دـهـاـ
مـعـنـعـاـ وـمـدـانـهـيـ سـلـفـ بـهـ اـنـهـ
لـمـ وـإـنـهـ لـأـنـهـ دـهـيـاـ أـنـ مـحـمـدـ
مـجـسـلـاـ لـمـ حـمـقـ ، مـحـبـيـاـ اـنـهـ جـهـاـ
لـهـاـ مـلـدـعـهـاـ ، لـلـلـاـ لـهـ مـجـيـعـ وـبـاءـهـ

اَخْتَنْ هَفْتَلِيْ مَنْ حَنْدِيْ لَلَّوْحَا .
مَهْنِيْ وَخَلْعَمْ . مَهْلِيْ حَصْ حَمْدَاهَا [١]
وَحَبْدَاهَا . اَفْلَاسْ حَافَانْ وَامْحَنَا [٢] وَالْحَدْ
اَنْ حَمْدَاهَا بَنْهَا وَامْهَنَا [٣] اَبَهَا اَهَدَاهَا
وَحَدَا [٤] اَلْمَحْيَا مَسْلِيْ مَلْحَدَاهَا
وَهَنْلَلا [٥] وَجَيْهَا [٦] هَهْتَلَا [٧] هَدْ [٨] هَنْ
اَسْنَعْ هَهْلَا حَمْمَعْ مَهْلَمَاهَا [٩] اَلْأَبْعَجْ هَنْ
بَقْرْ جَنَا [١٠] بَعْ حَوْهَنَا هَهْ وَهَلْكَهْهَا [١١]
بَهْ حَنْهَهْهَا هَهْ هَهَا هَهْ وَهَلْكَهْهَا سَهْنَا
سَلْبَهَا . هَلْكَهْهَا اَهْجَنَا [١٢] هَلْلَا [١٣]
اَحْصَا حَهْنَا مَلْكَهَا . اَنْهَا اَهْدَلْهَهَا
وَهَهْدَاهَا . اَهْهَدَهَا مَهْلَهَهَا لَهْهَهَا ~
بَهْلَهْهَا [١٤] مَدْيَنْ لَا اَحْصَا حَمْلَهَا
هَنْ . مَلَاهَنَا [١٥] وَهَهْنَا . وَهَهْنَهَا
وَهَهْنَهَا . اَخْتَنْ هَفْتَلِيْ بَعْ هَلْلَهْهَا [١٦]
فَعْبَهَا . مَهْلَهَهَا بَهْنَهَا هَهْ . هَهْ
بَعْ هَنَا حَمْقَهَا [١٧] ، هَنْهَهَا [١٨] مَاهَنْهَا [١٩]
مَاهَنْهَا [٢٠] مَهْمَقَهَا [٢١] هَهْتَلَا [٢٢] اَخْبَا
هَلْلَهَا [٢٣] لَا مَهْمَهْهَا . حَاوَنَا وَهَنْيَا ~
بَهْلَهْهَا . هَلْلَهْهَا لَمْ بَعْهَهْهَا هَهْهَهَا
بَهْلَهْهَا . وَاهْدَهَا هَلَاهَهَا هَهْهَهَا . جَهَا
بَسْ اَهْدَهَا هَهْنَهَا . وَهَنْيَا . اَهْبَعْ جَهَا
هَلْهَهَا بَعْ دَهْهَهَا هَهْهَهَا . وَهَهْمَعْ حَمْهَا
بَهْلَهْهَا حَبَهَا [٢٤] جَهَا [٢٥] بَاهْسَهَا هَهَا
لَهْجَهَا . حَمْهَهَا هَهْهَهَا بَهْهَهَا لَهْهَهَا لَهْهَهَا
اَلَهْهَهَا جَهَا [٢٦] اَرْجَهَا [٢٧] طَهْهَهَا
حَهْهَهَا [٢٨] وَهَهْهَهَا هَهْهَهَا تَاهْهَهَا فَهَا
وَهَهَهَا . اَهْهَهَا قَهْهَهَا . حَهْهَهَا وَهَهْهَا
اهْهَهَا وَهَهْهَا . اَهْهَهَا جَهَهَا رَهْهَا
مَهْهَهَا . بَعْ هَلَاهَهَا بَعْهَهَا . وَهَهْهَا
هَهْهَهَا هَهْهَهَا تَهْهَهَا . بَعْهَهَا . اَهْهَهَا وَهَهْهَا

وَسَمِعَ سُلْطَانٍ يَأْنِحُهَا . وَمَا فَيْحَى
الْجَمِيدَةَ حَتَّىَ . جَمِيدَتْهُ بَعْدَ حَمَدَهَا
مَدْمَمَ حَمَدَ حَمَدَ لَهُهَا حَمَدَ مَهْبَهَا
جَهَنَّمَ مَلَكَهَا حَمَدَ لَهُهَا جَهَنَّمَ
مَلَكَهَا مَهْبَهَا . وَلَا مَلَكَهَا فَيْحَى بَعْدَهَا
إِنْهَى . وَهُنَّا كَذَلِكَ أَنْ زَلَّا مَلَكَهَا .
بَعْدَ مَهْبَهَهَا أَفَيْحَى وَلَا فَيْحَى . هَذِهِ الْأَنْهَى
جَاهَدَهَا . حَمَدَهَا مَلَكَهَا فَيْحَى بَعْدَهَا .
هَذِهَا وَعَمْ جَهَنَّمَهَا جَاهَدَهَا . حَمَدَهَا وَاجْهَهَا
وَلَا زَلَّا إِلَيْهَا حَمَدَهَا . وَهُنَّا
بَلَهُهَا فَمَسَافَهَا مَهْبَهَهَا . مَلَكَهَا
وَاجْهَهَا جَاهَدَهَا جَاهَدَهَا . وَاجْهَهَا بَعْدَهَا
وَأَفَيْحَى مَدْمَمَهَا حَلَّا وَاجْهَهَا . وَهُنَّا
وَأَفَقَهَا بَعْدَ لَا يَأْنِحَهَا . أَفَيْحَى
لَهُهَا وَلَا فَيْحَى . جَاهَدَهَا حَمَدَهَا .
وَفَسَدَهَا حَمَدَهَا أَفَيْحَى وَلَا فَيْحَى .
وَهُنَّا كَذَلِكَ حَمَدَهَا حَمَدَهَا . وَلَا
زَلَّهَا إِلَيْهَا حَمَدَهَا . وَهُنَّا
بَلَهُهَا حَمَدَهَا . وَهُنَّا
فَلَهُهَا أَمْبَاعَهَا حَمَدَهَا حَمَدَهَا بَلَهُهَا
وَجَمَ مَثَلَهَا مَهْبَهَهَا حَمَدَهَا . هُنَّا
أَفَيْحَى حَمَدَهَا ؟ أَلَا يَأْنِحَهَا . وَلَا
جَهَنَّمَهَا أَفَيْحَى . سَبَّاهَا جَاهَدَهَا .
مَخْلُومَهَا . بَعْدَ كَارِنَسَهَا حَمَدَهَا لَوْحَهَا .
أَيْفَ . مَلَكَهَا أَلَا بَعْدَ بَعْدَ مَلَكَهَا . بَعْدَ
جَهَنَّمَهَا كَذَلِكَ . بَلَهُهَا المَابِسَهَا . وَلَا
بَرِهَهَا مَجِيَّا . وَجَبَ مَهْبَهَهَا حَلَّا أَمْتَخَا
وَلَا فَيْحَى . أَلَا وَلَا حَمَدَهَا . حَمَدَهَا
لَوْنَهَا مَدْبَلا . وَسَهَهَا . مَهْبَهَهَا رَوْنَهَا
جَاهَا مَلَكَهَا . وَمَكَبَهَا إِلَيْهَا مَرْخَلَهَا
وَنَصَرَهَا أَسْهَا حَلَّبَهَا وَنَهَدَهَا .

الليل . حادثة في ليفي و مدينتها المصبه
حفلة ، و عدها أملا ، و يحيى حفلتها لا
تقدمة يراه حفلة ملحاً يقطعته ، و يليه من جهته
ستفراً ، و اذ دفع مينا لايجه ، مع احبه
نفسه ، محب لا يفهوا لاحظ حسنه
حتى ، و يحيى حفلتها . اولاً حفلة
ملحقون مع احتمالهم . اعدنا ، و اولاً
جدهم لايجه ، مع احبه . موقعاً بمحب
احتفال ، مع ملحة اجهه ، لا ، ولا
احتفال مكروه حفلتها . اولاً حفلة
لاحتمالهم . الا نكتبه حقيقة و موهبة
محاوبي حفلة ، و اولاً ملتنا ابدالهم
احتفال ، اعدنا ، اولاً فعضاً ، و اعدنا ، و اولاً
معيناً ابدالهم احتفال ، و مذهبنا .
الليل ملحاً فعندا ، و قهوة ، و مفخخة البدسوسي
لعنده احنا ، و مقتاً في كل ملها المأبد .
و حفون في المأبد احنا ، و محب ا OEM . ابداً مينا
لما في حفلة ، حفلة ، و مينا لا امساك . امع
او انه الحفصه بمح حفلة حفلة
ليلة ، و يكتب ، و تقدمة مفعهون ، ناز ايجي
حفلة ، حفلة . حفلة ملهم بمح لاحتمال .
او حفلة الحفصه . احنا انا . امع لا
محضن ، حفلة . ملهم ملها ابا . انته و بسلسله
انها حفلة . اخذ ملنا سلسلة . حفلة
محض فـ اـ الله . الله اـ اـ الله و بـ الله اـ الله .
احـ الله مـ الله و بـ الله . او وـ الله
محضـ الله . مـ الله حـ الله . نـ الله الله
ـ الله اـ الله مـ الله وـ الله . مـ الله مـ الله
ـ الله الله . بعدـ الله . لا اـ الله .
ـ الله اـ الله الله .

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أنت هنا . حسنا . أجمع . مجنون . حسنا
، حم بكترا . وأجتنب ، واد بدم محسنا
لأنك . ولا مهلا !! ألمة . ملولا !! ملأوا
محسلا !! أحلا جرحة !! ويا ، وبسم الله
الله . لاتعا نعمها . بـ لا ملائكةها بـ
، بـ لا حمد سلف . سلفا ، وبـ محمد رفاته
، وـ مهلا !! خلا !! مهلا !! بـ لا إله سلك
مهلا !! مهلا !! مهلا !! الله !! وبـ محمد !!
ضلالا !! الله !! الله !! رحبا !! مهلا !! لا إله !!
، لعلوا !! لا حسنة !! سببيط مهلا !! الله !!
، بـ لا ملائكةها !! لا حسنة !! لا مهلا !! الله !!
مجمع حسناتك !! إيمان !! رهلا !! يوما !!
هذا !! مهلا !! الله !! والآيات . وبـ الله !!
مسنة !! ولا مهلا !! مهلا !! حسنة !!
مسنة !! حسنة !! . بـ لا حمد سلف حسنة !!
، بـ مهلا !! والآيات !! ودحش ملدا !! أذن !! افع !!
، دحش !! وسا !! أذن !! افع !! مهلا !! آمن !!
أذن !! افع !! أولا !! يوما !! مهلا !! مهلا !!
هذا !! مهلا !! هـ !! آمن !! وـ دـ !!
بسما !! أذن !! مهلا !! حسنة !! فـ !!
مع طـ !! هـ !! وـ دـ !! حـ !! وـ مـ !!
أذن !! حـ !! هـ !! ، هـ !! دـ !! ، هـ !!
، حـ !! ، حـ !! . وـ دـ !! حـ !! ، وـ دـ !!
، حـ !! ، وـ دـ !! . وـ دـ !! مـ !!
، حـ !! ، وـ دـ !! . وـ دـ !! مـ !!
، حـ !! ، وـ دـ !! . وـ دـ !! حـ !!
، حـ !! . هـ !! بـ حـ !! مـ !! بـ حـ !!
، فـ !! وـ حـ !! ، وـ حـ !! مـ !! هـ !!
، الـ !! بـ حـ !! ، وـ حـ !! . أـ !! بـ حـ !!
، مـ !! بـ حـ !! مع اـ !! لـ !! أـ !! بـ حـ !!
، نـ !! بـ حـ !! مع لا !! بـ حـ !! كـ !!
ـ !! كـ !! . مـ !! بـ حـ !! كـ !! بـ حـ !! بـ

يُنْعَصِّي هَذَا بِرْجَمَةٍ مَعَ مَرْجَلَةٍ .
وَبَلْهُ فَعَلَى ، فَتَنَا وَفَتَا . وَبَدِيلٍ
حَسِيبًا بِمَنْكَلًا مَنْكَلَةٍ مَعَ مَرْجَلَةٍ .
وَلَا نَدْعُونَ بِرْجَمَةٍ لَكَلَّةٍ هَذَا
حَسِيبَةَ اِجْتِمَاعِهِ لَهَامَةَ بَيْنَ حَنَاءَ
وَمَهْفَعَةَ مَلَالِكَلَّةِ بَلَّا . لَا جَبَهَةَ بَعْدَ
شَهْرَفَتَهُ اِبْدَعَهُ لَا دَبَاهَدَ وَلَجَادَهُ
الْأَهَابَهُهُ ، مِنْ مَهْفَعَهُ مَهْسَبَهُ . مَفْسَعَ
أَهَابَهُهُ اِبْدَعَهُ . جَهَّهَ دَهْبَهُهُ هَذَا ؛
وَلَمَّا هَفَفَهُ اِبْدَعَهُ حَسِيبَهُ بَلَّالِهِ .
فَهَنَاءَ اِبْهَاهَهُ بَلَّالِهِ ، بَلَّاهَجَهُ
فَهَلَّا . بَلَّا حَدَّهُ ؛ جَهَانَهُ بَلَّاهَهُ .
حَسِيبَهُ جَبَعَهُ . هَلَّا بَلَّاهَجَهُ .
وَاحَدَهُ وَفَسِيعَهُ . هَلَّا بَلَّاهَجَهُ .
وَسَمَعَهُ وَاهَدَهُ مَلَانَهُهُ . اَوْهَدَهُ
هَذَا وَحْمَهُهُ اِسْقَعَهُ اِدَهُهُ هَذَنَهُهُ .
هَنَاءَ اِنَّا هَلَّا هَنَاءَهُهُ . اِنَّا اِبْدَعَهُ
بَحْنَهُهُ مَهْدَهُ . اَهَهُهُ هَنَاءَهُهُ اِرْجَهُ . اَلَا
حَلَّهُهُ اِبْدَعَهُ . وَهَلَّهُهُ اِلَاصَفَهُهُ وَهَمَهُهُ
هَارِلَهُهُ . وَاهَدَهُهُ شَهْرَهُهُ شَهْرَهُهُ . لَمَّا
هَلَّهُهُ وَعَنَّا حَسِيبَهُهُ هَلَّا مَلَالِكَلَّةَ
مَهْلَهُهُ . وَهَنَاءَهُهُ وَارِلَهُهُ سَلَعَهُهُ مَهْدَهُهُ
مَهْدَهُهُ . لَهَهُهُ اِلَاهَهُهُ حَمَّهُهُ . هَلَّهُهُ
اِسْمَهُهُهُ . لَلَّا اِهَادَهُهُ مَلَانَهُهُ .
هَفْتَهُهُهُ اِهَافَهُهُ اِهَفَهُهُ . خَلَامَهُهُ
اَهَهُهُهُ . وَهَلَّهُهُهُ اَهَهُهُ . مَهْهَهُهُهُ .
وَهَسَهُهُ . وَاهَدَهُهُ اِلَهَهُهُهُ مَلَالِكَلَّةَهُهُهُ .
وَلَلَّا بَعْدَهُهُهُ . وَهَلَّهُهُهُهُ .
مَاهَهُهُهُ . وَهَنَاءَهُهُهُ . وَهَفَهُهُهُ .
اَهَهُهُهُ . وَهَنَاءَهُهُهُ . وَهَلَّهُهُهُ .
مَهْهَهُهُهُ . وَهَلَّهُهُهُهُ .

وَلَا يَكُونُ لِلْأَبِ بِمَحْكَمَةٍ . إِذْ
تَرْكَهُ لِلْجَنَاحِ وَسَعَلَاهُ عَنْ نَدِينَاهُ . وَحَمَدَهُ مَنْ
لَمْ يَلْمِحْ حَبْصَاهُ . وَحَمَدَهُ مَنْ طَلَبَاهُ
لَهُنَّمَةَ هَبَّةَ إِلَيْهِ أَقْرَبَ جَهَنَّمَ أَبْرَقَهُ
حَرَقَاهُ . وَعَبَسَهُ لَلْأَحَدُ أَنْقَبَهُ مَدْنَاهُ
وَنَوْفَلَاهُ . هَلْكَهُ حَصَنَاهُ حَفَلَاهُ ..

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

PREFATORY NOTE.

A.

The following pages contain the text and the translation, accompanied by a critical apparatus, of an "exhortation to priesthood," attributed to Ignatius of Antioch. I have edited the text from the two extant MSS., designated here as P. and M. P. indicates the Paris MS. Syr. 198¹ and M. indicates a MS. of my own collection in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham, marked Syr. MS. Mingana 223. Both MSS. are undated, but on palaeographic grounds can be ascribed to about the sixteenth century. While the two MSS. come near each other in point of date, they are totally different as to the country of provenance. There are stylistic peculiarities in P. which indicate that it was copied in Syria, and there are linguistic features of the same domain which seem to indicate that M. was written in Mesopotamia.² The orthography used in the two offers considerable variation, but there is reason to believe that both of them emanate from a single prototype the immediate successors of which had begun to exhibit some variants at the time when our MSS. were copied.

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

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

¹ P. 147 in Zotenberg's Catalogue.

² The MS. was recently acquired by me in North Mesopotamia.

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

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

B.

I have attached to the above Arabic treatise a Syriac Canon attributed also to Ignatius of Antioch and evidently culled from a collection of ecclesiastical Canons used by the West Syrian Church. It is taken from *Syr. Cod. Mingana 1*, fol. 194b in Rendel Harris Library, Birmingham. The date of the MS. is 27 March, 1884, of the Greeks (A.D. 1553). A facsimile of all the page on which the Canon is written accompanies the translation.

TRANSLATION.

A.

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

He said :

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

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

O my brethren, open your hearts in order that the Christ may cause love, quiet, peace, and safety to abide in them, and everything that is congruous¹ to the Lord in order that you may have pleasure with Him, and rejoice in His grace, and sit for ever at His right.

O my beloved, because the first Adam did not stand by his birth-right, that is to say his chastity and his holiness, but transgressed the command of his Lord, he was separated from his kingdom, and became a stranger to his possessions, and went out of the paradise of his inheritance. The Lord then decreed² and ordered³ death against him because of his transgression, and struck him with the sword of the devastating fire, and threw him in the dark city of death where he became subject to the latter, and because of his prevarications this same death ruled over him for seven thousand years.⁴

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

O my brethren. . . .⁶

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

¹ Here begins a lacuna in M.

² The Syr. *gizar*.

³ Possibly *sallata*, or *kada*.

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

⁵ Which fathers?

⁶ A lacuna in Paris MS.

⁷ Levites?

⁸ Cf. Levit. xx. 7.

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

O high-ranked priests, do you not see those who¹ serve the earthly kings how neat and clean they are, and how careful they are in washing their hands and keeping their clothes clean. Examine how similarly kept are the utensils which are² on the table such as plates, drinking vessels, goblets, and wine utensils and cups in which there are no dregs³ nor feculence of any kind, and also the ordinary bread and thin bread : how neat and clean everything is, without any deficiency or defect. People line up erect to honour⁴ earthly kings⁵ who are human beings like ourselves and mortals sons of mortals ; O my brethren, with how much more care should we, therefore, guard the Divine table, and serve it efficiently with faithfulness and holiness and with an outward appearance in which there is no defect and imperfection of any kind.

O my brethren, great⁶ woe be to the priests who⁷ do not keep their priesthood with good works. The Church and its children weep over the priest who sins, and give also woe to the deacon who does not act in the right way. How can the one who acts badly penetrate into the inner part of the house of God ? It is not right, therefore, that an iniquitous priest should offer the sacrifice of other people and enter into the holy church of God, nor is it right that his unclean hands should handle that holy body, and be dipped⁸ in the blood of the Lord. How can a priest who is not clean in his actions sacrifice that holy body which was lifted up on the Cross, and before which the companies of angels stand in awe and the choirs of heaven in fear, while they are unable to contemplate its splendour ? How can any one who is impure and immoral dare handle it with his dirty hands ? How can also any one who is an occasion of scandal to other people sacrifice that sublime, high, holy and pious body, who hates the drunkards and the immoral people ? Have you not heard then what He says in the pure Gospel :⁹ "Scandal will arise but

¹ Read *al-ladhin*.

² Read *al-latī*.

³ The Persian *dard*.

⁴ Syr. *ikār*.

⁵ Read *mulūk* (in plural).

⁶ Read *al-alim*.

⁷ Read *al-ladhin*.

⁸ An unclassical Arabic word.

⁹ Here ends the lacuna in M.

woe to the man through whom scandal comes."¹ He also says : " Ye are the salt of the earth ; but if the salt has lost its savour wherewith shall it be seasoned ? It is thenceforth good for nothing, neither for the land nor for the dung, but it is cast out and trodden under foot² by men "³ and it also becomes a vile object and an example.

O my brethren, there is no sin in the earth more terrible than that of a priest, for which there is no forgiveness. O my friends, lament and weep continually over the priest who did not fear sin. The weeping of the terrestrial people not being sufficient for him, the inhabitants of heaven weep also over him : the Seraphim like whom he was holy, and out of whose sanctification⁴ he fell. The blessed Cherubim weep also over him, because his sweet lyre is silent of their melodious tunes.⁵ The angels and the High Companies (of the Archangels) weep over him, because through his bad works the voice of his praises has ceased to praise with theirs.

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

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

O Simon, head of the disciples, weep and lament over the shepherd who, after having been like you and after having taken from his Master like you that talent⁶ in order to trade with it, has lost all the sheep, and his soul is drowned. O my brethren, who will not weep over the absolver of sins who falls into sin, and who will not weep

¹ Matt. xviii. 7.

² Read *tandās* for *tansād* in M.

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

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

⁵ This sentence is wholly in Syriac in P.

⁶ The Arabic word *badrāh* means generally a great sum of money.

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

Who envied¹ you, O chaste one, and made you a fornicator ? Who envied you, O pure one, and made of you an immoral man ? Who envied you, O fasting man, and made of you a gluttonous man given to excess ? Who envied¹ you, O just one, and made of you a companion of the ignorant ? Who envied you, O devout and pious one, and made you a wretch with the sinners ? Who envied you, O man filled with sanctity, and made you sink in the sinfulness of iniquity ? Who envied you, O fair one, and filled you with unholiness ? Who envied you, O just man, and placed you in the company of sinners and enemies ? Who envied you, O child (of the house), and made you a stranger to your father and your brothers ? Who envied you, O near relative, and made you a stranger to your relations ? Who envied you, O celestial one, and made you terrestrial ? Who envied you, O truthful one, and made of you a liar, and filled you with sins and shameful deeds ?

O you dear and beloved ram who became the prey of a wolf ! O hart who fell in the snare ! O you agile eagle who fell in the net ! O warrior² who was beaten and ran away ! O athlete who took to flight ! O mariner whose ship has sunk ! O husbandman whose corn has perished ! O steward³ who squandered his treasures ! O table-companion⁴ who left his place at the table ! O bridegroom whose bridal chamber did not please him ! O mighty King whose

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

² Read *mubāriz* for *māriz*.

³ Transliteration of the Syriac word *parnāsa*.

⁴ Syr. *hr̄iphā*.

crown fell from his head ! O judge condemned for his ignorance ! O chieftain who lost the greatness of his headship ! O wealthy one who became poor by his will ! O sun whose rays have perished ! O moon whose light has suffered eclipse ! O seed of pure wheat which has been mixed¹ up with tares ! O beautiful and lovely flower which has been smitten by the blighting wind² of sin ! O admirable rose the beauty of which has perished in the frost of ignorance ! O pomegranate-flower³ which withered in the midday heat⁴ of sin and iniquity.

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

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

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

¹ Syr. *Habbel* = *ithhabbal*.

² Syr. *shauba*.

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

⁴ Arab *zuhriyah* from Syr. *Takrāyātha*. In P. *zuhirāt*.

⁵ Was the author a Monophysite ?

⁶ Syr. *Mar'itha*.

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

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

Woe to your spirit when your companions sit on the twelve thrones³ and you are driven out like the one who wore dirty garment. Lo shame is in your bed and it pleases you to dishonour your bed, and you make light of it.⁴ You have changed your zeal to your Master for a zeal to another master, and you have become a stranger to Him, and that is why fire will consume your body without getting satiated with it. O my brethren, there will not be mercy in the day of judgment and decision for an unchaste priest, and he will not be allowed to approach his throne, but he will be driven out like the five foolish virgins. It is for this reason that the Apostle Paul cried and said : " If a person desire priesthood he desireth a good desire."⁵ Lo to-day the priests of the different peoples desire the office of headship while they are far from real priesthood⁶ and remote from its works.

¹ Arab. *mutahakkik*, evidently a translation of the Syr. *sharrīra*.

² Syr. *Tishmishṭa*. ³ Matt. xix. 28.

⁴ Here as above the author seems to allude to immoral acts of a private character.

⁵ 1 Tim. iii. 1. The author follows the Syriac version which has " priesthood " instead of " episcopacy. "

⁶ Read *Kahnūtihim*.

O my brethren, listen to what has been enacted against those who bear the yoke of priesthood but make light of it or neglect it : they shall burn with those two hundred and fifty priests who were burnt¹ with their censers.²

O brethren, O priest, O deacon, any deacon who approaches³ his wife in the time of the fast that the Saviour fasted⁴ will not find mercy in that great day, the day of landmark and finality ; this will happen also if he approaches her on the occasion of a festival, or on a Friday, or on a Wednesday. Anyone who approaches his wife in one of these days, his burning shall be with the fire of Sodom. This does not apply to the children of the Church, the laymen, but it is advantageous also for them to abstain from marriage in the above mentioned days.

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

O my brethren, a priest entering (a church ?) to offer sacrifice⁵ with a heart in which there is rancour against his brother, is like Cain the murderer. A priest who sees a needy person and does not help him, or a thirsty person in want of a drop of water and does not quench his thirst, and a priest who sees a sick person and turns his face from him, will have no share in paradise. Accursed is the priest who does not know his own self, who dishonours himself with such sins ; such a one will be separated from his service and his

¹ Num. xvi. 35.

² Syr. *perma*.

³ M. “any priest or deacon who approaches.”

⁴ i.e. Lent.

⁵ Syr. *Kaddesh* which commonly means “to say mass, to consecrate,” the former sense is relatively late for a supposedly early document. P. has *yatakaddas* “to make himself holy.”

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

Because he did not perform the duties of his priesthood with piety and devotion,¹ the angels will take away from him the imposition of the hands² of priesthood, which had fallen on his head, and they will push him out to hell in company of the impure, unchaste, and ignorant people ; there he will weep and wail and also gnash his teeth. The priest, however, who performs the duties of his priesthood with devotion and piety, and offers sacrifice to God with holiness, and serves before Him with good order and pious deeds, will be served by God and by the multitudes of angels, who will exalt his office and his priesthood ; and he will live in pleasure in the company of Simon, the head of the Apostles, and he will be placed among all³ the Fathers, the Saints, the Prophets, and the Doctors of the Church.⁴

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

¹ Is it the Syr. *ḥ̄irūtha* ?

² Syr. *Siam-idha*.

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

⁴ This is a relatively late pronouncement.

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

⁶ Syr. *Tishmishta* as above.

The deacon has to obey orders and commandments ; he is not to neglect any virtue that pleases God : fast, prayer, holiness, and piety. O my beloved (deacon), you should not neglect your soul on the pretence that you have not the yoke of priesthood. O my brother, fear the day of reckoning and punishment and the furnace¹ of fire. O my brother, obey the injunctions of God, and lend your neck to the yoke of Christ ; be sweet-tempered and humble² towards your brethren, and love the strangers, the poor, and the beggars. O my brother, educate yourself and the people of Christ ; when you go to the altar in order to perform your duties³ take care and pains to do it in good order so that you may please your Lord ; let us examine our accounts and see whether we have any hatred towards our neighbours, and whether we have only love and peace.

O my brother, the deacon who neglects prayers will be judged with Satan, and the deacon who disregards the duties of his service⁴ will be in a place where there is no praise of God and where he will be ministered to by the furnace⁵ of fire ; the deacon who frequents the company of drunkards, the worm that does not die will be intoxicated from him ; the deacon who leaves the Church on the night of Sundays and festivals, and wishes to drink wine, the Church of heaven will drive him out to where she will not hear his voice ; the deacon on account of whom God is mocked at, would to God that he had never existed ; the deacon who causes uproar and discord in the Church, will be consumed by fire alive ; the deacon who fails to control his soul and his desires,⁶ will be far from heaven ; the deacon who makes use of marriage and comes to perform his duties,⁷ the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost will be angry with him ; the deacon who goes to the altar while intoxicated, the spirit of justice will rebuke him ; the deacon who commits a sin and does not confess it and repent, his torment will be eternal and perpetual.

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

¹ Syr. *Shalhaibitha*.

² Syr. *makkekha*.

³ Syr. *shamli*.

⁴ Again the Syr. *Tishmishta*.

⁵ Syr. *Shalhaibitha* as above.

⁶ The text is obscure and the sense doubtful.

⁷ Syr. *Shamli*.

Lord who was crucified on your behalf, do not be the servants of Satan. O my beloved, avoid the service of Satan, intoxication, pride,¹ and gluttony, and do not disappoint anyone,² and avoid also lies which are³ a sign of the sad unbelief of the world. O my brethren, have you not heard what the divine Apostle Paul said : "neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor thieves, nor drunkards, nor abusers of themselves with men, none of these will inherit the kingdom of heaven and cross (the bridge ?) to it." ?⁴

O my beloved, keep your soul from sin, and purify your body from bad passions so that you may not suffer. O my brethren, the deacons who walk in the way of God, keep His Commandments, serve the Church with piety, serve the people of God, and long for fast and prayer, the angels will long to meet them, and will also accompany them and take them to heaven on their wings in order that they may enjoy bliss and happiness with the priestly Fathers, and the pious, in the kingdom of heaven the joys of which will not cease, and be glorified at the table of Christ, as His holy mouth uttered : "Where I am there my servant shall be."⁵ There you will also hear the sweet voice : "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the foundation of the world."⁶ You will also be table-guests of the angels,⁷ and along with martyrs (and) evangelists⁸ you will receive ample reward ; and you will serve and rejoice with Stephen.

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

(Colophon.)

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

¹ *takahrum* : curious word formed from the Persian *kahramān*.

² Read *tukhayyibu*.

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

⁴ 1 Cor. vi. 9, with some changes.

⁵ John xii. 26.

⁷ Read *malā'ikah* in M.

⁶ Matt. xxv. 34.

⁸ Read *mubashshirin* in M.

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

This has ended by the help of God.²

TRANSLATION.

B.

"Of Ignatius *the fiery* (Canon) 38. We observe the night of Wednesday because in it our Lord announced His passion to His disciples,³ and they were troubled with sorrow⁴; we observe the night of Friday because in it our Lord was seized by the Jews; we do not observe the night of Saturday, because in it there was rest to all the dead of Sheol, at the descent of our Lord to them. He who does not observe the night of Friday and Wednesday, will be condemned with those who bound our Lord on the night of Friday, and those who observe the night of Saturday, will be condemned with those who broke the legs of the robbers, in order that the Sabbath day may not begin for them and that they may not be condemned in the eyes of the law."

C.

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

¹ The MS. is of Jacobite origin.

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

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

⁴ Or: moved by affliction.

1°

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

2°

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

لَئِنْ كُنْتَ مُهَمَّاً فَأَنْتَ أَنْتَ . . . كَوْنُكُنْتَ لَئِنْ كُنْتَ مُهَمَّاً فَأَنْتَ أَنْتَ . . . كَوْنُكُنْتَ
لَئِنْ كُنْتَ مُهَمَّاً فَأَنْتَ أَنْتَ . . . كَوْنُكُنْتَ لَئِنْ كُنْتَ مُهَمَّاً فَأَنْتَ أَنْتَ . . . كَوْنُكُنْتَ

"*Ignatius*: Where is the disputer? Where is the wise man? Where is the boaster of those who are called intelligent? For our God Jesus the Christ was conceived by Mary according to an economy." *Ad Ephes.*, xviii.

This is an exact translation of the Greek of Ignatius as edited by Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, ii., 74) with the exception that "where is the wise man" is placed before "where is the boaster" and that instead of "boaster" there is in Greek "boasting" *Kαύχησις*. The Syriac translation, however, brings the text of Ignatius nearer to 1 Cor i., 31.

¹ The idea of our Lord having been tied to a column seems to be much later than the time of Ignatius.

² Fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, but not on Sundays, is in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (fol. 10^b of the same MS.).

¹ M omits.

² P omits.

* M omits.

5 May 1

and so P prima manu.

8 M Long

7 Permits

8 P

• M 2022

¹⁰ Here begins the lacuna in M.

مَ اصْنَعُ لِلْهَدِ الْأَكْبَرِ لِلْبَرِ لِلْبَرِ لِلْبَرِ
سَعْيَهُ مَوْلَى مَالِكِهِ لِلْوَاسِطَةِ مَاصِبَهُ لِلْجَنَاحَةِ
أَلْبَرِيْهُ عَلَى لِلْطَّافِ لِلْحَابِ مَدْهُمِ لِلْمَعَافَةِ لِلْبَرِ لِلْبَرِ لِلْبَرِ

¹ A lacuna in P also.

¹ Here ends the lacuna of M.

2 M. MoAmm

۳ م ۱۵۶.

⁴ M erroneously ?**لَوْ**. ⁵ P omits. ⁶ M **تَعَلَّمَ**. ⁷ M **كَانَ**
لَوْلَمْ. ⁸ M omits. ⁹ This is a complete Syriac sentence in P.
 In M it is translated into Arabic as follows : **كَمْ حَسِبْتَ أَنْتَ** **تَعْلَمَ**
لَوْلَمْ. ¹⁰ M **تَعْلَمَ لَكَ**. ¹¹ P **تَعْلَمَ**. ¹² M omits.
¹³ M omits.

¹ M omits.

۲ M ۹۷۰۰۰۰۰

٣ م

୪ ପତ୍ରମ

⁵ M മാർക്ക്.

٦٣

۷ P ۹۲۰۰

۸۰

⁹ M omits.

10 M omits

11 May

12 M omits

١٣ P لَكُمْ

14 Units.

15 P.M.Q

— 1 —

IVI Units.

二〇一〇

لکھنؤ^۱ ہے۔ میں ۵۰ لگب سپری میں داکوں [لکھنؤ ص] ^۲
لکھنؤ اٹھکھنؤ۔ میں ۵۰ لگب سپری میں وسیع ۵۰ لکھنؤ حادث
لکھنؤ ملکھنؤ حلبنا ملکھنؤ حصہ۔

¹ P **الْكَوْكَبِ**. ² M omits. ³ M **مُلَائِكَةً**. ⁴ P **أَذْنِكِ**.

⁵ P ?¹¹g. ⁶ M መሸጋዬ. ⁷ M ንጉጌ ሥርዱት. ⁸ M ሥርዱን and

P prima manu. 9 M **سَعَىْ لِوَادِيِّ** حَوْضِيْ حَوْضِيْ. 10 M **لَهَوَى**.

¹¹ M omits. ¹² M . ¹³ P . ¹⁴ M .

مَلِكُ الْأَنْوَافِ لِلْبَرِّ حَلَوْهُ حِيدُوكَةٌ لَّا يَحْدُثُ
مَلِكُ الْأَنْوَافِ [مَلِكُ الْأَنْوَافِ]، مَلِكُ الْأَنْوَافِ [مَلِكُ الْأَنْوَافِ]
مَلِكُ الْأَنْوَافِ [مَلِكُ الْأَنْوَافِ]، مَلِكُ الْأَنْوَافِ [مَلِكُ الْأَنْوَافِ].

² M hīsāl.

ՀԱՅԱՍՏԱՆԻ

³ M omits.

⁴ M omits.

⁵ M omits.

⁸ M omits.

'P ፳፻፲፭

⁸ P omits.

M₁ units.

221.

M omits. ¹¹ M omits.

¹²P repeats.

¹³ M without t

ital hā' whi

I believe, is only used in

I repeats.
vulgar Arabic

¹³M without t

Final *ba* with

is only used in
§ M. A. 1. 1. 2.

Bulgarian Arabic

¹ P omits.

² P omits.

8 Memits.

۴۰

5 Monomits

୬ ମୁହୂର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ପତ୍ର

7 Mon

8 P

⁹ M omits.

10 P. E. M.

* omits.

M omits.

⁸ Permits

14 P omits.

۱۵ میں ملکہ۔

16 Mom

17 M 9

- Chapter

2 Chiaro

مَوْلَدُ حَسَنِ الْمَقْبَرِيِّ [صَ100] : لِلَّهِمَّ لَا تُحِبِّبْنَا نَحْنُ
نَكْدُ حَصَّةً لِلْوَلَدِ إِنِّي مَكْدُ [كَدَ] [صَ101] ، إِنِّي مَكْدُ لِلْبَرِّ
أَمَّا مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي مَكْدَنَّا مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي . مَكْدَنَّا
لِلْبَرِّ بَعْضُهُ مَكْدُ لِلْبَرِّ لِلْصَّدَاتِي مَكْدُ لِلْبَرِّ مَكْدُ لِلْبَرِّ
الْأَبَدِيِّ مَكْدَنَّا لِلْبَرِّ أَدَهْمُتِي مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي مَكْدُ اِلَامُ لِلْبَرِّ
حَمَاسَتِي مَكْدَنَّا لِلْبَرِّ مَكْدَنَّا مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي لِلْبَرِّ وَمَكْدُ اِذْهَابِ
كَسَائِنَا مَكْدَنَّا . مَكْدَنَّا حَمَاسَتِي لِلْبَرِّ مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي [صَ102] .
مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي سِبْرِي نَكْدُ اِصْبَهُ مَكْدُ مَكْدَنَّا مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي
لِلْبَرِّ مَكْدَنَّا مَكْدُ نَكْدُ نَكْدُ مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي حَمَاسَتِي لِلْبَرِّ مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي
مَكْدُ مَكْدَنَّا مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي لِلْبَرِّ لِلْبَرِّ مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي مَكْدُ حَمَاسَتِي .

1 P ፳፻፲፭.

² M omits.

۳ م ۹۰۰.

M 503.

• P صفحه ۲۰.

• M ٢٠١٧

7 P *coupletto.*

^s M omits.

'P. 50.

P omits.

"P. 100

o. ¹² P 4:

¹³ M omits.

14 M. OHL.

امدا لعنهات لب م ذه، جهنة مذا اهلها من
اللعنون لب م مناص الصدات [عنهات]^۱ بجهنم
العنون^۲ تيده اهد [ا] مهه مهه ح د لعنون
مهه مهه لعنون لعنون مهه مهه مهه [۳]
اذهنون. [ا] لعنون لب م بعنون لعنون لعنون لعنون
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مهه مهه مهه [لعنون] مهه مهه [لعنون]^{۴۹}
مهه مهه مهه [لعنون] مهه مهه [لعنون]^{۵۰}
مهه مهه مهه [لعنون] مهه مهه [لعنون]^{۵۱}

^۱ M omits.^۲ M omits.^۳ M سوكسون.^۴ M omits.^۵ P omits.^۶ P omits.^۷ P ملک.^۸ P لعنون.^۹ M ملخون.^{۱۰} P لـ.^{۱۱} M omits.^{۱۲} P omits.^{۱۳} M omits.^{۱۴} M اـ.^{۱۵} M omits.^{۱۶} P مـ.^{۱۷} M omits.

¹ M. Voso.

2 MOL.

³ M omits.

⁴ P omits.

M مَدْرَسَةٌ.

• P الام الـ دارم دارم

⁷ M omits.

* M ~~o.~~, A&OL.

M omits.

¹¹ M omits.

¹² M omits.

304.

omits.

ମୁଦ୍ରା.

१६ म खोया

لکھنؤ نکت ایسے مل کر جائیو، میں تھمہ مدد الاتا [لکھنؤ]
و ملائیں تھے ملکھا تو لکھنؤ لکھنؤ نہ ہے بلکہ اندھا تھا [لکھنؤ]
ملائیں تھے ملکھا تو [لکھنؤ] ملکھا میں میں صد [صوت]، لکھنؤ
اور ملکھا احمد، [ام]، تینوں [اصح]، جو [مدد]، [ام]، ملکھا، [ام]،
لکھنؤ نہ دیکھا میں ملکھا احمد ایک [لکھنؤ] لکھنؤ لکھنؤ
میں صد ایک [لکھنؤ] ملکھا تو [لکھنؤ] میں ایک [لکھنؤ] (sic) میں
لکھنؤ (sic) ایک، الائچے لکھنؤ میں ایک [لکھنؤ] میں جو [اصح]
لکھنؤ (sic) ایک سے لکھنؤ میں تھے تو لکھنؤ بھالا اے نہ ہے
تو دیکھا گئے لکھنؤ ایک [لکھنؤ] لکھنؤ ملکھا تو لکھنؤ کا
لکھنؤ لکھنؤ ملکھا تو ملکھا تو ایک [اصح] میں ایک [اصح] میں
میں تھے الی، مدد ایک ملک ایک الائچے احمد، احمد، جو [مدد]
میں تھے اکتا نکت اکھاٹ لکھنؤ لکھنؤ اکھاٹ لکھنؤ
امیں ملکھا تو لکھنؤ ایک [اصح] میں جو [اصح] ایک لکھنؤ لکھنؤ
لکھنؤ ملکھا تو اکتا نکت زاری ملک ایک [اصح] میں تھے اکتا
کہ مدد لکھنؤ ایک [اصح] ملکھا اکتا نکت حکما ایک [اصح].

The closing sentences of the text and the Colophon are in P as follows :

لابد مدد الاعلامات بعد المقصود ٢١٣، الا ان المقصود
مدد الاعلامات بعد مده، ٥٠٣٨٦٥، ٥٠٣٨٦٥ مدعى المقصود (sic)
الملحوظ بعد المقصود لا يعلمها بعد المقصود لا، كذا بحسب
المقصود والاعلامات المكتوبة بعد المقصود المقصود تدعى المقصود
المقصود المقصود مكتوبه بعد المقصود من الا، ملك ح ١٥، ملك ح ١٥
ملك ج ٣، الباقي تدعى ملحوظة بعد المقصود اعني. ملحوظ
صادر، المقصود.

¹ M ପରମା.

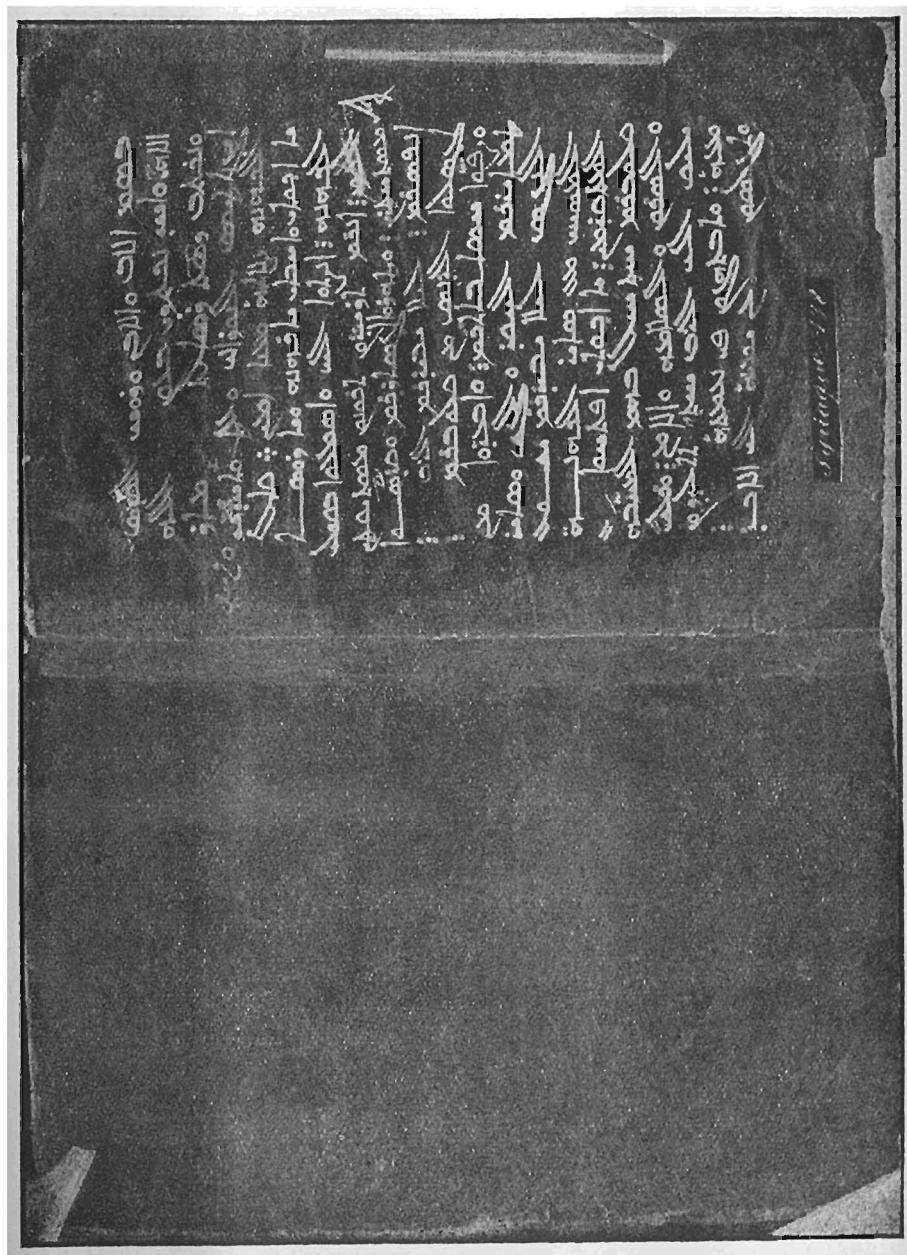
۳۰

3 M 10 A

⁴ P omits.

⁶ M omits.

مکتبہ حافظ م& ج



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



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

