

**ANCIENT JEWISH-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUES**  
Athanasius and Zacchaeus, Simon and Theophilus,  
Timothy and Aquila  
Introductions, Texts, and Translations

William Varner

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I dedicate this work to the memory of two individuals  
who have greatly influenced my life and work,  
one who knew me and one who did not.

Charles W. Smith

My Former Teacher  
My Faculty Colleague  
My Forever Friend

and

William Tyndale

Whose lonely work of pioneer translation  
has always been a source of great inspiration to me  
as I engaged in a similarly lonely work of pioneer translation

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## Preface

Exploring historical confrontations and the history of confrontations ("Auseinandersetzungsgeschichte"?) can be both highly rewarding and deeply frustrating. What one says about or to an opponent often reveals more about the one speaking than about the one being confronted. Nevertheless, given the right amount of care and contextual awareness, positive results can also be gained, and sometimes this procedure provides the only entry available to certain subjects. In the study of early Christianities and the worlds in which they developed, for example, we know Marcion mainly through Tertullian, with all his polemical vituperation. We know Celsus only through Origen, who is in general fortunately very concerned about accuracy of quotation. We know the "Sadducees" only through things claimed about them by rivals and critics. The Montanists are available to us mainly through similar mirrors. And so it goes.

Sometimes it is possible to test what is claimed by opponents, as we are learning from the Nag Hammadi "gnostic" materials in relation to claims made about "gnostics" by early Christian heresiologists. But sometimes we have no solid basis against which to test. Yet every recovered scrap of information can, with circumspect use, become significant in the quest for more satisfactory knowledge of the human past.

In the present volume, William Varner has selected three texts that have survived from the period in which what became mainstream Christianity had recently emerged as a pivotal force in the political and social life of the Roman worlds - the 4th through 6th centuries. These texts are, in a general sense, typical of certain aspects of Christian confrontational history - the defiant struggle to establish and maintain appropriate distance from Christianity's Jewish roots. Whether any truly "historical" events or conversations lie behind these patently one-sided Christian reports is impossible to ascertain, in our present state of knowledge. Still, it is also obvious that many of the subjects debated, and the

references to Jewish and Christian scriptures and traditions that are cited, must have played some role in the confrontations that helped precipitate the simultaneous developments of an aggressively independent Christian "orthodoxy," on the one hand, and a defensively independent rabbinic Jewish "orthodoxy" on the other.

We learn much more about the Christian side of things than about the Jewish from these texts, although there is a somewhat stronger Jewish voice in the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila than in the others, while the Dialogue of Simon and Theophilus is often downright uncivil and insulting in its treatment of the Jewish participant. But if for no other reason, these dialogues are valuable for giving us insight into self-assured semi-popular Christian attitudes and appropriations of originally Jewish terms and texts. We come face to face with some of the arguments used by certain Christians to congratulate themselves for having discovered the truth, in the face of contrary claims. The dialogues help us to understand and appreciate better the world of those not highly immersed in sophisticated philosophical and/or theological modes and methods, yet clearly immersed in "scriptural" awareness and in a type of predetermined "Christological" interpretation that they could use to solve virtually every purported problem.

In general, these materials have not been easily accessible to English reading audiences, or for that matter, even to first level students of Greek and Latin. They are only the tip of a large iceberg of relatively unexplored "dialogues" that stretch from at least the second century (Aristo, Justin) to the late medieval period and beyond. Hopefully, Varner's lucid translations and brief but enlightening introductions and conclusion will help to open the gates for further works of this sort. The fields are ripe; where are the harvesters?

Robert A. Kraft  
Professor of Religious Studies, Emeritus  
University of Pennsylvania

## Acknowledgements

A work like this one, although containing one author's name on the cover, can only fairly be described as a collaborative effort. I would like to thank Dr. William Adler of North Carolina State University, who first introduced me to *The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* in the Spring of 1984 in a Greek Reading Seminar at Dropsie College. Dr. Adler had previously studied under Dr. Robert Kraft of the University of Pennsylvania, and it was Dr. Kraft who in correspondence encouraged me to take on *The Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus* and *The Dialogue of Simon and Theophilus* as sabbatical projects twenty years later. I am honored that Dr. Kraft has also contributed the Preface to this volume.

My gratitude is extended also to The Master's College in Santa Clarita, CA, and to their Faculty Academic Advancement Committee which granted me a sabbatical and research stipend for the Spring of 2004. The true collegiality and encouragement of the faculty and Academic Dean of my institution have fostered and encouraged my work in every area. The Riddle Family Foundation also provided a generous grant which enabled further travel and research during that period. The library staffs at Wheaton College, Tyndale House of Cambridge, and my own institution were of great assistance, particularly in finding rare books and articles for me. John Stone, Elizabeth Magba, Peg Westphalen and Janet Tillman graciously provided their library skills.

While the translations of these dialogues are the first ever published, others have written unpublished dissertations and scholarly articles on these works and I have profited from them all. While they will be mentioned at various places later, I would like to extend particular thanks here to Drs. Robert G. Robertson, Jacqueline Pastis, Donal Nilsson, Lawrence Lahey, and Patrick Andrist. Each of these has labored hard over the issues related to these dialogues

and I “have entered into their labors” (John 4:38). Their personal suggestions and kindnesses have also been a great encouragement to me. To those scholars who reviewed my work: Professors Steven Reece, Lawrence Lahey, William Krewson, and Grant Horner, I offer my thanks for their helpful suggestions and constructive criticisms. Professor Lahey and Dr. Maria Marsilio also provided helpful insight into the Latin text of *Simon and Theophilus*. Furthermore, special thanks are also extended to my former student, Michael Strachan, who keyed in the entire Greek text of *Athanasius and Zacchaeus* as well as to my current student, Tobias Gunn, who provided extensive proof reading of my translations and checked on the details of my scripture indexes. Another student, Melody Talcott, greatly assisted me with her thorough knowledge of French. Thanks also to my dear wife, Helen, who accurately keyed in the entire Latin text of *Simon and Theophilus*.

I acknowledge the help of all those I have named and also to many others I should have mentioned. They share in whatever good that follows – they are not to be blamed, however, for any of its shortcomings.

The cover illustration, “A Disputation Between a Christian and a Jew,” is a photographic reproduction of a fifteenth century woodcut in the Photographic Archive of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, Frank Darmstaedter.

## Introduction

In 1898 the British scholar F.C. Conybeare published the Greek texts of two ancient “debates” between Jews and Christians, titled *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and Timothy and Aquila*.<sup>1</sup> To date there has been no published translation of either of these dialogues. The same lack of a published modern language translation is also true of Adolph Harnack’s earlier publication of the Latin text of a similar “debate” titled in English: *The Dialogue of Simon and Theophilus* (ST).<sup>2</sup> In this regard, the comments of a leading authority in the field of Jewish-Christian relations should be noted:

A long-standing debate over the historical significance of polemic, both Jewish and Christian, has been intensively renewed in recent years; on the other hand, the abundant primary sources, both Jewish and Christian, remain in large part under-explored.<sup>3</sup>

It is the purpose of this volume, consisting primarily of the original texts and an English translation of three of those polemical works, to address this lack and to encourage scholars and students to explore these texts to the degree they deserve.

While there have been no published translations of these three dialogues, scholars have not totally overlooked them.<sup>4</sup> Articles in scholarly journals have appeared occasionally in the last century, addressing various textual, linguistic

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<sup>1</sup> F.C. Conybeare, *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and Timothy and Aquila*. Anecdota Oxoniensa, Classical Series, Part 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898).

<sup>2</sup> Adolph Harnack, *Die Altercatio Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur I (Berlin: Akademie, 1883).

<sup>3</sup> William Horbury, *Jews and Christians: In Contact and Controversy*. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 1.

<sup>4</sup> Conybeare did publish an English translation of an Armenian version of AZ. F.C. Conybeare, “A New Second-Century Jewish Christian Dialogue,” *The Expositor* 5, ser. 5 (1897): 300-320, 443-463. Robert Kraft and his students also produced a provisional translation of TA, posted in 1994: (<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/gopher/courses/reis/735/dialogues/Dial-Tim-Aquila>).

and interpretative issues raised by the dialogues.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, at least four doctoral dissertations have been written on two of these dialogues, as well as at least one master's thesis on the third.<sup>6</sup> The serious academic context of these excellent studies, however, illustrates the fact that the study of these dialogues has largely been confined to specialist scholars in the field. Even the important discipline of Jewish-Christian relations, including the history of polemics between representatives of the faiths, has often overlooked them. When they have been mentioned, the standard works have provided only token acknowledgment of their existence, usually in the form of a brief bibliographical reference.<sup>7</sup>

It is the sincere hope of the translator/author that the publication of these texts and translations will bring these dialogues to the attention of a wider reading audience. It is also hoped that this work will somehow encourage the further examination and study of their role in early church history; their role in Jewish-Christian relations; and their role in the history of Biblical interpretation. The last is particularly relevant since interpreting the Bible, particularly the Old Testament, is the main thrust of each dialogue.

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<sup>5</sup> Significant articles in chronological order are: E.J. Goodspeed, "The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila: Two Unpublished Manuscripts," *JBL* 24 (1905): 58-78; A.B. Hulén, "The Dialogues with the Jews as Sources for the Early Jewish Argument against Christianity," *JBL* 51 (1932): 58-70; B.P.W. Stather Hunt, "The Dialogue Between Timothy and Aquila: A Late Survival of an Early Form of Christian Apologetic," *Texte und Untersuchungen* 93 (Berlin: Akademie, 1966): 70-75; Bruce M. Metzger, "The Text of Matthew 1:16," in *Studies in the NT and Early Christian Literature*, ed. David Aune (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972): 16-24; Neville Birdsall, "The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila and the Early Harmonistic Traditions," *Novum Testamentum* 22 (1980): 66-77; A. Globe, "The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila as Witness to a Pre-Caesarean Text of the Gospels," *NTS* (1983): 233-246; Lawrence Lahey, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila," in *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*, ed. W. Horbury (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999): 106-21; "Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Genuine Jewish-Christian Debate in *The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*," *JJS* 51 (2000): 281-96. Other articles and monographs will be noted at the appropriate discussions later in the book.

<sup>6</sup> Each of these theses will be referenced later in the chapter.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Krauss and William Horbury, *The Jewish-Christian Controversy I: History* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1996), 36, 39; and H. Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1-11. Jh)*. 2nd revised ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1990), 285,86; 367,68; 391,92.

The rest of this chapter will consist of a review of the literature on these dialogues, including a survey of the wider context of Jewish-Christian discussion as it developed in the first through sixth centuries C.E. How did these dialogues relate to earlier and later works that compose what scholars term as the “contra Judaeos” literature? The following three extended chapters, comprising the main body of this volume, will consist of the original texts and English translations of the three dialogues preceded by brief introductions to each one. A final chapter will offer some theological and hermeneutical conclusions that can be drawn from a reading of these works and attempt to point out what questions should be addressed in further research on them.

### Review of the Literature

One volume that offers a sustained discussion of each of these three dialogues is the seminal contribution on “Christian Apologiae” by A. Lukyn Williams.<sup>8</sup> Williams devotes a chapter to each of the dialogues and offers his own theological perspective of the role of each dialogue in the Christian mission to the Jews from the earliest days of the church until the Renaissance.<sup>9</sup> He also has a fairly thorough treatment of the more well known work in this area, Justin Martyr’s *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*.<sup>10</sup> His discussion of the sources of our dialogues also mentions their possible dependence on a lost second century work attributed to Aristo of Pella called *The Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus* (JP). Williams’ firm conclusion, however, is that our three dialogues show no direct dependence on JP.<sup>11</sup> More will be said about this important issue.

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<sup>8</sup> A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Judaeos: A Bird’s Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance* (Cambridge: University Press, 1935).

<sup>9</sup> Williams, 67-78; 117-123; 298-305.

<sup>10</sup> Williams, 31-42. Williams also contributed a substantive monograph on this dialogue: *The Dialogue with Trypho: Translation, Introduction, and Notes* (London: SPCK, 1930).

<sup>11</sup> Williams, 29, 30, 117. For other literature on JP, see Krauss and Horbury, 29.

The first thorough treatment of all the issues related to *Timothy and Aquila* (TA) was a Harvard dissertation by Robert Gerald Robertson in 1986.<sup>12</sup> Robertson produced a critical text of TA based on five manuscripts, most of which had come to light after Conybeare's volume had been published. He also conducted a thorough examination of source issues (agreeing with Williams about the non-dependence of TA on JP) and he also studied the OT texts used in the dialogue. Whether or not one agrees with all of his conclusions, all subsequent research on TA is indebted to Robertson for initiating such a thorough methodological approach to the issues related to TA.

In 1994, Jackie Pastis offered another significant study of TA in her dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania. Pastis particularly examined the question of whether TA's depiction of Jews and Judaism was accurate to the time.<sup>13</sup> Her general conclusion was that the final form of the text, which she dates to the fifth century, evidences no real and personal knowledge of Jews living in a fifth century context. TA's references to "Jews" and "Judaism" may have served as heuristic devices, but not as accurate representations of the Jewish people and the religion they followed during the period under examination.

In 1997 Donal Nilsson, like Pastis a student of Robert Kraft at the University of Pennsylvania, produced a thorough study of the NT textual traditions in TA.<sup>14</sup> He suggested that TA perhaps used a harmony not always identical to that of Tatian's. While diversity, conflation and harmonizing can be detected in its textual sources, Nilsson concluded that TA's "citations" may most nearly represent a Caesarean form of text in a Syro-Palestinian provenance.

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<sup>12</sup> Robert G. Robertson, "The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila: A Critical Text, Introduction to the Manuscript Evidence, and an Inquiry into the Sources and Literary Relationships" (Th.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1986).

<sup>13</sup> Jacqueline Z. Pastis, "Representation of Jews and Judaism in *The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*: Construct or Social Reality?" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1994).

<sup>14</sup> Donal E. Nilsson, "Studies of the New Testament Traditions in *The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1997). Nilsson also reported on TA in the "Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins" under the leadership of Kraft at University of Pennsylvania in 1970-71, (<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/psco/archives/psco08-min.txt>).

The most recent scholar who has given serious attention to TA has been Lawrence Lahey, whose Cambridge dissertation in 2000 and additional journal articles have greatly advanced the discussion on this dialogue.<sup>15</sup> Lahey has argued persuasively that there were two separate editions of TA in the sixth century, a long rescension (LR), roughly the text published by Conybeare and later by Robertson; and a short rescension (SR) which condenses or omits some material in LR but also includes unique material not found in LR. Scholars had previously noted the significant differences in length between some of the TA manuscripts and had suggested the possible existence of an earlier *vorlage*. Lahey was the first, however, to effectively defend the position that these two rescensions were neither shortened nor lengthened versions of each other but represent separate rescensions of a lost original TA. This *vorlage* may have been based on an actual "disputation" that took place under Cyril of Alexandria in the early fifth century, as the dialogue title claims. Lahey has also argued that TA, along with AZ and ST, are based on the previously mentioned *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*, agreeing with Conybeare and Harnack against Williams and Robertson in that regard. Finally, Lahey has argued that TA does accurately represent, albeit from a Christian perspective, Jewish Biblical interpretation of the era and is not an inaccurate reflection of real Jewish-Christian debate at the time.<sup>16</sup> Until further discussion responds adequately to Lahey's well-reasoned conclusions, his approach to the issues of TA should point the way to further understanding of this dialogue.

The published literature on *Athanasius and Zacchaeus* (AZ) is not nearly as extensive as that on TA. Conybeare did include in his volume a number of chapters dedicated to discussing this work, concluding, among other things, that it

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<sup>15</sup> Lawrence Lanzi Lahey, "*The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila: Critical Greek Text and English Translation of the Short Rescension with an Introduction including a Source-critical Study*" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> Lawrence Lahey, "Jewish Biblical Interpretation and Genuine Jewish-Christian Debate in *The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*" in footnote 5.

revealed dependence on JP.<sup>17</sup> Conybeare also published an English translation of an Armenian manuscript of AZ and argued that it represented the substance of the Greek JP.<sup>18</sup> It is difficult to discover any serious discussion of AZ in the scholarly literature apart from the general treatment of Williams and comparative references to it in the standard surveys of the “contra Judaeos” literature.<sup>19</sup> Each one of the afore-mentioned dissertations also refers to it as part of their comparative studies of TA.

However, scholarly thought on AZ was greatly advanced when the Swiss scholar Patrick Andrist, produced a massive French dissertation on AZ at the University of Geneva in 2001.<sup>20</sup> Andrist included a critical Greek text of AZ and incorporated textual information from additional Armenian versions of which Conybeare had been unaware. Furthermore, Andrist advocated that the Christian “Athanasius” of the dialogue espoused a distinctly Apollinarian Christology. Furthermore, according to Andrist, the dialogue does not accurately reflect any genuine Jewish-Christian debate but served as a sort of “catechetical manual” for Gentile converts. While Andrist’s views may not always reflect past conventional wisdom on AZ, it is clear that no future treatment of this dialogue and the issues related to it can ignore his effectively argued contributions to the discussion. Hopefully, this present volume will stimulate further study and evaluation of these issues by scholars outside the circle of students writing their dissertations.

There was an initial flurry of attention given, especially in Europe, to *Altercatio Simonis et Theophilus* (ST) following the publication of its Latin text

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<sup>17</sup> Conybeare, xxxiv-xlvii; li-lvii.

<sup>18</sup> See reference to Conybeare’s article in footnote 4.

<sup>19</sup> Williams, 117-123; Krauss and Horbury, 36; Schreckenberg, 285,86.

<sup>20</sup> Patrick Andrist, *Le Dialogue d’Athanasie et Zachee, Etude des Sources et du Contexte litteraire* (These de Doctorat, Universite de Geneve, 2001).

by Harnack in 1883.<sup>21</sup> Harnack advocated that ST basically represented in Latin the *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*, similar to what was mentioned earlier concerning the possible literary dependence of AZ and TA on this lost work. His fellow countryman, Peter Corsen, in a published dissertation, refined Harnack's suggestion that ST was directly dependent on JP.<sup>22</sup> This issue has continued to be debated until the present day. In a journal article, Arthur Marmorstein addressed the question of how Judaism was represented in the dialogue. He demonstrated that "Simon" did articulate Jewish views similar to those expressed by certain second century rabbis.<sup>23</sup> Two other critical Latin texts of ST were published at the beginning and toward the end of the twentieth century, edited by Bratke and Demeulenaere, who incorporated additional manuscript readings in the textual apparatus.<sup>24</sup> The original sectional numbering of Harnack is often still retained by writers on ST, as will also be the case later in this volume. A little noticed work on ST was prepared by Lawrence Lahey in his Master's Thesis at Loyola of Chicago in 1994.<sup>25</sup> Lahey included the first translation of the dialogue, evaluated sympathetically the views of Harnack, Corsen, and Marmorstein, agreed with the ancient attribution of its authorship to an Evagrius of Gaul, and also related the dialogue closely to Aristo of Pella's JP. To this writer's knowledge, apart from

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<sup>21</sup> Adolf Harnack, *Die Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani nebst Untersuchungen über die antijüdische Polemik in der alten Kirche*. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1883).

<sup>22</sup> Peter Corsen, *Die Altercatio Simonis et Theophili Christiani auf ihre Quellen geprüft* (Jever: Druck von C.L. Mettcker & Sohne, 1890). In fairness to Harnack, he did temper his earlier opinion about ST's relationship to JP in a subsequent work: Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebii* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1893).

<sup>23</sup> A. Marmorstein, "Juden und Judentum in der *Altercation Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani*," in *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 49 (1915): 360-83.

<sup>24</sup> *Evagrii Altercatio Legis Inter Simonem Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum*. Ed. E. Bratke. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vol. XXXXV. (Leipzig: G. Freytag, 1904); and *Evagrius. Cura et Studio*. Ed. R. Demeulenaere. Corpus Christianorum Series Latina: Vol. LXIV (Turnhout: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontifici, 1985).

<sup>25</sup> Lawrence Lahey, "A Translation of Evagrius' *Altercatio Legis Inter Simonem Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum* with a Preliminary Study on Its Relationship to Aristo of Pella's *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*" (M.A. Thesis: Loyola University of Chicago, 1994).

Lahey's thesis, no further academic monographs have been published on this dialogue.<sup>26</sup> The lack of significant attention given to this very significant work, particularly by English speaking scholars, is especially regrettable.

In the following three chapters, more will be said about the content and proposed authorship of these dialogues in the respective introductions to each work. These works do not, however, stand in splendid isolation. They were a part of a larger genre of dialogic literature that appeared from the very beginning of the church down through its history. It is to that context of the larger Jewish-Christian discussion, particularly in the early centuries of the Christian era, that we must now turn.

### The Dialogues and the Contra Judaeos Literature

From the very beginning, verbal disagreement over the issue of "Jesus as Messiah" emerged in the Jewish community of first century Israel. According to Matthew's account, Jesus himself engaged representatives of the Jerusalem Jewish community in sharp disagreement, involving a bristling exchange over a number of political and theological issues, including the nature of the Messiah.<sup>27</sup> In the Gospel of John, Jesus is portrayed frequently as engaged in vigorous and prolonged verbal disagreement and argument with Jewish leaders.<sup>28</sup> These encounters, however, are marked more by situational spontaneity than by the normal characteristics of formal "debate." The book of Acts records a number of sermons and addresses by the Apostles and church leaders delivered to Jewish audiences, although again not in the context of the give-and-take nature of dialogue and debate. They do, however, contain many references to Messianic

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<sup>26</sup> Dissertation writers, however, have compared and contrasted the *Altercatio* to AZ and TA. This exception only accents one of this author's deeply felt concerns in preparing this book. Serious attention to ST and other dialogical literature has been generally confined to focused scholars who interact with each other. It is my desire that other historical and Biblical students and scholars also turn their considerable skills to this area of study.

<sup>27</sup> Matthew 22:15-46.

<sup>28</sup> See especially John 5:10-47; 7:14-36; 8:12-59; 10:22-39.

texts and their application to Jesus – something that especially characterizes the later dialogues with which we are concerned.<sup>29</sup> Expressions very similar to some of the “anti-Judaic” remarks so characteristic of our dialogues can also be seen in the address by Stephen in Acts 7:2-53.<sup>30</sup> With the possible exception of the Letter to the Hebrews, there is actually very little in the New Testament that approaches the genre of either a sustained treatise or a “dialogue” along the lines of the later “Contra Judaeos” literature.

In the second century, such a literature begins to emerge in the Church Fathers and was not confined to intensely Jewish circles. One could also easily trace this literature as continuing at intervals throughout the history of the Church.<sup>31</sup> Since our three dialogues are almost always placed within a window of time from 350-550 AD, we will be concerned here with describing only the “Contra Judaeos” literature up through the sixth century for the literary and theological context which it provides.

Writers have differed in how best to classify this literature. In his standard work, Williams utilizes a combined chronological/linguistic/regional organizing principle along the lines of: “Ante-Nicene Fathers,” “Syriac Writers,” “Greek Writers,” “Spanish Writers,” and “Latin Writers.”<sup>32</sup> He discusses a total of thirty six treatises, discourses and dialogues that appeared up to the fifteenth century.

In a major work focusing more on the period of our interest, Marcel Simon writes about the diversity within this genre.

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<sup>29</sup> See especially Acts 2:14-36; 3:11-26; 13:16-37; 17:2-4; and 28:23-28.

<sup>30</sup> For example, 7:51: *You stiff-necked people, uncircumcised in heart and ears, you always resist the Holy Spirit. As your fathers did, so do you.*

<sup>31</sup> The literature in this area is quite extensive. In addition to the volumes by Schreckenberg and Krauss/Horbury, see James Parkes, *The Conflict between the Church and the Synagogue* (London: The Soncino Press, 1934), and Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York: Seabury Press, 1974), esp. Chapter 3, “The Negation of the Jews in the Church Fathers,” 117-182.

<sup>32</sup> Williams, vii-x.

Moreover, the monotonous and stereotyped nature of the anti-Jewish literature ought not to be exaggerated. It does in fact offer some variety, which is a sign of life. There is some variety in the actual form the writings take. They include collections of Biblical texts appropriate to the controversy, such as the *Testimonia* of St. Cyprian or pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa. There are treatises in epistolary form, like that of *Barnabas*, or expositions of doctrine, such as Tertullian's. We have the homilies of Aphraates, the poetical works of Ephraem, and the sermons of St. John Chrysostom. And lastly there are the dialogues, stretching from their prototype, that of Justin Martyr, to the dialogue between Timothy and Aquila and the one between Athanasius and Zacchaeus. Corresponding to this diversity of form is a certain diversity in the arguments used and in the methods of controversy.<sup>33</sup>

In a chapter of a forthcoming volume on the history of Jewish believers, Lawrence Lahey discusses all of the Christian-Jewish dialogues through the sixth century of which we are aware. He offers the following simplified three-fold classification.

*Contra Judaeos* works argue for the truth of Christianity over Judaism based primarily on Old Testament proof texts. There are approximately three forms of *contra Judaeos* writings: **Testimony Collections**, biblical proof texts grouped by themselves, without additional argumentation, under different headings; **Tractates**, argued presentations based on biblical texts (under this category one could include some sermons and letters by church Fathers); lastly **Dialogues**, back and forth discussion portrayed between a Christian and a Jew or several participants in order to work through Christian proofs and Jewish objections.<sup>34</sup> (emphases mine)

In light of this typology, there are five works from this period in the Dialogue form with which we will be primarily concerned. These are the dialogues of *Justin and Trypho* and *Jason and Papiscus* from the second century; plus the dialogues of *Simon and Theophilus*, *Athanasius and Zacchaeus* and *Timothy and Aquila* from the fourth through sixth centuries.

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<sup>33</sup> Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel*. Translation by H. McKeating (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 140-141.

<sup>34</sup> Lawrence Lahey, "The Christian-Jewish Dialogues through the Sixth Century (excluding Justin)," chapter in a forthcoming volume titled: *History of Jewish Believers in Jesus*. (My appreciation is expressed to the author for providing me an advance copy of this chapter.)

Mention has already been made in this chapter of the standard works treating this literature in all of its forms.<sup>35</sup> The dissertation writers on the dialogues, to one degree or another, discuss the nature of this literature and how their specific dialogue relates to the whole.<sup>36</sup> These discussions have produced a great marshalling of evidence for the author's positions on issues ranging from source-criticism to theology to the validity of the Christian mission to the Jews. In a work of this sort, it appears best to simply point out a couple of the issues that emerge from an examination of this literature and to encourage readers to think through these issues as they examine the details of each dialogue that follows in its original text and translation.

The first question is: What earlier sources, if any, did the later dialogues depend on for their material? In other words, was there a source that served as a model for later dialogues? The second related question is: Do these dialogues represent actual discussion between Christians and Jews? In other words, can they be trusted generally to represent any real discussion that took place between the two communities, or are they invented by Christians with some other purpose in mind than to relate an actual event?

In regard to the first question, attention must be paid to Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, which dates from around 140-150 AD.<sup>37</sup> This dialogue, however, seems to stand on its own and evidently did not serve as a source for the later dialogues. While our authors may have been aware of its existence, they give no evidence of having used it as a source. In light of the attention given to it in the literature, it is surprising that ancient writers did not take notice of it as

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<sup>35</sup> See footnotes 7 and 34 for helpful works that discuss the literature and related issues.

<sup>36</sup> See Pastis, 116-262 for an excellent presentation of how TA represents Jews and Judaism; Lahey, 63-89 for how TA, AZ, and ST indicate dependency on JP; and Andrist, 427-486 for very thorough and persuasive treatments of both of these questions.

<sup>37</sup> Unlike its successors, much has been written on *Trypho*. A standard old work is that by A. Lukyn Williams, *The Dialogue with Trypho: Translation, Introduction, and Notes* (London: SPCK, 1930). For an excellent recent study that includes a thorough bibliography, see Oskar Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study of Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987).

often as one might expect and the surviving manuscript tradition is surprisingly slight.<sup>38</sup> The similarities between *Trypho* and later dialogues are along the lines of their similar citing of the same OT texts, but one might expect that to be true considering the common subject that they all treat – the Messiahship of Jesus.

The question has often been raised, however, about whether *Jason and Papiscus* (JP) may have served as a source for our three dialogues. Harnack suggested that the Latin text of *Simon and Theophilus* was basically a reworking of JP.<sup>39</sup> Scholarship after this, however, has been fiercely divided about this issue of JP as a possible source for the later dialogues. The most recent defender of this basic position, with his own necessary modifications, has been Lawrence Lahey. Lahey has amassed a large number of parallels between the three dialogues and the meager evidence we do have of the lost JP, as it is preserved in various Patristic writers.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, many recent writers have been hesitant about, if not firmly opposed, to Harnack's ideas. The most articulate recent opponent to any dependence on JP has been Andrist.<sup>41</sup>

The question is complex and cannot be covered adequately here in many of its details. Suffice it to affirm that dogmatism about the conclusions of source-critical study should be warned against. On the other hand, the parallels do seem to exist, although not always as exactly as one might hope. One should also note that Jews and Christians talked to each other about these issues for three centuries before the appearance of AZ, ST and TA. One should not be surprised if the use of certain texts and arguments may have developed into an expected form. Since surviving material from JP is so scant, and since our authors give no evidence that they are consciously quoting JP, a healthy caution should be advised on dogmatic decisions concerning the use of JP in later dialogues. One additional matter

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<sup>38</sup> Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, 31; Skarsaune, 1.

<sup>39</sup> Harnack, *Die Altercatio*, 1-15.

<sup>40</sup> See Lahey, "The Dialogue," 74-89.

<sup>41</sup> Andrist, 271-310, esp. 289,290.

should be noted. If it could be established that JP was used as a source by the later dialogues, it would certainly work against the idea that these dialogues represented any actual Jewish-Christian discussion that was conducted. And that brings us to that very question.

Do these dialogues reproduce with any accuracy actual discussion between Jews and Christian during this period? To this question, scholarship over the years has generally answered with a resounding “no.” It is unnecessary to cite all the evidence since it is from so many writers.<sup>42</sup> Most writers see the function of these dialogues as being apologies to all unbelievers or as catechetical manuals for instruction of (mostly Gentile) converts. On the other hand, Williams affirmed that the dialogues did grow out of actual real-life discussion between individuals from the two communities.<sup>43</sup> Agreeing with him is Lahey, who provides persuasive evidence that such real life situations did take place and could have served as the *sitz im leben* out of which these discussions were later recorded.<sup>44</sup> It is interesting to notice that in the *Dialogue with Trypho* Justin promised to record the events (80.3). The brief prologue of ST also mentions that what follows is a report of an actual discussion (I.1).

Many of the criticisms of those answering “no” to this question arise from a belief that there was very little contact between the communities by the fourth through the sixth centuries. Hence, the idea of continuing voluntary “disputations” should be unanticipated, to say the least. This was one of Harnack’s main contentions in his criticisms of the dialogues as representing actual situations. Marcel Simon, however, makes the important points that the very existence of this

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<sup>42</sup> Andrist, e.g., has an excellent summary of arguments against AZ serving as an accurate report of events, 429-447, 506-518. Much of this could also be applied to the other dialogues.

<sup>43</sup> Williams, *Adversus*, xv – xvii, e.g.

<sup>44</sup> See Lahey’s dissertation and the conclusion of his forthcoming chapter.

literature plus the fact that it continued to be produced into the Middle Ages was not without a corresponding purpose that existed in real life.<sup>45</sup>

In light of this, attention should be given to the evidence assembled by Horbury about the extensive mutual contacts between Christian and Jewish scholars regarding exegetical Bible discussion in the post-Constantinian age. While surveying the exegetical methods employed by both Jews and Christians in the period from 325-451, Horbury remarked:

*Prima facie*, Christian exegesis seems to reflect genuine debate, and hence genuine common ground between Jews and Christians. In summary one can perhaps say that Harnack was right in recognizing the internal importance of exegesis *adversus Judaeos* for Christian education, but wrong in supposing that significant contact between Jews and Christians ceased.<sup>46</sup>

Lastly, Oskar Skarsaune has argued recently from both Christian and Jewish sources that there continued to be extensive personal contacts between the communities well into the Byzantine period.<sup>47</sup> While this does not absolutely demand a “yes” to the second question we have posed, it does provide a realistic context within which such debates could take place.

In conclusion, perhaps a qualified response of “yes” to the question should include the fact that dialogues such as Trypho and TA are sandwiched within a larger narrative framework and include many personal touches in them. These include certain ironic and personal remarks by the Jewish interlocutor, and at times some effective counter-responses by the same, when he is allowed to do more than just ask a question.<sup>48</sup> AZ and ST, however, do not contain as many of these “personal” touches, although ST claims to be an eyewitness account in its

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<sup>45</sup>Simon, 136-140 and his criticisms of Harnack’s views.

<sup>46</sup>Horbury, *Jews and Christians*, 201,202.

<sup>47</sup>Oskar Skarsaune, *In the Shadow of the Temple: Jewish Influences on Early Christianity* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002) esp. 259-274, 436-442.

<sup>48</sup>Note some places where these more personal remarks and responses can be seen: ST VI.22,25; TA 10.7; 37.1-5; 39.1.2; 45.1-4.

introduction (I, 1). Could it be possible that the dialogues with a greater narrative framework like Trypho and TA could have arisen from actual situations, while we cannot be as dogmatic about that point with the more formulaic and straightforward presentations in AZ and ST?

Final answers have not been provided here about these important questions. Many of these issues can be explored further by those interested by securing the dissertations and out of print volumes in which they are more thoroughly discussed. Hopefully, enough information has been provided, however, to better enable the reader of these dialogues in this present form to more effectively decide about these and other issues which they raise, albeit in their dated and biased and sometimes unusual manner.

## Chapter One

### The Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus

Patrick Andrist concludes his magisterial thesis on *The Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus* with the following sentence – a model example of what is meant by the expression *multum in parvo*.

Ainsi, après avoir appliqué au texte ces diverses méthodes analytiques, nous pouvons affirmer que, selon toutes probabilités, AZ est premièrement un texte de catéchisme missionnaire à usage externe à la communauté de l'auteur, secondement un texte d'édification à usage interne, composé dans des milieux apollinaristes modérés d'Alexandrie, entre 381 et 431, peut-être même avant 388. [Thus, after having applied these various analytical methods to the text, we can affirm that, according to all probabilities, AZ is primarily a text of missionary catechism for external use in the author's community; secondarily (it is) a text of edification for internal use, composed in the midst of moderate Apollinarists of Alexandria, between 381 and 431, perhaps even before 388.]<sup>49</sup>

I wish that I could include all of the previous detailed analysis that led Dr. Andrist to write that summary observation. These brief introductions to each dialogue should not be read apart from the general "Introduction" where other material relevant to introducing each text and translation is found. Here we are concerned only with including what might be called the scholarly consensus, if there is such, on the authorship, dating, and provenance of each dialogue, plus a brief summary of its contents.

Andrist's summary sentence does lack any suggestion of authorship. That is because we simply do not know the identity of the author. There is no indication that the "Athanasius" of the title wrote down a report of his supposed conversation with an also otherwise unknown "Zacchaeus." Furthermore, there is

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<sup>49</sup> Andrist, 486.

no evidence that this is the famous Bishop Athanasius of Nicene orthodoxy. That particular Athanasius never held the title of “archbishop” in any case – a title that was first used in the fifth century of “patriarchs” and applied often in the literature to Cyril.<sup>50</sup> Interestingly Cyril is mentioned (accurately) in the title of the later *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* as the “Archbishop of Alexandria.”

An Alexandrian provenance of the dialogue is most probable. The only solid internal evidence for a provenance apart from that in the title is the exhortation to Zacchaeus to “go to Jerusalem” (63), which certainly implies that the dialogue did not take place in the holy city. However, AZ has an intense interest in Egypt and the Egyptians as indicated by the many references to that land both in Biblical passages cited and in contemporary references (chapters 1, 34, 35, 51-56, 78, 89, 93, 94, 97, 122, 125 and 129). Alexandria was the second largest city in the empire and hosted a very large Jewish population. Finally, the city seems to be associated with some of the other dialogues (e.g., the previously mentioned title of TA).

The Christian Athanasius’ description of Jerusalem also supports the date suggested by Andrist.

For it is no longer a city of Jews, but a city of Christians, being called by its new name. Go there and you will see that this city belongs to Christ and is a habitation of celibates. You will see the *Anastasis* of the Christ and all the kings bearing their glory there, and the Gentiles with all the peoples proclaiming its righteousness with which it was vindicated (70).

Most scholars maintain that such a description would be impossible before circa 325, when the “Christianization” of Aelia Capitolina began. The *Anastasis* referred to was probably the Constantinian basilica church. Furthermore, the lack of terminology reflecting the Christological controversies of the fifth century supports a fourth century dating.

Andrist’s statement about AZ being primarily a “missionary catechism” and a “text of edification” for the believing community secondarily is consistent

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<sup>50</sup> *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1961) 237.

with his view that the dialogue does not embody a report of any actual discussion that took place. The simple and highly structured style of AZ – a brief question or problem raised by Zacchaeus with a more elaborate but still concise response from Athanasius – does support these ideas.

It is the charge of “Apollinarianism” that is the most controversial part of Andrist’s statement. Andrist marshals an array of exegetical and contextual support for this claim in chapters XII and XIII of his thesis.<sup>51</sup> For the reader who may not have access to Andrist’s work, the relevant chapters in AZ that form the basis of his judgment are 4, 21, 41, 44, 45, 86, and 98 where Andrist believes that Jesus’ incarnate deity is so stressed that there is little room for his humanity.<sup>52</sup>

Andrist’s suggestions about the structure of the work bear special merit, particularly for the expression of unity that they uncover in the text. He outlines the dialogue thematically as follows in French and an English translation.

1. Première partie : Dieu (AZ 1-45)

Section 1 : le Dieu un n’est pas monadique (3-20)

Section 2 : l’incarnation était prophétisée (21-45)

2. Deuxième partie : Jésus-Christ (AZ 46-121)

Section 3 : Jésus règne même en Egypte (47-57)

Section 4 : toutes les prophéties messianiques ont été accomplies en Jésus, qui est le Christ ; les Evangiles sont véridiques (58-78)

Section 5 : Jésus est berger, prêtre et Dieu (79-98)

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<sup>51</sup> Andrist, 347-402.

<sup>52</sup> Andrist, 365-399. This is a great simplification of Andrist’s thoroughly reasoned argument. On this point, Lahey writes: “I would reserve judgment on the possibility of an Apollinarian background” (Lahey, forthcoming chapter).

Section 6 : la victoire de Jésus-Christ et de ses disciples ; la défaite des juifs ; Jésus a accompli toutes les prophéties (98-121)

3. Troisième partie : la fin des pratiques « juives » (AZ 122-129.2)

Section 7 : la fin des pratiques « juives » (122-129)

<Lacune>

4. Epilogue : conversion de Zachée (130)

[1. First Part : God (AZ 1-45)

Section 1 : God is not monadic (3-20)

Section 2 : the Incarnation was prophesied (21-45)

2. Second part : Jesus Christ (AZ 46-121)

Section 3 : Jesus reigns even in Egypt (47-57)

Section 4 : all Messianic prophecies were fulfilled in Jesus, who is the Christ; the Gospels are trustworthy (58-78)

Section 5 : Jesus is shepherd, priest, and God (79-98)

Section 6 : the victory of Jesus Christ and his disciples; the defeat of the Jews; Jesus accomplished all the prophecies (98-121)

3. Third part : the end of the Jewish practices (AZ 122-129.2)

Section 7 : the end of the Jewish practices (122-129)

<Lacuna>

4. Epilogue : conversion of Zacchaeus (130)<sup>53]</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Andrist, 163. The chart on this page is more detailed, including approximately 25 "Christological titles" from the LXX that are applied to Jesus in the appropriate sections of the dialogue as well as 16 "key verses" that form the main basis of the exegetical discussion.

## A Note on the Text, Translation, and Format

The Greek text is the one published by Conybeare, who based his text on one Greek manuscript (W) with the Armenian version filling the lacunae.<sup>54</sup> A few variant readings suggested by Andrist and based on two additional manuscripts (T and V) are noted in footnotes to the text. Only variant readings, in the translator's opinion, which may affect the meaning of the verse are included. There are also a few lacunae where the Greek is probably lacking and are marked by arrowed brackets: (< >). In these cases, I have included in the English translation an adaptation of Conybeare's own translation of the Armenian, included between square brackets: ([ ]). Andrist has a detailed textual apparatus in his thesis which will be published by Brepols.

The translation of all three dialogues tends to follow a more literal approach with the recognition that idiomatic expressions must be rendered idiomatically. Also, names of Biblical characters and books follow the more recognizable renderings in the modern English versions rather than the old transliterations of the Greek or Latin names (*Esaias*, e.g., is rendered as *Isaiah*).

When a speaker refers to a Biblical passage, that reference is placed in parentheses after the quotation. A comprehensive Scripture Index of all three dialogues appears in the Index at the end of the entire book. This Index should greatly facilitate future comparative studies of these dialogues. If this takes place, one of the goals of this author's labors will have been achieved. Finally, because the authors utilize the LXX version or the Old Latin version based on the LXX, the scripture reference is given according to the LXX numbering. This at times may differ from the Masoretic Hebrew text and the traditional English versions, especially in Psalms and Jeremiah. Apocryphal additions to Daniel in the LXX also occasionally alter its verse and chapter numberings.

An additional comment on the translation of *χριστός* and *ἔθνος* appears in the Introduction to TA on page 139.

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<sup>54</sup> Conybeare, *The Dialogues*, 1-64.

Ἐπιτομή τοῦ λόγου τοῦ Ἀθανασίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας πρὸς  
Ζακχαῖον νομοδιδάσκαλον τῶν Ἰουδαίων

1. Ζακχαῖος εἶπεν: Πλανᾶσθε οἱ Χριστιανοὶ πρῶτον ὅτι νομίζετε καὶ ἑτέρους θεοὺς εἶναι παρὰ τὸν ἕνα καὶ μόνον θεόν· τῆς γραφῆς πανταχοῦ λεγούσης, ἕνα εἶναι θεόν: *ἄκουε φησὶν Ἰσραὴλ. κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου εἷς ἐστίν* καὶ πάλιν· *Ἐγὼ θεὸς πρῶτος καὶ ἐγὼ μετὰ ταῦτα· καὶ πλην ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστι θεός.* καὶ πάλιν· *ἄκουσον λαὸς μου καὶ λαλήσω σοι· Ἰσραὴλ καὶ διαμαρτυροῦμαι σοι· Ἰσραὴλ, ἐὰν ἀκούσης μου, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν σοὶ θεὸς πρόσφατος οὐδὲ προσκυνήσης θεῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ.* ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου, ὁ ἀναγαγὼν σε ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου. καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ταῦτα· δευτέρον δὲ ὅτι καὶ θεὸν λέγετε τὸν χριστόν· καὶ παθητὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκ γυναικός, ἀκούοντες οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε;

2. Ἀθανάσιος εἶπεν: Θέλεις οὖν σοι πρότερον δεῖξω ὅτι θεὸς καὶ ὁ χριστὸς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ γέγραπται· καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο θεοί. καὶ οὕτως, ὅτι καὶ παθητὸς ὁ χριστὸς, καὶ ἐκ γυναικός. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αἰσχύνη τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτόν; Ζακχαῖος: Δεῖξον ὅτι θεὸς καὶ ὁ χριστὸς καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶ δύο θεοί:

Ἀθανάσιος: Πρῶτον ὅτι θεὸς ὁ χριστὸς διδάχθητι· καὶ τότε μαθήσῃ ὅτι οὐ δύο θεοί:

Ζακχαῖος: Εἰπέ:

3. Ἀθανάσιος: Βούλομαι σε ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης βίβλου ὀδηγήσαι, καὶ οὕτως ἐφεξῆς ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀγαγεῖν:

Ζακχαῖος: Οὐκ ἔχεις δεῖξαι:

Ἀθανάσιος: Ἐὰν λέγῃ μωυσῆς εἰρηκέναι τὸν θεόν· *ποίησωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν.* τίμη λέγεις αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν εἰρηκέναι;

4. Ζακχαῖος: Ἦν γὰρ τότε ὁ χριστὸς, ὁ ἐπὶ καίσαρος αὐγούστου γεννηθείς;

Ἀθανάσιος: Ἦν αἰεὶ θεός, λόγος ὢν· χριστὸς δὲ ἐκλήθη ἐνωθεὶς τῇ σαρκί:

Ζακχαῖος: Πόθεν δῆλον ὅτι ἦν;

Ἀθανάσιος: Τέως γινώμεν τίμη ἔλεγε· καὶ οὕτως εὐρίσκεται πότερον εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ σαρκωθεὶς, ἢ οὐ;

**A Dialogue of Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria,  
with Zacchaeus, a Torah Teacher of the Jews**

1. Zacchaeus said: You Christians are deceived. First, because you think that there are other gods besides the one and only God, when the Scripture everywhere says that there is one God. *Hear, it says, Israel, the Lord your God is one* (Deut. 6:4). And again: *I am God first and I am after these things. And apart from me there is no god* (Isa. 44:6). And again: *Hear, my people, and I will speak to you; Israel and I will testify to you. Israel, if you hear me, there will not be a recent god among you, nor will you worship another's god. For I am the Lord your God, who led you out from the land of Egypt* (Ps. 80:9-11). But also there are countless other passages like these. And, second, you are deceived because you say that the Messiah is God, and that he is subject to suffering, and that he was born from a woman. When you hear this, are you not ashamed?

2. Athanasius said: Do you then desire that I will show to you that it was written formerly in the Scripture that the Messiah is also God, and they are not two Gods? And then, that the Messiah is subject to suffering, and is born from a woman, and also that it is not a shame to those who call on Him?

Zacchaeus said: Show me that the Messiah is God and they are not two Gods.

Athanasius said: First, you must be taught that the Messiah is God, and then you will learn that they are not two Gods.

Zacchaeus said: Proceed.

3. Athanasius said: I want to guide you from the first book, and then afterwards, to lead you to the rest.

Zacchaeus said: You cannot demonstrate that.

Athanasius said: If Moses says that God has spoken: *Let us make man according to our image and likeness*, to whom do you say that God has spoken (Gen. 1:26)?

4. Zacchaeus said: Did your Messiah, who was born at the time of Caesar Augustus, exist then?

Athanasius said: As Logos he was always God, but He was called the Messiah when he was united with his flesh.

Zacchaeus said: From where is it evident that He was such?

Athanasius said: Previously we have learned to whom he was speaking. Now it will be discovered whether he was the one who became flesh, or not.

5. Ζακχαῖος: Ἐγὼ λέγω ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ χριστὸς ᾧ ἔλεγεν:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ὅπως ἔλεγε τινι ὁ θεὸς ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν.

Ζακχαῖος: Ἐαυτῷ ἔλεγε;

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἄλλ' οὐκ εἶπε ποιήσω ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ ποιήσωμεν.

6. Ζακχαῖος: Τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἔλεγε:

Ἄθανάσιος: Καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργοὺς λέγεις;

Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ τί ἄτοπον;

Ἄθανάσιος: Οὐκέτι οὖν πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησεν;

7. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησε:

Ἄθανάσιος: Δῆλον οὖν ὅτι αὐτῷ ἔλεγε, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν.

Ζακχαῖος: Τί οὖν, ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ χριστὸς ἔστιν;

Ἄθανάσιος: Μὴ σπεῦδε· ἀλλὰ μετὰ πραότητος καὶ φόβου, συνείδησίν ἔχοντος ἀγαθὴν ζητήσωμεν:

Ζακχαῖος: Πῶς ἔχεις δεῖξαι ὅτι ἡ σοφία ἔστιν ὁ χριστὸς;

Ἄθανάσιος: Συντίθεσαι δε ὄλως, ὅτι πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός,

Ζακχαῖος: Οὕτως γέγραπται:

8. Ἄθανάσιος: Ἡ δὲ σοφία αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ εἶρηται, ὡς ὁ προφήτης λέγει· τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερωώθησαν.

Ζακχαῖος: Ναί· ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ὁ χριστὸς εἶπεν:

Ἄθανάσιος: Τέως ὁμολόγησον ὡς ἡ σοφία ἔστιν ὁ λόγος ᾧ εἶπε ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν ὡς οὐσης εἰκόνας τοῦ ἀρχετύπου;

Ζακχαῖος: Ναί:

9. Ἄθανάσιος: Ἡμετέραν δὲ εἰρηκῶς, καὶ τοῦ ἀκούοντος τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔδειξεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπε κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἐμὴν, ἀλλὰ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν.

Ζακχαῖος: Θέλεις εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἄλλος θεὸς ἔστιν ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ;

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἄλλος θεὸς ἐκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἄλλο φῶς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τοῦ φωτός, ἀλλὰ φῶς μὲν τὸ φῶς· καὶ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα φῶς ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο φῶς, οὕτως καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ· θεός, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος θεός· γέγραπται γάρ· ἐγὼ εἰμὶ θεός καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος καὶ πάλιν· Κύριε ὁ θεός ἡμῶν· πλην σου ἄλλον οὐκ οἶδαμεν.

5. Zacchaeus said: I say that it is not the Messiah to whom He was speaking.

Athanasius said: To whom was God actually saying: *Let us make man according to our image and our likeness?*

Zacchaeus said: He was speaking to Himself.

Athanasius said: But He did not say, "Let me make man, but let us make (him)."

6. Zacchaeus said: He was speaking to the angels.

Athanasius said: And do you say that the angels are God's fellow-workers?

Zacchaeus said: And why is this unusual?

Athanasius said: Did He, therefore, no longer make all things by wisdom?

7. Zacchaeus said: Indeed, He made all things by wisdom.

Athanasius said: Therefore, it is clear that He was speaking to Him: *Let us make man according to our image and our likeness.*

Zacchaeus said: What, then? Is the wisdom of God the Messiah?

Athanasius said: Do not be in a hurry! But let us search with meekness and fear, having a good conscience.

Zacchaeus said: How are you able to show that Wisdom is the Messiah?

Athanasius said: Do you generally agree that God made all things by Wisdom?

Zacchaeus said: Thus it is written.

8. Athanasius (said): Wisdom itself is also said to be his Logos, as the prophet says: *The heavens were founded by the word of the Lord* (Ps. 32:6).

Zacchaeus said: Yes, but he does not say "the Messiah."

Athanasius said: Awhile ago did you acknowledge that the Wisdom is the Logos to whom He said: *Let us make man according to our image and likeness* as being the image of the archetype?

Zacchaeus said: Yes.

9. Athanasius said: And having said *our*, he indicated the substantive existence of the hearer. For He did not say: *according to my image and likeness*, but *according to our image and likeness*.

Zacchaeus said: Do you wish to say that the Wisdom of God is another God?

Athanasius said: Another God is not apart from God. Just as another light is not the reflection of the light, but it is both the light and the reflection of the light, but another is not another light. Thus the wisdom of God also is God. But another is not also another God, for it is written: *I am God and there is no other* (Deut. 32:39). And again: *Lord, our God, besides you we know no other* (Isa. 26:13).

10. Ζακχαῖος: Οὐκοῦν θεὰ ἐστὶν ὁ χριστός:

Ἄθανάσιος: θεός, εἶπέ· καὶ μὴ ὡς Ἰουδαῖος νόμιζε, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων τὰ θηλυκὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ ἀρρενικὰ ὁμοίως λέγεσθαι, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματίων· ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ σου θηλυκῶ ὀνόματι κέκληται ψυχὴ· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θήλεια καὶ ἄρρη ψυχὴ:

11. Ζακχαῖος: Δείξον μοι ὅτι θεὸς λέγεται καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἰδίῳ προσώπῳ:

Ἄθανάσιος: Τέως ἐδειχθη ὅτι ἔστι τις δύναμις κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἣ λέγει ὁ θεός· *ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν*, καὶ ὅτι ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι ὁ προφήτης εἶπε λέγων· *πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας* καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν σοφίαν λόγον ὠνόμασε λέγων· *τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν· καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν*· ὅτι δὲ οὔτε λόγος διὰ φωνητηρίων ὀργάνων ἀναπεμπόμενος, οὔτε πνεῦμα διὰ τῶν ἀναπνευστικῶν δηλον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ ἀσωμάτου εἶναι τὸν θεόν:

12. Ζακχαῖος: Ἔστω τις δύναμις καὶ ἡ σοφία ἣ λέγει· *ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ἡμετέραν* μὴ καὶ θεὸς ἐστὶν ἡ δύναμις;

Ἄθανάσιος: Αὐτῇ ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει λέγει ὁ θεός· *ἰδοὺ γέγονεν ἀδάμ ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν*.

Ζακχαῖος: Εἰ γὰρ εἶπεν *ἰδοὺ γέγονεν ἀδάμ ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν* <θεός>;

13. Ἄθανάσιος: Ὁμολογεῖς τέως· ὅτι ἔστι τις δύναμις, ἣ τυνθήως συναμιλεῖ ὁ θεός· καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ λέγουσα διὰ τοῦ σολομώνος· *ἡνίκα ἠτοίμαζε τὸν οὐρανὸν συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ἦμην παρ' αὐτῷ ἀρμόζουσα* καὶ τό, *ἐγὼ ἦμην ἣ προσέχαιρεν*.

Ζακχαῖος: Μὴ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐγὼ ἦμην ὁ θεός;

Ἄθανάσιος: Προκοπτέω ὁ λόγος ἡλικία καὶ σοφία πνευματικῇ.

Ζακχαῖος: Δείξον ὅτι θεὸς καὶ ἄλλος ἐστίν:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἐὰν μὴ μάθη τις τὰ στοιχεῖα, συλλαβὰς ἀναγνῶναι οὐ δύναται· ἀνάγκη οὖν σε στοιχειωθῆναι καὶ οὕτως νοῆσαι τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ σημαίνόμενα διὰ τῶν στοιχείων:

10. Zacchaeus said: So then, the Messiah is a goddess!

Athanasius said: *God*, he said. And not as a Jew supposes, that feminine and masculine distinctions are held because those sorts of names are given to bodiless things. This is the way it is in the Greek language with bodiless things since also the soul is nominally called by a feminine word: *soul*. And there is no such thing as a female and male soul!

11. Zacchaeus said: Show me that God is also called the wisdom of God in his own person.

Athanasius said: Previously it was shown that someone is a power according to the scripture where God says: *Let us make man in our image and likeness* (Gen. 1:26). And that this power is the Wisdom of God, the prophet spoke, saying: *He made all things by wisdom* (Ps. 103:24). And He named this wisdom the Logos, saying: *By the Logos of the Lord the heavens were founded, and all their power by the spirit of His mouth* (Ps. 32:6). From the fact that God is bodiless, it is clear that the Logos was not sent forth with vocal organs nor yet the spirit with breathing organs.

12. Zacchaeus said: Let me know who is both the power and the wisdom who says: *Let us make in our image and our likeness* (Gen. 1:26). Is not God the power?

Athanasius said: By that same power God says: *Behold Adam has become like one of us* (Gen. 3:22).

13. Athanasius said: Up to now you acknowledge that there is some power which customarily converses with God. And this is the one spoken about by Solomon: *When He prepared the heaven I was present with Him, and I was joined with Him. And this: I was the one in whom He delighted* (Prov. 8:27,30).

Zacchaeus said: But he did not say, "I was God."

Athanasius said: Let the Logos advance in stature and spiritual wisdom.

Zacchaeus said: Show me that he is God and is not someone else.

Athanasius: If one does not learn the letters, he will be unable to read with comprehension. It is necessary, therefore, to lay down some elementary truths and then to understand the things said and signified by the letters.

14. Ζακχαῖος: Ἰδοὺ ἔγνω ὅτι ἔστι τις δύναμις ἣ προέχειρεν ὁ θεός· μή, ὅτι καὶ θεός ἐστιν ἔδειξας;

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἐὰν λέγῃ ἡ γραφή· καὶ ὤφθη κύριος ὁ θεός τῷ ἀβραάμ. καὶ εἶπεν· οὐ μὴ κρύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ ἀβραάμ τοῦ παιδός μου ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ ἀβραάμ δὲ γινόμενος ἔσται εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ πολὺ. Καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς· ἦδει γάρ ὅτι συντάξει τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτόν. καὶ φυλάξουσι τὴν ὁδὸν κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ· τοῦ ποιεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην καὶ κρίσιν· ὅπως ἂν ἐπαγάγῃ κύριος ὁ θεός ἐπὶ ἀβραάμ ἃ ἐλάλησε πρὸς αὐτόν· εἶπε δὲ κύριος ὁ θεός· κραυγὴ σοδόμων καὶ γομόρρας πεπλήθυνται πρὸς με, καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῶν μεγάλαι σφόδρα. καταβὰς οὖν ὄψομαι εἰ κατὰ τὴν κραυγὴν αὐτῶν συντελοῦνται τὴν ἐρχομένην πρὸς με. εἰ δὲ μή, ἵνα γινῶ. καὶ ἀποστρέψαντες ἐκείθεν οἱ ἄνδρες, ἦλθον εἰς σόδομα. ἀβραάμ δὲ ἦν ἔτι ἐστηκώς ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου. καὶ εὐλογήσας ἀβραάμ εἶπεν· μή συναπολέγῃς δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς. καὶ ἔσται ὁ δίκαιος ὡς ὁ ἀσεβής· ἐὰν ὦσι πεντήκοντα δίκαιοι ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπολείς αὐτούς; οὐκ ἀνήσεις πάντα τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον, ἕνεκεν τῶν πεντήκοντα δικαίων, ἐὰν ὦσιν ἐν αὐτῇ; μηδαμῶς σὺ ποιήσεις τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, ἀποκτεῖναι δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς, καὶ ἔσται ὁ δίκαιος ὡς ὁ ἀσεβής; μηδαμῶς ὁ κρίνων πᾶσαν γῆν οὐ ποιήσεις κρίσιν; εἶπε δὲ κύριος ὁ θεός· ἐὰν εἶρω ἐν σοδόμοις πεντήκοντα δικαίους ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀφήσω πάντα τὸν τόπον δι' αὐτούς. καὶ οὕτως ὑφελὼν πέντε· καὶ πάλιν πέντε· ἦλθεν ἕως δέκα. τίνα οὖν λέγεις τῷ ἀβραάμ ταῦτα λελαληκέναι, αὐτόν τὸν θεόν, ἢ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ;

Ζακχαῖος: Αὐτὸν τὸν θεόν:

15. Ἄθανάσιος: Ὅτ' ἂν λέγῃ ἡ γραφή· καὶ κύριος ὁ θεός ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ σόδομα καὶ γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ κατέστειψε τὰς πόλεις ταύτας καὶ τὴν περίχωρον. ἄρα παρὰ ποίου κυρίου κύριος ὁ θεός ἔβρεξε ἐπὶ σόδομα καὶ γόμορρα θεῖον καὶ πῦρ;

Ζακχαῖος: Οὐ λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός ἔβρεξεν· ἀλλὰ κύριος ἔβρεξεν.

Ἄθανάσιος: Καὶ μάλιστα τὰ πλείονα τῶν ἀντιγράφων, Κύριος ὁ θεός ἔχουσιν. δῶμεν δὲ ὅτι οὐ πρόσκειται<sup>55</sup> ὁ θεός· οὐκ ἔστι δῆλον ὅτι ὁ βρέξας ὁ εἰρηκῶς τῷ λῶτ· ἰδοὺ ἐθαύμασά σου τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ῥήματι τούτῳ τοῦ μὴ καταστρέφαι τὴν πόλιν περὶ ἧς ἐλάλησας.

<sup>55</sup> Conybeare: πρόκειται

14. Zacchaeus said: Behold I have come to recognize that there is some power in whom God delights. You have not, however, shown that he is God.

Athanasius said: The scripture says: *The Lord God appeared to Abraham* (Gen. 18:1). And He said: *I will not hide from Abraham my servant what things I intend to do. But Abraham will become a great and populous nation, and in him will all the nations of the earth be blest. For I know that he will order his sons, and his house after him, and they will keep the way of the Lord God, to do mercy and judgment, so that the Lord may bring upon Abraham the things He has spoken to him. And the Lord said: The cry of Sodom and Gomorrah has been increased towards me, and their sins are very great. I will therefore go down and see, if they completely correspond with the cry which comes to me, and if not, so that I may know. And the men departed from there and came to Sodom, but Abraham was still standing before the Lord. And Abraham blessed Him and said: Would you destroy the righteous with the wicked, and will the righteous person be as the wicked? Should there be fifty righteous in the city, will you destroy them? Will you not spare the whole place for the sake of the fifty righteous, if they be in it? By no means will you do this thing so as to destroy the righteous with the wicked, so the righteous will be as the wicked: by no means. The one who judges the whole earth, will He not do justice? And the Lord God said: If there should be in Sodom fifty righteous in the city, I will spare the whole city, and the whole place for their sakes* (Gen. 18:17-26). And then He took away five and then five more. Finally he came down to the number ten. Therefore, who was saying these things to Abraham, God Himself, or His power?

Zacchaeus said: God Himself.

15. Athanasius said: The scripture also says: *And the Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven. And he overthrew these cities, and all the surrounding country* (Gen. 19:24-25). Then from what Lord did the Lord God rain brimstone and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah?

Zacchaeus said: It does not say that "the Lord God rained" but *the Lord rained*.

Athanasius: Many more of the copies have *Lord God*. Let us grant that *God* is not added, for it is evident that the one who rained is the one who had spoken to Lot: *Behold, I have had respect to you also about this thing, that I should not overthrow the city about which you have spoken* (Gen. 19:21)

16. Ζακχαῖος: Οὐ· ἀλλὰ τὸ κύριος ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ σόδομα καὶ γόμορρα παρὰ κυρίου πῦρ καὶ θεῖον. τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἄγγελος ἔβρεξεν παρὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ:

Ἄθανάσιος: Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄγγελον κυρίου κύριον λέγεις· τὴν δὲ δύναμιν αὐτοῦ κύριον οὐ λέγεις;

Ζακχαῖος: Εἶπον ὅτι τὸν ἄγγελον κύριον εἶπε, παρὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ βρέξαντα. μὴ γὰρ τὴν δύναμιν εἶπεν κύριον;

17. Ἄθανάσιος: Εἶπαμεν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου ὅτι γέγραπται· πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησεν δηλονότι· εἰ τὰ πάντα καὶ τοῦτο· ἐν γὰρ τῶν πάντων καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βρεξαι πῦρ καὶ θεῖον ἐπὶ σόδομα καὶ γόμορρα.

Ζακχαῖος: Κύριος οὖν ὁ θεὸς παρὰ κυρίου τῆς σοφίας ἔβρεξεν;

Ἄθανάσιος: Οὐ· ἀλλὰ αὐτὴ ἡ σοφία κύριος καὶ θεὸς οὕσα ἔβρεξε παρὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ καὶ θεῖον.

Ζακχαῖος: Ἄλλ' οὐκ εἶπε παρὰ κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ κυρίου. ἄρα οὖν ἡ μὲν σοφία κύριος ὁ θεὸς λέγεται, ὁ δὲ θεὸς κύριος μόνον;

18. Ἄθανάσιος: Ἐπεὶ δὴ πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ὁμολογούμενον ὅτι ὁ αἴτιος καὶ γεννήτωρ τῆς σοφίας κύριος ἐστὶ καὶ θεός· διὰ τοῦτο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸ κύριος μόνον εἶπεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τὸ θεὸς προσέθηκεν. ἦδει γὰρ πρὸς ἀπειθοῦντας αὐτῷ:

19. Ζακχαῖος: Δύο οὖν θεοί;

Ἄθανάσιος: Μὴ γένοιτο τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν:

Ζακχαῖος: Εἰ ὁ θεός, θεὸς καὶ γεννήτωρ, καὶ θεὸς ἡ σοφία, δύο θεοί:

Ἄθανάσιος: Δύο θεοὶ οὐκ εἰσίν· ἐπεὶ δὴ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ φύσις, καὶ ἐν θέλημα, καὶ μία συμφωνία. καὶ ὡς περ βασιλεὺς λέγεται, καὶ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκὼν, καὶ οὐ δύο βασιλεῖς· οὕτως θεός, καὶ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκὼν καὶ σοφία· καὶ οὐ δύο θεοί. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μιμητικῶς εἰκὼν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ φυσικῶς:

16. Zacchaeus said: No, it was not the *Lord* who rained fire and brimstone from the Lord on Sodom and Gomorrah. It was an angel from the Lord God who rained.

Athanasius: So you say that the Lord is an angel of the Lord? But do you do not say that His power is the Lord?

Athanasius: I said that He said the Lord is an angel, raining from the Lord God. He did not say: "the power is the Lord."

17. Athanasius said: We said at the beginning of our discussion that it is written: *He made all things by wisdom* (Ps. 103:24). It is plain that *all things* also includes this: one of the *all things* is the raining fire and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrah.

Zacchaeus said: Then, did the Lord God rain from the Lord of wisdom?

Athanasius said: No, not the same wisdom of the Lord God, but *from the Lord*. Then the wisdom is called God, but it is the God who rained fire and brimstone from the Lord God.

18. Athanasius said: Since it is acknowledged by all that the cause and begetter of wisdom is the Lord and God, for this reason the Lord spoke this only about Himself. But to *wisdom* He added *God*. Because He knew ahead of time those who would not believe.

19. Zacchaeus said: Therefore, are there two Gods?

Athanasius said: May this never be said!

Zacchaeus said: If God is God and begetter, and God and wisdom, then there are two Gods!

Athanasius said: There are not two Gods. He is the same nature with one will in one agreement. And as He is spoken of as King, He is also the image of the King, and not two kings. Thus God is both the image and wisdom of God, and they are not two Gods. And He is the image of man by imitation, and of God by nature.

20. Ζακχαῖος: Εἶ ὁ θεός, καὶ θεὸς ἡ εἰκὼν, δύο θεοί:

Ἀθανάσιος: Δύο θεοὶ εἰσὶν ὅτ' ἂν ἄλλο θέλημα τὸ πρωτότυπον· καὶ ἄλλο ἡ εἰκὼν· ὅτ' ἂν δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ θέλημα, ἡ αὐτὴ γνώσις, ἡ αὐτὴ γνώμη, ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις· εἰς θεός, διὰ τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς οὐσίας· ἀμέλει καὶ αὐτὸς μωυσῆς τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς γνώμης καὶ τοῦ θελήματος καὶ τῆς οὐσίας δεικνύς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς γυναικός, μίαν σάρκα εἶπε λέγων· ἔνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδοῖ λέγει· ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν διὰ τὸ ταυτὸν τῆς φύσεως· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ἀναβάτας, καίτοι σώματα ὄντα, ἐνικῶς εἶπεν, τὸν ἀσώματον θεόν, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον θεὸν ὄντα, οὐκ ἂν πληθυντικῶς ἐκάλεσεν:

21. Ζακχαῖος: Δῶμεν ὅτι θεός ἐστι καὶ ἡ σοφία, μὴ καὶ ὁ χριστὸς ἐκ γυναικός;

Ἀθανάσιος: Αὐτὴ ἡ σοφία, μόνη καὶ ἀληθῶς οὐσα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ θεός, ἀπολλυμένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἠθέλησεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀφθῆναι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφῆναι· ἵνα δι' ἑαυτοῦ σῶση βουλήματι τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. καὶ ἀγιάσας τὴν παρθένον μαριὰμ, ἔλαβεν ἐξ αὐτῆς σῶμα, ἵνα <σωματικῶς> μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων συναναστραφῆς ὡς ἄνθρωπος, διὰ τοῦ ὁμοίου, σῶση τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος:

22. Ζακχαῖος: Βλασφημῆς ἄνθρωπε· λέγων τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς μήτραν ἀνθρώπου εἰσεληλυθέναι:

Ἀθανάσιος: Μὴ ταράττου· καὶ ἀπότ' ὧν γραφῶν σε πείθω· ὅτι οὐκ ἐν μόνη τῇ μήτρᾳ μαριὰμ ἔπλασεν ἑαυτῷ ναὸν τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ μήτρᾳ γυναικός, ἡ σοφία πλάττει καὶ ἀγιάζει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἀμέλει τῷ ἱερεμίᾳ ἔλεγε· πρὸ τοῦ με πλάσαι σε ἐκ κοιλίας, ἐπίσταμαί σε. καὶ πρὸ τοῦ σε ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ μήτρας, ἡγιακά σε.

23. Ζακχαῖος: Ναὶ πλάττει καὶ δημιουργεῖ· μὴ καὶ εἰσέρχεται εἰς μήτραν;

Ἀθανάσιος: Πρῶτον αὐτὴν τὴν μήτραν τῆς γυναικός οὐκ αὐτὸν λέγεις πεπλακέναι, καὶ πᾶν μέλος τοῦ σώματος;

Ζακχαῖος: Ναί:

20. Zacchaeus said: If God is also the image of God, there are two Gods.

Athanasius said: There are two Gods if the primary has another will and another image. But He has the same will, the same knowledge, the same purpose, the same nature. God is one because of the unchangeableness of His being. Of course, the same Moses also in showing the unchangeableness of purpose and will and the being of the man and woman, declared that they were one flesh, saying: *For this reason a man will leave his father and his mother and the two will be one flesh* (Gen. 2:24). And in the Song, he says: *The horse and rider He has thrown into the sea* (Exod. 15:1) because they were the same in nature. Now concerning the horse and the rider, indeed being bodies, he spoke of in the singular. But the bodiless God and His Logos, being God, he has not called by a plural.

21. Zacchaeus said: Let us grant that both God and the Wisdom are one, but surely She (Wisdom) is not also the Messiah born from a woman?

Athanasius said: The same Wisdom, being only and truly God from God, because men were perishing, willed to appear on earth and to live with men (see Baruch 3:38) so that through Himself by the will of the Father he might save the race of mankind. And having set apart the virgin Mary, he took a body from her, so that having lived as a man bodily with men, through the same, he might save the race of men.

22. Zacchaeus said: Man, you are blaspheming when you say that the wisdom of God has entered into a human womb.

Athanasius said: Don't get agitated! I will persuade you from the scriptures. Because not only in the womb of Mary did He form Himself as the divine temple, but also in every woman's womb, wisdom forms and sets apart men. He did not neglect to say to Jeremiah: *Before I formed you in the belly, I knew you, and before you came forth from the womb, I set you apart* (Jer. 1:5).

23. Zacchaeus said: Yes, He forms and He fashions, but does He enter into a womb?

Athanasius said: Do you not say that He formed first the woman's womb and every member of the body?

Zacchaeus said: Yes.

Ἄθανάσιος: Εἰ τοίνυν κατηξίωσε, πλὸν λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χειρῶν πλάσαι μήτραν, καὶ πᾶν εἴτι ἕτερον μέλος διαπλάσσει· <τί βδελύσσει><sup>56</sup> ἀκούσας ὅτι ἑαυτῷ ναὸν πλάσαι ἀπὸ μήτρας κατηξίωκεν, καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ταῦτα δι' ἑαυτοῦ κατεργάσασθαι· εἰ δὲ πλάττει, ἔσω ὃν πλάτει· πανταχοῦ γὰρ ὁ·ν τὸ θεῖον, καὶ τὸ ἔσω καὶ τὸ ἔξω ὡσαύτως ἔχει· ἔπειτα ὁ ἥλιος οὗτος ὁ ἡμεροφαής, καὶ ἐν σώμασι νεκροῖς γινόμενος, καὶ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίαις ἐπεκτεινόμενος οὐκ ἀδικεῖται, οὐ μαιίνεται. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὠφελεῖ τὰ νεκρὰ καὶ δυσώδη, ξηραίνων αὐτά, καὶ ἀφανίζων τὴν δυσωδίαν. καὶ νομίζεις σὺ τὸ θεῖον μαινεσθαι· οὐχὶ δὲ μᾶλλον πιστεύεις· ὅτι ἀγιαρίζει τὴν μήτραν, ἀνοίγει τὰς πύλας τῆς γαστροῦ, πάντα ὁ τεχνίτης ὀκονομεῖ, διασώζει, τελεσιουργεῖ:

24. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπι γῆς ἄφθθη.

Ἄθανάσιος: Καὶ τί ξενοῦ· ἀκούεις τοῦ ἱερεμίου λέγοντος· οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν· οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐξέυρε πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐπιστήμης. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἄφθθη, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σύαινεστράφη.

25. Ζακχαῖος: Οὐ γράφει ἐν τῷ ἱερεμίᾳ:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἀνάγνωθι τὰς ἐπιστολάς τοῦ βαροῦχ, ἵνα γνῶς καὶ πεισθεῖς ὅτι γέγραπται:

Ζακχαῖος: Οἶδα ὅτι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ γέγραπται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἱερεμίᾳ:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἱερεμίας μετὰ τοῦ βαροῦχ καὶ τῶν θρήνων καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς εἰς ἕν βιβλίον γράφεται· καὶ ἱερεμίας τὰ τέσσαρα ταῦτα βιβλία ἕν ὀνομάζεται:

26. Ζακχαῖος: Οὐδέπω ἔδειξας ὅτι καὶ χριστὸς ἐστὶν ἡ σοφία:

Ἄθανάσιος: Θέλω σε ὀδηγήσαι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναγνώνα, ὅτι θεὸς ἐπηγγείλατο συναναστρέφεσθαι τοῖς ἀνηθρώποις καὶ οὕτως σε ὀδηγηθέντα ἐκ τῆς γραφῆς, ἔλθειν εἰς σύνεσιν:

<sup>56</sup> Conybeare's conjecture from the Armenian.

Athanasius said: If then He thinks it fit to take clay from the earth and through His own hands to form a womb and every other member which pertains to it, why when you hear that He thought it fit to fashion for Himself a temple from His womb, is it blasphemy for the one who originally thought it fit to accomplish these things Himself? And if he forms it, then being within he forms it. He forms, for the Deity is everywhere, both the inward and outward in like manner as He has. Then this sun that shines daily, and comes on dead bodies, is not wronged and it is not defiled when it spreads over unclean things. On the contrary, it benefits the dead and the foul smelling, drying them out, and causes the foul smelling to disappear. And do you think then that the Deity is defiled? Do you not rather believe that He sets apart the womb and He opens the gates of her womb? The architect manages all things, keeps her safe through it, and brings her to completion.

24. Zacchaeus said: And the wisdom of God - was he seen upon earth?

Athanasius said: And why should this be strange? Hear Jeremiah speaking: *This is our God; no other can be compared to him! He found the whole way to knowledge ... Afterward he appeared upon earth and lived among men* (Baruch 3:36-38).

25. Zacchaeus said: That was not written in Jeremiah!

Athanasius said: Read the Epistle of Baruch so that you will know and believe that it was so written.

Zacchaeus said: I know that it is written in that epistle, but it was not written in Jeremiah.

Athanasius: Jeremiah along with Baruch and the Lamentations and the Epistle are written in one book. And the four of these books are named "Jeremiah."

26. Zacchaeus said: You have never demonstrated that the Messiah is also the Wisdom.

Athanasius: I want to guide you in the reading, because God promised to live among men. And in guiding you this way from scripture, you will come to an understanding.

27. Ζακχαῖος: Ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη ὁ θεός· καὶ συνανεστράφη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅτε ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς προφήταις καὶ τοῖς πατριάρχεις;

Ἄθανάσιος: Μετὰ ταῦτα εἴρηται, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη· καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη· δηλονότι μετὰ τὸν νόμον· καὶ ἔτι ὁμοίως εἴρηται παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ Ἡσαΐα· *λαὸς μου, οἱ μακαρίζοντες ὑμᾶς πλανῶσιν ὑμᾶς, καὶ τὰς τρίβους τῶν ὁδῶν ὑμῶν ταράττουσιν· ἄλλα νῦν καταστήσεται εἰς κρίσιν κύριος, καὶ στήσει τὸν λαὸν εἰς κρίσιν· αὐτὸς κύριος εἰς κρίσιν ἦξει, μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ· ὑμεῖς δέ, τί ἐνεπυρίσατε τὸν ἀμπελωινά μου.*

28. Ζακχαῖος: Δεῖξον ὅτι ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἐγεννήθη;

Ἄθανάσιος: Πιστεύεις Ἡσαΐα τῷ προφήτῃ;

Ζακχαῖος: Ναί.

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἄκουσον αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· καὶ θελήσουσιν εἰ ἐγενήθησαν πυρκαυστοὶ· ὅτι παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν υἱός, καὶ ἐδόθη ἡμῖν. οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ. καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μεγάλης βουλής ἄγγελος· θαυμαστός σύμβουλος· θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐξουσιαστής· ἀρχὼν εἰρήνης· πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος:

29. Ζακχαῖος: Καθὼς οὖν λέγεις, ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπέθανεν;

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἐὰν σοὶ μὴ ἀναγνῶ ὅτι θέλων ἀπέθανεν, καταγίνωσκέ μου ὡς ἀμαθοῦς· ἐὰν δὲ ἀναγνῶς, φοβήθητι καταγελῶν μὴ εὐρεθῆς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως καὶ εἴπῃς· ὅτι οὗτος ἐστὶν ὃν ἔσχομεν εἰς καταγέλωτα.

Ζακχαῖος: Δεῖξον ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν καὶ πείθομαι:

30. Ἄθανάσιος: Τέως ὁμολόγησον ὅτι θεὸς ἐτέχθη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἔμμανουήλ, περὶ οὗ εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας· *Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει· καὶ τέξεται υἱόν· καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἔμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνευόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός·* ἵνα σε εἰς τοῦτο προκόψαντα πείσω· ὅτι θέλων ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν:

31. Ζακχαῖος: Πᾶς γὰρ ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος οὐκ ἔστι θεός:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἄλλ' οὐδεὶς ἔμμανουήλ, οὐδεὶς ἐκ παρθένου:

Ζακχαῖος: Ἐχεις γὰρ πείσαι με ὅτι παρθένος οὖσα ἐγέννησεν ἡ μαρία;

Ἄθανάσιος: Ὁ προφήτης εἶπεν· *Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει· καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἔμμανουήλ· ὃ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνευόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός.*

27. Zacchaeus said: God appeared on earth and He lived among men when in His holy sanctuary He gave His message to the prophets and the patriarchs.

Athanasius said: After these things took place, it was spoken: *He appeared on earth and lived among men*, designating that it was after the Torah. And again in like manner, it was spoken by the prophet Isaiah: *O my people, they that pronounce you blessed lead you astray, and pervert the paths of your ways. But now the Lord will stand up for judgment. The Lord himself will enter into judgment with the elders of the people, and with their rulers. But why have you set my vineyard on fire?* (Isa. 3:12-14).

28. Zacchaeus said: Show that he was born from a woman.

Athanasius: Do you believe Isaiah the prophet?

Zacchaeus said: Yes.

Athanasius: Hear him speaking: *They will be willing, if they were burnt with fire. For a child is born to us, a son was given to us, whose government is upon his shoulder. And his name is called Messenger of great counsel, Marvelous Counselor, Mighty God of Authority, Ruler of Peace, Father of the coming age* (Isa. 9:4,5).

29. Zacchaeus said: Then, as you say, the Wisdom of God has died?

Athanasius: If I do not read to you that He died willingly, consider me as unlearned. But if you read it, be afraid of laughing. Do not be found in the day of judgment saying: *This is the one whom we held in derision* (Wis. Sol. 5:4).

Zacchaeus said: Show me from the scriptures and I will believe.

30. Athanasius: Acknowledge now that God was born on earth and that He was Immanuel, about whom the prophet Isaiah said: *Behold the virgin will conceive and will bear a son and they will call His name Immanuel, which is interpreted: God with us* (Isa. 7:14; cf. Matt. 1:23), so that I may progressively convince you that he willingly died for us all.

31. Zacchaeus said: Every righteous man is not God.

Athanasius: But no one else is Immanuel and no one else is born from a virgin.

Zacchaeus said: You must persuade me that Mary gave birth although a virgin.

Athanasius said: The prophet said: *Behold a virgin will conceive, and will bear a son, and they will call His name Immanuel, which is interpreted: God with us* (Isa. 7:14).

32. Ζακχαῖος: Ἴδού ἡ νεάνις εἴρηται καὶ οὐχ ἡ παρθένος.

Ἄθανάσιος: Καὶ ποῖον σημεῖον νεάνιδα <μη> παρθένον ἐξ ἀνδρὸς συλλαβοῦσαν τεκεῖν, τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντος: αἰτῆσαι σημεῖον εἰς βάθος ἢ εἰς ὕψος· καὶ τοῦ προφήτου εἰρηκότος: οὐ μὴ αἰτήσω οὐδὲ μὴ πειράσω κύριον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπαγαγόντος: μὴ μικρὸν ὑμῖν ἀγῶνα παρέχειν ἀνθρώποις; καὶ πῶς κυρίῳ παρέχετε ἀγῶνα; διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κύριος δώσει ὑμῖν σημεῖον· ἴδού ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει· καὶ τέξεται υἴον· καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἑμμανουήλ. τὸ μέγα σημεῖον, ὃ αὐτὸς κύριος ἀντὶ πάντων παρέσχεν, τοῦτο ἦν· ἵνα γυνὴ νεωτέρα συλλαβοῦσα [οὐκ]<sup>57</sup> ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τέκη υἴον, ἕνα τῶν κατὰ συνήθειαν ἀνθρώπων;

33. Ζακχαῖος: Τὸ σημεῖον ἦν τοῦτο· ὅτι πρὶν ἢ γινῶναι τὸ παιδίον καλεῖν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, ἔλαβε τὴν δύναμιν δαμασκοῦ, καὶ τὰ σκύλα σαμαρείας.

Ἄθανάσιος: Ποῖον παιδίον πρὶν ἢ γινῶναι καλεῖν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, ἠπειθήσε πονηρά, τοῦ ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν· καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν δύναμιν δαμασκοῦ καὶ τὰ σκύλα σαμαρείας εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ χριστὸς; κειμένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς φάτιγης, ἦλθον οἱ μάγοι αποσταλέντες ἀπὸ ἡρώδου, ἀναζητῆσαι καὶ μηνῦσαι αὐτῷ. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησαν ὃ ἐπεζήτησεν ὁ ἡρώδης· προσκυνήσαντες δὲ αὐτῷ, δεδώκασι χρυσόν, λίβανον, καὶ σμύρναν. ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ εἰρημένον· πρὶν ἢ γινῶναι τὸ παιδίον καλεῖν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, λήφεται δύναμιν δαμασκοῦ, καὶ τὰ σκύλα σαμαρείας.

34. Ζακχαῖος: Δαμασκηνοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ μάγοι;

Ἄθανάσιος: Παρὰ τῇ γραφῇ, οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα φρονούντες τοῖς αἰγυπτίοις, αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦνται· καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα χαναναίοις, χαναναῖοι καλοῦνται· καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμοραίοις, ἀμοραῖοι καλοῦνται· ἀμέλει ὁ προφήτης βοᾷ κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους ὑμῶν· ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἀμοραῖος, ἡ γῆ ὑμῶν χεταία. οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μάγους, τὰ αὐτὰ φρονούντα<ς> δαμασκηνοῖς <καὶ σαμαρείταις, δαμασκηνοῦς> καὶ σαμαρείταις ἐκάλεσεν:

35. Ζακχαῖος: Διὰ τί εἶπερ ἔμελλεν ὁ χριστὸς ο·ν λέγεις ἐπιδημεῖν, οὐ φανερώς ἔλεγον οἱ προφῆται ὅτι τάδε ἔσται· ἀλλὰ σποράδην μαρτυρία μοι φέρεις, ποτὲ τούτου τοῦ προφήτου, ποτὲ ἄλλου, καὶ πορτέ ἑτέρου; μὴ οὐκ ἡδύνατο εἰς αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ εἰπεῖν ὅτι μέλλει ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ σαρκουθεῖν, καὶ τότε παθεῖν, καὶ τότε ποιῆσαι;

<sup>57</sup> Conybeare conjectures from Arm. that οὐκ is absent but the Greek mss. include it.

32. Zacchaeus said: *Behold the young woman* is mentioned (in Aquila's second century AD version of Isaiah the word is *νεανίς* and not *παρθενός*, as in LXX).

Athanasius: And what sort of *sign* is it if a young woman who was not a virgin conceived from a man? *Ask a sign from the depth or the height.* And the prophet has also said: *I will not ask nor will I tempt the Lord.* And for this reason he brings forward: *Is it a little thing for you to contend with men? And how do you contend against the Lord? Therefore the Lord himself will give you a sign; behold, a virgin will conceive in the womb, and will bring forth a son, and you will call his name Immanuel* (Isa. 7:11-14). The great sign which the Lord offered before all was this: that a younger woman would conceive and bear a son but not from a man like the normal practice among human beings.

33. Zacchaeus said: The sign was this: *Before the child would know how to call his mother or father, he would receive the power of Damascus and vessels of Samaria* (Isa. 8:4).

Athanasius: What child before he could call "father" or "mother" could refuse evil to choose the good (Isa. 7:16), and take the power of Damascus and the vessels of Samaria, unless it was the Messiah only? For when he was lying in the manger, the Magi were sent from Herod came to inquire and to announce him. And they did not do what Herod sought. They worshipped him and gave him gold, incense and myrrh (Matt. 2:1-11). So that which was spoken was fulfilled: *Before the child knew to call father or mother, he will receive the power of Damascus and the vessels of Samaria.*

34. Zacchaeus said: Were the Magi from Damascus?

Athanasius: In the scripture those who think things like Egyptians are called Egyptians and those who think like Canaanites are called Canaanites, and those who think like Amorites are called Amorites. Indeed the prophet cries out against you nation: *Your father was an Amorite; your mother was a Hittite* (Ezek. 16:3). Thus also concerning the Magi – since they thought the same things as the Damascenes and Samaritans, he called them Damascenes and Samaritans.

35. Zacchaeus said: Why indeed when the Messiah, as you call him, was about to arrive here, that the prophets did not clearly say that these things would happen? But you are bringing forth a scattered witness: then this prophet, then another, and then still another. Was not one of them able to speak openly that the wisdom of God was to become flesh and then to suffer and to do these things?

Ἄθανάσιος: Τί τοσούτων εἰηκότων οὐκ ἐπέισθητε ; καὶ ἐνὶ λέγοντι, πῶς ἄν ἐπέισθητε;

Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ ὅλοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ, διὰ τί μὴ εἶπον· ἵνα μηδεὶς σκανδαλισθῇ;

Ἄθανάσιος: Καὶ πῶς ἔτι μυστήριον ἦν τὸ κηρυττόμενον, εἰ φανερώς ἐκηρύττετο ; ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ ἐγένωσκεν ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἔθνος ποιητὸν ἔσται· καὶ λαὸς πλήρης ἁμαρτιῶν· διὰ τοῦτο διὰ παραβολῶν εἶπε ταυτᾶ. ἵνα μὴ ἀκούσαντες ὅτι μέλλει χριστὸς γεννηᾶσθαι, καὶ μέλλουσι τὰ ἔθνη κληρονομία γίνεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ, καύσετε τὰς βίβλους, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀναγνόντα τὰ ἔθνη σωθῆναι. καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐσταυρώσατε, ἐπεὶ δὴ ἔλεγεν, ἀρθήσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ ἀμπελῶν, καὶ δοθήσεται ἔθνευ ποιοῦντι τοὺς καρπούς. πῶς οὐκ ἄν καὶ τὰς βίβλους ἐκαύσατε, οἱ καὶ τὸν δεσπότην σταυρώσαντες καὶ τοὺς κηρύξαντάς λιθοβολήσαντες ; ὅτι εἰ καὶ φανερώς ἦσαν κηρύξαντες, τὰ αὐτὰ ἄν ἐποιήσατε, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀμφίβολον· εἰ γὰρ μετὰ τὰ φανερά ἐν αἰγύπτῳ σημεῖα, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ ἕξαίσια, καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα παράδοξα, ἐπὶ εἰδωλολατρείαν ἐτράπητε εἰπόντες τῷ ἁερῶν ποίησον ἡμῖν θεοὺς, πῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ὁμολογούμενον ὅτι τοιαύτης ὄντες προαιρέσεως, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐποιήσατε;

36. Ζακχαῖος: Οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ δεσπότης καὶ θεοῦ, καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ σοφίας σταυρὸν λέγων;

Ἄθανάσιος: Οἱ προφῆται οὐκ ἠσχύνθησαν εἰπεῖν, ἐγὼ πῶς αἰσχυμῶ ;

Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ ἔχεις δεῖξαι ὅτι οἱ προφῆται σταυροῦσθαι αὐτὸν εἰρήκασιν ;

Ἄθανάσιος: Πρῶτον Μωσῆς λέγει· καὶ ὄψεσθε τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν κρεμασμένην, ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐ μὴ πιστεύετε τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν· τὸ πρῶτ' ; ἀπὸ γὰρ ἕκτης ὥρας σκότος ἐγένετο ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης. καὶ ἀπὸ ἐνάτης πάλιν ἄφθη τὸ φῶς ὥστε λέγειν τοὺς ὄρωντας· πῶς ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα· ὃ ἔστι σκότος, καὶ πάλιν πῶς ἐγένετο πρῶτ' ὃ ἔστι φῶς;

37. Ζακχαῖος: Ἄπο τῆς παλαιᾶς με διαθήκης πείσουν, ὅτι δεῖ αὐτὸν σταυρωθῆναι;

Ἄθανάσιος: Τὸ ὄψεσθε τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν, κρεμασμένην, ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν, καὶ οὐ μὴ πιστεύετε τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν, τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐστὶ διαθήκης· καὶ τὸ πρῶτ' ἐρεῖ· πῶς ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, καὶ τὸ ἑσπέρας πῶς ἐγένετο πρῶτ', ὁμοίως τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐστίν·

Athanasius: Which of these spoken messages have you not believed? If only one speaks it, how could you not believe?

Zacchaeus said: Then why did not all of them say this clearly, so that no one would stumble?

Athanasius: Then how could it still be a secret that is being proclaimed, if it is being proclaimed openly? Also God knew that you are an evil nation and a people full of sins. So for this reason he spoke these things through parables, in order that you would not hear clearly that the Messiah was about to be born. And you did that in order that the Gentiles would not become God's inheritance. You burn the books so that the Gentiles cannot read and be saved. You also crucified this one, since it was said: *The vineyard will be taken from you and it will be given to a nation bearing the fruit* (Matt. 21:43). Oh, that you would not have burned the books - you who crucified the Master and stoned His preachers! Is it any doubt that you would have done these things even if they had preached clearly? For if after the clear signs were done in Egypt, even the headlong dash into the Red Sea, even the incredible things done after this, you still turned to idolatry, saying to Aaron: *Make us gods* (Exod. 32:1). How is it not clear to you that having such a previously demonstrated purpose, you also did these things?

36. Zacchaeus said: Is it not a shame speaking about a cross in reference to the Master and God and Power and Wisdom?

Athanasius: The prophets were not so ashamed to speak this way. Why then should I be ashamed?

Zacchaeus said: You must show that the prophets said that he would be crucified.

Athanasius: First, Moses says: *And you will see your life hanging before your eyes, and you will have no assurance of your life. In the morning you will say: Would it were evening! And in the evening you will say: Would it were morning!* (Deut. 28:66-67). *For from the sixth hour there was darkness on all the earth until the ninth hour* (Matt. 27:45). And from the ninth hour the light was seen again so that those who saw it said: "How did it become evening?" which is darkness. And again: "How did it become morning?" when it is light.

37. Zacchaeus said: Convince me from the Old Covenant that it was necessary for him to be crucified.

Athanasius: *You will see your life hanging before your eyes and you will have no assurance of your life* is from the Old Covenant. And you will see how *it became evening* and how *it became morning* likewise is from the old (Gen. 1).

38. Ζακχαΐος: Ἄλλα τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν σταυρὸς οὐδὲ θάνατος:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἐὰν λέγῃ ἡσάιας: Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη; ἀηγγεΐλαμεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ὡς παιδίον, ὡς ρίζα ἐν γῆ διψώσῃ· οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ δόξα. καὶ εἶδομεν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος· ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον ἐκλείπον παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· ἐὰν δὲ λέγῃ καὶ ὁ δαυὶδ· ὤρξαμ χεῖράς μου πόδας μου. διμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κληρὸν, πῶς οὐ νοεῖς τὸν σταυρόν;

39. Ζακχαΐος: Οὐδὲ οὕτως θανάτου ἐμνήσθης:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν καὶ εἰδὼς φέρειν μαλακίαν, ὅτι ἀπέστρεψεν τὸ πρόσωπον· ἠτιμάσθη καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη. αὐτὸς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αἶρει, καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ὀδυνάται· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακώσει· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν· παιδεῖα εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τῷ μάλῳπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν. πάντες ὡς πρόβατα ἐπλανήθημεν· ἄνθρωπος τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ ἐπλανήθη· καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἡμῶν· καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ κεκακῶσθαι οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ· ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγῆν ἤχθη. καὶ ὡς ἄμνος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἄφῳνος, οὗτος οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη, τὴν δὲ γενεάν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται· ὅτι αἶρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον· καὶ δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ. ὅτι ἀνομίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν· οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ. καὶ βούλεται κύριος καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πληγῆς· ἐὰν δώτε περὶ ἁμαρτίας, ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ὀψεται σπέρμα μακρόβιον· καὶ βούλεται κύριος ἀφελεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς. καὶ πλάσαι τῇ συνέσει, δικαιοῦσαι δίκαιον, εὐ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς· καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήσει. διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν μεριεῖ σκῦλα· ἀνθ' ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνάμοις ἐλογίσθη· καὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν. καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη.

40. Ζακχαΐος: Ὅλα ἃ εἶρηκας, περὶ ἀνθρώπου εἶρηκας εἰρηκεῖναι τὸν προφήτην:

Ἄθανάσιος: Περὶ βραχίονος κυρίου γενομένου, βραχίονα θεοῦ ἀκούων, δύναμις θεοῦ νοεῖ· οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μελῶν σύγκειται τὸ θεῖον:

Ζακχαΐος: Ἦκουσα αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· ἄνθρωπος ἐν τιμῇ ὢν, καὶ εἰδὼς φέρειν μαλακίαν.

38. Zacchaeus said: But this is not a cross or death.

Athanasius: *Isaiah said: Lord, who believed our report and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed? We brought a report of a child before him. He is as a root in a thirsty land; he has neither form nor glory, and when we saw him, he had no form nor beauty, but his form was lowly and inferior to all men (Isa. 53:1-3). And David also says: They pierced my hands and feet. They divided my garments among themselves and they cast lots over my robe (Ps. 21:17,19). Now do you recognize the cross?*

39. Zacchaeus said: By this you still have not reminded me of death.

Athanasius: *He was a man in suffering and knew the bearing of sickness, for his face is turned from us. He was dishonored, and not esteemed. He bears our sins and for our sins he is in pain, yet we esteemed him to be in trouble and in suffering and in affliction. But he was wounded because of our sins. The chastisement for our peace was upon him and by his stripe we were healed. We were all led astray as sheep; a man has gone astray in his way, and the Lord gave him over for our sins. And he, because of his affliction, opens not his mouth. He was led as a sheep to slaughter and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb, so he opens not his mouth. In his humiliation his justice was taken away, and who will declare his genealogy, for his life is taken away from the earth? Because of the iniquities of the people he was led to death. And I will give the wicked for his burial and the rich for his death, for he practiced neither iniquity nor deceit with his mouth. The Lord also desires to purge him from his stroke. If you give an offering for sin, your soul will see a long-lived seed, and the Lord also is pleased to take away from the travail of his soul and to show him light, and to form his understanding, to justify the just one who serves many, for he will bear their sins. For this reason he will inherit many and he will divide the spoils of the mighty, because his soul was delivered over to death and he was reckoned to be among the transgressors, and he bore the sins of many, and he was handed over because of their sins (Isa. 53:3-12).*

40. Zacchaeus said: You have said a lot of things. You have spoken about a man whom the prophet predicted.

Athanasius: About the one who became the arm of the Lord. When you hear the words *arm of the Lord*, do you recognize him as the Power of God? For the Deity is not composed of individual parts.

Zacchaeus said: I heard him saying: *A man who was with a price, and one who knew how to bear sickness (Isa. 53:3).*

Ἄθανάσιος: Φαίνη μοι <μή> προσέχων τοῖς εἰρημένους. ἤκουσας αὐτοῦ λέγοντος· *Κύριε τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν. καὶ ὁ βραχίων κυρίου τίνι ἀπεκαλύφθη ; ἀνηγείλαμεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ὡς παιδίον.*

41. Ζακχαῖος: Ὁ βραχίων κυρίου, ἦν λέγεις δύναμιν, ἐτράπη καὶ ἐγένετο παιδίον;

Ἄθανάσιος: Οὐκ ἐτράπη, μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ λαβὼν σάρκα, καὶ ὡς ἐν ναῶ τῇ σαρκὶ οὐσα ἡ δύναμις ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος· κατὰ σάρκα μὲν οὐσα ἄνθρωπος, ὧν δὲ θεὸς κατὰ πνεῦμα. καὶ ὡς μὲν ἄνθρωπος, ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤγετο· ὡς δὲ θεὸς ἐλάμβανε τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου. διὰ γὰρ <τοῦτο> καὶ αὐτὸς κληρονομήσει πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν δαιμόνων διεμέρισε τὰ σκύλα λαβῶν· οὓς ἐκ πολλοῦ σκυλεύσαντες ἦσαν ἄνθρωποι. ἀνθ' ὧν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη μετὰ γὰρ δύο <κακούργων> κρεμασθεὶς ἐπὶ ζύλου, ὡς ἄνομος ἐλογίσθη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος· ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ζύλου.

42. Ζακχαῖος: Ἴδε οὖν ἐπικατάρατος ἐστίν:

Ἄθανάσιος: Διὰ τοῦτο δοθήσονται οἱ πονηροὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ· καὶ οἱ πλοῦσιοι ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ· ὅτι μετὰ τῶν ἀνόμων αὐτὸν ἐλογίσαντο:

43. Ζακχαῖος: Ὡς ὁ προφήτης λέγει· *τὴν γενεάν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται*· ἐγὼ δὲ ἱεροῦ λέγω τὴν γενεάν· υἱὸς γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, *Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωσή, καὶ Ἰούδας, καὶ σίμων.* καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Μαρία:

44. Ἄθανάσιος: Διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης· *τὴν γενεάν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται* ; ἔαν μὴ τις ᾗ σοφός, οὐ δύναται γινῶναι ὅτι ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ μαρίας τῆς παρθένου γεγέννηται:

45. Ζακχαῖος: Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἀντὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐμίγη τῇ μαρίᾳ ;

Ἄθανάσιος: Ὁρᾷς ὅτι ζητεῖται σοφός, ὁ δυνάμενος νοῆσαι ὅτι πνεῦμα ἁγίου μίξιν σωματικὴν οὐκ ἔχει:

Ζακχαῖος: Σὺ εἶπας· ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ μαρίας τῆς παρθένου γεγέννηται:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἄλλ' οὐ κατὰ μίξιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δημιουργίαν. ὡς γὰρ ὁ πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς· οὐ κατὰ μίξιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δημιουργίαν· οὕτως ἄκουε καὶ χριστὸν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ μαρίας τῆς παρθένου:

Athanasius: It appears to me that you did not pay attention to the words he said. Did you hear him say: *Lord, who believed our report and to whom was the arm of the Lord revealed? We brought a report of a child before him* (Isa. 53:1,2).

41. Zacchaeus said: The arm of the Lord – whom you say is the Power – then was he changed and did he become a child?

Athanasius: He was not changed, may it never be! But he became flesh, and the Power became man as in a fleshly temple. He was man in reference to flesh, but he was God in reference to spirit. And as a man he was led to slaughter, but as God he took the sin of the world. For this reason also he will inherit many people and he scattered the vessels of many strong demons by taking those who for a long time had plundered people. Because of this his soul was delivered over to death. And he was reckoned to be with transgressors by being hung on a tree with two evildoers. So he was reckoned as a transgressor, as the prophet says: *Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree* (Deut. 21:23; cf. Gal. 3:13).

42. Zacchaeus said: See, then, he is cursed!

Athanasius: For this the evil ones will be given for his death and the rich ones for his tomb, because they reckoned him with the transgressors.

43. Zacchaeus said: What does the prophet mean when he says: *Who will declare his genealogy* (Isa. 53:8)? I can see the genealogy of Jesus, for he was the son of Joseph, along with his brothers, Jacob and Joseph and Judah and Simon (Matt. 13:55 and Mark 6:3). And his mother was Mary.

44. Athanasius: Why did the prophet say: *Who will declare his genealogy?* If one is unwise, he will not be able to know, because he was born from the Holy Spirit and the virgin Mary.

45. Zacchaeus said: The Holy Spirit had intercourse with Mary instead of a man?

Athanasius: You see that a wise man is being sought, one who is able to comprehend that the Holy Spirit does not have intercourse bodily.

Zacchaeus said: You said he was born from the Holy Spirit and the virgin Mary?

Athanasius: Not by intercourse, but by creation, just as the first man was from God and also the woman, not by intercourse, but by creation. So hear that also the Messiah was created from the Holy Spirit and Mary the virgin.

46. Ζακχαΐος: Διά τί οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ χριστὸν λέγετε. τὸν μὴ βασιλεύσαντα, μηδὲ χρισθέντα παρὰ μηδενὸς τῶν προφητῶν;

Ἀθανάσιος: Ἐδιδάχθης ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν ὅτι δύναμις, καὶ λόγος, καὶ σοφία, καὶ βραχίον, καὶ παιδίον, καὶ ἄθρωπος λέγεται· καὶ ἔστι μαθεῖν, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχων, καὶ βασιλεύς, καὶ χριστός, καὶ ἱερεὺς, καὶ προφήτης ἐστίν· τὰ γὰρ πάντα τοῖς ἅπασιν ἐγένετο. ἵνα πάντας σώσῃ μένων θεός, οὐ τραπείς τὴν φύσιν· Ζακχαΐος: Πῶς δύνῃ μοι δεῖξαι;

47. Ἀθανάσιος: Πῶς ὅτι ἄρχων καὶ ηἰνούμενος, ἄκοε τοῦ μωυσεως γράφοντος, τὰς τοῦ Ἰακῶβ εὐλογίας καὶ λέγοντος: οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ ἰούδα· καὶ ἠγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ· ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀπόκειται· καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν. καὶ βλέπε ποία ἦν ἡ προφητεία· ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ ἰακῶβ ἀποθνήσκων ἐκάλεσε τοὺς υἱοὺς λέγων· *συνάχθητε ἀναγγεῖλω ὑμῖν. υἱοὶ ἰακῶβ ἀκούσατε ἰσραὴλ, τοῦ πατρος ἡμῶν.* καὶ συναχθέντων αὐτῶν, τὸν ἰούδα ἐλόγει τῇ προειρημένῃ εὐλογίᾳ. καὶ τὸν ἰωσήφ βασιλεύοντα δούλον ποιεῖ τοῦ ἰούδα, λέγων αὐτῷ· *καὶ προσκυνήσουσί σοι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρος σου.* ὅτι οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ ἰούδα, καὶ ἠγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀπόκειται. καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.

48. Ζακχαΐος: Περὶ τοῦ δαυιδ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἔμελλε μετὰ γενεᾶς ἐξ ἰούδα γεννᾶσθαι:

Ἀθανάσιος: Καίτοι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ δαυιδ ἠῤῥησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες. ἡ δὲ προφητεία λέγει, ἕως τότε εἶναι τῶς ἄρχοντας τοῦ ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀπόκειται, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν. ὁ γὰρ δαυιδ ὑμῶν ἐγένετο προσδοκία τῶν ἰουδαίων, καὶ οὐχ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν:

49. Ζακχαΐος: Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη λέγεις καλεῖσθαι εἰς ζωὴν ἂ ἀπηγόρευσε ὁ θεός;

Ἀθανάσιος: Ἦκουσας ἐν δευτέῳ ψαλμῷ προφητικῶς λέγοντος τοῦ δαυιδ· *κύριος εἶπε πρὸς με· υἱός μου εἶ σύ· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. αἵτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου· τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς.*

50. Ζακχαΐος: Περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεγε δαυιδ· *κύριος εἶπε πρὸς με· υἱός μου εἶ σύ· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.* μὴ γὰρ περὶ χριστοῦ;

Ἀθανάσιος: Καὶ τότε τὰ ἔθνη ἐκληρονόμησε δαυιδ;

Ζακχαΐος: Τὰ ἔθνη λέγει τὰς δώδεκα φυλάς τοῦ ἰσραὴλ:

Ἀθανάσιος: Καὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς, τότε κατέσχε δαυιδ;

46. Zacchaeus said: Why do you say that he is the “Anointed One” if he did not reign nor did he receive anointing from one of the prophets?

Athanasius: You learned from the prophets that Power and Logos and Wisdom and Arm and Man are spoken of him. It is important to learn that he is also Ruler and King and Messiah and Priest and Prophet. He became all these things for all, so that he might save all while still remaining God and not changing his nature.

Zacchaeus said: How are you able to demonstrate this to me?

47. Athanasius said: Regarding a ruler and prince, hear Moses writing about the blessings of Jacob and saying: *A ruler will not cease from Judah nor a prince from his thighs until he comes for whom it is appointed, and he will be the expectation of the Gentiles* (Gen. 49:10). And see what prophecy this is. When dying Jacob called his sons, saying: *Gather yourselves and I will announce to you what will happen in the last days. Gather yourselves in order that I may announce to you, sons of your Father* (Gen. 49:1). Because *a ruler will not cease from Judah nor a prince from his thighs until he comes for whom it is appointed, and he will be the expectation of the Gentiles.*

48. Zacchaeus said: He was speaking about David that he would be born from Judah after generations.

Athanasius said: Yet it was from David that the rulers sprang up. The prophecy says that until then the rulers would be of the Jewish race *until he comes for whom it is appointed and he will be the expectation of the Gentiles.* For your David became the expectation of the Jews, and not of us Gentiles.

49. Zacchaeus said: For are you saying that even the Gentiles are called unto life, the ones whom God has rejected?

Athanasius said: You heard in the second psalm David speaking prophetically: *Lord, you have said to me: You are my Son. Today I have begotten you. Ask from me and I will give you the Gentiles as your inheritance and the ends of the earth as your possession* (Ps. 2:7, 8).

50. Zacchaeus said: David was speaking about himself when he said: *Lord, you have said to me: You are my Son. Today I have begotten you.* He was not speaking about the Messiah.

Athanasius said: And did David inherit the nations at that time?

Zacchaeus said: He speaks of the nations as the twelve tribes of Israel.

Athanasius said: And did David at that time possess the ends of the earth?

51. Ζακχαῖος: Ὁ γὰρ χριστὸς τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς κατέσχευεν;

Ἄθανάσιος: Μάθε ὅτι ἐν αἰγυπτῷ πάση· καὶ ἐν παλαιστίνῃ· καὶ ἐν φοινίκῃ· ἐν συρίᾳ· ἐν κιλικίᾳ· ἐν καπποδοκίᾳ· ἐν πόντῳ· ἐν ἀρμενίᾳ· ἐν σκυθίᾳ· καὶ καθάπαξ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ <τὸν χριστὸν> ἐπιγραφόμεθα καὶ ἐπικαλούμεθα βασιλέα:

52. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ ἐν αἰγυπτῷ βασιλέα λέγεις τὸν χριστόν, τοῖς ἀποκηρυχθεῖσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ; καὶ πῶς δύναται ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι ὁ χριστός, καί, ὡς λέγεις σύ, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ αἰτιωμένου τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, διότι τῇ ὁδῷ αἰγυπτου ἐπορευοντο; ἢ οὐκ ἤκουσας αὐτοῦ λέγοντος τοῦ προφήτου· *τί σοι καὶ τῇ ὁδῷ αἰγύπτου, τοῦ πιεῖν ὕδωρ γαιῶν,*

53. Ἄθανάσιος: Μιμεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς οὐ θέλει τοὺς αἰγυπτίους· σώζεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς βούλεται, καὶ πρὸς θεοσέβειαν ἔρχεσθαι· ἐπειδὴ καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος ἀμελεῖ, ἄκουε τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· *καὶ ἔσται ὅσοι ἂν καταλειφθῶσιν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, τῶν ἐλθόντων ἐπὶ ἱερουσαλήμ. καὶ ἀναβήσονται κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ προσκυνῆσαι τῷ κυριῷ παντοκράτορι < >, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι προστεθήσονται· ἐὰν δὲ φυλὴ αἰγύπτου μὴ ἀναβῆ μηδὲ ἔλθῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔσται ἡ πᾶσις ἢ πατάξει κύριος πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅσα ἂν μὴ ἀναβῆ τοῦ ἐορτάσαι τὴν ἐορτὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας.*

54. Ζακχαῖος: Αὕτη ἔσται ἡ ἁμαρτία αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν, *ὅς' ἂν μὴ ἀναβῆ τοῦ ἐορτάσαι τὴν ἐορτὴν τῆς σκηνοπηγίας.*

[Ἄθανάσιος:] καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς αἰγυπτίους, θέλει σώζεσθαι καὶ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς ἱερουσαλήμ· οὐ μὴν ἐν αἰγυπτῷ διαπορεύεσθαι:

55. [Ἄθανάσιος]: Οὐκ ἔχεις με δεῖξαι, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἱερουσαλήμ τῇ αἰσθητῇ θέλει πάντας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπαντᾶν. πῶς γὰρ τοῦτο δυνατὸν γενέσθαι; ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ ὠκεανοῦ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρχεσθαι εἰς ἱερουσαλήμ. ἵνα δέ σοι καὶ τοῦτο δοθῇ, ὅτι δυνατὸν, μηδενὶ ἑτέρῳ προσέχοντας ἀνθρώπους ἢ τοῦτο μόνον σχολάζειν, [Ἄθανάσιος]: Ἦκουε ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ αἰγυπτῷ προσκυνεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν, καὶ διαρρήδην προφητεύοντος· *καὶ γνωστός ἔσται κύριος τοῖς αἰγυπτίοις· καὶ φοβηθήσονται οἱ αἰγύπιοι τὸν κύριον ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ θυσίας· καὶ εὐξονται τῷ κυρίῳ εὐχὰς καὶ ἀποδώσουσιν.<sup>58</sup>*

<sup>58</sup> Conybeare despairs over the confusion of the speakers in this section and the above assigning of the speakers is Andrist's probable suggestion.

51. Zacchaeus said: Has the Messiah possessed the ends of the earth?

Athanasius said: Learn that in all Egypt and in Palestine and in Phoenicia, in Syria, in Cilicia, in Cappadocia, in Pontus, in Armenia, in Scythia, and absolutely all the inhabited earth we ascribe him as Messiah and call upon him as *King*.

52. Zacchaeus said: And are you saying that Christ is king in Egypt, whose people have been cut off from God? And how is Christ from God, and as you are saying, the Son of God, who accused our fathers, because they were going on the way back to Egypt? Or have you not heard the prophet himself speaking: *And why are you also on the way to Egypt, to drink the water of the Nile* (Jer. 2:18)?

53. Athanasius: He does not wish us to imitate the Egyptians. But He desires that they be saved and come to the fear of God, since He desires this for every nation. Hear the prophet speaking of his concern: *And it will be that whoever is left from all the nations who come against Jerusalem will also come up yearly to worship the Lord Almighty [and keep the festival of Tabernacles, and it will be that as many of the tribes of the earth that do not come up to Jerusalem to worship the Lord Almighty] also those same will be added. And if the tribe of Egypt does not go up nor come, upon them will be the overthrow with which the Lord will smite all the nations which do not come up to keep the festival of Tabernacles* (Zech. 14:16-18).

54. Zacchaeus said: This will be the sin of Egypt, and the sin of all the nations, whoever does not go up to keep the Festival of Tabernacles.

Athanasius: Yes, the Egyptians themselves He is willing to save and to bring them up to Jerusalem, but indeed not to continue in Egypt.

55. You do not need to show me that He wishes all to meet yearly in Jerusalem as perceived by the senses. For how is this to be possible that they will come from the ocean yearly to Jerusalem? But that this may be given also to you – that even if it was possible, they would occupy themselves with nothing except to do this only. [Athanasius]: Hear Isaiah the prophet, prophesying explicitly that God will be worshipped in Egypt itself. *The Lord will be known to the Egyptians and the Egyptians will fear the Lord in that day and will make sacrifices and make vows to the Lord and pay them* (Isa. 19:21).

56. Ζακχαῖος: Οὐκ εἶπεν ἐν αἰγύπτῳ, ἀλλ' οἱ αἰγύπτιοι φοβηθήσονται τὸν κύριον· καὶ θύσουσι θυσίας καὶ εὐξονται εὐχὰς τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἀποδώσουσιν οὐκ ἐν αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλ' ἐν ἱερουσαλήμ:

Ἀθανάσιος: Οὐ δὲ τοῦτο ἔχεις δεῖξαι ὅτι ἐν ἱερουσαλήμ λέγει· ἵνα δὲ μὴ σε φιλόνηκον ποιήσω, ἄκουε αὐτοῦ τοῦ προφήτου φανερώς λέγοντος· τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔσονται πέντε πόλεις ἐν αἰγύπτῳ, λαλοῦσαι τῇ γλώσσῃ τῇ χαναανίτιδι καὶ ὁμνίουσαι τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου. πόλις ἀσεδεχ, κληθήσεται ἡ μία πόλις· τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἔσται θυσιαστήριον ἐν αὐτῇ τῷ κυρίῳ. καὶ ἔσται σημεῖον εἰς αἰῶνα κυρίῳ ἐν χώρᾳ αἰγύπτου. ὅτι κεκραῖζονται πρὸς κύριον, δαί τοὺς θλίβοντας αὐτούς, καὶ ἀποστελεῖ αὐτοῖς κύριος ἄνθρωπον, ὃς σώσει αὐτούς. καὶ γνωστὸς ἔσται κύριος τοῖς αἰγυπτίοις· καὶ φοβηθήσονται οἱ αἰγύπτιοι τὸν κύριον. καὶ γνώσονται οἱ αἰγύπτιοι τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ποιήσουσι θυσίας, καὶ εὐξονται τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἀποδώσουσι. καὶ πατάξει κύριος τοὺς αἰγυπτίους πληγῇ μεγάλῃ, σείων αὐτῶν τὰ χειροποίητα. καὶ ἰάσεται αὐτούς ἰάσει· καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται πρὸς κύριον, καὶ εἰσακούσεται αὐτῶν καὶ ἰάσεται αὐτούς.

57. Ζακχαῖος: Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντεπεῖν οὐκ ἔχω:

Ἀθανάσιος: Γένοιτό σοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς μείζοσι τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἔᾶσαι. ἵνα καὶ σὺ κληθῆς τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ καινῷ, τῷ δεδομένῳ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς:

Ζακχαῖος: Ἐνὶ γὰρ μείζον ὄνομα ὃ ἔχωμεν, ἰσραηλίται καλούμενοι;

Ἀθανάσιος: Ἄκουε τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἡσαίου λέγοντος ἄλλιν· τοῖς δὲ δουλεύουσί μοι, κληθήσεται ὄνομα ὃ εὐλόγηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ ποῖόν ἐστι τὸ ὄνομα;

Ἀθανάσιος: Ἐὰν καταξιωθῆς χριστιανὸς καλεῖσθαι, γνώσῃ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ καινόν:

58. Ζακχαῖος: Ἐπιγγείλω δεικνύναι ὅτι καὶ χριστὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἱερεὺς:

Ἀθανάσιος: Εἰ χρίεται χριστὸς, οὐκ ἐν ἐλαίῳ γίνω, ἀλλὰ πνεύματι θεοῦ· κατὰ τὸν προφήτην δαυὶδ τὸν λέγοντα· διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισέν σε ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεὸς σου ἔλαιον ἀγαλλιᾶσεως παρὰ τοῖς μετόχοις σου.

59. Ζακχαῖος: Ἐλαιον ἀγαλλιᾶσεως ἐστὶ τὸ χρίσμα τὸ παρὰ μωσέως κατασκευασθέν:

Ἀθανάσιος: Διὰ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῖς μετόχοις σου εἶρηται. καὶ οὐκ ἔχει κατὰ τοὺς μετόχοις σου· οἱ γὰρ μέτοχοι αὐτοῦ, ἐλαίῳ γίνω ἐχρίσθησαν· αὐτὸς γὰρ πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καθὼς γέγραπται· πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ· οὐ εἴνεκεν ἔχρισέ με, εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς ἀπέσταλκέ με.

56. Zacchaeus said: He did not say "in Egypt," but that *the Egyptians will fear the Lord and will offer sacrifices and will make vows to the Lord and pay them*, not in Egypt but in Jerusalem.

Athanasius: You do not have to show this that He says *in Jerusalem*. But so that I will not make you contentious, hear the prophet speaking clearly: *In that day there will be five cities in Egypt, speaking the Canaanite language and swearing by the name of the Lord. One city will be called the City of Asedec. On that day there will be an altar in it to the Lord. And it will be a sign forever to the Lord in the land of Egypt, because they will cry to the Lord because of those that afflict them, and the Lord will send them to them a man who will save them; he will judge and save them. And the Lord will be known to the Egyptians, and the Egyptians will fear the Lord and the Egyptians will know the Holy God on that day, and they will make sacrifices, and will vow to the Lord and pay. And the Lord will smite the Egyptians with a great plague, shaking their idols. And then He will heal them completely, and they will turn to the Lord, and He will hear them and will heal them* (Isa. 19:18-22).

57. Zacchaeus said: I do not have an answer to these things.

Athanasius: May it be to you and to the greater number to utter the same cry so that you also may be called by the new name which has been given on the earth.

Zacchaeus said: But which one is a greater name than the one which we have, being called *Israelites*.

Athanasius: Hear God speaking through Isaiah the prophet again: *To those who serve me a name will be given which will be blessed on the earth* (Isa. 65:15,16).

Zacchaeus said: And what name is this?

Athanasius: If you can be called *Christian*, you will know the new name.

58. Zacchaeus said: Promise you will show that he is Messiah, King and Priest.

Athanasius: If He is anointed as Messiah, it is not with earthly oil, but with the Spirit of God. As the prophet David says: *For this reason, God, your God, anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions* (Ps. 44:8).

59. Zacchaeus said: The oil of gladness is the anointing oil prepared by Moses.

Athanasius: For this reason it says: *your companions* and He does not have anything against His companions. For His companions were anointed with earthly oil, but He was anointed with the Holy Spirit, as it is written: *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He anointed me to proclaim good news to the poor* (Isa. 61:1).

60. Ζακχαῖος: ἤραίλας ὁ ταῦτα λέγων· μὴ γὰρ ὁ σὸς χριστός;

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61. Ζ.

62. Ζ.

63. Ζ. ><sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> The bracketed section is omitted in each of the three Greek manuscripts.

60. Zacchaeus said: Isaiah was the one who spoke these things, not your Messiah. [Athanasius: Consider this, rather - that which Isaiah said, he said in the person of the Christ. Listen therefore to his entire prophecy, that you may know that the prophecy suits no one else except Christ alone. For it says as follows: *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, which is why He has anointed me. He has sent me to evangelize the poor, to heal the broken in heart, to preach to the captives release and to the blind that they see, to proclaim a year acceptable to the Lord and a day of recompense by our God. To have mercy on all mourners, to give unto the mourners the glory of Zion; instead of ashes, the anointing oil of gladness; and to the mourners a garb of gladness, instead of sighs or a spirit of heaviness. They will be called a righteous generation, a glorious planting by the Lord, and they will build and renew the cities laid waste, made desolate by the Gentiles. And strangers will come to shepherd your sheep, and foreigners will be your ploughmen and vine-dressers. But you will be called priests of the Lord and the servants of our God you will be named. The powers of the Gentiles you must devour and with their riches become wonderful. Thus will they have the earth as a second heritage, and everlasting joy will be upon their heads. For I am the Lord who loves righteousness and hates unjust robberies* (Isa. 63:1-8).

61. Zacchaeus said: All this is spoken about our race.

Athanasius: Joy everlasting has not been and it is not now upon your heads.

Zacchaeus said: No one presents an argument by insulting another.

Athanasius: I do not insult you. Far be it from me to do so. But if you can prove to me that joy everlasting has been yours, whose very city and temple have been destroyed, as also your government, and country, and ark, and holy of holies, and cherubim, and mercy-seat. Then, whatever you have learned, tell it immediately.

62. Zacchaeus said: But all this is to be in the future, although the time is not yet.

Athanasius: Do you, however, admit that the one anointed with the Holy Spirit, and that the prophecy of Isaiah, have not been fulfilled in the case of a single one of the kings and prophets that have already been?

Zacchaeus said: Did not Isaiah have the Spirit?

Athanasius: He had the Holy Spirit of God, and not Isaiah alone, but all the prophets of God. But in what I have just now cited from him, Isaiah spoke not about himself, but about another.

63. Zacchaeus said: And I say that he spoke about another person and not about your Messiah.]

'Αθανάσιος: Χριστὸς οὐ λέγεται ὁ χρισόμενος ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ;  
 Ζακχαῖος: Ναί:

'Αθανάσιος: \*Ἀπελθε δυν εἰς ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ μάθε ἐν αὐτῇ ἐρωτήσας, ποῦ κατήλθεν <πνεῦμα> ἅγιον καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα· καὶ τότε ἵνα ἀκούσης, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἰορδάνῃ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκ μαρίας γεγεννημένον ἐπὶ *καίσαρος αὐγούστου*.

64. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ ἔχω πιστεῦσαι τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις σου;

'Αθανάσιος: Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ τόπος σοι εἴρηται καὶ ὁ χρόνος, ἵνα ἀπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, λάβῃς τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἀπόδειξιν· καὶ γινῶς πεπληρωμένην τὴν προφητείαν ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας αὐτῷ, εὐφροσύνην αἰώνιον ὄρων ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν, καὶ λέγοντας· *ἐστημειώθη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου κύριε· ἔδωκας εὐφροσύνην εἰς τὴν καρδίαν μου*.

65. Ζακχαῖος: 'Ἄλλ' οὐχὶ περὶ ὑμῶν εἴρηται τοῦτο τῶν χριστιανῶν· ἀλλὰ περὶ ἡμῶν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν εἴρηται:

'Αθανάσιος: \*Ἀκουσον τῶν ἐξῆς τῆς προφητείας· ἵνα γινῶς ὅτι περὶ ἡμῶν εἴρηται:

Ζακχαῖος: Εἰπέ:

'Αθανάσιος: Λέγει ὁὕτως· *καὶ διαθήκην αἰώνιον διαθήσεται αὐτοῖς· καὶ γνωσθήσεται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν*.

66. Ζακχαῖος: Τὸ σπέρμα τῶν ἰουδαίων γνωσθήσεται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν:

'Αθανάσιος: 'Ἀληθῆ λέγεις· οἱ γὰρ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι, σπέρμα τοῦ ἀβραάμ ὄντες, ἡμῖν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐγνώσθασαν, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ λαῶν, ἅγιοι μάρτυρες· *πᾶς γὰρ ὄρων αὐτούς, ἐπιγνώσεται αὐτούς· ὅτι οὗτοί εἰσι σπέρμα εὐλογημένον ἀπὸ θεοῦ· καὶ εὐφροσύνη <εὐφρανθήσονται ἐπὶ κύριον>*:

67. Ζακχαῖος: Ἡυφράνθημεν ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ κύριον:

'Αθανάσιος: Καὶ πάλιν τῶν πόλεων ὑμῶν τίς εὐφροσύνη ἢ αἰώνιος; τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν ἐρημαμένης, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ὑμῶν πυρκαϊούστων γεγεννημένων, καὶ ἀεὶ διὰ τοῦτο παθεῖν ὀφειλόντων; < ναὶ ἢ οὐ;><sup>60</sup> εἰπέ:

68. Ζακχαῖος: 'Ἄλλ' εἶπον ὅτι μέλλει γίνεσθαι ταῦτα καὶ οἰκοδομῆσθαι ἡ πόλις:

<sup>60</sup> The two bracketed sections are Conybeare's conjecture from the Armenian.

Athanasius: Was it not said that Messiah is the one anointed with the Holy Spirit?

Zacchaeus said: Yes.

Athanasius: Then go to Jerusalem, and inquire in that place and learn where the Holy Spirit descended, and upon whom and when. And then you will hear that it was in the Jordan - upon the one born from Mary in the reign of Caesar Augustus.

64. Zacchaeus said: And must I believe your Gospels?

Athanasius: For this reason both the place and the time has been spoken to you, so that you may depart to the place and receive the evidence of the deeds, and so you can know the fulfilled prophecy for all who believe Him. *Seeing eternal rejoicing on their head* and saying: *The light of your face, Lord, was manifested to us. You have brought rejoicing into our heart* (Ps. 4:7,8).

65. Zacchaeus: But this was not spoken about you Christians. It was spoken about us Israelites.

Athanasius: Hear the next prophecy, so you will know that it was spoken of us.

Zacchaeus said: Speak.

Athanasius: It says this: *And I will make an eternal covenant with them. And their descendants will become known among the Gentiles* (Isa. 61:8,9).

66. Zacchaeus said: The descendants of the Jews will become known among the Gentiles!

Athanasius: You speak truly, for the holy apostles, being descendants of Abraham, were made known among us the Gentiles, and their descendants are holy witnesses in the midst of the peoples of the earth. *And every one who sees them will recognize them, because they are the descendants blessed by God. [And they will rejoice in the Lord* (Isa. 61:9,10).

67. Zacchaeus said: We have rejoiced in the Lord.

Athanasius: Again, which one of your cities has rejoicing] that is eternal? Has not your land been laid waste and your cities been destroyed by fire, and because of this ought they always to suffer? [Yes or no?] Tell me!

68. Zacchaeus said: But he said that it was necessary that these things take place and that the city be rebuilt.

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἰδωμεν τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξῆς εἰ μὴ ἐγένετο· λέγει οὕτως· ἀγαλλιᾶσθω ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ· ἐνέδυσε γὰρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου, καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης περιέθηκε μοι. εἰ δὲ ἦδεις ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς χριστόν, χριστόν ἐνεδυσάμεθα, καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης, τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐλάβομεν χάριν, καὶ ὡς νύμφιοί μίτραν τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔχομεν. καὶ ὡς νύμφη κατεκοσμήθημεν κόσμῳ ταῖς πράξεσιν· καὶ ὡς γῆ αὐξουσα τὸ ἄνθος αὐτῆς, ἡ ἐκκλησία κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς φωτιζομένους ἀνθεῖ· καὶ ὡσει κῆπος τὰ σπέρματα αὐτῆς ἀνατελεῖ τοὺς κατηχοιμένους, οὕτως ἀνατελεῖ κύριος διαιουσίην ὅτι ἔστιν ἡμέρα σωτηρίας καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶματος· λέγω δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐναντίον πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν :

69. Ζακχαῖος: Σεαυτῷ ὡς θέλεις νοεῖς· καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, νεομηρίας κηρύττεις:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἐπειδὴ ἔτι ἀπειθεῖς, ἄκουε τῶν ἐξῆς· καὶ φοβηθεῖς εἶπε τὴν ἀλήθειαν· διὰ σιῶν οὐ σιωπήσομαι· καὶ διὰ ἱερουσαλήμ οὐκ ἀνήσω· ἕως ὃν ἐξελθῆ ὡς φῶς ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτῆς, τὸ δὲ σωτήριόν μου ὡς λαμπὰς καυθήσεται· καὶ ὄψονται ἔθνη τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου, καὶ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τὴν δόξαν σου· καὶ καλέσει μου τὸ ὄνομα τὸ καινόν, ὃ ὁ κύριος ὀνομάσει αὐτό. καὶ ἔσει στέφανος κάλλους ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, καὶ διάδημα βασιλείας ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ σου.

70. Ζακχαῖος: Περὶ τίνος λέγεις, λέγεσθαι ταῦτα;

Ἄθανάσιος: Περὶ ἱερουσαλήμ· οὐκ ἐστὶν γὰρ ἐστὶν Ἰουδαίων πόλις· ἀλλὰ χριστιανῶν πόλις, τῷ καινῷ ὀνόματι καλουμένη· ἀπελθὼν ἐκεῖσε ὄψει χριστοῦ τὴν τόλμην ταύτην οὖσαν, καὶ μοναζόντων οἰκητήριον· καὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν· καὶ πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν φέροντας· καὶ τὰ ἔθνη μετὰ πάντων τῶν λαῶν τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτῆς ἦν ἐδικαιώθη ἀπαγγέλλοντας:

Ζακχαῖος: Οὐκ ἐστὶν οὖν πυρκαϊστος καὶ ἄδοξος ἐστίν;

Ἄθανάσιος: Κατεστράφη καὶ ἠτιμιάσθη Ἰουδαίους· ὠκοδομήθη δὲ καὶ ἐδοξάσθη χριστιανοῖς:

Ζακχαῖος: Ἡ προφητεία λέγει· καὶ ἤξουσιν ἄλλογενεῖς ποιμαίνοντες τὰ πρόβατά σου, καὶ ἀλλόφυλοι ἀροτήρες καὶ ἀμπελουργοί· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἱερεῖς κυρίου κληθήσεσθε, λειτουργοὶ θεοῦ ἡμῶν<sup>61</sup> ἰσχύϊ ἐθνῶν κατέδεσθε· καὶ ἐν τῷ πλοῦτῳ αὐτῶν θαυμασθήσεσθε. ὁρᾶς ὅτι ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐπαγγέλλεται:

<sup>61</sup> Conybeare: ἡμῶν.

Athanasius said: Let us see this from the things that follow if it did not take place. *My soul has rejoiced in the Lord, for He has clothed me with the robe of salvation and placed around me the garment of rejoicing* (Isa. 61:10, 11). Did you not know that as many of us as have been baptized into Christ have been clothed with Christ? And the garment of rejoicing we have received as the grace of the Holy Spirit. And as bridegrooms we have a miter, the sign of the cross. And as a bride we were adorned with the adornment of good deeds. And as land growing its grass, the church yearly causes the enlightened to blossom. And as a garden causes its seeds to sprout, so the Lord causes righteousness to grow, because it is the day of salvation and rejoicing. And he says that this resurrection is in the sight of all the nations.

69. Zacchaeus: You may think for yourself as you wish. And in regard to the thing you are now saying, well you are proclaiming a new moon!

Athanasius: Since you still do not believe, hear what follows: *Be afraid and speak the truth. For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until her righteousness goes forth as light, and my salvation burns as a torch. And the Gentiles will see your righteousness and all the kings your glory. And one will call you by my new name, which the Lord will name. And you will be a beautiful crown in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of your God* (Isa. 62:1-3).

70. Zacchaeus: About what place are you speaking when you say these things?

Athanasius: About Jerusalem. For it is no longer a city of Jews, but a city of Christians, being called by its new name. Go there and you will see that this city belongs to Christ and is a habitation of celibates. You will see the "Anastasis of the Christ" and all the kings bearing their glory there, and the Gentiles with all the peoples proclaiming its righteousness with which it was vindicated.

Zacchaeus said: Therefore, is it no longer burned with fire and inglorious?

Athanasius: It was destroyed and dishonored for the Jews, but it was rebuilt and glorified for the Christians.

Zacchaeus said: The prophecy says: *And foreigners will come and feed your flocks, and Gentiles will be your ploughmen and vine-dressers. But you will be called priests of the Lord and ministers of your God. You will eat the strength of nations, and will be admired because of their wealth* (Isa. 61:5-6). You see that no one is making this promise to the Jews.

71. Ἀθανάσιος: Ταῦτα ἀληθῶς λέγεις· οὕτως γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι πληροῦνται τοῦ θεοῦ· ὡς ἐπηγγείλατο ὁμοσας τῷ Ἀβραάμ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ· *ἢ μὴ εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε· καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα σου, ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης*· ὤμοσε δὲ καὶ τῷ Δαυιδ ἀλήθειαν καὶ οὐκ ἠθέτησεν αὐτόν· ἀλλὰ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ καθέξεται ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ. πρόδηλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξ Ἰούδα ἀνατέταλκε ὁ αὐτός κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστός· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι πληροῦνται· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀλλογενεῖς ποιμαίνουσιν αὐτοῦ τὰ λογικὰ πρόβατα· καὶ ἀλλόφυλοι ἀροτῆρες εἰσὶ γεωργοῦντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· αὐτός δὲ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔχει, τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἐθνῶν κατεσθίων· *ἐγὼ γὰρ φησιν ἐν εὐαγγελίοις βρώσιν ἔχω φαγεῖν ἢ ἡμεῖς οὐκ οἶδατε*, καὶ ἐν τῷ πλοῦτῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν θαυμάζεται· ὄρας γὰρ τοὺς σοφοὺς, τοὺς ῥήτορας, καὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς τὸν πλοῦτον τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν αὐτῷ προσφέροντας· καὶ ἀποτασσομένους μὲν, τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας, προσφερομένους δέ, τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος· καὶ ἡμεῖς θεωροῦντες νεκροὺς ἐγηγεμένους, οὐκ ἐπιστεύσατε· ἀλλ' ἐνεκρώθητε· τὰ δὲ ἔθνη μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν συνανέστησαν·

72. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ τί μέγα νεκροὺς ἀναστήσαι; μάγοι γὰρ οὐκ ἀνέστησαν νεκροῦς; καὶ σημεῖα ἐποίησαν οὕτως, ὥστε καὶ ἀντιστῆναι Μωσῆι;

Ἀθανάσιος: Μὴ οὖν ἐπειδὴ μάγοι σημεῖα πεποιήκασιν καὶ ἀντέστησαν Μωσῆι, οὐδὲν μέγα ἐποίησε Μωσῆς;

73. Ζακχαῖος: Μωσῆς μὲν ἐποίησε σημεῖα μεγάλα· οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων δὲ πιστεύεται θεός, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας;

Ἀθανάσιος: Καὶ τί μείζον χριστοῦ ἀληθείας; ποῖος γὰρ μάγος πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι ἴσχυσε σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ποιῆσαι;

74. Ζακχαῖος: Ποῖον γὰρ σημεῖον ἐποίησεν ὁ χριστός πρὸ τοῦ γεννηθῆναι;

Ἀθανάσιος: Τοὺς προφῆτας ἐποίησε περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰπεῖν· *ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει*· καὶ ἕτερα μυρία τοιαῦτα· καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὦν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸν ἰωάννην σκιρτῆσαι ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει ἐποίησεν·

75. Ζακχαῖος: Οὐ πιστεύω τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις σου·

Ἀθανάσιος: Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ὅτι μαρίας ἦν υἱὸς πιστεύεις;

71. Athanasius: These things you speak truly. For in this way the promises of God are also fulfilled, which he promised by swearing to Abraham by Himself: *I will surely bless you and I will surely multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is on the sea shore* (Gen 22:17). *And He swore to David the truth and He did not revoke it - that his descendants will sit on His eternal throne* (Ps. 131:11, 12). For it is evident that our same Lord Jesus Christ grew up out of Judah (Heb. 7:14) and in Him all the promises are fulfilled (2Cor. 1:10). And foreigners are shepherding His spiritual sheep, and Gentile plowmen are cultivating His church. And He along with His disciples have the priesthood, eating the strength of the Gentiles. *I, for He says in the Gospels, have food to eat which you do not know about* (John 4:32). And He is marveled at by the wealth of the Gentiles. For you see the wise ones, the rhetoricians, and the poets offering the riches of their discourses to Him. And, on the one hand, renouncing idolatry, and, on the other hand, offering according to His gracious teaching. And you, even though you see the dead raised, you have not believed. But you have become dead, while the Gentiles have been raised with the dead.

72. Zacchaeus said: And why is it so great to raise dead people? For did not magicians raise dead people and do such signs so that they opposed Moses?  
Athanasius: Then, since magicians have done signs and withstood Moses, did not Moses himself do anything great?

73. Zacchaeus said: Moses did do great signs, but it was not because of the signs that God was believed, but because of the truth.  
Athanasius: And what is greater than the truth about Christ? For what magician was strong enough to do signs and wonders before he was born?

74. Zacchaeus said: What sort of sign did Christ do before He was born?  
Athanasius: He caused the prophets to say about Him: *Behold the virgin will conceive* (Isa. 7:14) and a thousand other such things. And while he was still in the womb, He caused John to leap with rejoicing.

75. Zacchaeus said: I do not believe in your Gospels.  
Athanasius said: Then do you not believe that He was the son of Mary?

Ζακχαῖος: Ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐγεννήθη· καὶ οἶσα ὅτι μαρίας ἐστὶν υἱός:

Ἄθανάσιος: Καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλισάβητ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐκουφόρει, ὅτε χριστὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει σκιρτῆσαι· καὶ εὐθὺς δὲ γεννηθεὶς, μάγους ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἤλυκυσεν τοῦ προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν· οὐδεὶς δὲ γεννηθεὶς μάγος ἐποίησεν ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀστέρα φανῆναι, καὶ ἄλλους μάγους ἐλθόντας προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ:

76. Ζακχαῖος: Ἐχεις μὲ οὖν πείσαι ὅτι μάγοι γεννηθέντος αὐτοῦ ἦλθον καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων πείσθητι· ἐρώτησον γὰρ διὰ τί ἠρώδης ἀνέειλεν ἐν βηθλεὲμ παιδία· καὶ μαθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν γνώσῃ ὅτι διὰ τὸν χριστόν· τῶν μάγων ἐλθόντων καὶ λεγόντων· *ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ τεχθεὶς βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, καὶ ἤλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν* καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν παιδίων εἰσὶ φανερά ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης:

77. Ζακχαῖος: Οὐ πιστεύομεν ὅτι οὕτως ἐγένετο. ἄρα γὰρ καὶ πως οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ὁ χριστὸς σου βοηθῆσαι τοῖς παιδίοις, ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωσιν;

Ἄθανάσιος: Εἰ μὲν οὖν καταγελᾶς, ἀντίθεος τὰ παιδία τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ φαριῶ ἀναιρεθέντα, ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ ἐγεννήθη μωυσῆς καὶ εἶπέ· οὐκ ἠδύνατο ὁ θεὸς ρύσασθαι τὰ ταιδία τῶν ἑβραίων; εἰ δὲ δυνάμενος οὐκ ἔρρύσατο <καὶ ὁ χριστὸς δὲ δυνάμενος οὐκ ἔρρύσατο>· αὐτὸς γὰρ· καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν μακροθυμῶν:

78. Ζακχαῖος: Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ μωύσεως ἐξεδίκησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν θάνατον τὸν τῶν παιδίων, διὰ τῶν πληγῶν ὧν ἐπήγαγεν κύριος τοῖς αἰγυπτίοις:

Ἄθανάσιος: Εἰ μὴ ἀναισθητοῦσιν Ἰουδαῖοι, πλεον ἂν πεπόνθασιν· αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ ἀναλώσει τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ· καὶ αἰγύπτιοι μὲν, ἐνιαυτῷ ἐνὶ ἡ δυσὶ πεπόνθασιν· Ἰουδαῖοι δέ, ἀπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἕως τοῦ νῦν τιμωροῦνται· τιμωρηθήσονται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐὰν μὴ μετανοήσωσιν:

79. Ζακχαῖος: Κἄν πιστεύσω τῷ χριστῷ ὡς ἱερεὶ αὐτῷ πιστευω, μὴ ὡς θεῷ; σὺ γὰρ εἶπας ὅτι μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔχει:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἄλλ' εἶπον ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἱερεὺς καὶ κύριος καὶ θεὸς καὶ ποιμήν:

Zacchaeus: He was born in the same Jerusalem, and I know that He was Mary's son.

Athanasius: And in that same Jerusalem, Elizabeth gave birth to John, when Christ caused him to leap with rejoicing. And immediately, when he was born, He drew Magi from the east to worship Him. And after He was born, no magician caused a star to shine in heaven, and other magi also came and worshipped Him.

76. Zacchaeus said: Then you want me to be convinced that when He was born, magi came and worshipped him?

Athanasius: Be convinced by the deeds themselves. Inquire as to why Herod murdered children in Bethlehem. And when you learn the reason you will know that it was for the sake of Christ when the magi came and said: *Where is the one born as King of the Jews? For we saw his star in the east, and we have come to worship him* (Matt. 2:2). And the tombs of their descendants are clearly seen even unto this day.

77. Zacchaeus said: We do not believe that it happened this way. For then also why was your Christ unable to rescue the children so they would not die?

Athanasius: If indeed you condemn this, then compare the killing of the children by Pharaoh at the time when Moses was born, and answer: Was God unable to rescue the children of the Hebrews? And if although he was able, He did not rescue them [also the Messiah was able and did not rescue.] He was merciful both then and now.

78. Zacchaeus said: But at the time of Moses God avenged the death of the children, through the plagues which the Lord brought on the Egyptians.

Athanasius: If the Jews had not lack perception, they would not have suffered more than the Egyptians in the destruction of Jerusalem. And the Egyptians, on the one hand, have suffered only once or twice a year. The Jews, on the other hand, are being punished by Christ until now. And they will be punished also after these things, if they do not repent.

79. Zacchaeus said: And can I believe in Christ if I believe him to be a priest and not believe that he is God? For you have said that he has the priesthood with his disciples.

Athanasius: But I said that he is both Priest and Lord and God and Shepherd.

80. Ζακχαΐος: Ὁ μὲν θεὸς εἶρηται ποιμὴν ὁμολογουμένως. ἐπειδὴ τοῦ λαοῦ ἔστι ποιμὴν· ὡς ὁ προφήτης λέγει· ὁ ποιμαίνων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, πρόσχες, ὁ ὀδηγῶν ὡσεὶ πρόβατα τὸν Ἰωσήφ.

Ἄθανάσιος: Ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης καὶ κύριον αὐτὸν εἶπε καὶ θεὸν καὶ ἱερέα:

81. Ζακχαΐος: Ἀνάγνωθί μοι τοῦ γέγραπται:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἐν τῷ ῥθ ψαλμῷ οὕτως εἶρηται· εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου· ῥάβδον δυνάμεως ἐξαποστελεῖ σοι κύριος ἐκ σιῶν· καὶ κατακυριεύει ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου· μετὰ σου ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς δυνάμεώς σου, ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι τῶν ἁγίων σου. ἐκ γαστροῦ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγεννησά σε· ὤμοσε κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται, σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν μελχισεδεκ.

82. Ζακχαΐος: Καὶ πότε ἐγένετο ἱερεὺς; περὶ σολομώνος εἶρηται κατὰ τὴν τάξιν μελχισεδέκ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα οὕτως γὰρ εἶρηται· ὤμοσε κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται, σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν μελχισεδεκ.

Ἄθανάσιος: Σολομῶν οὔτε ἱερεὺς ἐγένετο· οὔτε ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ βίῳ αὐτοῦ εὐηρέστησε τῷ θεῷ· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου ποιήσας ἀπέθανεν· πῶς οὖν μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα;

83. Ζακχαΐος: Τῷ οὖν χριστῷ εἶπεν, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

Ἄθανάσιος: Ὁ δαυὶδ <εἶπεν> εἶπε κύριος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ θεός, τῷ κυρίῳ μου, <τῷ χριστῷ· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου> ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.

84. Ζακχαΐος: Καὶ ὁ χριστὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ κάθηται;

Ἄθανάσιος: Τοῦτο λέγει ὁ προφήτης:

85. Ζακχαΐος: Οὐκοῦν μείζων ἔστιν ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ εὐλογομένου;

Ἄθανάσιος: Μὴ γένοιτο:

Ζακχαΐος: Πῶς οὖν ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καθέζεται;

Ἄθανάσιος: Ὡς υἱὸς μονογενῆς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ πατρός:

80. Zacchaeus said: God is spoken of clearly as a shepherd, since He is the shepherd of His people. As the prophet says: *Give heed, O Shepherd of Israel, who guides Joseph like a flock* (Ps. 79:2).

Athanasius: The same prophet said that He was Lord and God and Priest.

81. Zacchaeus said: Read to me where that is so written.

Athanasius: In the one hundred ninth psalm (LXX) it is spoken: *The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand until I put your enemies as a footstool for your feet. The Lord will send forth a powerful rod from Zion; rule in the midst of your enemies. The rule is yours on the day of your power, in the brightness of your saints. I have begotten you from the womb before dawn. The Lord has sworn and will not change His mind: You are a priest forever in the order of Melchizedek* (Ps. 109:1-4).

82. Zacchaeus said: And at what time did he become priest? It was spoken about Solomon being in the order of Melchizedek. For thus it is written: *The Lord has sworn and will not change His mind: You are a priest forever in the order of Melchizedek* (Ps. 109:4).

Athanasius: Solomon never became a priest. For never in his entire life was he pleasing to God, but he did evil in the sight of the Lord until the day he died. Then how does he continue as a priest forever?

83. Zacchaeus said: Then he spoke to the Messiah: *Sit at my right hand until I put your enemies as a footstool for your feet* (Psa. 109:1).

Athanasius: David said: *The Lord (that is God) said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand until I put your enemies as a footstool for your feet.*

84. Zacchaeus said: And Christ is sitting at the right hand of God?

Athanasius: The prophet says this.

85. Zacchaeus said: Then is Christ greater than the Blessed One?

Athanasius: May it never be!

Zacchaeus said: Then how is he sitting at His right hand?

Athanasius: As the unique son of his own Father.

86. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ πῶς ἔτι ἱερεὺς ἐστίν, εἰ ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καθέζεται ;

Ἰθανάσιος: Ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐστίν ἱερεὺς <ἀλλὰ> καὶ θεός· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο θεὸς ὢν τῇ φύσει, ἔλαβε σάρκα ἐκ μαρίας· ἵνα γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θυσίαν ἀναδεξάμενος, γένηται ἱερεὺς κατὰ τὴν τάξιν μαλξισεδέκ· ὃς οὐ κατὰ νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης ἐγένετο ἱερεὺς, ἀλλὰ πνεύματι ἀγίῳ χρισθεὶς, ἐστίν ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

87. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ πῶς δύναται ὁ ἐπὶ ποντίου πιλάτου ἀποθανών, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἱερεὺς εἶναι;

Ἰθανάσιος: Οἱ νεκροὶ τῷ φρονήματι τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ περιβλέπονται. οἱ δὲ ζῶντες, τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ ὁρῶσιν:

88. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ τίς με δύναται τείσαι ὅτι ἀνέστη;

Ἰθανάσιος: Ὁ προφήτης δαυὶδ λέγων ἐν ψαλμῷ· ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ᾄδην· οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν.

89. Ζακχαῖος: Οὐκ οὖν ἄνθρωπος ἦν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος;

Ἰθανάσιος: Ἄνθρωπος ἦν κατὰ σάρκα· θεὸς δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα. ἀμέλει· ἄκουε τί λέγει ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ἠσαίου· ἐκοπίασεν αἴγυπτος καὶ ἐμπορία αἰθιοπῶν καὶ οἱ σεβοῖμι ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ ἐπὶ σε διαθήσονται... καὶ ἐντραπήσονται πάντες οἱ ἀντικείμενοι αὐτῷ· καὶ πορεύσονται ἐν αἰσχύνῃ. ἐγκαμιζέσθε πρὸς με· νῆσοι. Ἰσραὴλ σώζεται σωτηρίᾳ αἰῶνων· οὐκ αἰσχυνθήσονται οὐδὲ μὴ ἐντραπῶσιν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος <

90. Ζ.

><sup>62</sup> μὴ νομίζεις τὸν προφήτην ψευδῶς λέγοντα· Ἰσραὴλ σώζεται ὑπο κυρίου σωτηρίᾳ αἰῶνων εἰ θέλεις εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὔτε ἤσχύνθημεν, οὔτε ἐντραπήμεν πάντα ἀπολέσαντες, καὶ Ῥωμαίων γενόμενοι δοῦλοι· τὸ ληρον εἰπεῖν ὅτι ψευδεῖς ἐκτῆσαντο οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν προφήτας:

Ζακχαῖος: Μὴ γένοιτο ψευδεῖς εἰπεῖν τοὺς προφήτας:

<sup>62</sup> This section is missing from the Greek manuscripts.

86. Zacchaeus said: And how is he still a priest, if he is sitting at His right hand?  
Athanasius: Because not only is he a priest but he is also God. For this reason, although he was God by nature, he took flesh from Mary so that by becoming a person, and taking upon himself to be the sacrifice for our sins, he would become a priest in the order of Melchizedek. He is a priest not according to an earthly commandment, but since he was anointed by the Holy Spirit, he is a priest forever.

87. Zacchaeus said: And how is it possible that the one who died during the reign of Pontius Pilate can be a priest forever?  
Athanasius: Those who are dead in their minds look favorably at his death, but the living contemplate his resurrection.

88. Zacchaeus said: And who is able to be convinced that he rose again?  
Athanasius: The prophet David saying in a psalm: *Because you will not abandon my soul to Hades; nor will you allow your holy one to see corruption* (Ps. 15:10).

89. Zacchaeus said: Then a person is not composed of soul and body?  
Athanasius: A human being exists as flesh, but God exists as spirit. It does not matter! Hear what God says through the prophet, Isaiah: *Egypt has labored and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and the Sabeans, men of stature, will pass over to you, ... All that are opposed to him will be confounded, and will walk in shame. You islands, keep a feast to me. Israel is saved with an everlasting salvation and they will not be ashamed nor confounded forever. [Thus says the Lord, who made the heavens]* (Isa. 45:14-17).

90. Zacchaeus said: You have yourself read and avowed that it was Israel that was saved by the Lord. Surely, then, it is not you who are from the Gentiles?  
Athanasius: By *Israel* He means the holy apostles. If not, how do you apply it to your own selves, when you hear the words: *They will not be ashamed nor confounded forever?*] Do not suppose that the prophet is speaking falsely when he says: *Israel is saved by the Lord with an everlasting salvation* (Isa. 45:16). If you are willing to say, “We were neither humiliated, nor were we confounded when they destroyed all things nor did we become slaves of the Romans.” You dare to say that our fathers the prophets spoke lies!  
Zacchaeus said: May it never be that I say that the prophets are liars!

91. Ἀθανάσιος: Οὐκ οὐκ ἰσραὴλ ἐσώθη σωτηρία αἰώνων· καὶ οὐ μὴ αἰσχυθῶσιν, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἐντραπῶσιν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος, οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπόστολοι, φύσει ἑβραῖοι ὄντες, καὶ κατὰ σάρκα, καὶ κατὰ πνεῦμα· οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ περιτετημένος ἐστὶν Ἰουδαῖος· ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ τὴν περιτομὴν τῆς καρδίας ἔχων. μέμφεται οὖν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἐν τῷ φανερῷ μόνον ἔχοντας τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ λέγων οὕτως· πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα σαρκί, ὁ δὲ λαός μου οὗτος τῇ καρδίᾳ.

92. Ζακχαῖος: Ὁ θεὸς ἐντειλάμενος τῷ Ἀβραάμ, λέγων· περιτεμηθήσεται σου πᾶν ἄρρениκὸν τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀπεστράφη τὴν περιτομὴν;

93. Ἀθανάσιος: Διδαχτήρη τὸν περὶ τῆς περιτομῆς λόγον· τέως δέ μοι εἶπέ, εἰ νενόηκας τί νιν ἔλεγε διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· ἐκοπίασεν αἴγυπτος καὶ ἐμπορία αἰθιοπῶν· καὶ οἱ σεβοῖμ ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ ἐπὶ σε διαβήσονται καὶ σοὶ ἔσονται δοῦλοι καὶ ὀπίσω σου ἀκολουθήσουσι δεδεμένοι χειροπέδαις· καὶ προσκυνήσουσί σοι, καὶ ἐν σοὶ προσεύξονται ὅτι ἐν σοὶ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, σωτηρία.

94. Ζακχαῖος: Τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔλεγεν· ἐκοπίασεν αἴγυπτος, καὶ ἐμπορία αἰθιοπῶν· καὶ οἱ σεβοῖμ ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ ἐπὶ σέ διαβήσονται· καὶ σοὶ ἔσονται δοῦλοι· καὶ σοὶ ἀκολουθήσουσι δεδεμένοι χειροπέδαις <

95. A. ><sup>63</sup>

96. Ἀθανάσιος: Αὕτη οὖν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ θεὸς ἐστὶν, λέγει γὰρ ὅτι καὶ προσκυνήσουσί σοι· καὶ ἐν σοὶ προσεύξονται· ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔστι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς πλὴν σου· σὺ γὰρ εἶ θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἤδειμεν, θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, σωτήρ.

Ζακχαῖος: Τίνι οὖν ἄλλῳ λέγει:

<sup>63</sup> This section is missing from the Greek manuscripts.

91. Athanasius: Then Israel was not saved with an eternal salvation and they were not humiliated nor confounded forever – but the holy apostles who were by nature Hebrews both in spirit and also in flesh. For he is not a Jew who is circumcised outwardly, but the one who has the circumcision of the heart inwardly (see Rom. 2:28, 29). Therefore, God has found fault with those who have outward circumcision only and not in the heart, saying thus: *All Gentiles are uncircumcised in the flesh, but this my people are in the heart* (Jer. 9:25).

92. Zacchaeus said: Since God commanded Abraham, saying: *Every male child will be circumcised on the eighth day* (Gen. 17:10), did He then later abandon circumcision?

93. Athanasius: You will later be taught the doctrine about circumcision (chapter 122). For now, tell me if you have perceived to whom He was speaking through the prophet: *Egypt has labored and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and the Sabeans, men of stature, will pass over you, and they will be your servants. And they will follow after you bound in fetters, and will worship you, and in you they will pray. Because God is in you and there is no God besides you. For you are God, yet we did not know it, the God of Israel, the Savior* (Isa. 45:14,15).

94. Zacchaeus said: He was speaking to Jerusalem when He said: *Egypt has labored and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and the Sabeans, men of stature, will pass over you, and they will be your servants. And they will follow after you bound in fetters. . . .*

95. [Athanasius: Surely, did Jerusalem did walk around, and so the rest follow after her bound?

Zacchaeus said: He follows after Jerusalem, who lives by her law, serves her continually, worships her, and prays in her, as if actually bound unto her.]

96. Athanasius: Then this Jerusalem also is God, for He says: *They will worship you, and in you they will pray. Because God is in you and there is no God besides you. For you are God, yet we did not know it, the God of Israel, the Savior* (Isa. 45:15).

Zacchaeus said: Then to whom else was He speaking?

97. Ἀθανάσιος: Οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ· πλὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ:

Ζακχαῖος: Πῶς;

Ἀθανάσιος: Ἐκοπίασεν αἴγυπτος καὶ ἐμπορία αἰθιοπῶν, χριστοῦ γεννηθέντος καὶ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας λυομένης, καὶ τῆς μαγείας καταργουμένης. καὶ οἱ σεβροεῖμ ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν διέβησαν· καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο δοῦλοι· καὶ ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ ἀκαλουθήσουσι· δεδεμένοι χειροπέδαις πάντες οἱ ὑψηλοὶ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ προσεῖζονται· καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτόν· καὶ ὁμολογήσουσιν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ θεὸς ἔστι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς πλὴν αὐτοῦ· αὐτός γάρ ἐστι θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν, θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, σωτήρ.

98. Ζακχαῖος: Πῶς καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔστι θεὸς καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς πλὴν αὐτοῦ;

Ἀθανάσιος: Διὰ τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς οὐσίας· διὰ τὸ ταῦτον τῆς δόξης, διὰ τὸ ἀμειψίτευτον τῆς δυνάμεως· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο κύριος ὁ θεὸς κύριος εἰς ἔστιν· ὅτι ἔν τὸ θέλημα· μία ἐξουσία· ἐν τὸ κράτος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλο βούλεται ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ἄλλο ὁ υἱός· εἰ δὲ θέλεις καὶ πλειόνων μυστηρίων, ἀνάγνωθι τὸν ἔβδομηκοστὸν πρῶτον ψαλμὸν τοῦ δαυὶδ μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς· τάχα γὰρ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ ὑμῶν ἀντὶ ὧδων τερπουσῶν τὴν ἀκοήν, ταῦτα ἀναγινώσκετε:

99. Ζακχαῖος: Τί γὰρ λέγει ὁ ψαλμὸς περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου;

Ἀθανάσιος: Ἀνάγνωθι καὶ εὐρήσεις·

Ζακχαῖος: Ἀνέγνων καὶ εὗρον ὅτι περὶ σολομῶνος λέγει:

100. Ἀθανάσιος: Ὁ θεός, τὸ κρίμά σου τῷ βασιλεῖ δός τίς λέγει;

Ζακχαῖος: Ὁ δαυὶδ ἀξιοῖ τὸν κύριον ἵνα τὸ κρίνειν καλῶς δῶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῷ σολομῶντι:

Ἀθανάσιος: Καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ βασιλέως,

Ζακχαῖος: Τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, λέγει· τῷ ἐμῷ υἱῷ· ἡ βασιλεία γὰρ ἦν δαυὶδ ὅτε ἠῤῃχετο τῷ θεῷ, ἵνα τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ δῶ τῷ σολομῶντι αὐτὸς ὁ θεός:

101. Ἀθανάσιος: Ἀκολούθησον αὐτῷ μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ. ἀναλαβέτω τὰ ὄρη εἰρήνην τῷ λαῷ καὶ οἱ βουνοὶ δικαιοσύνην· κρινεῖ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ σώσει τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν πενήτων, καὶ ταπεινώσει σικοφάντην.

97. Athanasius: To no one else apart from the Messiah.

Zacchaeus said: How?

Athanasius: *Egypt labored and the merchandise of the Egyptians* is when the Messiah was born and the destruction of idolatry and the abolishing of magic took place. And the tall Sabean men passed over him and they became his servants. And they followed after him, bound by fetters - all the tall ones of the earth. And in him they will pray. And they will worship Him. And they will confess that God is in Him; and there is no God besides Him. For He is God, yet they did not know it, the God of Israel, the Savior.

98. Zacchaeus said: How can it be that God is both "in him" and, at the same time, that there is no God besides Him?

Athanasius: Because of the unchangeableness of His being. Because of the sameness of His glory. Because of the directness of His power. Because this Lord God is one Lord and because His will is one, with one authority, and with one strength. For the Father does not will one thing and the Son another. And if you desire (to learn) more secrets, read the seventy first psalm of David with the fear of God and of truth with a good conscience. Perhaps in your synagogue, you ought to read these things instead of listening to the delightful songs.

99. Zacchaeus said: What does this psalm say about your Christ?

Athanasius: You read it and you will find out.

Zacchaeus said: I have read it and I have found that it speaks about Solomon.

100. Athanasius: *O God, give your justice to the king* (Ps. 71:1a). Who is speaking?

Zacchaeus said: David thought it well that the Lord would give judgment to his son, that is, to Solomon.

Athanasius: *And your righteousness to your son the King* (Ps. 71:1b)?

Zacchaeus said: To the son of the king, he says: *to my son*. For the kingdom was David's when he prayed to God that He would give His justice to Solomon.

101. Athanasius: Follow him with the fear of God. *Let the mountains raise up peace to the people and the hills righteousness. He will judge the poor of the people and save the children of the needy, and He will humble the slanderer* (Ps. 71:2-4).

102. Ζακχαΐος: Ταῦτα πάντα περὶ τοῦ σολομῶνος λέγει:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἰδῶμεν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς:

Ζακχαΐος: Εἰπέ:

103. Ἄθανάσιος: *Καὶ συμπαραμενεὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ· καὶ πρὸ τῆς σελήνης γενεάς γενεῶν· ἄρα ὁ σολομῶν συμπαραμενεὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σελήνης γενεάς γενεῶν,*

Ζακχαΐος: Τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ συμπαραμενεὶ ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ. Ἰδοὺ γοῦν· καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ μνημονεύετε τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ὡς σοφοῦ· καὶ ἕως γενεῶν συμπαραμένει αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα τοῦ ὀνόματος:

104. Ἄθανάσιος: Καὶ πρὸ τῆς σελήνης < γενεάς > γενεῶν ἦν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ;

Ζακχαΐος: Καὶ ἐγένωσκεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ὄνομα ὁ θεός· καὶ πρὸ τῆς σελήνης:

105. Ἄθανάσιος: Ἄκουσον οὖν τῶν ἐξῆς:

Ζακχαΐος: Εἰπέ:

Ἄθανάσιος: *Καταβήσεται ὡς ὑετός ἐπὶ πόκον, καὶ ὡσεὶ σταγόνες στάξουσαι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀνατελεῖ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης ἕως οὐ ἀνταναιρεθῆ ἡ σελήνη. καὶ κατακυριεύσει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἕως θαλάσσης, καὶ ἀπὸ ποταμῶν ἕως τῶν περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης. ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προπεσούνται αἰθίοπες, καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ χοῦν λείξουσιν. βασιλεῖς θαρσεῖς καὶ νῆσοι δῶρα προσοίσουσιν, βασιλεῖς ἀράβων καὶ σαβὰ δῶρα προσάξουσιν· καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη δουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ· ὅτι ἐρρύσατο πτωχὸν ἐκ δυνάστου, καὶ πένητα ᾧ οὐχ ὑπῆρχε βοηθός· φείσεται πτωχοῦ καὶ πένητος, καὶ ψυχὰς πενήτων σώσει. ἐκ τόκου καὶ ἐξ ἀδικίας λυτρώσεται τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔντιμον τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. καὶ ζήσεται καὶ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ χρυσίου τῆς ἀραβείας, καὶ προσεῖζονται περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός, ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν εὐλογήσουσιν αὐτόν· ἔσται στήριγμα ἐν τῇ γῆ ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν ὀρέων· ὑπεραρθήσεται ὑπὲρ τὸν λίβανον ὁ καρπὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐξανθήσουσιν ἐκ πόλεως ὡσεὶ χόρτος τῆς γῆς. ἔσται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διαμένει τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. πάντα τὰ ἔθνη μακαριοῦσιν αὐτόν· εὐλογητός κύριος ὁ θεός Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ ποιῶν θαυμάσια μόνος. καὶ εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ τὸ ἅγιον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος· καὶ πληρωθήσεται τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ· γένοιτο γένοιτο.*

102. Zacchaeus said: He is speaking all these things about Solomon.

Athanasius: Let us, then, look also at what follows.

Zacchaeus said: Speak.

103. Athanasius: *And he will continue as long as the sun, and before the moon for ever* (Ps. 71:5). Then did Solomon continue as long as the sun and before the moon for ever?

Zacchaeus said: His name will continue with the sun. Behold, truly also do you Christians in all the earth remember his name as *wisdom*. And the glory of his name continues forever.

104. Athanasius: *And before the moon his name is forever?*

Zacchaeus said: God knew his name even before the moon.

105. Athanasius: Then hear what comes after.

Zacchaeus said: Go ahead.

Athanasius: *He will come down as rain upon a fleece and as drops falling upon the earth. In his days will righteousness spring up and abundance of peace till the moon be removed. And he will rule from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of the earth. The Ethiopians will fall down before him, and his enemies will lick the dust. The kings of Tarshish and the islands will bring presents. The kings of the Arabians and Saba will offer gifts. And all kings of the earth will worship him and all the Gentiles will serve him, for he has delivered the poor from the oppressor and the needy who had no helper. He will spare the poor and needy and will deliver the souls of the needy. He will redeem their souls from usury and injustice and their name will be precious before him. He will live and there will be given him from the gold of Arabia and people will pray for him continually and all the day will they praise him. There will be a support in the earth on the tops of the mountains. The fruit of it will be exalted above Lebanon, and they of the city will flourish as grass of the earth. His name will be blessed for ever. His name will endure longer than the sun and all the tribes of the earth will be blessed in him. All nations will bless him. Blessed is the Lord God of Israel, who alone does wonders. And blessed is his glorious name even for ever and ever. And all the earth will be filled with his glory. So be it, so be it* (Ps. 71:6-19).

106. Ζακχαῖος: Ταῦτα ὁμολογουμένως περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ εἴρηται· ἀλλ' οὐδέπω ἦλθε τέως:

Ἄθανάσιος: Τί οὐ πεπλήρωται τῶν εἰρημένων;

Ζακχαῖος: Πάντα:

107. Ἄθανάσιος: Ἔκουε οὖν τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου ὃ ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπο υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως καθὰ συνέταξέν μοι κύριος. ὄρῳς ὅτι ὁ προδότης καὶ τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἀνέδωκε· καὶ ὁ ἀγρὸς ἠγοράσθη· καὶ ἡ προφητεία ἀπεπληρώθη· καὶ πῶς λέγεις ὅτι οὐπω ἦλθεν ὁ χριστός:

108. Ζακχαῖος: Οἶδα ὅτι ταῦτα λέγει ὁ προφήτης, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ:

< Ἀθανάσιος:

109. Ζακχαῖος: >

Ἄθανάσιος: Κατεκυρίευσεν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἕως θαλάττης· καὶ ἀπὸ ποταμῶν ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης· ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πεσοῦνται αἰθίοπες· καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς· χοῦν ἐσθίετε· καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς· πάντα τὰ ἔθνη δουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς.

110. Ζακχαῖος: Οἱ σταυρώσαντες αὐτόν, προσκυνήσουσιν αὐτόν;

Ἄθανάσιος: Οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἀνεγράψαν, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ ὁ θάνατος, καὶ ἡ τιμὴ, καὶ ἡ δόξα, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις· ἀκούεις γοῦν τοῦ δαυὶδ λέγοντος· Ἴνα τί ἐφρούραζαν ἔθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενὰ ; παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς· καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτῶν.

111. Ζακχαῖος: Πῶς οὖν κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ;

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ καλὰ ὁ θεὸς ἐγίνωσκε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς ἔχοντα, πεποίηκε πάντα γραφῆναι· καὶ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ εἰρημένον παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· Ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον προσκόμματος· καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου· καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ, οὐ μὴ καταισχυθῆ.

106. Zacchaeus said: Admittedly, these things have been spoken about the Messiah. But up to this point he has not yet come.

Athanasius: What of the things spoken about that have not been fulfilled?

Zacchaeus said: All things.

107. Athanasius: Then hear the prophet speaking: *And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him on whom a price had been set by some of the sons of Israel, and they gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord directed me* (Matt. 27:9,10; cf. Zech. 11:12, 13). See that the betrayer gave back the thirty pieces of silver he received from the chief priests, and the field was purchased, and the prophecy was fulfilled. And how do you say that the Messiah has never come?

108. Zacchaeus said: I know that the prophet says these things, but not about the Messiah.

[Athanasius: In his advent it was fulfilled. And if he is still to come - the one whom you do look forward to - he would find everything fulfilled which was foretold.

109. Zacchaeus said: And of the predictions – which ones are fulfilled?]

Athanasius: *He will rule from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of the earth. Before Him Ethiopians will fall and you His enemies are eating dust. All the kings of the earth will worship Him; all the Gentiles will serve Him, and all the tribes of the earth will be blessed in Him* (Ps. 71:8-11).

110. Zacchaeus said: The ones who crucified him, will they worship Him?

Athanasius: His enemies were recorded, and also his suffering, and his death, and his honor, and his glory and his resurrection. Hear then David saying: *Why did the nations rage and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers gathered themselves together against the Lord, and against his Messiah* (Ps. 2:1,2).

111. Zacchaeus said: How, then, are they both against him and for him?

Athanasius: Since God knew both the good things and the bad things as if they were happening, He has done all things as written. And this is that which has been spoken by God: *Behold I lay in Zion a stumbling stone and a rock of offense, and whoever believes on him will not be ashamed* (Isa. 8:14,15; Rom. 9:33; 1Pet. 2:8).

112. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ ἵνα τί λίθος προσκόμματος αὐτὸν ἐτίθει, καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ὁμολογήθῃναι αὐτὸν ἐποίσει;

Ἀθανάσιος: Εἰ μὲν μὴ προεῖπεν οὐ μὴ καταισχυθῆ ἀιτιῶ τὸν θέμενον· εἰ δὲ προεῖρηται σοι, ἑαυτὸν ἀιτιῶ μὴ πιστεῦσαντα. αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λίθος, ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν οἰκοδομούντων, περὶ οὗ λέγει ὁ δαυὶδ· *λίθον δι' ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομούντες, οὗτος ἐγεννήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας.*

113. Ζακχαῖος: Ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ λίθος ἐγένετο;

Ἀθανάσιος: Ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ λίθος ἐκλήθη τὸ κατὰ σάρκα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔλαβε σάρκα ἐκ τῆς παρθένου, ἵνα καθάπερ ἐν αὐτῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῖν ἐπιφανεῖ, διὰ τοῦτο λίθος ἐκλήθη· καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος δι' ἐρμήνευσεν δανιήλ, τμηθέντα ἐξ ὄρους ἄνευ χειρῶν, καὶ λεπτύναντα τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας:

114. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ ἀπὸ ποίου ὄρους ἐτμήθη λίθος;

Ἀθανάσιος: Ὅρος λέγει τὴν παρθένου μαριάμ. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἄνευ χειρῶν διὰ τὸ ἄνευ χειρουργίας ἀνδρὸς αὐτὴν γεννησαὶ τὸν λίθον, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα· λέγει δὲ ἡ προφητεία· ναβουχοδονόσορ εἶδεν ἐνύπνιον. τὸ δὲ ἐνύπνιον ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐπελάθετο· καὶ καλέσας τοὺς ἐπαυδοὺς καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς βαβυλωνίους, ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· ὅτι τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. νῦν ἀναγγεῖλάτε μοι αὐτό, καὶ τὸ σύγκριμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. καὶ τῶν μάγων καὶ τῶν ἐπαυδῶν λεγόντων ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὃς δυνησεται τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ' ἡ· θεοί, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κατοικία ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ἐκέλευσε ναβουχοδονόσορ πάντας ἐπολέσθαι τοὺς ἀπαυδοὺς καὶ τοὺς μάγους καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς· καὶ γνοὺς τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ δανιήλ, ἠξίωσε δοθῆναι αὐτῷ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν προθεσμίαν. καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ· ἐδεήθη τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ ἀπεκαλύφθη αὐτῷ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ὃ εἶδεν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τὸ σύγκριμα αὐτοῦ· ἦν δὲ τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦτο. εἰκὼν, ἧς ἡ πρόσοψις ὑπερφερῆς· ἡ ὄρασις αὐτῆς φοβερά· ἡ κεφαλὴ χρυσοῦ καθαροῦ, αἱ χεῖρες καὶ τὸ στήθος καὶ οἱ βαρχίονες αὐτῆς ἀργυροῖ· ἡ κοιλία καὶ οἱ μηροὶ χαλκοῖ· αἱ κνήμαι σιδηραῖ· οἱ πόδες μέρος μὲν τί σιδηροῦν, μέρος δὲ τι ὄστράκινον· ἐθεώρει ἕως ἐτμήθη λίθος ἐξ ὄρους ἄνευ χειρῶν· καὶ ἐπάταξε τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας τοὺς σιδηροὺς καὶ ὄστρακίνοους· καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος· τότε ἐλεπτύνθησαν εἰς ἅπαξ, τὸ ὄστρακον, ὁ σίδηρος, καὶ ὁ χαλκός· ὁ ἀργυρος καὶ ὁ χρυσός· καὶ ἐγένοντο ὡσεὶ κονιορτός, ἀπὸ ἄλωνος θερινῆς· καὶ ἐξῆρεν αὐτὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ πνεύματος· καὶ τόπος οὐκ εὗρέθη αὐτοῖς· καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πατάξας τὴν εἰκόνα, ἐγεννήθη ὄρος μέγα, καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν·

112. Zacchaeus said: And why did He set him forth to be a stumbling stone and not rather make him to be confessed openly by all?

Athanasius: If he did not say: *he will never be ashamed*, why is it put there? But, if he has said it to you, why have you not entrusted yourself to him? For he is the stone, despised by you the builders, about which David says: *The stone which the builders rejected, this one has become the head of the corner* (Ps. 117:22).

113. Zacchaeus said: The Wisdom of God became a stone?

Athanasius: The Wisdom of God was called a stone in a natural way of speaking. He received his flesh from the virgin, so that in that flesh he would appear to us. For this reason, he was called a stone. This was the stone which Daniel interpreted, cut from a mountain without hands, and crushing the image of idolatry (Dan. 2:34,35).

114. Zacchaeus said: And from what mountain was the stone cut?

Athanasius: The mountain speaks of the virgin Mary. For this reason the *without hands* means that she gave birth to the stone without the handiwork of a man, that is, his body. The prophecy states: *Nebuchadnezzar saw a dream, and the dream departed from him, that is, he forgot it. So he called his enchanters and the magi and the wise men of Babylon and he said to them: The dream has departed from me. Now tell it to me and the meaning of the dream. The magi and the enchanters were saying that there was not a man on earth who is able to tell the word of the King but the gods who do not dwell on earth. So Nebuchadnezzar commanded all his enchanters and wise men and magi to be killed. When Daniel found out about the action of the king, he requested that an appointed time of three days be given him. When he received it from the king, he entered into his own house and prayed to the Lord, and the dream which the king had was revealed to him and his decision. This was the dream* (Dan. 2:1-28). *This is the image whose form was excellent and its appearance was fearful. The head was pure gold. Its hands and breast and arms were silver. The belly and the thighs were bronze. The legs were iron while the feet were partly iron and partly clay. He beheld until a stone cut without hands from a mountain came and struck the image upon the feet of iron and clay and completely scattered them. And so at once the clay and the iron and the bronze and the silver and gold were scattered. And it was like a cloud of dust from a threshing floor. So a great wind carried them away and no place was found for them. Then the stone that smote the image became a great mountain and filled all the earth* (Dan. 2:31-35).

τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦ βασιλέως· καὶ ἐρμηνεύει δανιὴλ τὸ ἐνύπνιον· δὲ διάφορον εἰκόνα λέγων, διαφόρους βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸν λίθον βασιλείαν· ἦτις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας οὐ διαφθαρήσεται. ἔστι δὲ αὕτη ἡ χριστοῦ βασιλεία λίθω παρεικασθεῖσα, διὰ τὸ προσκόψαι ἐν αὐτῇ τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν:

115. Ζακχαῖος: Νῦν ἀκούω ὅτι ὁ χριστὸς ὑμῶν λίθω παρεΐκασται.

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἄει τὰ ἀφανῆ καὶ ἀόρατα διὰ παραβολῶν φανερωῖν ἀναγινώσκονται· ἢ οὐκ ἤκουσας τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· καὶ ἔσομαι ὡσεὶ πάνθηρ τῷ ἑφραὶμ καὶ ὡσεὶ πάρδαλις τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδα καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ· καὶ ἀπαντήσω αὐτοῖς ὡς ἄρκος ἀπορομένη· ἄρα ἄρκω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῳοῖς παραβαλλόμενον τὸ θεῖον ὑβρίζεται;

116. Ζακχαῖος: Μὴ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἄρκος ἐγένετο ὁ θεός; διὰ τὸ φοβερόν λέγει.

Ἄθανάσιος: Οὕτως διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς προσκόψαι, κατ' ἐπίνοιαν εἰς τὸν χριστόν, λίθος ἐκλήθη· ἄκουε δὲ καὶ ἄλλης προφητείας εἰς τὸν χριστόν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προφήτου· ἐθεώρουν φησὶ καὶ τέσσαρα θηρία μεγάλα· ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, διαφέροντα ἀλλήλων· τὸ πρῶτον ὡσεὶ λέαινα, ἔχουσα πτερὰ καὶ τὰ πτερὰ αὐτῆς ὡσεὶ ἀετοῦ· ἐθεώρουν ἕως οὗ ἐξετείλοι τὰ πτερὰ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξήρθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς· καὶ ἐπὶ ποδῶν ἀνθρώπου ἐστάθη· καὶ καρδία ἀνθρώπου ἐδόθη αὐτῇ, καὶ ἰδοὺ θηρίον δευτέρον ὅμοιον ἄρκω καὶ εἰς μέρος ἕν ἐστάθη, καὶ τρία πλευρὰ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῆς ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀδόντων αὐτῆς· καὶ οὕτως ἔλεγον αὐτῇ· ἀνάστηθι καὶ φάγε σάρκα πολλὰς, ὅπισω τούτου ἐθεώρουν καὶ ἰδοὺ, θηρίον ὡσεὶ πάρδαλις· καὶ αὐτῇ πτερὰ τέσσαρα, πετεινοῦ ὑπεράνω αὐτῆς, καὶ τέσσαρες κεφαλαὶ τῷ θηρίῳ· καὶ ἐξουσία ἐδόθη αὐτῇ, ὅπισω τούτου ἐθεώρουν, καὶ ἰδοὺ τέταρτον θηρίον φοβερόν καὶ ἔκθαμβον, καὶ ἰσχυρόν περισσῶς· [οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ σιδηροῖ· ἐσθίον· λεπτύνον, καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τοῖς ποσίν αὐτοῦ συνεπάτει καὶ αὐτὸ ἰσχυρόν περισσῶς] παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία τὰ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· καὶ δέκα κέρατα αὐτῷ· προενόουν τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἰδοὺ κέρας ἕτερον μικρόν ἀνέβη ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν· καὶ τρία κέρατα αὐτοῦ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ ἐξεριζώθη ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἰδοὺ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὡς ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ κέρατι τούτῳ, καὶ στόμα λαλοῦν μέγα· ἐθεώρουν ἕως οὗ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν, καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθητο· καὶ ἔνδυμα αὐτῷ λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιών· καὶ θριξ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ ἔριον καθαρὸν· ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ φλόξ πυρός· οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον· ποταμὸς πυρός· εἰλκεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· χίλια χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ· καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παρεστήκεισαν αὐτῷ· κριτήριον ἐκάθισε καὶ βίβλοι ἠνεγύχθησαν.

Therefore, this was the dream of the king and Daniel then interpreted the dream. And the destruction of the image, he said, was the destruction of kingdoms. And the stone was a kingdom which will never be destroyed. This is the kingdom of the Messiah, compared to a stone so that your fathers would stumble over it.

115. Zacchaeus said: Now I hear that your Christ is compared to a stone.

Athanasius: The unseen and invisible things are always read through clear parables. Or did you not hear God speaking through the prophet, saying: *I will be as a panther to Ephraim and as a leopard to the house of Judah?* And in another place: *I will meet them as an agitated she-bear* (Hos. 13:7; 5:14). Then like a bear and other animals cast aside, the Deity is outraged.

116. Zacchaeus said: Do you mean that God has indeed become a bear? There is reason to dread if he speaks in such a way.

Athanasius: Thus you stumble in many things. With reference to being the Messiah, he was called a stone. Now hear another prophecy about the Messiah from the same prophet. *I was looking*, he said, *and there were four wild beasts. They were rising up out of the sea and they were different from one another. The first was like a lioness, having wings and its wings were like an eagle's. I beheld until her wings were plucked, and she was lifted off from the earth, and she stood on human feet, and a human heart was given to her. And, behold, a second beast like a bear, and it supported itself on one side, and there were three ribs in its mouth between its teeth. And they said to it: Arise, devour much flesh. After this one I looked, and behold another wild beast like a leopard, and it had four wings of a bird upon it. And the wild beast had four heads, and authority was given to it. After this one I looked, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and exceedingly strong, and its teeth were of iron, devouring and crushing. It trampled the remainder with its feet, and it was altogether different from the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns. I noticed his horns, and behold, another little horn came up in the midst of them, and before it three of the former horns were rooted out. Behold, in this horn there were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things. I beheld until the thrones were set up, and the Ancient of Days sat down. His raiment was white as snow, and the hair of his head was as pure wool. His throne was a flame of fire and his wheels were burning fire. A stream of fire rushed forth before him. A thousand thousands ministered to him and ten thousands of myriads attended upon him. The judgment place was set, and the books were opened.*

ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὄραματι τῆς νυκτός καὶ ἰδοῦ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος· καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔφθασε καὶ προσημέθη αὐτῷ· καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία· καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαί, γλώσσαι, δουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ· ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ, ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἥτις οὐ παρελεύσεται· καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, οὐ διαφθαρήσεται· ἐφρίξε τὸ πνεῦμά μου, ἐγὼ δανιηλ, καὶ ἡ ὄρασις τῆς κεφαλῆς μου ἐτάρασέ με· καὶ προσῆλθον ἐνὶ τῶν ἐστηκότων· καὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐζήτουν παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθεῖν περὶ πάντων τούτων· καὶ εἶπε μοι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν εὐλογον ἐγνώρισέ μοι· ταῦτα τὰ θηρία τὰ τέσσαρα τέσσαρες βασιλείαι ἀναστήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, αἱ ἀρθήσονται καὶ παραλήψονται τὴν βασιλείαν ἄγιοι ὑψίστου· καὶ καθέξουσι αὐτήν, ἕως αἰῶνος αἰώνων.

117. Ζακχαῖος: Καὶ τίνες εἰσὶν αἱ τέσσαρες βασιλείαι, καὶ τίνες οἱ ἄγιοι;

Ἄθανάσιος: Ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν τίς ἐστίν; εἰ οἶδας εἰπέ:

Ζακχαῖος: Ἐγὼ λέγω ὁ θεός· τίνι γὰρ ἄλλω χίλιαι χιλιάδες λειτουργοῦσιν· καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες παραστήκουσιν, εἰ μὴ τῷ θεῷ;

118. Ἄθανάσιος: Καλῶς εἶπας· καὶ ὁ ἐλθὼν μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁμοίωμα ἔχων υἱοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τίς ἦν;

Ζακχαῖος: Ὁ χριστός:

119. Ἄθανάσιος: Καὶ οἱ ἄγιοι δηλονότι οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν καθέξοντες οἱ δυνάσται αὐτοῦ· καὶ οἱ τέσσαρες βασιλεῖς, οἱ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης βασιλεῖς, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἁγίων εὐχόμενοι εἶναι δοῦλου:

120. Ζακχαῖος: Ἄλλ' οὐ τὸν χριστὸν εἶπον ὃν σὺ λέγεις, ἀλλ' ὃν ἡμεῖς προσδοκῶμεν.

Ἄθανάσιος: Καὶ πάλιν οὖν λέγω· ἐὰν ἔλθῃ ὃν σὺ προσδοκᾷς, εὐρήσει πάντα προληφθέντα παρὰ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἔτη τῶν χρόνων συνέφθασε καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ προφήτου ἐδιδάχθημεν· καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐσώθησαν τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας λυθείσης· καὶ πάντα συνέφθασε τὰ προφητευθέντα:

Ζακχαῖος: Ποῦ γέγραπται ὁ χρόνος;

*I beheld in the night vision, and there was one coming with the clouds of heaven like a son of man, and he came up to the Ancient of Days, and was brought near to him. And to him was given the dominion, and the honor, and the kingdom. All nations, tribes, and languages will serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion which will not pass away, and his kingdom will not be destroyed. As for me, Daniel, my spirit in my body trembled, and the visions of my head troubled me. And I drew near to one of them that stood by, and I sought to learn from him the truth about all these things. And he told me the truth, and made known to me the interpretation of the things. These four beasts are four kingdoms that will rise up on the earth, which will be taken away. And the saints of the Most High will receive the kingdom, and possess it for ever and ever (Dan. 7:2-10, 13-18).*

117. Zacchaeus said: And who are the four kingdoms and who are the saints?

Athanasius: Who is the Ancient of Days? If you know, then tell me!

Zacchaeus said: I say that he is God. For to whom else would thousands of thousands minister, and to whom will ten thousands of myriads attend, if not to God?

118. Athanasius: You have spoken well. And the one having the likeness of a son of man who comes with the clouds of heaven, who was he?

Zacchaeus said: The Messiah.

119. Athanasius: So it is clear that the saints that will possess the kingdom are his rulers. And the four kings, the kings of the four parts of the earth, are vowing to be slaves of those same saints.

120. Zacchaeus said: But I said that it was not the Messiah whom you say it is, but the one whom we await.

Athanasius: Then again I say. When he comes whom you await, he will find that all the things anticipated by the True One. For also the years of the times have been completed as we were taught by the same prophet. Also, the nations have been saved from the defeated idolatry, and all things that were prophesied have come together.

Zacchaeus said: Where was the time written?

121. Ἀθανάσιος: Αὐτός πάλιν ὁ δανιὴλ λέγει· καὶ ἔτι μου λαλοῦντος καὶ προσευχόμενου καὶ ἐξαγορεύοντος τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ μου Ἰσραὴλ· καὶ ρίπτουτος τὸν ἕλεόν μου κατέναντι τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τοῦ θρόνου κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου· καὶ ἔτι μου λαλοῦντός ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ ἀνὴρ γαβριηλ ο·ν εἶδον ἐν τῇ ὁράσει τῇ πρώτῃ, πετόμενος, ἤψατό μου ὡσεὶ ὥρα θυσίας ἐσπερινῆς, καὶ συνέστησέ με· καὶ ἐλάλησε μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· δανιὴλ· νῦν ἐξῆλθον συνιβᾶσαι σε συνέσιν· ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς δεησεώς σου ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λόγος· καὶ ἐγὼ ἦλθον τοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαι σοι, ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν εἶ σύ· καὶ ἐνοσήθητι ἐν τῷ ῥήματι σου, καὶ σῦνξ ἐν τῇ ὄπτασίᾳ· ἑβδομάδες ἑβδομήκοντα συνετηθήσθην ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν· τοῦ συντελεσθῆναι ἀμαρτίαν, καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ἀμαρτίας, καὶ τοῦ ἀπολείψαι τὰς ἀδικίας, καὶ τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν δικαιοσύνην αἰώνιον· καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὄρασιν καὶ προφήτην, καὶ τοῦ χρίσαι ἅγιον ἁγίων· καὶ γνώση καὶ συνήσεις ἀπὸ ἐξόδου λόγου τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι καὶ τοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι ἱεροουσαλήμ· ἕως χριστοῦ ἡγουμένου ἑβδομάδες ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομάδες ἐξήκοντα δύο· καὶ ἐπιστρέψει καὶ οἰοδομηθήσεται πλατεία καὶ τείχος· καὶ ἐκκαίνωθήσονται οἱ καιροί· καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἑβδομάδας τὰς ἐξήκοντα δύο· ἐξολοθρευθήσεται χρῖσμα· καὶ κρίμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ· καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον διαφθείρει· ἤκουσας φανερώς ὅτι ἕως χριστοῦ ἡγουμένου, ἑβδομάδες ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν, καὶ ἑβδομάδες ἐξήκοντα δύο· ὃ ἐστὶν ἑβδομάδες ἐξήκοντα ἐννέα· τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔτη ὅτι ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν εἶ σύ· καὶ ἐνοσήθητι ἐν τῷ ῥήματι σου, τετρακόσια ογδοήκοντα τρία· ἀναγνώθῃ δὲ τὰ χρονικὰ καὶ εὐρήσεις ὅτι ἀπὸ Δαρείου ἕως χριστοῦ εἰσὶν ἔτη τετρακόσια ογδοήκοντα τρία· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει Δαρείου λέγει ἑωρακέναι τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ὁ προφήτης· καὶ ὅτι συμφθάσαντος τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται χρῖσμα καὶ κρίμα· τοῦτ' ἔστι βασιλεὺς καὶ κριτής· οὐκέτι γὰρ παρ' ὑμῖν οὔτε βασιλεὺς, οὔτε κριτής· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πόλις καὶ τὸ ἅγιον διεφθάρη.

122. Ζακχαῖος: Ἐπιγγεῖλω μοι λέγειν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν τὴν ἐκ τῶν πατέρων περιτομὴν οὐ προσέειθε:

Ἀθανάσιος: ὅτι ὁ θεὸς διαταξάμενος τοῖς πατράσιν τὴν περιτομὴν αὐτὸς εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται λέγει κύριος· καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδα διαθήκην καινὴν· οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν διεθήκην τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς αἰγύπτου· διδοὺς νόμους μου ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ νόμος, ἵνα μὴ <ἦ> ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνη, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ:

121. Athanasius: Again Daniel himself says: *While I was yet speaking, and praying, and confessing my sins and the sins of my people Israel, and bringing my pitiful case before my God concerning the mountain of the holy Lord our God . . . while I was yet speaking in prayer, behold the man Gabriel, whom I had seen in the vision at the beginning, came flying and touched me about the hour of the evening sacrifice. And he instructed me and spoke with me and said: O Daniel, I am now come forth to impart to you understanding. At the beginning of your supplication the word came forth, and I am come to tell you, for you are a man greatly beloved. Therefore consider the matter, and understand the vision. Seventy sevens have been determined upon your people, and upon the holy city, for sin to be ended, to seal up transgressions, to blot out the iniquities, to make atonement for iniquities, to bring in everlasting righteousness, to seal the vision and the prophet, and to anoint the Holy of Holies. And you will know and understand that from the going forth of the command for the answer and for the building of Jerusalem until an anointed ruler will be seven sevens and sixty-two sevens. Then it will return, and the street will be built, and the wall, and the times will be exhausted. And after the sixty-two sevens, an anointed one will be destroyed, and there will be no judgment for him. And he will destroy the city and the sanctuary (Dan. 9:20-26).* Now you have heard clearly that until an anointed ruler there are seven seven-year periods and sixty two seven-year periods. The total of these is sixty nine seven-year periods. This total is 483 years. And if you read the *Chronicles* you will find that from Darius until the Messiah was 483 years. For it says that it was in the first year of Darius that the prophet saw this revelation. And that was the marvelous fulfillment - an anointed one and judgment will be destroyed, that is, the king and judge. But he is no longer either king or judge for you. But also the city and the holy place were defiled.

122. Zacchaeus said: Tell me the reason why you do not approve of the practice of circumcision that was passed down from our fathers?

Athanasius: Because when God commanded circumcision to the fathers He said: *Behold, the days come, says the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Judah, not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers in the day when I took them by their hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt. But I will give my laws on their hearts (Jer. 38:31-33 LXX; 31:31-33 MT).* For the law no longer has to do with their foreskin, that their boasting may not be in their shame but in their heart.

123. Ζακχαΐος: Καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν λέγων ὅτι πᾶν ἄρσεν ὃ ἕαν οὐ περιτμηθῆ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐξολοθρευέσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ· οὐκέτι βούλεται τὴν περιτομὴν ;

Ἄθανάσιος: Οἶδε τὸ συμφέρον· καὶ τότε μὲν ἀπῆτει τὴν σκιάν· νῦν δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν· καὶ γὰρ οὐ τοῦτο ἦν ὃ προηγουμένως ἀπῆτει· ὥστε περιτέμνεσθαι τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας, ἀλλὰ ἐβούλετο ἀπὸ ἐκείνης γνωρίζεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ἀμέλει αἰτιᾶ αὐτοὺς λέγων· πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἀπερίτμητα σαρκί. ὁ δὲ λαὸς οὗτος, τῇ καρδίᾳ· ὅτι δὲ Οὐδένα δικαιοῖ ἡ περιτομή, ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶ <δῆλον, ὅτι Ἀβραὰμ ἀπερίτμητος εὐηρέστησε τῷ θεῷ πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτῷ ὤφθη· καὶ τότε αὐτῷ τὴν ἐντολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς δίδωσι· καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ δὲ γεννηθέντες ἐν τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ἀπερίτμητοι ἦσαν:

124. Ζακχαΐος: Οὐκ ἔχεις δεῖξαι.

Ἄθανάσιος: Οἶδα ὅτι ὅτε ἔμιλλεν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, τότε κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, λαβὼν ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ ναυῆ λίθους πετρίνους, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς λίθοις περιτέμνει τὸν λαόν:

Ζακχαΐος: Εἰ τοῖνυν οἶδας ὅτι μέλει τῷ θεῷ τῆς περιτομῆς χάριν, πῶς σὺ λέγεις, ἡ περιτομὴ οὐδὲν ἐστίν;

125. Ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶ τὸ πρόσταγμα φανερόν, διὸ προσετάττετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ παραδοξάζειν ἠβούλετο μεταξύ τῶν αἰγυπτίων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, πρὸ τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς αἴγυπτον, δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν περιτομὴν· ἵνα φανερόν ᾗ τὸ γένος πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· καὶ γενομένους πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὐκ ἀπῆτει τὴν περιτομὴν· μόνοι γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοί. καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἀναμιγνύμενος· ὅτε δὲ ἔμιλλεν ἀναμίγνυσθαι ἐτέροις ἔθνεσιν, πάλιν βούλεται αὐτοὺς περιτέμνεσθαι· ἵνα φανερόν ᾗ τὸ ἔθνος τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶν. καὶ τότε λέγει τῷ ἰησοῦ λαβεῖν μαχαίρας πετρίνας καὶ περιτέμνει αὐτούς· τοῦτο οὐκ ἀργῶς ἀλλὰ συμβολικῶς· ἡ γὰρ πέτρα ἐστὶν ὁ χριστός· ἐν ᾧ περιτεμνόμεθα, οὐ τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας· εἰ δὲ μὴ συμβολικῶς ἐγίνετο ταῦτα, διὰ τί μὴ σιδήρῳ περιετέμνοντο, ἀλλὰ πέτραις;

126. Ζακχαΐος: Ἴνα δειχθῆ τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅτι καὶ πέτραις ἠδυνήθησαν περιτμηθῆναι:

Ἄθανάσιος: Ἔτι πλέονος ἐδείκνυτο, εἰ λογῶ ψιλῶ περιτμηθέντες ἦσαν ἄνευ ὕλης τινός· ἵνα δὲ γινῶς ὅτι ἡ περιτομὴ οὐ δικαιοῖ· νῶε ἄνθρωπος δίκαιος καὶ θεοσεβής ἦν ἄνευ τῆς περιτομῆς, ἐνώχ μετετέθη ὡς γέγραπται, ἀπερίτμητος ὢν.

123. Zacchaeus said: God commanded our fathers, saying: *Every male who is not circumcised on the eighth day will be destroyed from the people* (Gen. 17:14). Does He no longer desire circumcision?

Athanasius: Understand what is profitable. At that time, He required the shadow, but now, He requires the truth. For this was what He demanded previously, so that the flesh of the foreskin was circumcised, but thereafter He desired to make known the truth. Of course He accuses them saying: *All the Gentiles are uncircumcised in the flesh, but this my people are in the heart* (Jer. 9:25). Because circumcision justifies no one and it is evident from the fact that the uncircumcised Abraham pleased God. Because when God first appeared to him, at that time He gave him the commandment of circumcision. Also, those who were born in the wilderness during those forty years were uncircumcised.

124. Zacchaeus said: You are not able to show this.

Athanasius: I know that when they were entering the promised land, Joshua son of Nun took sharp stones and circumcised the people with the stones (Josh. 5:2,3). Zacchaeus: If you know then that God cares about the gift of circumcision, how is it that you say: *Circumcision is nothing* (1Cor. 7:19)?

125. Athanasius: Because the ordinance of God is clear, therefore He appointed it. Because He wanted to distinguish between the sons of the Egyptians and the sons of Israel, before they departed from Egypt, He gave circumcision to them. He did this in order that this race might be evident to all people. And again when they were in the wilderness, He did not demand circumcision, for they were alone and not mixed together with others. And when they were about to intermingle with other nations, again He desired them to be circumcised, in order that their race might be evident to those who dwelt there. So then He commanded Joshua to take stone knives and to circumcise them. This He did not do idly, but He did it symbolically. For the stone was the Messiah by whom we are circumcised, but not in the flesh of the foreskin. For if these things were not intended to be taken symbolically, why were they not circumcised with iron, but with stones?

126. Zacchaeus said: It was so that the mighty acts of God would be displayed, because they were unable to be circumcised with stones.

Athanasius: It was displayed even more, for they were circumcised with the bare command without anything material. But so that you may know that circumcision does not justify, the man Noah was righteous and God-fearing apart from circumcision. As written, Enoch also was translated although uncircumcised.

127. Ζακχαῖος: Πόθεν γάρ μοι ἔχεις δεῖξαι ὅτι ἀπερίτμητοι ἦσαν ;

Αθανάσιος: Ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀβραάμ ἤρξατο ἡ περιτομή· αὐτῷ γὰρ πρώτῳ ἐνετείλατο ὁ θεὸς περιτμηθῆναι, καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ:

128. Ζακχαῖος: Πείσον με διὰ τί τὰς θυσίας παραιτεῖσθε ποιεῖν, πρώτων τῶν ἀγίων θυσιασάντων τῷ θεῷ· ἢ καὶ τοῦτο ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ἀπὸ ἀβραάμ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰληφέναι· ὅπως τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης ὅτι ἀπὸ ἀδάμ ἔθυσαν, καὶ προσεδέχθησαν αὐτῶν αἱ θυσίαι ἀπὸ ζώων οὐσαι.

129. Αθανάσιος: Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι πρὸ τῆς χριστοῦ ἐπιδημίας ἔθυσον· μετὰ δὲ τὸν χριστὸν πέπαυται θυσία ἢ διὰ ζώων ἀλόγων· ἠδύνηται δὲ ἡ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος· τοῦ θεοῦ διαρρήδην βοῶντος *μὴ φάγομαι κρέα ταύρων· ἢ αἷμα πράγων πίνομαι· θύσον τῷ θεῷ θυσίας αἰνέσεως.*

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130. Ζακχαῖος: ><sup>64</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> The last section is missing from the Greek manuscripts. The words that have been supplied in the English translation are from the Armenian and also by conjecture from the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*.

127. Zacchaeus said: Where can you show me that they were uncircumcised?

Athanasius: Because circumcision began from the time of Abraham. It was to him first that God gave the command to be circumcised and then also to his descendants.

128. Zacchaeus said: Convince me why you refuse to offer sacrifices, since the ancient holy men sacrificed to God. Or must you say that this also had its beginning with Abraham? Was it in order that when the scripture says that they sacrificed from the time of Adam, their sacrifices which they received were because they were from animals?

129. Athanasius: We know this too, because all the saints were sacrificing before the coming of the Messiah. But after the Messiah the sacrifice of irrational animals has ceased. But that which is through the Spirit of God has increased, for God openly cried out: *I do not eat the flesh of bulls nor do I drink the blood of goats. The sacrifice to God is a sacrifice of praise* (Ps. 49:13, 14). [And elsewhere he says, "The lifting up of my hands is the evening sacrifice" (Ps. 41:2). And: *Behold the days are coming, says the Lord, that I will lay on the house of Judah a new covenant. Not according to the covenant which I laid on their fathers in the day when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt. I have given them my laws in their hearts, and in their minds will I write them* (Jer. 38:31-33).

130. Zacchaeus said: You have convinced me from all points of view that our fathers acted impiously in crucifying the Messiah. It has appeared from what you have said that he was their expectation, but the Jews forfeited their hope. What, therefore, must I do to be saved?

Athanasius: Repent and be baptized unto the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, so that you may hearken unto David's words: *Blessed are they whose transgressions have been remitted and whose sins have been hidden* (Ps. 32:1).]



## Chapter Two

### The Dialogue of Simon and Theophilus

The *Altercatio Simonis et Theophilus* is the oldest surviving Jewish-Christian dialogue preserved in Latin. The earliest and only independent ancient reference to the *Altercatio* is by Gennadius in chapter 51 of his appendix to Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*. Gennadius attributes its authorship to an Evagrius.

*Evagrius alius scripsit altercationem Simonis Judaei et Theophili Christiani, quae paene omnibus nota est.* [Another Evagrius wrote the *Disputation of Simon the Jew and Theophilus the Christian*, which is known to almost all].<sup>65</sup>

Gennadius calls him “another” (*alius*) Evagrius, thus distinguishing him from “Evagrius of Pontus,” whom he had mentioned earlier in chapter 11.<sup>66</sup> The only other subsequent references to this Evagrius in ancient times seem to depend on Gennadius' passage.<sup>67</sup> Harnack wrote that in 1747 Remi Cellier proposed that Evagrius was a monk and disciple of the well known Martin of Tours.<sup>68</sup> It is difficult to understand his reference apart from its being a conjecture.

In keeping with this authorship, a suggested date for the dialogue is probably around 400 AD, or perhaps a little later. This would be consistent with its being “known to almost all” by Gennadius' time, which is late fifth century. This is also in keeping with its internal style and theology. Its provenance is in the

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<sup>65</sup> An English translation of *De Viris Illustribus* is provided in *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, reprint (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1982) Volume Three.

<sup>66</sup> For a discussion of this Evagrius Pontus, see *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, second edition, ed. Everett Ferguson (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998) 405-406.

<sup>67</sup> Lahey, “A Translation,” 46.

<sup>68</sup> Harnack, *Die Altercatio*. 13, n.25.

West, probably Gaul, which is consistent with its Latin text and also its attribution to Evagrius, if indeed his province was Gaul.

Mention has already been made of Harnack's suggestion that ST is a Latin reworking of the lost second century *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*.<sup>69</sup> It was also mentioned that Harnack's view was refined by Corssen, Zahn and Marmorstein.<sup>70</sup> In his thesis, Lahey has a thorough discussion of this issue and those authors' contributions to the question. While not agreeing with Harnack in all of his details, Lahey does conclude that "divergent lines point to the *Altercatio* as a source for the recovery of Aristo's dialogue."<sup>71</sup>

In the brief introductory lines of ST, Evagrius claims that his work is a report of an actual *altercatio* which had recently taken place and which he had personally witnessed. He addresses it to an otherwise unknown *Valerius* (I, 1). He believes that hearing of it will be met with rejoicing on Valerius' part, because the confrontation had led to the conversion and baptism of Zacchaeus described at the end of the *altercatio* (VIII, 30). The Christian interlocutor, Theophilus, is not identified further by any other title except *a Christian*.<sup>72</sup>

Like *Athanasius and Zacchaeus*, *Simon and Theophilus* has a simple, straightforward style. The Jewish interlocutor, Simon, is not allowed much to say beyond the standard Jewish response and objections. Horbury, however, has taken note of some interesting ironical comments by Simon.

Christian sources of the fifth century also depict Jews as speaking freely on Christ and the church. An instance is offered by the remarks of the Jew Simon in *Altercatio Simonis*, for example at vi, 22: *Erubescere poteris, Theophile, si hoc dictum (sc. potuisse Christum tam maledictam et ludibriosam sustinere passionem) minime comprobaveris. Nam scriptum*

<sup>69</sup> See Introduction and footnote 2.

<sup>70</sup> See Introduction and footnotes 21-23.

<sup>71</sup> Lahey, "A Translation," 87.

<sup>72</sup> One manuscript ("C") does identify Theophilus in its title as *episcopi Alexandri* (Harnack, 15).

*est in Deuteronomio, Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno; or at vi,25, in the innocent query Ergo ecclesia fornicaria est?*<sup>73</sup>

Horbury's description of the "bite of these passages" strongly injects a note of reality in the discourse that moves Simon beyond the role of being a simple foil for Evagrius to present the Christian side of the discussion.

The contents of the thirty chapters in ST are fairly simple and unadorned and may be outlined thematically following the eight large chapter divisions of Harnack's text.

- I. Prologue (1); Monotheism (2-6)
- II. Messiah's Deity (7-10)
- III. Messiah's Sonship (11-14)
- IV. Messiah's Davidic Ancestry (15-17)
- V. Circumcision (18-21)
- VI. Messiah's Suffering (22-27)
- VII. Sabbath and Dietary Laws (28)
- VIII. Epilogue (29-30)

The text that follows is the one published by Harnack, and is used by permission.<sup>74</sup> In the twentieth century, both Bratke and Demeulenaere published their critical texts of ST, including additional manuscript evidence.<sup>75</sup> The differences in their texts, however, are primarily in altering the punctuation of Harnack. Because the verse numbering of Harnack is still valuable and widely cited, his text is certainly adequate for the translation that follows. A few of the

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<sup>73</sup> Horbury, *Jews and Christians*, 205. Horbury's translation: "You will surely blush, Theophilus, if you have acknowledged this saying, (namely, that Christ was able to endure suffering so cursed and ridiculed), for it is written in Deuteronomy: *Cursed is everyone who hangs from a tree*" (VI,22). "Therefore, is the church a harlot" (VI,25)?

<sup>74</sup> Harnack, *Die Altercatio*, 15-44.

<sup>75</sup> See footnote 24.

alternative readings have been noted at the appropriate places in the text when they may impact meaning.

The comments in the introduction to Chapter One about the translation philosophy that is followed also apply here. Restated, the translation is a fairly literal in its renderings without being wooden.

One more aspect should be noticed that is unique to this dialogue. An additional reason for dating this dialogue no later than the early fourth century is its apparent use of a Latin Biblical text in existence prior to that of Jerome's *Vulgate*. It is also possible that ST is a Latin translation of a Greek vorlage.<sup>76</sup> When there is a difference between the Greek LXX rendering and that in the Hebrew MT, the Latin citations in ST agree with the LXX rather than the MT. Jerome argued strongly for following the *Hebraica veritas* and utilized the Hebrew as the basis for his later translation. While it is possible that Jerome's *Vulgate* was in existence at the time of ST's composition, it had not attained the level of acceptability that came in later centuries. This is evident from the use of Old Latin renderings rather than Vulgate renderings in the dialogue.

A fascinating example of this agreement with the LXX over against the MT is seen in Theophilus' first words recorded in the dialogue. It is his simple response to Simon's confident opening challenge that in this exchange he hopes to make "a Nazarene into a Jew."

Theophilus: Non glorietur gibberosus ut rectus.

[Theophilus: *Let not the humpback boast himself as erect.*]

This response will prove totally unrecognizable to the reader of either the Hebrew MT or a modern English Bible translation of 1Kings 21:11. The LXX text of 1Kings 21:11, however, does contain a reading that corresponds in Greek to the Latin of the above quotation (μη καυχᾶσθω ὁ κυρτὸς ὡς ὁ ὀρθός).

The MT and an English translation of 1Kings 21:11 is as follows:

אֶל-יְהוָה לֵל חָגֵר כְּמִפְתָּח

<sup>76</sup> Lahey, "A Translation," 88.

*Let not him who straps on his armor boast himself like he who takes it off.*

The reading of the Vulgate, however, basically agrees with the MT:

Ne gloriatur accinctus aeque ut discinctus.

This rather odd example points up the fact that more work needs to be done on the question of how ST makes use of an Old Latin version and/or is a translation of the LXX into Latin.

## Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Theophili Christiani

I, 1. Domino fratri Valerio Evagrius salutem.

Gratissimam tibi referam quaestionem factam nuper sub oculis nostris; quam tu quoque cum cognoveris, gratanter accipies. Fuit igitur altercatio legis inter quendam Simonem Iudaeum et Theophilum Christianum.

Iudaeus igitur sic ait: Crucicola, signifer, Christianae legis te profiteris auctorem. Habes et me patientem auditorem, si modo interrogationibus meis non lenociniis sermonum aut argumentis verborum sed legis praesentia conprobes veritatem. Quod si tu me hodie viceris, facito Christianum; aut ego cum te superavero, faciam Nazaraeum Iudaeum.

Theophilus: Non glorietur gibberosus ut rectus.

2. Simon: Quem colis?

Theophilus: Deum.

3. Simon: Ego tecum de Christo crucifixo contendo, quem vos dominum dicitis.

Theophilus: Sane dicimus et audenter probamus, dominum deum esse.

4. Simon: Sacri venerandique Deuteronomii vox resultans dicit: *Videte quoniam ego sum, et non est alius praeter me deus*. Et Esaias dicit: *Ego primus et ego novissimus, et praeter me non est deus*.

Theophilus: Sacratissima Christi vox est, quam si tu volueris cognoscere, oportet te primum credere et tunc demum poteris intellegere. Esaias enim redarguit te dicens: *Nisi credideritis, non intellegetis*. Indubitanter igitur deum omnipotentem, invisibilem, immensum, incomprehensibilem novimus et scimus et colimus, deinceps Christum Deum et dei filium profiteremur. Quod antem dicit: *Ego primus et ego novissimus*, duos adventus Christi significat.

5. Simon: Quid illud quod ait: *Praeter me non est deus*?

Theophilus: Christus deus, dei filius, de se dixit, quia praevidebat antichristum venturum et se Deum dicturum.

## Debate of Simon the Jew and Theophilus the Christian

I, 1. Evagrius to Valerius, master and brother, greetings.

Let me report to you a most pleasing inquiry which has occurred just now before our eyes. Once you too have come to know of it, you will welcome it with rejoicing. There was in fact a debate about the law between a certain Simon, a Jew, and Theophilus, a Christian.

So then, the Jew said: O worshiper of the cross, bearer of the sign, you profess to be an authority on Christian law. You will have me as your patient listener, if only in the face of my interrogations you can prove the truth - not with the allurements of speeches or with the clever arguments of words, but with the presence of the law. But if today you win a victory over me, I will become a Christian; or, if I conquer you, I will make a Nazarene become a Jew.

Theophilus: *Let not the humpback boast himself as erect* (I Kings 21:11).

2. Simon: Whom do you worship?

Theophilus: God.

3. Simon: I dispute with you about the crucified Christ, whom you call Lord.

Theophilus: We speak certainly and we assert boldly that the Lord is God.

4. Simon: The voice of the sacred and venerable book of Deuteronomy says resoundingly: *See then that I am God, and there is no other god besides me* (Deut. 32:39). And Isaiah says: *I am the First and I am the Last, and besides me there is no God* (Isa. 44:6).

Theophilus: Most sacred is the voice of Christ, and if you wish to learn of it, you first must believe it and then at last you will be able to understand it. For Isaiah refutes you when he says: *Unless you will believe, you will not understand* (Isa. 7:9). Therefore, once we have learned and know without a doubt that God is all-powerful, invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible, and we worship him, then we declare that Christ is God and the son of God. Moreover, the fact that he says: *I am the First and I am the Last*, indicates two advents of Christ.

5. Simon: Why does he say: *Besides me there is no God*?

Theophilus: Christ the God, the son of God, spoke of himself, because he foresaw that the Antichrist would come and would declare himself God.

De quo Zacharias propheta dicit: *Ecce suscito pastorem in terra, et quod deficiet non denotabit et disparsum non requiret et contribulatum non salvabit et integrum non consummabit et carnes electorum comedet et talos eorum evertet. Et gladius eorum super brachium eius est et super oculum dexterum ipsius; brachium ipsius arefiens arefiet et oculus ipsius dexter obcaecatus obcaecabitur.* Proinde Christus dicit: *Ego primus et novissimus et praeter me non est deus.*

6. Simon: Ergo tu duos deos facis?

Theophilus: Deus unus est, ex quo Christus et in quo deus, sicut Abrahae ad ilicem Mambrae tres visi sunt, quibus occurens unum salutavit dicens: *Si inveni gratiam ante te, accipiam aquam et laventur pedes vestri, et refrigerate sub abore.* Quod tres scilicet videbantur ex praescientia divinitatis, quod arbor crucis Christi credentibus tegmen refrigerii praestaret, aequo enim propheta in psalmo LXXXI dicit: *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum, in medio autem deos discernens.* Utique de Christo dicit, qui in synagogis vestris docuit et virtutes magnas fecit. Proinde in psalmo XLIV dicit: *Thronus tuus, Deus, in saecula saeculorum, virga aequitatis virga regni tui; dilexisti iustitiam et odisti iniquitatem, propterea unxit te, deus, deus tuus oleo laetitiae plus quam participes tuos.* Quis deus vel quem deum dixit, Iudaeae? Utique deus pater de Christo filio suo, pro quo et de quo receptissimus prophetarum Hieremias dicit: *Hic est deus noster et non est alius nec aestimabitur absque illo, qui invenit viam prudentiae et dedit eam Iacob puero suo et Israel dilecto suo.* Post haec in terris visus est et cum hominibus conversatus est. Item in psalmo XLV dicit: *Vacate et videte, quoniam ego sum deus, exaltabor in gentibus et exaltabor in terra.* Et in psalmo LXVII: *Cantate domino, psallite nomini eius, iter facite ei, qui ascendit in occasum, dominus nomen est illi.* Longum erit, ut exempla persequar plura; his paucis veritas conprobatur.

II, 7. Simon: Recte quidem ad colentes testimonia, unito spiritu fatentes, ori tuo consentientes; sed illud volo edisseras mihi, sicubi in loco deus per semetipsum deum Christum constituit, tunc demum Christum deum et dei filium credere cogitabo.

Zechariah the prophet speaks about him: *Behold I awaken a shepherd in the land, and he will not observe what is forsaken, or will not search for what is scattered, or heal what is broken, or perfect what is whole, and he will consume the flesh of the chosen ones, and destroy their heels. And a sword is above his arm and above his right eye; his arm will thoroughly dry up and his right eye will be completely blinded* (Zech. 11:16,17). Consequently, Christ says: *I am the First and I am the Last and besides me there is no God.*

6. Simon: Therefore, do you admit that there are two Gods?

Theophilus: There is one God, from whom is Christ and in whom is God. Just as three men appeared to Abraham at the oak of Mamre, and, running up to meet them, Abraham greeted them as one by saying: *If I have found favor in your eyes, let me get some water so that you may wash your feet, and you can rest under the tree* (Gen. 18:3,4). Whereas three men evidently appeared to Abraham, because of the presence of divinity, the tree provided a cool covering for the believers in the cross of Christ. For the prophet in Psalm 81 says: *God stood up in the council of the gods, and he judges in their midst* (Ps. 81:1). Certainly the prophet is speaking of Christ, who taught in your synagogues and performed great miracles. Accordingly in Psalm 44 it says: *Your throne, God, is eternal, and the staff of fairness is the staff of your kingdom. You have loved justice and have hated iniquity, therefore God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness more than your companions* (Ps. 44: 7, 8). Who is this God or what God is spoken of, O Jew? Certainly it was God the Father *speaking* of Christ his own son, for whom and about whom Jeremiah, that most esteemed of prophets, speaks: *This is our God, and no other will be esteemed beyond this God, who discovered the path of wisdom and gave it to Jacob his own son and to Israel his beloved. After this he appeared on earth and conversed with men* (Baruch 3:36-38). Similarly in Psalm 45 he says: *Be at rest and see that I am God, I will be exalted among the peoples and I will be exalted on earth* (Ps. 45:11). Also in Psalm 67: *Sing to the Lord, sing a psalm to his name, make a road for him, who ascended into the west, the Lord is his name* (Ps. 67:5). It will take a long time to set forth further examples; the truth is established from these few.

II,7. Simon: It is indeed proper for those who acknowledge one spirit and agree with what you say to accumulate testimonies. But I want you to explain this completely to me: if in any place God by himself made Christ to be God, and then at last I will consider believing that Christ is both God and the son of God.

Theophilus: Incredule Iudaeae, iam et de prophetis disputas? Accipe tamen interrogationi tuae responsum. Deus ad Moysen loquitur dicens: *Ecce dedi te deum Pharaoni et Aaron frater tuus erit tuus propheta*. Pervide, hunc Moysen typum Christi fuisse, gentium incredibilium deum. Quanto magis Christus credentium est deus? Sicut enim Moyses populum de Aegypto, de durissima Pharaonis servitute liberavit, ita et Christus populum suum de idolorum servitute et de diaboli potestate liberavit.

8. Simon: Si ergo Christus deus est et dei filius, quomodo ergo in Genesi scriptum est: *In principio fecit deus caelum et terram*? Poterat utique dixisse: In principio fecit deus pater et deus filius caelum et terram.

Theophilus: Erras, Iudaeae, nec umquam invenies veritatem, nisi veritatis intellegas originem. Nam si velles credere, poteris et in principio eius invenire, quis est Christus, dei filius. Sic enim *in principio*, ait, *fecit deus caelum et terram*, hoc est in Christi arbitrio et ad eius voluntatem et ad cuius imaginem hominem facere dignatus est; dicit enim: *Faciamus hominem*, et rursus infra dicit: *Fecit deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem dei; masculum et feminam fecit eos*.

9. Simon: Potuit hoc et ad angelos dixisse.

Theophilus: Erras, Iudaeae! Cui umquam angelorum dixit deus: *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te*? Et rursus in psalmo dicit: *Ponam principem illum, excelsum prae omnibus regibus terrae*. Angelis autem iubet, ut Christum adorent. Et iterum in Cantico Deuteronomii dicit: *Laetamini gentes cum eo et adorent eum omnes angeli dei*.

10. Simon: Proba mihi Christum principem esse.

Theophilus: Iam dixi; nunc accipe aliam probationem, si poteris vel sic credere. Nam cum Iesus filius Nave staret trans Iordanem, vidit virum stantem, et gladius utraque parte acutus in manu eius. Dixit illi Iesus: *Noster es aut adversariorum? At ille respondit: Ego sum princeps militiae maiestatis domini*.

Theophilus: Unbelieving Jew, now do you dispute the prophets? Nevertheless, take this as a response to your question. God was addressing Moses when he says: *Behold, I have made you as God to Pharaoh, and your brother Aaron will be your prophet* (Exod. 7:1). You must realize that Moses, who was a type of Christ, was a god for the unbelieving Gentiles. How much more is Christ the God of believers? For just as Moses freed his people from Egypt and from the most punishing slavery of the Pharaoh, so also Christ freed his own people from slavery to idols and from the power of the devil.

8. Simon: Therefore, if Christ is God and the Son of God, why then has it been written in Genesis: *In the beginning God made the heaven and earth?* (Gen. 1:1). Certainly it could have said: "In the beginning God the Father and God the Son made the heaven and the earth."

Theophilus: You are mistaken, O Jew, and you will never discover the truth unless you understand the origin of the truth. For if you were willing to believe, you would discover also his *in the beginning*, who is Christ, the Son of God. So then, *in the beginning*, it says, *God created the heaven and earth*; that is, both by Christ's decision and according to his will he decided to make man in his own image. For he says: *Let us make man*, and again he says later: *God created man in the image and likeness of God; He created them male and female* (Gen. 1:26, 27).

9. Simon: He could have also spoken this to the angels.

Theophilus: You are mistaken, O Jew! To which of the angels did God ever say: *You are my son, today I have given birth to you?* (Ps. 2:7; Heb. 1:5,6). And again in a psalm God says: *I will regard him as the prince, the highest above all kings on earth* (Ps. 88:28). However, he commands the angels to adore Christ. Similarly in the Song of Deuteronomy it says: *Rejoice with him, you Gentiles, and may all the angels of God adore him* (Deut. 32:43).

10. Simon: Prove to me that Christ is a prince.

Theophilus: I have already told you; now accept one more proof, if you even can believe this. For when Joshua, son of Nun, was standing across the Jordan, he saw a man standing with a two-edged sword drawn in his hand. Joshua said to him: *Are you one of us or are you one of our adversaries? But he responded: I am the prince of the army of the Lord's majesty* (Josh. 5:13, 14).

III, 11. Simon: Et hoc volo mihi edisseras, quomodo est filius dei Christus; nam et *omnes sancti filii dei dicti sunt*. Proinde sicut mihi probasti principem illum esse, proba mihi nunc illum dei filium ex deo natum. Longe enim remota est divinitas a coitibus humanis nec miscetur complexui.

Theophilus: Loqueris quasi Iudaeus. Nam Christus deus, dei filius, primogenitus, verbo editus, ore prolatus.<sup>77</sup> Sicut enim deus in principio cum hominem e limo terrae faceret, flatum suum in eundem spiravit, et factus est homo in animam vivam, ita et verbum suum, hoc est Christum, ex utero cordis sui genuit, sicut in Basilion libro secundo dicit: *Et fuit verbum domini ad Nathan prophetam dicens: Vade et dic servo meo David: Non tu aedificabis mihi domum ad inhabitandum, sed cum inplete fuerent dies tui et dormieris cum patribus tuis, excitabo semen tuum post te; hic aedificabit domum nomini meo, et erigam domum illius usque in saecula, et ego ero illi in patrem, et ipse mihi erit in filium, et fides consequetur domum eius*. Item in psalmo II dicit: *Quare fremuerunt gentes et populi meditati sunt inania? Adstiterunt reges terrae et populi convenerunt in unum adversus dominum et adversus Christum eius. Dirumpamus vincula eorum et proiciamus a nobis iugum ipsorum. Qui habitat in caelis invidebit eos et dominus subsannabit eos. Tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua et in furore suo conturbabit eos. Ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo super Sion montem sanctum eius, praedicans praeceptum domini. Dominus dixit ad me: Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te. Pete a me et dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae; reges eos in virga ferrea et tamquam vas figuli confringis eos*. Item in psalmo XLIV: *Eruclavit cor meum verbum bonum, dico ego opera mea regi*. Et Esaias dicit: *Consummatas quidem et brevitas res audivi; quoniam verbum brevium faciet deus in omni terra*. Hoc est verbum, quod *verbera nostra sanavit*, de quo in psalmo CVI dicit: *Misit verbum suum et sanavit eos*. Item in alio psalmo dicens deus testimonium perhibet, per prophetam dicens quod caelum, de quo supra diximus, de Christo et in Christo, qui est verbum dei, fecerit: *Verbo domini caeli solidati sunt et spiritu oris eius omnis virtus eorum*. Hoc est verbum, quod velociter mundum percucurrit et animas errantium per legem novam ad deum convertit, de quo in psalmo CXLVI dicit: *Qui emittit verbum suum terrae, velociter currit verbum eius*.

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<sup>77</sup> Bratke's text adds: *vulvae intaminatae iaculatus* [delivered from an undefiled womb], which may be from an unknown Apocryphal Baruch.

III, 11. Simon: I want you to fully explain to me how Christ is the son of God; for all holy men were pronounced as *sons of God* (Ps. 81:6). Exactly as you have proven to me that he is a prince, now prove to me that the son of God was born from God. For deity is far removed from mortal relations; nor does it mingle in sexual intercourse.

Theophilus: You speak like a Jew. For Christ is God, son of God, the first-born, begotten from the Word, brought forth from his mouth. For just as God, in the beginning, when he made man from the dirt of the earth, sent his own breath into him, and man was made into a living soul; even so he gave birth to his own Word, that is Christ, from the womb of his own heart, just as he says in the second book of Kings: *And the word of the Lord came to Nathan the prophet, saying: Go and tell my servant David: You will not build me a house to live in, but when your days have been fulfilled and you have slept with your ancestors, I will raise up your descendant after you; this man will build a house for my name, and I will set up his house forever. I will be to him a father, and he will be to me a son, and loyalty will attend his house* (2 Sam. 7:4-16). Similarly in Psalm 2 it says: *Why have the nations raged and the people devised things in vain? The kings of the earth have arisen and the people have united against the Lord and against his Christ. Let us break their chains and let us cast their yoke from us. He who lives in heaven laughs at them and the Lord mocks them. Then he will speak to them in his anger and he will distress them in his rage. But I have been established as king by him upon Zion his sacred mountain, declaring the command of the Lord. The Lord said to me: You are my son, today I have given birth to you. Ask it from me and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the extremities of the earth as your possession; you will break those kings with a rod of iron as if they were a potter's vessel* (Ps. 2:1-9). Similarly in Psalm 44: *My heart has produced a good word. I tell my works to the king* (Ps. 44:2). And Isaiah says: *Indeed I have heard things finished and shortened; God will carry out a brief word in all the earth* (Isa. 10:22, 23). This is the Word, which *heals our wounds*, which is spoken of in Psalm 106: *He sent his word and healed them* (Ps. 106:20). Likewise in another psalm, God, speaking through the prophet, testifies that he made the heaven, which we spoke of earlier, from Christ and by Christ, who is the Word of God: *The heavens were made by the Word of the Lord and all of their host by the breath of his mouth* (Ps. 32:6). This is the Word, which quickly passed over the world and directed the souls of the wandering to God through a new law. This is the Word that is spoken of in Psalm 146: *He sends forth his word to the earth, rapidly his word runs* (Ps. 146:15).

Et Esaias dicit: *Ecce verbum domini factum est illis in maledictum, et noluerunt illud.* Nam si velles Iohannem prophetam nostrum audire et prophetico ore clamantem: *In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum, et deus erat verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per illum facta sunt, et sine illo factum est nihil.* Et rursus filius pari genere testimonium reddit patri et nativitatis suae exordia testatur, dicens per Salomonem: *Ego ex ore altissimi prodivi primogenitus ante omnem creaturam. Ego in caelis feci, ut oriretur lumen indeficiens. Ego in altis habitavi, et thronus meus in columna nubis.* Vides ergo, Simon, exeuntibus patribus tuis de Aegypto, quia Christus erat, qui in columna nubis praecedebat eos. Item illic in proverbii eiusdem: *Dominus condidit me in initio verborum suorum, in principio in opera sua, antequam terram faceret et antequam abyssos constitueret et antequam omnes colles genuit me. Cum pararet caelos aderam cum illo, et cum secerneret sedem suam, quando fortia faciebat fundamenta terrae, eram simul cum illo disponens. Ego eram, cui adgaudebat, cottidie autem adlaetabar in faciem eius, cum laetaretur orbe perfecto.*

12. Simon: Potest hoc pro sapientia dictum esse.

Theophilus: Erras, Iudaeae, et velamine ignorantiae sensus tuus contextus est. Non inmerito sanctissimus Moyses velaminis tegmine faciem velabat, quod velamen corda vestra contextit. Accede proinde ad dominum et crede Christum Deum, dei filium, et auferetur de sensibus tuis tegmen ignorantiae. Sapientiae dictum existimas ignorans quoniam Christus est ipse dei virus et dei sapientia. Adeo reges vestri, qui per successionem regnabant, non poterant sapientiam et virtutem accipere nisi per vocabulum nominis Christi dicerentur. Huius rei auctorem Danihelum dabo dicentem: *Signabitur visus et prophetia. Orietur iustitia sempiterna et ungetur sanctus sanctorum. Et scies et intelleges ab exitu sermonis in respondendo, et aedificabo Hierusalem usque ad Christum regnantem, a deo veniente Christo Christorum et rege regum vestrorum; unctio Samariae deficiet cornu illud.*<sup>78</sup> De quo reges vestri ungebantur, et omnes prophetae siluerunt, quia de quo loquebantur venit, sicut Esaias ait: *Ego sum qui loquebar, et veni, ut evangelizem vobis.*

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<sup>78</sup> The citation from Daniel more probably ends with *regnantem*. The end of Harnack's sentence should thus be joined with the next sentence, beginning with "De quo..." as is indicated in the translation.

And Isaiah says: *Behold the Word of the Lord has become a curse for them, and they will not desire it* (Jer. 6:10). For if only you were willing to hear John our prophet declaring with his prophetic voice: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The Word was with God in the beginning. Through him all things were created, and without him nothing was created* (John. 1:1-3). And again the Son gives testimony of the same nature and bears witness to the origins of his father and of his own birth, speaking through Solomon: *I have come forth from the mouth of the most high, born first before every creature. I made it so that an unfailing light might exist in the heavens. I have established my home on high, and my throne in the pillars of a cloud* (Sirach 24:5-7). Therefore you see, Simon, that when your ancestors left Egypt, it was Christ, in the pillar of a cloud, who led them. Likewise in Proverbs: *The Lord established me in the beginning of his ways, in the beginning in his works, before he created the earth and before he made the depths, and before all the hills he gave birth to me. When he was preparing the heavens, I was present with Him, and when he was setting up his seat, when he was making strong the foundations of the earth, I was with him setting these things in order. I was the one in whom he was delighting, and every day I was rejoicing in his presence, when he was rejoicing in the world he had completed* (Prov. 8:22-31).

12. Simon: This could have been spoken in regard to wisdom.

Theophilus: You are mistaken, Jew, and the veil of ignorance has covered your good sense. Not without cause did Moses, that most holy of men, conceal his face with a veil; this veil has covered your heart. Therefore, approach the Lord and believe that Christ is God, the son of God, and the veil of ignorance will be lifted from your senses. You think that it is a word about wisdom, but you are ignorant that Christ is the very power and wisdom of God. Thus, your kings, who always reigned in succession, were unable to receive wisdom and power unless they were addressed by words delivered in Christ's name. I will cite Daniel as the authority for this account when he says: *The vision and the prophecy will be sealed. Eternal righteousness will arise and the holy of holies will be anointed. And you will know and you will understand that from the going forth of the word in answer, I will build Jerusalem for the rule of Christ* (Dan. 9:24). From God is the coming of the Christ of the Christs and the King of your Kings; the anointing of Samaria will lack the horn from which your kings were anointed. And all the prophets fell silent because the one they were speaking came, just as Isaiah says: *I am the one who was speaking, and I have come to you as one announcing good news* (Isa. 52:6).

Proinde, ut diximus, ipse est Christus Christorum, dominus dominorum. Auctorem Esaiam dabo dicentem: *Sic dicit dominus Christo meo domino, cuius tenui dexteram, ut exaudiant eum gentes: fortitudinem regum disrumpam, aperiā ante eum portas aereas, et civitates non claudentur. Et portas aereas aperiā et vectes ferreos confringam, et dabo tibi thesauros occultos. Cui ergo tenuit dexteram pater nisi Christo filio suo, quem et omnes gentes exaudiunt, sicut in psalmo dicit: Semper tu mecum tenuisti manum dexteram meam? Aut quae civitas illi clausa est? Et cui omnes portae apertae aereae patent? Aut numquid et de nativitate eius audebit disputare, cum idem propheta dicat: Factum est verbum domini ad Achaz dicens: Pete tibi signum a domino deo tuo in profundum aut in excelsum. Et dixit Achaz: Non petam neque tentabo dominum. Et ait: Audite nunc domus David: Non pusillum vobis certamen erit cum hominibus; et ideo vos praestabitis certamen cum deo, quoniam dominus dabit nobis signum: Ecce virgo in utero concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuhel, quod interpretatur Nobiscum deus.*

13. Simon: Ego prophetis credo. Praeterea Esaiam receptissimum accipio; sed de alia virgine eum dixisse arbitror. Cum enim Salmanassar rex Assiriorum ducem suum misisset ad Hierusalem exprobrare deum vivum, tunc Esaias prophetavit adversus Salmanassar regem dicens: *Sprevit te et subsannavit te, virgo filia Sion. Caput movit adversus te, filia Hierusalem. Quando angelus de castris Assiriorum centum octoginta milia percussit in hoc fuit nobiscum deus.*

Theophilus: Erras, Iudaeae, necdum removes incredulitatem. Si ergo filiam Sion virginem dicis, quem filium peperit? Vel quis butyrum et mel manducavit? Aut quis infans fuit, qui priusquam cognosceret patrem aut matrem, spolia Samariae detraxit? Aut quem filium de semine David habuit? Esaias enim dicit: *Ecce virgo in utero accipiet, et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen eius Emmanuhel; butyrum et mel manducabit, et priusquam cognoscat puer vocare patrem aut matrem, accipiet virtutem Damasci et spolia Samariae contra regem Assiriorum.*

Consequently, as we have said, he himself is Christ of christs, and Lord of Lords. I will cite Isaiah as the authority when he says: *So says the Lord to Christ my Lord, whose right hand I have held in order that the nations may hear him: I will break the strength of kings, I will open the bronze gates before him, and the cities will not be closed. And I will open the bronze gates and I will shatter the iron bars, and I will grant to you hidden treasures* (Isa. 45:1-3). Therefore, to whom did the Father extend his right hand if not to Christ his own son, to whom all Gentiles listen, just as it says in a psalm: *You are always with me and have held my right hand* (Psa. 72:23, 24). What city was closed to him? For whom do all the bronze gates stand open? Why would someone dare to dispute his birth, when in the same way the prophet says: *The word of the Lord came to Ahaz saying: Seek for yourself a sign from the Lord your God in the depth or in the heaven. And Ahaz said: Neither will I ask nor will I tempt the Lord. And he said: Hear now, house of David: You will not have a small contest with men; and because you will display a contest with God, the Lord will give you a sign: Behold the virgin will conceive in her womb and will bear a son, and his name will be Emmanuel, which is interpreted as God With Us* (Isa. 7:10-14).

13. Simon: I believe the prophets. Moreover, I accept the words of that most esteemed Isaiah; but I think he was speaking about another virgin. For when Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, had sent his own commander to Jerusalem to cast reproach on faith in a living God, then Isaiah prophesied against King Sennacherib by saying: *The virgin daughter of Zion has despised you and mocked you. The daughter of Jerusalem shakes her head at you* (Isa. 37:22). When the angel put to death 160,000 men in the camps of the Assyrians, God with Us (nobiscum deus) was behind this action.

Theophilus: You are mistaken, Jew, and you do not yet put aside your unbelief. If then you say that the daughter of Zion was the virgin, what son did she bear? Or, who ate butter and honey? Or, who was the infant who, before he recognized his father and mother, stripped away the spoils of Samaria? Or, what son of David's lineage did she have? For Isaiah says: *Behold the virgin will conceive and will bear a son, and his name will be called Emmanuel; he will eat butter and honey, and before the boy knows how to call father or mother, he will take the strength of Damascus and the spoils of Samaria against the king of the Assyrians* (Isa. 7:14, 15; 8:4).

14. Simon: Enarra ergo mihi ista quid se habeant, ut credere possim, quid mel aut butyrum intellegitur, aut quae spolia Samariae Christus acceperit.

Theophilus: Si removeas incredulitatem, audies veritatem, ne forte in te inpleatur illud quod in psalmo scriptum est: *Sicut aspides surdae et obturantes aures suas, quae non exaudiunt voces incantantium.* Audenter etiam Esaias adversus incredulitatem vestram clamat dicens: *Erunt vobis verba libri huius sicut verba libri signati, quem si dederis homini scienti litteras ad legendum, dicit: Non possum legere; signatum est enim. Aut si detur liber iste homini non scienti litteras et dicas: Lege, et dicit: Non didici.* Primum quia Christus secundum nativitatem infantium omnium butyrum et mel manducavit. Hoc credimus et sic fidem nostram custodimus; et quia die octavo circumcisis est. Butyrum autem unctio spiritus intellegitur: mel autem dulcedo est doctrinae eius, quam nos adsequimur et sic fidem consequimur. Spolia autem Samariae hoc genere detraxit, quod, cum infans esset, munera a magis accepit, aurum, tus et myrram; et postea adultus cum doceret et omnem veritatem dei demonstraret, relictis idolis Samaria et Damascus bene crediderunt, relinquentes Assirium, id est diabolium.

IV, 15. Simon: Bene quidem per omnia interrogationibus meis patefacis mysteria, et quia Christum deum, dei filium, ore dei prolatum, verbo genitum et ex virgine natum probasti. Quomodo ergo ex semine David in Bethleem civitatem natum adseveras?

Theophilus: Auctorem Esaiam dabo dicentem: *Exiet virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet, et requiescet super eum spiritus dei.* Virga enim Maria virgo fuit, quae ex semine David processit, ex qua Christus flos patriarcharum secundum carnem nascitur. Deus enim, qui in Numeris signum fecit, ut asina loqueretur, multum maius signum facere voluit, ut Christus ex virgine nasceretur. Aut quid mihi et tibi esset certamen, nisi virgo peperisset?

14. Simon: Well then, explain to me, so that I can believe, what is meant by honey and butter, or what were the spoils of Samaria that Christ took?

Theophilus: If you can put aside your unbelief, you will hear the truth, so that perhaps in you may not be fulfilled what has been written in a psalm: *As snakes who are deaf and plug up their ears, who do not hear the voices of the charmers* (Ps. 57:5,6). Even Isaiah boldly denounces your unbelief when he says: *You will have the words of this book as the words of a sealed book; if you give it to a learned man to read its letters, he says: I cannot read it; for it has been sealed. Or if the book should be given to a man ignorant of its letters and you should say: Read, he will say: I have not learned how* (Isa. 29:11,12). First, it is explained that Christ ate butter and honey in accordance with the birth of all infants. We believe this and so we maintain our faith; and certainly he was circumcised on the eighth day. Butter is understood to be the anointing of the spirit, while honey is the sweetness of his teaching, which we follow, and thus we attain faith. He stripped away the spoils of Samaria in this way: because when he was an infant, he received from the Magi gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh; and after he came into maturity and taught and demonstrated the complete truth of God, Samaria and Damascus, once they abandoned their idols, came to truly believe, forsaking Assyria, that is, the devil.

IV, 15. Simon: Indeed you illuminate thoroughly and in all respects the divine mysteries in the face of my questions, and so you have proven that Christ is God, the son of God, brought forth from the mouth of God, sprung from the Word and born from the virgin. How then do you affirm that he was born from the seed of David in the city of Bethlehem?

Theophilus: I will cite Isaiah as an authority when he says: *A branch will come forth from the root of Jesse and a flower will rise up from his root, and the spirit of God will rest on him* (Isa. 11:1, 2). The branch was the Virgin Mary, who came forth from the seed of David, from whom Christ, the flower, was born of the flesh of the patriarchs. For God, who in Numbers made a sign when the donkey spoke, wanted to make a much greater sign that Christ was born from a virgin. Or why else would there be a dispute between us, if the virgin had not given birth?

16. Simon: Credo virginem, ut dicis, potuisse spiritu concipere. Agitur si virgo potuit parere.

Theophilus: Incredule, saxum deus rumpere potuit et aquam in siccitatem producere, quanto magis deus iubere potuit, ut virgo partum ederet! Et adhuc tibi aliud ponam testimonium, si tamen credas Baruch Nerei filio, qui in Babylonia prophetavit.

17. Simon: Ergo me tam infidelem existimas, ut Baruch discipulum Hieremiae non recipiam, qui ab Hieremia toties missus ad populum adlocutus est, qui et prophetiam suam Baruch conscribere iussit. Et quia sciebat Hieremias illum prophetaturum, adeo post Hieremiam populo praefuit in captivitate et prophetavit, sed de Christo nihil meminit.

Theophilus: Quomodo ergo prope finem libri sui de nativitate eius et de habitu vestis et de passione eius et de resurrectione eius prophetavit dicens: *Hic unctus meus, electus meus, vulvae incontaminatae iaculatus, natus et passus dicitur.* Quoniam et tunicam illius desuper contextam et omnia haec, Simon, si crederis, aut cum veneris in plenitudinem evangeliorum nostrorum, inpleta cognosces. Quod autem in Bethleem natus est, audi Michaeam prophetam dicentem: *Et tu Bethleem Iuda, domus illius Efratha, non eris exigua, ut constitueris in milibus Iuda. Ex te enim mihi prodiet, ut sit princeps in Israel, et possessio eius a principio et a diebus saeculi.*

V, 18. Simon: Multa quidem legimus, sed non ita intellegimus; proinde volo per singula quae te interrogo cognoscere conprobata testimonio veritatis. Praeterea quia deus circumcisionem celebrari praecepit, quam primum patriarchae Abrahae tradidit, quam circumcisionem Christum habuisse superius professus es, quomodo ergo mihi credere persuades, qui circumcisionem prohibes?

Theophilus: Circumcidere carnem prohibemus, circumcisos autem credere libenter habemus. Abraham enim, priusquam circumcideretur, amicus dei effectus est per fidem, et iustitiam adeptus est per fidem, non per circumcisionem. Sic enim dicit: *Quia patrem multarum gentium posui te ante dominum, quia credisti.*

16. Simon: I do believe that a virgin, as you say, could have conceived through the Spirit. It is a matter of dispute if the virgin was able to give birth.

Theophilus: O unbeliever, God was able to break a rock and produce water during a drought; how much more difficult was it that he was able to ordain that a virgin give birth to a child! And I will offer you still another piece of evidence, if perhaps you can believe Baruch, the son of Neriah, who prophesied in Babylonia.

17. Simon: Then do you think I am such an unbeliever that I would not accept the words of Baruch, the disciple of Jeremiah, who so often was sent to address the people by Jeremiah, and who commanded Baruch to write down his own prophecy? And consequently, Jeremiah knew that Baruch would prophesy, and so after Jeremiah Baruch presided over the people in captivity and prophesied, but he mentioned nothing about Christ.

Theophilus: How is it that near the end of his own book he prophesied about Christ's birth and the manner of his clothing and his suffering and his resurrection by saying: *This one is called my anointed one, my chosen one, sprung from an untainted womb, was born and suffered* (Apocryphal Baruch)? Because if you believe, Simon, or if you encounter the fullness of our Evangelists, you will understand fully the clothing woven about him and every one of the things have been fulfilled. Moreover, for proof that he was born in Bethlehem, listen to the prophet Micah when he says: *And you, Bethlehem of Judah, house of Ephrata, will not be so small that you may stand among the thousands of Judah. For from you he will come forth to me that he may be a prince in Israel, and his property is from the beginning and from ancient days* (Mic. 5:2).

V,18. Simon: We indeed read many things, but we do not understand them in that way. So I want to understand, one by one, each of the things I ask you to be proven by the evidence of truth. Moreover, because God instructed that circumcision be performed, which he first entrusted to the patriarch Abraham, and which you professed earlier that Christ underwent, how then are you going to convince me to believe, when you prohibit circumcision?

Theophilus: We prohibit the circumcision of the flesh; however, we willingly accept that the circumcised believe. For Abraham, before he was circumcised, became God's beloved through faith and attained righteousness through faith, not through circumcision. For so it says: *For this reason have I made you the father of many nations before the Lord, whom you have believed* (Gen. 17:5).

Proinde dicit: *Creditit Abraham deo, et deputatum est ei ad iustitiam.*

Hoc enim, priusquam circumcideretur, audivit, et postea circumcisionem accepit, ostendens duos populos ad fidem Christi venturos, unum ex circumcisione et unum ex praeputio venturum. Nam si Christus circumcisis non fuisset, quomodo mihi hodie crederes aut prophetis, quod ex semine David veniret? Circumcisio enim signum est generis, non salutis.

19. Simon: Ergo quomodo filium Moysi, cum esset in praeputio, angelus suffocabat, nisi Seffora, mater eius, accepto calculo circumcidisset puerum? Et cum sanguis immineret, orabat dicens: *Stet sanguis circumcisionis pueri.*

Theophilus: Contra te loqueris, Iudaeae, nam et superius tibi ostendi, quomodo Moyses typum Christi fuit, et omnia quaecunque fecit, in imagine Christi praecurrebat. Nam Seffora mulier, quae puerum circumcidit, sinagoga intellegitur. Quod autem dicitur: *Stet sanguis circumcisionis pueri*, hoc est, quod adveniente Christo restitit circumcisio puerorum; adeo deus ad Moysen sic ait: *Aedifica mihi altare de lapidibus non circumcisis, sed et ferrum non inities in eis*, quod scilicet adveniens Christus ecclesiam aedificaturus erat de populo incircumciso.

20. Simon: Proba mihi Christum neminem circumcidisse.

Theophilus: Crede, et ipse tibi probabis, cum coeperis plenitudinem evangeliorum revolvere; ibi invenies Matthaeum apostolum publicanum et Zacchaeum principem publicanorum et multos invenies incircumcisos, qui cum Iudaeis crediderunt. Nam sicut sacrificia et hostiae taurorum et hircorum et arietum et agnorum iussa inmolabantur et prohibita sublata sunt, et populus minor, id est noster, maiori populo praelatus, et testamentum novum veteri praepositum, ita et circumcisionem iam non carnis sed cordis celebrare deus praecipit. Dicit enim deus ad Rebeccam in Genesi: *Duae gentes in utero tuo sunt et duo populi de ventre tuo dividuntur, et populus populum superabit et maior serviet minori.*

Then, he says: *Abraham believed God, and it was assigned to him as righteousness* (Gen. 15:6). For Abraham heard this before he was circumcised, and afterwards he underwent circumcision, showing that two peoples would come into the faith of Christ: one would come having been circumcised and one would come still having the foreskin. For if Christ had not been circumcised, how would you believe me today or the prophets, who say that Christ came from the seed of David? Circumcision is in fact a sign of race, not of salvation.

19. Simon: Therefore, what does it mean that the angel of God would have killed the son of Moses because he had his foreskin, had not Zipporah, his mother, taken a knife and circumcised the boy? And when blood appeared, she pleaded, saying: *Let the blood of the boy's circumcision stop* (Exod. 4:25).

Theophilus: You are contradicting yourself, O Jew. For I showed you earlier how Moses was a type of Christ, and all things whatever he did, he was anticipating them in Christ's image. Surely his wife Zipporah, who circumcised the boy, is understood as the synagogue. Moreover, what she says: *Let the blood of the boy's circumcision stop*, means that at the time of Christ's advent the circumcision of boys stopped. And so God says the following to Moses: *Build for me an altar of uncut stones, as also you will not bring an iron tool on them* (Deut. 27:5), because certainly in his coming Christ was to build a church of uncircumcised people.

20. Simon: Prove to me that Christ circumcised no one.

Theophilus: Believe it, and you yourself will prove it to yourself, when you have begun to reread the fullness of the Gospels. There you will discover Matthew the Apostle and publican and Zacchaeus the leader of the publicans, and you will discover many uncircumcised, who were among the Jews and believed in Christ. For just as sacrifices and victims of bulls, goats, rams and lambs that had been designated were offered and what was prohibited was destroyed, so a younger people - that is, us - were given superiority over the older people, and a new covenant was preferred to the old, likewise God instructed that his people no longer practice circumcision of the flesh but of the heart. In fact, God says to Rebekah in Genesis: *Two nations are in your womb and two peoples will be separated from your belly, and one people will rule the other and the older will serve the younger* (Gen. 25:23).

Et in Deuteronomio dicit: *Eritis gentes in caput, incredulus autem populus in cauda.* Et Iacob benedicens Efrem et Manassem, inmutans manum, dexteram minori superponens, immutationem creaturae demonstrabat. Pro testamento autem novo sic dicit Esaias: *Ecce facio nova, quae nunc orientur, et ponam in deserto flumina,* hoc est in ecclesia evangelia. Et Hieremias dicit: *Ecce dies veniunt, dicit dominus, et consummabo domum Israhel et domum Iuda testamentum novum, non tale testamentum, quod disposui patribus vestris in die qua eduxi eos de terra Aegypti.* Audi nunc de circumcissione lator legis Moyses quid dicit: *In novissimis diebus circumcidet deus cortuum et cor seminis ad dominum deum tuum amandum.* Et Hieremias dicit: *Viri Iuda et qui inhabitatis Hierusalem, renovate inter vos novitatem et ne seminaveritis in spinis. Circumcidimini deo vestro et circumcidite praeputium cordis vestri, ne exeat ira mea et exurat, et non sit, qui extinguat.* Et ad Iesum Nave dicit deus: *Fac tibi gladios petrinos et nimis acutos et sede secundo et circumcide filios Israhel.* Numquid tunc ferrum non erat? Sed deus ad Iesum Christum nostrum loquebatur, quod per apostolum suum spiritaliter corda circumciderit; adeo apostolus noster Simon dictus est et postea Petrus nomen accepit.

21. Simon: Manifestam quidem mihi probationem per scripturas ostendisti, sed circumcisio cordis quae esse potest? Aut quod praeputium de corde circumcidendum est?

Theophilus: Omnis concupiscentia libidinis de corde concipitur, proinde circumcisio novi testamenti talis est, quam deus Christus, filius dei, ostendit, ut circumcidamus nos libidinem, avaritiam, malitiam, cupiditatem, furta, fraudes, fornicationem, et omne quod tibi non vis fieri, alii ne feceris. Haec est circumcisio Christianorum, quam et primi sanctorum habuerunt, scilicet Enoch, Noe, Iob et Melchisedech, qui non carnis sed circumcisionem cordis habuerunt. Potuerat autem deus, si vellet, Adam circumcisum formare.

And he says in Deuteronomy: *You will be nations in the head, but a disbelieving people in the tail* (Deut. 28:44). And when Jacob was blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, by changing hands and placing his right hand on the head of the younger one, he was demonstrating an exchange of birthright. Moreover, Isaiah says the following about a new covenant: *Behold I make new things, which now will come to be, and I will place streams in the desert*, that is, the Gospels in the church (Isa. 43:19). And Jeremiah says: *Behold the days come, says the Lord, and I will complete with the house of Israel and the house of Judah a new covenant, but not such a covenant as I assigned to your ancestors on the day that I led them out of the land of Egypt* (Jer. 31:31,32). Now listen to what Moses, the proposer of the law, says about circumcision: *In the last days God will circumcise your heart and the heart of your descendants so that you may love the Lord your God* (Deut. 30:6). And Jeremiah says: *Men of Judah and you who inhabit Jerusalem, restore newness among you and do not plant seed upon thorns. Be circumcised for your God and circumcise the foreskin of your heart, so that my anger may not come forth and burn, and there is no one who can extinguish it* (Jer. 4:3,4). And God said to Joshua, son of Nun: *Make swords of rock that are very sharp, and circumcise the sons of Israel a second time* (Josh. 5:2). Why then were the knives not of iron? Indeed God was saying to Jesus our Christ that through his own apostle he would spiritually circumcise hearts. And so our apostle was called Simon and afterwards he received the name Peter (i.e., “rock”).

21. Simon: You have indeed shown me clear proof through the scriptures, but what is the nature of the circumcision of the heart? Or, what foreskin must be cut from the heart?

Theophilus: All longing of lust is conceived in the heart; consequently, circumcision of the new covenant is of this kind, which Christ our God, the son of God, has shown us so that we may circumcise our lust, our greed, our malice, our ambition, our intrigues, our deceit, our fornication, and so what you do not want to be done to you, you should not do to others (Tobit 4:15; cf. Matt. 7:12). This is the circumcision of Christians, which the earliest of the holy ones underwent: Enoch, Noah, Job and Melchizedek, who underwent circumcision not of the flesh but of the heart. Moreover, if God had so wished, he could have made Adam circumcised.

VI, 22. Simon: Aestuo vehementi cogitatione potuisse Christum tam maledictam et ludibriosam sustinere passionem, si tamen vera sunt, quae dictis, a patribus nostris crucis patibulo eum esse suffixum. Scimus plane Aman maledictum a patribus nostris pro merito suo esse crucifixum, qui genus nostrum petierat in perditionem, in cuius mortem peracta revoluto anno gratulamur et sollemnia votorum festa celebramus, quae a patribus tradita accepimus, et Abessalon, qui ad caedem patris patricida fuit, pependisse illum in arbore legimus. Christus autem si patibulum mortis huius sustinuit et in cruce pependit, cur non hoc ipsum a patribus nostris accepimus nec passum in scripturis nostris invenimus, ut, utsi inimicus genti nostrae esset, gauderemus? Erubescere poteris, Theophile, si hoc dictum minime comprobaveris. Nam scriptum est in Deuteronomio: *Maledictus omnis qui pendet in ligno.*

Theophilus: Primo huius dicti accipe rationem. Recole superius Deuteronomii lectionem, de quibus dictum est. Sic enim ait Moyses: *Si quis peccaverit in iudicium mortis, puniatur exemplo, suspendetis eum in ligno; et maledictus erit omnis qui pependerit in ligno.* Sed hoc pro peccatore dixit, qui mortale peccatum admiserit. Christus autem peccatum non habuit, ut scripturae inplerentur. Dicit enim Esaias: *Quia peccatum non fecit nec dolus inventus est in ore eius; sed dominus tradidit illum pro peccatis nostris.* Et alibi dixisse prophetam ostendimus: *Ecce verbum domini factum est illis in maledictum, et noluerunt illud.* Et iterum dicit: *Inter maledictos deputatus est.* Audi et in lamentatione Hieremiam dicentem: *Christus dominus comprehensus est in interitum eorum, sub cuius umbra vivimus inter gentes.* Scimus autem sanctissimum David plenum annis in pace requievisse nec aliquam passionem mortis aut crucis sustinuisse. Audi ergo in psalmo XXI dicentem Christum: *Effoderunt manus meas et pedes meos, dinumeraverunt omnia ossa mea. Ipsi autem consideraverunt et conspexerunt me, diviserunt sibi vestimentum meum et super vestem meam miserunt sortem. Tu autem, domine, ne longe facias auxilium tuum, in defensionem meam aspice, libera de gladio animam meam et de manu canis unicam meam; salvum me fac de ore leonis et a cornibus unicornium humilitatem meam: narrabo nomen tuum fratribus meis, in medio ecclesiae laudabo te.*

VI, 22. Simon: I am really shaken by the thought that Christ was able to endure a suffering so cursed and ridiculed, if in fact the things you say are true, that he was bound to a yoke of suffering by our ancestors. We know plainly that Haman, cursed by our ancestors, was crucified through his own offense. He had driven our race into ruin, and on the occasion of his death every year we rejoice and hold festivals of prayers, which we have received by ancestral tradition. Also, we read that Absalom, who was guilty of patricide for attempting to murder his father, was hung from a tree. However, if Christ endured the yoke of this death and hung from the cross, why have we not heard this very fact from our ancestors or found any passage in our scriptures so that we would rejoice as if he were an enemy to our race? You will surely blush, Theophilus, if you have approved this saying, for it is written in Deuteronomy: *Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree* (Deut. 21:23).

Theophilus: First, accept my explanation of this saying. Reconsider the reading of Deuteronomy above, concerning to whom it refers. For Moses says the following: *If anyone has sinned under the penalty of death, let him be punished by example; suspend him from a tree; and cursed will be anyone who will hang from a tree* (Deut. 21: 22, 23). But he said this with regard to a sinner who committed a mortal sin. Christ, however, did not have sin, as all the prophets testify; but he was obligated to suffer, as the scriptures fully attest. For Isaiah says: *For he did not sin and deceit was not found in his mouth, but the Lord surrendered him for the sake of our sins* (Isa. 53:9, 6). And elsewhere we have shown that the prophet said: *Behold the word of the Lord has come to them as a curse and they will not desire it* (Jer. 6:10). And again he says: *Among the cursed he was reckoned* (Isa. 53:12). Also, listen to Jeremiah speaking in the Lamentation: *Christ the Lord was taken in their destruction, under whose shadow we live among the nations* (Lam 4:20). Moreover, we know that the most holy David, when he was advanced in years, had a peaceful death and did not endure any suffering of death or a cross. Therefore, listen to the words of Christ in Psalm 21: *They have pierced my hands and my feet; I have counted all my bones. But they have watched me closely and looked upon me; they have divided up my garments for themselves and have cast lots for my robe. But you, Lord, do not keep your help far from me, look upon my defenses; free my soul from the sword and my only life from the hand of the dog; keep me safe from the lion's mouth and my humility from the horns of the one-horned animals. I will tell your name to my brothers, in the middle of the assembly I will praise you* (Ps. 21:17-23).

Item apud Esaiam: *Expandi manu meas ad plebem non credentem, sed et contradicte mihi, qui ambulabant vias non bonas, sed post peccata sua.* Item apud Hieremiam: *Venite mittamus lignum in panem eius et eradicemus a terra vitam eius.* Item in Deuteronomio: *Et erit vita tua pendens ante oculos tuos, et timebis die ac nocte et non credes vitae tuae.* Item in psalmo CXVIII: *Confige clavis a timore tuo carnes meas.* Item in psalmo CXL: *Dirigidatur oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo et elevatio manuum mearum sacrificium vespertinum.* Item apud Zachariam: *Et intuebantur in me, in quem transfixerunt.* Item in psalmo LXXXVII: *Exclamavi ad te, domine, tota die extendi manu meas ad te.* Item in Numeris: *Nunc quasi homo deus suspenditur et sicut filius hominis minas patitur.* Et in Canticis Canticorum ex persona ecclesiae dicit: *Frater meus candidus et rubens et lancea conpunctus a militibus.* Qui candor quid aliud quam fidem populi demonstrat? Rubeum autem passionem significat. Ad hoc venit in primo adventu suo, ut omnem humilitatem et deformitatem usque ad mortem crucis ostentaret. Audi denique in psalmo XXI quid dicat: *Ego autem sum vermis et non homo, opprobrium hominum et abiectio plebis. Omnes qui conspiciebant me, deridebant me, locuti sunt labiis et moverunt caput.* Item illic: *Exaruit velut testa virtus mea, et lingua mea adhaesit faucibus meis, et in pulverem mortis deduxisti me.* Item in psalmo LXVIII: *Placebit domino super vitulum novellum cornua producentem et ungulas.* Quid dicis, Iudaeae, numquid David cornutus fuit? Age nunc intellege botrum illum in Numeris, quem de terra repromissionis in palanga duo vectantes reportabant; quod utique figura fuit Christi pendentis in ligno, adveniente de terra repromissionis, id est de Maria, quae ex genere terreno fuit. Subvectantes autem palangam duorum populorum figuram ostendebant: unum priorem, scilicet vestrum terga versum Christo dantem, alium vero posteriorem, botrum respicientem, scilicet noster populus intellegitur.

23. Simon: Quid de malagranatis dicturus es, quae ad Moysen adlata sunt et cum eodem botro.

Theophilus: Rectissime malagranata botrum secuta sunt. Figura scilicet ecclesiae fuit habens intra se populum rubeo sanguinis Christi censitum.

Likewise in Isaiah: *I have spread out my hands to a people who are unbelieving and contradicting me and who walk paths that are not good and after their own sins* (Is. 65:2). Likewise in Jeremiah: *Come let us send wood into his bread and let us eradicate his life from the earth* (Jer. 11:19). Likewise in Deuteronomy: *And your life will be hanging before your eyes, and you will be afraid day and night and you will not trust your life* (Deut. 28:26). Likewise in Psalm 118: *Pierce my flesh with nails because of your fear* (Ps. 118:120). Likewise in Psalm 140: *Let my speech be directed into your sight as incense and the elevation of my hands as the evening sacrifice* (Ps. 140:2). Likewise in Zechariah: *And they were looking upon me whom they have pierced* (Zech. 12:10). Likewise in Psalm 87: *I have cried out to you, Lord, and for the entire day I have stretched forth my hands to you* (Ps. 87:10). Likewise in Numbers: *Now just as a man God is suspended and just as a son of a man he endures threats* (Num. 23:19). And in the Song of Songs, in the name of the church she says: *My brother is white and blushing and pierced by the lance of the soldiers* (Song 5:10). What else does this whiteness demonstrate but the faith of the people? Red, however, signifies the suffering. To this state he came in his first advent, in order to show all humility and lowliness to his death on the cross. Finally, listen to what he says in Psalm 21: *But I am a worm and not a man, the reproach of men and the outcast of the people. All who were looking at me were laughing at me, they spoke with their lips and shook their heads* (Ps. 21:7, 8). Likewise in that place: *My strength has dried up as a potsherd, and my tongue sticks to my throat, and you have led me down to the dust of death* (Ps. 21:16). Likewise in Psalm 68: *He will please the Lord more than a young bullock growing horns and hoofs* (Ps. 68:32). What do you say O Jew? Was David a horned animal? Come now, recall that grape-cluster in Numbers, which two men carried back on a pole from the promised land. Surely this was the figure of Christ suspended on the cross, and when the cluster of grapes arrives from the promised land, this is Mary, who was from an earthly race. Moreover, those who were carrying the pole reveal a figure of two peoples: the former is certainly understood as your people turning their backs to Christ, and surely the latter one, looking upon the cluster, is certainly understood as our people.

23. Simon: What will you say about the pomegranates, which were carried to Moses with that same cluster of grapes?

Theophilus: You are very correct that the pomegranates accompanied the cluster of grapes. They were certainly the figure of the church, holding within it a people stained by the red color of Christ's blood.

24. Simon: Quid de ficulneis dicturus es, vel quibus argumentis tractatibus tuis probabis ficum peccatum non esse, cum, quando protoplastus Adam in transgressione fuit, folia ficus pudenda contextit, quod fuit prurigo et amaritudo peccati?

Theophilus: Supra cutem istam intellegis, Iudaeae, nam arbor ficus et tegmen foliarum veteris hominis figura intellegitur. Nam si velles spiritalem hominem considerare, hoc est interiorem, pomum de ficulneis ad Moysen de terra repromissionis adlatum invenies spiritalem vitam, sicut Ezechiae regi Iudaeae post augmentum vitae suae potissimum medicinae massa ficus in sanitatem carnis suae fuisset; suffecerat enim deo dixisse: *Additi sunt tibi ad tempus vitae tuae anni XV.* Adiungit dicens: *Accipe tibi massam ficus veterem, et cataplasmare, et sanaberis,* ut scilicet confractus inpetu libidinis sanitatem recipias.

Revertamur nunc ad humilitatem primi adventus Christi, de qua agebamus. Audi Esaiam prophetam: *Deus, quis credidit auditui nostro, et brachium domini cui revelatum est? Adnuntiavimus de eo; sicut puer infans non est species eius neque honor, et vidimus cum, et non habuit speciem neque decorem: homo in plaga constitutus et sciens ferre infirmitatem, quia aversa est facies eius, deprecatus est nec computatus est. Hic peccata nostra portavit et pro nobis in doloribus est. Ipse autem quod male tractatus est, sicut ovis ad victimam ductus est et sicut agnus coram tondente se mutus, sic non aperuit os suum; in humilitate iudicium eius sublatum est; nativitatem autem eius quis enarrabit? Quia tollitur a terra vita eius, a facinoribus populi mei adductus est in mortem, et dabo<sup>79</sup> malignos pro sepultura eius, quia peccatum non fecit nec dolus inventus est in ore eius; sed dominus tradidit eum pro peccatis nostris, et inter iniquos deputatus est.* Item illic de humilitate primi adventus eius testatur dicens: *Posui dorsum meum ad flagella, maxillas autem meas ad palmas, faciem autem meam non averti a foeditate sputorum, et fuit dominus adiutor meus.* Et Hieremias dicit: *Ego sicut ovis ad victimam ductus sum et nesciebam.*

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<sup>79</sup> Harnack's text has *non dabo* which is corrected by Bratke and Demeulenaere. The *non* reading makes the verse state the opposite of its intention and is also unsupported by the MT and LXX. It is manifestly a copyist's error.

24. Simon. What will you say about the fig-trees, or by using what sort of argumentation will you prove that the fig is not sin, since when Adam, the first man, committed an offense, he covered his genitals with fig leaves, because he felt the arousal and bitterness of sin?

Theophilus: Understand beyond the external appearance, O Jew, for the fig tree and the covering of leaves is understood as a figure of the old man. For if you are be willing to reflect upon the spiritual man, that is, the inner spirit of man, you will discover that the fruit of the fig-trees that was carried to Moses from the promised land is spiritual life, just as for Hezekiah, king of Judea, after the extension of his life, a fig poultice had been the most potent medicine in the healing of his own flesh; for it had been enough that God said: *Fifteen years have been added to your life.* He says additionally: *Take for yourself a poultice of figs and apply it as a plaster on the wound and you will be healed* (2Kings 20:6,7), certainly so that once broken down by the force of desire you may recover your sound judgment.

Let us return now to the humility of the first advent of Christ, which we were discussing. Listen to the prophet Isaiah: *God, who has believed our announcement, and to whom has the arm of the Lord been revealed? We have made this pronouncement about him; as an infant child he has neither beauty nor honor; and we have seen him, and he had neither beauty nor attractiveness; he is a man placed in affliction and knowing how to endure infirmity, because his face was turned away, he was despised and not esteemed. This man has carried our sins and lives in sorrow for our sake. He was treated cruelly, because he himself willed it, he was led as a sheep to sacrifice and as a mute lamb before the shearer, so he did not open his mouth. In humility his judgment was taken away. But who will tell the story of his birth, because his life is banished from the earth? For the crimes of my people he was led to death. And I will give the wicked for his tomb, because neither did he commit sin nor was deceit found in his mouth; but the Lord offered him for our sins, and he was appointed to be among the unjust* (Isa. 53:1-4,7-9). Likewise Isaiah testifies concerning the humility of Christ's first advent when he says: *I have offered my back to the whips, and my jaws to their palms, but I have not turned my face away from the foulness of their spit, and the Lord was my helper* (Isa. 50:6,7). And Jeremiah says: *I was led as a sheep to sacrifice and I was unknowing* (Jer. 11:19).

De quo agno in imaginem Christi Moyses in Aegypto pascha celebravit et in liberationem populi, nec aliter poterat populus de domo servitutis et de pressura Pharaonis liberari, nisi agnus occideretur et pascha celebraretur et de sanguine eius limina domus signarentur, ut cum venerit angelus ille vastator, viso signo sanguinis, qui in dominus erant salvarentur. Quod sacramentum ante praedictum adventum Christi inpletum est. Pro hoc enim in primo adventu suo Christus occisus est, ut nos de potestate diaboli et de idolorum cultura liberaret. Anniculus autem dictus est, quia postea quam intinctus est in Iordane, annum praedicavit et sic passus est, et sanguine eius fronte signati censemur, ut in secundo adventu, cum venerit vastatio mundi istius, salvi esse possimus. Huius rei auctorem Ezechielum prophetam dabo, qui et ipse duos adventus Christi significat dicens: *Transi mediam Hierusalem, et notabis signum in frontibus virorum dolentium et gementium ob iniquitates quae fiunt in terra; secundum adventum vastationem non signatorum dicens: Ite in civitatem et nolite parcere seni neque iuveni, et mulieres et parvulos occidite gladio et deleantur; super quos autem signum inveneritis ne tetigeritis eos, et a sanctis meis incipite.* Hoc signum et Raab meretrix, quae in figura ecclesiae fuit, coccum et spartum in fenestra suspendit, ut cum Iesus veniret Hierico debellare, viso signo coccini Raab et qui in domo eius essent salvarentur. Ita et in adventu Christi cum venerit Christus filius dei saeculum istum igni cremare, ecclesia, et qui in ea fronte signati inventi fuerint, salvabuntur. Sicut Osee, qui typum Christi fuit, iubetur accipere uxorem fornicationis, hoc est ecclesiam, quam de fornicatione idolorum Christus accepit. Dixit dominus haec: *Occupa tibi uxorem fornicationis*, hoc est de fornicatione idolorum illam accepit, quoniam initium fornicationis idolorum servitus.

Moses celebrated the Passover in Egypt with this lamb in the image of Christ and for the liberation of the people, and the people could not otherwise be liberated from the house of slavery and from the pressure of the Pharaoh, unless the lamb was slaughtered and Passover was celebrated and the thresholds of the house were stained with the lamb's blood, so that when the angel of destruction came, when the sign of the blood was visible, those who were in the houses would be saved. This sacrament was fulfilled before the predicted advent of Christ. For this reason Christ was killed in his first advent, so that he might liberate us from the power of the devil and from the worship of idols. Whereupon, a one-year old was designated, because after Christ was baptized in the Jordan, he proclaimed for one year and then he suffered. And we are judged with our foreheads marked by his blood, so that in the second coming, when the devastation of the world has come, we might be saved. I will cite as the authority for this matter the prophet Ezekiel, who himself indicates two advents of Christ when he says: *Travel through the middle of Jerusalem, and you will mark a sign upon the foreheads of the men who are grieving and moaning because of the iniquities that exist in the land* (Ezek. 9:4). He says of them that the second advent will not signify destruction: *Go into the city and spare not the old or young, and kill the women and their young with a sword and let them be destroyed; but upon whomever you find the sign, do not harm them, and begin from my sanctuaries* (Ezek. 9:5,6). And the harlot Rahab, who was in the figure of the church, hung a scarlet rope in a window as a sign, so that when Joshua came to fight at Jericho, when he saw the sign of the scarlet rope, Rahab and those in her house would be saved. Thus in the advent of Christ when Christ the Son of God comes to burn that generation in fire, the church and those people in it whose foreheads have been marked will be saved. Just so Hosea, who was the image of Christ, was ordered to receive a wife of harlotry, which is the church, which Christ took from the harlotry of idols. God said: *Take for yourself a wife of harlotry* (Hos. 1:2). This means he took her from the harlotry of idols, since the beginning of the harlotry of idols is slavery.

25. Simon: Ergo ecclesia fornicaria est?

Theophilus: Quid enim interpretatur fornicaria, nisi omnibus advenientibus subiecta sit? Sic et ecclesia omnibus advenientibus ad se quaestum fidei nulli negat. Repudiata enim sinagoga adsumsit sibi Christus ecclesiam. Audi enim Hieremiam dicentem: *Dimisi matrem vestram et dedi ei libellum repudii, quod dedi matri vestrae, quod dimisi eam.* Et alius propheta dicit: *Iudicamini ad matrem vestram, quia non sum vir eius.* Hic est enim Christus filius dei iustus, de quo et Salomon in persona Iudaeorum prophetavit dicens: *Circumveniamus ergo iustum, quia inutilis est nobis et contrarius est operibus nostris, et inproperat nobis peccata legis, diffamat in nos peccata disciplinae nostrae; promittit scientiam dei se habere et filium dei se nominat; et factus est nobis in traductionem cogitationum nostrarum; gravis est enim nobis etiam ad videndum, quoniam dissimilis est aliis vita illius et inmutatae sunt viae illius; tamquam nugaces aestimati sumus ab illo et continet se a viis nostris quasi ab inmunditiis, et praefert novissima iustorum et gloriatur patrem deum se habere, et filium dei se nominat. Videamus ergo si sermones illius veri sunt, et temtemus quae ventura sunt illi, et sciamus quae erunt novissima illius; si enim verus dei filius est, suscipiet illum et liberabit illum de manibus contrariorum; contumelia et tormento interrogemus illum, ut sciamus reverentiam illius et probemus patientiam ipsius; morte turpissima condemnemus illum. Erit enim respectus ex sermonibus ipsius. Haec cogitaverunt et erraverunt: excaecavit enim illos malitia ipsorum et nescierunt sacramenta dei.* Et Moyses in Deuteronomio dicit: *Innocentem et iustum non occides.*

Surrexisse illum a mortuis scripturae testantur; invenimus in psalmo XV: *Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno, neque dabis sanctum tuum videre corruptionem. Notas fecisti mihi vias vitae, adimplebis me laetitia cum vultu tuo.* Item in psalmo III dicit: *Ego dormivi et somnum coepi et exsurrexi, quoniam dominus suscipiet me.* Et Osee testatur illum a mortuis tertio die resurrexisse dicens: *Vivificabit nos post triduum in die tertia.*

25. Simon: Therefore, is the church a harlot ("fornicatress)?

Theophilus: How else can one interpret a harlot except as being submissive to all who approach? Thus for all who approach her, the church does not refuse to profit from anyone's faith. After he rejected the synagogue, Christ took the church for himself. Listen to Jeremiah when he says: *I sent away your mother and I gave to her a certificate of divorce; this I gave to your mother when I sent her away* (Jer. 3:8). And another prophet says: *Offer judgment to your mother, for I am not her husband* (Hos. 2:2). In fact this is Christ the righteous son of God about whom Solomon in the person of the Jews prophesied: *Therefore let us surround the just, because he is harmful to us and he is contrary to our endeavors, and he blames us for the sins of the law, he divulges in us the sin of our practice; he professes that he has the knowledge of God and he calls himself a son of God; and he has become a reader of our thoughts; for it is grievous for us even to behold him, since his life is unlike others and his ways are different. We have been accounted by him as triflers and he withholds himself from our way -- as from things unclean, and he prefers the newest of the just and he boasts that he has God as his father, and he names himself son of God. Therefore let us see whether his speeches are true, and let us test what will happen to him, and let us know what his last acts will be, for if he is truly a son of God, He will lift him up and will free him from the hand of those who oppose him. Let us interrogate him with outrage and torture, so that we may know his reverence and may test his patience; let us condemn him to a most shameful death. For there will be regard for his words. They thought these things and they were mistaken: for their malice blinded them and they did not know the secret purposes of God* (Wisdom of Solomon 2:12-22). And Moses says in Deuteronomy: *You will not kill the innocent and the just* (Exod. 23:7).

The scriptures testify that he arose from the dead. We discover this in Psalm 15: *For this reason you will not abandon my soul in hell, nor will you allow your holy one to see corruption. You have made known to me the path of life, you will fill me with joy by your countenance* (Ps. 15:9-11). Likewise in Psalm 29: *Lord, you have guided my soul out of the land of the dead* (Ps. 29:4). Likewise in Psalm 3 it says: *I lay down to rest and I began to sleep and I arose, because the Lord lifts me up* (Ps. 3:6). And Hosea the prophet testifies that he was resurrected from the dead on the third day when he says: *He will revive us after a three day period on the third day* (Hos. 6:3).

Item ad Moysen dominus in Exodo dicens: *Descende et testare populo et purifica illos hodie et cras, et lavent vestimenta sua et sint parati in tertia die.* Tertia enim die apparuit dominus in monte Sina et Ionas ad praedicationem Ninnevis ut mitteretur; quod typum Christi demonstrabat, quod post triduum de ventre ceti,<sup>80</sup> qui infernus fuit, exiturus esset. Et Esaias dicit: *Nunc exurgam, nunc clarificabor, nunc videbitis, nunc erubescetis: vana erit fortitudo spei vestrae, ignis vos consumet.* Et in psalmo LXXVII dicit: *Et exsurrexit tamquam dormiens dominus et tamquam potens crapulatus a vino.* Quod vinum passionem eius demonstrat. Nam et in passione eius ab hora sexta usque in horam nonam tenebrae factae sunt; nox diem clausit, dicente Amos propheta: *Occidet sol meridie et obtenebrabitur dies lucis, et convertam dies festos vestros in luctum et omnia cantica vestra in lamentationem.* Et Hieremias dicit: *Exterrita est quae parit, taedium tenuit anima eius; occidit sol, cum adhuc dies est, confusa est et maledicta; reliquos eorum in gladium dabo in conspectu inimicorum eorum.* Quod autem post resurrectionem in caelos ascendit et ad dexteram patris sedet, scripturae omnes testantur, dicente in psalmo LXVII: *Iter facite ei qui ascendit super occasum, dominus nomen est illi. Turbabitur a facie eius, patris orfanorum et iudicis viduarum.* Item in psalmo XLVI: *A summo caelo egressio eius, et occursum eius usque ad summum caeli, et non est qui se abscondat a calore eius. Lex domini immaculata convertens animas.* Item in psalmo XVII: *Inclinavit caelum et descendit, et caligo sub pedibus eius, et ascendit super Cherubin et volavit super pennas ventorum et posuit tenebras latibulum suum; prae fulgore in conspectu eius nubes transierunt, grando et carbones ignis; et intonuit de caelo dominus, et altissimus dedit vocem suam; misit de summo et accepit me et liberavit me et eripuit me ab inimicis meis potentissimis et ab his qui oderunt me.* Et Esaias dicit: *Quis est hic qui venit ex Edom dominus, rubor vestimentorum ex Bosor, sic praeclarus in stola et violentus?* Et ex persona Christi respondetur: *Ego disputo iudicium et adnuntio veritatem.*

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<sup>80</sup> Bratke suggests the reading *ceti* (whale) instead of *coeti* (intercourse).

Likewise the Lord says to Moses in Exodus: *Go down and appeal to the people and purify them today and tomorrow, and let them wash their own garments and let them be prepared on the third day* (Exod. 19:10,11). For on the third day the Lord appeared on Mount Sinai. Also Jonah was sent to proclaim at Nineveh, so that he, displaying a type of Christ, might after three days be released from the belly of a whale beneath the sea. And Isaiah says: *Now I will arise, now I will be exalted, now you will see, now you will blush red with shame: in vain will be the strength of your hope, a fire will consume you* (Isa. 33:10,11). And in Psalm 77 it says: *And the Lord rose up as from sleep and as a powerful man overcome by wine* (Ps. 77:65). This wine demonstrates his suffering. For during his suffering there was darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour; night concealing the day, as the prophet Amos says: *The sun will set at midday and the day of light will be covered in darkness, and I will turn your days of festival into mourning and all your songs into lamentation* (Amos 8:9,10). And Jeremiah says: *Terrified is the one who gives birth, her soul has held weariness; her sun has set, while still it is day, she is confused and cursed. I will surrender those who remain to the sword in the sight of their enemies* (Jer. 15:9). However, all the scriptures testify that after his resurrection he ascended into the heavens and sits at the right of his father, as he says in Psalm 67: *Make a road for the one who has ascended from the dead, the Lord is his name. They will gather before his face, the father of orphans and the judge of widows* (Ps. 67:5,6). Likewise in Psalm 46: *God ascended in jubilation, and the Lord ascended with the voice of the trumpet* (Ps. 46:6). Likewise in Psalm 18: *From the highest point of heaven is its starting point, and its course extends to the height of heaven, and there is no one who hides himself from its heat. The law of the Lord is spotless and converts souls* (Ps. 18:7,8). Likewise in Psalm 17: *He lowered heaven and descended, and mist was under his feet, and he ascended above the Cherubim and he flew upon the wings of the winds and he placed darkness as his covering; because of the brightness in his face clouds passed by, hail and coals of fire; and the Lord thundered from the heaven, and the most high sent forth his own voice; he sent from on high and he received me and he freed me and he snatched me from my most powerful enemies and from those who despised me* (Ps. 17:10-14,17,18). And Isaiah says: *Who is this Lord who has come from Edom, wearing red garments from Bozra, so splendid in his robe and powerful?* And in his own name Christ responds: *I preach righteousness and I announce the truth* (Isa. 63:1).

Item in psalmo XXIII ascendente Christo in caelos ianitoribus angelis dictum est: *Tollite portas principis vestri, et elevamini portae aeternales, et introibit rex gloriae.* At illi qui nesciebant<sup>81</sup> Christum verbo in virginem insinuatam, mirantes quod tali habitu et trophaeam victricem reportans caelum conscenderet, interrogant dicentes: *Quis est iste rex gloriae?* Quibus responsum datur: *Dominus virtutum ipse est rex gloriae.* Item in psalmo CIX: *Dixit dominus domino meo: Sede ad dexteram meam, donec ponam inimicos tuos scabellum pedum tuorum. Virgam virtutis tuae emittit dominus ex Sion, et dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum. Tecum principio in die virtutis tuae, in splendore sanctorum; ex utero ante luciferum genui te. Iuravit dominus et non paenitebit eum: Tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech, dominus a dexteris tuis.*

Audi nunc et de claritate regni secundi adventus eius apud Danihelum: *Videbam nocte in visu, et ecce in nubibus caeli quasi filius hominis, veniens venit usque ad veterem dierum, et data est ei potestas regia; omnes reges terrae per genus et omnis claritas servient ei, et fides eius aeterna, quae non movetur, et regnum eius non corrumpetur.* Item in psalmo XCII: *Dominus regnavit, decorem induit, induit dominus fortitudinem et praecinxit se virtutem. Etenim confirmavit orbem terrae, qui non movebitur. Parata est sedes tua, ex illo saeculo tu es.* Et in psalmo XLIX: *Deus deorum dominus locutus est et vocavit terram a solis ortu usque ad occasum, ex Sion species decoris eius. Deus manifeste veniet, deus noster, et non silebit. Ignis in conspectu eius ardebit, et in circuitu eius tempestas valida. Vocabit caelum sursum et terram, discernere populum suum. Colligite illi sanctos eius, eos qui disponunt testamentum eius in sacrificiis. Et adnuntiabunt caeli iustitiam eius, quoniam deus iudex est.* Item in psalmo XCV dicit: *Dicite in nationibus: Dominus regnavit a ligno.* Item apud Esaiam: *Puer natus est nobis, cuius imperium factum est super humeros eius, et vocabitur nomen illius magni consilii angelus.* Et si volueris plenitudinem evangeliorum cognoscere, invenies apud Iohannem nostrum euntem ad passionem Christum crucem in humeris sibi portasse, pro quo dicit Esaias: *Cuius imperium factum est super humeros eius.*

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<sup>81</sup> Although Bratke suggests the variant reading *sciebant*, we have retained the *nesciebant* reading in Harnack for both manuscript and contextual reasons.

Likewise in Psalm 23 when Christ ascended into heaven it was said to the angels who were gatekeepers: *Raise up the gates for your prince, and you, eternal gates, lift yourselves up and the king of glory will enter.* But those who were unaware that Christ was inseminated into the virgin by the Word and were marveling that he could ascend into heaven in such attire and bearing the mark of the conqueror were asking: *Who is that king of glory?* They received the reply: *The Lord of hosts, He is the very king of glory* (Ps. 23:7,9). Likewise in Psalm 109: *The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies a stool for your feet. The Lord sends forth the staff of your power from Zion, and you rule in the midst of your enemies. With you is the sovereignty on the day of your power, in the splendor of the holy ones; before the morning star from the womb I gave you birth. The Lord has sworn and he will not repent: You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek, the Lord at your right hand* (Ps. 109:1-5).

Now hear about the renown of the kingdom of his second advent as it is in Daniel: *I saw in a vision at night, and behold in the clouds of heaven one like a son of man came even to the ancient of days, and the royal power was granted to him; all the kings of earth of every race and every distinction will serve him, and his faithfulness will be eternal and not moved, and his kingdom will not be destroyed* (Dan. 7:13,14). Likewise in Psalm 92: *The Lord has ruled, he has been arrayed in nobility, the Lord has been arrayed in strength and has girded himself with power. For in fact he has established the universe, which will not be moved. Your seat has been prepared, you are from eternity* (Ps. 92:1,2). And in Psalm 49: *The Lord God has spoken and has called the earth from the rising of the sun to its setting, from Zion is the face of his beauty. God will come clearly, our God, and he will not be silent. Fire will burn in his sight, and a strong tempest is about him. He will call the heaven from above and the earth to judge his own people. Gather his holy ones, who carry out his covenant with sacrifices. And the heavens will announce his justice, since God is judge* (Ps. 49:1-6). Likewise in Psalm 44 it says: *Gird your sword around your thigh, with your most powerful gaze and your beauty; direct yourself, go forth prosperously and rule with truth and clemency and justice* (Ps. 44:4,5). Likewise in Psalm 95 it says: *Say among the nations: the Lord has ruled from the tree* (Ps. 95:10). Likewise in Isaiah: *A son is born to us, whose rule was carried upon his shoulders, and his name will be Angel of Great Counsel* (Isa. 9:6). If you wish to learn from the fullness of the Gospels, you will find in the writings of our John that on his way to his suffering, Christ carried the cross by himself on his shoulders. Of this Isaiah says: *His rule was carried upon his shoulders.*

Item in psalmo LXXI: *Deus, iudicium tuum regi da et iustitiam tuam filio regis, iudicare populum tuum in iustitia et pauperes tuos in iudicio. Suscipiant montes pacem populo tuo et colles iustitiam; iudicabit egenos populi et salvos faciet filios pauperum et humiliabit calumniatorem; et permanebit cum sole et ante lunam in generationes generationum. Orietur in diebus eius iustitia et habundantia pacis, donec extollatur luna. Et dominabitur a mari usque ad mare et a fluminibus usque ad terminos orbis terrarum. Coram illo decident Aethiopes, et inimici eius terram linguent, et adorabunt eum semper, tota die benedicent eum. Et erit firmamentum in terra in summis montibus, superextolletur super Libanum fructus eius, et florebunt de civitate sicut foenum terrae. Sit nomen eius benedictum in saecula saeculorum, ante solem permanet nomen eius, et ante lunam sedes eius, et benedicentur in eo omnes tribus terrae, omnes gentes magnificabunt eum.*

26. Simon: Omnia quidem in Christo praefigurata manifesta probatione per scripturas meas mihi ostendisti, et volueram quidem credere, si non me psalmi istius deliberatio revocaret. Nam hic psalmus in Salomone dictus est; adeo titulus eius te revinctet, cum dicat: *Psalmus in Salomone.*

Theophilus: Invisor ille, qui protoplastum fefellit et populum vestrum modo decipit, per cuius invidiam mors in orbem terrarum venit, hic videlicet et sensum cordis tui occupavit, et rem manifestam et in luce positam rursus non intellegas. Salomon enim intra certa in Iudea quadraginta annis regnavit a Dan usque ad Bersabee et postea deliquit, sicut in Basilion libro tertio dicit: *Et fecit Salomon malignum, et non ambulavit in via patris sui David, et aedificavit excelsum Chamos, idolo Moub, et regi eorum, idolo filiorum Ammon, et Astaron, idolo abominationis Sidoniorum; et excitavit dominus satanam ipsi Salomoni Ader Idumaeum ad eradicandum eum;* Christi autem regnum ultra incognitas solitudines est porrectum; de quo deus per prophetam: *Et permanebit cum sole et ante lunam in generationes generationum, et dominabitur a mari usque ad mare et a flumine, usque ad terminos orbis terrae.* Quid, de Salomone hoc dicit, cuius regnum et annos superius tibi ostendi? Christus autem semper et ubique regnat.

Likewise in Psalm 71: *God, give to the king your judgment and give justice to the son of the king, to rule your people in justice and your poor in judgment. Let the mountains bring peace to your people and the hills justice; he will judge the lowly of the people and he will make safe the sons of the poor and he will humble the accuser; and he will remain with the sun and before the moon from generation to generation. There will arise in his days justice and abundance of peace until the moon is no more. And he will be master from sea to sea and from the rivers to the ends of the world. The Ethiopians will fall down before him, and his enemies will lick the earth, and forever they will adore him, every day they will bless him. And grain will be in the earth on the highest mountains; his fruit will rise above the Lebanon, and they will flourish in the city as the grass of the earth. Let his name be blessed forever, let his name continue before the sun, and let his throne continue before the moon, and all the tribes of the earth will be blessed in him, all the Gentiles will glorify him (Ps. 71:2-5,7-9,15-17).*

26. Simon: Indeed you have shown me with clear proof and through my scriptures all things that were prefigured in Christ. And indeed I would be willing to believe, if deliberation on that psalm were not giving me pause. For this psalm was spoken in the name of Solomon; and so its title refutes you, since it says: *A Psalm of Solomon.*

Theophilus: That despiser, who led astray the first man and now deceives your people, and because of whose hatred death came to the entire earth - this one has clearly taken control of your heart, so that you do not understand what is clear and held to the light. For Solomon ruled securely in Judea for forty years from Dan unto Beersheba and fell afterwards, as it says in the third book of Kings: *And Solomon did wickedly, and he did not walk in the path of his own father David, and he built a temple for Chemosh, the idol of Moab, and for their king, the idol of the sons of Ammon, and Astaroth, the idol of the destruction of the Sidonians; and the Lord raised up as Satan against Solomon, Hadad the Edomite for the purpose of destroying him (1Kings 11:5-7,14).* However, the kingdom of Christ has reached out beyond the unknown deserts; God speaks of this through the prophet: *And he will continue with the sun and before the moon from generation to generation, and he will rule from sea to sea and from the river to the ends of the world (Ps. 71:5-8).* How could this be a Psalm of Solomon, whose kingdom and years I have shown you earlier? However, Christ rules always and everywhere.

27. Simon: Recedit, quia video, de mentibus meis inimicus patrum meorum diabolus, qui oculos cordis mei caecabat. Coepi enim velle lumen veritatis agnoscere.

Theophilus: Crede ergo tu, ut possis de singulis inluminatus de vinculis exire tenebrarum, sicut Esaias de Christo dicit: *Spiritus domini super me, propterea unxit me, et misit me bene nuntiare pauperibus, sanare contritos corde, educere e vinculis adligatos et e domo carceris sedentes in tenebris et umbra mortis, dare lumen caecis*. Quid enim intellegitur domus carceris et homines in vinculis oppressi nisi saeculi istius homines ignorantiae caecitate detenti et diaboli peccatis vinculati? sicut in Genesi dicit: *Aderant tenebrae super abyssos, et dixit deus: Fiat lux*; homines tenebris ignorantiae caecati, sed adveniente lumine recedent tenebrae.

VII, 28. Simon: Occulta et inaudita mihi manifestasti, sed adhuc animae meae inest scrupulum diffidentiae, eo quod omnia religiose colitis, sabbatum vero, quod deus custodiendum servandumque mandavit, negligitis. Cibos praeterea et vinum gentiliter sumitis, cum deus specialiter praeeperit, quaeque debeant ex animalibus et piscibus esse edenda quaeque exsecranda nec morticina illorum tangenda. Nisi mihi et hoc per scripturas probatum fuerit, periclitor credere.

Theophilus: Iam et superius dixi tibi quod et diabolus invidet tibi, quod scilicet filius sis patrum tuorum, qui tot beneficiis fulti et ab Aegypto liberati -- ad vicem murorum mare circumstetit undas--, heremo largis dapibus adparati caelestique cibo manna saturati, in oblivione transgressi profanos deos, quos colerent, ausi sunt postulare. Merito deus per Hieremiam increpat et obiurgat genus vestrum dicens: *Si mutabit Aethiopus colorem et pardus varietatem, sic et vos mutamini a doctrina*. Mala sabbata, scilicet imaginaria requies septimi diei tradita fuit, primum quod Iesus filius Nave, ut Hierico debellaret, per septem dies vicibus muros circuibat, arma bellica tractantes et arcam testamenti gestantes; septima autem die septies circuiervnt. Manifesta veritas est quod aut sabbato coeperunt aut in sabbato cadentibus muris Hierico debellaverunt.

27. Simon: I am seeing now, since the hateful devil of my ancestors who has blinded the eyes of my heart is withdrawing from my senses. I am beginning to want to recognize the light of truth.

Theophilus: Then believe, so that once you have been illuminated you may break from the chains of darkness, just as Isaiah says of Christ: *The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me and sent me to bring good news to the poor, to heal the contrite of heart, to lead from their chains those who are fettered and from the house of imprisonment those who sit in darkness and in the shade of death, to give light to the blind* (Isa. 61:1,2). For what is meant by the house of imprisonment and the people oppressed by chains except the people of that generation detained by the blindness of ignorance and enchained by the sins of the Devil? As it says in Genesis: *Darkness was present over the abyss, and God said: Let there be light* (Gen. 1:2,3). People have been blinded by the ignorance of darkness, but as light approaches the darkness vanishes.

VII, 28. Simon: Secret and unusual things you have made clear to me, but there is still a small measure of unbelief in my heart. You observe all things quite religiously, but the Sabbath, which in fact God commanded should be protected and observed, you neglect. Moreover, you consume food and wine like the Gentiles, although God has especially prescribed what animals and fish you must eat and what must be cursed and the dead of these that are not to be touched. Unless you will prove this to me through the scriptures, I hesitate to believe.

Theophilus: Now and before I've told you that the Devil is jealous of you. This is of course because you are the son of your ancestors, who so often sustained by mercies and liberated from Egypt, the water like walls of the sea surrounded. And in the wilderness they were filled with abundantly prepared feasts and the heavenly food of manna, but they passed over to forgetfulness and were bold to demand back the strange gods which they were worshipping. Rightfully God speaks in anger through Jeremiah and scolds your race by saying: *If the Ethiopian could change his color and the leopard his spots, so also you could change from your evil teaching* (Jer. 13:23). The Sabbaths were hated, and certainly were accounted only as a symbolic rest on the seventh day. First, because Joshua, son of Nun, so that he could fight at Jericho, was circling the walls by turns for seven days while his men wore military armor and carried the Ark of the Covenant; but on the seventh day they circled seven times. The truth is clear that either they began on the Sabbath or they fought at Jericho on the Sabbath as the walls tumbled.

Et illud quod in Machabaeis maximam victoriam de inimicis suis sabbato reportabant et ultionem adversariorum gladiis suis sabbato vindicabant. Accedit et illud quod humanum sabbatum repellat deus dicente Esaia: *Ieiunium et dies festos vestros et sabbata vestra odit anima mea. Facti estis mihi in habundantiam, iam non dimittam peccata vestra.* Illud autem sabbatum deus desiderat, requiescere te debere ab operibus malignis, ut in septimo millesimo anno, quod sabbatum sabbatorum intellegitur, mundus ab operibus malis inveniatis. Haec erunt sabbata tenera sancta deo, in quibus deus delectatur. Cibos autem, quos abigis, manducare debes: non carnes suillas, sed facta porcina prohiberis admittere. Similiter aquam luto mixtam volutas, sororem tuam tibi in coniugio copulas, sanguinem cum sanguine iungis, rapinis terram perscrutaris, festa tua publicas, in plateis oras. Ecce quomodo peccas et non intellegis de te scriptum esse in psalmo XVI: *Saturati sunt porcina et reliquerunt reliquias parvulis suis;* hoc est peccatum vestrum posteritati vestrae propaginis. De piscibus autem squamis cutem vestitis vescimini; cetera autem, quae vitare fingitis, retibus extracta et in multitudine piscium permixta, penitus exsucata per liquamen dulciter manducatis. Vinum autem Christianorum ostende mihi per scripturam ubi prohibitum acceperis, et recte me vincere poteris. Ego autem ostendam tibi, ubi Iudaicum vinum prohibetur, et azymas tuas manducare vetamar. Audi Esaiam prophetam dicentem: *Manus vestrae sanguine plenae sunt, lavamini, mundi estote.* Item in psalmo XIII dicit: *Velocēs pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem. Contritio et infelicitas in viis eorum, et viam pacis non cognoverunt.* Ecce quales pedes, et quibus manibus vinum et azymas conficiunt! Et in Deuteronomio dicit: *De vinea enim Sodomorum vinum eorum, et propago eorum ex Gomorra. Uva eorum uva fellis, et botrus amaritudinis in ipsis. Furor draconum vinum eorum, et furor aspidum insanabilis. Nonne haec congregata sunt apud me et signata sunt in thesauris meis?* Si his tot et tantis testimoniis revictus, Simon, credere nequiveris, saluti tuae contradicis. Lege scilicet Danihelum, et invenies Nabuchodonosor dicentem: *Nonne tres viros in fornacem misimus? Ecce video quattuor viros et facies quarti similitudo filii dei.*

And in Maccabees they were bringing back a great victory over their enemies on the Sabbath and were punishing the last of their adversaries with their swords on the Sabbath. Add to this the fact that God rejects the human Sabbath when Isaiah says: *My soul hates your fasting and your days of festival and your sabbaths. You have become tiresome to me; no longer will I forgive your sins* (Isa. 1:13,14). However, this is the Sabbath God desires: that you ought to rest from harmful deeds, so that in the seven thousandth year, which is understood as the Sabbath of Sabbaths, you may be found free of evil deeds. These will be the Sabbaths sacred to God, in which God delights. But the food, which you forbid, you should eat: you are not prohibited from allowing pork meat, but swinish actions. In like manner, you wallow in water mixed with mud, joining your sister in marriage to yourself, you mingle blood with blood, you search the land for prey, you make public your festivals, you beg in the streets. Behold how you commit sin and do not understand what has been written about you in Psalm 16: *They have been filled with pork and they leave what remains to their young* (Ps. 16:14). This is the sin of your future generation. Moreover, you feast upon the scales covering the skin of fish; the rest, however, which you pretend to shun, which you've drawn from nets and mixed together with many fish, you eat sweetly after you have completely sucked out the juice to make fish-sauce. But show me in the scripture where you have understood that the wine of the Christians is forbidden, and rightfully you will be able to vanquish me. On the contrary, I will show you where the wine of the Jews is forbidden, and we are forbidden to eat your unleavened bread. Listen to the prophet Isaiah who says: *Your hands are covered with blood, wash them and be clean* (Isa. 1:13,14). Likewise in Psalm 13 it says: *Swift are their feet to shed blood. Hostility and misfortune are in their paths, and they have not recognized the path of peace* (Ps. 13:3). Behold whose feet are these, and with what hand do they consume wine and unleavened bread! And in Deuteronomy it says: *For their wine is from the vine of the Sodomites, and their progeny from Gomorra. Their grape is the grape of poison, and their cluster is one of bitterness. Their wine is the madness of serpents, and the madness of snakes is incurable. Are not these things gathered among me and collected in my storehouses?* (Deut. 32:32-34). If, Simon, you have not been able to believe even though you have been overcome by these numerous testimonies, you are speaking against your own salvation. Certainly read Daniel, and you will discover Nebuchadnezzar saying; *Did we not send three men into the furnace? Behold I see four men and the face of the fourth is like that of a son of God* (Dan. 3:91,92).

Quid dicis, Iudaeae? Nabuchodonosor barbarus filium dei cognovit, quem tu tardas invenire. Et vide ne in te impleatur Ambacuc prophetae invectio. *Videte, contemtores, et inspicite et admiramini, quoniam ego opus operor in diebus vestris, quod non creditis, si quis enarraverit vobis.*

VIII, 29. Simon: Lator salutis, Theophile, aegrotorum bone medice, nec ultra quid possum dicere; iube me catezizari et signo fidei Iesu Christi consecrari. Arbitror enim, per manus inpositionem accepturum me delictorum ablutionem.

Theophilus: Immo benedictionem: sic Isaac Iacob benedixit, et per manus benedictionem accepit, ut maior fieret ex minore; sic et Efrem et Manasse per inpositionem manuum dilatati sunt.

30. Tunc Theophilus Simonem Iudaeum tinxit, et adeptus est fidem. Simon gratias agere coepit dicens: Gratias tibi ago, Iesus, quem nunquam vidi ad faciem, nunc autem credo in te. Gratias tibi, Iesus, quem nunquam audivi, nunc autem audio. Invoco te, Iesus, cuius sensum antea non habui, nunc autem cupio in te sensum meum esse, per quem cognovi Theophilum discipulum tuum. Domine Iesus, si fide dignus sum, et ad tuam agnitionem confirma me. Tu enim errantibus viam demonstras et perditos revocas et mortuos suscitans et infideles fide tua confirmas et caecis oculos cordis inluminas. Tu es ipse tabernaculum sanctum, qui fuisti cum patribus nostris in deserto; tu candelabrum luminis, tu altarium et panis propositionis, tu ara, tu victima voluntaria; tu es, domine, vita et margarita, crystallum, magnum aratrum. Oro, domine, ignorantiae et incredulitatis meae ne memineris; tu es enim, ubi cuncta beneficia praestantur. Tu es qui mihi omnia donare dignatus es. Tibi sit honor et potestas et in cuncta et in mortalia in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

What do you say to this, O Jew? Nebuchadnezzar the foreigner recognized the Son of God, whom you are slow to discover. And see to it that the attack of Habakkuk the prophet is not fulfilled in you: *Look, you scorners, and behold and be amazed, because I am performing this work in your days, which you would not believe if anyone would tell it to you* (Hab. 1:5).

VIII, 29. Simon: Theophilus, bearer of salvation, good doctor of the sick, there is nothing more I can say. Command me to be instructed and to be consecrated by the sign of the faith of Jesus Christ. For I think that through the laying on of hands I will receive cleansing from my transgressions.

Theophilus: A blessing indeed! So Isaac blessed Jacob, and through his hand (Jacob) received blessing, so that the greater might proceed from the lesser; so also Ephraim and Manasseh were exchanged by the imposition of hands.

30. Then Theophilus dipped Simon the Jew, and Simon accepted the faith. Simon began to give thanks by saying: I give thanks to you, Jesus, whom I never saw face to face; but now I believe in you. I give thanks to you, Jesus, of whom I never heard; but now I hear you. I invoke you, Jesus, of whom previously I did not have perception; but now I desire that my perception be in you, through the one I came to know you, Theophilus, your disciple. Lord Jesus, if I am worthy of your faith, confirm me to your knowledge. For you show the way to the wandering, you summon back the ruined, you resuscitate the dead, you confirm the faithless by your faith and you illumine the eyes of the heart in the blind. You yourself are the holy tabernacle, you were with our fathers in the wilderness; you are the holder of light, you are the high altar and of the bread of the presence, you are the sanctuary, you are the voluntary sacrifice; you are the Lord, the life and the pearl; the crystal; the yoke; the plow. I pray, Lord, do not remember my ignorance and my unbelief; for you are where all blessings are conferred. You are the one who is worthy to grant me all things. May you have honor and power both in all things and in mortal things forever and ever. Amen.



## Chapter Three

### The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila

The last in chronological order of our three dialogues and the largest in length, *The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* has also received the greatest attention in recent years. Four doctoral dissertations were written on *Timothy and Aquila* from 1986-2000.<sup>82</sup> However, this greater amount of attention devoted to TA has not always been the case. As mentioned in the introduction to Chapter Two, at the end of the nineteenth century *Simon and Theophilus* was receiving greater scholarly attention.<sup>83</sup> In Conybeare's publication of the Greek texts of *Athanasius and Zacchaeus* (AZ) and *Timothy and Aquila* (TA), the editor included a brief commentary on AZ and actually relegated TA to an appendix. His comments in that regard are very interesting:

Because of its extreme prolixity, which deterred Angelo Mai from printing it, I have relegated TA to the obscurity of an Appendix. Yet it is more interesting than AZ in respect of its citations of the New Testament, of the new information it contains about Aquila, and of the light it throws on the sources of Epiphanius' treatise *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*.<sup>84</sup>

A few decades later, however, Williams commented on AZ in relation to its "sister" dialogue. "This is much less interesting than the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, with which it is associated in both ancient and modern times, but it is more thoughtful."<sup>85</sup> It may be difficult to see how the rather straightforward AZ could be described as "more thoughtful" than TA, but one must agree entirely that TA is certainly the more "interesting" of the two.

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<sup>82</sup> See footnotes 12-15 and accompanying text.

<sup>83</sup> See footnotes 21-24 and accompanying text.

<sup>84</sup> Conybeare, *Dialogues*, xii.

<sup>85</sup> Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, 117.

While it probably does not deserve the fate of an “appendix,” Conybeare’s description of the “prolixity” of TA is quite appropriate. It is longer than the combined texts of AZ and ST, being approximately the length of the Gospel of Luke, the longest book of the New Testament. TA contains a more elaborate narrative framework than the other two, with a longer description of the events that led up to the “disputation” along with the regulations for its conduct (1.1-3.23). There is also a more detailed description of its aftermath, including the ordination of Timothy as both deacon and presbyter plus a description of the ensuing baptismal service for Aquila (57.1-20).

Additional matters that are exclusive to TA, vis-à-vis AZ and ST, are such passages as a discussion of the “canon” (3.8-23); a fascinating analogy of the virgin birth to the emerging of a pearl from an oyster in “India” (26.5); and an informative passage containing a charge of scriptural corruption by Aquila in his second century Greek version of the OT (40.1-24).

The “prolixity” of which Conybeare remarked is also exemplified by the repetition of passages and themes beyond what would be expected even for pedagogical purposes. This can be illustrated, to cite only two examples, by the repeated quotations of the passage in Baruch 3:36-38 for its “prophecy” of Jesus’ incarnation (6.5; 10.5-10; 32.8-11; 47.3-5) and the citing of the Isaiah 7 passage in various forms for its “prophecy” of Jesus’ miraculous conception (8.5,6,13; 18.6-10; 26.6; 34.14-16). More than its “companion” dialogues, TA is given to long citations of Biblical passages and genealogies (17.5-17 and 35.9-27/Mat. 1:2-16; 27.7-28.24/Gen. 18:1-33; 28.25-44/Gen. 19:1-24; 49.15-29/Ezek. 16:1-39; 50.5-13/Isa. 60:1-10; 56.5-20/Dan. 7:1-14 – as a small sample!).

Unlike the introduction to ST, where the author claims to have witnessed the “debate” (I.1), TA simply records the debate between a “Timothy” and an “Aquila.” Their personal names actually drop out after 3.2 and they are referred to only as “the Christian” and “the Jew” until 57.16 and 19 where the newly ordained “Timothy” is mentioned and in 57.17 where the newly baptized Jew is

renamed “Theognotos.” The title situates the events during the archbishopric of Cyril of Alexandria, who was well known and has been called “the main architect of patristic Christology and bishop (412-444).”<sup>86</sup>

While Lahey views both of what he calls the “Long Rescension” (LR) and the “Short Rescension” (SR) of TA as being written down in the sixth century, he acknowledges that the work probably does go back to an actual event that took place in Cyril’s archbishopric.<sup>87</sup> But who was the author of the dialogue as written? In a lengthy chapter of his dissertation, Robertson proposed that the author of TA was a certain Cosmas, a scholar, lawyer, and virtual recluse with strong ties to the Alexandrian monastic communities, who wrote various works of the *contra Judaeos* genre and also fostered debate with the Alexandrian Jewish community.<sup>88</sup> Not all have been convinced by Robertson’s suggestion.<sup>89</sup> Lahey, however, advanced further arguments supporting Robertson’s suggestion and refined them to advocate Cosmas as the author of his LR, while remaining non-committal on the authorship of the original TA and SR.<sup>90</sup>

Whatever be the legitimate criticisms of its obvious Christian-oriented context and outcome, TA may represent the essence of actual Jewish-Christian discussion and debate as it could have been conducted after the firm establishment of Christianity in the fifth and sixth centuries. More issues will be addressed about the wisdom (or lack thereof) of its presentation of the Christian argument in the “Conclusion” following the texts and translations of the three dialogues.

Unlike its predecessors AZ and ST, it is difficult to isolate a clear progression of themes presented in TA. This is due to its many repetitions and

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<sup>86</sup> Ferguson, ed., 310.

<sup>87</sup> Lahey, “The *Dialogue*,” 98. Section VI of Lahey’s thesis contains his evidence to corroborate this provenance for the events lying behind TA, 90-98.

<sup>88</sup> Robertson, “Historical Background: Evidence and Conjecture,” 329-385.

<sup>89</sup> Pastis writes that the view of Cosmas as the author of TA is only a “circumstantial observation,” “Representations,” 115.

<sup>90</sup> Lahey, “The *Dialogue*,” 97-99.

digressions, some of which form the most interesting sections of the dialogue. The issues of God's unity, the person of the Messiah including his deity and suffering, plus the spiritual obstinacy of the Jews weave in and out of the thrust and counter-thrust parrying of the arguments. This lack of distinct progression may actually be an indication of the dialogue as it originally took place, rather than exemplify a planned treatise on the Messiahship of Jesus *contra Judaeos*.

Rather than a detailed outline of the *Dialogue*, I offer a set of "problems" raised by Aquila and answered by Timothy in the body of the dialogue proper as they appear between the opening (1-4) and the closing chapters (57):

1. Problem: How could the Jesus of the Gospels be God? 5-29
2. Problem: Is Christ proclaimed in the Law and Prophets? 30-34
3. Problem: Why is he called "son of David"? 35-36
4. Problem: Is the Lord abolishing his covenant with Israel? 37-38

Digression on the LXX and the translator Aquila. 39-40

5. Problem: Has not God promised to restore Jerusalem? 41-46
6. Problem: In what sense did God become man? 47-56

Readers should also notice some of the additional features of TA: 1. The repeated requests by Aquila to Timothy for him to actually present the evidence for his claims, which requests were not always met (7.2,4; 12.1; 19.1; 30.5-7; 21.5; 35.3; 56.1); 2. The extended section on Mary's perpetual virginity, an emphasis lacking in the earlier dialogues (18.1-20.21); 3. The accusations of "insult" from Aquila, which were acknowledged by Timothy as unintentional (24.9; 54.15,16,25); and 4. The attempts by Timothy and Aquila to demonstrate their knowledge of Hebrew (3.13; 8.6,7; 20.14; 22.8; 23.4,5; and 32.1,2).<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Lahey's discussion of these passages in the chapter, "Hebrew and Aramaic in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*" (see footnote 5), is quite helpful in this regard.

### An Additional Note on the Translation and Text

While I have strived for as much consistency as possible in rendering Greek words, there are two words, each of which has been translated in different ways, that deserve mention. The Greek word *χριστός* is usually rendered in NT translations as “Christ,” but it actually is the Greek equivalent of *מָשִׁיחַ* — “an anointed one.”<sup>92</sup> Because the English word “Messiah,” itself a near transliteration of the Greek transliteration *μεσσίας*, is a familiar word to both Jewish and Christian readers, I have utilized that translation in contexts where the “Promised One” of the Hebrew Scriptures is being discussed. When *χριστός* is clearly referring to the historical Jesus, either in the mouth of Timothy or Aquila, I have used the transliteration “Christ.” Whether or not an adequate consistency in this regard has been attained will be left to the judgment of the reader. Usage of the word, however, is intended to respect the Jewish context of the discussion, not to impose any theological slant onto it.

The Greek word *ἔθνος* (pl. *ἔθνη*) can mean both nation(s) or gentile(s).<sup>93</sup> When I have determined that the context is setting apart these peoples from the people of Israel, I have used “Gentiles” as the translation. When there is a more generic political context, I have used “nation(s)” as the translation.

The Greek text of TA that follows is the text edited by Robertson in his dissertation,<sup>94</sup> as it appears on the web site of *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. It is used with the permission of both Robertson and the editor of TLG.

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<sup>92</sup> Lampe, 1531-1532; Fredrick W. Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (University of Chicago Press, 2000): 1091.

<sup>93</sup> Lampe, 407; Danker, 276.

<sup>94</sup> Robertson, i – cxxix.

Διάλογος Χριστιανοῦ καὶ Ἰουδαίου ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα τοῦ μὲν Χριστιανοῦ Τιμόθεος τοῦ δὲ Ἰουδαίου Ἀκύλας γενόμενος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Κυρίλλου τοῦ ἀγιοπάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας

1.

**1a.** Τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γεναμένης κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ τῶν προφητικῶν φωνῶν πληρουμένων καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν διδαγμάτων φαιδρυνομένων, καὶ τῆς πίστεως τῆς εἰς τὴν ἅγιαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην στηριζομένης παντί τε καὶ πανταχοῦ.

**1b.** ἀκολασία μὲν ἐδιώκετο, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἐπολιτεύετο, μισαδελφία κατεκρίνετο, φιλοξενία δὲ ἐπληθύνετο, διάβολος μὲν ἠσχύνετο, θεὸς δὲ ἐδοξάζετο.

**2.** Ὁ δὲ μισόκαλος δαίμων θεωρήσας θεὸν μὲν δοξαζόμενον καὶ προσκυνούμενόν τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔργα λυόμενα καὶ καταπτυόμενά

**3.** πάνυ ἠγανάκτησεν καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τινὰ ἄνθρωπον Ἰουδαῖον, ὀνόματι Ἀκύλαν, καθ' ὃν τρόπον ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ εἰσηλθεν πρὸς ἀσθενὲς σκευὸς διὰ τοῦ ὄφεος εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα οὕτως καὶ νῦν εἰς Ἰουδαῖον εἰσηλθεν.

**4.** Διὰ γὰρ Χριστιανοῦ δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἠδύνατο κατὰ Χριστοῦ εἰπεῖν καὶ μέντοι τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, καὶ διὰ Ἰουδαίων κατηγγέλη, πάλιν δῆλον τοῦτο πᾶσιν, πάντες γὰρ οἱ προφῆται ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ.

**5.** Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀκύλας, ἀπηγγελκῶς τὰς θείας γραφάς, περιήγεν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, λέγων ὅτι μέλλει ἔλθειν ὁ Χριστός· ὃν γὰρ νῦν προσκυνοῦσιν φησὶν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς· κατεκρίθη δὲ σταυρωθῆναι ὡς βλάσφημος διὰ τὸ λέγειν ἑαυτὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ.

**6.** καὶ γὰρ αἱ θείαι γραφαὶ διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς ἕνα θεὸν μόνον προσκυνεῖν· γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως· ἀκουε, Ἰσραὴλ· κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου εἰς ἔστιν, καὶ πλην ἐμοῦ θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν.

**7.** καὶ πάλιν λέγει τῷ Μωυσῆ ἐπὶ τῆς βάρου· ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ τῶν πατέρων σου·

**8.** καὶ διὰ πάντων τῶν προφητῶν διδάσκει ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς βίβλοις καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς πανταχοῦ, ἕνα θεὸν προσκυνεῖν καὶ οὐχὶ δύο.

**9.** τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, καὶ μὲν πόθεν ἔστιν οἶδαμεν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ γινώσκωμεν·

**10.** ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς ὅτ' ἂν ἔλθῃ, οὐδεὶς γινώσκει πόθεν ἔστιν.

A Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew whose names are Timothy the Christian and Aquila the Jew, which took place in Alexandria in the days of Cyril, the most holy Archbishop of Alexandria

1.

1.1a When the manifestation of our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ had taken place throughout all the inhabited world and when the prophetic oracles were being fulfilled and the apostolic teachings were shining forth, faith in the holy and same-substanced trinity was being established both for everyone and everywhere in the whole inhabited world.

1.1b Intemperance was being expelled and virtue was being administered, brotherly hatred was being condemned and hospitality was being multiplied, the devil was being shamed but God was being glorified.

1.2 And when the demon who hates the good saw God being glorified and worshipped, and saw his own works destroyed and spit upon,

1.3 he was very irritated and entered into a certain Jewish man named Aquila. In the same way that in Paradise he entered through the serpent into a weak vessel, the woman, so now he also entered into a Jew.

1.4 Now it is clear that he was not able to speak against Christ through a Christian. Indeed our Lord Jesus Christ was from Jews according to the flesh, and he was proclaimed by Jews, and again this is clear to all, for all the prophets were from Israel.

1.5 Now, this Aquila was going around in the synagogues and teaching the divine scriptures, saying this: The one whom the Christians now worship is not the Messiah, but he was a man even as we are. He was condemned to be crucified as a blasphemer because he said that he was God.

1.6 For the Divine scriptures teach us to worship one God only. For it is written: *Hear, Israel, the Lord your God is one and there is no god besides me* (Deut. 6:4; Isa. 44:6).

1.7 And again He says to Moses in the *Bush*. *I am the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob your fathers* (Exod. 3:6).

1.8 Also through all the prophets and in the historical books and in every place generally He teaches us to worship one God and not two.

1.9 And this Jesus – we know from where he came. We know the name of his father and his mother.

1.10 But when the Messiah comes, no one will know from where he is.

## 2.

1. Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμέρων, ἐκαθέζετο Ἀκύλας ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς καὶ ἐλάλει τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσιν Ἰουδαίους περὶ τῶν τοιούτων·

2a. καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, Τιμόθεός τις ὀνόματι Χριστιανός, παρεστώς καὶ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγοντος, ποιήσας τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ σφραγίδα, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ,

2b. εἶπεν τῷ Ἀκύλᾳ· θέλεις συγκαθεσθέντες ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ περὶ τούτου ζήτησιν ποιούμεθα ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν;

3. ὁ δὲ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ναί, εἰ θέλεις, ποιήσωμεν.

4. ὁ δὲ Χριστιανός φησι· πότε βούλη;

5. ὁ δὲ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· αὐρῖον.

## 3.

1a. Καὶ ἐγένετο τῇ ἐπαύριον, καθισάντων αὐτῶν ἐν τόπῳ καλουμένῳ Δρόμῳ, καὶ ἀκροατηρίου συστησαμένου μεγάλου, εὐθέως ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν·

1b. ἐκ ποίων καὶ ποίων γραφῶν βούλεσαι τὸν λόγον ποιήσασθαι, ὡς ἄνθρωπε;

2. Τιμόθεος ὁ Χριστιανός εἶπεν· μὴ ἀποβάλλῃ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου ἢ τῶν προφητῶν βίβλον.

3. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· μὴ μοι γένοιτο παρὰ θεοῦ παντοκράτορος ἀποσεῖσασθαι τι τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν.

4. ὁ Χριστιανός εἶπεν· ἐν τῷ ὀνομάσαι σε τὸν παντοκράτορα θεὸν νῦν κατησχύνθη ὁ λαλῶν διὰ σοῦ.

5. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ λαλῶν δι' ἐμοῦ;

6. ὁ Χριστιανός εἶπεν· οὐ δύνασαι νῦν μαθεῖν, ἀκούσῃ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα.

7. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ποῖαι δὲ καὶ ποῖαί εἰσιν βίβλοι, ἀφ' ὧν τὸν διάλογον βούλεσαι ποιήσασθαι πρὸς με;

8. ὁ Χριστιανός εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ εἰσὶν τινα καὶ ἄλλα ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία, διὰ τοῦτό σε ὑπέμνησα·

9. τὰ γὰρ ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ τοῦ θεοῦ ὄντα, ἅτινα καὶ οἱ Ἑβραῖοι ἐρμηνευταὶ ἐρμήνευσαν, καὶ Ἀκύλας καὶ Σύμμαχος καὶ Θεοδοτίων—

10a. εὐρέθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι δύο ἐκδόσεις κεκρυμμέναι ἐν πίθῳ, μία μὲν ἐν Ἱερικῷ, μία δὲ ἐν Νικοπόλει (αὕτη ἔστιν Ἑμμαούς).

10b. τίνες δὲ ἐρμήνευσαν οὐκ οἶδαμεν· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἐρημώσεως τῆς Ἰουδαίας τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ εὐρέθησαν—

2.1 Then, on one day, Aquila was sitting in the Jewish Quarter and was speaking about these matters to the Jews who were gathering there.

2.2 And while he was saying these things, a Christian named Timothy arrived. And when he heard him saying these things, he made the seal in Christ, that is, the sign of the cross on his forehead and his heart. He then said to Aquila, "Are you willing to sit together in some place and search out together this issue from the holy scriptures?"

2.3 And the Jew said: Yes, if you wish to, we can do that.

2.4 And the Christian said: When do you wish?

2.5 And the Jew said: Tomorrow.

3.1a And it happened that on the next day, when they had sat down in a public walk, with a great audience assembled, that the Jew then said:

3.1b Sir, from where and what scriptures do you wish to conduct this debate?

3.2 Timothy the Christian said: You do not reject any book from the law or the prophets, do you?

3.3 The Jew said: May I never neglect any part of the scriptures inspired by Almighty God!

3.4 The Christian said: When you call Him the Almighty God, the one who speaks through you then is put to shame.

3.5 The Jew said: And who is the one who speaks through me?

3.6 The Christian said: You are not able to learn that now, but you will hear about this later.

3.7 The Jew said: From what books do you wish to do this debate with me?

3.8 The Christian said: I mentioned this to you because there are also some other apocryphal books.

3.9 For there are the ones that are in the Divine Covenant, which also the Hebrew translators translated, and Aquila, and Symmachus and Theodotion.

3.10a Two other versions were also found hidden in wine jars. One was in Jericho and the other was in Nicopolis, which is Emmaus.

3.10b Who the translators were we do not know, for they were found in the days of the destruction of Judea that took place under Vespasian.

- 11a.** αὗται οὖν εἰσιν αἱ θεόπνευστοι βίβλοι, καὶ παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς καὶ παρ' Ἑβραίοις.
- 11b.** πρώτη βίβλος ἡ τῆς Γενέσεως, Β Ἐξοδος, Γ τὸ Λευιτικόν, Δ οἱ Ἀριθμοί· αὗται εἰσιν αἱ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ ὑπαγορευθεῖσαι καὶ ἐν χειρὶ Μωυσέως γραφεῖσαι.
- 12.** Ε δὲ βίβλος ἐστὶ τὸ Δευτερονόμιον, οὐ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ ὑπαγορευθὲν ἀλλὰ διὰ Μωυσέως δευτερονομηθέν, [ἰδίῳ οὔτε ἐτέθη ἐν τῷ ἁρῶνα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ κιβωτῇ τῆς διαθήκης].
- 13.** αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ Μωσαϊκὴ πεντάτευχος.
- 14.** Ϛ βίβλος ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ, Ζ οἱ Κριταὶ μετὰ τῆς Ρούθ, Η βίβλος ἐστὶν τὰ Παραλειπόμενα α καὶ β, Θ βίβλος ἐστὶν τῶν Βασιλείων α καὶ β, Ι βίβλος ἐστὶν γ καὶ δ τῶν Βασιλείων.
- 15.** ΙΑ Ἰώβ, ΙΒ τὸ Ψαλτήριον τοῦ Δαυὶδ, ΙΓ αἱ Παροιμίαι Σολομῶντος, ΙΔ ὁ Ἐκκλησιαστής σὺν τοῖς ἄσμασιν,
- 16.** ΙΕ τὸ Δωδεκαπρόφητον, εἶτα Ἡσαίας, Ἱερεμίας, καὶ πάλιν Ἰεζεκιήλ, εἶτα Δανιήλ, καὶ πάλιν Ἑσδρας, Κ.
- 17a.** ΚΑ δὲ βίβλος ἐστὶν Ἰουδίθ, ΚΒ ἡ Ἑσθήρ·
- 17b.** τὸν γὰρ Τωβίαν καὶ τὴν Σοφίαν Σολομῶντος καὶ τὴν Σοφίαν Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιραχ εἰς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα παρέδωκαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἑρμηνευταί.
- 18.** Αὗται αἱ εἴκοσι δύο βίβλοι εἰσιν αἱ θεόπνευστοι καὶ ἐνδιάθετοι, εἴκοσι ἕπτα μὲν οὖσαι, εἴκοσι δύο δὲ ἀριθμούμεναι διὰ τὸ πέντε ἐξ αὐτῶν διπλοῦσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς Ἑβραίων ἀλφαβήτου· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα τῶν ἀποκρύφων εἰσιν.
- 19.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ποῖα δὲ ἐστὶν τὰ παραδοθέντα ὑμῖν εἰς ἣν λέγεται νέαν διαθήκην;
- 20.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τί γὰρ χρεῖα τούτων;
- 21.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἵνα ὡς καθὼς σὺ δοκεῖς ἐλέγχειν με ἐκ τῆς ἐνδιαθέτου, κἀγὼ σε ἐκ τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν διαθήκης.
- 22.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· πρώτη βίβλος ἐστὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, εἶτα αἱ Πράξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ πάλιν αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος, δεκατέσσαρες ἐπιστολαί·
- 23.** ταύτας ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἀπόκρυφά εἰσιν, καὶ εἰ βούλεσαι εἰπεῖν τί ἐκ τῶν ἀποκρύφων, ἀκούσαι καὶ αὐτός·.

## 4.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἰ βούλει, ἀρχὴν λοιπὸν ποιησώμεθα περὶ τοῦ λόγου.
2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· βούλεσαι πρῶτος εἰπεῖν τι, ἢ ἀκούειν;
3. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἰπέ εἰ θέλεις αὐτός.

3.11a These, then, are the divinely inspired books, both among Christians and among Hebrews.

3.11b The first is the book of Genesis. The second is Exodus. The third is Leviticus. The fourth is Numbers. These are the ones dictated through the mouth of God and written by the hand of Moses.

3.12 And the fifth is the Book of Deuteronomy, not dictated through the mouth of God but was the law given a second time through Moses. (Therefore, it was not placed in the *aron*, that is, the Ark of the Covenant) (see Deut. 31:9; 24-26).

3.13 This is the Mosaic Pentateuch.

3.14 The sixth is Joshua, son of Nun. The seventh is the Judges along with Ruth. The eighth book is the "Things that are left," first and second (1,2 Chronicles). Ninth is the Book of Kingdoms, first and second (1,2 Samuel). Tenth is the third and fourth Book of Kingdoms (1,2 Kings).

3.15 Eleventh is Job. Twelfth is the Psalter of David. Thirteenth is the Proverbs of Solomon. Fourteenth is Ecclesiastes along with the Canticles.

3.16 Fifteenth is the Twelve Prophets, then Isaiah, Jeremiah. And again, Ezekiel, then Daniel and again, Esdras (Ezra-Nehemiah), twentieth.

3.17a The twenty first is the book of Judith. Twenty second is Esther.

3.17b For Tobit and the Wisdom of Solomon and the Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach, the 72 translators (LXX) handed down to us as apocryphal books.

3.18 These twenty two books are the inspired and canonical ones. There are twenty seven, but are numbered as twenty two, because five of them are doubled. And they are numbered according to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and all the rest of them belong to the Apocrypha.

3.19 The Jew said: And what are the books handed down to you, which you call the "New Covenant?"

3.20 The Christian said: Why do you need the names of these?

3.21 The Jew said: Just as you wish to convince me out of my canon, so do I want to do the same from your "covenant."

3.22 The Christian said: The first book is the Gospel, then the Acts of the Holy Apostles. And again their Epistles and the fourteen epistles from Paul.

3.23 These we have, but the rest are all apocryphal. And if you want to say anything from the apocryphal books, then you must also listen to them as well.

4.1 The Jew said: If you are ready, then let us begin the discussion.

4.2 The Christian said: Do you want to speak first, or are you listening?

4.3 The Jew said: Speak yourself, if you wish.

- 4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· βούλομαί σε ἐκ τῆς πρώτης βίβλου κατηχηθέντα οὕτως ἐπὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπανελθεῖν.
- 5.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἰπέ ὡς θέλεις.
- 6.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ἐλάλησεν πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεράποντα Μωυσέα, στόμα πρὸς στόμα, καὶ γε αὐτὸς Μωυσεῖ γράφων οὕτως εἶπεν· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.
- 7.** Καὶ ἀναστὰς ὁ Χριστιανὸς ἐνάρξασθαι λέγειν, καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς καὶ σφραγισάμενος καὶ δακρύσας οὕτως εἶπεν τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.
- 8.** ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ἀκροαταὶ αὐτὸν ἀναστάντα καὶ κλινάντα τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ δακρύσαντα σφόδρα κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν, καὶ ἀναστάντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμοίως ἐκλιναν τὰς κεφαλὰς·
- 9.** καὶ πάντες μιᾷ φωνῇ εἶπον, εἰς θεός,
- 10.** εἰπόντος τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον αὐτῶν, ἐν πέντε ἡμέραις ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς λέγων,
- 11.** γενηθήτω καὶ ἐγένετο·
- 12.** τῇ δὲ ἕκτη ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ κτίζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ εἶπεν γενηθήτω, ἀλλὰ ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν, καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν.
- 13a.** τίνοι οὖν ἔλεγεν ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν;
- 13b.** ἢ πάλιν τίνοι ἔλεγεν γενηθήτω φῶς, καὶ συναχθήτω τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ὑποκάτω τοῦ στερεώματος; καὶ ὀφθῆτω ἡ ξηρὰ, καὶ βλαστησάτω ἡ γῆ βοτάνην χόρτου καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς πάντα,
- 13c.** καὶ γενηθήτωσαν φωστῆρες ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐξαγαγέτω τὰ ὕδατα ἕρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά, πτερωτὰ καὶ ἰχθύας κατὰ γένος· καὶ ἐξαγαγέτω ἡ γῆ θηρία καὶ κτήνη καὶ τετράποδα καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς πάντα;
- 14.** καθὼς προείπαμεν, περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ εἶπεν γενηθήτω ἀλλὰ ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν. τίνοι ἔλεγεν;
- 15.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐν τῷ μὲν λέγειν αὐτὸν τὸν παντοκράτορα περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ἀντὶ τοῦ λέγειν αὐτὸν ποιήσω, ἔλεγεν γενηθήτω·
- 16.** ἐπάγει γὰρ ἡ γραφὴ λέγουσα· καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν, καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν·
- 17.** καὶ πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ λέγει· κατ' ἀρχὰς σὺ, κύριε, τὴν γῆν ἐθεμελίωσας, καὶ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί·

- 4.4 The Jew said: If you are ready, then let us begin the discussion.
- 4.5 The Christian said: Do you want to speak first, or are you listening?
- 4.6 The Jew said: Speak yourself, if you wish.
- 4.7 The Christian said: Do you want to be taught from the first book, and then to proceed to the rest?
- 4.8 The Jew said: Speak as you wish.
- 4.9 The Christian said: The Lord God Almighty spoke to His own servant, Moses, mouth to mouth. So Moses himself wrote and said: *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth* (Gen. 1:1).
- 4.10 And the Christian arose and began to talk. He then bowed his head toward the east, made the sign and wept as he said the following: "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth."
- 4.11 And when his hearers saw him stand up, they were pierced greatly in their heart. So they also arose and in the same way bowed their own heads.
- 4.12 And all said in one voice, "There is one God."
- 4.13 The Christian said: *In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth and all things of their world* (Gen. 2:1). In five days God made these things, saying,
- 4.11 *Let there be and it was.*
- 4.12 On the sixth day, when he was creating the man, he did not say: *Let there be* but *let us make man in our image and our likeness* (Gen. 1:26).
- 4.13 To whom, therefore was He saying: *let us make man in our image and likeness?* Or again: *Let there be light* (Gen. 1:3) and *let the water be gathered under the firmament and let the dry land appear* (Gen. 1:9) and *let the land sprout forth herb of grass* (Gen. 1:11) and all things after it. And *let the stars appear in the firmament of heaven* (Gen. 1:14) and *let the waters bring forth serpents and birds and feathered creatures and fish according to its kind* (Gen. 1:20) and *let the earth bring forth wild beasts and creatures, four-footed creatures and all things after it* (Gen. 1:24).
- 4.14 As we said before about the man, did He not say: "*Let us make man in our image and likeness?* To whom was he speaking this?
- 4.15 The Jew said: When the Almighty spoke about mankind and the earth and all other things, instead of saying "I will make," he was saying *let there be*.
- 4.16 The scripture continues, saying: *And God saw all things He made, and behold they were very good* (Gen. 1:31).
- 4.17 And also, He speaks through David: *In the beginning, you Lord, made the earth, and the heavens are the works of your hands* (Ps. 101: 26

**18.** καὶ πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Ἰώβ οὕτως λέγει· ἠνίκα ἐποίησα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ κατεκόσμησα τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστροις, ἦν ἐσάν με πάντες ἄγγελοί μου.

**19.** οὐδέπω δὲ ἤραμεν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς Γενέσεως, οὔτε ἐν τῷ Δαυίδ, οὔτε ἐν τῷ Ἰώβ, οὔτε ἐν ἑτέρῃ γραφῇ περιέχον περὶ υἱοῦ, ἐπεὶ εἶχεν γράφειν ὅτι ἶδεν ὁ θεὸς πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ υἱός, καὶ ἰδοὺ καλὰ λίαν·

**20.** εἰπὼν δὲ ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν, τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν.

**21.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἰ μὴ ὅτι ὠμολόγησας τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ἐπεὶ ἂν Σαμαρείτου προεβάλου διδασκαλίαν, μὴ ὀνομάσας μήτε υἱὸν μήτε πνεῦμα ἅγιον.

**22.** Ἐρῶ δέ σοι περὶ τῆς κτίσεως, πρὸς ἃ ἀπεκρίθη· τις ἀρχιτέκτων οἰκοδομῶν πόλιν καὶ διαγράφων αὐτήν, πάντως ἐρεῖ, γεννηθῆτω ὡδε οὕτως, καὶ ὡδε οὕτως;

**23.** ἄρα τίτι ἐρεῖ· δῆλον ὅτι τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ· τῷ γὰρ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν, καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν.

**24.** καὶ εἰ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἔλεγεν ὁ θεός, ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον, τί οὐκ εἶπεν ποιήσατε ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἐμήν;

**25.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐκ οὖν τῷ υἱῷ ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' οὐδέπω περιῆν τότε.

**5.**

**1.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· πᾶς τις εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὴν σχολὴν τῶν γραμμάτων, πρῶτον τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἄλφα μανθάνει, καὶ τότε τοῦ βῆτα τὴν προσωνυμίαν ἀκούει·

**2.** καὶ σὺ οὖν πρῶτον μάθε, εἰ ἔσχεν σύμβουλον ὁ θεός ἐν ταῖς ἑξ ἡμέραις τῆς κοσμοποιίας, καὶ τότε μαθήσῃ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφῆτων τίτι ἔλεγεν.

**3.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐὰν δῶς μοι λογισμοὺς ἢ ἀποδείξεις πρεπούσας, πείθωμαί σοι.

**4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ὁ τὰς βίβλους πάσας ἀπηγγελκῶς καὶ γομῶσας τὸν ἄερα λόγους καὶ δοκῶν μὴ δευτεροῦσθαι ταῦτα οὐ γινώσκεις; ὁμως ἀφθόνως μεταδώσω σοι.

**5.** Γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῇ Παροιμιᾷ βίβλῳ Σολομῶντος οὕτως· ἠνίκα ἠτοιμαζεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, συμπαρήμην αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἤμην σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἤμην ἀρμόζουσα αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἤμην πάρεδρος τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ εὐφραίνετο καθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ ἐγὼ ἤμην ἢ προσέχαιρεν.

4.18 And again through Job, He speaks thus: *When I made the heaven and the earth and adorned the heaven with stars, all my angels praised me* (Job 38:7).

4.19 But nowhere have we found, neither in the book of Genesis, nor in David, nor in Job, nor in any other scripture, anything containing a provision for a son. Since otherwise, he would have had to write that God saw all things the son made and behold they were very good.

4.20 But when he said *Let us make man in our image*, He was speaking to His angels.

4.21 The Christian said: Unless you allow that they are angels, since you would be advancing a teaching of a Samaritan, since you named neither the son nor the Holy Spirit.

4.22 I will now speak to you about the creation, to which things you should answer. What architect builds a city and when he diagrams it he will always say, "Let it be here this way and there this way."

4.23 Therefore, to whom would he be speaking? It must be to those who are with him. *For by the word* (i.e., the Logos) *of the Lord the heavens were founded, and by the spirit of his mouth all of their power* (Ps. 32:6).

4.24 And if God said to the angels: "Let us make man," why did he not just command them, "Make man in my image?"

4.25 The Jew said: Well, he was not speaking to the son, because he was not around at that time.

5.1 The Christian said: Everyone who comes to grammar school first learns the meaning of the alpha and then he hears the beta named.

5.2 So you then, learn first if God had an advisor during the six days of the world's creation. And then, you will learn from the law and the prophets to whom he was speaking.

5.3 The Jew said: If you will give me reasons or suitable answers, I will be persuaded by you.

5.4 The Christian said: You who have announced all the books, and who filled the air with words and think that you are second to none – do you not know these things? All the same, I will share ungrudgingly with you.

5.5 For it is written in Solomon's Book of Proverbs thus: *When God prepared the heaven and the earth, I was present with him, and I was his Advisor, and I was beside him, and I was next to his throne. And he rejoiced in me daily and I was the one in whom he took delight* (Prov. 8:27-30).

6. Ἄλλὰ καὶ Ἡσαίας συνάδει τούτοις καὶ λέγει· παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν, υἱὸς καὶ ἐδόθη ἡμῖν· οὐ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος, θαυμαστός σύμβουλος, θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐξουσιαστής, ἄρχων εἰρήνης, πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.
7. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἰς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κεφάλαιον, παρέστησας δύο προσώπων δύναμιν, ἀλλ' ὅμως τοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· τὸ γὰρ δεύτερον οὐκ ἔστιν μαρτυρία.
8. τί καὶ ὁ νόμος· μία μαρτυρία οὐ δεκτὴ.
9. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ δυνηθῆς δοῦναι δευτέραν μαρτυρίαν ὥσπερ τὴν πρώτην, ὡς προεῖπον περὶ παντοκράτορος ἔστι καὶ περὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος·
10. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ λέγει διὰ Μωυσέως, ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ, κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου κύριος εἰς ἔστιν, καὶ οὐ προσκυνησεῖς θεῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ·
11. ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμί, καὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν· περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λέγει· τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐφέστηκεν ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν.
12. περὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τούτου, καθὼς τὰ ὑπομνήματα αὐτοῦ περιέχουσιν ἐν τοῖς λέγετε εὐαγγελίοις, εὐρίσκομεν πόθεν ἔστιν, καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ πῶς θεὸς ἔστιν οὗτος;
13. θεὸς δὲ γαλουχεῖται ἢ αὐξάνει καὶ κραταιοῦται· καὶ ἐρῶ ἐκεῖνο ὃ ὁ Λουκάς λέγει περὶ αὐτοῦ· περὶ γὰρ τούτου ὁ λόγος νῦν τοῦ καὶ φυγόντος ὅτε ἀπεκεφαλίσθη ὁ Ἰωάννης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡρώδου, εἶτα δὲ παραδοθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου μαθητοῦ καὶ δεθέντος, καὶ ἐμπαιχθέντος, καὶ φραγελλωθέντος, καὶ ἐμπτυσθέντος, καὶ σταυρωθέντος, καὶ ταφέντος, ἀλλὰ μὴν πρῶτον καὶ πεινάσαντος, καὶ διψήσαντος, καὶ πειρασθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ·
14. ἄρα θεὸς ταῦτα ὑπομένει ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; τίς δὲ δύναται θεάσασθαι θεόν, — ἵνα μὴ εἶπω ὅτι καὶ ἐκρατήθη, καὶ τοσαῦτα ἔπαθεν ὅπερ ταῦτα ἀδύνατον θεὸν παθεῖν·
15. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄξος ἐποτίσθη, καὶ χολὴν ἐτράφη, καὶ καλάμῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐτυπτήθη, καὶ ἀκάνθαις ἐστεφανώθη, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον θανάτῳ κατεκρίθη, καὶ μετὰ λησῶν ἐσταυρώθη.
16. Ξενίζομαι· πῶς οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε λέγοντες αὐτὸν θεόν, εἰσελθόντα εἰς μήτραν γυναικὸς καὶ γεννηθέντα;
17. εἰ γὰρ ἐγεννήθη οὐκ ἔτι προαιώνιος ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ τε καὶ ἄρτι ποῦ ἔστιν.
18. Πρὸς ταῦτα τί ἐρεῖς; ἀποκρίθητί μοι.
19. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ταῦτα πάντα, ἐὰν ἀθορύβως ἀκούσῃ, ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται προεκέρυξαν, καὶ γὰρ δὲ σοι δεικνύω ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν.
20. μόνον καὶ σὺ ἀπόδειξον, εἰ ἔσχεν σύμβουλον ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐξ ἡμερῶν τῆς κοσμοποιᾶς ἢ οὐ· καὶ περὶ ὧν εἶπας, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἀποδείξαι σοι.

5.6 But Isaiah also agrees with these things and says: *A child was born to us; a son also was given to us. His authority will be on his shoulder. His name will be called Messenger of Great Counsel; Marvelous Advisor; Strong God of Power; Ruler of Peace; Father of the Age to Come* (Isa. 9:5).

5.7 The Jew said: In regard to the first passage – you have set forth its meaning as referring to two persons. But even so it is referring to the Almighty and the Holy Spirit, for the second one is not a testimony.

5.8 For what says the law? One testimony is not acceptable.

5.9 Are you able to give a second testimony like the first? As I said before, it is about the Almighty and about the Holy Spirit.

5.10 For the Almighty himself says through Moses: *Hear, Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord, and you shall not worship another god* (Deut. 6:4).

5.11 *For I am, and there is no one besides me* (Isa. 44:6). And concerning the Holy Spirit, he says: *My spirit remains in your midst* (Hag. 2:5).

5.12 For concerning this Jesus, as his memoirs contain in those books you call the gospels, we find from where he comes and his parents with him, so how is this one God?

5.13 Does God suck milk and also grow and become strong? And I will tell what Luke says about him. For the present discussion is about this one is that he also fled when John was beheaded by Herod, (Lu. 9:9) and then he was betrayed by his own disciple and bound and mocked and flogged and spit on and crucified and buried. But prior to that he hungered and thirsted and was tempted by Satan.

5.14 Then does God submit to these things done by men? And who is able to see God? Not to mention that he was seized and suffered so many things which it is indeed impossible for God to suffer.

5.15 But he was also given sour wine to drink and was fed gall. And he was struck with a reed on his head and he was crowned with thorns. And finally he was condemned to death and was crucified with bandits (Mat. 27 generally).

5.16 I am shocked! How is it that you are not ashamed to say that God himself entered into a woman's womb and was born?

5.17 For if he was born, then he was not eternal, and also now where is he?

5.18 What will you say to these things? Answer me.

5.19 The Christian said: If you will listen patiently, you will learn that the Law and the Prophets proclaimed all these things beforehand. And I will show you them from the Divine scriptures.

5.20 But also you must show if God had an Advisor during the six days of creation or not. And concerning the one you spoke about, nothing prevents me from demonstrating to you.

**21.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ὁμολογῶ ὅτι ἔσχεν σύμβουλον ὁ θεός, τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν τοῦτον οὐκ ἔσχεν.

**6.**

**1.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἔδει μὲν ἡμᾶς μὴ ἐκκοπὴν δοῦναι τῷ λόγῳ, ἕως οὗ ἀποδείξω σοι εἰς πλήρεις περὶ τοῦ συμβούλου εἰς τὴν σὴν καὶ τῶν ἀκουόντων πληροφορίαν·

**2.** ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἤτησώ ταῦτα συμπεριφερόμενος, καὶ ταῦτά σοι λέγω περὶ πάντων ὧν με ἐπερώτησας.

**3.** Περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγὼ σοι ἀποδώσω ἀποδείξεις νῦν, καὶ περὶ ὧν σὺ οὐκ ἐμνήσθης εἰπεῖν ἐγὼ εἰς μέσον ἀγαγὼν δώσω ἀποδείξεις ἀληθεῖς.

**4.** εἰς πάντα ὅσα ἐδημιούργησεν, ἔλεγεν γενηθήτω, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιήσωμεν εἶπεν.

**5a.** ἔλεγεν δὲ τῷ θαυμαστῷ συμβούλῳ τῷ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντι, οὐ αἱ ἔξοδοι ἀφ' ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος, οὐ τὴν γενεάν οὐδεὶς δύναται διηγήσασθαι,

**5b.** τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστῷ κυρίῳ τῷ ἐξευρόντι πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐπιστήμης καὶ δόντι αὐτὴν Ἰακώβ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ γῆς ὀφθέντι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστραφέντι.

**6.** Σύνες, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, υἱὲ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ;

**7.** νῦν γὰρ καιρὸς ἐστὶ τοῦ συνιέναι· τούτῳ γὰρ ἔλεγεν· ποιήσωμεν, καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν· ἰδοὺ ἀπόδειξις ἡμῖν δίδοται περὶ τοῦ συμβούλου.

**8.** ἐποίησέν τι ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ· ἐρωτῶ οὖν σε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀποκρίθητι· ποῖος θεὸς ἐποίησεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ' εἰκόνα ποίου θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν;

**9.** καὶ πάλιν λέγει· ἔβρεξεν κύριος πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καὶ Δαυὶδ ὁμοίως λέγει· εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου,

**10.** καὶ πάλιν· κύριος εἶπε πρὸς με, υἱὸς μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.

**11.** Ἔστιν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους τούτων μαρτυρίας εὑρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ λείπη ὁ χρόνος, διηγούμενος ὑμῖν πρὸς ἃ ἐπερώτησάς με ἐπανελθὼν ἀποκριθήσομαι.

**7.**

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ πρώην ὡμολόγησα ὅτι ἔσχεν ὁ θεὸς σύμβουλον, τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν·

5.21 The Jew said: I acknowledge that God had an Advisor, who was his own wisdom, but he did not have this Jesus!

6.1 The Christian said: It was necessary that I not cut short the argument until I had shown you concerning the Advisor both for your satisfaction and for those who are listening.

6.2 But since you have asked about these things, I will make an allowance, and I will speak to you about all the matters which you have asked me.

6.3 Now I will bring forth proofs about Jesus Christ the son of God and also about some things you did not remember to mention, so that I will bring forward and provide true proofs in the midst.

6.4 With reference to all things he made, he said: *Let it be*. But with reference to mankind, he said: *Let us make*.

6.5a And he was speaking to his marvelous Advisor who was in the beginning, *whose goings forth were from eternal days* (Mic. 5:1) and *whose generation no one is able to declare* (Isa. 53:8).

6.5b *By the spirit of the Lord Christ before our face* (Lam. 4:20) *who searched the whole way of knowledge and gave it to Jacob his servant and Israel his beloved, and after these things he appeared on earth and dwelt among men* (Baruch 3:37, 38).

6.6 Do you understand, O man, son of Abraham?

6.7 For now is the time to understand. For he spoke these things: *Let us make, and God made man, in the image of God he made him* (Gen. 1:26). See, a proof has been given to you about his Advisor.

6.8 So God made man in the image of God. I ask you, then, and you must answer me. What sort of God made man, and in what sort of image of God did he make him?

6.9 And again, he says: *The Lord rained fire from the Lord out of heaven* (Gen. 19:24). And David likewise says: *The Lord said to my Lord: Sit at my right hand* (Ps. 109:1).

6.10 And again: *The Lord said to me: You are my Son, today I have begotten you* (Ps. 2:7).

6.11 Although one could find many more witnesses of these things, since the time is short, having explained to you that which you asked me, I will pass on and await your response.

7.1 The Jew said: Previously, I have acknowledged that God has an Advisor and that it is His wisdom.

**2.** περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τούτου, ἐπηγγείλω μοι ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀποδεικνύειν ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ σύμβουλος τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ νῦν πληρῶσον τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν.

**3.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν βούλεσαι ἐρωτᾶν, νῦν κατὰ τάξιν ἀκούσῃ.

**4.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· νῦν ὅσα ἐρωτῶ σε διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦτον ἀποκριθῆτί μοι καθ' ἕνα ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν.

**5.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· πρῶτον ἐπερώτησας ὅτι εἰ ἦν αὐτὸς θεός, διὰ τί ἐν μήτρᾳ γυναικὸς εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἐγεννήθη·

**6a.** μάθε, ὦ Ἰουδαίε, ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα προεμήνυσαν ἡμῖν οἱ προφῆται, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ παρθένου γυναικὸς εἶχεν γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων προσκυνηθῆναι, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου ζητηθῆναι καὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν βρεφῶν ὧν ἀνεῖλεν Ἡρώδης, καὶ τὴν μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ ἀναστροφήν,

**6b.** καὶ ὅτι ἐθεράπευσεν τὰς ποικίλας νόσους τῶν ποτε ἀσθενούντων, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ πάσχῳ ἤμελλεν παραδίδοσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου μαθητοῦ τριάκοντα ἀργυρίων, καὶ ὅτι εἶχεν δεθῆναι, καὶ παραδοθῆναι Πιλάτῳ καὶ τῷ Ἡρώδῃ, καὶ ἐμπαιχθῆναι, καὶ ἐμπτυσθῆναι, καὶ μαστιγωθῆναι, καὶ σταυρωθῆναι, καὶ ταφῆναι, καὶ ἀναστῆναι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ ὅτι τὰς χεῖρας εἶχεν ἀπονίψασθαι ὁ Πιλάτος—

**7.** ἵνα δὲ μὴ κρύψωμεν τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῦ τὴν γεναμένην ἡνίκα ἐκαθίσθη ἐπὶ τοῦ πώλου καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο οὐ γέγραπται· καὶ τὸν ἐμπτυσμὸν καὶ τῆν σταύρωσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἱματίων τὸν διαμερισμὸν, καὶ πάντα ὅσα πέπονθεν καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐθαδίαν τῶν προγόνων σου καὶ τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν,

**8.** καὶ πάντα ἐδηλώθη ἡμῖν διὰ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ νῦν ἀκουε συνετῶς.

## 8.

**1.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· περὶ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ πρώτος Μωϋσῆς εἶπεν ὅτι προφητὴν ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεός ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσει πρὸς ὑμᾶς—(καὶ ἔδωκεν ἀπόφασιν τῷ μὴ ἀκούοντι ὡς καὶ σὺ οἶδας)·

**2.** καὶ πάλιν Δαυὶδ λέγει, καταβήσεται ὡς ὑετὸς ἐπὶ πόκον, καὶ θεὸς κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν.

**3.** ὅτι δὲ εἰς Βηθλεὲμ ἤθελεν γεννᾶσθαι, οὕτως εἶπεν, ἰδοὺ ἠκούσαμεν αὐτὴν ἐν Ἐφραθᾷ, εὔραμεν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τοῦ δρυμοῦ·

7.2 But concerning this Jesus, you promised me that you would demonstrate from the divine scriptures that he is God's Advisor. And now fulfill your promise.

7.3 The Christian said: Whatever you wish to ask, you will hear in its order.

7.4 The Jew said: Answer me what I asked about this Jesus, each in order.

7.5 The Christian said: You asked first that, if he was God, why did he enter his mother's womb and was born?

7.6a Learn, O Jew, that the prophets predicted all these things. Namely, that he had to be born from a virgin woman. And that he was to be worshipped by the Magi and to be sought by Herod. Plus the murder of the infants whom Herod killed and his dwelling with his people.

7.6b And that he healed the many illnesses of those who were then sick, and that at the Passover he was handed over by his own disciple for thirty pieces of silver, and that he was bound and handed over to Pilate and Herod to be mocked and spit upon and whipped and crucified. And that he would be buried and rise on the third day. And that Pilate had to wash his hands.

7.7 But lest we hide his entry which took place when he sat on a colt and entered into Jerusalem, has this not also written about? And also the spitting and his crucifixion, and the parting of his garments and all the things he suffered on account of the willfulness of your ancestors and their stubbornness?

7.8 Thus all things were signified to us through the law and the prophets. So now listen with understanding.

8.1 The Christian said: Concerning his first coming, Moses said: *A prophet the Lord your God will raise up for you like me from your brothers. You will listen to all that he will speak to you* (Deut. 18:15, 16). And, as you know, he issued a condemnation to anyone who would not listen.

8.2 And again David says: *He will come down like rain upon a fleece* (Ps. 71:6) and *the Lord God will shine on us* (Ps. 117:27).

8.3 And when he was about to be born in Bethlehem, he spoke thus: *See, we have heard it in Ephrata; we found it in the fields of the wood* (Ps. 131:6).

4. καὶ πάλιν οὕτως λέγει Μιχαίας· καὶ σὺ Βηθλεέμ, οἶκος τοῦ Ἐφραθά, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ αἱ ἐξοδοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀφ' ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος.

5. καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαίας λέγει· ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὃ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός—

6. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκῃς, ὅτι τὸ ἡμισυ συριστί ἐστὶν, καὶ τὸ ἡμισυ ἔβραϊστί· τὸ γὰρ ἑμμά, συριστί ἐρμηνεύεται μεθ' ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ νουήλ, ἔβραϊστί ἐρμηνεύεται θεός.

7. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ψαλμῷ οὕτως λέγει· κύριος εἶπεν πρὸς με, υἱός μου εἶ σὺ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.

## 9.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τὸ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ψαλμῷ περὶ τοῦ Σολομῶντος γέγραπται ἢ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι πρὶν γεννηθῆναι αὐτόν, περὶ αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς λέγων·

2. ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν·

3. διὸ καὶ ὅτε ἐγεννήθη εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς διδὶχ ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ἐμός.

4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καλῶς καὶ κατὰ τάξιν εἶπεν πάντα·

5. εἶπεν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἂν πορευθῆς ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς μου ὡς Δαυὶδ ὁ πατήρ σου, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς οἶδας.

6. ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐφύλαξεν τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ σὺ οἶδας·

7. καὶ γὰρ βωμοὺς ἐποίησεν ἐκάστῳ τῶν εἰδώλων, ὧν προσεκύνουν αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτοῦ ἅς ἔλαβεν ἀλλοφύλους· περὶ ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν χειρὶ Μωϋσῆ λέγων· οὐκ ἐπιγαμβρευσητε αὐτοῖς, φησίν, τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς κύκλῳ ὑμῶν.

8. γνώθι οὖν ὅτι μεγάλως παρώργησεν Σολομῶν κύριον τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, παρήκουσεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ.

9. καὶ ἐθυμώθη ὀργῇ κύριος ἐπὶ Σολομῶνα, καὶ εἶπεν Ἄχία τῷ Σιλωνίτῃ,

10. ἵνα χρίσῃ τὸν Ἱεροβωὰμ υἱὸν Ναβὰτ εἰς βασιλέα ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ λέγων, εἰ μὴ διὰ Δαυὶδ τὸν δούλόν μου, ἐξολόθρευσα ἂν τὸν Σολομῶνα.

11. γνώθῃ δὲ Ἰουδαίε, ὅτι προσεκύνησεν καὶ ἀκριδα ἔσφαξεν τοῖς γλυπτοῖς.

12. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐκ ἔσφαξεν ἀλλὰ ἔθλασεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκουσίως.

13. ταῦτα δὲ οὐ περιέχει ἡ βίβλος τῶν βασιλειῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ αὐτοῦ γέγραπται.

8.4 And again, Micah speaks thus: *And you, Bethlehem, house of Ephrata, although you are the least among the princes of Judah, from you shall come forth a governor, who will shepherd my people, Israel. And his goings forth were from eternal days* (Mi. 5:1).

8.5 And again, Isaiah says: *Behold the virgin will conceive and bear a son, and they shall call his name Immanuel*, which is interpreted as God with us (Isa. 7:14).

8.6 But so that you may understand this: that half of the word is Syriac and the other half is Hebrew. The "Imma" is interpreted in Syriac as "with us" and the "nuel" is interpreted in Hebrew as "God."

8.7 But also in the second psalm, David speaks thus: *The Lord said to me, You are my son. Today I have begotten you* (Ps. 2:7).

9.1 The Jew said: What is in the second psalm is written about Solomon. Or do you not know that before he was born, God spoke about him, saying:

9.2 *I will be to him as a father and he will be to me as a son* (2Sam. 7:14).

9.3 So when he was born, God said *beloved* (didic) which is interpreted as *mine* (2Sam. 12:25).

9.4 The Christian said: He has spoken all things well and in order.

9.5 For God said: *If you go in my ways as David your father* and you know the rest of the passage (2Chron. 7:17).

9.6 But he did not keep any of the commandments of God, and you know that!

9.7 For he even built altars to each one of the idols which his wives worshipped, which he had taken as foreigners. Concerning these God spoke to the children of Israel by the hand of Moses, saying: *You shall not make marriages with them* (Deut. 7:3) he said, namely the surrounding Gentiles.

9.8 Know, therefore, that Solomon greatly provoked the Lord God of heaven., because he disobeyed him.

9.9 So the anger of the Lord was upon Solomon, and He spoke to Ahijah the Shilonite

9.10 that he should anoint Jereboam son of Nebat as king over Jerusalem, saying to him: *If it was not for David my servant, I would destroy Solomon* (1Kings 11:34).

9.11 Know, O Jew, that he worshipped and sacrificed grasshoppers to the idols.

9.12 The Jew said: He did not sacrifice, but he crushed them in his hand unwillingly.

9.13 But the Book of Kings does not contain these things, but they have been written in his "Testament" (Testament of Solomon 26.5).

**14.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἐστὶ πιστοποιόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν χειρὶ ἱστοριογράφου ἐφανερώθη τούτο, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σολομῶντος ἐγνωσθε τοῦτο·

**15.** ἤγειρεν γὰρ αὐτῷ κύριος σατὰν τὸν Ἀζαήλ βασιλέα Ἀσυρίων, καὶ τοὺς μονοζώνους υἱῶν Ἀμὼν καὶ Ἰδουμαίων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔθνων τῶν κύκλω αὐτοῦ·

**16.** ἄρα τοῦτον δεξομαι εἰς υἱὸν θεοῦ, τὸν μηδὲ πρὸς μετανοίαν χωρήσαντα, κὰν ὡς Μανασσῆς;

**17.** οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Μανασσῆς ἡμαρτεν κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σφόδρα· καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς χεῖρας Θελλασαράσαρ βασιλέως βαβυλῶνος, καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν ἐν πέδαις χαλκαῖς καὶ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Ἀσσυρίουσ καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὸν ἐν οἴκῳ φυλακῆς.

**18.** κακεῖ ὧν ἐξεζήτησεν κύριον τὸν θεὸν Ἐζεκία τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ·

**19.** καὶ ἐπήκουσεν αὐτῷ κύριος, καὶ ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὄχρωματος.

**20.** καὶ ἠγάθυνεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν Θελλασαράσαρ, βασιλέα βαβυλῶνος, καὶ ἔλυσεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ.

**21.** τοῦ δὲ Σολομῶντος τούτου οὔτε μετάνοιαν ἔχει ἢ βίβλος τῶν παραλειπομένων βασιλειῶν,

**22.** ἐκεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα ἀναγράφονται.

## 10.

**1.** Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐκκοπήν δῶμεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐπὶ τὸ προκειμένον τραπῶμεν.

**2a.** ἐλέγομεν γὰρ ὅτι κύριος εἶπεν πρὸς με, υἱὸς μου εἰ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε·

**2b.** ταῦτα περὶ τῆς γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ ἐλέχθη.

**3.** περὶ δὲ τῶν μάγων τῶν προσκυνησάντων αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα προσενεγκάντων, οὕτως λέγει Δαυὶδ· καὶ ζήσεται, καὶ δοθήσεται αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τῆς Ἀραβίας. καὶ γε πάλιν ἐν τῷ Ἡσαία οὕτως λέγει ὅτι πρὶν ἢ γνῶναι τὸ παιδίον καλεῖν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, λήψεται δύναμις Δαμασκοῦ, καὶ τὰ σκῦλα Σαμαρείας ἔδεται.

**4.** περὶ δὲ τῶν βρεφῶν ὧν ἀνείλεν Ἡρώδης, Ἱερεμίας ἡμῖν προεμήνυσε λέγων, φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμὰ ἠκούσθη, κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὄδυρμος πολὺς· Ῥαχήλ κλαίουσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλεν παρακληθῆναι ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν.

**5.** περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς πάλιν Ἱερεμίας εἶπεν· οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐξεῦρεν πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐπιστήμης, καὶ ἔδωκεν Ἰακώβ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὠφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη.

9.14 The Christian said: For by this he was giving assurance, because it was not by the hand of a historian that this was made known, but so you will know it from the mouth of Solomon himself.

9.15 For the Lord raised up an adversary, Hazael, King of the Assyrians, and the soldiers of the sons of Ammon, and the Idumeans, and the rest of the nations around him.

9.16 Will I then accept this one as a son of God, who did not move toward repentance even as Manasseh did?

9.17 For this Manasseh sinned greatly against the Lord, so he handed him over to Thelasarsar, King of Babylon who bound him in bronze fetters, led him away to Assyria and put him in prison.

9.18 And when he was there, he sought the Lord God of Hezekiah his father.

9.19 And the Lord heard him and brought him out of the fortress.

9.20 And the Lord God did well for Thelasarsar, King of Babylon. Then he released him and sent him back to his kingdom in Jerusalem.

9.21 But concerning this Solomon, the Book of Chronicles does not contain any reference to his repentance.

9.22 For all these things are recorded there.

10.1 But so that we may not end this discussion, let us turn to the following:

10.2 For we were saying: *The Lord spoke to me: You are my son, today I have begotten you* (Ps. 2:7). These things were spoken about his birth.

10.3 And concerning the Magi who worshipped him and brought him gifts, David speaks thus: *And he shall live and the gold of Arabia shall be given to him* (Ps. 71:15). And he speaks again in Isaiah: *Before the child knows how to call father or mother, he shall receive the power of Damascus and devour the vessels of Samaria* (Isa. 8:4).

10.4 And concerning the babies Herod murdered, Jeremiah mentioned it to us before, saying: *A voice was heard in Ramah, crying, and great lamenting. Rachel is weeping for her children, and she did not want to be comforted, because they were no more* (Jer. 38:15).

10.5 And concerning his incarnation, the same Jeremiah said: *This is our God, no other shall be compared to him. He searched out all the way of knowledge. And he gave to Jacob his servant and to Israel his beloved, and after these things he was seen on earth and dwelt among men* (Baruch 3:36-38).

6. καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τόπῳ ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης λέγει· καὶ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν καὶ τίς γνῶσεται αὐτόν;
7. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἅ εἶπες τὸ πρότερον οὐκ ἐστὶν ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ Ἰερεμῖα.
8. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ Βαρούχ ἐστὶν.
9. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὕτως ἐστίν.
10. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπιστολὴ Βαρούχ, καὶ οἱ θρῆνοι Ἰερεμίου, καὶ ἡ προφητεία αὐτοῦ νέα βίβλος ἀναγορεύεται.
11. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀσθενιῶν καὶ νόσων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐθεράπευσεν, Ἡσαΐας προεφήτευσεν λέγων, αὐτὸς τὰς ἀσθενείας ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὰς νόσους ἐβάστασεν.
12. περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀγίων αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν Δαυὶδ λέγει· ἀντὶ τῶν πατέρων σου ἐγεννήθησαν υἱοὶ σου· καταστήσεις αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.
13. περὶ δὲ τοῦ μαθητοῦ τοῦ προδώσαντος αὐτόν οὕτως λέγει· ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμέ πτερνισμόν.
14. καὶ περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ οὐ ἔλαβεν ὁ προδότης παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, οὕτως εἶπε Ζαχαρίας· δότε στήσαντες τὸν μισθόν μου ἢ ἀπέπασθε. καὶ ἔστησαν αὐτῷ τὸν μισθὸν τριάκοντα ἀργυρίους.
15. ὅτι δὲ τὰ νήπια, λέγω δὴ οἱ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀπαντὴν αὐτῷ ἐποίησαντο μετὰ κλάδων ἔλαιων λέγοντες τὸ ὠσαννά, Δαυὶδ λέγει ἐν τῷ ὄγδῳ ψάλμῳ· κύριε ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ἕως θαυμαστὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ, ὅτι ἐπῆρθη ἡ μεγαλοπρέπειά σου ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν· ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον.
16. ἐκαθέσθη δὲ ἐπὶ πῶλον· ἄρα οὐ γέγραπται περὶ τούτου; πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ἡσαΐας δηλοῖ τῇ Σιών, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διὰ Ἡσαΐου λέγον· εἶπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιών, μὴ φοβοῦ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται καθήμενος ἐπὶ πῶλον νέον, καὶ ὁ μισθός ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ.
17. διὰ δὲ Ζαχαρίου αὐτοστοματῶς λέγει αὐτῇ· χαῖρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιών· κήρυσσε, θύγατερ Ἰερουσαλήμ· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι, πρᾶϋς καὶ σώζων, ἐπιβεβηκῶς ἐπὶ ὑποζυγίον καὶ πῶλον νέον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου.
18. περὶ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλίου οὐ συνεβουλευσαντο οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Δαυὶδ λέγει· εἶπαν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν αἱ συγγένειαι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό· δεῦτε καὶ καταπαύσωμεν πάσας τὰς ἐορτάς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.
19. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ ψαλμῷ οὕτως λέγει· κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐψιθύριζον πάντες οἱ ἐχθροί μου·

- 10.6 And in another place the same prophet says: *And he is a man and who shall know him* (Jer. 17:9)?
- 10.7 The Jew said: The things that you just said are not written in Jeremiah!
- 10.8 The Christian said: They are in the epistle of Baruch.
- 10.9 The Jew said: This is so.
- 10.10 The Christian said: But the epistle of Baruch, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and his prophecy are generally designated as one book.
- 10.11 And concerning the weak and sick whom he healed, Isaiah prophesied, saying: *He took our weaknesses and he bore our sicknesses* (Isa. 53:4).
- 10.12 And concerning his holy disciples, David says: *Instead of your fathers, sons were born to you. You shall make them rulers over the earth* (Ps. 44:17).
- 10.13 And concerning the disciple who betrayed him he speaks thus: *The one who eats bread with me has lifted up his heel against me* (Ps. 40:10).
- 10.14 And concerning the reward that the betrayer received from the high priests, Zechariah speaks thus: *Weigh the reward and give it to me or else refuse it. And they weighed the reward, thirty pieces of silver* (Zech. 11:12).
- 10.15 And concerning the infants, namely the Hebrew children who met him with cries of "Hosanna" on the Mt. of Olives, David speaks in the eighth psalm: *Lord, our Lord, how marvelous is your name in all the earth. Your majesty has been lifted up above the heavens. Out of the mouth of infants and nursing children you establish praise* (Ps. 8:2,3).
- 10.16 And he sat on a colt. So was this also not written? First, Isaiah signified Zion, rather the Holy Spirit through Isaiah, saying: *Speak to the daughter of Zion: Do not fear. Behold your King is coming to you sitting on a young colt. His reward is in his hand, to give to everyone according to his work* (Zech. 9:9; Isa. 62:11).
- 10.17 Through Zechariah, he speaks to her through the same mouth: *Rejoice greatly, daughter of Zion. Shout, daughter of Jerusalem. Behold, your King is coming to you, humble and saving, riding on a donkey and a new colt the foal of a donkey* (Zech. 9:9).
- 10.18 Concerning the counsel whom the chief priests and the elders took against Jesus, David says: *Their kinsmen have said in their heart together: Come, let us abolish all the feasts of the Lord from the earth* (Ps. 73:8).
- 10.19 And again in the fortieth psalm he speaks thus: *All my enemies whispered against me. They devised evil against me* (Ps. 40:8).

- 20.** κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐλογίσαντο κακά μοι. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ Ἱερεμιά οὕτως λέγει· ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἐλογίσαντο λογισμὸν πονηρὸν λέγοντες· δεῦτε καὶ ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ. καὶ διελογίσαντο βουλήν πονηράν λέγοντες· δεῦτε καὶ δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον ὅτι δύσχριστος ἡμῖν ἐστίν.
- 21.** διὸ καὶ περὶ τῶν δεσμῶν αὐτοῦ μνησθέντες λέξωμεν πῶς διαφόρος περὶ τούτων ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται. Ἡσαΐας μὲν γὰρ ἀποφαντικῶς εἶπεν, δήσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχριστος ἡμῖν ἐστίν·
- 22.** Δαυὶδ δὲ ἐξουδενῶν αὐτοὺς ἅμα λέγει· διαρρήξωμεν τοὺς δεσμοὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν·
- 23.** Ὡσιὲ δὲ παρησιαῖα βοᾷ λέγων· καὶ δήσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπήνεγκαν ξενία τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰαρίμ.
- 24.** ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἑσδρα οὕτως λέγει· ἔδησάν με οὐχ ὡς πατέρα τὸν ἐξαγαγόντα αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.
- 25.** ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπεμψεν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἡρώδῃ ὁ Πιλάτος δεδεμένον, ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο οὐ γέγραπται· λέγει γὰρ Ὡσιέ· δήσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπήνεγκαν ξενία τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰαρίμ.
- 26.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔκραξαν πάντες σταυρωθήτω, ἄρα ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφῆται περὶ τούτου ἢ οὐ; λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα, σπέρμα πονηρὸν καὶ διεστραμμένον, ἐπὶ τίνα ἐκινήσατε τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τίνα ἐχαλάσατε τὰς γλώσσας ὑμῶν; οὐχὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ;
- 27.** καὶ γε πάλιν Ἑσδρας λέγει· ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦ κριτοῦ κράζοντες ἐταπείνωσάν με.
- 28.** περὶ γὰρ τοῦ ἐμπαιχθῆναι αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμπτυσθῆναι καὶ φραγελλωθῆναι, οὕτως γέγραπται· Δαυὶδ μὲν γὰρ λέγει· ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν σκυθρωπάζων ἐπορευόμην, ὅτι αἱ ψυαὶ μου ἐπλήσθησαν ἐμπαιγμάτων·
- 29.** καὶ πάλιν· ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ὠνειδιζὸν με οἱ ἐχθροί μου.
- 30.** ἀλλὰ καὶ Σολομῶν ἐν ταῖς παροιμίαις λέγει· οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς καθὰ ἐλογίσαντο ἐματαιώθησαν.
- 31.** μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ λέγει· ἰδόντες τὸν δίκαιον ἐν δόξῃ ὑπάρχοντα, εἶπαν οὐαὶ ἡμῖν ὅτι ἐπλανήθημεν· οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν, ὃν ἔσχαμεν εἰς γέλωτα καὶ χλευασμὸν; πῶς κατελογίσθη ἐν υἱοῖς θεοῦ;
- 32.** αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν Σολομῶν λέγει· ἐνεδρεύσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχριστος ἡμῖν ἐστίν, καὶ ἐναντιοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὠνειδίζει ἡμῖν ἁμαρτήματα νόμου, καὶ ἐπιφημίζει ἡμῖν ἁμαρτήματα παιδείας ἡμῶν.
- 33.** ἐπαγγέλλεται γνῶσιν ἔχειν θεοῦ, καὶ παῖδα κυρίου ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει·

10.20 And again in Jeremiah, he speaks thus: *Against me they devised an evil plan, saying: Come let us throw wood into his food* (Jer. 11:19). And they devised an evil counsel, saying: *Come let us bind the righteous one, for he is burdensome to us* (Isa. 3:10).

10.21 Wherefore, concerning his bonds, let us say how distinctly the prophets spoke about these things. For Isaiah spoke categorically: *Let us bind the righteous one, for he is burdensome to us.*

10.22 For David, similarly despising them, said: *Let us break their bonds and cast off their yoke* (Ps. 2:3).

10.23 And Hosea cries with a loud voice: *And having bound him, they carried him away as a present to King Jarim* (Hos. 10:6).

10.24 And in Esdras he says this: *They bound me not as a father who brought them out of the land of Egypt* (1Esdras 1:36-38?).

10.25 That Pilate sent him bound to Herod, was this not also written? For Hosea says: *And having bound him, they carried him away as a present to King Jarim.*

10.26 And since all cried out: *Let him be crucified* (Mt. 27:23), then did the prophets speak about this, or not? For he says in Isaiah: *You evil and perverted seed, at whom did you shake your heads? At whom did you stick out your tongues? Was this not done to the Holy One of Israel?* (Isa. 57:3, 4; 37:22, 23).

10.27 Again Esdras says: *On the seat of the judge they cried out and humbled me* (1Esdras 1:36-38).

10.28 And concerning his being mocked and spit upon and beaten, thus it is written. For David says: *For all day I have gone with a sad countenance, for my loins are filled with mockings* (Ps. 38:6,7).

10.29 And again: *All day long my enemies were reproaching me* (Ps. 101:9).

10.30 But also Solomon in his Proverbs says: *As the wicked were devising, so they came to nothing.*

10.31 And after a little more, he says: *When they saw the righteous one in glory, they said: Woe to us because we were deceived. Is not this the one whom we had for laughter and mocking? How was he counted as being among the sons of God?* (Wisdom of Solomon 5:2-5).

10.32 The same Solomon speaks again: *Let us lie in wait for the righteous man, because he is inconvenient to us and opposes our actions. He reproaches us for sins against the law, and accuses us of sins against our training.*

10.33 *He professes to have knowledge of God and calls himself a child of the Lord.*

- 34.** ἐγένετο ἡμῖν εἰς ἔλεγχον ἐννοιῶν ἡμῶν, βαρὺς ἐστὶν ἡμῖν καὶ βλεπόμενος, ὅτι ἀνόμιος τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένοι αἱ τριβοὶ αὐτοῦ·
- 35.** εἰς κίβδηλον ἐλογίσθημεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀπέχεται τῶν ὁδῶν ἡμῶν ὡς ἀπὸ ἀκαθαρσιῶν.
- 36.** μακαρίζει ἐσχατὰ δικαίων καὶ ἀλαζονεύεται πατέρα θεόν.
- 37.** ἴδωμεν εἰ οἱ λόγοι αὐτοῦ ἀληθεῖς, καὶ πειράσωμεν τὰ ἐν ἐκβάσει αὐτοῦ· εἰ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ δίκαιος υἱὸς θεοῦ, ἀντιλήψεται αὐτοῦ καὶ ῥύσεται αὐτὸν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀνθεστηκότων αὐτοῦ.
- 38.** ὕβρει καὶ βασάνῳ ἐτάσωμεν αὐτόν, ἵνα γνῶμεν τὴν ἐπικεικίαν αὐτοῦ, θανάτῳ δὲ ἀσχήμονι καταδικάσωμεν αὐτόν, καὶ δοκιμάσωμεν τὴν ἀνεξικακίαν αὐτοῦ·
- 39.** ἔσται γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκοπὴ ἐκ λόγων αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ἐλόγισαντο οἱ ἄφρονες καὶ ἐπλανήθησαν· ἀπετύφλωσεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡ κακία αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν μυστήρια θεοῦ.
- 40.** Ἡσαΐας δὲ παρηρησία λέγει, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀπειθῶ, οὐδὲ ἀντιλέγω· τὸν νῶτόν μου ἔδωκα εἰς μάστιγας, τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας μου εἰς ῥαπίσματα, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνῃς ἐμπτυσμάτων, καὶ κύριος βοηθός μου ἐγένετο.
- 41.** καὶ πάλιν Ἰερεμίας λέγει ἐν τοῖς θρήνοις· πνεῦμα πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν χριστός ὁ κύριος, ὃς συνελήφθη διὰ τὰς φθορὰς ἡμῶν, οὐ εἶπαμεν ἐν τῇ σκία αὐτοῦ ζησώμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.
- 42.** περὶ δὲ τοῦ Πιλάτου, ὅτι ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας, Δαυὶδ λέγει, ἐνιψάμην ἐν ἁθώοις τὰς χεῖράς μου, καὶ ἐγενόμην μεμαστιγμένος ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν.
- 43.** περὶ δὲ τοῦ ποτισθῆναι αὐτόν ὄξος καὶ χολὴν λέγει, καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρῶμά μου χολὴν καὶ εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου ἐπότισάν με ὄξος.
- 44.** περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἱματίων μερίσεως αὐτοῦ οὕτως γέγραπται· διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον.
- 45.** περὶ δὲ τοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ ἀκανθίνου οὐ ἐστεφάνωσαν αὐτόν, πρῶτος Δαυὶδ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκάνθης ἐπεκάλει μεμφόμενος γὰρ τὴν αὐθάδειαν ὑμῶν, τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ μέλλοντα στεφανοῦσθαι ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς καρδίας θεωρῶν, δι' αὐτῆς ἐπεκαλεῖτο λέγων· πρὸ τοῦ συνιέναι τὰς ἀκάνθας ὑμῶν τῇ ῥάμνῳ· ὡσεὶ ζῶντας ὡσεὶ ἐν ὀργῇ καταπίεται ὑμᾶς.

10.34 *He became to us a reproof of our thoughts. The very sight of him is a burden to us, because his manner of life is unlike that of others, and his ways are utterly strange.*

10.35 *We are considered by him as something base, and he avoids our ways as unclean.*

10.36 *He calls the last end of the righteous happy, and boasts that God is his father.*

10.37 *Let us see if his words are true, and let us test what will happen at the end of his life. For if the righteous man is God's child, he will help him, and will deliver him from the hand of his adversaries.*

10.38 *Let us test him with insult and torture, so that we may find out how gentle he is and so make a trial of his forbearance. Let us condemn him to a shameful death and let us test his patience. There will be an inspection of his words.*

10.39 *The foolish thought these things and they were led astray, for their wickedness blinded them, and they did not know the secrets of God (Wisdom of Solomon 2:12-22).*

10.40 *And Isaiah speaks boldly: I am not rebellious and I do not speak against him. I gave my back to those who struck me, and my cheeks to blows. I did not hide my face from the shame of spitting. The Lord GOD has become my help (Isa. 50:5-7).*

10.41 *And again Jeremiah speaks in the Lamentations: The spirit before our face is the anointed (Christos) the Lord, who was seized because of our corruptions, of whom we said: Let us live under his shadow among the Gentiles (Lam. 4:20).*

10.42 *And concerning Pilate who washed his hands, David says: I washed my hands in innocence and I became as one scourged all the day (Ps. 72:13, 14).*

10.43 *And concerning his being made to drink vinegar and gall he says: I was given vinegar for food and was given gall for drink (Ps. 68:22).*

10.44 *And concerning the parting of his garments, thus it is written: They parted my raiment among themselves, and cast lots for my garment (Ps. 21:19).*

10.45 *And concerning the crown of thorns with which they crowned him, first David called its name the thorn. But after he found fault with your stubbornness, beholding with the eyes of his heart the one who was to be crucified with it, he exhorted you through it, saying: Before your thorns should know their thorn bush, in his wrath he shall swallow you up when you are still alive (Ps. 57:10).*

**46.** καὶ Σολομών δὲ λέγει ἐν τοῖς Ἐσθῆρας, θυγατέρες Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐξέλθατε καὶ ἴδετε τὸν Σολομών ἐστεφανωμένον ἐν τῷ στεφάνῳ ὡς ἐστεφάνωσεν αὐτὸν ἢ μητῆρ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ νυμφεύσεως αὐτοῦ, εὐφροσύνης καρδίας αὐτοῦ.

**47.** περὶ δὲ τῆς σταυρώσεως αὐτοῦ Ἡσαΐας λέγει ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν ἄφρονος, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἢ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη· τὴν δὲ γενεάν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἢ ζωῆ αὐτοῦ.

**48.** ὅτι δὲ μετὰ λησῶν εἶχεν σταυρωθῆναι οὕτως εἶπεν· καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη.

**49.** περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰς τὸν Ἄδην συγκαταβάσεως αὐτοῦ Δαυὶδ λέγει· ἔθεντό με ἐν λάκκῳ κατωτάτῳ, ἐν σκοτεινοῖς καὶ ἐν σκιά θανάτου·

**50.** καὶ ἄλλος προφήτης ὅτι καὶ ἀπέρριψάν με τὸν ἀγαπητὸν ὡσεὶ νεκρὸν ἐβδελυγμένον.

**51.** περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς ὁ Δαυὶδ λέγει· ἀναστήτω ὁ θεός, καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ.

**52.** ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστη μετὰ ἰσχύος καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης Δαυὶδ εἶπεν· καὶ ἐξηγέρθη ὡς ὁ ὑπνῶν κύριος, ὡς δυνατὸς κεκραιπαλῆκώς ἐξ οἴνου, καὶ συνέτριψεν πύλας χαλκᾶς, καὶ μοχλοῦς σιδηροῦς συνέθλασεν· καὶ ἐπάταξεν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, ὄνειδος αἰώνιον ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς.

**53.** περὶ δὲ τῆς ἀναλήψεως αὐτοῦ οὕτως λέγει· ἐπέβη ἐπὶ χερουβὶμ καὶ ἐπετάσθη, ἐπετάσθη ἐπὶ πτερυγῶν ἀνέμων.

**54.** ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης εἶπεν· ἀνέβη ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ, κύριος ἐν φωνῇ σάλπιγγος.

**55.** περὶ γὰρ τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν αἱ ἀγγελικαὶ δυνάμεις ἐκέκραγον λέγουσαι ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης.

**56.** περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς καθίσεως αὐτοῦ ὁ παντοκράτωρ, διὰ στόματος Δαυὶδ, εἶπεν· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου·

**57.** διὸ δὴ ταῦτα πάντα γινώσκων, Μωϋσῆς μετὰ κατάρας ὠνειδίσεν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ λέγων γενεὰ σκολία καὶ διεστραμμένη, ταῦτα κυριῶς ἀνταποδίδονται·

**58.** καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας τὴν τοσαύτην τόλμαν αὐτῶν ἴδων (μᾶλλον δὲ ἀφροσύνην) καὶ βλέπων μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς γυναῖξιν τοσαύτην ἐπιεικείαν προσκειμένην ἔλεγεν· γυναῖκες ἐρχόμεναι ἀπο θεᾶς, δεῦτε, οὐ γὰρ λάος ἔχων σύνεσιν ἐστίν.

10.46 And Solomon also speaks in the Canticles: *Daughters of Jerusalem come out and see Solomon crowned with the crown his mother crowned him on the day of his wedding, the day of the rejoicing of his heart* (Song 3:11).

10.47 And concerning his crucifixion, Isaiah says: *As a sheep is led to the slaughter and as a lamb before his shearer is silent, so he does not open his mouth in his humility. His judgment was taken away, and who will declare his genealogy, because his life is taken from the earth* (Isa. 53:7, 8)?

10.48 And that he was to be crucified with bandits, he speaks thus: *And he was numbered with lawless men* (Isa. 53:12).

10.49 And concerning his descent into Hades, David says: *He put me into a lower pit and in darkness and in the shadow of death* (Ps. 87:7).

10.50 Another prophet adds: *He threw me, the beloved one, aside as a loathsome corpse* (Isa. 14:19).

10.51 And concerning his resurrection, the same David says: *Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered* (Ps. 67:2).

10.52 And that he was raised with strength, power and great glory, the same prophet David said: *So the Lord awoke as one out of sleep, and as a mighty man who has been heated with wine. And he smote his enemies in the rear and he brought on them a perpetual reproach* (Ps. 77: 65,66).

10.53 And concerning his ascension he speaks thus: *He went up on cherubim and he flew upon the wings of the winds* (Ps. 17:11).

10.54 And likewise concerning his departure to heaven, the same prophet said: *God went up with an alarm, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet* (Ps. 46:6).

10.55 And concerning his entry into heaven, the Angelic powers were crying out and saying: *Lift up the gates, O rulers. And be lifted up, you eternal gates, and the King of Glory shall enter* (Ps. 23:9).

10.56 And concerning his sitting at the right hand of the Father, the Almighty, he said through the mouth of David: *Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies a stool for your feet* (Ps. 109:1).

10.57 Wherefore, because Moses knew all these things, he reproached the children of Israel with a curse saying: *You crooked and perverse generation. Is this how these things are repaid to the Lord* (Deut. 32:5, 6)?

10.58 And again when Isaiah saw such boldness, or rather their foolishness, and when he saw in their women such reasonableness set forth, he was saying: *Come here, you women that come from a spectacle, for the people have no understanding* (Isa. 27:11).

**11.**

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πάντα ὅσα ἐρμηνεύων ἐλάλησας περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλθεῖν γέγραπται·

2. περὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τούτου, οὔτε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐμφέρεται πώποτε εἰς γραφήν, ἀλλ' οὔτε πάλιν σταυροῦ οὐτ' οὖν Ἰησοῦ οὔτε Χριστοῦ· οὔτε σταυροῦ ὁ νόμος οὔτε οἱ προφῆται ἐμνημόνευσαν.

3. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ σοι νῦν ἀποδείξω ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν τὰ σύμβολα Ἰησοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ σταυροῦ.

4. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐὰν ἀποδείξης, ἔσομαι ἠτῶμενος.

5. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· περὶ μὲν τοῦ ὀνόματος Ἰησοῦ ἄκουε Ζαχαρίου λέγοντος· καὶ ἔδειξέν μοι κύριος Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἱερέα τὸν μέγαν ἐστῶτα πρὸ προσώπου ἀγγέλου κυρίου, καὶ ὁ διάβολος εἰστήκει τοῦ ἀντικεισθαι αὐτῷ. καὶ ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἐνδεδυμένος ἱμάτια ῥυπαρά, καὶ εἶπεν κύριος τῷ διαβόλῳ ἐπιτιμῆσαι κύριος ἐν σοί, διάβολε, ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος τοῖς ἐστῶσιν πρὸ προσώπου κυρίου ἀφέλετε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱμάτια τὰ ῥυπαρά καὶ ἐνδύσατε αὐτὸν ποδήρη καὶ θέτε κίδαριν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ περιέβαλον αὐτὸν στολὴν λευκὴν καὶ ἐπέθηκαν κίδαριν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου εἰστήκει πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ.

6. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ταῦτα διὰ Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Ἰωσεδέκ εἶπεν.

7. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἵνα μὴ ἐκκοπῆν δῶμεν τῷ λόγῳ, καθὼς ἠτήσω περὶ τῆς ὀνομασίας τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ καὶ σταυροῦ, τὰς ἀποδείξεις λάβε, καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως περὶ τούτου συστήσω·

8. περὶ γὰρ Χριστοῦ οὕτως εἶπεν Ἱερεμίας πνεῦμα πρὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν Χριστὸς κύριος, ὃς συνελήφθη διὰ τὰς διαφθορὰς ἡμῶν, οὐ εἶπαμεν ἐν τῇ σκιᾷ αὐτοῦ ζησώμεθα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

9. καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

10. καὶ ὅτι ὑψώσει κέρας Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡ Ἄννα εἶπεν. σύνες, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, ὅτι οὐ μόνον Χριστὸν αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν ἡ γραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ κύριον.

**12.**

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τὰ ἐν τῷ Ζαχαρίᾳ γεγραμμένα περὶ τοῦ Ἰωσεδέκ ἐπηγγείλω ἀποδεικνύειν μὴ εἶναι· αὐτὸ πληρῶσον οὖν.

2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καὶ μὴ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδέκ, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἱεράτευσεν, ἐφόρσεσεν ῥυπαρὰ ἱμάτια,

3. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἄλλος ἱερεὺς ἱερατεύσας ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ Ἀαρῶν καὶ ἕως ἡμέρας ἧς ἀφείλεν ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ, οὐκ ἐφόρσεσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἱμάτια ῥυπαρὰ τὸ καθ' ὅλου.

- 11.1 The Jew said: All the things written you have interpreted you have spoken about the one who is yet to come.
- 11.2 But concerning this Jesus, neither his name is brought into scripture at any time, nor is the cross mentioned, nor Jesus, nor Christ. Neither the law nor the prophets mentioned a cross.
- 11.3 The Christian said: Now I will show you from the Divine Scriptures the symbols of Jesus, the Christ and the cross.
- 11.4 The Jew said: If you can show that, I will be defeated!
- 11.5 The Christian said: Concerning the name of Jesus, hear Zechariah speaking: *And the Lord showed me the High Priest standing before an Angel of the Lord. And the Devil was standing there to oppose him. And Jesus (Joshua in Hebrew) was clothed in dirty garments. The Lord said to the Devil: The Lord, who chose Jerusalem, rebukes you, Devil. And the Lord spoke to the ones standing in the presence of the Lord: Take away from him the dirty garments and clothe him with a robe and put a miter on his head. So they put on him a white robe and a miter on his head, and an angel of the Lord stood before him (Zech. 3:1-5 freely).*
- 11.6 The Jew said: He spoke these things concerning Joshua son of Jozelek.
- 11.7 The Christian said: Lest we cut short the discourse, as you requested about the naming of Jesus and Christ and the cross, receive these proofs and then I will put more together about this.
- 11.8 About Christ Jeremiah said: *The spirit before our face is Christ the Lord, who was seized because of our corruptions, of whom we said: Let us live under his shadow among the Gentiles (Lam. 4:20).*
- 11.9 And David says: *The kings of the earth rose up and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord and against his Messiah (Ps. 2:2).*
- 11.10 And Hannah said that he would exalt the horn of his *Messiah* (1Sam. 2:10). Understand, O Jew, that the scripture not only called him *Messiah* but also *Lord*.
- 12.1 The Jew said: You promised that you would demonstrate that the things written in Zechariah about Jozelek were not about him. Therefore, fulfill it!
- 12.2 The Christian said: It was not Joshua son of Jozelek, who from the day he began to serve as a priest wore filthy garments.
- 12.3 But there was not another priest who served in Israel from the days of Aaron until today who wore filthy garments in Jerusalem all the time.

4. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἀφείλεν γὰρ κύριος τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ;
5. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἐμὲ ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τούτου;
6. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἀλλὰ τίνα θέλεις ἐρωτήσω;
7. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· πρῶτον τὸν θεόν, καὶ δευτέρου σεαυτὸν.
8. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πῶς τούτου;
9. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· πῶς; ἄκουε τοῦ θεοῦ λέγοντος διὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ, θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, καὶ οὐ φάγομαι κρέα ταύρων ἢ αἷμα τράγων πίομαι.
10. καὶ δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα εἰς τέλος ἀπωθούμενος αὐτὰ τε καὶ ὑμᾶς λέγει ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου, ἄρχοντες Σοδόμων· προσέχετε λόγον θεοῦ, λαὸς Γομόρρας.
11. τί μοι πλήθος τῶν θυσιῶν ὑμῶν; πλήρης εἰμι ὀλοκαυτωμάτων· οὐ βούλομαι κρέα ταύρων ἢ αἷμα τράγων. τὰς νομηνίας ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ σάββατα ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμέραν ἐορτῆς ὑμῶν μισεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου.
12. τίς γὰρ ἐξεζήτησεν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ὑμῶν ταῦτα; πατεῖν τὴν αὐλὴν μου ἔτι οὐ προσθήσεται.
13. περὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξ ἔθνῶν οὕτως γέγραπται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν· μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιστρέψω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν, καὶ τὰ κατεσκευασμένα αὐτῆς οἰκοδομήσω καὶ πάλιν μεγάλη ἔσται ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἢ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν πρώτην.
14. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀπόσωτο, μεθ' ὀρκωμοσίας μηκέτι ἱερατεύειν τὸ γένος Ἀαρῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἱερατεύειν κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, διὰ τῶν ἐξ ἔθνῶν πιστευόντων εἰς θεόν, λέγων ὤμοσεν κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται, σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ.
15. διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὠσιε ἐπηγγείλατο τὴν υἰοθεσίαν λέγων καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς ὁ λαὸς μου, καὶ κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζώντος.
- 13.**
1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἀπόσαντο, οὐκ ἀπόσωτο· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Ἰσραὴλ πρωτότοκος υἱός, καὶ οὐχὶ τὰ ἔθνη.
2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἀλλὰ ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι.
3. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καλῶς τα μεγάλα ἔθνη τὰ κύκλω αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔθνη μειζότερά σου καὶ ἰσχυρότερα σου εἰσέρχῃ κληρονομήσαι σοι, εἶπεν κύριος διὰ Μωϋσέως.

- 12.4 The Jew said: Did the Lord take away the priesthood from Israel?
- 12.5 The Christian said: Why are you asking me about this?
- 12.6 The Jew said: What else do you want me to ask?
- 12.7 The Christian said: First ask about God; second, about yourself!
- 12.8 The Jew said: How do I do this?
- 12.9 The Christian said: How? Listen to God speaking through David *Sacrifice and offering you did not desire and I will not eat the flesh of bulls nor drink the blood of goats* (Ps. 39:7; 49:13).
- 12.10 Indeed also in Isaiah he completely rejects them and you and says: *Listen to the word of the Lord, you rulers of Sodom. Take heed to the word of God, you people of Gomorrah.*
- 12.11 *What is this multitude of your sacrifices to me? I am filled with burn offerings. I do not desire the flesh of bulls and the blood of goats. Your new moons and your festivals and your sabbaths and your festival day my soul hates.*
- 12.12 *Who has sought these things from your hands? No longer again tread my court* (Isa. 1:10-12, 14).
- 12.13 And concerning we who are of the Gentiles, he has written thus in the book of the Twelve Prophets: *After these things I will return and rebuild the tabernacle of David and will build up its destroyed places* (Amos 9:11). And again: *The glory of this later house will be greater than the former* (Hag. 2:9).
- 12.14 But he rejected the priests with an oath so that the generation of Aaron would no longer serve as priests, but that his only son, the Lord Jesus Christ, should serve as priest according to the order of Melchizedek forever. For those who believe in God from the Gentiles, he said: *The Lord swore and will not change: You are a priest forever in the order of Melchizedek* (Ps. 109:4).
- 12.15 Wherefore, also in Hosea he promised their adoption, saying: *And it shall come to pass in the place where it was said to them: You are not my people, they shall be called sons of the living God* (Hos. 1:10).
- 13.1 The Jew said: But if they did not reject him, he would have not rejected them. For even if he did promise something to the Gentiles, Israel was his firstborn son, not the Gentiles!
- 13.2 The Christian said: *But the greater shall serve the lesser* (Gen. 25:23).
- 13.3 The Jew said: It is correct that the Gentiles round about are greater in number. But the Lord spoke through Moses: *You will enter to inherit for yourself the Gentiles greater and stronger than you* (See Deut. 4:38).

4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἔστιν πρῶτος Ἰακώβ ὃν σὺ λέγεις· ἐπεὶ πῶς ἐδούλευσεν τῷ μικροτέρῳ αὐτῷ τὰ ἔθνη;
5. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστιν ὃν λέγει ἡ γραφή;
6. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἡ γραφή πάντα καλῶς λέγει, οὐ καλῶς δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται παρ' ἡμῖν.
7. βλέπει γὰρ εὐλογούμενον τὸν Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἡσαὺ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰσαάκ,
8. Ἰσαάκ δὲ ἦν εὐλογούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Ἀβραάμ πρῶτος, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου εὐλογηθήσονται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.
9. ὁ οὖν Ἰσαάκ εὐλογῶν τὸν Ἰακώβ—μᾶλλον δὲ ὁ θεὸς διὰ τοῦ Ἰσαάκ—ὁ μὲν Ἰσαάκ τὸν Ἡσαὺ εὐλογεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὁ δὲ κύριος ὁ ἐπηγγείλατο μυστικῶς ἐπλήρου·
10. τοῦ γὰρ Ἰσαάκ εἰπόντος τῷ Ἡσαὺ ὅτι ἰδοὺ γεγήρακα καὶ οὐ γινώσκω τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τελευταίας μου· ἐξελθε εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ θήρευσόν μοι θήραν, καὶ ποιήσον μοι ἐδέσματα, ἵνα φαγῶν εὐλογήσω σε. ἦν δὲ Ἡσαὺ ὁ πρεσβύτερος υἱός, ὃ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν Ἰσαάκ.
11. Ῥεβέκκα δὲ ἠγάπα τὸν Ἰακώβ, καὶ συμβουλεύσασα αὐτῷ ἐποίησεν βρώματα, οὐκ ἀπὸ θήρας, ὡς Ἰουδαῖε, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ποιμνίων.
12. ἔλαβεν δὲ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ τὴν στολὴν Ἡσαὺ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου αὐτῆς υἱοῦ τὴν καλὴν, ἣ ἦν παρ' αὐτῆ καὶ ἐνέδυσεν τὸν Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἔδωκεν τὰ ἐδέσματα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ.
13. καὶ εἰσῆνεγκεν τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν ἀνάστηθι καὶ φάγε ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας μου, ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ με ἡ ψυχὴ σου.
14. ἵνα δὲ διὰ τάχους εἶκω· λέγει τῷ Ἰακώβ τίς εἶ σὺ τέκνον;
15. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ υἱός σου ὁ πρωτότοκος Ἡσαὺ. καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτὸν ὡς πρωτότοκον· καὶ μάλιστα ψηλαφήσας οὐκ ἐπέγνω τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν ἐπέγνω καὶ τὴν στολὴν.
16. διὸ καὶ φιλῶν τὸν Ἰακώβ ὁ Ἰσαάκ εἶπεν ὡσφράνθην τὴν ὁσμὴν τῶν ἱματίων τοῦ υἱοῦ μου, ὡς ὁσμὴ ἀγροῦ πλήρης, ὃν εὐλόγησεν κύριος. καὶ δῶῃ σοι κύριος ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄνωθεν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πίπτου τῆς γῆς, καὶ πλῆθος σίτου καὶ οἴνου. καὶ γίνου κύριος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, καὶ προσκυνήσουσίν σοι υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρός σου· καὶ ὁ καταρώμενός σε ἐπικατάρατος, καὶ ὁ εὐλογῶν σε εὐλογημένος.
17. οὐ βλέπομεν δὲ τῷ Ἰακώβ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ.
- 14.**
1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἀξιῶ σε, πῶς ταῦτα νοεῖς; ἐρμηνεύσον ἡμῖν· ἐγὼ γὰρ νομίζω ἐπὶ τὸν πατριάρχην Ἰακώβ ταῦτα γεγενῆσθαι.
2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· πειραζῶν ταῦτα λέγεις;

13.4 The Christian said: Then it is not first Jacob of whom you are speaking. For how did the Gentiles serve the one lesser than him?

13.5 The Jew said: But who is the one of whom the scripture speaks?

13.6 The Christian said: Scripture speaks things well, but it is not interpreted well among you.

13.7 For it sees Jacob and Esau being blessed by Isaac.

13.8 Isaac was blessed by the Lord, and Abraham first when God himself said: *In your seed all the Gentiles will be blessed* (Gen. 26:4).

13.9 Therefore, when Isaac was blessing Jacob - rather when God was blessing through Isaac - Isaac, on the one hand, attempted to bless Esau, but the Lord, on the other hand, was mystically fulfilling what he had promised.

13.10 Isaac spoke to Esau: *Behold, I am old and I do not know the day of my death, so go out to the field and kill some game for me and then make some fine meat for me, so that I may eat it and bless you* (Gen. 27:2, 3). So Esau was the older son to whom Isaac was saying these things.

13.11 But Rebekah loved Jacob and she advised Jacob and she made some food, not from game, O Jew, but from the flock.

13.12 Then his mother took the nice robe of Esau her firstborn son which she had with her and put it on Jacob, and she put the food into his hands.

13.13 So he brought it to his father and said: *Arise and eat from my food that your soul may bless me* (Gen. 27:19).

13.14 But that I may be brief, he said to Jacob: *Who are you, child?*

13.15 *And he said: I am your firstborn son, Esau* (Gen. 27:19). So he blessed him as the firstborn, and although he felt him, he did not recognize him, but he recognized his voice and his robe.

13.16 Isaac also kissed him and said: *I have smelled the smell of my son's garments, as the smell of an abundant field, which the Lord has blessed. May the Lord give you the dew of heaven above, the plenty of the earth and the abundance of corn and wine. And be master over your brother; the sons of your father shall revere you. Cursed is he who curses you, and blessed is he who blesses you* (Gen. 27:27-29).

13.17 We do not see that these things happened to Jacob, but to Jesus and those with him.

14.1 The Jew said: I must ask that you explain to us how you understand these things. For I think that these things happened for the patriarch Jacob.

14.2 The Christian said: Are you say these things to make a test?

3. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, ζῆ κύριος.
4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ πῶς αὐτὰ πληροῦσθαι φατέ;
5. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἔσεσθαι ταῦτα.
6. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· κὰν ἔλθῃ ὃν σὺ προσδοκᾷς, εὐρήσει ταῦτα πεπληρωμένα· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Δὲν φυλῆς ἐκεῖνος ἐρχεται.
7. καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς Ἰακώβ εὐλογῶν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ οὕτως εἶπεν· Δὲν καὶ αὐτὸς κρινεῖ τὸν λαὸν ἑαυτοῦ, ὡσεὶ καὶ μία φυλὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ.
8. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ταῦτα διὰ τὸν Σαμψῶν εἶπεν· ἔκρινεν γὰρ τὸν Ἰσραήλ εἴκοσι ἔτη.
- 9a. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἰπὼν ὁ προφήτης ὅτι κρινεῖ τὸν λαὸν ὡσεὶ καὶ μίαν φυλὴν ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ, δῆλον ὅτι περισσὸν τῶν φυλῶν ὄντα σημαίνει.
- 9b. καὶ ἔσται Δὲν ὄφις ἐφ' ὁδοῦ, δάκνων πτέρναν ἵππου, καὶ πεσεῖται ὁ ἵππεὺς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, τὴν σωτηρίαν κυρίου περιμένων.
10. μὴ ἔδακεν Σαμψῶν ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην;
11. μὴ πεσόντες οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ περιέμενον τὴν σωτηρίαν κυρίου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις;
12. ἢ οὐκ ἔπεσεν Σαμψῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἐξώρυξαν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ;
13. πάντως δὲ ὅτι διὰ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐρρέθη ταῦτα.
- 15.
1. Γνώθι οὖν τίς ἐστὶν ὃν σὺ προσδοκᾷς. Ἰσαὰκ δὲ εὐλογήσας τὸν Ἰακώβ οὐ μετεμελήθη· τοῦ γὰρ Ἡσαὺ εἰπόντος ὀπισθεν τοῦ Ἰακώβ εὐλογηθῆναι, ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εὐλογοῦντος σὺ τίς εἶ; εἶπεν ὁ Ἡσαὺ ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἡσαὺ ὁ πρωτότοκος·
2. καὶ ἐξέστη Ἰσαὰκ ἔκστασιν μεγάλην σφόδρα.
3. Ἐρωτῶ σε δέ, ἄνθρωπε Ἰσραηλίτα, τί ἐξέστη Ἰσαὰκ περὶ τούτου;
4. μὴ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν πότε τὸν Ἡσαὺ; ναί, ἶδεν.
5. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐθαύμασεν Ἰσαὰκ τὸ ποίημα τοῦ Ἰακώβ.
6. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἐξέστη Ἰσαὰκ ἔκστασιν μεγάλην, μὴ γὰρ εἶπεν ἢ γραφῇ ἐθαύμασεν;
7. πᾶς δὲ ὁ βλέπων ἔκστασιν, δῆλον ὅτι ὄρασιν τινὰ ὄρα·
8. ἢ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἐν ἔκστασει γενόμενος περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς, ἠνίκα διεθέτο αὐτῷ κύριος τὴν διαθήκην τῆς περιτομῆς τὰ αὐτὰ ἶδεν περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς,
9. λεγοῦσης τῆς γραφῆς ὅτι ἔπεσεν ἔκστασις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβραάμ;

- 14.3 The Jew said: In truth as the Lord lives.
- 14.4 The Christian said: But how do you assert that these things are fulfilled?
- 14.5 The Jew said: We propose that these things will take place for the coming one.
- 14.6 The Christian said: When the one whom you await comes, he will find that these things have been fulfilled. For that one is coming from the tribe of Dan.
- 14.7 For concerning him Jacob himself, when he was blessing his sons, spoke thus: *Dan himself will judge his own people as one tribe in Israel* (Gen. 49:16).
- 14.8 The Jew said: He spoke these things about Samson, for he judged his people twenty years.
- 14.9 The Christian said: When the prophet said: *He will judge his people as one tribe in Israel*, it is evident that he was signifying something beyond the tribes, and *Dan will be a serpent on the road, biting the heel of a horse, so that the rider will fall behind it, waiting for the salvation of the Lord* (Gen. 49:17).
- 14.10 Samson never bit a horse and its rider, did he?
- 14.11 The other Philistines didn't fall before him as he was awaiting the salvation of the Lord in those days, did they?
- 14.12 Did not Samson fall into the hands of the Philistines who gouged out his eyes?
- 14.13 Certainly because these things were spoken about his enemies.
- 15.1 Know, then, who it is that you are awaiting. When Isaac blessed Jacob, he did not change his mind. For Esau spoke up after Jacob and desired to be blessed. And he was asked by the Blessor: *Who are you? And Esau said: I am Esau, your firstborn.*
- 15.2 *And Isaac was astonished with a great ecstasy* (Gen. 27:32, 33).
- 15.3 Now I ask you, Israelite man, why was Isaac astonished over this?
- 15.4 Did he not see Esau? Of course he saw him.
- 15.5 The Jew said: Isaac marveled at the deed of Jacob.
- 15.6 The Christian said: *Isaac was greatly astonished* because the scripture did not say: "he marveled," did it?
- 15.7 Every person who sees an ecstasy, it is clear that he sees some vision.
- 15.8 Or did you not know that when Abraham was in an ecstasy around the sun's going down when God had made the covenant of circumcision with him, saw the same things (see Gen. 15:12)?
- 15.9 When the scripture says that an ecstasy fell on Abraham, he also received a name change.

**10.** διὸ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος μετακλήσις γέγονεν. (δῆλον ὅτι τοῦ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἐπ' ἑσχάτου τῶν ἡμέρων σημαίνει.)

**11.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τί οὖν ἶδεν Ἰσαάκ;

**12.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἶδεν Ἰσαάκ ὅτι ὄν μὲν προσεδόκα εὐλογεῖν λαὸν ἀπωθούμενον, τὸν δὲ μὴ λαὸν ὄντα ἐγγὺς κυρίου γινόμενον.

**13.** τοῦ γὰρ Ἡσαὺ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ πικροῦ ζητοῦντος εὐλογίαν ἤκουσεν· ἔλθῶν ὁ ἀδελφός σου μετὰ δόλου ἔλαβεν τὴν εὐλογίαν σου.

**14.** καὶ εἶπεν Ἡσαὺ τῷ Ἰσαάκ μὴ εὐλογία μία σοὶ ἐστίν, πατέρ; εὐλόγησον δὴ καὶ ἐγώ, πατέρ.

**15.** εἶπεν δὲ Ἰσαάκ τῷ Ἡσαὺ εἰ κύριον αὐτὸν ἐποίησά σου, εἰ σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ ἐστήρισα αὐτόν, σοὶ δὲ τί ποιήσω, τέκνον;

**16.** σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ εἶπεν, ὦ Ἰουδαίε, μὴ γὰρ κρέασιν καὶ αἵμασιν ταύρων καὶ τράγων, οὐχ οὕτως;

**17.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ τί ἄρα ἐστίν σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ ἐστήρισα αὐτόν;

**18.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τὸ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ ἱερατεύειν, καθὼς εἶπεν Δαυὶδ ὅτι οὐ μὴ φάγω κρέα ταύρων, οὐδὲ αἷμα τράγων πίομαι, ἀλλὰ θύσον τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

**19.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ ἡ θυσία τῆς αἰνέσεως τί ἐστίν;

**20.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὐ δύνασαι ἀκοῦσαι νῦν, ἀκούσῃ δὲ ὅταν ὁ κύριος ἐπινεύσῃ.

**21.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἶδεν οὖν Ἰσαάκ τότε ὅτε ἐξέστη τὸν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν ἐγγίζοντα τῷ θεῷ, τὸν δὲ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπωθούμενον;

**22.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ναί, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ ἶδεν τότε· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἶδεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐξέστη.

## 16.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τί οὖν καὶ Ἀβραάμ ἶδεν αὐτὸν ἥνικα ἐξέστη;

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἶδεν αὐτόν, πῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ ὄρκιζεν τὸν Ἰεβλαέμ μὴ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα τῷ Ἰσαάκ ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Χαναanaίων λέγων

**3.** θές τὴν χειρά σου ἐπὶ τὸν μηρόν μου καὶ ὀρκιώ σε τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἵνα μὴ λάβῃς γυναῖκα τῷ υἱῷ μου Ἰσαάκ ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Χαναanaίων, μεθ' ὧν ἐγὼ οἰκῶ μετ' αὐτῶν.

**4.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· παρακαλῶ, ζῆ κύριος, εἰπέ ἡμῖν διὰ τί τὴν χειρά τοῦ Ἰεβλαέμ ὑπὸ τὸν μηρόν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀβραάμ ἐζήτηι τεθῆναι καὶ οὕτως ὄρκωσεν τὸν Ἰεβλαέμ;

**5.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ προφήτης ἦν, ὡς προφήτης ἐσήμανεν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ σαρκουσθαι θεὸν λόγον.

15.10 Now it is also clear that the phrase “going down of the sun” signifies that this refers to the last days.

15.11 The Jew said: What then did Isaac see?

15.12 The Christian said: Isaac saw that the people whom he expected to bless were being rejected and the people who were not would someday come near to the Lord.

15.13 For when Esau was seeking the blessing bitterly with crying, he heard: *When your brother came with deceit, he took your blessing.*

15.14 *So Esau said to Isaac: Do you have only one blessing, Father? Bless me too, Father* (Gen. 27:38).

15.15 And Isaac said to him: *If I have made him your master, and have established him with grain and wine, what then shall I do for you, child* (Gen. 27:37)?

15.16 *Grain and wine* he said, O Jew. It was not with the flesh of bull and goats, was it? Is it not so?

15.17 The Jew said: So what then is the meaning of: *I have established him with corn and wine?*

15.18 The Christian said: To serve as a priest in the order of Melchizedek as David wrote: *I will never eat the flesh of bulls nor drink the blood of goats but the sacrifice to God is a sacrifice of praise* and so on (Ps. 49:13,14).

15.19 The Jew said: And the *sacrifice of praise*; what is this?

15.20 The Christian said: You are not able to hear that now, but you will hear it after these things, if the Lord consents.

15.21 The Jew said: Therefore, when Isaac was in an ecstasy, he saw the people drawing near to God from the Gentiles and Israel being rejected?

15.22 The Christian said: Yes, but he also saw Immanuel then. If he did not see him, he would not have been astonished.

16.1 The Jew said: Then did Abraham also see him, when was he astonished?

16.2 The Christian said: If he did not see him, how did he make Jeblaem swear to him that he would not take a wife for Isaac from the Canaanite daughters?

16.3 He said: *Put your hand under my thigh and I will make you swear by the Lord God of heaven and earth that you will not take a wife for my son Isaac from the Canaanite daughters, among whom I am dwelling* (Gen. 24:2,3).

16.4 The Jew said: I beseech you, as the Lord lives, tell us why Abraham asked Jeblaem to put his hand under his thigh, and make Jeblaem swear this way.

16.5 The Christian said: Since he was a prophet, as a prophet he was signifying that the one who would come forth from him in flesh would be God the Logos.

6. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀνέλαβεν σάρκα ὁ Ἰησοῦς οὗτος, θεὸς ὢν τὸ πρότερον;

7. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ναί, ὡς αὐτὸς ἠθέλησεν καὶ οἶδεν, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ κατὰγεται κατὰ σάρκα.

8. καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα ἐρρέθη αὐτῷ ὑπὸ κυρίου καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς.

### 17.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἀπάγγελιόν μοι καὶ τὰς γενέσεις αὐτοῦ·

2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τὸ στόμα σου ἀνήγγειλεν ὡς ἀνεγνωκῶς σὺ καὶ παλαιάν καὶ νέαν διαθήκην, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ γινώσκεις;

3a. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἔστιν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ γενεαλογία καὶ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ· ἔστιν δὲ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον· οὕτως· δὲ περιέχει ὅτι Ἰακώβ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ Ἰωσήφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον Χριστόν, περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος.

3b. φησὶν δὲ ἐγέννησεν ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας.

4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ὀρθῶς καὶ κατὰ τάξιν μέλλεις λέγειν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐλαλήσαμεν ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς λαλήσαντες οὕτως· ὡς ποτήριον ἐν χειρὶ κυρίου, οἴνου ἀκράτου πλήρης κεράσματος, καὶ ἐκλινεν ἐκ τούτου εἰς τοῦτο. καὶ εἰ τί πότε δόξης κρύπτειν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν·

5. οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται, ἀξζάμενος γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ, ὅτι Ἀβραάμ φησὶν ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαὰκ, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ τὸν Ἰακώβ, Ἰακώβ δὲ τὸν Ἰούδαν, Ἰούδας δὲ τὸν Φάρες καὶ τὸν Ζάρα. Φάρες δὲ τὸν Ἑσρῶμ,

6. Ἑσρῶμ δὲ τὸν Ἀράμ, Ἀράμ δὲ τὸν Ἀμιναδάβ, Ἀμιναδάβ δὲ τὸν Ναασσών, Ναασσών δὲ τὸν Σαλμών, Σαλμών δὲ τὸν Βοός, Βοός δὲ τὸν Ἰωβήδ, Ἰωβήδ δὲ τὸν Ἰεσσαί,

7. Ἰεσσαί δὲ τὸν Δαυὶδ τὸν βασιλέα.

8. Δαυὶδ δὲ τὸν Σολομών, Σολομών δὲ τὸν Ῥοβοάμ, Ῥοβοάμ δὲ τὸν Ἀβιά, Ἀβιά δὲ τὸν Ἀσάφ. Ἀσάφ δὲ τὸν Ἰωσαφάτ,

9. Ἰωσαφάτ δὲ τὸν Ἰωράμ, Ἰωράμ δὲ τὸν Ὀζιαν,

10. Ὀζίας δὲ τὸν Ἰωαθάμ, Ἰωαθάμ δὲ τὸν Ἀχάς, Ἀχάς δὲ τὸν Ἐζεκιάν,

11. Ἐζεκιᾶς δὲ τὸν Μανασσῆ, Μανασσῆς δὲ τὸν Ἀμώς, Ἀμώς δὲ τὸν Ἰωσίαν,

12. Ἰωσίας δὲ τὸν Ἰεχονίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος.

13. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετοικεσίαν Βαβυλῶνος Ἰεχονίας ἐγέννησεν τὸν Σαλαθιήλ, Σαλαθιήλ δὲ τὸν Ζοροβαβέλ,

16.6 The Jew said: And this Jesus who took flesh from him, who was formerly God?

16.7 The Christian said: Yes, as he wished and also knew, he proceeded from Abraham in the flesh.

16.8 Also *in Isaac his seed will be called* (Gen. 21:12) was said to him by the Lord. And *all the Gentiles of the earth will be blessed through your descendant* (Gen. 26:4).

17.1 The Jew said: How was he born? Tell me also his origins.

17.2 The Christian said: Your mouth has spoken that you have read both the Old and the New Testament, and do you not know this?

17.3 The Jew said: Well, there is a genealogy both in the Old and in the New and in the (Gospel) according to Matthew. And thus it is contained there: *Jacob begot Joseph, and Joseph begot Jesus who is called Messiah* (Matt. 1:16), about whom now is the discussion, and it says that he begot him from Mary.

17.4 The Christian said: You must speak correctly and in order, as we have also spoken truly, when we spoke from the Old this way. *As a cup in the hand of the Lord, full of unmingled wine, so he has turned it from side to side* (Ps. 74:9). And if there is any opinion to hide, we are not aware of it.

17.5 For thus it is written, beginning from Abraham, he said that *Abraham begot Isaac, and Isaac "begot" (understood et infra) Jacob, and Jacob, Judah and his brothers, and Judah, Perez and Zerah by Tamar, and Perez, Hezron,*

17.6 *and Hezron, Ram, and Ram, Amminadab, and Amminadab, Nahshon, and Nahshon, Salmon, and Salmon, Boaz by Rahab, and Boaz, Obed by Ruth, and Obed, Jesse,*

17.7 *and Jesse, David the king.*

17.8 *And David, Solomon by the wife of Uriah, and Solomon, Rehoboam, and Rehoboam, Abijah, and Abijah, Asaph, and Asaph, Jehoshaphat,*

17.9 *and Jehoshaphat, Joram, and Joram, Uzziah,*

17.10 *and Uzziah, Jotham, and Jotham, Ahaz, and Ahaz, Hezekiah,*

17.11 *and Hezekiah, Manasseh, and Manasseh, Amon, and Amon, Josiah,*

17.12 *and Josiah, Jeconiah and his brothers, at the time of the deportation to Babylon.*

17.13 *And after the deportation to Babylon, Jeconiah begot Shealtiel, and Shealtiel, Zerubbabel,*

14. Ζοροβαβέλ δὲ τὸν Ἀβιούδ, Ἀβιούδ δὲ τὸν Ἐλιακεῖμ, Ἐλιακεῖμ δὲ τὸν Ἀζώρ, Ἀζώρ δὲ τὸν Σαδώκ, Σαδώκ δὲ τὸν Ἀχείμ, Ἀχείμ δὲ τὸν Ἐλιούδ,  
 15. Ἐλιούδ δὲ τὸν Ἐλεαζάρ, Ἐλεαζάρ δὲ τὸν Ματθάν,  
 16. Ματθάν δὲ τὸν Ἰακώβ, Ἰακώβ δὲ τὸν Ἰωσήφ,  
 17. ᾧ μνηστευθεῖσα Μαρία, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός.  
 18. καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεῖν πάσας τὰς γενεαλογίας ἐπάγει λέγων τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ ἢ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν.  
 19. μνηστευθεῖσις γὰρ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῷ Ἰωσήφ, πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου.

### 18.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· λέγεται δὲ ταύτην μετὰ τὸ γεγεννηκέναι πάλιν παρθένον εὐρέθησαν, διαμένειν ἕως δεῦρο.  
 2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν γενήσεσθαι διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ δὴ σύμβολα πολλὰ εὐρίσκομεν περὶ τούτου γενόμενα.  
 3. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἀλλὰ τὰ εὐαγγέλια ὑμῶν οὐδὲν τούτων περιέχει, εἰ μὴ τί γε ἐν ἀποκρύφοις κεῖται—μὴ αὐτοῖς ἔχω πιστεῦσαι;  
 4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἀπόκρυφα τὸ παράπαν μίτη ἐνωτίση· τοῖς δὲ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἄκοντες ἔχομεν πιστεῦσαι.  
 5. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν προβαλὼν λέγε.  
 6. οἶδα δὲ ἐγὼ ὅτι προφέρεις τὴν περικοπὴν τοῦ Ἡσαΐα τὴν λέγουσαν, ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ λήψεται· καὶ τέξεται υἱόν. καὶ δῆλον μετὰ τὸν τοκετὸν μὴ εἶναι τι τοιοῦτον λέγει.  
 7. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ζῆ κύριος, οὐ περὶ τούτου βουλήν εἶχον λαλῆσαί σοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτὸς προεβάλου, προανάγνωθι ὀλίγον, καὶ εὐρήσεις καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀληθείαν.  
 8. γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως, καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος τῷ Ἀχαζ λέγων· αἰτήσαι σεαυτῷ σημεῖον παρὰ κυρίου θεοῦ σου εἰς βάθος ἢ εἰς ὕπνος. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀχαζ οὐ μὴ αἰτήσω οὐδ' οὐ μὴ πειράσω κύριον.  
 9. καὶ εἶπεν ἀκούσατε δὴ, οἶκος Δαυίδ· μὴ μικρὸν ὑμῖν ἀνθρώποις ἀγῶνα παρέχειν; καὶ πῶς κυρίῳ παρέχετε ἀγῶνα;  
 10. διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸς κύριος δώσει ὑμῖν σημεῖον· ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, θαυμαστὸς σύμβουλος, θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς, ἐξουσιαστὴς, ἄρχων εἰρήνης, πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

17.14 *and Zerubbabel, Abiud, and Abiud, Eliakim, and Eliakim, Azor, and Azor, Zadok, and Zadok, Achim, and Achim, Eliud,*

17.15 *and Eliud, Eleazar, and Eleazar, Matthan,*

17.16 *and Matthan, Jacob, and Jacob, Joseph,*

17.17 *to whom was betrothed Mary. From whom was born Jesus, who is called Messiah (Mt. 1:2-16).*

17.18 *And after all the genealogies were announced, it goes on, saying: The birth of Jesus was like this.*

17.19 *When his Mother Mary was betrothed to Joseph, before they came together, she was found to be pregnant through the Holy Spirit (Mt. 1:18).*

18.1 The Jew said: And is it said that after the birth again she was found to be a virgin, and continues as such even until now?

18.2 The Christian said: God said through the prophets that this would take place, and indeed we find many symbols about this that have taken place.

18.3 The Jew said: But your Gospels contain none of these things, unless they are contained in the apocryphal books. Do I have to believe these?

18.4 The Christian said: One need not heed the Apocrypha absolutely, but it is clear we must believe the things of the law and the prophets, even if we are not inclined to do so.

18.5 The Jew said: So now speak the things the law and the prophets set forth.

18.6 And I know that you will bring up the section of Isaiah which says: *Behold the virgin will conceive and will bear a son (Isa. 7:14).* But it is clear that after the birth he would not say that such a thing is so.

18.7 The Christian said: As the Lord lives, I did not have any plan to speak to you about this. But since you brought it up, read on in the passage a little and you will find the following truth.

18.8 For it is written thus: *And the Lord again spoke to Ahaz, saying: Ask for yourself a sign from the Lord your God, in the depth or in the height. And Ahaz said: I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord.*

18.9 *And he said, Hear now, O house of David. Is it a little thing for you to contend with men? Will you also contend against the Lord?*

18.10 *Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign. Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and shall bring forth a son, and you shall call his name Immanuel (Isa. 7:10-14), Wonderful Advisor, Mighty God, Potentate, Ruler of Peace, Father of the Coming Age (Isa. 9:5).*

**11.** καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ λέγει ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, ὅτι ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύετε ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῆσεται ὑμῖν.

**12.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐδὲν περὶ οὗ ζητοῦμεν εἶπες ταῦτα πάντα.

**13.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ταῦτα ἃ λαλοῦμεν, ὅσα ὁ κύριος εἶπεν διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν ὑμῶν· τὸ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ κύριος δώσει ὑμῖν σημεῖον, καὶ ὅτι ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι, ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε· ἄρα τούτων ποῖα μείζονα σημεῖα ἐπιζητεῖς;

## 19.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐπηγγείλω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου διδόναι σύμβολα· δὸς ἡμῖν αὐτά.

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τί γὰρ ὡς μὴ εὐποροῦντες ἄλλων ταύτας προεβάλομεν; οὐ πάντως, μέχρι γὰρ σὺ εἴπης ἀρκεῖ εἰς κύριον καυχώμεθα εἰπεῖν, οὐ διαλείψωμεν προφέροντες πρὸς τὰ ἔτι κρείττονα σύμβολα.

**3.** ἰδοὺ γὰρ εὐρίσκομεν ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς Ἐξόδου γεγραμμένον οὕτως· καὶ ὤφθη ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς βάτου, καὶ ὁρᾷ Μωϋσῆς ὅτι ἡ βάτος ἐκαίετο, ἡ δὲ βάτος οὐ κατεκαίετο.

**4.** ἄρά ἐστιν τοῦτο σύμβολον τοῦ τοκετοῦ καὶ τῆς παρθενίας, ἡ οὐ;

**5.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ὅσα ἔχεις ἀσφαλῆ, ἀνάγγειλον ἡμῖν.

**6.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἰ οὐκ ἐπιστοποιήσω ἀπὸ τούτων, ἰδοὺ ἕτερον σύμβολον.

**7.** Δανιὴλ ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων, καὶ ἐσφραγίσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ δακτυλίῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ μεγιστάνες αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ δακτυλίῳ αὐτοῦ.

**8.** εὐρίσκομεν δὲ ὅτι ἀπέστειλεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἀμβακούμ, βαστάσας αὐτὸν ἄγγελος κυρίου, καὶ ἔδωκεν φαγεῖν τῷ Δανιὴλ.

**9.** καὶ πάλιν ἀπεκατέστησεν κύριος τὸν Ἀμβακούμ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν. ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἄρα σώας εὗρεν τὰς σφραγίδας ἡ οὐ;

**10.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τὰς μὲν σφραγίδας σώας εὗρεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ καθόδῳ ἐκεῖνη ἀπεστάλη ὁ Ἀμβακούμ πρὸς τὸν Δανιὴλ, ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἂν ἐπὶ Κύρου ἐβλήθη εἰς τὸν λάκκον, τότε ὁ Ἀμβακούμ παρεγένετο· τότε δὲ οὐ γράφει ὅτι ἐσφραγίσθη ὁ λάκκος.

**11.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἄφρων καὶ ἀνόητε, καὶ ποῖος Ληρώδης οὐ γινώσκει ὅτι ἐπὶ βασιλείῳ μάλιστα γενόμενον, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γίνεται· καὶ καθὼς τὸ πρότερον ἐπὶ Δαρείου ἐσφραγίσθη, οὕτως καὶ ἐπὶ Κύρου.

**12.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τῆς γραφῆς μὴ ἐμφερούσης, τί εἶπωμεν;

18.11 And in another place, he says: *Behold, you despisers, both marvel and be terrified. Because I am doing a work in your days which you will never believe even if someone will tell you* (Hab. 1:5).

18.12 The Jew said: We do not seek for the one about whom you spoke all these things.

18.13 The Christian said: We speak the things the Lord has said because of your unbelief. Because of this *the Lord will give you a sign and I am doing a work which you will never believe*. What greater signs than these things do you seek?

19.1 The Jew said: You also promised to give symbols from the law. Give them to us.

19.2 The Christian said: Did we propose these things as though we were lacking others? By no means! Until you say it is enough we are confident in the Lord to keep speaking, and we will not cease setting forth even better symbols.

19.3 For behold we find in the Book of Exodus this written: *And the angel of the Lord appeared in the flame of a burning bush. And Moses saw that the bush was burning and it was not consumed* (Exod. 3:2).

19.4 Is this also a symbol of the virgin birth, or no?

19.5 The Jew said: Tell what you think is certain.

19.6 The Christian said: If I cannot compel your faith from this, here is another symbol.

19.7 Daniel was cast into a lion's den and *the king sealed it with his own finger and also the great men, each with his own finger* (Dan. 6:18 TH).

19.8 And we find that the Lord God sent Habakkuk, carried by an angel of the Lord, and he gave Daniel something to eat.

19.9 Then the Lord returned Habakkuk to Judea (Bel and Dragon 1:33-39). So when the king arrived, did he find the seals intact or not?

19.10 The Jew said: He found those seals intact. For he did not send Habakkuk to Daniel in that descent, but when he was cast into the den by Cyrus, then Habakkuk arrived. Then it was not written that the den was sealed.

19.11 The Christian said: O senseless and unwise man! What sort of foolish person does not know that what happened especially in the presence of a king, happened for sure? And as it was formerly sealed under Darius, thus it was also under Cyrus.

19.12 The Jew said: If scripture does not plainly state this, should we affirm it?

**13.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἰδοὺ ὑποδείγματι λέγω σοι, ἔχει γὰρ ἡ γραφή τῆς Γενέσεως οὕτως· καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, χουὺν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. οὐ γράφει δὲ ὅτι ποιήσωμεν αὐτοῦ χειρὰς καὶ πόδας καὶ ὀφθαλμούς, ὧτα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα, τὰ ἐξωθεν καὶ τὰ ἔσωθεν, μόνον δὲ εἶπεν

**14.** ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν·

**15.** αἰσθώμεθα δὲ τὰ μέλη ταῦτα ἔχειν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Δανιὴλ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ὅτι ἐσφραγίσαντο ὁ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ μεγιστάνες αὐτοῦ· δηλον ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ.

**16.** πλὴν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ συμπεριφέρομαί σοι.

**17.** ἄκουε δὲ συνετῶς· ἐπάγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή λέγουσα οὕτως, καὶ ἦλθεν, φησὶν, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδόμῃ πενήθησαι τὸν Δανιὴλ.

**18.** καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν αὐτὸν τῷ λάκκῳ, ἐβόησεν φωνῇ μεγάλῃ λέγων Δανιὴλ, Δανιὴλ, ὁ δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ὁ θεός, ὧ σὺ λατρεύεις ἐνδελεχῶς, εἰ ἠδυνήθη σε ἐξελέσθαι ἐκ στόματος τῶν λεόντων;

**19.** καὶ εἶπεν Δανιὴλ βασιλεῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ζῆθι ὁ θεός μου, ὧ λατρεύω ἐνδελεχῶς, ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνέφραξεν τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων, καὶ οὐκ ἔλυμήναντό με.

**20.** ἐρωτῶ οὖν σέ, ὧ Ἰουδαῖε, πῶς κατήλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ; ἐν τῇ ἀγγελικῇ φοβερᾷ ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει, ἡ ἠπιότητι;

**21.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἠπιότητι.

**22.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· πῶς οὐκ ἐφθάρησαν αἱ σφραγίδες, καλῶς εἶπας.

**23.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἰ γὰρ κατήλθεν τῇ ἀγγελικῇ δυνάμει, δηλον πᾶσιν ὅτι ὁ λίθος θρυφθεὶς διεσκορπίσθη ἄν·

**24.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὐδὲν οὖν γινώσκεις, ἀλλ' ἐρωτῶ σε, ἀποκρίθητί μοι.

**25.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἶπον ὅτι ἠπιότητι κατήλθεν· δηλον δὲ τοῦτο πᾶσιν ὅτι κελεύσει τοῦ παντοκράτορος αἱ σφραγίδες διεφυλάχθησαν σῶαι.

**26.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἡ οὖν παρθενία τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας κελεύσει, ἀλλ' οὐ δόκει σοι διεφυλάχθη;

**20.**

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πόθεν ἄλλην ἀπόκρισιν διδοῖς ἡμῖν περὶ τούτου;

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὐ παύσομαι παρῆχων· παρρησία γὰρ ὁ παντοκράτωρ ἔδειξε τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ τοῖς προφήταις.

**3.** εἰ μέντοι γε καὶ τοσαύτας ἀποδείξεις λαβὼν, ἀλλὰ πειράζων, μετὰ τὰς τοσαύτας πάλιν ἄλλην αἰτεῖς ἐκ τε τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, οὐ διαλείψωμεν παρῆχοντες.

19.13 The Christian said: Here I am giving an example to you. For the scripture in Genesis is thus: *And God made man, taking the dust of the earth* (Gen. 2:7). But the scripture is not: "Let us make his hands and feet and eyes, ears and all the rest, outside and inside."

19.14 But he only said: *Let us make man in our image and likeness* (Gen. 1:26).

19.15 But we understand that he had these members. But in Daniel, he said in the first place, that the king and his nobles made seals. It is clear also in the second place.

19.16 Nevertheless, in this I make an allowance for you.

19.17 Hear and understand. For the scripture which says this sets forth: *The king, it says, on the seventh day went to mourn for Daniel.*

19.18 *As he came near to the den where Daniel was, he cried out in a loud voice, saying: O Daniel, Daniel, servant of the highest God, the God whom you serve continually, was he not able to deliver you from the mouth of the lions?*

19.19 *Then Daniel said: O king, live forever! My God, whom I serve continually, sent his angel and shut the lions' mouths, and they have not harmed me* (Dan. 6:19-22TH).

19.20 Therefore, I ask you, O Jew, how did the angel go down into the den? With fearful, angelic authority, or with gentleness?

19.21 The Jew said: With gentleness.

19.22 The Christian said: You have stated well how the seals were not broken.

19.23 The Jew said: For if he had gone down with angelic power, the stone would have been broken and scattered.

19.24 The Christian said: Therefore, even at that you do yet not know it, but I ask you "Answer me!"

19.25 The Jew said: I said that he went down with gentleness. But it is clear to all that by the command of the Almighty the seals were preserved safe.

19.26 The Christian said: Therefore, does it not seem to you that by command the virginity of the holy Mary was preserved?

20.1 The Jew said: Can you give us answer from somewhere else about this?

20.2 The Christian said: I will not cease presenting them, for the Almighty has clearly shown them to his servants the prophets.

20.3 If indeed you do not receive such proofs but test them, after such things even if you ask again for another one, we will provide it and not omit any.

4. προγινώσκων γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὴν πώρωσιν ὑμῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐξ ἔθνων λαὸν τεχθέντα τῷ κυρίῳ ὄν και ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος, ἕκαστόν τι ζητούμενον ἐν ταῖς θεαῖς γραφαῖς πληθυντικῶς διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ ἐφανερώσεν ἡμῖν.

5. ὁ γὰρ Ἰεζεκιὴλ παρορησία ἰδὼν περὶ τούτου οὕτως λέγει και εἰσηγαγὲν με κύριος εἰς τὴν πύλην τὴν ἐσωτέραν τὴν πρὸς βορρᾶν τὴν βλέπουσαν κατὰ ἀνατολάς.

6. και ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ πύλη μία πλήρης δόξης κυρίου, και ἡ πύλη ἐκείνη ἠσφαλισμένη. και εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς με ἡ πύλη αὕτη οὐκ ἀνοιχθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, οὐδ' οὐ μὴ εἰσελεύσεται οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἐξελεύσεται τις δι' αὐτῆς, δι' ὅτι κύριος παντοκράτωρ αὐτὸς εἰσελεύσεται δι' αὐτῆς, και ἔσται ἡ πύλη ἐσφραγισμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

7. πρὸς ταῦτα τί ἐρεῖς ἡμῖν, ᾧ Ἰουδαῖε;

8. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ταῦτα διὰ τὸν Σολομωνιακὸν ναὸν εἶπεν·

9. και γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο ταῦτα, και περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλάλησεν και γὰρ ἔπλησεν ἡ δόξα κυρίου τὸν οἶκον.

10. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· νεφέλη ἔπλησεν τὸν οἶκον, μὴ γὰρ δόξα κυρίου πλην εἰ ἔμεινεν τοῦ Σολομωνιακοῦ ναοῦ εἰς ὃ οὐκ εἰσηλθεν,

11. πρῶτος μὲν Σολομών, εἶτα οἱ ἱερεῖς και Λευῖται, εἶτα Φαραὼν Νεχαῶ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου, ὃ και τὰ χρυσᾶ δόρατα λαβὼν ἅ ἐποίησεν Σολομών, τριακόσια δόρατα ἐλατά·

12. και ἔλαβεν αὐτὰ Φαραὼ Νεχαῶ, εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ῥοβοὰμ τοῦ υἱοῦ Σολομών.

13. Ὁζίας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἠρέεσθη πάντα τὰ τοῦ ναοῦ εἰσελθὼν κατανοήσας, ἀλλὰ και ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀναβὰς και λαβὼν πυρίον, προσήγαγεν θυμίαμα· διὸ και ἐλέπρωσεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἀνθ' ὧν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν.

14. και πάλιν ἦλθεν Ναβουχοδονόσωρ, βασιλεὺς Βαβυλώνος, και εἰσελθὼν ἐν τῷ ναῷ κυρίου ἔλαβεν ἅ ἐποίησεν Σολομών, τὰς θυίσκας, και τὰ τρυβλία και τὰς φιάλας και τὰ σπονδία και τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν χρυσὴν και τὴν λυχνίαν τὴν χρυσὴν και πᾶν τὸ χρυσίον τὸ εὔρεθεν ἐν θησαυροῖς οἴκου κυρίου και τὸ ἀργύριον και πάντα ἔλαβεν Ναβουχοδονόσωρ βασιλεὺς Βαβυλώνος.

15. εἰ οὖν τοὺς θησαυροὺς οἴκου κυρίου ἠρεύννησεν, ἕως και τὰ νεχωθά, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται κρυπτήρ, και εἰς τοὺς κρυπτήρας εἰσελθόντες ἠρεύννησαν, ποία πύλη λέγεις διελαθεν αὐτούς, εἰς ἣν οὐκ εἰσηλθον;

16. εἰ δὲ και τουτους διέλαθεν, ἀλλὰ και Ναβουζαρδάν τὸν ἀρχιμάγειρον τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσωρ οὐ διέλαθεν.

20.4 For the Lord God knew your hardness, rather for the sake of the people from the Gentiles whom he made for himself, he has revealed abundantly each thing we seek through the prophets in the divine scriptures.

20.5 For Ezekiel when he saw this speaks with boldness thus: *And the Lord brought me to the outer gate to the east which looks toward the sunrise.*

20.6 *And behold one gate was there full of the glory of the Lord, and that gate was sealed. And the Lord God said to me: This gate shall not be opened forever. No one shall enter nor go out through that gate forever, because the Lord Almighty shall enter through it, so the gate shall be sealed forever* (Ezek. 44:1-3).

20.7 What will you say to us about these matters, O Jew?

20.8 The Jew said: He spoke these things about the Solomonic Temple.

20.9 For it was there that these things took place and he spoke about it. And the glory of the Lord filled that house.

20.10 The Christian said: A cloud filled the house, but it was not the glory of the Lord. Nevertheless it remained in the Solomonic temple into which it did not enter.

20.11 For Solomon first entered and then the priests and levites. Then Pharaoh Necho, the Egyptian king who took the golden shields and the three hundred silver shields which Solomon had made,

20.12 also took these things when he entered into the house of God during the days of Rehoboam, son of Solomon.

20.13 Then Uzziah the King was not content to enter and behold all the things in the temple, but when he went up to the altar and took a censer and attempted to offer incense, the Lord struck him with leprosy because he had done this.

20.14 And again Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came and entered into the temple of the Lord and took away those things Solomon had made: the censers and the cups and the bowls and the libation containers and the golden table and the golden menorah and every golden and silver item found in the treasury rooms of the Lord's house. Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon took all these things.

20.15 Then he searched out all the treasures of the Lord's house, including the "nechotha" which is the crypt. They then entered into the crypts and searched them out. What gate escaped their notice into which they did not enter?

20.16 And if a gate did escape their notice, it did not escape the notice of Nebuzaradan his chief officer (see Jer. 52:12).

**17.** μετὰ γὰρ τοῦ λαβεῖν πάντα τὰ σκευή τὰ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ τὰ χρυσᾶ, ἀπῆλθεν ἐν Δέβλαθα ὥστε ἐκπολεμῆσαι τοὺς Ἰδουμαίους, καὶ Ἄραβας, καὶ Σύρους.

**18.** Ἀπέστειλεν οὖν τὸν Ναβουζαρδάν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, κάκεινος εἰσέλθων ἔλαβεν τὰ κατάλοιπα τῶν σκευῶν καὶ τῶν χαλκῶν καὶ τοὺς δύο στύλους τοὺς χαλκοὺς συνέκοψεν, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν χαλκῆν, καὶ τοὺς ταύρους τοὺς χαλκοὺς τοὺς ὑποκάτω αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χαλκοῦν, καὶ τὰ μεχωνώθ, καὶ τοὺς θυίσκας, καὶ τοὺς κυθροκάλους, καὶ τοὺς λέβητας, καὶ τὰς κρεάγρας,

**19.** καὶ πάντα τὰ σκευή τὰ χαλκᾶ συνέτριψεν Ναβουζαρδάν καὶ ἔλαβεν τὸν χαλκὸν αὐτῶν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμοίως ἐνέπρησεν.

**20.** Ποία οὖν πύλη ἔμεινε ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐσφραγισμένη; μὴ οὐ συνέβη τῷ ναῷ ᾧ λέγεις πάντα ὅσα εἶπεν ὁ Χριστός; μὴ ἔμεινε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον, ὃς οὐ κατελύθη;

**21.** οὐχὶ τοὺς λίθους αὐτοῦ λαβὼν Ἄδριανὸς ᾠκοδόμησεν θέατρον;

## 21.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν πάντα ὅσα εἶπας περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τούτου, πάλιν ἀνακάμψαντες ζήτησιν μέλλομεν ποιεῖσθαι.

**2.** ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἐξ ὧν κεφαλαίων ἐπηγγείλω μοι ἀποδείξεις διδόναι αὐτὰς δώσας, τὰ νῦν περὶ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ παραέσωμεν.

**3.** ἐπηγγείλω γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ ξύλου ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐσταυρώθη, εἶτα ἐτανύσθη, λέγειν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν.

**4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν πάντα ὅσα ἐρωτᾷς με, αὐτὰ ἀποκρίνομαί σοι.

**5.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν ἂ ἐπηγγείλω περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, λέγε. περὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πάντων ζήτησιν ἔχομεν ποιήσασθαι.

**6a.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν ἰδοὺ καθὼς ἐζήτησας περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, πρῶτον σύμβολον παντοκρατορικόν, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς Γενέσεως οὕτως.

**6b.** ἤνικα ἀπέδρα Ἰακώβ ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἡσαὺ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἦλθεν ἐν τόπῳ τίνι καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐκεῖ.

**7.** ἔδου γὰρ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἔλαβεν λίθον ἓνα καὶ ἔθηκεν πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ.

**8.** ἐνυπνιάσθη δὲ Ἰακώβ ἐνύπνιον, καὶ ἰδοὺ κλίμαξ μεγάλη ἐστήρικτο εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,

**9.** καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέβαινον καὶ κατέβαινον ἐπ' αὐτῆ.

**10.** ὁ δὲ κύριος ἐπέστηρικτο ἐπ' αὐτῆς. τὸ δὲ ἐπιστηρίχθαι τὸν κύριον ἐπ' αὐτῆς, τοῦτο κατάδηλον πᾶσιν ὅτι ὡς ὅτ' ἂν ὁ ποιμὴν στηριχθῆ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ῥάβδον, οὕτως ἐστὶν νοῆσαι.

20.17 For after he took all the golden vessels, he departed to Deblata so that he made war with the Idumeans, the Arabians and the Syrians.

20.18 He then sent Nebuzaradan to Judea, who also entered there and took the rest of the vessels and the bronze pieces. He broke down the two bronze pillars and the bronze sea, and the bronze bulls under them, and the bronze altar, and the bases, and the pomegranates and the basins and the flesh hooks.

20.19 So Nebuzaradan destroyed all the bronze vessels and took away their bronze to Babylon, and then he burned the temple with fire and likewise set fire to the city.

20.20 Therefore, what gate remained sealed forever? Did not this happen to the temple in the manner which Christ said it would? Was not one stone left on another which was not destroyed (Mat. 24:2)?

20.21 Did not Hadrian take these stones and build a theater?

21.1 The Jew said: We ought to return to all the things you have said about this Jesus and make the proper search.

21.2 Now, for the points you promised me you have provided the evidences for them. Now, let us bypass the matters concerning Jerusalem.

21.3 You promised to tell us the things from the divine scriptures about the tree on which Jesus was crucified, and then was laid out.

21.4 The Christian said: Whatever you ask me about, I will answer.

21.5 The Jew said: Speak about what you promised concerning the cross! For we want to make a search about all things concerning Jesus.

21.6 The Christian said: Behold, since you asked about the cross, first will be an omnipotent symbol, as it is written in the book of Genesis. When Jacob fled from the presence of Esau his brother he came to a certain place and slept there,

21.7 *for the sun had gone down. And he took one of the stones, and put it at his head,*

21.8 *and Jacob dreamed a dream, and behold a great ladder was fixed on the earth, whose top reached to heaven,*

21.9 *and the angels of God were ascending and descending on it.*

21.10 *And the Lord stood on top of it (Gen. 28:11-13).* So the affixing of the Lord upon it is evident to all to be understood this way, as when the shepherd leans on his staff.

- 11.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀναβαίνοντες τίνι χαρακτηρίζονται;
- 12.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἄρα οὐκ οἶδας· βλέπε γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ εἶπεν καταβαίνοντας καὶ ἀναβαίνοντας, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἀναβαίνοντας· μόνον γὰρ ἐπάγη τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταύρου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καθ' ὃν τρόπον ἐστήρικτο κλίμαξ ἐπὶ Ἰακώβ. εὐθέως τὰ ἔθνη προσεδέχετο ὁ κύριος καὶ ἀνέβαινον.
- 13.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τί οὖν; οἱ καταβαίνοντες τίνες εἰσίν;
- 14.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὗτοί εἰσιν πρὸς οὓς ἐξεπέτασεν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα.
- 15.** διὸ καὶ βλέπομεν τὰ μὲν ἔθνη ἀναβαίνοντα, Ἰουδαίους δὲ ἀπωθουμένους καὶ καταβαίνοντας.

**22.**

- 1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ τί ἀντείπαμεν αὐτῷ ἢ τί ἠπειθήσαμεν αὐτῷ;
- 2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἠπειθήσας αὐτῷ παραζηλώσας αὐτῷ ἐπ' οὐ θεοῖς, καθὼς εἶπεν Μωυσῆς. καὶ πάλιν, ἐκείνου λέγοντος πολλὰ ἔργα ἔδειξα ὑμῖν ἐκ τοῦ πατρός μου καλὰ· διὰ ποῖον ἔργον αὐτῶν λιθάζετέ με;
- 3.** καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε δαιμόνιον ἔχεις, καὶ πάλιν σταύρωσον αὐτόν.
- 4.** ταῦτα ἀπειθήματα καὶ ἀντιλογήματα ὑμῶν καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ διαθήκῃ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια ἐποιήσατε.
- 5.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τὰ ἐν τοῖς σοῖς γεγραμμένα βίβλοις οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτά.
- 6.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ποῖα ἐκ τούτων; μὴ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐποιήσατε καὶ χεῖρονα τούτων;
- 7.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τί χεῖρον τούτων ἐποιήσαμεν;
- 8.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἄρα οὐ γινώσκεις; οὐκ εἶπαν καὶ τότε, ἐξουδενοῦντες τὸ μάννα ὃ ἐβρεξεν αὐτοῖς κύριος, καὶ ἔλεγον μάννα οὐδέν, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται, τί ἐστι τούτου; καὶ πάλιν οὐδὲν ἢ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν πλήν εἰς τὸ μάννα τὸ διάκενον τούτου.
- 9.** καὶ ἐλοιδόρησαν τὸν Μωυσῆν λέγοντες (μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν θεόν) καὶ εἶπαν ἐν ἐξουδενώσει ἱκανούσθω σοι ὅτι ἄρχεις ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν ὑμᾶς εἰς γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι.
- 10.** καὶ εἶπον δῶμεν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ ἀποστρέψωμεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐμνήσθημεν τοὺς ἰχθύας οὓς ἠσθίαμεν δωρεάν, καὶ τὰ κρέα καὶ τοὺς σικύας καὶ πράσα καὶ σκόρδα καὶ κρόμμυα.
- 11.** ἄρα ταύτης τῆς ἀντιλογίας καὶ ἀπειθίας μείζον θέλεις;

**23.**

- 1.** ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπώσω τὴν ἐκ τῆς Γενέσεως συμβούλην περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, δίδωμί σοι δευτέραν ἐκ τῆς Ἐξόδου, ἣ οὐ δυνήσῃ ἀντειπεῖν.

21.11 The Jew said: And what does *angels ascending* signify?

21.12 The Christian said: Then do you not know? Notice that it does not say “descending and ascending” but first “ascending.” Just as the wood of the cross was affixed on the ground, in the same way a ladder was affixed on Jacob. Immediately the Lord accepts the Gentiles and ascends.

21.13 The Jew said: Then who are the ones descending?

21.14 The Christian said: These are the ones to *whom the Lord stretched out his hands all the day, to a disobedient and opposing people* (Isa. 65:2).

21.15 Wherefore we see that the Gentiles are the ones ascending and the Jews are the ones rejected and descending.

22.1 The Jew said: And in what way did we oppose him or disobey him?

22.2 The Christian said: You have disobeyed and provoked him *by no gods* as Moses said (Deut. 32:21). And again when that one said: *I showed you many good works from my father; for which of them are you stoning me?* (Jn. 10:32),

22.3 you said: *You have a demon*. And again: *Crucify him* (Jn. 7:20; 19:15).

22.4 These disobedient and contrary actions as you did under the Old Covenant, so you do similar things now.

22.5 The Jew said: There are unacceptable things in your scripture books.

22.6 The Christian said: What are these things? For did you not do these things both in the Old and even worse things than these?

22.7 The Jew said: What worse things than those did we do?

22.8 The Christian said: Then do you not know? Did they not speak also then, despising the manna which the Lord rained on them, and were they not saying: *ma na*, which is interpreted as “What is this?” And again: *Our soul has nothing apart from this empty manna* (Exod. 16:15; Num. 11:6).

22.9 And they reviled Moses (or rather God) by saying, and they spoke, despising him: *It was not enough for you that our rulers brought us into a land flowing with milk and honey*. (So many textual problems in this verse caution against any dogmatism in translation. Emendation is probably demanded.)

22.10 But they said: *Let us appoint a leader and return to Egypt. We remember the fish which we freely ate plus the meats, cucumbers, leeks, garlicks and onions* (Num. 16:13; 14:4; 11:5).

22.11 So, what do you wish to see more than this rebellion and disobedience?

23.1 Since you have rejected the symbol of the cross from Genesis, I will give you a second from the book of Exodus, which you will not be able to oppose.

2. γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως ἦνίκα ἦλθαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ εἰς Ῥαφιδίν, ἐξῆλθεν Ἀμαλήκ εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῷ ἐν πολέμῳ βαρεῖ, καὶ εἶπεν Μωυσῆς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Ναυῆ
3. λάβε μετὰ σεαυτῷ δώδεκα χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν ἐκ παντός Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐξελθὼν παράταξαι τῷ Ἀμαλήκ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναβάς εἰς τὸ ὄρος, προσεύξομαι πρὸς κύριον.
4. καὶ ἐγένετο ἦνίκα ἐξέτεινεν Μωυσῆς τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς κύριον, ἐνίκα Ἰσραὴλ· ὅταν δὲ ἐχάλα τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ Μωυσῆς, ἐνίκα Ἀμαλήκ.
5. Ἀμαλήκ δὲ ἐρμηνεύεται ἀντίχριστος, ὅθεν καὶ τῷ διαβόλῳ ἀφομοιώθη· εἶπεν γὰρ κύριος ἐξαλείψει ἐξαλείψω τὸν Ἀμαλήκ ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἐγένετο.
6. Λέγε δέ μοι σὺ, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, ἦνίκα ἶδαν οἱ παριστάμενοι τῷ Μωϋσῆ τὸ παράδοξον τοῦτο σημεῖον, τί ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ;
7. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· σὺ εἶπε τί ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ.
8. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ζῆ κύριος, εἰ μὴ σὺ εἶπης.
9. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· λίθους ὑπήρσαν ὑπὸ τὰς χεῖρας Μωϋσέως ἕως οὗ ἐτροπώσατο τὸν Ἀμαλήκ.
10. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καὶ τί τούτου παραδοξότερον ὑπόδειγμα περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ;
11. Καὶ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Χριστιανός· ὅταν δὲ ἐκτείνας τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἄνθρωπος, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, τί ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος;
12. Τότε ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τί γὰρ σὺ οὐ γινώσκεις;
13. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἐγὼ γινώσκων οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὅτι οὕτως ἐστὶν ὡς καὶ Δαυὶδ λέγει, ὅτι ἦν εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὁ πρὸ αἰῶνων θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς· αὕτη ἐστὶν δι' ἧς ἐλπίδα ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἀπεκδεχόμεθα.
14. θέλω δὲ καὶ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, τί ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὅταν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐκτείνῃ;
15. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· σταυρωθεῖς.
16. Καὶ ἐγέλασεν πᾶς ὁ λαός.

## 24.

1. Πάλιν οὖν εἶπεν ὁ Χριστιανός· βούλεσαι καὶ ἄλλας μαρτυρίας δέξασθαι περὶ τούτου;
2. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πόθεν;
3. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τοῦ γινῶναί σε ἀσφαλῶς περὶ πάντων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας τῶν ξύλων. λέγει γὰρ Ἡσαΐας ἐν κυπαρίσσῳ καὶ πεύκῃ καὶ κέδρῳ ἐλεύσονται τὰ ἔθνη ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἅμα, δοξάσαι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἁγίόν μου.

23.2 For it is written thus: *When the sons of Israel came to Rephidim, Amalek came out to meet them with a fierce battle, and Moses spoke to Joshua son of Nun:*

23.3 *Take with you twelve thousand men from all Israel and go out and smite Amalek. I will stand on the mountain and I will pray to the Lord.*

23.4 *And it came to pass that when Moses stretched out his hands to the Lord, Israel was winning. And whenever Moses lowered his hands, Amalek began to win (Exod. 17:8-11).*

23.5 Amalek is interpreted as Antichrist. From this he is also likened to the Devil. And the Lord said: *I will completely wipe out Amalek from under heaven (Exod. 17:14)*, which also took place.

23.6 Now tell me, O Jew, when the companions of Moses saw this incredible thing, what did they do to him?

23.7 The Jew said: You tell what they did to him.

23.8 The Christian said: As the Lord lives, you say it!

23.9 The Jew said: They placed stones under the hands of Moses until he routed Amalek.

23.10 The Christian said: What more marvelous example of the cross is this?

23.11 And again the Christian said: So whenever the man stretched out his hands, O Jew, who was that man at that time?

23.12 The Jew said: You do not know who it was?

23.13 The Christian said: In knowing I perceive and believe that it was thus as David says: *Our eternal God worked salvation on the earth, and he reigned in the midst of the earth (Ps. 73:12)*, through which we look for the hope of eternal life.

23.14 Now I wish to hear from you. What is a man when he stretches out his hands?

23.15 The Jew said: He is crucified.

23.16 And all the people laughed.

24.1 Then the Christian said again: Do you wish to have any other testimonies about this?

24.2 The Jew said: From where?

24.3 The Christian said: I want you to know the certainty of these things and also the naming of the trees. For Isaiah says: *The Gentiles shall come to Jerusalem with cypress and pine and cedar to glorify my holy place (Isa. 60:13).*

4. καὶ πάλιν Μωυσῆς εἶπεν τοῖς προγόνοις σου ἕνεκεν τοῦ τανυσθέντος ἐπὶ τῶν ξύλων τούτων καὶ ὄψεσθε τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν κρεμαμένην ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν καὶ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε.

5. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καλῶς εἶπας μὴ θέλων τὴν ἀλήθειαν· αὐτὸς γὰρ Μωυσῆς εἶπεν ἐπικατάρατος πᾶς ὁ κρεμᾶμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου. βλέπε οὖν τίνα θεοποιεῖς.

6. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καλῶς μὲν πάντα λέγουσιν αἱ θεόπνευσται γραφαὶ ὅτι ὁ διδάσκων μῶρον ὡς ὁ προσκολλίζων ὄστρακον· τοσαῦτα γὰρ λαλήσαντες εἰς ὧτα ἀσυνέτου ἡμεθα λαλοῦντες.

7. πάλιν γὰρ στραφεὶς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, ἄθλιε καὶ ταλαίπωρε, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ λόγου καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν τοῦτο ἐλέγαμεν, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἀνέλαβεν σάρκα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἵνα πάντα τὰ τε ἐν νόμῳ καὶ ἐν προφήταις δεθέντα διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς λύσῃ· καὶ μετὰ πάντων τούτων καὶ ταύτην ἀρεὶ τὴν κατάραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων·

8. οὐχ ἵνα αὐτὸς γένηται κατάρα—μὴ γένοιτο· ἀδύνατον γὰρ (καθὼς πολλάκις εἶπον) ὅτι θεὸς ἐστὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων—ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξολοθρευθῇ τὴν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ κατάραν γεγραμμένην.

9. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐδεὶς συζητῶν ἐν πράγματι ὑβρίζει.

10. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὔτε γὰρ πάλιν ἄνθρωπος συνετός, δεχόμενος περὶ οὐ ζητεῖ εὐθέτους ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ αὐτὸς συζητεῖν πειράται, σκότος ἀντὶ φωτὸς προβάλλων.

## 25.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἰ οὖν δύο πρόσωπά ἐστιν πατὴρ καὶ υἱοῦ, τρίτον δὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα;

2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τρεῖς μὲν ὑποστάσεις, μία δὲ οὐσία· καὶ τρία πρόσωπα, μία δὲ θεότης, μόνος ἐν τριάδι καὶ τρίας ἐν μονάδι.

3. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πῶς δύναται εἶναι ταῦτα οὕτως;

4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καὶ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα πολλὰ κοπιάσαντες καὶ τὸν ἀέρα λόγους πληρώσαντες οὐδὲν ὀνησάμεθα· πλὴν καὶ τὰ νῦν ἀποκρινομαί σοι πρὸς ἃ ἐπερωτᾷς με, καὶ ἄκουε συνετῶς.

5. λέγει γὰρ Ἡσαΐας οὕτως καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ οὗ ἀπέθανεν Ὁζίας ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἴδον τὸν κύριον καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐπρημένου, καὶ πλήρης ὁ οἶκος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. καὶ σεραφίμ εἰστήκεισαν κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ, ἕξ πτερυγες τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ ἕξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἐνὶ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυοὶ πτέρυξι κατεκάλυπτον τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ ταῖς δυοὶ κατεκάλυπτον τοὺς πόσας καὶ ταῖς δυοὶ πετόμενα ἐκέκραγον λέγοντα ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ,

24.4 Again Moses said to your forefathers, when one is stretched out on these trees: *You shall see your life hanging before your eyes and you will not believe* (Deut. 28:66).

24.5 The Jew said: You have spoken well although you do not desire the truth. For Moses himself said: *Cursed is everyone who hangs on a tree* (Deut. 21:23). Therefore, take heed to the one you are deifying!

24.6 The Christian said: The inspired scriptures speak all things well: *He who teaches a fool is like one who glues together a potsherd* (Sir. 22:9). For we have been speaking such things as speaking into the ears of an unreasonable man.

24.7 For reviewing the things covered, O pitiful and miserable man, from the beginning until now we were saying this. For this reason, he went down to earth and took on flesh from the virgin Mary through the Holy Spirit, that for our sins he himself might loose all the things bound in the law and the prophets. And after all these things he will take away this curse from men.

24.8 Not that he might possibly be a curse, --- May it not be! For that is impossible (as I have often said) because God has authority over life and death --- but that he would destroy the curse that is written in the law.

24.9 The Jew said: No one engaged in a discussion resorts to an insult!

24.10 The Christian said: But again, neither is a man understanding if he receives good answers concerning what he seeks and he then attempts to dispute, sending forth darkness instead of light.

25.1 The Jew said: If then there are two persons of the Father and the Son, is the third the Holy Spirit?

25.2 The Christian said: There are three substances but one being. And there are three persons, but one Deity, a unity in trinity and a trinity in unity.

25.3 The Jew said: How is it possible that this could be?

25.4 The Christian said: Although we have labored hard in so many ways and have filled the air with words, we have benefited no one! Nevertheless, I will again answer the things you have asked me, so listen now with understanding.

25.5 For Isaiah speaks thus: *And it came to pass in the year in which king Uzziah died, that I saw the Lord sitting on an exalted and elevated throne, and the house was full of his glory. And seraphim stood round about him, one had six wings and the other had six wings, with two they covered their face, and with two they covered their feet, and with two they were flying while crying out: Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts* (Isa. 6:1-3).

6. οὔτε ἅπαξ εἰπόντα καὶ σιωπήσαντα, οὔτε δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ τριάδα ἐν μονάδι, καὶ μονάδα ἐν τριάδι, οὔτε πάλιν ἅγιοι (ἵνα μὴ πολυθεῖαν καταγγέλωσιν) ἀλλὰ εἰπόντα τὸ ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος δηλοῖ τριάδα·

7. ἐπάγων δὲ καὶ λέγων κύριος Σαβαώθ δηλοῖ ἡμῖν τὸ ὁμοούσιον τῆς τριάδος.

8. ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς προφήτης λέγει ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος.

9. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τὸ ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος δηλοῖ ὅτι ἀναπαύεται μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστοῦσιν αὐτῷ,

10. ἀναπαύεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ ζῶα ὅπου ὁ φοβερὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν θρόνος.

11. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τί οὖν τὰ ζῶα ἐστὶν ἅγια, ἐφ' οἷς ἀναπέπαιται ὁ ἅγιος; καὶ εἰ ταῦτά ἐστιν καθὼς σὺ ἐφης, τίνοι κράζουσιν ἅγιος ἀκαταπαύστως;

12. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· σὺ εἶπέ τίνοι κράζουσιν.

13. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τὸ ἅγιος ἀποδίδωσι τῷ παντοκράτορι, καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνῳ περὶ οὗ ἐρρέθη τῷ λόγῳ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν, καὶ πάλιν περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν.

## 26.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πῶς δύναται ταῦτα εἶναι;

2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ὅτι ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο ἐκ παρθένου τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου.

3. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ὑποδείγματι ἀποκαθιστῶν ἔρεῖς μοι τοῦτο, ἢ πῶς δεικνύς;

4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἐμπόνως ὁρῶ σε ἐπιζητοῦντα περὶ τούτου, ἅπερ θέλεις δίδωμί σοι ἐν ὑποδείγματί τινι περὶ τῆς παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

5. ὁ γὰρ μαργαρίτης τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ τινὶ γίνεται ἐν τῇ Ἰνδία, ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ἐν μύακι ζῶντι. γίνεται δὲ οὕτως· ἠνεωγμένων αὐτῶν πρὸς ἄγρην, καθὼς καὶ τὰ λοιπά, βουλήσει θεοῦ, καταλάμπει ἀστραπή· τοῦ οὖν φωτὸς τῆς ἀστραπῆς πληρώσαντος τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηράν, τὸ ζῶον συγκλείει ἑαυτῷ, ἔτι περιούσης τῆς ἀστραπῆς. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι συγκλείων ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τι δέχεται ἔνδον αὐτοῦ· ἐκ τοῦ οὖν φωτὸς τῆς ἀστραπῆς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος γεννᾶται ὁ μαργαρίτης.

6. οὕτως νόησον καὶ τὰ περὶ Χριστοῦ, πῶς ἐγεννήθη ἐκ τῆς παρθένου Μαρίας τὸ κατὰ σάρκα διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου. μάρτυρα δὲ παριστώμεν Ἰσραὴλ τὸν προφήτην λέγοντα ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ ἡ μητὴρ αὐτοῦ ἄνδρα οὐ γνώσεται.

25.6 They did not speak once and become silent, nor twice, but were a trinity in unity and a unity in trinity. Nor again did they say: holies (lest they proclaim polytheism), but their saying: *Holy, Holy, Holy* signifies a Trinity.

25.7 For when He sets this forth: *the Lord of Hosts*, it signifies to us the same nature of the Trinity.

25.8 The same prophet says: *A Holy one resting among holy ones* (Isa. 57:15).

25.9 The Jew said: *The Holy one resting among holy ones* signifies that he is resting among the ones who are pleasing to him from all eternity.

25.10 He is resting also among the living creatures, where is his fearful throne.

25.11 The Christian said: Who, then, are the holy living creatures among whom the Holy One is resting? And if these things are as you say, to whom are they crying *holy* without ceasing?

25.12 The Jew said: You tell me to whom they are crying.

25.13 The Christian said: The word *holy* they are ascribing to the Almighty, to that one of whom it was said: *By the word of the Lord, the heavens were established*. And again concerning the Holy Spirit: *And all their power is by the spirit of his mouth* (Ps. 32:6).

26.1 The Jew said: How is it possible that this could be?

26.2 The Christian said: *Because in the beginning was the Logos and the Logos was with God and the Logos was God and the Logos became flesh* (John 1:1, 14) from the holy virgin Mary through the Holy Spirit.

26.3 The Jew said: Will you say this to me by showing some example, or how else will you demonstrate it?

26.4 The Christian said: Since I see that you are patiently searching out this matter, as you wish, I give you an example about the virgin and the Holy Spirit.

26.5 For in India the pearl comes into being in the same sort of manner, by living in the water and inside a shell. And it comes into being this way. When they are opened up to catch something, as also the rest (of creatures do) by the will of God, then lightning flashes. And when the flash of the lightning fills the sea and the dry land, the creature encloses it while the lightning is still surrounding it. And it is clear that when it encloses itself, something of the water is received within it. So from the flash of the lightning and from the water, the pearl comes into being.

26.6 Thus understand also the things about Christ, how he was born from the virgin Mary in the flesh through the Holy Spirit. So we present a testimony of Isaiah the prophet, saying: *Behold the virgin shall conceive and bear a son* (Isa. 7:14), and his mother will not know a man.

## 27.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· περὶ μὲν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος πολλαχοῦ εὐρίσκομεν ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς καὶ ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐεργεσίας αὐτοῦ.

2. ἐνέπλησεν γὰρ κύριος τοὺς περὶ τὸν Βεσελεὴλ πνεύματος ἁγίου ὥστε ἀρχιτεκτονεῖν καὶ ποικιλεῖν τὸ Χρυσίον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ σίδηρον, καὶ πάντα ὅσα διὰ πυρὸς διέρχεται, καὶ ἐν ξύλοις γλύφειν καὶ ἐν λίθοις τιμίους καὶ ποικιλεῖν, ἐπὶ τε τῷ κοκκίνῳ καὶ ὑακίνθῳ καὶ πορφύρᾳ καὶ βύσσῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσιν· καὶ πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐνεδυνάμωσεν τὸν Βαράχ καὶ Γεδεὼν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν κριτῶν,

3. καὶ ἐφύλαττεν τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπὶ Δαυίδ.

4. καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εὐρίσκομεν εἰπεῖν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ υἱοῦ τούτου περιμένω ἕως οὗ ἐντελεστέως τι ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἀκούσω.

5. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· πάλιν ἀρχώμεθα νῦν περὶ τοῦ συμβούλου τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἀποδείξεις διδόναι,

6. ἀόκνως τοῦτο ποιοῦντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς, διό καὶ αὐτὸς συνετῶς ἄκουε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ.

7. Γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βίβλῳ οὕτως· καὶ ὤφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ πρὸς τῇ δρυὶ τῇ Μαμβρῇ, καθημένου αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς σκηνῆς αὐτοῦ μεσημβρίας·

8. καὶ ἀναβλέψας Ἀβραάμ εἶδεν, καὶ ἰδοὺ τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐρχόμενοι ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀναστὰς Ἀβραάμ ἐπορεύθη εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῖς καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς

9. κύριε, ἐκκλίνατε πρὸς με εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν, καὶ νιψάτωσαν τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν ὕδατι· καὶ καταψύξατε ὑπὸ τὸ δένδρον, μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπελεύσεσθε εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῶν, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἐξεκλίνατε πρὸς τὸν παῖδα ὑμῶν.

10. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ οὕτως· ποιήσον καθὼς εἶρηκας.

11. καὶ ἔσπευσεν Ἀβραάμ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν πρὸς Σάρραν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ· σπεῦσον καὶ φύρασον τρία μέτρα σεμιδάλεως, καὶ ποιήσον ἐγκρυφίας.

12. καὶ εἰς τοὺς βόας ἔδραμεν Ἀβραάμ καὶ ἔλαβεν ἐκεῖθεν μοσχάριον ἀπαλὸν καὶ καλόν, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸ τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάχυνεν τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτό.

13. Πρόσεχε, ὦ Ἰουδαίε, τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀκριβῶς· οὐ γὰρ μῦθοι εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ μυστήρια θεοῦ.

14. οὐ γὰρ τρεῖς ἄνδρες εἶχον ἀναλωσαι ἄλευρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπογραμμὸς ἦν τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος καὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οικονομίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

15. τὰ γὰρ τρία μέτρα καὶ εἴκοσι εἰς ἐστὶν ξέστης κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον.

- 27.1 The Jew said: Concerning the Holy Spirit, we find everywhere in the divine scriptures both his power and his beneficence.
- 27.2 For the Lord filled those around Bezalel with the Holy Spirit, so that they built and fashioned the gold and silver and the bronze and the iron and all the things that pass through fire, along with the wood engraving and the precious stones and embroidery and scarlet and hyacinth and porphyry and linen and all the rest (Exod. 35:31-35). The spirit of the Lord empowered Barak and Gideon and the rest of the judges.
- 27.3 Also the spirit of the Lord was keeping watch over David.
- 27.4 We find many things to say about the Holy Spirit but about this *son* I am waiting until I hear more completely something from the divine scriptures.
- 27.5 The Christian said: Let us now begin again to provide proofs of the Advisor of the Almighty.
- 27.6 We do this for you fearlessly, so hear intelligently about the son of God.
- 27.7 For it is written in the first book like this: *And the Lord appeared to Abraham by the oak of Mamre, as he sat by the door of his tent at noon.*
- 27.8 *And he lifted up his eyes and when he beheld three men standing before him, Abraham rose, went to meet them, bowed to the ground and said to them:*
- 27.9 *Sir, come into my tent and let them wash your feet with water. And refresh yourselves under the tree, and after this you can go on your way, when you have turned aside to your servant.*
- 27.10 *And the Lord said to Abraham: So do, as you have said.*
- 27.11 *And Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah his wife and said to her: Hurry and knead three measures of fine flour and make cakes.*
- 27.12 *So Abraham ran to the herd, and took a young calf, tender and good, and gave it to the one over his house, and he hastened to prepare it (Gen. 18:1-7).*
- 27.13 Take heed, O Jew, to those things that are accurately spoken, for they are not tales but are Divine mysteries.
- 27.14 For the three men did not have to consume a flour meal, but this also was a pattern of the holy trinity and of the arrangement for the incarnate Messiah.
- 27.15 For three and twenty one measures are a pint, according to the Holy One.

**28.**

**1.** τοῦ δὲ ὀφθέντος τῷ Ἀβραάμ, βλέπε ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν· ἔλαβεν γὰρ Ἀβραάμ βούτυρον καὶ γάλα καὶ ἄζυμους καὶ τὸ μωσχάριον, ὃ ἐποίησεν, καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔφαγον.

**2.** εἶπεν δὲ κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ ποῦ ἐστὶν Σάρρα ἡ γυνή σου;

**3.** ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ἰδοὺ ἐν τῇ σακνῇ.

**4.** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἦξω πρὸς σε εἰς ὃν ὄρας,\* καὶ ἔσται τῆς Σάρρας υἱός.

**5.** Εἶδες, Ἰουδαίε, ἐπαγγελίαν δυνατοῦ θεοῦ·

**6.** βλέπε καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ. ἐξαναστάντες γὰρ φησιν οἱ ἄνδρες— ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες, ὡς Ἰουδαίε— ἐβλεψαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας.

**7.** καὶ εἶπε κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ— ἰδοὺ πάλιν κύριος, ὡς Ἰουδαίε— καὶ εἶπε κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ μὴ κρύψω ἐγὼ ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ τοῦ παιδός μου ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ; Ἀβραάμ δὲ γενόμενος ἔσται εἰς ἔθνος μέγα καὶ πολὺ, καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς.

**8.** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος φωνῇ Σοδόμων καὶ Γομόρρας πεπλήθυνται σφόδρα, καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ αὐτῶν ἀνέβη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν· καταβάς οὖν ὄψομαι εἰ κατὰ τὴν κραυγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐρχομένην πρὸς με συντελοῦνται·

**9.** εἰ δὲ μή, ἵνα γινῶ. καὶ ἐγγίσας Ἀβραάμ προσεκύνησεν καὶ εἶπεν μηδαμῶς, κύριε, μὴ ἀπολέσης δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς καὶ ἔσται ὁ δίκαιος ὡς ὁ ἀσεβής; μηδαμῶς, κύριε, οὐ ποιήσεις τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο τοῦ συναπολέσαι δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς, καὶ ἔσται ὁ δίκαιος ὡς ὁ ἀσεβής·

**10.** μηδαμῶς, κύριε, ὁ κρίνων πάσαν τὴν γῆν οὐ ποιήσεις κρίσιν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ;

**11.** οὐκ ἀφήσεις πάντα τὸν τόπον ἕνεκεν τῶν πεντήκοντα δικαίων ἐὰν ὦσιν ἐκεῖ;

**12.** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Ἀβραάμ ἐὰν ὦσιν ἐκεῖ πεντήκοντα δίκαιοι, οὐκ ἀπολέσω ἕνεκεν τῶν πεντήκοντα δικαίων.

**13.** καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ ἐπειδὴ ἠρξάμην λαλῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριόν μου, ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι γῆ καὶ σποδός, ἐὰν ὑπολειφθῶσιν ἐκ τῶν πεντήκοντα δικαίων πέντε, οὐκ ἀφήσεις ἕνεκεν τῶν τεσσαράκοντα πέντε;

**14.** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ἀφήσω πάντα τὸν τόπον ἐὰν ὦσιν ἐκεῖ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε.

**15.** καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἐπειδὴ ἔχω λαλῆσαι πρὸς τὸν κύριόν μου, ἐὰν εὐρεθῶσι ἐκεῖ τεσσαράκοντα;

**16.** καὶ εἶπε κύριος ἀφήσω πάντα τὸν τόπον ἐὰν ὦσιν ἐκεῖ τεσσαράκοντα δίκαιοι.

**17.** καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραάμ μὴ τι, κύριε, ἐὰν λαλήσω ἐτι ἅπαξ, ἐὰν ὦσιν ἐκεῖ τριάκοντα δίκαιοι, οὐκ ἀφήσεις πάντα τὸν τόπον ἕνεκεν τῶν τριάκοντα;

28.1 And when he appeared to Abraham, see authority and power. For *Abraham took butter and milk and unleavened bread and the calf which he prepared and he brought it in to them and they ate.*

28.2 *And the Lord said to Abraham: Where is Sarah your wife?*

28.3 *And he answered: Behold she is in the tent.*

28.4 *So the Lord said: At this time I will come to you in which hour, and Sarah will have a son.*

28.5 See, O Jew, the promise of the powerful God!

28.6 Note also his authority. For it says that *the men rose up* (notice, O Jew, the word *men*), *and they looked towards Sodom and Gomorrah.*

28.7 *And the Lord said to Abraham: Should I hide from Abraham my servant what things I am doing? But Abraham shall become a great and populous nation, and in him shall all the Gentiles of the earth be blessed.*

28.8 *And the Lord said: The sound of Sodom and Gomorrah has greatly increased, and their cry has ascended to heaven. I will therefore go down and see if they are fulfilling their cry which is coming to me.*

28.9 *And if not, I will know. And Abraham drew near, worshipped and said: Lord, would you destroy a righteous man with the wicked, and shall the righteous be as the wicked?*

28.10 *In no way shall you do this thing to destroy the righteous with the wicked, so the righteous shall be as the wicked. Will the one who judges the whole earth not judge fairly in this place?*

28.11 *Will you not spare the place because of fifty righteous people if they are there?*

28.12 *And the Lord said to Abraham: If there are fifty righteous there, I will not destroy it for the sake of the fifty.*

28.13 *And Abraham said: Since I have begun to speak to my Lord, I am earth and ashes. But if the fifty righteous should be lessened to forty-five, will you destroy the whole city because of the forty five?*

28.14 *And the Lord said: I will spare the entire place, if I should find there forty-five.*

28.15 *And Abraham said to the Lord: Since I have to speak to my Lord: If there should be found there forty?*

28.16 *And the Lord said: I will spare all of the place if there be forty righteous.*

28.17 *And Abraham said: Nay, Lord, if I may speak but once again; if there are 30 righteous there, will you not spare the whole place for the sake of the 30?*

**18.** καὶ εἶπε κύριος ἀφήσω πάντα τὸν τόπον ἕνεκεν τῶν τριάκοντα.

**19.** καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβραὰμ μὴ ὀργισθῆς, κύριε, καὶ λαλήσω· ἐὰν ὤσιν ἐκεῖ εἴκοσι·

**20.** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσω ἕνεκεν τῶν εἴκοσι.

**21.** καὶ ἐγγίσας Ἀβραὰμ προσεκύνησεν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ εἶπεν μὴ τι, κύριε, ἐὰν λαλήσω ἔτι ἅπαξ· ἐὰν δὲ εὗρεθῶσιν ἐκεῖ δέκα·

**22.** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσω ἕνεκεν τῶν δέκα.

**23.** καὶ ἐπαύσατο Ἀβραὰμ λαλῶν πρὸς κύριον.

**24.** καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἀβραὰμ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν.

**25.** καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς Σόδομα ἐσπέρας, καὶ ἰδοὺ Λῶτ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ καὶ ἐξάνεστη εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῖς καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ εἶπεν ἐκκλίνατε, κύριοί μου, εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ δούλου ὑμῶν καὶ μέναιτε ἐκεῖ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπελεύσεσθε εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῶν.

**26.** καὶ εἶπαν οὐχὶ ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ πλατείᾳ καταλύσωμεν.

**27.** καὶ παρεβιάσατο αὐτοὺς Λῶτ, καὶ εἰσῆλθον τοῦ μείναι πρὸς αὐτόν.

**28.** καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς ἀζύμους, καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον πρὸ τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι.

**29.** καὶ ἐγένετο μεσοῦσης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκύκλωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Λῶτ καὶ προσεκαλοῦντο τὸν Λῶτ, λέγοντες ποῦ εἰσὶν οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ εἰσελθόντες πρὸς σε τὴν νύκτα ταύτην; ἐξάγαγε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα συγγενώμεθα αὐτοῖς.

**30.** ἐξῆλθεν δὲ Λῶτ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ προσέωξεν τὴν θύραν, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς μηδαμῶς, ἀδελφοί, μὴ πονηρεύσησθε εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτους. εἰσὶν δέ μοι δύο θυγατέρες, αἱ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν κοίτην ἀνδρός,

**31.** καὶ ἐξάξω αὐτάς πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ Χρησασθε αὐταῖς, καθὰ ἂν ἀρέσκη ὑμῖν· μόνον εἰς τοὺς ἀνδρας τούτους μὴ πονηρεύσησθε, οὐ εἵνεκεν εἰσῆλθον ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην τῶν δοκῶν μου.

**32.** ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ τόπου καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ ἀπόστα ἐκεῖ. εἰσῆλθες παροικεῖν, μὴ καὶ κρίσιν κρίνεις;

**33.** νῦν οὖν σε κακώσομεν ἢ ἐκείνους; ἐξέτειναν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εἰσεσπάσαντο τὸν Λῶτ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, τὴν δὲ θύραν προσέωξαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐπάταξεν ἀορασία,

**34.** καὶ παρελύθησαν ζητοῦντες τὴν θύραν καὶ οὐχ εὔρισκον.

**35.** εἶπεν δὲ κύριος τῷ Λῶτ ἔστιν σοὶ τις ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, υἱοὶ ἢ θυγατέρες ἢ γαμβροὶ· εἰ τίς σοι ἔστιν, ἐξάγαγε αὐτούς, ὅτι ἀπόλλυμεν ἡμεῖς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον.

28.18 *And the Lord said: I will spare the whole place for the thirty's sake.*

28.19 *And Abraham said: Do not be angry, Lord, and I will speak. What if there should be found there twenty?*

28.20 *And the Lord said: I will not destroy it for the sake of the twenty.*

28.21 *And Abraham drew near, worshipped the Lord and said: Nay, Lord, let me speak once more? What if ten should be found there?*

28.22 *And the Lord said: I will not destroy it for the ten's sake.*

28.23 *And Abraham ceased speaking with the Lord.*

28.24 *So Abraham returned to his tent, and the men departed on their way (Gen. 18:8-33).*

28.25 *And they entered Sodom at evening. And behold Lot was sitting in the street and rose up to meet them, and fell before them on the ground, and said: My lords, turn aside to the house of your servant, and remain there. And after this you can depart on your journey.*

28.26 *And they said: No, but we should lodge in the street.*

28.27 *But Lot constrained them so they entered to stay with him.*

28.28 *So he brought unleavened cakes for them, and they ate and drank before they went to sleep.*

28.29 *But in the middle of the night the men of the city circled Lot's house, and they called out to him, saying: Where are the men that went in to you this night? Bring them out to us that we may be with them.*

28.30 *And Lot went out to them, shut the door and said to them: Brothers, by no means do evil to these men. But I have two daughters, who have not known a man.*

28.31 *I will bring them out to you, and you can use them as it may please you. Only do not injure these men. To avoid such they came under the shelter of my roof.*

28.32 *And they said to him: Back away from here. When you came in to sojourn, was it also to judge?*

28.33 *Now then we will harm you more than them. But the men inside stretched forth their hands and drew Lot back into the house, and shut the door of the house. They then struck the men with blindness.*

28.34 *The men groped around, seeking the door and did not find it.*

28.35 *Then the Lord spoke to Lot: Have you here sons-in-law, or sons or daughters, or if you have any other friend in the city, bring them out of this place. For we are going to destroy this place.*

**36.** καὶ ἐξελθὼν Λῶτ ἐλάλησεν πρὸς τοὺς γαμβροὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα λέγων ἀνάστητε καὶ ἐξέλθατε τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, ὅτι ἐκτρίβει κύριος τὸν τόπον τοῦτον.

**37.** καὶ ἔδοξεν γελοιάζειν ἐνώπιον τῶν γαμβρῶν αὐτοῦ.

**38.** καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ὀρθρὸς ἀνέβαινεν, ἐπεσποῦδαζον οἱ ἄγγελοι τὸν Λῶτ λέγοντες σπεῦσον καὶ ἐξελθε ἐνθεν ὅτι οὐ ποιήσωμεν πρᾶγμα ἕως τοῦ ἐξελεθεῖν σε.

**39.** καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ Λῶτ καὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν δύο θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ φείσασθαι κύριον αὐτῶν.

**40.** καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω καὶ εἶπαν σώζων σώζε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν· εἰς τὸ ὄρος σώζου, μὴ στραφῆς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω, μὴ καταλάβῃ σε τὰ κακὰ.

**41.** καὶ εἶπεν Λῶτ πρὸς κύριον οὐ δυνήσομαι τοῦ σωθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄρος, μὴ συμπαραληφθῶ. οὐκ, ἰδοὺ ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἡ μικρά· τοῦ καταφυγεῖν με ἐκεῖ οὐ μικρά ἐστίν, καὶ ζήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ μου.

**42.** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος τῷ Λῶτ ἰδοὺ ἐθαύμασά σου τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, τοῦ μὴ καταστρέφειν τὴν πόλιν, περὶ ἧς ἐλάλησας. καὶ νῦν πορεύου· ἰδοὺ διὰ σε οὐ καταστραφήσεται ἡ πόλις.

**43.** διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Σιγῶρ. ὁ ἥλιος ἐξηλθεν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ Λῶτ εἰσηλθεν εἰς Σιγῶρ,

**44.** καὶ κύριος ἔβρεξεν πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ Σόδομα καὶ Γόμορρα.

**45.** Ποῖος οὖν κύριος ἔβρεξεν πῦρ καὶ θεῖον παρὰ ποίου κυρίου; βλέπε, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, ὅτι θεὸς ἦν ἰσχυρὸς ἐξουσιαστής. τῇ μὲν Σάρρα ἐπηγγεῖλατο δοῦναι υἱὸν ἐν γῆρα αὐτῆς καὶ ἔδωκεν·

**46.** τῷ δὲ Ἀβραάμ εἶπεν ὅτι εἰ εὖρω ἕως δέκα δικαίους ἐν Σοδόμοις, μὴ καταστρέφειν τὴν πόλιν·

**47.** ὁ δὲ Σιγῶρ τῷ Λῶτ ἐχαρίσατο·

**48.** τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Λῶτ εἶπεν κύριος μὴ ἀποστραφῆναι εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω κατανοεῖν· τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς παρακουσάσης ἐγένετο στήλη ἄλῶς εἰς σημεῖον πάσαις ταῖς γενεαῖς αἰῶνος.

## 29.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· περὶ τῶν δύο προσώπων, ὡς καὶ ἐν πρώτοις εἶπον, ὁμολογῶ πεπληροφορεῖσθαι.

**2.** ἀλλὰ ζητῶ εἰ ἀληθῶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς οὗτος αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ τότε ὀφθεις τῷ Ἀβραάμ.

**3.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· βούλεσαι καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν δύο προσώπων τὴν γνώσιν, ἵνα μὴ πάλιν τι ἀρνῆσθῃ;

28.36 *So Lot went out, and spoke to his sons-in-law who had married his daughters, and said these words: Rise up, and depart out of this city, because the Lord is about to destroy this place.*

28.37 *But he seemed to be speaking absurdly before his sons-in-law.*

28.38 *When it was morning, the angels were hurrying Lot, saying: Hurry and get out from here, because we will not do anything until you depart.*

28.39 *And they seized his hand, and the hand of his wife, and the hands of his two daughters, so that the Lord spared them.*

28.40 *And they brought him outside and said: By all means save your own life. Look not back to that which is behind. Escape to the mountain, lest the evil things seize you.*

28.41 *And Lot said to the Lord: I will not be able to escape to the mountain, lest I be overtaken. No, behold this small city for me to escape and there my soul shall live.*

28.42 *And the Lord said to Lot: Behold, I have regard for you about this thing, so that I will not overthrow the city about which you have spoken. Now go, for that city will not be destroyed for your sake.*

28.43 *For this reason the name of that city was called Zoar. The sun rose on the earth and Lot entered into Zoar.*

28.44 *So the Lord rained fire on Sodom and Gomorrah from the Lord out of heaven (Gen. 19:1-24).*

28.45 *Therefore, what Lord rained fire and brimstone from what Lord? Notice, O Jew, that it was God, the Strong Authority. For he promised to give Sarah a son in her old age and he did so.*

28.46 *So he spoke to Abraham and told him that if he found ten righteous in Sodom he would not destroy the city*

28.47 *and he gave Zoar to Lot.*

28.48 *And the Lord warned those with Lot not to turn and look back. But his wife disobeyed and she then became a pillar of salt as a sign to all generations forever (Gen. 19:26).*

29.1 *The Jew said: Concerning the two persons, I said previously that I confess to be fully satisfied.*

29.2 *But I am still seeking whether or not this Jesus really is the same one who appeared to Abraham.*

29.3 *The Christian said: Do you desire to hear about the knowledge of the two persons from another place so that you will not again deny it?*

4. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐ περὶ τούτου καὶ τὸ πρὶν ἡρνησάμην· ἀλλὰ καθὼς νῦν εἶπον, περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀκριβείαν ζητῶ· ὅμως πόθεν ἔχεις εἰπεῖν τι πάλιν;
5. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τῆς Ἐξόδου, ἠνίκα ἠτήσατο Μωϋσῆς ἰδεῖν τὴν δόξαν κυρίου. γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδῳ οὕτως· καὶ εἶπε Μωϋσῆς πρὸς κύριον ἰδοῦ, κύριε, σὺ εἶπας ὅτι εὗρες χάριν ἐνώπιόν μου, καὶ οἶδά σε παρὰ πάντας.
6. σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἔδειξάς μοι τις συναναβήσεται μεθ' ἡμῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐγὼ συμπορευσομαι ὑμῖν, πάλιν εἶπε Μωϋσῆς εἰ εὗρηκα χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου, ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτὸν· ἴδω σε γνωστῶς, καὶ δεῖξόν μοι τὴν σεαυτοῦ δόξαν.
7. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν καὶ τοῦτόν σοι τὸν λόγον, ὃν εἶρηκας, ποιήσω· εὗρηκας γὰρ χάριν ἐνώπιόν μου καὶ οἶδά σε παρὰ πάντας. καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν ἐγὼ παρελεύσομαι πρότερόν σου τῇ δόξῃ μου καὶ καλέσω ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου ἐνώπιόν σου, καὶ ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, καὶ οἰκτειρήσω ὃν ἂν οἰκτειρήσω.
8. καὶ εἶπε κύριος πρὸς Μωϋσῆν οὐ δυνήσῃ ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσωπόν μου· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ ζήσεται.
9. καὶ εἶπε κύριος ἰδοῦ δὴ τόπος παρ' ἐμοῖ ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ, καὶ στήσῃ ἐν τῇ τρυμαλιᾷ τῆς πέτρας·
10. ἠνίκα δ' ἂν παρέλθῃ ἡ δόξα κυρίου καὶ σκεπάσω τὴν χειρὶ μου ἐπὶ σε ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ, καὶ ὄψῃ τὰ ὀπίσω μου.
11. καὶ ἐνετείλατο κύριος τῷ Μωϋσῆϊ λαξεῦσαι δύο πλάκας λιθίνας κατὰ τὰς πρῶτας καὶ ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ὄρος.
12. καὶ ἐποίησεν Μωϋσῆς πάντα ὅσα ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ κύριος καί,
13. ὅτε ἔγραψεν κύριος ἐπὶ τὰς πλάκας τὰς λιθίνας τοὺς δέκα λόγους, τότε εἰσελθόντος τοῦ Μωϋσέως εἰς τὴν τρυμαλιὰν τῆς πέτρας, ἐσκέπασεν κύριος τὴν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑψηλὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον Μωϋσέως.
14. καὶ ἐκάλεσεν κύριος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου λέγων κύριος ὁ θεὸς οἰκτιρῶν καὶ ἐλεήμων, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ ἀληθινός.
15. Ἐρωτῶ σὺν σέ, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀποκριθῆτι· ποῖος κύριος ἔλεγεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς οἰκτιρῶν καὶ ἐλεήμων, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος ποιῶ κυρίως; ποῖος δὲ κύριος ἐκάλεσεν ἐν ὀνόματι ποίου κυρίου;
16. εἰς πιστοποιήσιν δὲ πάντων τούτων, ἄκουε τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λέγοντος ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ οὕτως ἠνίκα ἐβλήθησαν οἱ ἅγιοι τρεῖς παῖδες ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ τοῦ πυρός, ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ (ὃν ἀπέστειλεν κύριος τῷ Μωϋσῆϊ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ) οὗτος συγκατήλθεν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαριαν εἰς τὴν κάμινον·

29.4 The Jew said: I did before deny this one, but as I said then so now I seek certainty about this Jesus. Yet from where do you have something again to say?

29.5 The Christian said: From Exodus, when Moses asked to see the glory of the Lord. For it is written in Exodus: *And Moses said to the Lord: Behold, Lord, you have said: You have found grace before me and that I know you above all.*

29.6 *But you have not shown me what will happen to us* (Exod. 33:12, 13). And when he heard: *Certainly I will go with you* Moses said again: *If I have found grace before you, reveal yourself to me that I may know you clearly and show me your own glory.*

29.7 *So the Lord said to Moses: I will also do this for you, which you have said, for you have found grace before me, and I know you above all. And the Lord said to Moses: I will pass by before you with my glory and I will call out the name of the Lord before you. And I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and will have pity on whom I will have pity.*

29.8 *And the Lord said to Moses: You shall not be able to see my face; for a man may not see my face and live.*

29.9 *And the Lord said: Behold, there is a place by me in the rock. And you shall stand in a crevice of the rock.*

29.10 *When the glory of the Lord passes by, then I will cover you with my hand. When it has passed by, then you shall see my back* (Exod. 33:17-23).

29.11 *And the Lord commanded Moses to cut two tablets of stone, as at the first, and then come up the mountain* (Exod. 34:1).

29.12 So Moses did all that the Lord commanded him.

29.13 And when the Lord wrote the ten words on the stone tablets, Moses then entered the crevice of the rock and the Lord covered over the face of Moses with his lofty hand.

29.14 *And the Lord called the name of the Lord, saying: The Lord God is pitiful and merciful and longsuffering and compassionate and true* (Exod. 34:5, 6).

29.15 Therefore, I ask you, O Jew and you answer me. What Lord was saying: *The Lord God is pitiful and merciful and longsuffering and compassionate* to what Lord? What Lord called to the name of what Lord?

29.16 And for confirmation of all these things, hear the Holy Spirit speaking by Daniel. When the three holy children were cast into the fiery furnace, the angel of God (whom the Lord sent to Moses and the children of Israel) went down along with those around Azariah into the furnace.

17. ὄν ἰδὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ ἐρωτήσας τὴν τῶν τριῶν παιδῶν μόνον γενομένην ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ εἰσοδόν, καὶ ἀκούσας τὸ ἀληθῶς, βασιλεῦ, ὡμολόγησεν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐνεφάνησεν τὴν ὄπτασίαν τοῦ τετάρτου λέγων ὡδε ὀρῶ ἄνδρας τέσσαρας λελυμένους καὶ περιπατοῦντας εἰς μέσον τῆς καμίνου, καὶ ἡ ὄρασις τοῦ τετάρτου ὁμοία υἱῷ θεοῦ, ὃ Ἰουδαῖε, φανερώς.

### 30.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν καὶ ἐν πρώτοις εἶπον ὅτι ἐπεισάς με περὶ τῶν δύο προσώπων, ἀλλὰ νῦν τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τούτου ζητοῦμεν.

2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐκρυψας τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐλεγχθήσῃ πάλιν ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἀποδείξεων ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν λεγομένων. γινώθι οὖν, ὡ Ἰουδαῖε, ὅτι αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ οὐκ ἐκρυψαν τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὁμοουσιότητα.

3. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πάντα ὅσα εἰρηκας ὀρθῶς καὶ κατὰ τάξιν· μόνον δὲ τοῦτο ἀπόδειξον, ὅτι εἰ πάντα ὅσα εἶπαν αἱ θεῖαι γραφαὶ, περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τούτου εἶπαν, καὶ ἐκείσθην.

4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ὅλον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ πάντα ὅσα εἶπαμεν, περὶ τίνος εἶπαμεν;

5. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἶπαμεν ἐνεκεν τοῦ ὑπομνησαί σε, ἐκ τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίων ἕκαστον τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτῷ.

6. σὺ δὲ παρέτεινας τὸν λόγον εἰς πλῆτος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἕως τοῦ νῦν ἔχρονοτριβήσαμεν.

7. νῦν δὲ καθὼς ἂν σε ἐρωτήσω, ἀποκρίθητί μοι διὰ βραχείων, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐρωτώμενος· εἰ μὴ ὁ ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις καταγγελλόμενος Χριστὸς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, περὶ οὗ ὁ λόγος.

8. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ὅθεν βούλεσαι ἐρωτῆσαι οὕτως λαλεῖ, ὡς καὶ σὺ ἀληθεῖς ἀποδείξεις λαμβάνων.

### 31.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὗτος ὁ ὀφθεις τῷ Ἀβραάμ πρὸς τῇ δρυϊ τῇ Μαμβρῇ, πόθεν δηλον τοῦτο ποιεῖς ὅτι Ἰησοῦς οὗτός ἐστιν;

2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· αὐτὸς Ἀβραάμ, προειδὼς ἐν πνεύματι τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μέλλοντα σαρκουσθαι, κατ' αὐτοῦ ὥρκωσεν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ὥστε μὴ λαβεῖν τῷ Ἰσαὰκ γυναῖκα Χανανίτην. Ἰσαὰκ δὲ καὶ Ἰακώβ εὐλόγησαν αὐτόν.

3. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· παρακαλῶ, ἐρμήνευσον ἡμῖν τὰ ἀμφοτέρα, τὴν τε ἐντολὴν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ τὴν σὺν ὄρκῳ ἐνταλθεῖσαν, καὶ τὰς εὐλογίας τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ εἰς αὐτὸν γινομένης ἀκριβῶς λέξον.

29.17 When the king of the Babylonians saw and asked if the entry of the three into the furnace had been alone. And when he heard the truth, the king announced the appearance of the fourth, saying: *I see here four men loosed and walking in the midst of the furnace and the appearance of the fourth is like a son of God, O Jew, clearly!* (Dan. 3:92).

30.1 The Jew said: Previously I said that you have persuaded me about the two persons, but now we are seeking information about this Jesus.

30.2 The Christian said: If you have hidden the truth, you will be convicted again by further proofs spoken from the Divine Scriptures. Therefore, know, O Jew, that the Divine Scriptures have not hidden the same substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

30.3 The Jew said: You have spoken all things correctly and in order. Show this only: that if all things that the Divine Scriptures have spoken, they have spoken about this Jesus, then I have been appointed.

30.4 The Christian said: The whole time we have spoken all these things, about whom have we spoken?

30.5 The Jew said: We said so as to remind you to show from your Gospels each of the things that happened to him.

30.6 But you have stretched out this debate to a great length so that due to this we have wasted a lot of time.

30.7 So now I beseech you, answer me in a few words, asking nothing else. Is this Messiah proclaimed in the Old Covenant and the Prophets really Jesus or not? Our discussion is about this!

30.8 The Christian said: Whatever you wish to ask, thus speak, since you are receiving genuine proofs.

31.1 The Jew said: This one who appeared to Abraham at the oak in Mamre, how do you make it so evident that this is Jesus?

31.2 The Christian said: Abraham himself having seen before in the Spirit the one who would come from him in the flesh, swore by him and on his house, that he would not take a Canaanite wife for Isaac, but Isaac and Jacob blessed him.

31.3 The Jew said: I request that you interpret for us both things. Speak accurately about the commandment of Abraham which was given with an oath and also the blessings of Isaac and Jacob which took place regarding him.

4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· προσώχθη μὲν Ἀβραὰμ τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν τῶν Χαναναίων κατὰ δύο τρόπους, ἐπισειόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ κυρίου θεοῦ· ἔλεγεν γὰρ αὐτῷ κύριος εὐαρέσσει ἐνώπιόν μου πάντως ὅτι οὐκ ἀρεστὸν ἦν τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἐμίσει.

5. Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Χαναναίων (ἵνα δὲ παρεάσω τὴν ὀνομασίαν τῆς γῆς καὶ χωρῶν τοῦ διαμερισμοῦ τῆς ὑπὸ οὐρανὸν ἅς διεμέρισεν Νῶε τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν, δώσας αὐτοῖς νόμον μὴ ἀρπάζειν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ τι).

6. καὶ παρέβη ὁ Χαναάν, υἱὸς Χάμ, τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ὄρκον· ὥρκωσεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Νῶε.

7. εἶχεν μὲν οὖν ὁ Χαναάν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην, ὅτι ἤρπαξεν τὴν γῆν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Σὴμ· τοῦ γὰρ Σὴμ ὑπῆρχεν κατὰ κληρονομίαν ἡ γῆ Χαναάν.

8. ὁ γὰρ Χάμ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Χούς, ἐξ οὗ οἱ Αἰθίοπες· καὶ τὸν Στραῖμ. ἐξ οὗ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· καὶ τὸν Φούθ, ἐξ οὗ οἱ Λίβυες· καὶ τὸν Χαναάν, ἐξ οὗ ἐγεννήθη Σιδῶν ὁ πρωτότοκος,

9. καὶ ὁ Χαναναῖος, καὶ Χετταῖος, καὶ Εὐαῖος, καὶ Ἰεβουσαῖος, καὶ ὁ Ἀμορραῖος, καὶ ὁ Φερεζαῖος, καὶ ὁ Γεργεσαῖος, καὶ ὁ Ἀρουκαῖος, καὶ ὁ Ἀσενναῖος, καὶ ὁ Ἀράδιος, καὶ ὁ Σαμαραῖος, καὶ ὁ Ἀμαθί· οὗτοι γεννηθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαναάν, υἱοῦ Χάμ, υἱοῦ Νῶε, ἀνέστησαν καὶ κατεδυνάστευσαν τὸν Σὴμ καὶ ἦσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν.

10. ἔλεγεν δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραὰμ ὅτι οὐπὼ ἀναπεπλήρωνται αἱ ἁμαρτίαι τῶν Ἀμορραίων· ἀπεκδέχεται γὰρ ὁ θεὸς πότε ἀποδώσει τὴν γῆν τῷ Σὴμ καὶ λύσει αὐτῶν τὴν κατάραν.

11. οἱ δὲ οὐ συνῆκαν. αὕτη δευτέρα κατάρα τῶν υἱῶν Χάμ·

12. πρώτη γὰρ ἦν γεναμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Νῶε, ἥνικα εἶδεν ὁ Χάμ τὴν γύμνωσιν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πεπωκός, ἐξ οὗ ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελώνα μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμόν, καὶ μὴ σκεπάσας ἀλλὰ θεατρῖσας αὐτόν. ἐγερθέντος δὲ τοῦ Νῶε ἐκ τῆς κραιπάλης καὶ τοῦ ὕπνου, ἔγνω ὅσα ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ Χάμ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ νεώτερος, καὶ ἐκατηράσατο αὐτῷ λέγων ἐπικατάρατος Χάμ·

13. παῖς οἰκέτης ἔσται τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ. γνοὺς δὲ περὶ τοῦ Σὴμ καὶ Ἰάφεθ ὅτι ἐσκέπασαν τὴν γύμνωσιν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν, εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς λέγων εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Σὴμ, καὶ ἔσται Χαναάν παῖς αὐτοῦ.

14. πλατύναι ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἰάφεθ καὶ κατοικησάτω ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν τοῦ Σὴμ, καὶ ἔσται Χαναάν παῖς αὐτῶν.

15. ταύτας τὰς δύο καταράς ἔσχεν Χάμ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις διῆγεν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐν πυρὶ τοῖς δαιμονιοῖς.

31.4 The Christian said: Abraham, being urged on by the Lord God, was angry with the sons and daughters of the Canaanites for two reasons. For the Lord was saying to him: *This is pleasing before me*. And everything that was not pleasing to the Lord, Abraham hated.

31.5 Now these things were being done by the Canaanites. (I will pass over the naming of the earth and its scattering and dividing under heaven, which Noah distributed to his sons after the flood, when he gave them a law that a man should not seize anything of his neighbor's).

31.6 Canaan, the son of Ham, transgressed the commandment of his Father and the oath, for Noah had made them swear.

31.7 Canaan had this sin: he seized the land of his brother, Shem. For the land of Canaan belonged by lot to Shem (see Antiquities, 5, 76-89).

31.8 Ham begot Cush, from whom are the Ethiopians; Mizraim, from whom are the Egyptians; and Phut, from whom are the Libyans; and Canaan, by who was begotten Sidon, his firstborn.

31.9 And the Canaanite, the Hittite, the Hivite, the Jebusite, the Amorite and the Perrizite. Also the Gergeshite, the Archite, the Assenite, the Aradian, the Samaritan, and the Amathite, these were all begotten from Canaan, the son of Ham, the son of Noah, who rose up and overpowered Shem and took his land.

31.10 And God was saying to Abraham: *The sins of the Amorites have not yet reached their full extent* (Gen. 15:16). For God is waiting and will at some time return the land to Shem and release their curse.

31.11 But they did not understand. This is the second curse of the sons of Ham.

31.12 For the first curse was given by Noah, when Ham saw the nakedness of his fallen father, who had planted a vineyard after the flood, and did not cover him but rather gawked at him. When Noah rose up from his stupor and sleep, he discovered all that his younger son had done to him. So he cursed him saying:

31.13 *Cursed be Ham, a slave, a servant he will be to his brothers* (Gen. 9:25 with change to "Ham" from "Canaan"). And when he learned about Shem and Japhet, that they had covered their father's nakedness, he blessed them saying: *Blessed be the Lord the God of Shem and Canaan shall be his servant*.

31.14 *May God enlarge Japhet and let him dwell in Shem's tents and Canaan will be their servant* (Gen. 9:26,27).

31.15 Ham had these two curses. And because of these (curses) he caused his sons and daughters to pass through the fire to the demons.

**16.** ταῦτα εἰδὼς Ἀβραάμ, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν λαβεῖν τῷ Ἰσαὰκ γυναῖκα ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Χαναάν, ἵνα μὴ συμμετόχον γένηται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ τῶν κακῶν τούτων.

### 32.

**1.** ἦν γὰρ εὐλογηθεὶς Ἰσαὰκ στόματι θεοῦ παντοκράτορος ἡνίκα τύπος γενόμενος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότη ἐσφραγιάσθη.

**2.** ἔξαποστεύλας δὲ κύριος ὁ θεὸς κριὸν ὄν καὶ εἶδεν Ἀβραάμ κατεχόμενον τῶν κεράτων ἐν φυτῷ σαβέκ, (τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τῆς ἀφέσεως· τὸ γὰρ σαβέκ οὕτως ἐρμηνεύεται ἀφεςίς), ὄν κριὸν καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν Ἀβραάμ ἀντὶ Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

**3.** εὐλόγησεν δὲ αὐτοὺς κύριος λέγων τῷ Ἀβραάμ, καθ' ἑμαυτοῦ ὀμνῶν, λέγει κύριος, ἢ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλογήσω σε καὶ πληθύνων πληθυνῶ σε ὡς τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τῆς γῆς ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπήκουσας τῆς ἐμῆς φωνῆς.

**4.** ταύτην τὴν εὐλογίαν ἔδωκεν Ἰσαὰκ τῷ Ἰακώβ ἐν δισσοῖς, καὶ Ἰακώβ τῷ Ἰούδα.

**5.** ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς οὕτως εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τούτου, ὅτι προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσει ὑμῖν.

**6.** διὰ δὲ τοῦ Δαυὶδ διεμαρτύρατο ὑμᾶς λέγων ἄκουσον, λαὸς μου, καὶ διαμαρτύρομαί σοι, Ἰσραὴλ, ἐὰν ἀκούσης μου, οὐκ ἔσται ἐν σοὶ θεὸς πρόσφατος, οὐδὲ προσκυνήσεις θεῷ ἄλλοτριῷ· ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου ὁ ἀναγαγὼν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου. πλάτυνον τὸ στόμα σου, καὶ πληρώσω αὐτό.

**7.** πάλιν δὲ Ἡσαΐας λέγει ἐγὼ θεὸς πρῶτος, καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπερχόμενα ἐγὼ εἰμι.

**8.** καὶ γε ἐν Ἱερεμῖα οὕτως γέγραπται οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν,

**9.** οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. ἐξεύρεν πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐπιστήμης,

**10.** καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν Ἰακώβ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ·

**11.** μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη.

### 33.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τὰς εὐλογίας τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ καὶ ἐν τούτοις θέλω γνῶναι, εἰς τίνα πληρούμενα αὐτὰ νοεῖς εἰς ἕκαστον τῶν εὐλογηθέντων (λεγῶ δὴ Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰούδαν) ἢ εἰς ἕτερον τίνα;

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἰς τὸν Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰούδαν οὐδὲν τούτων συνέβη· εὐλόγησεν γὰρ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο οὕτως.

31.16 Because Abraham knew these things, he did not want to take a wife for Isaac from the Canaanite daughters, so that his seed would not mix with these evil people.

32.1 For Isaac was blessed by the mouth of Almighty God when he was sacrificed, having become a type of his own master.

32.2 But the Lord had sent a ram which Abraham saw caught by his horns in the thicket bush. (This is the *release*, for the *sabek* is thus interpreted as *release*).\* Abraham offered up this ram in the place of Isaac, his son (Gen. 22:13).

32.3 The Lord blessed them saying to Abraham: *By myself I swear says the Lord, blessing I will bless you and multiplying I will multiply you as the stars of heaven and the sand of the earth because you have obeyed my voice* (Gen. 22:17).

32.4 This blessing Isaac gave to Jacob twice and Jacob gave it to Judah.

32.5 And Moses spoke also about this Jesus: *A prophet like me the Lord our God will raise up to you from your brothers. You shall listen to him in all that he shall speak to you* (Deut. 18:15).

32.6 And through David, he also certainly testified to us, saying: *Hear my people, and I will testify to you. Israel, if you listen to me, there shall not be among you any new god, nor shall you worship any other god. For I am the Lord your God who brought you up from the land of Egypt. Open your mouth and I will fill it* (Ps. 80:11).

32.7 Again Isaiah says: *I, God, am first and I am also to the coming days* (Isa. 44:6).

32.8 And also it is written thus in Jeremiah: *This is our God.*

32.9 *No other shall be counted instead of Him. He searched out all the way of knowledge*

32.10 *and He gave it to Jacob his servant and by him to Israel his beloved.*

32.11 *After this He appeared on earth and dwelt among men* (Baruch 3:36-38).

33.1 The Jew said: I want to know about the blessings of Isaac and Jacob in these matters. Do you understand them to be fulfilled in each of the ones blessed (i.e., Jacob and Judah) or in reference to someone else?

33.2 The Christian said: None of these blessings came to pass in Jacob and Judah. For Isaac blessed his son but it did not turn out thus.

- 3.** και στηρίσας αὐτὸν σίτῳ καὶ οἴνῳ, πῶς αὐτὸς Ἰακῶβ εἰς Αἴγυπτον κατέβη διὰ τὸν λιμὸν;
- 4.** πῶς δὲ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ εἰς δούλον ἐπράθη, ὃν κατέστησεν κύριον τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτοῦ;
- 5.** καὶ εἰ κύριος ἦν ὁ Ἰακῶβ τοῦ Ἡσαῦ, πῶς ἠῤῥατο κυρίῳ λέγων ἐξελοῦμαι, κύριε, ἐκ χειρὸς Ἡσαῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου, ὅτι φοβοῦμαι ἐγὼ αὐτόν. ὁ κύριος τὸν δούλον φοβεῖται;
- 6.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τί οὖν; ψεύδεται ἡ γραφὴ εὐλόγησα αὐτόν;
- 7.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· μὴ γένοιτο· οὐ ψεύδεται. πάντα γὰρ ἀληθῆ εἶπεν ἡ γραφὴ.
- 8.** ἄκουσον δὲ τῆς γραφῆς λεγούσης ὅτι ὡσφράνθη ὁ Ἰσαὰκ τὴν ὄσμην τῶν ἱματίων τοῦ Ἰακῶβ·
- 9.** τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια ἃ ἐφόρει τότε Ἰακῶβ τοῦ Ἡσαῦ ἦσαν.
- 10.** καὶ φησιν ὁ Ἰσαὰκ ἰδοὺ ὄσμη τῶν ἱματίων τοῦ υἱοῦ μου ὡς ὄσμη ἀγροῦ πλήρης ὃν εὐλόγησεν κύριος.
- 11.** καὶ βλέπωμεν περὶ ὧν ἱματίων εἶπεν τὴν ὄσμην εἶναι, τότε ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἱμάτια τὰ διὰ Ἡσαῖου λεχθέντα περὶ ὧν εἶπεν
- 12.** ἀγαλλιάσεται ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ· ἐνέδυσεν γὰρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου, καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης περιέβαλέ με· ὡς νυμφίῳ περιέθηκέν μοι μίτραν καὶ ὡς νύμφην κατεκόσμησέν με κόσμῳ.
- 13.** ἡ γὰρ ὄσμη τῶν ἱματίων ἐστίν, περὶ ἧς ὄσμῆς εἶπεν Δαυὶδ, ὡς μύρον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν ὠαν τοῦ ἐνδύματος αὐτοῦ.
- 14.** ὁ δὲ Σολομὼν ἐν τοῖς ἄσμασιν λέγει κατέβη ὁ ἀδελφιδὸς μου εἰς κῆπον αὐτοῦ· ἐτρύγησεν πᾶσαν ἀκρόδρονον ἀρωμάτων αὐτοῦ.
- 15.** Ἡσαΐας δὲ ὁ προφήτης οὕτως λέγει περὶ τῆς ὄσμῆς ταύτης φάγονται οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ μου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου, φάγονται εὐφροσύνην, πίνονται οἶνον, χρίσονται μύρα.

**34.**

- 1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πάντα ὅσα ἐρμηνεύειν δοκεῖς, ἐπικεκαλυμένως λέγεις καὶ οὐ τηλαυγῶς. ἀλλ', εἰ δοκεῖ σοι, ἐν παρηρησίᾳ ἡμῖν αὐτὰ δήλωσον.
- 2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὐκ ἔστιν σοι νῦν ἐν παρηρησίᾳ ἀκοῦσαι· ἀκοῦσῃ δὲ ὅτ' ἂν ὁ κύριος θελήσῃ.
- 3.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· κἂν δι' ἐμὲ μὴ εἶχες βουλὰς εἰπεῖν αὐτά, ἀλλὰ κἂν διὰ τοὺς παρόντας φανέρωσον αὐτά.
- 4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὗτοι πάντες ὅσοι ἐξ αὐτῶν Χριστιανοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἐκ τῶν τοσοῦτων ἀποδείξεων καὶ σημείων γινώσκουσι πάντως.
- 5.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· κἂν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰουδαν εὐλογίαν φανέρωσον ἡμῖν.

33.3 If he was established with wheat and wine, why is it that Jacob himself went down to Egypt because of the famine?

33.4 Why was it that his son was sold as a slave, and then was appointed master over his brethren?

33.5 And if Jacob was the master of Esau, why is it that he prayed to the Lord saying: *Rescue me, Lord, from the hand of Esau my brother because I fear him* (Gen. 32:11). Does the master fear the slave?

33.6 The Jew said: What then? Is the scripture lying when it blessed him?

33.7 The Christian said: May it never be! It does not lie because scripture speaks all things truly.

33.8 But hear the scripture saying: *Isaac smelled the smell of Jacob's garments.*

33.9 But the garments which Jacob wore then were those of Esau.

33.10 And Isaac said: *Behold the smell of my son's garments is as the smell of a full field which the Lord has blessed* (Gen. 27:27).

33.11 So let us see whose garments they were that he spoke of their smell. It would be these garments of Esau concerning which he said:

33.12 *My soul shall rejoice in the Lord. For he has clothed me with the garment of salvation and the coat of rejoicing he has put on me. He has put on me the miter as a bridegroom and he has adorned me greatly as a bride* (Isa. 61:10).

33.13 And it is the smell of his garments concerning which David spoke: *It is as the ointment on the head which goes down on the edge of the garment* (Ps. 132:2).

33.14 Solomon also says in the Canticles: *My beloved one has come into his garden, he has plucked all the fruit of his spices* (Song 5:1).

33.15 Isaiah the prophet speaks about this smell: *My chosen ones will eat on this holy mountain. They will eat rejoicing, they will drink wine, and they will anoint themselves with myrrh* (Isa. 65:9).

34.1 The Jew said: In everything that you try to explain, you speak obscurely, and not clearly. If it seems good to you, then freely make them clear to us.

34.2 The Christian said: It is not yet time for you to hear freely. But you will hear that way whenever God wills.

34.3 The Jew said: But even if you are not willing for my sake to declare them, at least make them clear for the sake of those present!

34.4 The Christian said: All of these who happen to be Christians surely know from such proofs and signs.

34.5 The Jew said: Make clear to us what the blessing on Judah is.

- 6.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν γενομένη εὐλογία οὐκ εἰς τὸν Ἰούδαν αὐτῇ ἐπληρώθη ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή οὕτως Ἰούδα, σε αἶνεσαν οἱ ἀδελφοί σου·
- 7.** αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐπὶ νώτου τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου, καὶ προσκυνήσουσίν σοι οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς σου, ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβη·
- 8.** ἀναπεσῶν ἐκοιμήθης ὡς λέων, καὶ ὡς σκύμνος·
- 9.** τίς ἐγερεῖ αὐτόν; οὐκ ἐκλείπει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀποκείται, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν, δεσμεύων πρὸς ἄμπελον τὴν ὄνον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ἔλικι τῆς ἀμπέλου τὸν πῶλον τῆς ὄνου αὐτοῦ.
- 10.** χαροποιοὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ οἴνου, καὶ λευκοὶ οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ ἢ γάλα.
- 11.** εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἐπληρώθη ταῦτα πάντα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὡ Ἰουδαίε, ἔχε με ὡς πάντοτε ψευδόμενον.
- 12.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἶπέ ἡμῖν πῶς ἐπληρώθη.
- 13.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τὸ μὲν ἐν πρώτοις, οὐκ ἀνέβη ὁ Ἰούδας ἐκ βλαστοῦ· προσθεῖσα γὰρ φησὶν ἡ Λία ἔτεκεν υἱὸν τέταρτον τῷ Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰούδαν.
- 14.** πῶς οὖν ἐκ βλαστοῦ γίνεται; οὗτός ἐστιν κατὰ τὸν Ἡσαΐαν τὸν λέγοντα ὅτι παιδίον δοθήσεται ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ μητὴρ αὐτοῦ ἄνδρα οὐ γνώσεται, καὶ πάλιν ἰδοῦ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ.
- 15.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἰδοῦ, ἡ νεάνις εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας, μὴ ἡ παρθένος.
- 16.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἰ μέντοι νεάνις εἶπεν, νεάνις ἐν τῷ ἑβραϊκῷ ἐστὶν· ἵνα δὲ καὶ οὕτως συμπεριενεχθῶ σοι, ἡ νεάνις παρθένος ἐρμηνεύεται.
- 17.** φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ ἐὰν δὲ εὖρων ἄνθρωπος παρθένον, νεάνιν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, καὶ ταπεινώσει αὐτὴν βιασάμενος, καὶ γνωθῆ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς, δώσουσιν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα.
- 18.** ἐὰν δὲ ἀνανεῦων ἀνανεύσει, λιθοβολία λιθοβολήσωσιν αὐτόν καὶ ἀποθανεῖται ὅτι ἐποίησεν βδέλυγμα ἐν Ἰσραὴλ.
- 19.** τῇ δὲ νεάνιδι οὐ ποιήσεται οὐδέν· ἔκραξεν γὰρ ἡ νεάνις καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐξαιρούμενος αὐτήν.
- 20.** γνώθι οὖν, ὡ Ἰουδαίε, ὅτι ἡ νεάνις καὶ ἡ παρθένος ἐν ἐστίν.
- 21.** περὶ δὲ οὗ ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, πάλιν Δαυιὴλ· λίθον τμηθέντα ἐξ ὄρους ἄνευ χειρῶν, εἶδεν αὐτόν καὶ πατάξαντα τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας τοὺς σιδηροὺς καὶ ὄστρακίνοὺς καὶ ἐλέπτυνεν αὐτοὺς εἰς πάντα, τὸ ὄστρακον, τὸν σιδηρον, τὸν χαλκόν, τὸν ἄργυρον, τὸν χρυσόν, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὰ ὡσεὶ κονιορτὸν ἀπὸ ἄλωνος θερινῆς·

34.6 The Christian said: When the blessing was given to Judah it was not fulfilled with reference to Judah but it was about Jesus. For the scripture says: *Judah, your brothers have praised you.*

34.7 *Your hands shall be on the neck of your enemies and your father's sons shall revere you. From a tender plant, my son, you have gone up.*

34.8 *Having crouched you lie as a lion and as a cub.*

34.9 *Who shall stir him up? A ruler shall not fail from Judah, nor a prince from his loins, until he comes for whom it is appointed and he will be the expectation of Gentiles, binding his donkey to the vine, and the foal of his donkey to the tendril of the vine.*

34.10 *His eyes shall be more cheering than wine and his teeth whiter than milk (Gen. 49:8-12).*

34.11 Therefore, if all of these things were not fulfilled by Jesus, O Jew, consider me as a total liar.

34.12 The Jew said: Tell us how they were fulfilled.

34.13 The Christian said: First, Judah did not go up from a tender plant. For again it was said: *Leah bore a fourth son to Jacob and she called his name Judah (Gen. 29:35).*

34.14 Therefore, how he comes *from a tender plant* is explained when Isaiah says that a child will be given to us and his mother will not know a man. Again: *Behold the virgin will become pregnant and bear a son and they shall call his name Immanuel (Isa. 7:14).*

34.15 The Jew said: Isaiah said: *Behold, the young woman not the virgin.*

34.16 The Christian said: If however, he said *young woman*, it is *young woman* in the Hebrew language. But in order that I may thus be understood by you, *young woman* is translated as *virgin*.

34.17 For he says in Deuteronomy: *If a man finds a virgin, a young woman in the field, and he shall humble her by forcing her, and it becomes known to her father and mother, they shall give her to him as a wife.*

34.18 *But if he adamantly refuses to take her, they shall stone him with stones and he shall die, because he committed an abomination in Israel.*

34.19 *But he shall do nothing to the young woman, because the young woman cried out and there was no one to rescue her (Deut. 22:22-26).*

34.20 Know, therefore, O Jew, that the young woman and the virgin are one.

34.21 And concerning our Logos, Daniel again saw: *A stone cut out of a mountain without hands, and it smote the image upon its feet of iron and clay, and reduced them completely to powder. Then the clay, the iron, the brass, the silver, and the gold he made as chaff from the threshing floor.*

**22.** και ἐξῆρην αὐτὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ πνεύματος, και τόπος οὐχ εὐρέθη αὐτοῖς.

**23.** ὁ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐξῆρην πάντα τὰ εἰδῶλα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς· κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον και ἐξῆρην τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν Βααλεῖμ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, και οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῶν μνεία.

**24.** ταῦτα ἐλάλησαν οἱ προφήται διὰ τὸν ἐκ βλαστοῦ ἐλθόντα Ἰησοῦν.

**35.**

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πῶς οὖν πᾶσαι αἱ γραφαὶ θέλουσιν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦτον υἱὸν Δαυιδ καλεῖσθαι αὐτόν; ἀλλὰ και ἐν τοῖς καθ' ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελίοις εὐρίσκομεν τοὺς τυφλοὺς κρᾶζοντας αὐτῷ και τὴν Χανααῖαν, τὸ υἱὲ Δαυιδ λέγοντας.

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἰπέ τὸ ἀσφαλέστερον και βεβαιότερον, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε· τὰ γὰρ πνεύματα ἔκραζον ἕα, τί ἡμῖν και σοί, υἱὲ Δαυιδ; ἤλθες πρὸ καιροῦ βασανῖσαι ἡμᾶς; οἶδά σε τίς εἶ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

**3.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· κἀγὼ διὸ ταύτας τὰς φωνὰς ἐρωτῶ σε, πῶς οὖν υἱὸς θεοῦ ἐστίν;

**4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἔδει πληρωθῆναι τὰ ἐν νόμῳ και προφήταις γεγραμμένα, τῷ γὰρ Ἀβραάμ ἐρρέθη ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου ἐνευλογηθήσονται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς τῆς.

**5.** και τῷ Δαυιδ πάλιν τὸ ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς κοιλίας σου θήσομαι ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου σου.

**6.** τῶν οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πληρῶν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ὁ θεὸς ἀνέστησεν τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν σιὰ Ἰσααίου καταγγελθέντα, τὸν ἐκ τῆς ρίζης τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὃν ἐπλησεν ὁ θεὸς πνεῦμα σοφίας, πνεῦμα ἰσχύος, πνεῦμα δυνάμεως, πνεῦμα γνώσεως, πνεῦμα εὐσεβείας, πνεῦμα ἀληθείας, πνεῦμα συνέσεως, πνεῦμα φόβου θεοῦ. οὐ κατὰ τὴν δόξαν ἔκρινεν, οὔτε κατὰ τὴν λαλίαν ἤλεγξεν, ἀλλ' ἔκρινεν δικαιοσύνην,

**7.** και ἔστιν ἀληθεία, εἰλημμένος τὰς πλευρὰς αὐτοῦ, και δικαιοσύνην τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ. οἷτός ἐστιν ἡ ἀλήθεια ἡ ἀνατείλασα ἐκ τῆς γῆς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, δικαιοσύνη δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διακύψασα κατὰ πνεῦμα.

**8.** και οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκ σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ και Δαυιδ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα·

**9.** Ἀβραάμ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαάκ, Ἰσαάκ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ, Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰούδαν και τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ,

**10.** Ἰούδας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Φαρές και τὸν Ζαρά ἐκ τῆς θαμάρ, Φαρές δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἐσρώμ, Ἐσρώμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀράμ, Ἀράμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀμιναδάμ,

**11.** Ἀμιναδάμ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ναασσών, Ναασσών δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλμών,

34.22 *And the fullness of the wind carried them away, and no place was found for them* (Dan. 2:34,35).

34.23 For Jesus himself came into the world and removed all idols from the earth according to what is written. And he removed the names of the Baals from the earth and there is no memory of them.

34.24 The prophets spoke this about Jesus who came from a tender plant.

35.1 The Jew said: Then how do all the scriptures wish to call this Jesus the Son of David, but also in your Gospels we find the blind men crying out to him and also the Canaanite woman saying: *O Son of David* (Mat. 9:27;15:22)?

35.2 The Christian said: Speak the more sure and certain thing, O Jew. For the spirits were crying out: *Ah, what do we have to do with you, son of David? Have you come to torment us before the time? I know you who you are, the son of God* (Mat. 8:29).

35.3 The Jew said: Because of these voices I ask you: How is he then the son of God?

35.4 The Christian said: It was necessary for the things written in the law and the prophets to be fulfilled. For it was said to Abraham: *In your seed all the Gentiles of the earth will be blessed* (Gen. 26:4).

35.5 Again to David: *From the fruit of your loins I will put one on your throne*. (Ps. 131:11).

35.6 God, in fulfilling the promise of both of these, raised up this Jesus who was preached through Isaiah to be from the root of Jesse according to the flesh, whom God *has filled with the spirit of wisdom, the spirit of strength, the spirit of power, the spirit of knowledge, the spirit of Godliness, the spirit of truth, the spirit of understanding, and the spirit of the fear of God. He judged not according to his opinion, nor did he convict according to the common speech, but he judged in righteousness.*

35.7 *And his sides are clothed with truth and righteousness is his waist* (Isa. 11:2-5). This one is *the truth which sprang out of the earth* according to the flesh, and *righteousness that peered out of heaven* according to the spirit (Ps. 84:12).

35.8 This is the one from the seed of Abraham and David according to the flesh.

35.9 *Abraham begot Isaac, Isaac begot Jacob, and Jacob begot Judah and his brothers.*

35.10 *Judah begot Perez and Zerah by Tamar, Perez begot Esrom, and Esrom begot Aram, and Aram begot Amminadab,*

35.11 *Amminadab begot Nahshon, and Nahshon begot Salmon.*

12. Σαλμών δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Βοῶς, Βοῶς δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωβὴδ ἐκ τῆς Ῥούθ,
13. Ἰωβὴδ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεσσαί, Ἰεσσαί δὲ ἐγέννησε Δαυιδ τὸν βασιλέα,
14. Δαυιδ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλομῶνα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου, Σαλομῶν δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ῥοβοὰμ,
15. Ῥοβοὰμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀβία, Ἀβία δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀσάφ,
16. Ἀσάφ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσαφάτ, Ἰωσαφάτ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωράμ,
17. Ἰωράμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ὀζιαν, Ὀζίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωθάμ,
18. Ἰωθάμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀχαζ, Ἀχαζ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεζεκιαν,
19. Ἰεζεκίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Μανασσῆ, Μανασσῆ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀμῶς,
20. Ἀμῶς δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσιαν, Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεχονίαν
21. καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος.
22. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετοικεσίαν Βαβυλῶνος Ἰεχονίας ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλαθιήλ,
23. Σαλαθιήλ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ζορομβάβελ, Ζορομβάβελ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀβιούδ, Ἀβιούδ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἐλιακίμ, Ἐλιακίμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀζῶρ.
24. Ἀζῶρ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαδώκ, Σαδώκ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀχίμ,
25. Ἀχίμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἐλιούδ, Ἐλιούδ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἐλεάζαρ,
26. Ἐλεάζαρ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ματθάν, Ματθάν δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ.
27. Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν μνηστευσάμενον Μαρίαμ, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.
28. τοῦτο καὶ εἶπεν Ἰακώβ ὅτι ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης. καὶ αὕτη ἡ κατὰ σάρκα αὐτοῦ γενεαλογία· τὴν δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα τίς διηγῆσεται

### 36.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ βλαστοῦ· πῶς οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγει εἰδόμεν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ εἶδος οὐδὲ κάλλος ἀνθρώπου· ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον ἐκλείπον παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. τοῦτον δὲ λέγεις ἐκ βλαστοῦ;
2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὐχ ὡς εὐμορφον καὶ ὠραῖον τῇ ὄψει ὄντα εἶπεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο ἐκ βλαστοῦ, υἱέ μου, ἀνέβης, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ χωρὶς συνουσίας ἀνθρώπου προελθεῖν αὐτόν ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας.
3. ὡς δὲ σὺ παρήγαγες περὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ, εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης, οὕτως γὰρ λέγει ἀνηγγεῖλαμεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ὡς παιδίον, ὡς ῥίζα ἐν γῆ διψώση· καὶ ἴδμεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἰδοὺ οὐκ εἶχεν κάλλος·

- 35.12 *Salmon begot Boaz, and Boaz begot Obed by Ruth.*
- 35.13 *Obed begot Jesse, and Jesse begot David the king.*
- 35.14 *David the king begot Solomon by she who had been the wife of Uriah. Solomon begot Rehoboam,*
- 35.15 *Rehoboam begot Abijah, and Abijah begot Asa.*
- 35.16 *Asa begot Jehoshaphat, and Jehoshaphat begot Joram,*
- 35.17 *Joram begot Uzziah, and Uzziah begot Jotham,*
- 35.18 *Jotham begot Ahaz, and Ahaz begot Hezekiah.*
- 35.19 *Hezekiah begot Manasseh, and Manasseh begot Amon.*
- 35.20 *And Amon begot Josiah. Josiah begot Jeconiah*
- 35.21 *and his brothers about the time of the deportation to Babylon.*
- 35.22 *And after the deportation to Babylon, Jeconiah begot Shealtiel.*
- 35.23 *Shealtiel begot Zerubbabel, and Zerubbabel begot Abiud, and Abiud begot Eliakim, and Eliakim begot Azor.*
- 35.24 *Azor begot Zadok, and Zadok begot Achim.*
- 35.25 *Achim begot Eliud, and Eliud begot Eleazar.*
- 35.26 *Eleazar begot Matthan, and Matthan begot Jacob.*
- 35.27 *And Jacob begot Joseph who was betrothed to Mary, of whom was born the Messiah, the son of God (Mat. 1:2-16).*
- 35.28 *And Jacob said this: From the plant, my son, you have gone up (see 34.7). This is his physical genealogy. Who will declare his spiritual genealogy?*
- 36.1 *The Jew said: Is this Jesus the one from a tender plant? Why then does Isaiah say We saw him and there was not in him any appearance of human beauty and his appearance was dishonored more than all men (Isa. 53:3)? And you are saying that this one was from a tender plant?*
- 36.2 *The Christian said: He spoke about him being not as well-formed and beautiful in appearance this way: From the plant, my son, you have gone up, but because he came forth from a holy virgin without her being with a man.*
- 36.3 *But as you brought up the fact of his suffering, the prophet said: We brought a report of him as a servant, as a root in a thirsty land. When we saw him, he did not have any beauty.*

4. ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον καὶ ἐκλείπον παρὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν καὶ εἰδὼς φέρειν μαλακίαν.
5. ἀπέστραπται γὰρ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀδικίας, ἠτιμάσθη καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθη.
6. αὐτὸς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνάται.
7. ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείραντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.
8. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἢ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη· τὴν δὲ γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται;
9. ὅτι αἶρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἢ ζωῆ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ἀνόμων ἐλογίσθη, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον.
10. καὶ δώσω τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀντὶ τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς δυναστὰς ἀντὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ· ὅτι ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ.

### 37.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πάντα ὅσα ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔθνη ἐστίν. γινώσκουσιν ὅτι κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν διέθετο ἡμῖν διαθήκην ἐν Χωρῆβ ἐν αἵματι.
2. καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὅς ἂν διασκεδάσει τὴν διαθήκην μου ταύτην, θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖται, ὅτι τὴν διαθήκην μου διεσκέδασεν.
3. αὐτὸ τε τὸ βιβλίον τοῦ νόμου ἐρράντισεν, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὁμοίως ἐρράντισεν λέγων
4. τοῦτο τὸ αἶμα τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
5. καὶ σὺ λέγεις νῦν ὅτι διασκεδάζει κύριος τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ;
6. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο μεμφόμενος ὑμᾶς ὁ κύριος ὅτι ἐγκατελίπατε τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλατρεύσατε θεοὺς ἑτέροις,
7. καὶ μεμφόμενος ὑμᾶς κύριος ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγει καὶ συντελέσω ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Ἰούδα διαθήκην καινὴν, οὐ κατὰ τὴν διαθήκην ἣν διεθέμην τοῖς πατρῶσιν ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιλαβομένου μου τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου·
8. ὅτι αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου, καὶ γὰρ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν, λέγει κύριος·
9. ὅτι ἄλλη ἢ διαθήκη ἦν διαθήσομαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας, λέγει κύριος.
10. διδοὺς νόμους μου εἰς διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ στήθους καρδίας αὐτῶν γράψω αὐτούς, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι λαός, λέγει κύριος.

36.4 *His form was dishonored, and inferior to that of all men. He was a man in suffering, and acquainted with the bearing of sickness.*

36.5 *His face was turned from injustice; he was dishonored and not esteemed.*

36.6 *He bears our sins and he suffers pain for us (Isa. 53:2-5).*

36.7 *He was led as a sheep to the slaughter and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb, so he does not open his mouth.*

36.8 *In his humiliation his judgment was taken away. Who will declare his genealogy?*

36.9 *Since his life is taken away from the earth, and he was numbered with lawless ones, for the iniquities of my people he was led to death.*

36.10 *And I will give the wicked for his burial and the rich for his death, because he practiced no sin, nor was any deceit found in his mouth (Isa. 53:7-9).*

37.1 The Jew said: All the Gentiles under heaven know that the Lord God made a covenant by blood with our fathers at Horeb.

37.2 The Lord God said: *Whoever breaks this my covenant will certainly die, for he has broken my covenant (Lev. 26:15; Gen. 17:14).*

37.3 *He sprinkled both the book of the law and the tabernacle and all its vessels, and likewise he sprinkled the people, saying:*

37.4 *This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord our God made with you (Exod. 24:8).*

37.5 And now you say that the Lord is breaking his own covenant?

37.6 The Christian said: Because of this God found fault with you since you forsook his covenant and his law and worshipped other gods.

37.7 And finding fault with you, the Lord God speaks through Jeremiah: *I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and Judah, not according to the covenant I made with your fathers when I took them by their hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt.*

37.8 *Because they did not abide in my covenant I rejected them, says the Lord.*

37.9 *I will make another covenant with them after those days, says the Lord.*

37.10 *Putting my laws in their mind, I will write them on the breastplate of their heart and I will be their God and they will be my people, says the Lord (Jer. 38:31-33).*

**11.** ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ὡσιε μεμφόμενος ὑμᾶς λέγει εἶπατε τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὑμῶν οὐ λαός μου, καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἠλεημένη.

**12.** κριθῆτε πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν, κριθῆτε, ὅτι αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς·

**13.** ὅτι ἐκπορνεύουσα ἐξεπόρνευσεν ἀπὸ ὀπισθεν κυρίου καὶ ἐπορεύθη ὀπίσω τῶν Βααλεῖμ,

**14.** καὶ ἐμοῦ ἐπελάθετο, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ.

**15.** περὶ δὲ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐθνῶν οὕτως λέγει διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προφήτου καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ᾧ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος.

**16.** καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης λέγει καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, λέγει κύριος, διαθήσομαι αὐτοῖς διαθήκην μετὰ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς.

**17.** καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον λέγει καὶ ἐρῶ τῷ οὐ λαός μου, λαός μου ὑμεῖς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ κύριος ὁ θεός μου εἰ σύ.

**18.** καὶ δὴ Μωυσῆς περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ἐγκαταλιπόντων τὸν κύριον καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρεψάντων πρὸς κύριον οὕτως εἶπεν αὐτοὶ παρεζήλωσάν με ἐπ' οὐ θεῶν, παρώργισάν με ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ παραζηλώσω αὐτούς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνη, ἐπ' ἔθνη ἀσυνέτω παροργιῶ αὐτούς.

### **38.**

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ παρήγγειλεν κύριος ὁ θεός διὰ Μωυσέως ὥστε μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ πῶς ταῦτα ἄρα ἐν κρυπτῷ ἐλάλησεν;

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν αὐτὸς κύριος ὁ θεός εἶπεν τῷ Μωυσῆ περὶ τῆς σκληροκαρδίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἀπειθείας καὶ διασκορπισμοῦ λέγων αὐτῷ ἰδοὺ σὺ τελευτᾷς καὶ ἀναστᾷς ὁ λαός οὗτος μετὰ σε ἐκπορνεύσουσιν ὀπίσω θεῶν ἑτέρων, καὶ ἐγκαταλείψουσίν με καὶ πορευθέντες λατρεύσουσιν θεοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις·

**3.** καὶ θυμωθήσομαι αὐτοῖς, καὶ διασκορπιῶ αὐτούς εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρες ἀνέμους τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

**4.** μὴ οὐκ ἐγένετο ὑμῖν ταῦτα; τάχα ἐγένετο.

**5.** διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο Μωυσῆς κοπτόμενος ὑμᾶς καὶ ὀδυρόμενος,

διεμαρτύρατο ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ ταῦτα, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ·

**6.** καὶ δὴ περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐν αὐτῇ εἶπεν θεωρῶν γὰρ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν

**7.** εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνισχυσατῶσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ.

37.11 Likewise finding fault with you through Hosea he says: *Say to your brother 'Not my people' and to your sister 'No mercy.'*

37.12 *Contend with your mother, contend, because she is not my wife and I am not her husband* (Hos. 2:1,2).

37.13 *Because they have gone fornicating from the Lord and have gone after the Baals*

37.14 *and they have forgotten me, says the Lord Almighty* (Hos. 2:13,14).

37.15 And concerning those of us from the Gentiles He speaks thus through the same prophet: *And it will be that in the place where it was said to them 'You are Not my people' that they will be called 'Sons of the Living God'* (Hos. 1:10).

37.16 And again in another place the same prophet says: *And it will come to pass in that day, says the Lord, that I will make a covenant with the birds of heaven and with the beasts of the earth* (Hos. 2:18).

37.17 And a little further he says: *I will say to him who is not my people, 'You are my people' and he will say 'You are the Lord my God'* (Hos. 2:23).

37.18 Indeed Moses said this about your forsaking the Lord and about us Gentiles who turned to the Lord: *They provoked me by a 'no god' and they angered me by their idols. I will provoke them by a 'no nation' and anger them by a nation of no understanding* (Deut. 32:21).

38.1 The Jew said: The Lord God declared to the sons of Israel that they should not mingle with the Gentiles. So did he then speak these things in secret?

38.2 The Christian said: The Lord God himself spoke by Moses about your hard heart and disobedience, and about your dispersion, saying: *Behold, when you are dead, this generation of people will rise up after you and shall fornicate with other gods. So they will forsake me and go and worship other gods.*

38.3 *So I will become angry and I will scatter them to the four winds of heaven* (Deut. 31:16).

38.4 Have not these things happened to you? They happened recently!

38.5 For through Moses, He smote you and mourned over you and testified these things in Deuteronomy, and expressly in the Song.

38.6 Indeed concerning the Gentiles he spoke in it, for beholding their conversion to God, he said:

38.7 *Rejoice you Gentiles with His people and let all the sons of God prevail* (Deut. 32:43).

8. ὑμᾶς δὲ ὄνειδιζὼν περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων οἷς ἐλατρεύσατε ἔλεγεν

9. ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεποίθεισαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὧν τὸ στέαρ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν ἠσθίετε καὶ ἐπίνετε τὸν οἶνον τῶν σπονδῶν αὐτῶν; ἀναστήτωσαν καὶ βοηθησάτωσαν ὑμῖν καὶ γενηθήτωσαν ὑμῶν σκεπασταί.

10. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· μετὰ τὸ διασαφηνίσαι ἡμῖν ταῦτα πάντα, Μωυσῆς μὲν ἐτελεύτησεν, διὰ δὲ προστάγματος κυρίου, Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ κατεκληροδότησεν τὴν γῆν τῷ Ἰσραήλ· καὶ πῶς σὺ λέγεις ὅτι οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν κύριος τὴν γῆν;

11. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὐκ εἶπον ὅτι οὐκ ἐλάβετε τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ λαβόντες τὰς παρὰ θεοῦ γενναμένας ἐπαγγελίας εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὑμεῖς ἠθετήσατε τὸν κύριον,

12. καὶ ὀργισθεὶς κύριος ὑμῖν διεσκόρπισεν ὑμᾶς εἰς πᾶν ἔθνος τῆς γῆς.

13. περὶ γὰρ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν γενομένης ὑπὸ κυρίου σωτηρίας, οὕτως εἶπεν διὰ Ὡσιέ, ἅμα καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς καταφρονητὰς λέγων ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ ἀφανίσθητε, ὅτι ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ὃ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε ἐὰν τις ἐκδιηγῆσεται ὑμῖν.

### 39.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ὡς ἠθελήσατε οἱ Χριστιανοὶ διεστρέψατε τὰς γραφάς·

2. πολλὰ γὰρ κεφάλαια ἐκ διαφόρων βιβλίων ὠνόμασας ἃ οὐ περιέχει ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ μόνον. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἠθελον γνῶναι, διὰ τί τοῦτο;

3. μήποτε ἀληθῶς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ὡς ἠθελήσατε διεστρέψατε τὰς γραφάς;

4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καλῶς ἐρωτᾶς ἀγνοῶν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὴν εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς γενομένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀκύλα τοῦ ἐρμηνευτοῦ ἐπιβουλήν—μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν βλάβην ἀπενέγκας εἶπερ ταῖς ἀγίαις γραφαῖς καθὼς ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ διαστρέψας καὶ κακῶς ἐρμηνεύσας.

5. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Ἀκύλας τὰς περὶ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίας θέλων ἐπικαλύψαι, τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ ἔτει τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ τὰ τῶν Ἑβραίων γράμματα καὶ γλῶτταν ἐκμαθὼν, διέστρεψεν τὰς γραφάς.

6. ἵνα δὲ μὴ παραλείψωμεν, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἐρμηνευτῶν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον γενομένην ἐρμηνεῖαν καὶ εἶθ' οὕτως τὴν περὶ Ἀκύλα ζήτησιν ποιησώμεθα.

7. Ὁ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, μέλλων τελευτᾶν, διεἴλεν τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τέσσαρσι συντρόφοις αὐτοῦ, λέγω δὴ Ἀντιόχῳ, καὶ Φιλίππῳ, καὶ Σελεύκῳ, καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ.

38.8 And reviling you about the idols you worshipped, he said:

38.9 *Where are their gods in whom they trusted, whose fat of their sacrifices you consumed and whose wine of their drink offerings you drank? Let them rise and help you and become your protectors now* (Deut. 32:37, 38).

38.10 The Jew said: After he made these things clear to us, Moses concluded. And through the commandment of the Lord, Joshua son of Nun distributed by lot the land to Israel. So why do you say that the Lord did not give us the land?

38.11 The Christian said: I did not say that you did not receive the land. But after you received the promises given to you by the Lord, you rejected the Lord.

38.12 So the Lord became angry with you and scattered you to every nation of the earth.

38.13 Concerning the salvation of the Gentiles by the Lord, he spoke through Hosea (sic) to the despisers among you saying: *Behold you despisers and marvel and be amazed. Because I am doing a work in your days which you will never believe, even if someone explains it to you* (Hab. 1:5).

39.1 The Jew said: You Christians have again distorted the scriptures as you wished!

39.2 For you have made many points from the books you have brought forth, but these are not contained in the Hebrew but only in the Greek only. I have wanted to know about this, and why is it so?

39.3 Have you Christians truly desired to distort the scriptures?

39.4 The Christian said: Unawares you have well asked, truly and accurately, about the plot that took place by Aquila the translator against the divine scriptures. Or rather you have brought up the harm unto himself having distorted the divine scriptures and translated them so badly as it seemed good to him.

39.5 For this Aquila, because he desired to hide the testimonies about the Messiah, learned thoroughly the Hebrew letters and language in the fortieth year of his life, and then distorted the scriptures!

39.6 But in order that we not neglect anything, let us explain the translation of the seventy two translators that took place under Ptolemy and then in like manner make inquiry about Aquila.

39.7 For when Alexander the king was about to die, he divided his kingdom to his four colleagues, namely Antiochus and Philip and Seleucus and Ptolemy.

**8.** οὗτος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, οἰκῶν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ φιλοῖστωρ καὶ ὤκοδόμησεν βιβλιοθήκην ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τοῦ Φάρου τούτου, καὶ συνήγαγεν βίβλους ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς,

**9.** Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ λοιπῶν, ἱστοριῶν καὶ λόγων συγγεγραμμένων ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν·

**10.** καὶ πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τοπάρχας προσλιπαρῶν, ἔφερον τὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν καὶ κατέστησεν βιβλιοφύλακά τινα ὀνόματι Δημήτριον.

**11.** καὶ ἐρωτᾷ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγων πόσας βίβλους συνηγάγομεν, εἰ οἶδας;

**12.** ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι εἰσὶν λοιπὸν μυριάδες πέντε ἡμισυ πλέον ἢ ἔλασσον.

**13.** καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ Δημήτριος ὅτι ἀκηκόαμεν οὐσας ἐτι πλῆθος πολὺ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ἐν θηβαῖδι, καὶ Αἰθιοπία, καὶ Περσίδι, καὶ Συρία.

**14.** ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ εἰσὶν βίβλοι περιεκτικῶς περιέχουσαι περὶ θεοῦ καὶ κοσμοποιίας, καὶ εἰ βούλεται ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς.

**15.** ἀπόστειλον πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἀποστελοῦσίν σοι τὰς βίβλους αὐτῶν, εἰς ἃς ἐγκύψας μεγάλως ὠφελήσεται ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς.

**16.** (ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Δημήτριος τῷ γένει Ἑβραῖος.)

**17.** τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλεν ἄνδρας εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ πρὸς τὸν τότε ἀρχιερέα ὀνόματι Ἑλεάζαρον, γράψας ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῷ ἅμα καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἱερεῦσιν περιέχουσαν οὕτως·

**18.** βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς τῆς θεοσεβείας διδασκάλοις πλείστα χαίρειν· βιβλιοθήκην κατεσκευάσα ἐν Φαρία τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ συνήγαγον βίβλους εἰς πλῆθος πολὺ σφόδρα.

**19.** ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν οὐσας βίβλους περιεχούσας περὶ θεοῦ καὶ κοσμοποιίας καὶ ἐπεθύμησα καὶ γε ταύτας ἀποθέσθαι ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ ἣ ἐποίησα.

**20.** μνήσθητε οὖν ὡς ἐγενήθη ὅτι αἰχμάλωτοι ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμῶν πατρίδος εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ πάντας ὅσους εὗρον ἐγὼ σὺν ἐφοδίοις ἐξαπέστειλα· καὶ τοὺς τετραυματισμένους καὶ γυμνοὺς ἰατρεύσας καὶ ἐνδύσας σὺν ἐφοδίοις ἐξαπέστειλα πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

**21.** ταῦτα δὲ λέγω, οὐκ ὄνειδίζων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ γνῶναι ὑμᾶς ὅτι οὐκ εἰς γέλωτα καὶ ἐμπαιγμὸν βούλομαι τὰς βίβλους—μὴ γένοιτο—ἀλλ' ὠφελείας χάριν.

**22.** ἰδοὺ ἐξαπέστειλα ὑμῖν χρυσόν, καὶ ἄργυρον, καὶ θυσιαστήριον χρυσοῦν, καὶ σκευὴ ἀπέστειλα εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν. τὰ δὲ δῶρα ὑμῖν ἔσται.

**23.** οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι τὰ δῶρα καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τὰ σκευη, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην·

39.8 When this Ptolemy, while living in Egypt, became a man who loved history and built a library on Pharos Island. He also gathered books from every writing

39.9 among the Greeks and from all the rest of the historians and the collected works of all the nations.

39.10 He requested from all the kings and rulers and brought their books together and appointed a librarian by the name of Demetrius.

39.11 And the king asked him saying: How many books have we gathered, if you know?

39.12 And he said that there were left fifty five thousand, more or less.

39.13 Demetrius also said to him: We have heard that there is a great multitude of them in Egypt and also in Thebes and Ethiopia and Persia and Syria.

39.14 And also in Judea they have books containing comprehensive\* matters about God and the creation, if my lord the king desires them.

39.15 Send to their priests and also to the high priest in Jerusalem and they will send you their books, which if you examine closely, my lord the king will be benefited greatly.

39.16 (This Demetrius was a Hebrew by birth.)

39.17 Then the king sent men to Jerusalem to the high priest at that time, whose name was Eleazar. He wrote a letter to Eleazar and the rest of the priests and it contained the following:

39.18 King Ptolemy to the teachers of religion, many greetings. I have founded a library on Pharos Island and I have gathered a very large number of books.

39.19 I have heard that you have books containing teachings about God and the creation of the world, and I desire that all these be gathered into the library I have built.

39.20 Therefore, remember that there were prisoners from your country in our own. As many as I found I sent away with provisions and the wounded and naked, I healed and bound, and I sent them away with supplies.

39.21 I say these things, not by reproach, but I want you to know that it is not for the purpose of laughing and mocking that I want the books. May it never be! But it is for the purpose of benefiting us.

39.22 Behold I have sent to you both gold and silver and a golden altar and I have sent vessels for the temple of your God. And there will also be gifts for you.

39.23 And those who received the gifts and the altar and the vessels rejoiced greatly.

**24.** καὶ μὴ ἀμελήσαντες, χρυσαίοις γράμμασιν Ἑβραϊκοῖς καὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰς βίβλους μεταγράψαντες, οὕτως ἀπέστειλαν.

**25.** δεξάμενος δὲ καὶ ἀναπτύξας, εὗρεν αὐτὰς γεγραμμένας γράμμασιν καὶ διαλέκτῳ Ἑβραϊκῇ·

**26.** καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς ἀναγνῶναι πάλιν ἀναγκάζεται ἐτέραν δευτέραν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῖς γράψαι περιέχουσαν τὰδε·

**27.** βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς τῆς θεοσεβείας διδασκάλοις πλεῖστα χαίρειν·

**28.** πηγῆς ἐσφραγισμένης, καὶ θησαυροῦ κεκρυμμένου, τίς ὠφέλεια ἀμφοτέροις; οὕτως τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν ἔμοι ἀποσταλέντα, τὰ γὰρ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.

**29.** θελήσατε οὖν ἀποστεῖλαί μοι ἄνδρας ὀρθῶς εἰδότες τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον ὅπως ταύτας μεταγράψαντες ἐρμηνεύσωσιν Ἑλληνιστί.

**30.** τότε οὖν ἀπεστάλησαν οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἐρμηνευταί, ἕξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἀνὰ ἕξ ἄνδρες.

**31.** ὁ οὖν Πτολεμαῖος ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτοῖς τριάκοντα ἕξ οἰκίσκους ἐν τῇ Φαρία νήσῳ, καὶ οὕτως ἐναποκλείσας ζυγὴν ζυγὴν ἐν ἐκάστῳ οἴκῳ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐνδιάθετον ἐκάστην ζυγὴν ἐποίησεν ἐρμηνεύσαι.

**32.** οὐκ εἶασεν δὲ οὐδὲ θυρίδα τοῖς οἰκίσκοις ἐκείνοις πρὸς τὸ μὴ συνδυάσαντας νοθεύσαι τὰς γραφάς, ἀλλ' ἀναφωτίδας ἀνωθεν ἐκ τῶν δωμάτων πρὸς τὸ ἐκεῖθεν δέχεσθαι τὸ φῶς.

**33.** καὶ εἰ ἀφείλατο ὅπου μία ζυγὴ, λόγον εὐρόντες ἐκ περισσοῦ, ἢ λέξιν καὶ αἰ λοιπαὶ τριάκοντα πέντε ζυγαὶ ἀφείλαντο.

**34.** καὶ εἰ προσέθηκεν μία ζυγὴ λέξιν μίαν ὡς χωλεύοντος τοῦ λόγου, καὶ πάντες προσέθηκαν, ὥστε καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου δεῖ τούτους μετόχους εἰπεῖν.

#### 40.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τίς οὖν ὁ νοθεύσας τὰς θείας γραφάς ἐν αἷς οὐχ εὐρίσκομεν τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν κεφαλαίων ὧν εἴρηκας;

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· Ἀκύλας ἐστίν· ἄκουε δὲ συνετῶς καὶ περὶ τούτου, πῶς ἐγένετο ἐρμηνευτής, καὶ διὰ τί, καὶ μετὰ πόσα ἔτη τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἐρμηνευτῶν, καὶ διὰ ποίαν πρόφασιν·

**3.** καὶ γενοῦ σὺ αὐτὸς κριτῆς, εἰ ἄρα πιστοποιήσωμαι τοῦτον πλεῖονα τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο.

**4.** Οὗτος ὁ Ἀκύλας ἀπὸ Σινώπης μὲν ἦν τῆς τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τοσοῦτον τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου

39.24 And they were not careless but sent books transcribed in golden Hebrew letters and language.

39.25 When he received and opened them, he found the letters written in the Hebrew language.

39.26 And not being able to read them, he was compelled to write to them send a second letter containing the following:

39.27 King Ptolemy to the teachers of religion, many greetings.

39.28 When a fountain is sealed and a treasure is hidden, who is benefited by either (Sirach 20:30; Song 4:12)? Thus were the things you sent to me. For I do not understand the letters and their language.

39.29 Therefore send me men who know accurately both the Hebrew and Greek languages, so that they may translate into Greek the Hebrew books you have sent.

39.30 Then they sent seventy two translators, six men from each tribe.

39.31 Ptolemy then built thirty six dwellings on Pharos Island. And so they joined together by pairs, he made an agreement for each one to translate with another one.

39.32 He did not permit a door in those dwellings so that they could consult together to corrupt the scriptures, but there were openings in the roofs to allow in the light.

39.33 And if one pair concluded that there was an extra word and removed it from the translation, so the rest of the thirty five pairs also removed it.

39.34 And if one pair added one word because they thought that the translation was lacking, so all of them added it. So in this way they shared together and spoke these words by the Holy Spirit (Adapted either from the Letter of Aristeas or from Josephus' own adaptation in Antiquities, 12, 11-118).

40.1 The Jew said: Then who has corrupted the divine scriptures in which we do not find most of the points which you have mentioned?

40.2 The Christian said: It was Aquila. Now hear with understanding about this man and how he became a translator and why and what he did after so many years had elapsed after the translation of the "Seventy Two," and what was his pretext.

40.3 And you yourself be the judge, if we then should believe this one or the "Seventy Two."

40.4 This Aquila was from Sinope in Pontus, and lived some interval of time

5. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον τοῦτον τὸν καὶ προστάξαντα ἐρμηνευθῆναι τὰς θεοπνεύστους γραφάς, ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν μετὰ τὸν Λάγον τὸν βασιλεύσαντα μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα.

6. ἐβασίλευσεν γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτη ιη, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγος ἔτη μ, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ὁ καὶ ἐρμηνεύσας τὰς γραφάς ἔτη λη, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Εὐεργέτης ἔτη κε, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ ἔτη ιζ, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἐπιφανής ἔτη κδ, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλομήτωρ ἔτη λδ, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλόλογος ἔτη κθ, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φούσκων ἔτη ιζ, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Σωτῆρ ἔτη κε, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ ἔξωσθεις ἔτη κς, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλέξας ἔτη η, Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Διονύσου ἔτη λ, Κλεοπάτρα ἔτη κβ· ὁμοῦ ἔτη τριακόσια πενήκοντα δύο.

7. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐκράτησαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οὕτως· Αὐγουστος ἔτη νς, Τιβέριος ἔτη κγ, Γάϊος ἔτη γ καὶ μῆνας θ, κλαύδιος ἔτη ιε καὶ μῆνας η, Νέρων ἔτη ιγ, Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἔτη θ, Τίτος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἔτη β, Δομετιανὸς ὁ Τίτου ἀδελφὸς ἔτη ιε μῆνας ε, Νερούας ἔτη δ, Τραϊανὸς ἔτη ιθ, Ἀδριανὸς ἔτη κα· ὁμοῦ ἔτη φλγ.

8. Μετὰ οὖν τὰ τσαυτὰ ἔτη ἀνεφάνη οὗτος ὁ Ἀκύλας ὡς καὶ πενθερίδης ἐγένετο τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ.

9. ὁ δὲ Ἀδριανὸς οὗτος ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ φιλοῖστωρ, καὶ ἐπεθύμησεν θεάσασθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ χώραν καὶ πόλιν.

10. καὶ φθάσας ἕως Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ εὐρῶν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τέλος ἐρημωθείσαν, ὠργίσθη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. ~

11. καὶ συλλαβῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ καταγαγῶν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῇ ἐν Χεβρών γινομένη, διέπρασεν αὐτοὺς ἀνά τέσσαρας ψυχῶν εἰς μόδιον κριθῆς.

12. αὐτὸς οὖν ἤρξατο κτίζειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη αὐτῆς, οὐ μέντοι τὸν ναόν.

13. καὶ λαβῶν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς τὸν Ἀκύλαν, Ἕλληνα ὄντα, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀδριανὸς Ἕλλην ὑπῆρχεν, κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπιστάτην τῶν ἔργων.

14. θεωρῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀκύλας ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις τοὺς Χριστιανούς αὐξοντάς τῃ πίστει καὶ σημεῖα ποιοῦντα κύριον τὸν θεὸν δι' αὐτῶν, κατανυγεῖς ἐγένετο Χριστιανός.

15. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀστρονόμος εἰς ἄκρον, ὡς καὶ μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν Χριστιανὸν τοῦ ἔργου τῆς ἀστρονομίας οὐκ ἐπαύσατο.

16. λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν Χριστιανῶν οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι ἀστρονομεῖσθαι· ὁ δὲ Ἀκύλας ἔχων τὸ θράσος τὸ βασιλικόν οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν αὐτῶν.

40.5 after Ptolemy had ordered that the inspired scriptures be translated. Ptolemy ruled after Lagos who had followed Alexander the Macedonian.

40.6 For Alexander ruled eighteen years and Ptolemy Lagos forty years. Ptolemy Philadelphus who translated the scriptures thirty eight years; Ptolemy Euergetes twenty five years; Ptolemy Philopater seventeen years; Ptolemy Epiphanes twenty four years; Ptolemy Philometer thirty four years; Ptolemy Philologos twenty nine years; Ptolemy Phouskon seventeen years; and Ptolemy Soter twenty five years; Ptolemy Exosthes twenty six years; Ptolemy Alexas eight years, Ptolemy Dionysius thirty years; and Cleopatra twenty two years. Altogether this was three hundred fifty two years.

40.7 And after this the Romans seized control in this way. Augustus for fifty six years; Tiberius for twenty three years; Gaius for three years and nine months; Claudius for fifteen years and eight months; Nero for thirteen years; Vespasian for nine years; Titus his son for two years; Domitian, Titus' brother, for thirteen years and five months; Nerva for four years; Trajan nineteen years; and Hadrian for twenty one years. Altogether this was five hundred and thirty three years.

40.8 The after such things Aquila arose who was a brother in law to Emperor Hadrian.

40.9 Hadrian had become a lover of history and he desired to see everything in his kingdom in the country and city.

40.10 And when he came to Jerusalem and found the city completely destroyed, he was angry with the Jews.

40.11 So he seized them and led them to the public fair in Hebron and he sold them there at one measure of barley for every four people.

40.12 Then he began to build the city and its walls – indeed also the temple.

40.13 Hadrian also took Aquila, a Greek, (since Hadrian himself was also a Greek) and appointed him as superintendent of public works.

40.14 When Aquila saw in those days that the Christians were growing in the faith and that the Lord God was doing signs through them, he was pierced to the heart and became a Christian.

40.15 But this man was an astrologer of great distinction. After he became a Christian, however, he did not cease practicing astrology.

40.16 The Christian priests told him, "It is not permitted for you to practice astrology." But Aquila, having the royal boldness, did not listen to them.

**17.** πάλιν οὖν αὐτοὶ νουθετήσαντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν καὶ μηδὲν παρ' αὐτῷ ὄνησάμενοι, ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἐξω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτιμίου ἀποσπῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀθεμίτου πράξεως τῆς ἀστρονομίας.

**18.** αὐτὸς δὲ θυμοῦ πολλοῦ πλησθεὶς καὶ ἐννοηθεὶς κακὰ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ, εἰς ζῆλον ἀδικὸν αἵρεται καὶ τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν ἀναθεματίσας καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζωὴν ἀρνησάμενος, ἀπελθὼν πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ περιτμηθεὶς ἐγένετο Ἰουδαῖος.

**19.** καὶ ἐμπόνως μαθὼν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν στοιχείων τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτῶν ἀκρότατα παιδευθεὶς, ἐκδοσὶν ἑαυτῷ δευτέραν ἐρμήνευσεν, θέλων τὰς περὶ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίας καλύψαι.

**20.** ὅτ' ἂν οὖν εὗρης εἴτε ἐν τῷ Ἑβραϊκῷ—καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἠφάνισεν—εἴτε ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ, ἐπικεκαλυμμένως ἔχοντα τὰς περὶ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίας, γίνωσκε ὅτι Ἀκύλα ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιβουλή.

**21.** πῶς οὖν μὴ δεκτοὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα δύο μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀκύλας, οἵτινες ἀνοθεύτως ἐρμήνευσαν τὰς γραφάς, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸ λαλήσαν δι' αὐτῶν ὡς ἠβουλήθη;

**22.** δοκῶ γὰρ πνεύματος ἁγίου αὐτοὺς μετεσχηκέναι, ἐπεὶ ὄντες ἐν τῷ διαχωρισμῷ τῶν τριάκοντα ἕξ οἰκίσκων, οὐδαμοῦ εὗρηται ἀλλοίωσις λόγου ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὁμοφώνως ἐλάλησαν.

**23.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐκοῦν δέχη τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα δύο ἐρμηνευτὰς ὡς ἀπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου λαλήσαντας;

**24.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας μου δέχομαι αὐτούς.

#### 41.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πῶς οὖν ἐρμήνευσαν οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα δύο ἐρμηνεῖς ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα λέγοντες ὁμνύει κύριός σοι, Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὅτι οὐ μὴ δῶ οὐκέτι τὰ βρώματά σου τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου, καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ σου τοῖς μισοῦσίν σε, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

**2.** νῦν δὲ ὁρῶμεν τὰ ἔθνη κληρονομήσαντα τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν·

**3.** εἶπεν δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῇ Σιών καὶ τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ, μὴ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν.

**4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἶπεν κύριός τῷ Ἀβραάμ ὅτι ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου εὐλογηθήσονται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς.

**5.** καὶ πάλιν Δαυὶδ λέγει αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐπαινεῖσατε αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ λαοί, καὶ πάλιν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη κροτήσατε χεῖρας.

40.17 Then they again warned him from the Holy Scriptures and they received no satisfaction from him, they expelled him from the church, concluding from the punishment that he had apostatized due to the unlawful practice of astrology.

40.18 But he was filled with great wrath and plotted evil things in his heart. He was lifted up by unrighteous zeal, cursed Christianity, denied his own soul, and departed to the Hebrew priests, and so was circumcised and became a Jew.

40.19 And when he learned the power of the Hebrew letters and was instructed in the heights of their language, he translated by himself a second version, desiring to cover up the testimonies about the Messiah.

40.20 So whenever you find something, whether in the Hebrew (for even there he removed it) or in the Greek that covers up the testimonies to the Messiah, know that such was the scheme of Aquila.

40.21 Therefore, will not the "Seventy Two" be accepted rather than Aquila, since they translated the scriptures without contamination, or rather the Holy Spirit spoke through them as He desired?

40.22 For I think that the Holy Spirit was operating within them, since they were divided into thirty six dwellings, nevertheless no divergent teaching was found among all the others, but all spoke in harmony with each other.

40.23 The Jew said: Therefore, are you saying that one should receive the "Seventy Two" translators as speaking from the Holy Spirit?

40.24 The Christian said: I do receive them that way with all my heart.

41.1 The Jew said: Why then did the "Seventy Two" translators translate in Isaiah saying: *The Lord swears to you, Jerusalem, he will never give your food to your enemies and your good things to those who hate you*, et.al. (Isa. 62:8)?

41.2 But now we see that the Gentiles are possessing both Jerusalem and Judea.

41.3 For God said this in reference to Zion and Jerusalem, not about the Gentiles.

41.4 The Christian said: The Lord said to Abraham: *In your seed all the Gentiles of the earth will be blessed* (Gen. 26:4).

41.5 Again David says: *Praise the Lord, all the Gentiles; rejoice in Him all you peoples* (Ps. 116:1). Again: *Clap your hands, all you Gentiles* (Ps. 46:2).

**6.** καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ Ἑσραΐα ἔσται ἡ ρίζα τοῦ Ἰεσοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἀρχεῖν ἐθνῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν, περὶ γὰρ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ πεινὴν τὸ ποτήριον τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ κόνδου τοῦ θυμοῦ, τοὺς δὲ υἱοὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ εἰς κρίσιν μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου στήσονται.

**7.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ποῦ γεγραπταί;

**8.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἑσραΐα, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιήλ, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὠσιέ.

**9.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐγὼ πῶσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ οὐκ εἶδον γεγραμμένην ἐν τῷ Ἑσραΐα.

**10.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς προφητείας Ἑσραίου λέγει οὕτως ἄκουε, οὐρανέ, καὶ ἐνωτίζου, γῆ, ὅτι κύριος ἐλάλησεν υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ὑψωσα, αὐτοὶ δὲ με ἠθέτησαν.

**11.** ἐγὼ βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ, Ἰσραὴλ δὲ με οὐκ ἐγὼ, καὶ ὁ λαός με οὐκ ἐσυνήκεν.

**12.** οὐαὶ ἔθνος ἀμαρτωλόν, λαὸς πλήρης ἀμαρτιῶν, σπέρμα πονηρόν, υἱοὶ ἄνομοι· ἐγκατελείπατε τὸν κύριον καὶ παρωργίσατε τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.

**13.** καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα λέγει καὶ εἰ μὴ κύριος Σαβαώθ ἐγκατέλειπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν καὶ ὡς Γόμορρα ἂν ὁμοιωθῆμεν. ὅτι δὲ ἐστὶν εἰς κρίσιν κύριος μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς λέγει ἀλλὰ νῦν καταστήσεται κύριος εἰς κρίσιν, αὐτὸς κύριος εἰς κρίσιν ἦξει μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.

**14.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐγένετο ταῦτα, ἢ μέλλουσιν γενέσθαι;

**15.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· κὰν ἐν χλευασμῷ ταῦτα λέγῃς, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ζῆ κύριος, καὶ ἐζήτησεν καὶ ἔκρινεν καὶ κατέκρινεν κρίνας· καὶ ὡς ἔκρινεν οὕτως καὶ ἐγένετο.

**16.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· παρακαλῶ, τὸ λεπτομερὲς ἀνάγγελόν μοι τί ἐλάλησεν ἐν τῇ κρίσει ὧν, καὶ τί ἔκρινεν καὶ κατέκρινεν; καὶ εἰ ἀπέβη ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἀνάγγελόν μοι.

**17.** ἡμεῖς γὰρ βλέπομεν αὐτὸν ὃν νομίζεις Ἰησοῦν κατακρίναντα, κατακριθέντα σταυρῷ· πῶς οὖν αὐτὸς κατέκρινεν;

**18.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οἶδα κἀγὼ ὅτι ἀδίκως κατεκρίθη ἀμαρτίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὐρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον.

**19.** ἃ δὲ ἐν τῇ κρίσει ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ταῦτα. πρῶτον μὲν διὰ Ὠσιέ παραινῶν αὐτοῖς λέγει λαός μου, τί ἠδίκησά σε ἢ τί παρηνόχησά σου;

**20.** ἀποκρίθητί μοι· καὶ πάλιν διὰ Ἑσραίου λαός μου, οἱ πράκτορες ὑμῶν καλαμώνται ὑμᾶς, καὶ οἱ μακαρίζοντες ὑμᾶς πλανῶσιν ὑμᾶς.

41.6 Again in Isaiah: *The root of Jesse and the one who springs up to rule the Gentiles, in him the Gentiles shall hope* (Isa. 11:10). And that Jerusalem would drink the *cup of defeat, the bowl of wrath* (Isa. 51:22) and that the sons of Israel will stand in judgment before the Lord.

41.7 The Jew said: Where is this written?

41.8 The Christian said: Both in Isaiah, Ezekiel and Hosea.

41.9 The Jew said: I never saw the fall of Jerusalem written about in Isaiah.

41.10 The Christian said: First, at the beginning of Isaiah's prophecy, he says thus, *Hear, O heaven and give ear, O earth, because the Lord has spoken: I gave birth to sons and brought them up and they rejected me.*

41.11 *The ox knows its owner and the donkey his master's manger, but Israel does not know me nor do my people understand.*

41.12 *Woe to the sinful nation, a people full of sins, an evil seed, lawless sons. You have forsaken the Lord and angered the Holy One of Israel* (Isa. 1:2-4).

41.13 And a little later he says: *If the Lord of Hosts had not left to us a seed, we would have been as Sodom and like Gomorrah* (Isa. 1:9). Because the Lord will be for judgment to his people. He says: *But now the Lord will appoint judgment. The Lord will come for judgment to his people and for judgment to the elders and rulers of his people* (Isa. 3:14).

41.14 The Jew said: Did these things already take place, or will they yet take place?

41.15 The Christian said: Even if you are saying these things in ridicule, these things did take place, as the Lord lives, having determined he sought, he judged and he condemned. And as he determined thus it came to pass.

41.16 The Jew said: I request that you show me the subtle things which he said while he was judging and also why did he judge and condemn? And if the judgment did take place, explain it.

41.17 For we see him whom you suppose to be Jesus as one condemned to a cross. How then was he the one who condemned?

41.18 The Christian said: I know that he was unjustly condemned. *For he did not do any sin, neither was any deceit found in his mouth. Because of the iniquities of my people he was taken away to death* (Isa. 53:8, 9).

41.19 But the things which were spoken about in his judgment are these things. First, Hosea, admonishing them, says: *O my people, what have I done to wrong you? How have I provoked you? Answer me* (Mic. 6:3, not Hosea)!

41.20 And again through Isaiah: *O my people, your exactors strip you and those who bless you deceive you* (Isa. 3:12).

**21.** καὶ εὐρών τὰ ἀδικήματα αὐτῶν λέγει αὐτοῖς τί ὑμεῖς ἐνεπυρίσατε τὸν ἀμπελώνά μου καὶ ἡ ἀρπαγὴ τοῦ πτωχοῦ ἐν τοῖς οἰκοῖς ὑμῶν; εἰς τί ἀδικεῖτε τὸν λαόν μου καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ταπεινῶν καταισχύνετε;

**22.** καὶ ἔδωκεν τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τῇ Σιών καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἀπόφασιν εἰπὼν τάδε λέγει ὁ δεσπότης κύριος Σαβαώθ ἀνθ' ὧν ὑψώθησαν αἱ θυγατέρες Σιών καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὑψηλῶ τραχήλῳ καὶ νεύμασιν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν ποδῶν ἄμα σύρουσαι τοὺς χιτῶνας, καὶ ταπεινώσει κύριος ἀρχούσας θυγατέρας Σιών, καὶ κύριος ἀνακαλύψει τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῶν

**23.** ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἀφελεῖ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἱματισμοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν κόσμον αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐμπλόκια καὶ τοὺς κοσύμβους καὶ τοὺς μηνίσκους καὶ τὸ κάθεμα καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ κόσμου τῆς δόξης αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς χλιδῶνας καὶ τὰ ψέλλια καὶ τὰ περιδέξια καὶ τοὺς δακτυλίους καὶ τὰ ἐνώτια καὶ τὰ περιπόρφυρα καὶ τὰ ἐπιβλήματα κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ διαφανῆ λακωνικὰ καὶ τὰ βύσσινα καὶ τὰ ὑακίνθινα καὶ τὰ κόκκινα καὶ τὴν βύσσον σὺν χρυσίῳ καθυφασμένην καὶ θέριστρα κατάκλιτα.

**24.** καὶ ἔσται ἀντὶ ὀσμῆς ἡδέιας κονιορτὸς ἀναβήσεται, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ χιτῶνος τοῦ μεσοπορφύρου σάκκον ἐνδύσῃ, καὶ ἀντὶ ζώνης χρυσοῦς σχοινίον ζώσῃ, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς κεφαλῆς σου φαλάκρωμα ἕξεις διὰ τὰ ἔργα σου.

**25.** καὶ ὁ υἱός σου ὁ κάλλιστος, ὃν ἀγαπᾶς, μαχαίρα πεσεῖται,

**26.** καὶ σὺ μόνῃ καταλειφθήσῃ καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐδαφισθήσῃ.

**27.** καὶ νομίζω ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἐτελέσθησαν· καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀπόφασις ἦν ἔδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῆς, τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ κατὰ σάρκα διὰ τὸ ἀμαρτῆσαι αὐτοὺς εἰς κύριον τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς.

#### **42.**

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πιλάτου, ἀλλὰ τῇ σιωπῇ ἐχρήσατο.

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· αὐτὸς Ἡσαΐας διεμαρτύρατο ὑμᾶς τὴν παραβολὴν ἣν εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, μαρτυρίας χάριν λέγων ἄσω δὴ ἄσμα τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ τῷ ἀμπελώνι μου. ἀμπελῶν ἐγενήθη τῷ ἀγαπητῷ ἐν κέρατι ἐν τόπῳ πῖονι·

**3.** καὶ ὠκοδόμησα ἐν αὐτῷ τεῖχος καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα καὶ ὠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ προλήνιον ὠρυξα ἐν αὐτῷ

**4.** καὶ ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλὴν, ἐποίησεν δὲ ἀκάνθας.

41.21 And when he found their unjust deeds, he says to them: *Why have you set my vineyard on fire and why are the spoils of the poor in your houses? And why do you treat my people unjustly and shame the faces of the poor* (Isa. 3:14, 15)?

41.22 And he gave to Jerusalem and to Zion and to their children a decree: *The Lord God of Hosts says these things: Therefore the Lord will humble the chief daughters of Zion, and the Lord will expose their form.*

41.23 *In that day the Lord will take away the glory of their raiment, the curls and the fringes, the crescents and the chains, the ornaments of their faces and the array of glorious ornaments, the armlets and the bracelets, the wreathed work and the finger-rings, the ornaments for the right hand and the ear-rings, the garments with scarlet borders and the garments with purple grounds, the shawls to be worn in the house and the transparent dresses, those made of fine linen and the purple ones, the scarlet ones and the fine linen, interwoven with gold and purple, and the light coverings for couches.*

41.24 *And there shall be instead of a sweet smell, dust, and instead of a girdle, you shall gird yourself with a rope. And instead of a golden ornament for the head, you shall have baldness on account of your works. And instead of a tunic with a scarlet cord, you shall gird yourself with sackcloth.*

41.25 *And your most beautiful son whom you love shall fall by the sword,*

41.26 *and you alone will be left alone and leveled with the ground* (Isa. 3:16-26).

41.27 And I think that all these things were fulfilled. And this is the accusation that the Lord God gave to Jerusalem and her children, to those from Abraham in the flesh because of their sins against the Lord God of heaven and earth.

42.1 The Jew said: Jesus spoke none of these things when he was condemned by Pilate, but submitted himself in silence.

42.2 The Christian said: The same Isaiah testified about you in the parable which Jesus spoke, speaking for the purpose of a testimony: *Now I will sing to my beloved a song of my beloved concerning my vineyard. My beloved had a vineyard on a high hill in a fertile place.*

42.3 *And I made a hedge round it, and dug a trench, and planted a choice vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and dug a place for the wine-vat in it.*

42.4 *And I waited for it to bring forth grapes, and it brought forth thorns.*

5. καὶ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ἰούδα καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλήμ, κρίνατε ἀνά μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνά μέσον τοῦ ἀμπελώνός μου.
6. τί ποιήσω τῷ ἀμπελώνί μου καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησα αὐτῶ;
7. δι' ὅτι ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλήν, ἐποίησεν δὲ ἀκάνθας. νῦν δὲ ἀναγγελῶ ὑμῖν τί ποιήσω τῷ ἀμπελώνί μου.
8. καθελῶ τὸν τοῖχον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσται εἰς διαπραγῆν, καὶ ἀφελῶ τὸν φραγμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσται εἰς καταπάτημα, καὶ οὐ μὴ τμηθῆ οὐδ' οὐ μὴ σκαφῆ, καὶ ἀναβήσονται εἰς αὐτὸν ὡσεὶ χέρσον ἀκάνθες·
9. καὶ ταῖς νεφέλαις ἐντελοῦμαι τοῦ μὴ βρέξαι εἰς αὐτὸν ὑετόν.
10. ὁ γὰρ ἀμπελῶν κυρίου Σαβαώθ οἴκος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐστὶν καὶ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ἰούδα νεόφυτον ἠγαπημένον·
11. ἔμεινα οὖν τοῦ ποιῆσαι δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀνομίαν καὶ οὐ δικαιοσύνην ἀλλὰ κραυγὴν.
12. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὔτε ταύτην τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν κρινόμενος ὁ Ἰησοῦς.
13. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ὅτ' ἂν ἀπήνησαν αὐτῶ οἱ παῖδες τῶν Ἑβραίων κραζόντες τὸ ὠσαννά, ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναόν, τότε ἐκύκλωσαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ λέγοντες οὐκ ἀκούεις τί οὗτοι σοῦ καταμαρτυροῦσιν;
14. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ναί· γέγραπται γὰρ ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον.
15. τότε εἶπεν αὐτοῖς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην (ἦν περὶ πότε Ἡσαΐας προεῖπεν) λέγων ἄνθρωπός τις ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελώνα, καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτῷ τεῖχος καὶ πύργον, καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐν αὐτῷ ληνὸν καὶ ὑπολήνιον, καὶ ἐξέδοτο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν.
16. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν καρπῶν, ἀπέστειλεν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελώνος τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν·
17. οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ λαβόντες τοὺς δούλους ἐκείνους ὄν μὲν ὑβρῖσαν, ὄν δὲ ἔδειψαν, καὶ ἀπέστειλαν κενούς.
18. ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελώνος ἐκείνου ἀπέστειλεν ἄλλους δούλους·
19. ὁμοίως δὲ κάκεινους, ὄν μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, ὄν δὲ ἐτραυμάτισαν, καὶ ἀπέστειλαν καὶ αὐτοὺς κενούς.
20. ὕστερον δὲ πάντων ἀπέστειλεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ λέγων· ἐντραπήσονται τὸν υἱὸν μου.
21. οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐρχόμενον εἶπαν· οὗτός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὁ κληρονόμος· δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔσται ἡμῶν ἡ κληρονομία·
22. καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελώνος καὶ ἀπέκτειναν.
23. ὅτ' ἂν οὖν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελώνος, τί ποιήσει τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἐκείνοις;

- 42.5 *And now, every man of Judah and you dwellers in Jerusalem, judge between me and my vineyard.*
- 42.6 *What shall I do any more to my vineyard that I have not done to it?*
- 42.7 *I expected it to bring forth grapes, but it has brought forth thorns. And now I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard.*
- 42.8 *I will take away its hedge, and it shall be for a spoil. And I will pull down its walls, and it shall be left to be trodden down. And I will forsake my vineyard, and it shall not be pruned, nor dug, and thorns shall come up upon it as on barren land.*
- 42.9 *And I will command the clouds to not rain upon it.*
- 42.10 *For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his beloved plant.*
- 42.11 *I expected it to bring forth righteousness, and it brought forth iniquity, and not righteousness, but a cry (Isa. 5:1-7).*
- 42.12 *The Jew said: Jesus did not speak this parable in judgment.*
- 42.13 *The Christian said: When the Hebrew children met him crying Hosanna while he was entering the temple, then the high priests and the elders said to him: Do you not hear what these people are testifying?*
- 42.14 *And Jesus said to them: For thus it is written: Out of the mouth of infants and suckling babies you have ordained praise (Mat. 21:16).*
- 42.15 *The he spoke to them this parable (which Isaiah had spoken previously): There was a landowner who planted a vineyard. He put a fence around it, dug a pit for its winepress, and built a watchtower. Then he leased it to tenant farmers and went away on a journey.*
- 42.16 *When the harvest time was near, he sent his servants to the tenants to collect his portion of the crop.*
- 42.17 *But the tenants seized his servants, beat one, killed another, and sent them away empty.*
- 42.18 *Again the owner of the vineyard sent other servants,*
- 42.19 *And the same thing happened to them, one they killed, one they injured, and they also sent them away empty.*
- 42.20 *Finally he sent his son to them, saying: They will respect my son.*
- 42.21 *But when the tenants saw the son coming, they said among themselves: This is truly the heir. Come, let us kill him and his inheritance will be ours!*
- 42.22 *So threw him out of the vineyard and killed him.*
- 42.23 *Now when the owner of the vineyard comes, what will he do to those tenants?*

**24.** λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς, καὶ δώσει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἄλλοις γεωργοῖς.

**25.** ἄρα ἐγένετο ταῦτα ἢ οὐ; ἰστάμενος γὰρ ἐν τῇ κρίσει τοῦτο καὶ μόνον εἶπεν ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν ἔρημος.

**26.** ἄρα ἐστὶν οὕτως;

**43.**

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πῶς οὖν πάλιν διὰ Ἡσαΐου εἶπεν κύριος τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὅτι μετὰ ταῦτα κληθήσῃ πόλις δικαιοσύνης, μητρόπολις πιστῆ Σιών. μετὰ γὰρ κρίματος σωθήσεται ἡ αἰχμαλωσία αὐτῆς καὶ μετὰ ἐλεημοσύνης.

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· προανάγνωθι ὀλίγον καὶ εὐρήσεις τὴν ἀλήθειαν· γέγραπται γὰρ οὕτως·

**3.** πῶς ἐγενήθη πόρνη πόλις πιστῆ Σιών καὶ πλήρης κρίσεως, ἐν ἣ δικαιοσύνη ἐκοιμήθη ἐν αὐτῇ, νῦν δὲ φονευταί.

**4.** τὸ ἀργύριον ὑμῶν ἀδόκιμον· οἱ κάπηλοί σου μίσγουσι τὸν οἶνον ὕδατι·

**5.** οἱ ἄρχοντές σου ἀπειθοῦσιν, κοινῶν κλεπτῶν, ἀγαπῶντες δῶρα, διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, ὄρφανούς οὐ κρίνοντες καὶ κρίσιν χηρῶν οὐ προσέχοντες.

**6.** διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος Σαβαώθ οὐαὶ οἱ ἰσχύοντες Ἰσραὴλ οὐ παύσεται γὰρ μου ὁ θυμὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, καὶ κρίσιν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ποιήσω.

**7.** καὶ ἐπάξω τὴν χειρὰ μου ἐπὶ σε καὶ πυρῶσω σε εἰς καθαρὸν,

**8.** τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἀπολέσω καὶ ἐξαρῶ πάντα ἀνόμους τῆς γῆς καὶ πάντας ὑπερηφάνους ταπεινώσω. καὶ ἐπιστήσω τοὺς κριτὰς σου ὡς τὸ πρότερον καὶ τοὺς συμβούλους σου ὡς τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς·

**9.** καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κληθήσῃ πόλις δικαιοσύνης, μητρόπολις πιστῆ Σιών. μετὰ γὰρ κρίματος σωθήσεται ἡ αἰχμαλωσία αὐτῆς καὶ μετὰ ἐλεημοσύνης.

**10.** Γνώθι, οὖν, ὦ Ἰουδαίε, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ περικοπῇ ταύτῃ, μετὰ τὸ πλησθῆναι τὸν θυμὸν κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς τότε υἱοὺς αὐτῆς, τότε ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτῇ ὥστε γενέσθαι αὐτὴν πόλιν δικαιοσύνης, μητρόπολιν πιστὴν Σιών.

**11.** μετὰ γὰρ τοῦ κρῖναι αὐτὴν, τότε ἐμνήσθη τῶν ὄρκων ὧν ὤμοσεν διὰ τῶν ἀγίων αὐτοῦ προφητῶν, διὰ μὲν Δαυὶδ λέγων ἐὰν ἐπιλάθωμαί σου, Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἐπιλησθεῖν ἡ δεξιὰ μου.

**12.** διὰ δὲ Ἡσαΐου ἀφήλπισεν αὐτὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἐλθοῦσα ἔλεγεν ἐγκατέλιπέν με ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπελάθετό μου.

42.24 *They say to him: He will utterly destroy those evil men! Then he will lease the vineyard to other tenants (Mat. 21:33-41).*

42.25 So, did these things happen, or not? For when he stood up and issued this condemnation, he only said this: *Behold your house is left empty (Mat. 23:38).*

42.26 Then, is it so?

43.1 The Jew said: Why, therefore, did the Lord again speak to Jerusalem through Isaiah: *After these things you shall be called a city of righteousness, a faithful chief city of Zion, for with judgment and with mercy her captivity shall be delivered (Isa. 1:26, 27).*

43.2 The Christian said: Read a little before that and you shall find the truth. For it is written thus:

43.3 *How did faithful Zion become a harlot city? In which righteousness slept in it, but now murderers.*

43.4 *Your silver is rejected, your hucksters mingle wine with water.*

43.5 *Your rulers disobey, they are companions of thieves, lovers of gifts, pursuers of reward, they do not do justice to the orphans and they do not heed justice for the widows.*

43.6 *Because of this the Lord of Hosts says the following: Woe to the strong ones of Israel, for my anger toward the enemies will not cease, and I will do judgment among the Gentiles.*

43.7 *And I will bring my hand upon you, and I will burn you to purity.*

43.8 *I will destroy the disobedient, I will take away all the lawless ones from the land, I will humble all the haughty and I will set up your judges as at the first, and your advisors as at the beginning.*

43.9 *After these things you shall be called a city of righteousness, faithful chief city of Zion, for with judgment and with mercy her captivity shall be delivered (Isa. 1:21-27).*

43.10 Know, therefore, O Jew, that in the same section after the anger of the Lord was fulfilled on Jerusalem and on the Jews who were her sons at that time, then he promised to her that she would become a city of righteousness, the faithful chief city of Zion.

43.11 For after he judged her, he was reminded of the oaths which he swore through his holy prophets. For through David, he says: *If I forget you, Jerusalem, may my right hand be forgotten (Ps. 136:5).*

43.12 But through Isaiah he gave up in despair Jerusalem herself, and arriving at despair, she was saying: *The Lord has abandoned me and God has forgotten me (Isa. 49:15).*

**13.** καὶ ἔκλαιεν Ἱερουσαλήμ καθὼς Ἱερεμίας λέγει καὶ κατήγαγεν τὰ δάκρυα αὐτῆς διὰ τῶν σιαγόνων αὐτῆς.

**14.** καὶ ἰδὼν κύριος τὸν κλαυθμὸν αὐτῆς εὐσπλαγχνίσθη αὐτῇ καὶ ἐξέχεεν τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ παρεκάλεσεν αὐτήν διὰ Ἡσαΐου, λέγων Ἰλεῶς σοι, ταπεινὴ καὶ ἐγκαταλελειμμένη. μὴ ἐπιλήσεται γυνὴ τοῦ παιδίου αὐτῆς, ἢ τοῦ μὴ ἐλεῆσαι τὰ ἔγγονα τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῆς;

**15.** εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιλάθοιτο γυνή, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαί σου λέγει κύριος.

**16.** ἡ δὲ Ἱερουσαλήμ κλαίουσα εἶπεν πρὸς κύριον κύριε, ἐπίστρεψον τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν ἡμῶν.

**17.** ὁ δὲ κύριος πρὸς αὐτήν εἶπεν περὶ τῶν πλανησάντων σε ἵκετεύη πάλιν;

**18.** οὐκ αὐτοὶ ἐλάβοσαν τοὺς υἱοὺς μου καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας μου, καὶ διήγαγον αὐτοὺς ἐν πυρὶ; οὐχὶ Μανασσῆς ἐπλησέν σε αἷμα στόμα εἰς στόμα, δι' ὃν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν μου ἐπήγαγον ἐπὶ σε;

**19.** καὶ ὤμοσεν κύριος τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν λέγων ἰὼ ἐγὼ, λέγει ὁ δεσπότης κύριος Σαβαώθ, ὅτι ὑφ' ὧν καθηρέθης ἐθνῶν, ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἰκοδομηθήσῃ·

**20.** καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐνδύσῃ καὶ περιθήσῃ αὐτοὺς ὡς κόσμον νύμφης.

**21.** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐξεγείρου, Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐνδύσαι τὴν ἰσχύν σου· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐζωγράφηκά σε ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν μου, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη σου διὰ πάντος ἐνώπιόν μου·

**22.** καὶ ἄξω τὰ τέκνα σου ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν καὶ βορρᾶ καὶ νότου, ὅτι τὰ ἔρημά σου καὶ τὰ κατεφθαρμένα νῦν στενοχωρήσει ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων σου τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν σοί· καὶ μακρυνθήσονται ἀπὸ σου οἱ καταπίνοντές σε.

**23.** καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι οἱ υἱοὶ σου στενός μοι ὁ τόπος, νῦν ποιήσόν μοι τόπον τοῦ κατοικεῖν με.

**24.** καὶ ἔρεῖς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου τίς ἐγέννησέν μοι τούτους; ἐγὼ δὲ ἐγενόμην ἄτεκνος καὶ χῆρα, τούτους δὲ μοι τίς ἐξέθρεψεν;

**25.** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀρῶ τὴν χειρὰ μου εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ εἰς τὰς νήσους ἀρῶ σύσσημον, καὶ ἐξουσιν τοὺς υἱοὺς σου ἐν κόλπῳ.

**26.** τὰς δὲ θυγατέρας σου ἐπ' ὤμων ἀροῦσιν, καὶ ἔσονται βασιλεῖς τιθηνοὶ σου καὶ ἄρχουσαι τροφοὶ σου. καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν σοὶ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

**27.** καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος.

43.13 And Jerusalem was crying, as Jeremiah says: *And her tears ran down her cheeks* (Lam. 1:20).

43.14 And when the Lord saw her crying he felt compassion for her, and he poured out his mercy on her and he comforted her saying through Isaiah: *I will have mercy on you, humbled and forsaken. Will a woman forget her child, or will she not show mercy to the offspring of her womb?*

43.15 *Even if a woman could forget all these things, I will not forget you, says the LORD* (Isa. 54:10; 49:15).

43.16 Jerusalem cried out and said to the LORD: *Lord, turn back our captivity* (Ps. 125:4).

43.17 But the LORD said to her: *Are you beseeching again for those who led you astray?*

43.18 *Did they not take my sons and my daughters and pass them through fire? Did not Manasseh fill me with blood from mouth to mouth? Because of him did I also bring my anger on you* (2Ki. 17:17)?

43.19 And the LORD swore to Jerusalem concerning the Gentiles saying: *As I live, says the Master, the Lord of Hosts, that the Gentiles by which it was torn down, by the same it shall be built.*

43.20 *And you shall wear all of them, and you shall put them on as the adornment of a bride* (Isa. 49:17, 18).

43.21 And the Lord said to Jerusalem: *Put on your strength. Behold I have written you on my hands, and your walls are always before me.*

43.22 *And I will gather your children from the east and west and north and south, because your deserts and ruined places now will be too crowded for the children of those dwelling in you, and the ones who devour you will be put far away from you.*

43.23 *And your sons shall say to you: The place is narrow for me. Now make me a place where I can live.*

43.24 *And you shall say in your heart: Who has begotten these for me? I was childless and a widow, and who has reared these for me?*

43.25 *And the Lord said to Jerusalem: Behold I will lift my hand to the Gentiles, and I will lift a signal to the islands, and they shall bring your sons in their bosom.*

43.26 *Your daughters they shall lift on their shoulders and your nursing ones shall be kings, and they shall bow to you upon the face of the earth.*

43.27 *And you shall know that I am the LORD* (Isa. 49:16-23).

## 44.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πῶς οὖν ὁ αὐτὸς προφήτης λέγει τὰ ἐπόμενα οὕτως ἐμβλέψατε εἰς Ἄβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν καὶ εἰς Σάρραν τὴν ὠδίνουσαν ὑμᾶς· ὅτι εἰς ἦν, καὶ εὐλόγησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπλήθυνα αὐτὸν καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτόν.

2. πῶς σὺ λέγεις ὅτι ἀπώσατο τὸ γένος τοῦ Ἄβραάμ;

3. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἔστιν μὲν πολλοστῶς ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ὅτι ἀφείλεν ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

4. βασιλεύοντος γὰρ τοῦ Ἀμῶς υἱοῦ Μανασσῆ οὕτως εἶπεν ὁ θεός, καὶ γε τὸν Ἰούδαν ἀποστήσω ἀπὸ προσώπου μου καθὼς ἀπέστησα τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

5. τὸν γὰρ Ἰσραήλ κύριος παρέδωκεν εἰς χεῖρας Σενναχηρίμ καὶ Ἀναχόρδα βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων· καὶ μετῴκηθησαν εἰς Ἀσσυρίους, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, καὶ γε τὸν Ἰούδαν παρέδωκεν κύριος εἰς χεῖρας Ναβουχοδονόσωρ, βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ μετῴκησεν αὐτοὺς ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης.

6. μὴ ἐρεῖς μοι, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο ταῦτα;

7. καὶ πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ διαμαρτυρούμενος ὑμᾶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἄκουσον, λαός μου, καὶ διαμαρτύρομαί σοι·

8. Ἰσραήλ, ἐὰν ἀκούσης μου, οὐκ ἔσται ἐν σοὶ θεὸς πρόσφατος, οὐδὲ προσκυνήσεις θεῷ ἄλλοτρίῳ· ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου ὁ ἀναγαγὼν σε ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου·

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9. πλάτυνον τὸ στόμα σου, καὶ πληρώσω αὐτό.

10. καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν ὁ λαός μου τῆς φωνῆς μου, καὶ Ἰσραήλ οὐ προσέσχεν μοι·

11. καὶ ἐξαπέστειλα αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν, πορεύονται ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτῶν·

12. ἰδοὺ ἐξαπέστειλα αὐτοὺς. καὶ γε πάλιν ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα οὕτως περιέχει καθὼς σοι εἶπα τὰ ἀκόλουθα· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εἰπεῖν κύριον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὅτι ἔσονται βασιλεῖς τιθηνοὶ σου καὶ ἄρχουσαι τροφοὶ σου, καὶ προσκυνήσουσίν σοι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ γνώση ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος,

13. τότε ἐπάγει λέγων κύριος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, καὶ ὠδε πάλιν ὀνειδίζων αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν σκληροκαρδίαν αὐτῶν οὕτως λέγει αὐτοῖς ἰδοὺ πάντες ὑμεῖς ὡς πῦρ καίεσθε καὶ κατισχύετε φλόγα πυρός·

14. ἔλεγεν πορεύεσθε τῷ φωτὶ τοῦ πυρός καὶ τῇ φλογί, ἣ ἐξεκαύσατε· δι' ἐμὲ ἐγένετο ταῦτα, ἐν λύπῃ ὑμεῖς κοιμηθήσεσθε.

15. καὶ ὡς ἐξουδενῶν διὰ τὸ ἀναγινώσκειν αὐτοὺς τὸν νόμον καὶ μὴ ἐπιγινώσκειν

44:1 The Jew said: Why then does the same prophet say what follows thus: *Look to Abraham your Father and to Sarah who bore you. Because he was just one and I blessed him, and I multiplied him, and I loved him* (Isa. 51:2).

44:2 How can you say that he thrust away the race of Abraham?

44:3 The Christian said: According to the divine Scriptures it can be seen in many ways that God has taken away the kingdom from the Hebrews and has given it to the Gentiles through Jesus.

44:4 For when Amon the son of Manasseh was ruling, God spoke thus: *And I will also withdraw my presence from Judah, as I withdrew from Israel* (2Ki. 23:27).

44:5 The Lord handed over Israel into the hand of Senaccherib and Anachord King of the Assyrians, and they were deported into Assyria unto this day. And the Lord handed over Judah into the hands of Nebuchanezzar, king of Babylon, and he deported them until this day.

44:6 Will you say to me, O Jew, that these things did not take place?

44:7 And again through David, testifying against you, he says: *Listen, my people, and I will testify against you.*

44:8 *Israel, if you will hear, God will certainly not be among you, neither shall you worship another god. For I am the Lord your God, the one who led you up from the land of Egypt.*

44:9 *Widen your mouth and I will fill it.*

44:10 *But my people did not listen to my voice and Israel did not heed me.*

44:11 *So I sent them away according to the practices of their hearts, and they shall walk in their own practices. Behold I sent them away* (Ps. 80:9-13).

44:12 Again in Isaiah it is contained that which follows just as I spoke to you. For after this, the Lord spoke through the prophet to Jerusalem: *Your nursing ones shall be kings, and your queens shall be nurses, and they shall fall before you upon the land, and you shall know that I am the Lord* (Isa. 49:23).

44:13 Then the Lord adds by saying to the Jews through the prophet again reproaching them because of their hardness of heart, and he speaks thus to them: *Behold all of you are burning as fire, and you are fanning the flame of fire.*

44:14 He was saying: *Go by the light of the fire and by the flame which you kindled. Because of me these things took place. In sorrow you shall abide* (Isa. 50:11).

44:15 And despising them because they read the law and did not understand,

**16.** ἔλεγεν μυκτηρίζων αὐτοὺς ἀκούσατέ μου, οἱ διώκοντες τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ζητοῦντες τὸν κύριον, ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὴν στερεὰν πέτραν, ἣν ἐλατομήσατε, καὶ εἰς τὸν βόθυνον τοῦ λάκκου, ὃν ὠρύξατε.

**17.** ἐμβλέψατε εἰς Ἀβραάμ τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν καὶ εἰς Σάρραν τὴν ὠδίνουσαν ὑμᾶς· ὅτι εἰς ἣν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπλήθυνα αὐτὸν καὶ ἠγάπησα αὐτόν.

**18.** τῇ δὲ Σιών παράκλησιν αἰωνίαν διδούς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἐπειδὴ ὠνείδησεν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ διὰ τὴν ἀπειθειαν αὐτῶν,

**19.** τὴν δὲ Σιών χαροποιῶν ἔλεγεν καὶ σε νῦν παρακαλέσω, Σιών, καὶ καλέσω τὰ ἔρημά σου ὡς παράδεισον κυρίου· εὐφροσύνη καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα εὐρήσουσίν σε, ἐξομολόγησις καὶ φωνὴ αἰνέσεως.

**20.** τοῖς δὲ υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἔλεγεν κύριος δι' ὑμᾶς τὸ ὄνομά μου βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

**21.** τῆς δὲ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔτι κλαιούσης, εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἰλεὼς σοι, ταπεινὴ καὶ ἀκατάστατος, οὐ παρεκλήθης,

**22.** ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐτοιμάζω τὸν λίθον σου ἄνθρακα καὶ τὰ θεμέλιά σου σάπφειρον καὶ θήσω τὰς ἐπάλξεις σου ἰασπιν καὶ τὰς πύλας σου λίθου κρυστάλλου καὶ τὸν περίβολόν σου λίθους ἐκλεκτοὺς

**23.** καὶ πάντας τοὺς υἱοὺς σου διδακτοὺς θεοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῇ εἰρήνῃ ἔσται τὰ τέκνα σου, καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ οἰκοδομηθήσῃ.

**24.** καὶ εἶπεν κύριος τοῖς ἐξ ἔθνῶν ἐπὶ κύριον ἐστὶν κληρονομία τοῖς ἐπιζητοῦσιν κύριον, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι ἅγιοι, λέγει κύριος.

**25.** ἀκούσατέ μου καὶ ἐντροφήσει ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν· καὶ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην αἰώνιον καὶ δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά.

**26.** ἰδοὺ μαρτύριον ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν δέδωκα αὐτόν.

#### **45.**

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τῷ Δαυὶδ ὤμοσεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς λέγων ἅπαξ ὤμοσα ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ μου·

**2.** εἰ τῷ Δαυὶδ ψεύσομαι τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μενεῖ καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος ἐναντίον μου, καὶ ὡς ἡ σελήνη κατηρτισμένη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

**3.** ὁμόσας οὖν ὁ θεὸς ἀπαιτεῖ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους· ἢ οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει ἕαν ἐγκαταλίπωσιν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν νόμον μου καὶ τοῖς κρίμασίν μου μὴ πορευθῶσιν,

44:16 He was mocking them: *Listen you who pursue righteousness, and seek the Lord. Look to the solid rock, from which you were hewn, and to the hole of the pit from which you were dug.*

44:17 *Look to Abraham your father, and to Sarah who bore you. Because he was one, and I called him and increased him and I loved him (Isa. 51:1,2).*

44:18 The Lord God gave eternal consolation to Zion, since he reproached the sons of Israel because of their disobedience.

44:19 And being gracious to Zion, he was saying: *And now I will comfort you, Zion, and I will call your deserts the paradise of the LORD. Rejoicing and happiness shall find you, thanksgiving and the voice of praise (Isa. 50:3).*

44:20 The Lord told the sons of Israel: *Because of you my name is blasphemed among the Gentiles (Isa. 52:5).*

44:21 And while Jerusalem was still crying, the Lord said to her: *I will be gracious to you, you who are humble and afflicted, you who have not been comforted.*

44:22 *Behold I am preparing your stone of carbuncle, and your foundations as sapphire, and I will place your quarters as jasper, and your gates as crystal stones, and your border as chosen stones.*

44:23 *And all your sons shall be taught by God, and your children shall have great peace, and in righteousness you shall be built (Isa. 54:11,14).*

44:24 And the Lord said to those of the Gentiles: *The Lord is the inheritance of those who seek the Lord. And you shall be my holy ones, says the Lord (Isa. 54:17).*

44:25 *Listen to me and your soul shall revel in the good things. And I will make with you an everlasting covenant, and I will give you the faithful mercies of David.*

44:26 *Behold I have given you as a witness to the Gentiles (Isa. 55:2-4).*

45:1 The Jew said: The Lord swore to David saying: *Once I have sworn by my holy one. I will not lie to David.*

45:2 *His seed will remain forever, and his throne as the sun before me and as the moon is established forever (Ps. 88:36-38).*

45:3 Therefore, God having sworn an oath demands payment on his words and vows. Or, do you not know that in the same psalm, he says: *If his sons forsake my law, and do not walk according to my judgments,*

4. ἐὰν τὰ δικαιώματά μου βεβηλώσουσιν καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς μου μὴ φυλάξωσιν, ἐπισκέψομαι ἐν ῥάβδῳ τὰς ἀνομίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν μαστιγῇ τὰς ἀδικίας αὐτῶν. τὸ δὲ ἔλεός μου οὐ μὴ διασκεδάσω ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἀδικήσω ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μου οὐδ' οὐ μὴ βεβηλώσω τὴν διαθήκην μου καὶ τὰ ἐκπορευόμενα διὰ τῶν χειλέων μου οὐ μὴ ἀθετήσω.

5. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ὀρθῶς πάντα καὶ κατὰ τάξιν ἐλάλησας. παρακαλῶ δέ σε τοῦτο ἀνάγγελλον μοι· ἐρωτῶ γάρ σε ποῦ νῦν ἐστὶν ὁ θρόνος Δαυὶδ ὁ ξύλινος, λέγω δὴ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ὃν ἐκαθέζετο βασιλεύων;

6. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα γὰρ γράφει αὐτὸν εἶναι, οὕτως ὡς τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην κατηρητισμένην εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

7. μὴ τί γε δύνασαι δεῖξαι μοι τὸν θρόνον Σολομῶντος τὸν ἐλεφάντινον ὃν ἐποίησεν.

8. ποῦ δὲ κρατεῖ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος βασιλείας; εἰ ταῦτα δείξης, γνωστὸν ἔσται πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι περὶ τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους ταῦτα ἐλαλήθη ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ οὐ περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν.

#### 46.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐκοῦν δύνασαι ἀποδείξαι ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ταῦτα εἶπεν;

2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἡ γραφὴ σοι ἀποδείκνυσιν, μὴ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀπὸ εὐρησιλογίας ταῦτα ἔχω ἀποδείξει· γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὀγδοηκοστῷ ὀγδῶ ψαλμῷ οὕτως τὰ ἐλέη σου, κύριε, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἄσσομαι, εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν ἀπαγγελῶ τὴν ἀληθειάν σου ἐν τῷ στόματί μου·

3. ὅτι εἶπας· εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἔλεος οἰκοδομηθήσεται·

4. ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐτοιμασθήσεται ἡ ἀληθείά σου.

5. διεθέμην διαθήκην τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς μου, ὡμοσα Δαυὶδ τῷ δούλῳ μου, ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐτοιμάσω τὸ σπέρμα σου, καὶ οἰκοδομήσω εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν τὸν θρόνον σου.

6. ἐξομολογήσονται οἱ οὐρανοὶ τὰ θαυμάσιά σου, κύριε, καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀληθειάν σου ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἁγίων.

7. Γνώθι οὖν, ὦ Ἰουδαίε, ὅτι τῷ μὲν Δαυὶδ διέθετο κύριος, πληρώσει δὲ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, τουτέστιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστευοντι ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαῶ·

8. καθὼς ἐν ἐτέρῳ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν, κύριε, καὶ τῷ ὄνοματί σου ψαλῶ.

9. τὸ δὲ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἐτοιμασθήσεται ἡ ἀληθείά σου τοῦτο σημαίνει·

45.4 *and if they profane my ordinances and do not keep my commandments, I will visit their iniquities with a rod, and with a scourge for their unrighteous deeds. But my mercy I will never remove from them, neither will I ever unjustly treat my truth. Neither will I ever profane my covenant, and the things that go out through my lips, I will never disavow* (Psa. 88:31-35).

45.5 The Christian said: You have spoken all things accurately and in order. But I exhort you, tell me this. I ask you now, when was the throne of David made of wood? I speak of the royal throne upon which he was sitting when he was reigning.

45.6 He writes that it is: *As the sun and the moon are established forever* (Ps. 88:37).

45.7 Indeed, you are not able to show me the ivory throne of Solomon which he made.

45.8 And where does the royal race of the Hebrews rule? If you can show these things, it will be known to all men that these things were spoken by the Lord about the race of the Hebrews, and not about the Gentiles.

46.1 The Jew said: Can you show that he spoke these things about the Gentiles?

46.2 The Christian said: The scripture indeed shows you, for do I have anything to show you from ingenious explanations? For it is written in the same eighty eighth psalm, *I will sing of your mercies, O Lord, for ever: I will declare your truth with my mouth from generation to generation.*

46.3 *For you have said: Mercy shall be built up for ever.*

46.4 *Your truth shall be prepared in the heavens.*

46.5 *I made a covenant with my chosen ones and I swore unto David my servant. I will establish your seed for ever, and build up your throne to all generations.*

46.6 *The heavens shall declare your wonders, O Lord, and your truth in the assembly of the saints* (Ps. 88:2-6).

46.7 Know, therefore, O Jew, that the Lord made a covenant with David that he will fulfill the blessing which he promised to his seed, that is to Jesus and to everyone from the people of the Gentiles who believe in him.

46.8 As it is written in another psalm: *For this reason I will confess you among the Gentiles, O Lord, and I will sing to your name* (Ps. 17:50).

46.9 And when he says: *Your truth shall be prepared in the heavens* (Ps. 88:3), signifies this:

- 10.** δῆλον ὅτι ἀλήθεια ὁ Χριστός ἐστίν· καθὼς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα λέγει καὶ ἔσται ἀληθεία εἰλημμένος τὰς πλευρὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐξωσμένος τὴν ὄσφυν αὐτοῦ·
- 11.** καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ Δαυὶδ λέγει ἀλήθεια ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνέτειλεν, καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκυψεν, ἀλήθεια δὲ οἰκοδομουμένη ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἦν Μωυσῆς εἶδεν,
- 12.** ἥς καὶ τὸ ἀντίτυπον προσετάγη ποιῆσαι.
- 13.** ὅρα γὰρ φησι ποιήσεις πάντα κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει.
- 14.** τὰ ἀντίτυπα οὖν τῶν ἀληθινῶν ποιήσας Μωυσῆς, ἔδωκεν τῷ κατὰ σάρκα Ἰσραήλ.
- 15.** τὰ δὲ ἀληθινὰ τὰ ὅσια Δαυὶδ τὰ πιστά, ὃν καὶ ἔδωκεν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,
- 16.** ὃν καὶ ἐζητήσαμεν, τὸν Δαυὶδ τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν·
- 17.** περὶ οὗ καὶ ὤμοσεν κύριος τῷ Δαυίδ·
- 18.** οὗ καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν θαλάσῃ τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ἐν ποταμοῖς δεξιάν.
- 19.** ὃν καὶ ἔθηκεν κύριος πρωτότοκον, καὶ ὑψηλὸν παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τῆς γῆς.
- 20.** ᾧ καὶ ἐφύλαξεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἔλεος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ τὴν διαθήκην πιστὴν ἔστησεν αὐτῷ. καὶ οὐκ ὠφέλησεν ἐχθρὸς ἐν αὐτῷ. ἀλλὰ καὶ συγκόψας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ ἐτροπώσατο αὐτούς.
- 21.** ὃν καὶ ἀνδρα ἀνατολὴν ἐκάλεσεν κύριος διὰ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου·
- 22.** ἔδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἔθνεσιν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον ὃς ἐστὶν Χριστὸς κύριος.

#### 47.

- 1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν ὁ θεός, ἢ πῶς;
- 2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ σάρκα ἀνέλαβεν ἐκτῆς ἀγίας παρθένου Καρίας διὰ πνεύματος ἀγίου ὡς αὐτὸς ἠθέλησεν, καθὼς καὶ πρῶην εἶπαμεν περὶ τούτων.
- 3.** μαρτυρήσει δέ μοι περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Ἰερεμίας ὁ προφήτης λέγων οὗτος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, οὐ λογισθήσεται ἕτερος πρὸς αὐτόν.
- 4.** ἐξηῦρεν πᾶσαν ὁδὸν ἐπιστήμης, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν Ἰακώβ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ·
- 5.** μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη.
- 6.** καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τοπῷ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰερεμίας λέγει ἄνθρωπος ἐστίν, καὶ τίς γινώσκει αὐτόν;
- 7.** καὶ πάλιν ἐν Δαυίδ οὕτως λεγεί μῆτηρ Σιών, ἐρεῖ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη ἐν αὐτῇ. καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεμελίωσεν αὐτὴν ὁ ὕψιστος.

46.10 It is evident that the Messiah is "Truth." As he also says in Isaiah: *He shall be one whose sides are clothed with truth, one girding his waist with righteousness* (Isa. 11:5).

46.11 And again he says in David: *Truth sprang up from the earth and righteousness looked down from heaven* (Ps. 85:11). And in heaven truth was built up as Moses saw.

46.12 Which he was commanded to build as an "antitype."

46.13 For he said: *See that you make all things in accordance with the type which was shown to you in the mountain* (Exod. 25:40).

46.14 Therefore, Moses made the antitypes of the genuine things and gave them to Israel in physical form.

46.15 And the true and faithful mercies to David he also gave to the Gentiles,

46.16 whom also we have sought after, David our king.

46.17 Concerning whom the Lord swore to David.

46.18 *He has put his hand in the sea and his right hand in the rivers.*

46.19 *Who also the Lord appointed as his firstborn, the highest one among the kings of the earth.*

46.20 *For whom also he guarded and appointed his mercy forever and his faithful covenant. And no enemy has prevailed over him. But also he has cut down his enemies and scattered them* (Ps. 88:23-29 freely).

46.21 This is the man the Lord called the *Branch* through the prophet Zechariah.

46.22 The Lord God gave to the Gentiles Jesus the Nazarene\* who is Christ the Lord. (Zech. 6:12 and Mat. 2:23).

47.1 The Jew said: Did God become a man, or what?

47.2 The Christian said: Certainly not! But he did take up flesh from the virgin Mary through the Holy Spirit as He willed, as we have said earlier about these matters.

47.3 And Jeremiah the prophet will testify of the Messiah's incarnation, saying: *This is our God and no one will be compared to him.*

47.4 *He searched out the way of knowledge and he gave it to Jacob his servant and to Israel his beloved one.*

47.5 *After these things he appeared on the earth and dwelt among people* (Baruch 3:36-38).

47.6 The same Jeremiah also says in another place: *He is a man and who will know him* (Jer. 17:9)?

47.7 And again in David, he says this: *A man shall say: Zion (is a) Mother. And a man was born in her and the Highest himself has founded her* (Ps. 86:5).

**8.** καὶ γε Ἡσαΐας περὶ τούτου οὕτως λέγει ἔκοπίασεν Αἴγυπτος καὶ ἔμπορειαι Αἰθιοπῶν, καὶ Σαβαῖν ἄνδρες ὑψηλοὶ σοὶ ἔσονται κληρῶς· εἰς σε διαβήσονται, καὶ ἐν σοὶ προσεύξονται καὶ σοὶ προσκυνήσουσιν δεδεμένοι χειροπέδαις.

**9.** ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ὁ θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν θεὸς πλὴν σου· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ θεός καὶ οὐκ ἠδεῖμεν, θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ σωτήρ.

#### 48.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ταῦτα διὰ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας.

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τί γὰρ περιεπάτει Ἱερουσαλὴμ αὕτη ὅτι εἶχον ἀκολουθῆσαι αὐτῇ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ οἱ Σαβαῖν ἄνδρες;

**3.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐκ αὐτῇ εἶχον ἀκολουθῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῆς.

**4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ποίοις νομίμοις;

**5.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τοῖς ὑπὸ Μωυσέως δοθεῖσιν ἐν Χωρῆβ.

**6.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καὶ διὰ τί παρέδωκεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας ἀλλοφύλων καὶ Μωαβιτῶν;

**7.** καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ Σουβά; καὶ πάλιν εἰς χεῖρας Μαδιάμ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κύκλῳ ὑμῶν;

**8.** μὴ ἀδίκως ὁ θεὸς ταῦτα ἐποίησεν; μὴ γένοιτο.

**9.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ τίνοι οὖν ἠκολούθησαν; εἰπέ ἡμῖν.

**10.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἶ ἔστιν ἔθνος ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἡ φυλὴ, ἡ γλῶσσα, ἣτις οὐ πορεύεται ὀπίσω τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τάχα ἦν ἂν φαντασία τὰ προφητευθέντα.

**11.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· περὶ τούτου τί εἶπον οἱ προφῆται;

**12.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ἄρα οὐ γινώσκεις τί γέγραπται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν; λέγει γὰρ οὕτως ζῶ ἐγὼ λέγει κύριος, ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψι πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ θεῷ. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ οὕτως λέγει καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσσαι αὐτῷ δουλεύσουσιν, ὅτι ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ βασιλεία αἰώνιος, ἣτις οὐ παρελεύσεται, καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἣτις οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

**13.** καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ Δαυὶδ λέγει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ὅσα ἐποίησας, ἤξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν ἐνώπιόν σου, κύριε, καὶ δοξάσουσιν τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὅτι μέγας εἶ σὺ καὶ ποιῶν θαυμάσια· σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος.

**14.** ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἡσαΐα ὅτι ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἐμφανὲς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου, καὶ ὁ οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπεράνω τῶν βουνῶν,

47.8 Indeed Isaiah also speaks about this one: *Egypt has labored and the merchandise of the Ethiopians, and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall be your portion. They will come over to you, and they will pray to you and will bow before you bound in fetters.*

47.9 *Because God is in you, and there is no God besides you. For you are God, yet we did not know it, the God of Israel, the Savior (Isa. 45:14,15).*

48.1 The Jew said: Isaiah spoke these things about Jerusalem.

48.2 The Christian said: Was Jerusalem herself then physically walking around so that the Egyptians and Ethiopians and the Sabeans could follow her?

48.3 The Jew said: They did not have to follow her, but her commandments.

48.4 The Christian said: Which commandments?

48.5 The Jew said: Those that were given by Moses at Horeb.

48.6 The Christian said: Then why did the Lord God hand you over into the hands of foreigners and Moabites?

48.7 And also to King Soba? And again into the hands of Midian and to the rest of the Gentiles around you?

48.8 Did God do these things unjustly? Certainly not!

48.9 The Jew said: Then why did they\* follow? Tell us.

48.10 The Christian said: If there is a nation under heaven or race or tongue which does not have people following the Lord Jesus Christ, then perhaps those things that were prophesied would be a delusion.\*

48.11 The Jew said: Did the prophets then speak about this one?

48.12 The Christian said: Do you not know what has been written in the book of the Twelve Prophets? For he speaks thus: *As I live, says the Lord, every knee shall bow to me and every tongue shall confess to God (Isa. 45:23, not the "Twelve").* And again in Daniel he says: *All the peoples, tribes and tongues shall serve him, because his kingdom is an eternal kingdom which will not pass away, and which also will not be destroyed (Dan. 7:14 TH).*

48.13 Again in David he says: *All the Gentiles which you have made will come and worship before you, O Lord, and will glorify your name, because you are great and do wonders. You alone are God (Ps. 85:9,10).*

48.14 And in Isaiah: *It shall be in the last days that the mountain of the Lord will be manifest, and the house of God will be above the hills.*

**15.** καὶ ἤξουσιν λαοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ ἐροῦσιν δεῦτε, ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου καὶ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ἡμῖν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πορευώμεθα ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅτι ἐκ Σιών ἐξελεύσεται νόμος, καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ.

**49.**

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐχ οὕτως εἶπον καγὼ ὅτι τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῆς ἠκολούθησαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ οἱ Σαβαῖν ἄνδρες;

**2.** ἰδοὺ καὶ νῦν τὰ αὐτὰ εἶπας ἐξελεύσεσθαι νόμον ἐκ Σιών καὶ λόγον κυρίου ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ.

**3.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· περὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ τῆς παλαιᾶς ἧς τὸν λόγον ποίεις, ἧς ὠκοδόμησεν Σολομών, ἄκουσον περὶ ταύτης καὶ ἄκουσον πάλιν καὶ περὶ τῆς νέας Ἱερουσαλήμ.

**4.** πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, περὶ ἧς λέγεις, ὠνειδίσειν ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀπώσατο αὐτὴν ὁ κύριος, διὰ Ὡσιε λέγων οὕτως εἶπατε τῷ λαῷ μου, οὐ λαὸς μου καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἠλεημένη.

**5.** κριθῆτε πρὸς τὴν μητέρα ὑμῶν, κριθῆτε, ὅτι αὐτὴ οὐκ ἐμοί, καγὼ οὐκ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς—δὶ' ὅτι πορνεύουσα ἐκπεπόρνευκεν ὀπίσω τῶν ἐραστῶν αὐτῆς, ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐπελάθετο, λέγει κύριος.

**6.** καὶ εἶπε πορευέσομαι ὀπίσω τῶν ἐραστῶν μου τῶν διδόντων μοι τὸν σίτον μου καὶ τὸν οἶνον μου καὶ τὸ ἐλαιὸν μου καὶ τὰ ὀθονιά μου καὶ πάντα ὅσα μοι καθήκει.

**7.** καὶ αὐτὴ οὐκ ἔγνω ὅτι ἐγὼ ἔδωκα αὐτῇ τὸν σίτον καὶ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸ ἐλαιον, ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον ἐπλήθυνα αὐτῇ· αὐτὴ δὲ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ ἐποίησεν τῇ Βάαλ.

**8.** καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀναφράσω τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῆς ἐν σκόλοψιν καὶ τὰς τρίβους αὐτῆς ἐν λίθοις, καὶ οὐ μὴ εὔρη τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῆς· καὶ καταδιώξεται τοὺς ἐραστὰς αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ μὴ καταλάβῃ αὐτούς, καὶ ἀποκαλύψω τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτῆς ἀπέναντι τῶν ἐραστῶν αὐτῆς,

**9.** καὶ οὐδεὶς οὐ μὴ ἐξελεῖται αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς μου· καὶ ἀποκτείνω αὐτὴν ἐν δίψει· καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς οὐ μὴ ἐλεήσω.

**10.** ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἡσαΐα, μετὰ τὸ ἀφελεῖν αὐτῆς τὸν κόσμον τὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν καὶ τὰ ἐμπλόκια καὶ τοὺς κοσμήτους καὶ τοὺς μνησκούς καὶ τὸ κάθισμα καὶ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ κόσμου τῆς δοξῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς χλιδῶνας καὶ τὰ ψέλλια καὶ τὰ ἐμπλόκια καὶ τὰ περιδέξια καὶ τοὺς δακτυλίους

48.15 *And many peoples and Gentiles will come and say: Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob. He will announce to us his way and let us go in it. For from Zion will go forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem (Isa. 2:2,3).*

49.1 The Jew said: Did I not also say that the Egyptians, Ethiopians and Sabeans were following her commandments?

49.2 Behold, you also have said that the Law will go forth from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

49.3 The Christian said: Concerning the old Jerusalem about which you are discoursing, which Solomon built, hear about this city and also hear again about the new Jerusalem.

49.4 First, concerning her about which you are speaking, the Lord reproached and at the same time rejected her saying through Hosea: *Say to my people: (You are) not my people and to your sister: Not pitied.*

49.5 *Condemn your Mother; condemn her, because she is not mine. And I am not her husband – because she has gone fornicating after her lovers and she has forgotten me, says the Lord.*

49.6 *She has said: I will go after my lovers who give me my wheat and wine and oil and wages and everything I need.*

49.7 *And she did not recognize that I was the one who gave her the wheat and wine and oil, I multiplied her silver and gold. But she made the silver and gold into a Baal.*

49.8 *Behold I will hedge up her way with thorns and her paths with stones, so that she cannot find her way. And she will pursue her lovers but will not overtake them, so I will reveal her shame in the presence of her lovers.*

49.9 *And no one will be able to rescue her from my hand. And I will kill her with thirst and I will show no mercy to her children (Hosea 2:1-11 freely).*

49.10 *And in Isaiah: Afterward he will take away her adornment and gold and garments, the curls and the fringes, and the crescents, and the chains, and the ornaments of their faces, and the array of glorious ornaments, and her daughters, and the bracelets, and the wreathed work, and the finger-rings,*

καὶ τὰ ἐνώτια καὶ τὰ περιπόρφυρα καὶ τὰ ἐπιβλήματα κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ λακωνικὰ καὶ τὰ βύσσινα καὶ τὰ ὑακίνθινα καὶ τὰ κόκκινα καὶ τὴν βύσσον σὺν χρυσῷ καὶ ὑακίνθῳ συνκαθυφασμένα καὶ θέριστρα κλίτα,

**11.** καὶ δούς κύριος ὁ θεὸς ταῖς θυγατρᾶσιν αὐτῆς ἀντὶ ὀσμῆς ἡδείας κονιορτόν, καὶ ἀντὶ χιτῶνος μεσοπορφύρου σάκκον, καὶ ἀντὶ ζώνης σχοινίον, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῆς κεφαλῆς φαλάκρωμα,

**12.** εἶπεν κύριος αὐτῇ πεσεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῆς ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ αὐτὴν μόνην καταλειφθῆναι, καὶ εἰς γῆν ἔδαφισθῆναι.

**13.** καὶ πάλιν εἶπε περὶ αὐτῆς ἐγκαταλειφθήσεται ἡ θυγάτηρ Σιών ὡς σκηνὴ ἐν ἀμπελῶνι καὶ ὡς ὄπωροφυλάκιον ἐν σικυρηάτῳ.

**14.** καὶ Μιχαίας εἶπε περὶ αὐτῆς οὕτως Σιών ἀροτριωμένη ἀροτριωθήσεται ὡς ἀγρός τις.

**15.** ὁ δὲ Ἰεζεκιὴλ πάλιν οὕτως εἶπε καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς με λέγων υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, στήρισον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἀνάγγειλον αὐτῇ τὰς ἀδικίας αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτὴν

**16.** τάδε λέγει Ἄδωναι κύριος, ἡ γέννησίς σου οὕτως ἐστίν. ὁ πατὴρ σου Χετταῖος, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ σου Ἀμορραία.

**17.** καὶ σὺ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἧ ἐγεννήθης ὕδατι οὐκ ἐλούσθης καὶ ἄλατι οὐκ ἠλίσθης, καὶ οἱ μασθοὶ σου οὐκ ὠρθώθησαν καὶ ἦσθα γυμνὴ καὶ πεφυρμένη ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου, καὶ ἦσθα ἐριμμένη γυμνὴ καὶ ἀσχημονοῦσα ἐπὶ προσώπου τοῦ πεδίου.

**18.** καὶ διήλθοσαν διὰ σου οἱ ἐρασταὶ σου καὶ ἀντιπαρήλθοσάν σε.

**19.** καὶ ἐγὼ ἐξεπέτασα πρὸς σε τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ ἐσκέπασα τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην σου καὶ ἔλουσά σε ὕδατι καὶ ἔδωκα ἐπὶ σε ἄλας, καὶ ἤλειψά σε ἐλαίῳ,

**20.** καὶ ἐνέδυσά σε ἱμάτια, καὶ ἔδωκα κλοιὸν χρύσειον περὶ τοῦ τραχήλου σου καὶ ἐνώτια ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν σου καὶ τροχίσκους εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου καὶ ἄγκιστρον ἐν τοῖς μυκτῆρσί σου καὶ στέφανον καυχήσεως ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σου

**21.** μέλι καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ σεμίδαλιν ἐψώμισά σε, καὶ ὠραιώθης καὶ ἐγένου καλὴ σφόδρα καὶ εἰσῆλθα πρὸς σε ἐν διαθήκῃ μου καὶ εἶπά σοι οὐ γενήσῃ ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ.

**22.** σὺ δὲ ἐγκατέλειπας με καὶ ἐπελάθου μου, λέγει Ἄδωναι κύριος, καὶ ὠκοδόμησας τὰς πορνείας σου ἐν πάσῃ πλατείᾳ, καὶ τὰ ὑπερῶά σου ἐν πάσῃ παρόδῳ,

**23.** καὶ ἐξέχεας τὴν πορνείαν σου καὶ παρήγαγες τὰ σκέλη σου παντὶ ἀνδρὶ

49.10 (cont.) *and the ornaments for the right hand, and the ear-rings, and the garments with scarlet borders, and the garments with purple grounds, and the shawls to be worn in the house, and the foreign transparent dresses, and those made of fine linen, and the purple ones, and the scarlet ones, and the fine linen, interwoven with gold and purple, and the light coverings for couches.*

49.11 *And the Lord God will give to her daughters instead of a sweet smell, dust, and instead of a girdle, you shall gird yourself with a rope and instead of an adornment for the head, baldness.*

49.12 *The Lord said to her that her sons would fall by the sword and she would be left alone and be leveled with the ground (Isa. 3:17-26 freely).*

49.13 *And again he spoke about her: The daughter of Zion shall be deserted as a tent in a vineyard, and as a storehouse of fruits in a garden of cucumbers (Isa. 1:8).*

49.14 *Micah also spoke about her: Zion shall be thoroughly plowed as some field (Mic. 3:12).*

49.15 *And Ezekiel also said: And the word of the Lord came to me, saying: Son of man, set your face against Jerusalem and tell her about her unrighteousness.*

49.16 *And you will say to her: These things say the Lord God: Your genealogy is this. Your father is a Hittite and your mother is an Amorite.*

49.17 *In the day you were born you were not washed with water nor rubbed with salt. Your breasts were not set upright and you were naked and wallowing in your blood, and you were cast out naked and ashamed upon the face of the field.*

49.18 *And your lovers passed on by and ignored you.*

49.19 *But I spread out my hands over you and I covered your shame and washed you with water gave you salt and anointed you with oil.*

49.20 *So I then clothed you and put a gold necklace around your neck and rings in your ears and bracelets on your hands and a hook in your nose and a glorious crown for your head.*

49.21 *I fed you with honey and oil and fine flour and you became beautiful and very lovely. So I entered into my covenant with you and I said that you would never become another man's.*

49.22 *But you forsook me and forgot about me, says the Lord God, and you built places for your fornication in every street and your upper rooms in every side street.*

49.23 *You poured out your fornication and provided your members to every man.*

**24.** και ἔλαβες τὸ χρυσίον μου καὶ τὸ ἀργύριόν μου καὶ ἐποίησας ἑαυτῇ εἰδῶλα, καὶ ἔστησας αὐτὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑπερώοις σου.

**25.** καὶ ἔλαβες ἐκ τῶν ἱματίων μου καὶ ἐνέδυσας αὐτά·

**26.** καὶ ἔλαβες τὴν σεμίδαλην καὶ τὸν οἶνον καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον ἃ ἔδωκά σοι, καὶ ἔσπεισας αὐτοῖς, ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐπελάθου λέγει κύριος κύριος.

**27.** καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθης ἡμέραν νηπιότητός σου ὅτι ἦς γυμνὴ καὶ ἀσχημονοῦσα.

**28.** διὰ τοῦτο ἄκουσον λόγον κυρίου· τάδε λέγει Ἄδωναι κύριος· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐπὶ σε, καὶ ἀφελούμαι τὸ ἀργύριόν μου καὶ τὸ χρυσίον μου καὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου,

**29.** καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω σε γυμνὴν καὶ ἀσχημονοῦσαν κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς νηπιότητός σου.

**30.** ταῦτα πάντα εἶπε κύριος γενέσθαι Ἱερουσαλὴμ τῇ ὑπὸ Σολομώνος γενομένη, καὶ θεωροῦμεν πάντα τὰ τελεσθέντα εἰς αὐτήν.

**31.** Ἀδριανὸς γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐλθὼν ἠύρεν τὴν πόλιν ἐρημωμένην καὶ κατεστραμμένην καὶ ἐμπετυρισμένην (κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ) ὑπὸ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου, καὶ πάντας κατεσφαγμένους μαχαίρᾳ—τότε γὰρ ἔφαγον μητέρες τέκνα—

**32.** οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀδριανός, ὀργισθεὶς, ἔλαβεν τοὺς καταλοιπούς Ἰουδαίους καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς Χεβρών εἰς τινὰ τέλειον καὶ κατέπρασεν αὐτοὺς ἀνά τεσσάρων εἰς μόδιον κριθῆς.

**33.** τοὺς δὲ λίνους τοῦ ναοῦ καθελών, ἐξ αὐτῶν ᾠκοδόμησεν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὸ θέατρον, καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἠγοτρίασεν.

## 50.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐκ ἔτι ἐμνήσθη τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καθὼς εἶπεν Δαυὶδ καὶ Ἡσαΐας, ὡς καὶ σὺ εἶπας.

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· μὴ ἐκκοπὴν δώμεν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ πάντα ἐρῶ σοι.

**3.** περὶ γὰρ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, περὶ ἧς εἶπεν Δαυὶδ ὅτι Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκοδομουμένη ὡς πόλις ἦς ἡ μετοχὴ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, πρῶτον εἶπε τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς λέγων ὄρη Σιών, τὰ πλευρὰ τοῦ βορρᾶ, ἡ πόλις τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου, περὶ ἧς ὁ Σολομὼν λέγει ἐν τοῖς Ἐσθῆσιν ἐλθέ, ἡ πλησίον μου, καλὴ μου, περιστερά μου, ἐλθέ ὑπὸ τὴν σκέπην τῆς πέτρας, ἐχόμενα τοῦ προτειχίσματος.

**4.** ταύτην Ἡσαΐας ἔλεγεν εὐφράνθητι, στείρα ἢ οὐ τίκτουσα, ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον ἢ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα, ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα.

**5.** τὴν δὲ χαρὰν αὐτῆς ἔλεγεν προειδῶς φωτίζου φωτίζου, Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἦκει γὰρ σου τὸ φῶς, καὶ ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐπὶ σε ἀνατελεῖ.

49.24 *You took my gold and silver and made your own idols, and then set them up in your upper rooms.*

49.25 *You took off your own garments and clothed them (the idols).*

49.26 *You took the fine flour and wine and oil which I gave you and you spent them, but you forgot me, says the Lord.*

49.27 *And you forgot the day of your infancy when you were naked and ashamed.*

49.28 *Because of this, hear the word of the Lord. The Lord God says this: Behold I shall come upon you, and I will take away my silver, gold and raiment.*

49.29 *I will then return to you the nakedness and shame of the day of your infancy (Ezek. 16:1-39 freely).*

49.30 The Lord said that all these things would happen to that Jerusalem built by Solomon, and we clearly see all the things that have been fulfilled on it.

49.31 For Hadrian the King came and found in Jerusalem a city that had been desolated and destroyed and burned (as it was written in Isaiah) by Vespasian and Titus and all those in it who had been slain with the sword – for then mothers ate their children!

49.32 Therefore, this same Hadrian was greatly angered and seized the remaining Jews, transferred them to the market fair in Hebron and sold them, more than four for one measure of barley.

49.33 He then took away the stones of the Temple and with them built the wall and the theater and plowed up the Temple.

50.1 The Jew said: You have not yet explained about the city of Jerusalem, if what Isaiah and David spoke is as you have spoken.

50.2 The Christian said: Let us not end this discourse until I tell you all these things.

50.3 Regarding Jerusalem, David spoke about it: *Jerusalem shall be built as a city whose sharing is all together* (Ps. 121:3). He first spoke about its site as *Mount Zion, on the northern side, the city of the great king* (Ps. 47:3). About which Solomon speaks in the Canticles: *Come, my beloved, my fair one, my dove. Come under the shadow of the rock near the wall* (Song 2:14).

50.4 Isaiah was saying this: *Rejoice, O barren one who did not bear, break out and cry, she who did not travail in pain. Because greater are the children of the desolate one than the one who has a husband* (Isa. 54:1).

50.5 And looking ahead, he spoke about her joy: *Shine, shine, O Jerusalem, for your light has come, and the glory of the Lord will rise upon you.*

6. ἰδοὺ γὰρ σκότος καὶ γνόφος καλύψει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, ἐπὶ σε δὲ φανήσεται κύριος,
7. καὶ πορεύσονται βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ φωτί σου καὶ ἔθνη ἐν τῇ λαμπρότητί σου.
8. ἄρον κύκλω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου καὶ ἶδε συνηγμένα τὰ τέκνα σου Ἰερουσαλήμ· ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἤκασιν καὶ ἐπ' ὤμων ἀρθήσονται.
9. τότε ὄψη καὶ ἐκοπήσῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ, ὅτι μεταβαλεῖ ἐπὶ σε κύριος πλοῦτον θαλάσσης καὶ ἐθνῶν καὶ λαῶν.
10. καὶ ἤξουσίν σοι κάμηλοι Μαδιάμ καὶ Γεφάρ, καὶ κριοὶ Ναβεῶθ· πάντες ἐκ Σαβᾶ ἤξουσιν φέροντες χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον, καὶ λίβανον οἰσουςίν σοι·
11. καὶ ἀνενεχθήσεται δεκτὰ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριόν μου, καὶ ὁ οἶκος τῆς προσευχῆς μου δοξασθήσεται.
12. καὶ πλοῖα θαρσεῖς ἤξουσιν, φέροντες τὰ τέκνα σου καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, διὰ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου.
13. καὶ οἰκοδομήσουσιν ἄλλογενεῖς τὰ τείχη σου, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν παραστήσονται σοι· διὰ γὰρ ὀργὴν ἐπάταξά σε καὶ διὰ ἔλεον ἠγάπησά σε.
14. καὶ θήσω σε ἀγαλλίαμα αἰώνιον, καὶ θηλάσεις γάλα ἐθνῶν καὶ πλοῦτον βασιλέων φάγη· καὶ γνώσῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ σώζων σε.
15. ὁ δὲ λαὸς ὁ ἐξ ἐθνῶν, ἰδὼν ὅτι κατηλλάγη αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος, καὶ αὐτὸς πάλιν εὐχαριστῶν κυρίῳ, ἔλεγεν ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ.
16. ἐνέδυσεν γὰρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης· ὡς νυμφίω περιέθηκέν μοι μίτραν καὶ ὡς νύμφην κατεκόσμησέν με κόσμον.
17. καὶ πάλιν ἐκπληρῶν κύριος τὰς ἐπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀγαθὰς τῷ ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαῷ καὶ τῇ Σιών ἔλεγεν διὰ Σιών οὐ σιωπήσομαι καὶ διὰ Ἰερουσαλήμ οὐκ ἀνέξομαι, ἕως ἂν ἐξέλθῃ ὡς φῶς ἡ δικαιοσύνη αὐτῆς, τὸ δὲ σωτήριόν μου ὡς λαμπὰς καυθήσεται.
18. καὶ ὄψονται ἔθνη τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου καὶ βασιλεῖς τὴν δόξαν σου, καὶ καλέσει σε κύριος τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ καινόν, ὃ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

## 51.

1. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καθὼς εἶρηκας νῦν ὅτι ἐπικληθήσεται σοι ὄνομα καινόν, ὃ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, περὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ εἰρηται· Ἰακώβ γὰρ καλούμενος τὸ πρῶτον, μετωνομάσθη ὑπὸ κυρίου Ἰσραήλ.
2. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οὐκ εἶπεν ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἐπεκλήθη σοι ὄνομα καινόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐπικληθήσεται σοι ὄνομα καινόν, ὃ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

50.6 *Behold, darkness and deep darkness will cover all the earth, but the Lord will shine on you.*

50.7 *And kings shall walk in your light and Gentiles in your brightness.*

50.8 *Lift up your eyes round about, and behold your children gathered, Jerusalem. They shall come and be carried on your shoulders.*

50.9 *Then shall you see and be amazed in your heart, for the Lord shall bring the wealth of the sea and of the Gentiles and the peoples to you.*

50.10 *Camels of Midian and Gaepha shall come to you, and the rams of Nabaoth. All from Sabea shall come bearing gold, and shall bring incense to you.*

50.11 *There shall be gathered acceptable sacrifices on my altar, and my house of prayer shall be glorified.*

50.12 *And the ships of Tarshish shall come, bringing your children and silver and gold, for the sake of the holy name of the Lord God.*

50.13 *And foreigners shall build your walls, and their kings shall wait on you. Because of wrath I smote you, and because of mercy I loved you (Isa. 60:1-10).*

50.14 *And I will make you to be an eternal rejoicing, and you shall drink the milk of the Gentiles and eat the riches of kings. And you shall know that I am the Lord who saves you (Isa. 60:15, 16).*

50.15 *And when the people from the Gentiles saw that the Lord was reconciling them, they thanked the Lord and were saying: Let my soul rejoice in the Lord.*

50.16 *He has clothed me with the garment of salvation and the coat of rejoicing. He has placed a miter on me as a bridegroom and has adorned me as a bride (Isa. 61:10).*

50.17 *And the Lord again fulfilling his good promises, spoke about a people from the Gentiles and about Zion: For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until her righteousness goes forth as light, and my salvation burns as a torch.*

50.18 *And Gentiles shall see your righteousness, and kings your glory (Isa. 62:1, 2). And the Lord shall call you a new name, which shall be blessed on the earth (Isa. 65:15).*

51.1 *The Jew said: You have said that now a new name will be given which shall be blessed on the earth. But that was spoken about Jacob. For he was called Jacob at the first, but he was renamed Israel by the Lord.*

51.2 *The Christian said: The scripture did not say: A new name was given to you but he was speaking about the future. A new name will be given to you which shall be blessed upon the earth.*

**3.** περί γάρ ὑμῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ οὕτως εἶπεν ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐγκαταλείποντές με, λέγει κύριος, καὶ ἐπιλανθανόμενοι τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου καὶ ἐτοιμάζοντες τράπεζαν τοῖς δαιμονίοις, καὶ κερνοῦντες τῇ τυχῇ κέρασμα·

**4.** ἐγὼ παραδώσω ὑμᾶς εἰς θάνατον, μαχαίρα πεσεῖσθε, λέγει κύριος.

**5.** καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα ἐπάγει λέγων ἰδοὺ οἱ δουλεύοντές μοι φάγονται, ὑμεῖς δὲ πεινάσεσθε.

**6.** ἰδοὺ οἱ δουλεύοντές μοι πίνονται, ὑμεῖς δὲ διψήσεσθε. ἰδοὺ οἱ δουλεύοντές μοι εὐφρανθήσονται, ὑμεῖς δὲ κεκράξεσθε· ὅτι ἐκάλεσα ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἐπηκούσατέ μου, κεκράξεσθε ἀπὸ πόνου τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν.

**7.** κατελείψατε γάρ τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν εἰς πλησμονὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀνελεῖ κύριος.

**8.** τοῖς δὲ δουλεύουσίν μοι ἐπικληθήσεται ὄνομα καινόν, ὃ εὐλογηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· εὐλογήσουσιν γάρ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἀληθινόν.

**9.** κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς ἔσονται αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ λαοῦ μου· δι' ὅτι σπέρμα ἐστὶν εὐλογημένον ὑπὸ κυρίου, καὶ τὰ ἔγγονα αὐτῶν μετ' αὐτῶν.

**10.** ἔτι λαλοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἐρῶ τί ἐστιν; ἰδοὺ πάρειμι.

**11.** εἰς τὸ τέλος δὲ τῆς βίβλου τῆς προφητείας Ἡσαΐου τῷ μὲν λαῷ τῷ ἐξ ἐθνῶν αἰωνίαν διαθήκην ἔδωκεν, τοῖς δὲ υἱοῖς Ἰακώβ ἔδωκεν ἀδιάλειπτον ἐπίχαρμον καὶ ὄνειδος, εἰπῶν ὃν τρόπον ὁ οὐρανὸς καινὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ καινὴ, ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ, μένει ἐνώπιόν μου, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν λέγει κύριος, καὶ στήσεται τὸ σπέρμα ὑμῶν ἐνώπιόν μου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν, λέγει κύριος.

**12.** καὶ ἔσται μῆνα ἐκ μηνῶν καὶ σάββατον ἐκ σαββάτου καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἦξει πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ προσκυνῆσαι ἐνώπιόν μου, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ.

**13.** καὶ ἐξελεύσονται καὶ ὀψονται τὰ κῶλα τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν παραβεβηκότων ἐν ἐμοί·

**14.** ὁ γὰρ σκώληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν πάση σαρκί.

**15.** ἄρα οὐκ ἐτελέσθησαν ταῦτα πάντα; ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὰ κακά. ἰδοὺ γὰρ βλέπομεν πάντα γεγεννημένα.

**16.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τὸ ὄνομα τὸ καινόν, οὐδέπω ἀπέδειξας ποῦ ὠνομάσθη ἢ ἐπὶ τίνα.

**17.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τὸ ὄνομα τὸ καινόν, τὸ εὐλογημένον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὠνομάσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μαθητῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν πρώτοις ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὅτι ἐχρημάτισαν πρῶτον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς.

51.3 For concerning the sons of Israel, he said: *For you who forsake me, says the Lord, and neglect my holy mountain and who prepare a table for demons and fill up a drink offering to the god of Fortune,*

51.4 *I will deliver you to death and you will fall by the sword, says the Lord (Isa. 65: 11, 12).*

51.5 And a little farther, he brings this forth: *Behold, my servants shall eat, but you shall go hungry.*

51.6 *Behold, my servants shall drink, but you shall thirst. Behold my servants shall rejoice, but you shall cry out. Because I called you and you did not obey, you shall cry for the sorrow of your heart.*

51.7 *For you forsook your name for a loathing among the Gentiles, and the Lord shall destroy you.*

51.8 *But to my servants a new name will be given which will be blessed upon the earth, for they will bless the true God (Isa. 65:13-16).*

51.9 *For the days of my people will be according to the days of the tree of life. They are a seed blessed by the Lord, and their offspring with them (Isa. 65:22).*

51.10 *While he yet speaks, I will say: Who is it? Behold, I am here. (Isa. 65:24).*

51.11 And at the end of Isaiah's book of prophecy, it is said that to the people from the Gentiles he gave an everlasting covenant, but to the sons of Jacob he gave everlasting malignant joy and reproach. He spoke of *the new heaven and earth, which things I make and they remain before me. And your name, says the Lord, and your seed shall stand before me, says the Lord.*

51.12 *And it shall be that from month to month and from Sabbath to Sabbath and from year to year, all flesh shall come to Jerusalem to worship before me, says the Lord Almighty.*

51.13 *And they shall come and shall see the dead bodies of the men who have transgressed against me.*

51.14 *For their worm will not die and their fire will not be quenched and they will be a spectacle for all flesh (Isa. 66:22-24).*

51.15 Were not all these things fulfilled? The good things for the Gentiles and the bad things for the Jews. For behold we see that all these things have taken place.

51.16 The Jew said: That *new name*, you have not yet shown when or to whom it was given.

51.17 The Christian said: The new name that is blessed upon the earth was given to the holy disciples by our savior Jesus Christ. It was first given in Antioch, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles: *The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch (Acts 11:26).*

**18.** ἰδοῦ ἀπέδειξά σοι περὶ τοῦ εὐλογημένου ὀνόματος, πότε καὶ διὰ τίνος ὁ κύριος ὠνόμασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπεκλήθη.

## 52.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ εἰ ἦδεσαν οἱ πατέρες μου καὶ ἔγνωσαν περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τούτου ὅτι ἐστὶν θεός, ἦχαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἐπ' αὐτόν;

**2.** οὐ πάντως ἔγνωσαν αὐτὸν θεὸν εἶναι.

**3.** εἰ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τοῦ προφήτου ἐνετείλατο κύριος ὁ θεὸς διὰ Ζαχαρίου μηκέτι προφητεύειν τίνα, εἰ δὲ προφητεύων τις, συμποδιοῦσιν αὐτόν ὁ πατήρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ οἱ γεννήσαντες αὐτὸν λέγοντες θανάτω ἀποθάνη καὶ οὐ ζήσῃ, δι' ὅτι ψευδῆ ἐπροφήτευσας,

**4.** καὶ καταισχυνθήσονται οἱ προφῆται, ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ὀράσεως αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ προφητεύειν αὐτόν,

**5.** εἰπόντος οὖν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις μὴ ἔσονται προφήτην, τί ἐροῦμεν περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τούτου ὅτι προφήτης ἦν;

**6.** ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν προφήτης ἀλλὰ θεὸς ἦν; ἰδοῦ ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν αὐτὸν θεὸν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν.

**7.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπε· καθὼς ἐδήλωσαν ἡμῖν αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί, ἔγνωσαν ἀληθῶς, ἀλλ' ἐπαχύνθη ἡ καρδιά αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν καὶ τοῖς ὡσιν βαρεῶς ἤκουσαν, καθὼς εἶπεν Ἡσαΐας.

**8.** ἔχθρον δὲ ἠγήσαντο αὐτόν, δι' ὅτι ἐναντιοῦτο τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν τοῖς πονηροῖς, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου, καὶ θεωροῦντες τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει ὅτι ἐν θεῷ ἐστίν,

**9.** τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἔργα μὴ ὄντα ἀρεστὰ τῷ θεῷ, ἐμίσησαν αὐτόν δωρεὰν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον.

**10.** καὶ συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν, καθὼς αὐτὸς ἠυδόκησεν παθεῖν.

**11.** αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐνόμισαν ὑποκεισθαι αὐτόν θανάτῳ, ἀγνοοῦντες οἱ τάλανες τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν ἣν εἰς τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸς ἐπετέλει·

**12.** καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς παρέδωκαν εἰς κρίσιν θανάτου.

## 53.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπε· μνημονεύων καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν, μέλλεις γὰρ ὑπάρξεις περὶ τῶν δύο κεφαλαίων τούτων σύστασιν διδόναι.

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ποίων δύο;

51.18 See, I have shown you about the blessed name, when and why the Lord gave it as he was designated.

52.1 The Jew said: If my fathers had known and understood that this Jesus was God, would they have laid their hands on him?

52.2 They did not at all recognize that he was God.

52.3 For concerning the prophet the Lord God commanded through Zechariah: *No longer should anyone prophesy. If someone should prophesy, his father and mother who bore him will bind him saying: You shall certainly die and not live, because you have prophesied a lie.*

52.4 *And the prophets will be ashamed, each one of his vision when he prophesies (Zech. 13:3, 4).*

52.5 Therefore, since the Holy Spirit spoke through the prophet that in those days there will not be a prophet, what shall we say about this Jesus – was he a prophet?

52.6 But he was not a prophet yet was he God? See that from the divine scriptures our fathers did not know that he was God.

52.7 The Christian said: As the divine scriptures made it clear, they truly did not know him, but their heart was hardened and their eyes were shut and their ears were heavy, as Isaiah said (Isa. 6:10).

52.8 They viewed him as an enemy, because he was opposed to their evil deeds, and they were filled with jealousy, and seeing the signs which he did because he was in God,

52.9 while their own deeds were not pleasing to God, *they hated him without a cause* (Ps. 68:5), according to what is written.

52.10 And having taken counsel, they crucified him, as he himself consented to suffer.

52.11 And the pitiful ones who were ignorant of the plan he was accomplishing for the race of all men thought that he would be held by death.

52.12 So they delivered over to a sentence of death the one who is able to judge the living and the dead.

53.1 The Jew said: I remind you that you still need to provide proofs about the nature of each of these two points.

53.2 The Christian said: Which two?

**3.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν ὅτι εἶπας αὐτὸν ἐκουσίως πεπονθότα (καὶ ὡς ὅτι προεγίνωσκεν τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ) καὶ ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ μέλλων κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

**4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν πάντα ἀποδείξω, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον τραπῶμεν.

**5.** ἐλέγομεν γὰρ ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς παρέδωκαν εἰς κρίμα θανάτου.

**6.** αὐτοῦ δὲ σταυρωθέντος ὁ ἥλιος ἐσκοτίσθη, καὶ ἐγένετο σκότος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆς ἀπὸ ὥρας ἑκτῆς ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης.

**7.** καὶ πάλιν ἐγένετο φῶς, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα, ὅτι σκοτισθήσεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐν μεσημβρία, καὶ σκοτάσει ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν πάλιν ἔσται φῶς.

**8.** τὸ πρωτὶ ἔρεις πῶς ἐγένετο ἐσπέρα; καὶ ἐσπέρας ἔρεις πῶς ἐγένετο πρωτῶ;

**9.** πάλιν τε τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐσχίσθη μέσον· τὰ ὄρη ἐσαλεύθησαν, καὶ αἱ πέτραι ἐρράγησαν, καὶ τὰ μνήματα ἠνεώχθησαν, καὶ πόλλα σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἀνέστησαν καὶ εἰσῆλθαν εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν πόλιν καὶ ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς.

**10.** καὶ ὅτι ἐρώτων τοὺς ἀναστάντας οὐκ εἶ σύ, φησὶν ὁ δεῖνα, ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν, ναί, φησὶν οὐκ εἶ σύ ὁ ἀποθανὼν πρὸ τοσοῦτων ἐτῶν; καὶ ἔλεγεν ἐγὼ εἰμι.

**11.** ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἄλλος πάλιν ἐρώτα ἄλλον τῶν ἀναστάντων καὶ ἤκουον τὸ αὐτό.

**12.** ἔλεγον οὖν αὐτοῖς πάλιν πῶς οὖν ἠγέρθητε ἐκ νεκρῶν; καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐκ οἶδατε τί ἐγένετο ὧδε ἄρτι;

**13.** οἱ δὲ ζῶντες εἶπαν οὐ γινώσκομεν. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔσταυρώσατε ἄνθρωπον λεγόμενον Ἰησοῦν; οἱ δὲ ζῶντες εἶπαν ἔσταυρώσαμεν αὐτὸν ὅτι ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὸν θεὸν υἱὸν θεοῦ.

**14.** καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἀναστάντες ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπ' ἀληθείας θεὸς ἐστὶν υἱὸς θεοῦ.

**15.** καθὼς γὰρ ἐνομίσατε ὅτι τέθνηκεν, τότε κατήλθεν πρὸς τὸν ἄδην καί, συντρίψας αὐτοῦ τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς μοχλοὺς, αὐτὸν μὲν ἔδησεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐλυτρώσατο καὶ ἀνέστησεν σὺν αὐτῷ.

#### 54.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· τούτων τὰς ἀποδείξεις δίδως ἡμῖν;

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εὐχερῶς, δι' ὀλίγων λέξεων.

**3.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἰ δυνατόν, φράσον ἡμῖν αὐτά.

53.3 The Jew said: You have said (1) that he willingly has suffered (and that he knew ahead about his suffering), and (2) that he is the one who is coming to judge the living and the dead.

53.4 The Christian said: I will prove all things, but for now let us turn to what lies before us.

53.5 For we were saying that the one who will judge the living and the dead was delivered over to the sentence of death.

53.6 When he was crucified, *the sun was darkened and there was darkness over all the land from the sixth until the ninth hour* (Matt. 27:45).

53.7 And again there was light, as it is written in Isaiah: *The sun will be darkened at noon and the sun will not shine in the middle of the day and then toward evening it will be light again* (Isa. 13:10; Amos 8:9).

53.8 *In the morning you will say: How I wish it was evening, and in the evening: How I wish it was morning* (Deut. 28:66).

53.9 And again: *The veil of the temple was torn in the midst* (Lk. 23:45). *The mountains were shaken and the rocks were shattered, and the tombs were opened and those who were asleep rose up and entered into the holy city and appeared to many* (Matt. 27:51-53).

53.10 *And they were interrogating the ones that were raised. And one said: Are you not so and so? He answered: Yes. He said: Are you the one who was dead so many years? And he answered: I am.*

53.11 *And another person again questioned another of the raised ones and they were hearing the same thing.*

53.12 *Then they continued to say to them: How is it that you were raised? And the ones raised from the dead said: Do you not know what has happened here just now?*

53.13 *And the living said: We do not know. And they said to them: Did you not crucify a man called Jesus? The living said: We crucified him because he was saying that he was God, the son of God.*

53.14 *And the ones raised from the dead said: Of a truth, he was God, the Son of God.*

53.15 *For you supposed that he had died, but he then descended to Hades and tore apart its gates and bars. And he bound him, but he freed us and raised us with him* (Apocryphal Gospel?).

54.1 The Jew said: You are giving proofs of these things?

54.2 The Christian said: Easily, with only a few words.

54.3 The Jew said: If possible, tell them to us.

4. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπον· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὅτι θεὸς ὢν βουλήσει ἰδία κατῆλθεν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν τῷ Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ, ἄκουε τοῦ Δαυὶδ λέγοντος ἐξάγων πεπεδημένους ἐν ἀνδρεία, ὁμοίως τοὺς παραπικραίνοντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν τάφοις.
5. καὶ πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰάσατο αὐτούς, καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν διαφθορῶν αὐτῶν· καὶ ὅτι συνέτριψεν πύλας χαλκᾶς καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συνέθλασεν.
6. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἰσαΐα οὕτως λέγει οὐκ πρέσβυς οὐκ ἄγγελος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἔσωσεν αὐτούς.
7. περὶ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἰσαΐας λέγει ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί, καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις, καὶ εὐφρανθήσονται οἱ ἐν τῇ γῆ.
8. ἐν δὲ τῷ Δανιήλ οὕτως λέγει καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐπὶ γῆς χῶματι ἀναστήσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.
9. ἐν δὲ τῷ Ὡσιέ λέγει οὕτως κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἰατρεύσει ἡμᾶς, κύριος καὶ μοτώσει ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστησόμεθα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ καὶ ζήσόμεθα.
10. ταῦτα πάντα προιδὼν ὁ Δαυὶδ ἔλεγεν τῷ ἐξ ἔθνῶν λαῷ ἐν νοουθεσίᾳ τὸ ἐσπέρας αὐλισθήσεται κλαυθμὸς, καὶ εἰς τὸ πρῶτὸ ἀγαλλίασις.
11. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· καὶ τίς ὁ ἐν λύπῃ γενόμενος τότε;
12. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· πρὸς ἡμέραν μίαν ὁ πιστὸς λαὸς ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Μαγδαλινὴν τῇ μίᾳ τῶν σαββάτων, ἀκούσαντες τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνάστασιν,
13. ἀπέρριψαν μὲν τὸ πένθος, χαρᾶς δὲ εὐαγγέλια ἐδέξαντο (ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων) ἐν πρῶτοις· δεύτερον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν καὶ φυλαξάντων τὸ μνήμα.
14. τὸ δὲ αἰώνιον πένθος ὑμεῖς ἐλάβετε, καθὼς Ζαχαρίας προφητεύει.
15. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· οὐδεὶς ἀκαίρως λαλῶν, ἢ ὅτι συζητῶν ἐν λόγῳ, ὑβρίζει τινά.
16. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· μὴ μοι γένοιτο παρὰ τοῦ ζῶντος θεοῦ ὑβρίσαι ἀκαίρως τὸν πλησίον μου, ἀλλ' ὅσα τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐλάλησεν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, οὕτως καὶ γὰρ λαλήσω.
17. ἀλλὰ ἤνικα ἶδον γενόμενα σημεῖα ἐν τῷ σταυρωθῆναι αὐτόν, καὶ ἰδόντες νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ ἀκούσαντες παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅτι ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπιστῆσαι δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ἦν δι' ὅτι αὐτοὶ φυλάξαντες τὸ μνήμα, ἀκριβῶς ἐγίνωσκον.
18. διὸ δὴ καὶ συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες ἀργύρια ἰκανὰ ἔδωκαν τοῖς στρατιώταις, λέγοντες εἶπατε ὅτι οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ἐλθόντες ἔκλειψαν αὐτόν, ἡμῶν κοιμωμένων.

54.4 The Christian said: First, that God by his own will and for the sake of Jesus, descended and did these things to Hades and death, hear David speaking: *Leading forth prisoners mightily, likewise those that provoke who dwell in tombs* (Ps. 67:7).

54.5 And again: *He sent forth his word and healed them and rescued them from their destruction. So he ripped apart bronze gates and tore down iron bars* (Ps. 106:20,16).

54.6 In Isaiah he speaks thus: *Not an ambassador, nor an angel, but the Lord himself saved them* (Isa. 63:9).

54.7 And about the dead, the same Isaiah says: *The dead shall rise and the ones in their tombs shall be raised and they in the ground shall rejoice* (Isa. 26:19).

54.8 And he says this in Daniel: *Many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth shall rise to eternal life* (Dan. 12:2).

54.9 And in Hosea he speaks thus: *The Lord our God will heal us and the Lord will bind us up. And on the third day we will rise before him and we shall live* (Hos. 6:2).

54.10 David saw all these things before and admonished the people from the Gentiles: *Weeping shall lodge for the evening, but joy shall be in the morning* (Ps. 30:5).

54.11 The Jew said: And who was in grief at that time?

54.12 The Christian said: For one day, the faithful people along with his disciples and those with the Magdalene, on the first day of the week, when they heard about his resurrection.

54.13 They shed their sorrow and received the message with joy first from the angels, and second, from the soldiers who were guarding the tomb.

54.14 On the other hand, you received eternal sorrow, as Zechariah prophesies.

54.15 The Jew said: No one should inappropriately speak or seek to insult someone else in a discussion.

54.16 The Christian said: Before the living God, may I never inappropriately insult my neighbor, but whatever the Holy Spirit spoke through his prophets, I also will speak.

54.17 But when they saw the signs that took place when he was crucified, and saw the resurrection of dead people, and heard from the soldiers that he had risen from the dead, they could not disbelieve these things since they who were guarding the tomb knew these things accurately.

54.18 *Then they took counsel and gave much money to the soldiers and told them: Say that his disciples came by night and stole his body while we were sleeping.*

**19.** καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ἀργύρια ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐδιδάχθησαν. ὠνείδισεν δὲ αὐτοὺς κύριος περὶ τούτου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰσοαίου, προσκαλούμενος τὰς ἀγίας γυναῖκας τὰς τὸν θεὸν θεασαμένας τὸν ἀναστάντα καὶ λέγοντα γυναῖκες ἐρχόμεναι ἀπὸ θέας, δεῦτε· οὐ γὰρ λαὸς ἔχων σύνεσιν ἐστίν,

**20.** δὲ ὅτι ἀνήγγειλαν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐνεφάνησαν ὑμῖν ἐτέραν πλάνησιν.

**21.** καὶ δὴ πάλιν διὰ Ἰῶνα εἶπεν κύριος φυλασσόμενοι μάταια καὶ ψευδῆ ἔλεον αὐτῶν ἐγκατέλειπον.

**22.** ταῦτα πάντα ἔωρακότες τελεσθέντα, οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐκόψαντο κοπετὸν μέγαν, καθὼς γέγραπται διὰ Ζαχαρίου τοῦ προφήτου ὅτι ἐπιβλέπονται πρὸς με ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο, καὶ ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, καὶ κόψονται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοπετὸν ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαπητόν, καὶ ὀδυνηθήσονται ὀδύνην ὡς ἐπὶ πρωτοτόκῳ.

**23.** καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, λέγει κύριος, μεγαλυνηθήσεται ὁ κοπετὸς Ἱερουσαλήμ ὡς κοπετὸς ῥοῶνος ἐν πεδίῳ ἐκκοπτομένῳ,

**24.** καὶ κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καθ' ἑαυτάς, φυλὴ οἴκου Δαυὶδ καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καθ' ἑαυτάς, φυλὴ οἴκου Ἐάθαν καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καθ' ἑαυτάς, φυλὴ Λευὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καθ' ἑαυτάς, φυλὴ οἴκου Συμεὼν καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καθ' ἑαυτάς, πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπολελειμμένοι φυλαί, φυλὴ φυλὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καθ' ἑαυτάς.

**25.** Γνώθι οὖν, ὦ Ἰουδαίε, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς θέλων ὑβρῖσαι τινα—[μὴ γένοιτο]—εἶπά τι, ἀλλ' ἰδοὺ ἀπέδειξά σοι τὰ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου ῥηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου.

## 55.

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· νῦν καιρὸς ἵνα δείξης ἡμῖν τέως ἐν πρώτοις ὅτι ἐκουσίως ἔπαθεν καὶ ὅτι προεγίνωσκεν τοῦτο.

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· οἶδας ὅτι ἀπεστάλησαν οἱ ἅγιοι προφήται λαλήσαι τὰ προστεταγμένα αὐτοῖς·

**3.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἀσφαλὲς τοῦτο ἐστίν.

**4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· γίνωσκε οὖν Ἱερεμίαν λέγοντα τοῦτο διὰ τὸ γινώσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ οὕτως λέγει

**5.** ἐγὼ ὡς ἀρνίον ἄκακον ἀγόμενον τοῦ θύεσθαι· οὐκ ἔγνω· κατ' ἔμοῦ ἐλογίσαντο λογισμὸν πονηρὸν λέγοντες δεῦτε, καὶ ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκτρίψωμεν αὐτὸν ἐκ γῆς ζώντων.

**6.** καὶ γε ἐν Δαυὶδ λέγει περὶ τούτου σύνετε δὴ, ἀφρονες ἐν τῷ λαῷ, καὶ μωροί· πότε φρονήσατε.

54.19 *So they took the money and did as they were instructed (Mat. 28:12, 13). The Lord had reproached them about this though the prophet Isaiah, summoning the holy women when they beheld God rising and saying: Come, you women that come from a spectacle, for this is a people without understanding (Isa. 27:11).*

54.20 *Because they announced to you and made clear to you another deception.*

54.21 *Again through Jonah the Lord said: Embracing empty things and lies they have forsaken their own mercy (Jon. 2:9).*

54.22 *And when all these things were fulfilled, the Jews were mourning greatly (Gospel of Peter 25; but see Luke 23:48). As it is written through Zechariah the prophet, And they shall look upon me, because they have mocked me, and they shall look unto the one they pierced, and make lamentation for him as for a beloved friend, and they shall grieve intensely as for a firstborn son.*

54.23 *In that day, says the Lord, the mourning in Jerusalem shall be very great, as the mourning for the pomegranate grove cut down in the plain. \**

54.24 *And all the clans of the land shall mourn by themselves, the clan of the house of David by itself and their wives by themselves; the clan of the house of Nathan by itself and their wives by themselves; the clan of Levi by itself and their wives by themselves; the clan of Simeon by itself and their wives by themselves; all the clans that are left, clan by clan, and their wives by themselves (Zech. 12:10-14).*

54.25 *Therefore, know, O Jew, that I speak this way not because I want to insult someone (may it never be!). But behold, I have shown you the things that were spoken by the Lord through the prophet.*

55.1 *The Jew said: Now is the time for you to show to us from the beginning that he willingly suffered and that he foreknew this.*

55.2 *The Christian said: Do you know that the holy prophets were sent to speak the things commanded to them?*

55.3 *The Jew said: This is certain.*

55.4 *The Christian said: Therefore, understand Jeremiah speaking this. Because he knew about his own suffering he speaks this as in the presence of Jesus.*

55.5 *I am being lead as an innocent lamb to be slaughtered and I did not know it. They planned an evil plot against me saying: Come, and let us cast a tree into his food, and let us rip him out of the land of the living (Jer. 11:19).*

55.6 *Also David speaks about this: Understand, you unwise and foolish among the people, then become wise!*

7. ὁ φυτεύσας τὸ οὖς οὐχὶ ἀκούει, ἢ ὁ πλάσας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν οὐχὶ κατανοεῖ; ὁ παιδεύων ἔθνη οὐχὶ ἐλέγξει;
8. ὁ διδάσκων ἀνθρώπων γνώσιν; κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς διαλογισμοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι εἰσὶν μάταιοι.
9. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐα λέγει ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀπειθῶ οὐδὲ ἀντιλέγω. τὸν νῶτόν μου ἔδωκα εἰς μάστιγας καὶ τὰς σιαγόνας μου εἰς ῥαπίσματα, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνῃς ἐμπυτυμάτων.
10. μὴ οὐ συνέβη ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν; ὁ ἐπιστάμενος δὲ τοὺς λογισμοὺς, ἄρα τὸ πάθος οὐκ οἶδεν;
11. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· πολλάκις δὲ οὐ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐγράφη ταῦτα ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐτέρου τινός.
12. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· περὶ τούτου εὐκοποῦν ἀποδείξαι ὅτι περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ταῦτα ἐπροφητεύθη.
13. ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· εἰ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι δυνηθῆς ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν, εἰς πάντα ἠλήθευσας.
14. ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· παντοδαπὰ μὲν κατ' ἀλήθειαν δείξαντες περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, οὐδὲν ὠφελήσαμεν·
15. ἀλλὰ, καθὼς γέγραπται, νυστάζοντι διηγούμενος, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ἠκούσαμεν τὸ τί ἐστίν.
16. ὅμως οὐκ ἀκηδιάσωμεν—μὴ γένοιτο. παρέχει γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς τὸ τί εἰπεῖν καὶ τί λαλῆσαι κατὰ τὸ ἐπάγγελμα αὐτοῦ.
17. ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ οὕτως γέγραπται ὠρυξαν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας μου, ἐξηρίθμησαν πάντα τὰ ὀσῶά μου· αὐτοὶ δὲ κατενόησαν καὶ ἐπεῖδόν με, καὶ διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον.
18. βλέπομεν δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ταῦτα πληρωθέντα. καὶ γὰρ ὠρυξαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἤλοις καὶ ἐφιδαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλεγον εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ, κατάβηθι ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ.
19. καὶ διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ οἱ στρατιῶται βάλλοντες κλῆρον.
20. καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ ξη ψαλμῷ οὕτως γέγραπται καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὰ βρωμά μου χολήν, καὶ εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου ἐπότισάν με ὄξος.
21. καὶ βλέπομεν αὐτὰ πληρωθέντα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. μὴ γὰρ ὁ Δαυὶδ ὑπέμεινέν τι τούτων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλος τις εἰ μὴ ὁ Ἰησοῦς μόνος.
22. κρεμιάμενος γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ εἶπεν διψῶ. καὶ πλησαντες σπόγγον ὄξους μετὰ χολῆς μεμιγμένον περιθέντες καλάμῳ ἐπότισαν αὐτόν.
23. πάλιν ἐρρήθη ἐν τῷ κα ψαλμῷ ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεὸς μου, πρόσχες μοι ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλειπάς με;

- 55.7 *The one who plants, does he not hear? Or the one who forms the eye, does he not perceive? He who disciplines the Gentiles, does he not reprove?*
- 55.8 *Who is the one who teaches mankind knowledge? The Lord knows that the thoughts of mankind are empty (Ps. 93:8-11).*
- 55.9 *And he speaks again in Isaiah: I am not disobedient nor do I oppose. I gave my back to flogging and my cheeks to blows. I did not turn my face away from the shame of spitters (Isa. 50:6).*
- 55.10 Did these things not take place to Jesus? Did the one who understood these thoughts not know his own suffering?
- 55.11 The Jew said: But often these things were not written about Jesus but about someone else.
- 55.12 The Christian said: Concerning this, it is easy to prove that these things were prophesied about Jesus.
- 55.13 The Jew said: If you are able to do this from the divine scriptures, you have indeed spoken the truth about everything.
- 55.14 The Christian said: If we have not shown these many things about the Lord Jesus in a true manner, then we have benefited no one.
- 55.15 But, as it is written: *Explaining to a drowsy man, we have heard at the end what it is (Sirach 22:10).*\*
- 55.16 Nevertheless, let us not be wearied – may it never be! For the Lord Jesus provides what we say and what we speak according to his promise (Mt. 10:19).
- 55.17 For in the twenty first psalm it is written: *They pierced my hands and feet and all my bones are out of joint. They gazed at me and looked on me, and they divided my garments among themselves and cast a lot for my robe (Ps. 21:17-19).*
- 55.18 We see that these things were fulfilled to Jesus. For they pierced his hands and feet with nails and looked on him and were saying: *If you are the son of God, come down from the cross (Matt. 27:40).*
- 55.19 And they divided his garments while the soldiers were casting a lot.
- 55.20 And again in the sixty eighth psalm it is written thus: *And they gave me gall for food and made me have vinegar to drink (Ps. 68:22).*
- 55.21 Again we see that these things were fulfilled by Jesus. For David did not experience any of these things. And there was no other that did but Jesus alone.
- 55.22 And when he was hanging on the cross, he said: *I thirst. And they filled a sponge of vinegar mixed with gall, put it on a rod and gave it to him to drink (Mt. 27:48).*
- 55.23 Again it was spoken in the twenty first psalm: *My God, my God, attend to me. Why have you forsaken me (Ps. 21:2)?*

**24.** ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς κρεμάμενος ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ εἶπεν ἑλοεῖ ἑλοεῖ λεμασσαβαχθανί, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τί με ἐγκατέλειπας;  
**25.** εἰ οὖν ἀποδείξεις, ὦ Ἰουδαῖε, μὴ πληρωθέντα ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ λόγου εἶπον καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦτον, ἔλεγον λοιπόν.

**56.**

**1.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐπηγγείλω μοι ἀποδείξαι ἐκ τῶν θείων γραφῶν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ μέλλων κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ νῦν πληρωσον τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν σου.

**2.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· τί ὄφελος ὅτι κοπούμεθα· γέγραπται γὰρ εἰς ὧτα ἀκούοντων, μὴ γὰρ ἀσυνέτων.

**3.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ Παύλου, οὐ καὶ τὴν βίβλον ἐναρίθμιον νέαν διαθήκην ἔχετε, αὐτὸς γράφων λέγει ὁ διδάσκων ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ μὴ ἧ ὀκνηρός.

**4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· ὁ αὐτὸς γράφει λέγων, ὅτι ἐμοὶ μὲν τὸ λέγειν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ ἀσφαλές. ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πληρώσωμεν τὸ αἴτημα, ἐροῦμεν θεοῦ κελεύσει—μάλιστα διὰ τοὺς ἀκούοντας—περὶ οὗ ἐρωτᾶς νῦν, ὡ ἀνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ. οὕτως γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Δανιήλ·

**5.** ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει Βαλτάσαρ βασιλέως Χαλδαίων Δανιήλ ἐνύπνιον εἶδεν, καὶ ἡ ὄρασις τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἔγραψεν.

**6.** ἐγὼ Δανιήλ ἐθεώρουν καὶ ἰδοὺ τέσσαρες ἄνεμοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεγάλην. καὶ τέσσαρα θηρία ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης διαφέροντα ἀλλήλων.

**7.** τὸ πρῶτον ὡσεὶ λέαινα, καὶ πτερὰ αὐτῆς ὡσεὶ ἀετοῦ· ἐθεώρουν ἕως οὗ ἐξετίλη τὰ πτερὰ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξήρθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ποδῶν ἀνθρώπου ἐστάθη, καὶ καρδία ἀνθρώπου ἐδόθη αὐτῇ.

**8.** καὶ ἰδοὺ θηρίον δευτέρον ὁμοῖον ἄρκω, καὶ εἰς μέρος ἐν ἐστάθη, καὶ τρία πλευρὰ ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῆς ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀδόντων αὐτῆς, καὶ οὕτως ἔλεγεν αὐτῇ ἀνάστηθι φάγε σάρκας πολλὰς.

**9.** ὀπίσω τούτου ἐθεώρουν καὶ ἰδοὺ θηρίον τρίτον ὡσεὶ πάρδαλις, καὶ πτερὰ αὐτῆς τέσσαρα ὡς πετεινοῦ ὑπεράνω αὐτῆς, καὶ τέσσαρες κεφαλαὶ τῷ θηρίῳ τούτῳ, καὶ ἐξουσία ἐδόθη αὐτῷ.

**10.** ὀπίσω τούτου ἐθεώρουν καὶ ἰδοὺ θηρίον τέταρτον φοβερόν καὶ ἔκθαμβον περισσῶς καὶ ἰσχυρόν· οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ σιδηροὶ καὶ οἱ ὄνυχες αὐτοῦ χαλκοὶ, ἐσθίων καὶ λεπτύνων καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τοῖς ποσίν αὐτοῦ κατεπάτει, καὶ αὐτὸ διαφέρον περισσῶς παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ κέρατα δέκα αὐτῷ.

55.24 So when Jesus was hanging on the cross he said: *Eloi, Eloi, Lamasabbachthani, which is interpreted as my God, my God, why have you forsaken me* (Matt. 27:46)?

55.25 Therefore, if you will prove, O Jew, that all the things which I have spoken from the beginning of this discussion until now have not been fulfilled in this Jesus, refute them now!

56.1 The Jew said: You promised that you would prove from the divine scriptures that he is the one who will judge the living and the dead. Now fulfill your promise.

56.2 The Christian said: What is the benefit of toiling on? For it is written: *They have ears that hear but they do they understand* (Isa. 6:10; Mt 13:15).

56.3 The Jew said: In the epistle of Paul, who is counted in the book you have as the New Covenant, he writes and says: *The teacher should not be troublesome in his teaching* (Php. 3:1a).

56.4 The Christian said: The same one also writes saying: *Speaking is not troublesome for me, but for you it is safe* (Php. 3:1b). But so that we may fulfill this request, we will speak by the command of God – especially because of the listeners – about the one you are asking now, O man of God. For thus it is written in Daniel.

56.5 *In the first year of Balshazzar, king of the Chaldeans, Daniel saw a dream and the visions of his head upon his bed and he wrote down his dream.*

56.6 *I Daniel beheld and saw the four winds of heaven blowing violently upon the great sea. Four great beasts came up out of the sea, different from one another.*

56.7 *The first was like a lioness, and her wings were like an eagle's. I beheld until her wings were plucked, and she was lifted off from the earth, and she stood on human feet, and a man's heart was given to her.*

56.8 *And, behold, a second beast like a bear, and it supported itself on one side, and there were three ribs in its mouth between its teeth. And thus they said to it: Arise, devour much flesh.*

56.9 *After this one I looked, and there was another wild beast like a leopard. It had four wings on it like a bird, and this beast had four heads, and authority was given to it.*

56.10 *After this one I looked, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and exceedingly strong. Its teeth were of iron and its claws like bronze, devouring and crushing, and it trampled the remainder with its feet. It was altogether different from all the beasts before it, and it had ten horns.*

**11.** προσενόουν τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ κέρας ἕτερον μικρὸν ἀνέβαινεν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, καὶ τρία κέρατα ἐξεριζώσεν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὡς ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ κέρατι τούτῳ καὶ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα.

**12.** ἐθεώρουν ἕως οὗ θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν, καὶ παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκάθισεν.

**13.** Καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Χριστιανὸς, ἀνέστη δακρῶν, καὶ κλίνας τὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἔλεγεν τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ πρόσεχε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἰδοὺ περὶ τῆς συντελείας.

**14.** καὶ ἔλεγεν τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῆς γραφῆς· ἡ θριξ τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου ὡσεὶ ἔριον καθαρὸν, καὶ τὸ ἔνδυμα αὐτοῦ λευκὸν ὡσεὶ χιών, ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ φλὸς πυρός, οἱ τροχοὶ αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον·

**15.** ποταμὸς πυρός εἶλκεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ, χίλια χιλιάδες ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ, καὶ μύρια μυριάδες παρειστήκεισαν αὐτῷ· κριτήριον ἐκάθισεν, καὶ βίβλοι ἠνεώχθησαν.

**16.** ἐθεώρουν τότε ἀπὸ φωνῆς τῶν λόγων, ὧν τὸ κέρας ἐκεῖνο ἐλάλει, ἕως οὗ ἀνηρέθη τὸ θηρίον καὶ ἀπώλετο, καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐδόθη εἰς καύσιν πυρός.

**17.** καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν θηρίων ἡ ἀρχὴ μετεστάθη, καὶ μακρότης ζωῆς ἐδόθη αὐτοῖς ἕως καιροῦ.

**18.** ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὀράματι τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος ἦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαίου τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔφθασεν καὶ αὐτῷ προσηνέχθη.

**19.** καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία·

**20.** ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἥτις οὐ παρελεύσεται, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ βασιλεία αἰώνιος, ἥτις οὐ διαφθαρήσεται.

## 57.

**1.** Ὁ δὲ Ἰουδαῖος ἔμεινεν ἐνεὸς ὡσεὶ ὥραν μίαν, μὴδεν λέγων.

**2.** λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Χριστιανὸς συνῆκας ταῦτα πάντα, ὦ ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ;

**3.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· συνῆκα.

**4.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· καὶ τί σοι δόκει περὶ τούτου;

**5.** ὁ Ἰουδαῖος εἶπεν· ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐπεισάς με πάντοθεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν θεὸς θεῶν, καὶ κύριος κυρίων, καὶ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, καὶ ὅτι πλημμελία ἐπλημμέλησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἐπενέγκαντες χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτόν.

**6.** νῦν οὖν, ἄνθρωπε τοῦ θεοῦ, τί ποιήσας σωθῶ, ἀνάγγελλόν μοι.

56.11 *I noticed his horns, and behold, another little horn came up in the midst of them, and before it three of the former horns were rooted out. Behold, there were eyes as the eyes of a man in this horn, and a mouth speaking great things.*

56.12 *I was looking until thrones were set up, and an Ancient of Days sat (Dan. 7:1-9).*

56.13 *And while the Christian was saying these things, he stood up crying, and bowing his head toward the east he said to the Jew: Pay attention, O man, see, this is about the End.*

56.14 *Then he recited the following scripture. And the hair of the one sitting was as pure wool and his garment was as white as snow, and his throne was a flame of fire, and his wheels a burning fire.*

56.15 *A river of fire rushed forth before him. A thousand thousands ministered to him, and a thousand times ten thousands stood before him. The court sat and the books were opened.*

56.16 *I perceived then from the sound of the words which that horn was speaking, until the beast was slain and destroyed, and his body given to be burnt with fire.*

56.17 *And the rule of the rest of the wild beasts was transferred, but a prolonging of life was given them for a time.*

56.18 *I was looking in the night vision and there was one coming upon the clouds of heaven like a Son of man, and he approached the Ancient of Days and was brought near to him.*

56.19 *And to him was given the rule and the honor and the kingdom and the authority.*

56.20 *His authority is an everlasting authority, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom is an eternal kingdom which shall not be destroyed (Dan. 7:9-14).*

57.1 *But the Jew remained speechless for about one hour, saying nothing.*

57.2 *Then the Christian said to him: Have you understood everything, O man of God?*

57.3 *The Jew said: I have understood.*

57.4 *The Christian said: So what do you think about this?*

57.5 *The Jew said: Truly you have persuaded me in every way that he is God of Gods and Lord of Lords and King of Kings and that our fathers sinned greatly when they laid hands on him.*

57.6 *Therefore, now, O man of God, tell me what I should do to be saved (Acts 16:30)?*

**7.** ὁ Χριστιανὸς εἶπεν· εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς συνέσεώς σου, ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου,

**8.** ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ἵνα ἀκούσῃς μετὰ τῶν ἀκουόντων παρὰ τοῦ ἱεροψάλτου βασιλέως καὶ προφήτου καὶ πατριάρχου Δαυὶδ λέγοντος μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι.

**9.** Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ὁ Χριστιανὸς ἀνέστη διὰ τὸ τὸν ὄχλον ἐπιφωνεῖν τὸν πιστὸν καὶ λέγειν νικᾷ ἡ πίστις τῶν Χριστιανῶν, εὐφημεῖν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἰσάγγελον ἐπίσκοπον.

**10.** ὁ δὲ Ἰουδαῖος ἀναστὰς καὶ πεσὼν πρὸς τοὺς ποδᾶς τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ καὶ ὑψώσας τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν κλαυθμῷ καὶ ὄδυρμῷ πικροτάτῳ, ἔλεγεν τῷ Χριστιανῷ ἐκζητήσει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου, ἐὰν μὴ ποιήσῃς με Χριστιανόν.

**11.** Καὶ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ὁ Χριστιανὸς καὶ εἰσελθὼν πρὸς τὸν ἀγιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον Κύριλλον, ὁ Χριστιανὸς ἐξηγήσατο αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ γενόμενα.

**12.** καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τέκνον, τὸν κοπιῶντα γεωργὸν δεῖ πρῶτον τῶν καρπῶν μεταλαμβάνειν· σὺ κεκοπίακας, σὺ λάβε πρῶτον τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ.

**13.** τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι ἐν κλήρῳ, δρομαίως ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ Κυριακὸν καὶ δούς εἰρήνην χειροτονεῖ αὐτὸν διάκονον·

**14.** καὶ πάλιν δούς εἰρήνην ποιεῖ αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερον, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ λοιποὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς λειτουργίας·

**15.** δίδουσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ διφθέριον γεγραμμένον τὰς ἐπικλήσεις καὶ εὐχὰς τῆς ἀκολουθείας.

**16.** Καὶ ἀπελθὼν ὁ ὀσιώτατος πρεσβύτερος Τιμόθεος μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἔνθα ἦν ὁ Ἀκύλας ἀπεκδεχόμενος, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν εἰσήγαγεν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

**17.** καὶ ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκολουθείαν καὶ ἐβάπτισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, μετονομάσας αὐτὸν Θεόγνωστον·

**18.** ὃς μεταλαβὼν τῶν ἀχράντων μυστηρίων ἐγένετο δοχεῖον τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ὁ ποτε Ἰουδαῖος, νῦν δὲ Χριστιανὸς διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ ποτε λύκος, νῦν δὲ πρόβατον Χριστοῦ γενόμενος.

**19.** Καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Τιμόθεος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ καὶ ἦσαν διαπαντὸς ἀμαδοξάζοντες Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα,

**20.** ᾧ πᾶσα τιμὴ καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἄμην.

57.7 The Christian said: If you believe with all your heart and all your power and all your strength and all your understanding, arise, be baptized and wash away your sins, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus (see Acts 8:38; 22:16).

57.8 May you, along with those who are listening, hear from the sacred king and prophet and patriarch David as he says: *Blessed are those whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered* (Ps. 32:1).

57.9 And having said this, the Christian stood up because the crowd was clamoring for the believer, and said: The faith of the Christians has won. And the king and the angelic bishop applauded.

57.10 But the Jew arose and fell at the feet of the Christian and lifted up his voice in crying and bitter lamentation and was saying to the Christian: The Lord God will require my soul from your hands, if you do not make me a Christian.

57.11 The Christian then raised him up and brought him to the most holy Bishop Cyril, and the Christian explained to him all that had happened.

57.12 And the bishop says to him: Child, it is necessary for the laboring farmer to first partake of the fruits (2Tim. 2:6). You have labored; you take first his fruit.

57.13 And when he said: I am not a clergyman, the bishop quickly entered the church, and having given the peace, ordains him as a deacon.

57.14 And again, he gave the peace and makes him a presbyter and he gives him the remaining elders and deacons for the service of the liturgy.

57.15 And they give him a parchment of written supplications and prayers to be followed.

57.16 And the most holy presbyter Timothy departed along with the rest of the presbyters and deacons went to the place nearby where Aquila was waiting, and they took him and led him into the church.

57.17 And they performed all the order and he baptized him in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. They then renamed him Theognostos.

57.18 He then partook of the sacred mysteries and became a recipient of the Holy Spirit. He who was at one time a Jew, now became a Christian through God. He who was formerly a wolf, now became a sheep of Christ.

57.19 The presbyter Timothy then took him into his own house and they were continually glorifying together the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

57.20 To whom be all honor and strength for ever and ever. Amen.



## Conclusion

What concluding observations can be drawn from a reading of these dialogues? The following are more the *personal* reactions that I have experienced in reading these works, although some of them have been shared by other writers.

The first aspect of the dialogues that strikes me is *the absolute importance of the Biblical witness for both the participants in this debate*. These discussions were not to be decided by who could demonstrate the most effective proofs and rational arguments. They were not “won” by the most effective way of humiliating one’s opponent or compelling them into submission by forcing them to make contradictory statements. We can certainly detect at times rhetorical devices that were also used in the wider ancient world, but rhetorical effectiveness was not the main issue here. The main question was whether or not the Christian or the Jewish position on Jesus as Messiah was in accordance with the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

In that regard, it is striking to take careful notice of the sheer mass of OT scriptures that are cited to serve as “proofs” and “evidences” of one’s position. There are well over three hundred references to OT passages in TA alone (see scripture indexes). There are nearly eighty OT references in the shorter AZ and over one hundred TO references in the shortest dialogue, ST. It is fully acknowledged that these passages are often cited in a manner that is illustrative of the modern charge of “proof-texting.” The interpretation of these texts (when they are interpreted!) is often characterized by allegorizing and disregard of the original context. While moderns may justifiably make those accusations, they also need to recognize that these texts are not odd in this regard, but share such a methodology with a wider context of both Christian and Jewish readings of Biblical texts in

ancient times.<sup>95</sup> It is the sheer volume of citations in these dialogues that should strike the reader, and should cause one to reflect as to why such is the case. What motivated these communities to assign such a deep importance to these ancient books, seeing it was an importance that was a matter of such moment to them both?

The favorite OT books of the dialogues, measured by the total number of citations from them, are clearly Isaiah and the Psalms. For example, well over half of TA's three hundred citations of the OT are from these two books. A similar ratio prevails in AZ and ST. One should not be surprised at this since Psalms and Isaiah are quoted, cited, or alluded to in the New Testament more than any other OT book.<sup>96</sup>

A related issue to this significant use of the OT in the dialogues is the form of the OT text which they utilize. While there may be a few exceptions (probably due to later editors), the overwhelming use of the LXX by the writers is obvious to all.<sup>97</sup> Timothy's high regard for the LXX as expressed in the following passage was undoubtedly shared by "Athanasius" and "Theophilus" as well:

The Jew said: Therefore, are you saying that one should receive the "Seventy Two" translators as speaking from the Holy Spirit?

The Christian said: I do receive them that way with all my heart (40.23, 24).

In modern times, Biblical scholars have accepted Jerome's position on the *Hebraica veritas* almost universally and base their translations and commentaries

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<sup>95</sup> Greg Beale, ed., *The Right Doctrine from the Wrong Texts? Essays on the Use of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994); Craig Evans, ed., *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004); William Yarchin, *History of Biblical Interpretation: A Reader* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), 31-92.

<sup>96</sup> Deuteronomy is a close third in the number of its citations. Bruce Metzger, ed. *The Greek New Testament*, Fourth Revised Edition (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1994) "Index of Quotations" 887-901.

<sup>97</sup> ST utilizes a Latin version that was translated from the LXX.

on the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>98</sup> Due notice is usually taken of a LXX alternative reading, but it is clear that *Hebraica veritas* is the rule for deciding the text of the OT, with the MT as best representing that text. No one argues that the original manuscripts of the OT were in Greek. It appears to this writer, however, that most Catholic and Protestant scholarship has not completely dealt with the implications of the fact that the LXX was the primary Bible of the NT writers and the virtually exclusive Bible of the early church for at least the first four hundred years of its existence! Such a discussion goes far beyond the scope of these personal “concluding observations,” but I can encourage that greater attention be given to this subject. In recent years, two European Protestant scholars, Mogens Muller and Martin Hengel, have produced significant studies that address these Septuagintal issues and the implications they raise for canon and textual discussions.<sup>99</sup> Horbury has also addressed these questions in the context of the mutual discussions of the Bible between Jewish and Christian communities during the period of our dialogues.<sup>100</sup> Future study in this area should not neglect their contributions.

Thus my final suggestion under the general observation of *the absolute importance of the Biblical witness for both the participants in this debate* is that greater attention should be given to the *current* implications of the role of the LXX in the early church.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> The Eastern Orthodox churches continue to utilize the LXX as their primary OT text.

<sup>99</sup> Mogens Muller, *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the LXX* (Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1996); Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*, translated by Mark Biddle (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002).

<sup>100</sup> Horbury, *Jews and Christians*, 25-36. Horbury specifically discusses the original German version of Hengel's volume on 29-33.

<sup>101</sup> The author recognizes that the use of the word “Septuagint” (or LXX) is often a literary convention that demands greater nuancing. The Bible of the early church could more accurately be termed the “Old Greek” version or the “Greek Jewish scriptures.” My thanks to Dr. Robert Kraft for this reminder in personal correspondence.

The second aspect of the dialogues that strikes me is *their vital role in helping us to better understand the history of Jewish-Christian discussion in the early church*. Not many would disagree with my statement as it stands. What I mean to convey, however, is that greater attention should be directed to these dialogues for their *positive* value as examples of the real discussion that was taking place between the two communities from the second through the sixth centuries. It is in this proposed role that my suggestion runs against the grain of much of the modern attitude toward them. Mention has been made earlier of the critical evaluations of Pastis and Andrist in their dissertations.<sup>102</sup> A few statements from the previously mentioned work by Ruether also illustrate this attitude. In discussing the “*adversus Judaeos*” literature in general and the dialogic literature in particular, Ruether writes: “These dialogues are almost useless as sources for what Jews might actually have said about Christianity. The Christians’ opponents are the Jews of Christian imagination.”<sup>103</sup>

Ruether and other modern writers do make very valid critical observations about this literature. It is hard to deny that the dialogues are written from the Christian perspective; they always result in a Christian “victory”; and some less than civil and polite language is used at times. There are other points, however, that need to be kept in mind. Even Ruether, after providing an abundance of opinion that these dialogues do not represent authentic dialogue, admits: “Nevertheless, this should not lead us to suppose that the disputes would were not real and that Christians were not in fact replying to a real polemic that was taking place between the faiths.”<sup>104</sup>

Even with acknowledging these characteristics, it is still theoretically possible that these dialogues could still represent an authentic discussion that was being carried on between the faiths. For example, the very existence of these

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<sup>102</sup> See footnotes 13 and 20 and the accompanying text.

<sup>103</sup> Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide*, 120.

<sup>104</sup> Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide*, 166.

dialogues plus the abundance of them should argue for their basic authenticity. If they were no longer needed because of the triumphalist victory of the post-Constantinian Church, why did they continue to be produced? Did the Christian community simply perpetrate an enormous fraud in continuing to produce falsified literature when it was no longer needed, as it may have been needed in the second century when *JP* and *Trypho* were written?

Both Skarsaune and Horbury have traced the evidence that the contacts between the communities in the area of Biblical discussion continued at a surprising level throughout this period.<sup>105</sup> Neither one of these writers would justify any of the intemperate language that may have passed, but they have provided many evidences of reality that can be discerned in them and in the broader literature of the age that have often been overlooked.

It is easy to view this and other ancient literature from the modern perspective of Jewish-Christian dialogue, rather than to look at this literature on its own and from the perspective of its own age. The modern term "anti-Semitism" comes loaded with a distinctive meaning, especially since the horrors of the Nazi period. Such terminology should not be uncritically, even if unconsciously, read back into ancient literature without serious consideration given to the tremendous differences between them in time and circumstances. More study and reflection not driven by an agenda of improving relations between the two communities today is needed. No one should want to justify past mistakes, but neither should we associate past writers with crimes of which they were simply not guilty. They need to be studied on their own.

When we do study them on their own, we come up with a mixed response of criticism and appreciation. This is in part due to the Christian proponent's viewing the Holy Scriptures in a different way altogether from his Jewish antagonist in the debate. Some balanced observations in this regard are made by Williams at the conclusion of his overview of the *Adversus Judaeos* literature

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<sup>105</sup> See footnotes 46 and 47 and the accompanying text.

from the second through the sixteenth centuries. His sage comments are also very applicable to the three dialogues from the fourth to the sixth centuries which we have presented.

The treatises we have considered show a sincere desire on the part of the writers to use the evidence of the Old Testament as well as they knew how, according to the light of their time. Their weakness lies in estimating the Jewish use of the Scripture wrongly. They never understood the mind of the Jews. Christian writers . . . blamed the obstinate Jews for not accepting the evidence which seemed to them so strong. But, in reality, this was only because they themselves misconceived the case. A passage in the Old Testament may be a very valuable illustration, and may even bring out the principle underlying some important Christian truth, and yet be quite worthless if it is used as definite proof in the usual and strict meaning of the term.<sup>106</sup>

It is obvious even from these brief personal comments that more study is vitally needed in many of these areas such as the difference between Jewish and Christian hermeneutical methods during this period. What led to the two “debaters” being so far removed from each other on the subject of the identity of the Messiah? If the two did share a common ground – the books of the Christian Old Testament and the Jewish *Tenach* – why were they so far apart on the correct way to read those same scriptures?

It is the hope of this author that the effort he has expended to expose these writings to a greater audience will stimulate the exploration of these and related questions. The Jewish-Christian “dialogue” has continued into the twenty first century. May the current participants learn from these past efforts some lessons on how (and how not) to continue that dialogue.

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<sup>106</sup> Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, 417.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ABBREVIATIONS :

#### Dialogues :

AZ	Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus
JP	Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus
ST	Dialogue of Simon and Theophilus
TA	Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila

#### Journals:

JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies

#### Biblical Literature :

OT	Old Testament	LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text	TH	Theodotion Greek Version
Gen.	Genesis	Exod.	Exodus
Lev.	Leviticus	Num.	Numbers
Deut.	Deuteronomy	Josh.	Joshua
Jdg.	Judges	Ruth	Ruth
1Sam.	1 Samuel	2Sam.	1 Samuel
1Ki.	1 Kings	2Ki.	2Kings
1Chr.	1 Chronicles	2Chr.	2 Chronicles
Ez.	Ezra	Neh.	Nehemiah
Est.	Esther	Job	Job
Ps.	Psalms	Prov.	Proverbs
Ecc.	Ecclesiastes	Song	Song of Solomon
Isa.	Isaiah	Jer.	Jeremiah
Ezek.	Ezekiel	Dan.	Daniel
Hos.	Hosea	Joel	Joel
Am.	Amos	Jon.	Jonah
Obad.	Obadiah	Mic.	Micah
Nah.	Nahum	Hab.	Habakkuk
Zeph.	Zephaniah	Hag.	Haggai
Zech.	Zechariah	Mal.	Malachi
NT	New Testament	Mat.	Matthew
Mk.	Mark	Lk.	Luke

Jn.	John	Rom.	Romans
1Cor.	1 Corinthians	2Cor.	2 Corinthinas
Gal.	Galatians	Eph.	Ephesians
Php.	Philippians	Col.	Colossians
1Th.	1 Thessalonians	2Th.	2Thessalonians
1Tim.	1 Timothy	2Tim.	2 Timothy
Tit.	Titus	Phil.	Philemon
Heb.	Hebrews	Jam.	James
1Pet.	1 Peter	2Pet.	2 Peter
1Jo.	1 John	2Jo.	2 John
3Jo.	3 John	Rev.	Revelation

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## Comprehensive Scripture Index

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AZ=Athanasius and Zacchaeus

ST=Simon and Theophilus

TA=Timothy and Aquila

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| Isa. 53:3     | TA 36.1  | Jer. 1:5                        | AZ 22                                |
| Isa. 53:4     | TA 10.11   | Jer. 2:18                       | AZ 52                                |
| Isa. 53:6-9   | ST VI,22; ST<br>VI,24; TA<br>10.47; TA<br>36.7-10; 41.18 | Jer. 3:8                        | ST VI,25                             |
| Isa. 53:12    | ST VI,22; TA<br>10.48                                    | Jer. 4:3,4                      | ST V,20                              |
| Isa. 54:1     | TA 50.4  | Jer. 6:10                       | ST III,11; VI,<br>22                 |
| Isa. 54:10    | TA 43.15   | Jer. 9:25                       | AZ 91, 123                           |
| Isa. 54:11,14 | TA 44.21-23  | Jer. 11:19                      | ST VI,23, 24;<br>TA 10.20;<br>55.4,5 |
| Isa. 54:17    | TA 44.24   | Jer. 13:23                      | ST VII,28                            |
| Isa. 55:2-4   | TA 44.25,26  | Jer. 17:9                       | TA 10.6; 47.6                        |
| Isa. 57:3,4   | TA 10.26   | Jer. 31:31,32                   | ST V,20                              |
| Isa. 57:15    | TA 25.8-10   | Jer. 38:15                      | TA 10.4                              |
| Isa. 60:1-10  | TA 50.5-13   | Jer. 38:31-33 LXX               | AZ 122, 129;<br>TA 37.7-10           |
| Isa. 60:13    | TA 24.3  | Jer. 52:12                      | TA 20:16-19                          |
| Isa. 60:15,16 | TA 50.14   | Lamentations                    | TA 10.10                             |
| Isa. 61:1-3   | AZ 59; ST<br>VI,27; TA<br>25.5                           | Lam. 1:20                       | TA 43.13                             |
| Isa. 61:5,6   | AZ 70  | Lam. 4:20                       | ST VI,22; TA<br>6.5; 10.41;<br>11.8  |
| Isa. 61:8,9   | AZ 65  | Ezekiel                         | TA 3.16                              |
| Isa. 61:9-11  | AZ 66; AZ 68;<br>TA 33.12;<br>50.15,16                   | Ezekiel 9:4-6                   | ST VI,24                             |
| Isa. 62:1-3   | AZ 69 ; TA<br>50:17,18                                   | Ezek. 16:1-39                   | TA 49.15-29                          |
| Isa. 62:8     | TA 41.1  | Ezekiel 16:3                    | AZ 34                                |
| Isa. 62:11    | TA 10.16   | Ezek. 44:1-2                    | TA 20.5,6                            |
| Isa. 63:1     | ST VI,25   | Daniel                          | TA 3.16                              |
|               |  | Daniel 2:1-35                   | AZ 114 TH                            |
|               |  | (all AZ, TA ref. to TH version) |                                      |

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| Daniel 2:34,35  | AZ 113; TA 34.21,22           | Zech. 9:9            | TA 10.16,17  |
| Daniel 3:91,92  | ST VII,28; TA 29.17           | Zech. 11:12,13       | AZ 107; TA 10.14   |
| Daniel 6:18     | TA 19.7                       | Zech. 11:16,17       | ST I,5   |
| Daniel 6:19-22  | TA 19:17-19                   | Zech. 12:10-14       | ST VI,22 ; TA 54.22-24                                       |
| Daniel 7:1-9    | TA 56.5-12                    | Zech. 13:3,4         | TA 52.3,4  |
| Daniel 7:2-18   | AZ 116 TH                     | Zech. 14:16-18       | AZ 53, 54  |
| Daniel 7:9-14   | TA 56.14-20                   |                      |  |
| Daniel 7:13,14  | ST VI,25; TA 48.12            | <b>Apocrypha</b>     |  |
| Daniel 9: 20-26 | AZ 121; ST III,12             | Baruch 3:36-38       | AZ 21, 24, 25, 27; ST II,6; TA 6.5; 10.5-10; 32.8-11; 47.3-5 |
| Daniel 12:2     | TA 54.8                       | Apocryphal Baruch    | ST IV,17   |
| The Twelve      | TA 3.16                       | Bel and Dragon 33-39 | TA 19.9  |
| Hosea 1:2       | ST VI,24                      | Judith               | TA 3.17  |
| Hosea 1:10      | TA 12.15; 37.15               | Letter of Aristeas   | TA 39.7-34   |
| Hosea 2:1-11    | TA 49.4-9                     | Sirach               | TA 3.17  |
| Hosea 2:1, 2    | ST VI,25; TA 37.12            | Sirach 20:30         | TA 39.28   |
| Hosea 2:13,14   | TA 37:13,14                   | Sirach 22:9          | TA 24.6  |
| Hosea 2:18      | TA 37.16                      | Sirach 22:10         | TA 55.15   |
| Hosea 2:23      | TA 37.17                      | Sirach 24:5-7        | ST III,11  |
| Hosea 5:14      | AZ 115                        | Test. of Sol. 26:5   | TA 9.13  |
| Hosea 6:2       | TA 54.9                       | Tobit                | TA 3.17  |
| Hosea 6:3       | ST VI,25                      | Tobit 4:15           | ST V,21  |
| Hosea 10:6      | TA 10.23                      | Wisdom of Solomon    | TA 3.17  |
| Hosea 13:7      | AZ 115                        | Wis. of Sol. 2:12-22 | ST VI,25; TA 10.32-39  |
| Amos 8:9,10     | ST VI,25; TA 53.7             | Wis. of Sol. 5:2-5   | AZ 29; TA 10.30,31   |
| Amos 9:11       | TA 12.13                      | 1Esdras 1:36-38?     | TA 10.24,27  |
| Jonah 2:9       | TA 54.21                      |                      |  |
| Micah 3:12      | TA 49.14                      | <b>New Testament</b> |  |
| Micah 5:1       | TA 6.5; 8.4                   | The Gospel           | TA 3.22  |
| Micah 5:2       | ST IV,17                      | Matt. 1:2-16         | TA 17.5-17; 35.9-27  |
| Micah 6:3       | TA 41.19                      | Matt. 1:16           | TA 17.3  |
| Habakkuk 1:5    | ST VII,28; TA 18.11-13; 38.13 | Matt. 1:18           | TA 17.18,19  |
| Haggai 2:5      | TA 5.11                       | Matt. 1:23           | AZ 30  |
| Haggai 2:9      | TA 12.13                      | Matt. 2:1-11         | AZ 33  |
| Zech. 3:1-5     | TA 11.5,6                     |                      |  |
| Zech. 6:12      | TA 46.22                      |                      |  |

Matt. 2:2	AZ 76	Philippians 3:1a	TA 56.3
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Matt. 27:40	TA 55.18		
Matt. 27:45	TA 53.6		
Matt. 27:46	TA 55.24		
Matt. 27:48	TA 55.22		
Matt. 27:51-53	TA 53.9		
Matt. 28:12,13	TA 54.18,19		
Mark 6:3	AZ 43		
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