

The Discussion Of St. Gregentius
Archbishop Of Taphar
With The Jew Herban

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Γρηγορευτίου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου
γεγομένου Τέφρων Διάθεξις μετὰ Ἰουδαίου
Ἑρβαν τούνοκα

Introduction, Translation, and Commentary

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Michigan

William Thomas Radius

September

1939

(Because of the difficulties of reproducing it, the part of this thesis entitled Commentary is found in only one of the three copies submitted. This has been done with the approval of Dean Yoakum. This copy contains the Commentary.)

Preface

It was at the suggestion of Professor Campbell Bonner that I began to investigate the source of the Scriptural quotations used by Gregentius to refute his opponent, Herban. The results of that study are to be found in the Introduction (IV). The relations of Gregentius' variations from the text of the LXX to other manuscripts are fully exhibited in the Commentary. It soon became apparent that the Dialogue was virgin territory and it was decided to present a rather complete survey of the work. A glance at the Table of Contents will reveal the scope of the investigation.

The Dialogue is found in Migne, (P. G. lxxxvi, 621-784). Migne's text is a reprint from Galland, which in turn was a reprint, (with the addition of some few notes), of the editio princeps (1586) of Nicolaus Gulonius. Gulonius' work, - a printed text, a Latin translation, and some textual notes, - was based on a text brought to Europe from the East by Aegidius Noallius, "Christianissimi regis legatus". This was the first manuscript of the Dialogue known in Europe. It was a piece of good fortune that the Library of the University of Michigan came into possession of a copy of this first edition.

I have been at some pains to correct in the Commentary all typographical mistakes in Migne, since this is for practical reasons the only edition of the Dialogue available to students of Gregentius. The reader will also discover there some textual emendations, a few of which are inevitable while many are debatable.

Underlined numbers refer to the items in the Commentary. The pagination of Migne is the standard of reference and has been placed in the margin of the translation. The chapter and verse designations follow AV, not the LXX. A word about abbreviations and a few other matters precedes the Commentary.

I owe to Professor Bonner not only what I mention at the outset but also the good counsel whereby I was enabled to carry on.

Table of Contents

Preface

	page
INTRODUCTION	
I. Life of Gregentius.....	4
II. The contents of the Dialogue.....	6
III. The manners of the Disputants.....	13
IV. Gregentius's text of the LXX.....	15
V. The Dialogue and other Antijudaicae	
a. A comparison of the texts used by Gregentius and similar apologists.....	32
b. Literary affinities of the Dialogue...	44
TRANSLATION.....	48
COMMENTARY.....	201
Bibliography.....	257
Indices.....	259
Appendix.....	268

I
Life Of Gregentius

Biographical notices of Gregentius are rare and meager.¹⁾ All of them warn the reader that nearly all the traditional data are open to serious doubt. Since it is not the purpose of this study to investigate these matters critically, we shall present the customary facts.

Gregentius was born at Milan, (or at Soplhan--"on the frontiers of Asia"), of Agapius his father and Theodota his mother, on the 19th. of December (his festal day), according to the Greek menaea, in the second half of the fifth century (A. D.). He went to Alexandria where he embraced the life of an anchorite. After Elesbaan (Caleb) in 528 had overcome Dunaan, the Jewish king of the Homerites, Gregentius was sent by Asterius (or Proterius) patriarch of Constantinople to take charge of the Homerites, (Himyarites in Southern Arabia). Here at the capital city of Tephra (Zafār)³⁾ he spread Christianity among the idolaters of Yemen. He died in 552 on the 19th. of December, (according to the Dialogue, 784A).²⁾

1) A Biographical Dictionary of The Saints, R. S. Holweck, 1924; Cyclop. of Biblic. Theol. & Eccles. Lit., (McClintock & Strong), Supplement, vol. II; D. Cellier, Histoire Generale des Auteurs Sacres et Ecclesiastiques, Paris, 1862, p279, 280; Cathol. Encycl. vol. I, p. 672; Otto Bardenhewer, Patrology, p. 551, 552 (transl. by Shahan), Herder, 1908; Dictionary of Christian Biography, Smith & Wace, vol. 2, p. 730; Krumbacker, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur, 1897, p. 59 (in Iwan Müller)

2) For the history of the Himyarites subsequent to the death of Gregentius, cf. the newly discovered fragments of the Book of the Himyarites, edited with a Translation and Introduction in English, by A. Moberg, Lund, 1924.

3) Classical Sapphar and Sapphar, Sephar of Gen. 10:30

Two writings are ascribed to Gregentius: the Leges Homeritarum, (Migne, P. G. lxxxvi, 568) and the Disputatio Cum Herbano Judaeo, (ibid. 621-784)¹⁾. No strong historical weight can be attached to the tradition which credits him with these two works.²⁾ In order that the reader may judge for himself of what sort the criticism is which challenges the authenticity of our Dialogue, (as well as the traditional details of his life), I have translated the Latin prefaces to these works which are found in Galland and Fabricius and placed them in an Appendix, (page 268 ff.). In so far as they concern the Dialogue they are discussed at their proper place in the Commentary.

1) Krumbacher, op. cit. p. 59 assigns the Dialogue to the time of Justinian, (527-565). Williams, Adversus Judaeos, (Cambridge, 1935) inclines to a slightly earlier date, "... between A. D. 510 and 520." For evidence favoring the later date, cf. p. 16a See also 104a

2) Moberg, op. cit. p. lii, "Other legends, as that of the dispute of the Bishop Gregentius of Zafar with the Jews..." apart from the miraculous conclusion there is essentially nothing improbable about the Dial. Whether Gregentius be the author is quite another question, (cf. 42, 814). We do know that in the southwestern part of the Arabian peninsula, (Yaman, of which Zafar was the capital city), there was a long struggle for supremacy between Judaism and Christianity, in the pre-Islamic period. (cf. Wellhausen, Reste Arabischen Heidenthums, 1927, p.230sq.) It is this struggle which our Dial. reflects. The judgement of Wright, (Early Christianity In Arabia, p. 93) appears to me to be a fair statement of the case, "The existence and history of St. Gregentius appear to be well authenticated by the Menaea and Martyrologies, but the particulars of his dispute with Herban, and its miraculous termination, were probably invented by some pious monks years after the time when they occurred."

The Contents of the Dialogue

The discussion covers a period of four days, each of which constitutes a major division.¹⁾ However, this fourfold partition is merely arbitrary and convenient and does not represent a logical arrangement of the material.²⁾ The fact is that there is no discernible order or sequence in the debate;³⁾ the disputants pass from topic to topic at random. This lack of form makes it impossible to reduce the discussion to a satisfactory outline. The writer had no plan in mind as he composed and consequently no plan can be extracted from his work. The miraculous conclusion became a necessity for a work which could have no logical termination. It has not been possible to include in the outline the many points of special interest without defeating the purpose of the outline. What follows, therefore, is little more than an incomplete table of contents.

I First Day's Debate 621A-652A

1. Explanation of circumstances, 621AB.
2. Herban affirms the preeminence of the Jews, 624B-625A
3. Herban challenges the doctrine of the Trinity, 625B-628C, which Gregentius defends.

-
- 1) The "days" are of uneven length. The 80 columns in Migne are divided as follows: 1st day 15, 2nd day 38, 3rd day 12, 4th day 15.
 - 2) Justin's Trypho covers two days.
 - 3) This is rather characteristic of the whole class of Antijudaica.

4. Unable to meet Gregentius' proofs, Herban falls back on the preeminence of the Jews, ("Israel is my son, even my first born"), 628C-629C. Gregentius, "Yes, but because of your rejection of the Christ we have supplanted you--as Jacob supplanted Esau--in God's favor."
5. Herban adduces Christ's suffering and death as disproof of his divinity, 629C. Gregentius cites OT prophecies, especially, "You shall see your life hanging before your eyes."
 - a. Types of the Cross are mentioned, 636C, to which Herban replies, "Why did not one of the prophets openly say that the Word of God, etc?" 640A.
 - b. Psalm 72 is discussed at length. Herban claims that the reference is to Solomon and Gregentius attacks the character of Solomon in detail, 644A.
6. "If 'Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell' refers to Christ, then he was a man and not God," says Herban, 645D, whereupon Gregentius gives a defense of the doctrine of the two natures of Christ.
7. Gregentius discusses Psalm 2, which Herban says refers to David. When hard pressed, Herban falls back on, "There shall be no strange God in Thee, etc." Ps. 81:9.

Thus ends the First Day. "...the question in dispute reached no issue." The Jews "rejoiced in Herban" and "kissed him fervently."

II The Second Day's Debate, 652B-725D

1. Gregentius repudiates the charge of polytheism implied in Herban's last remark.
2. "Sit thou at my right hand," is discussed.
3. "How could the womb of a woman accommodate the fearful greatness of the Godhead?" "As the fire did not consume the bush in the desert, so also a Virgin gave birth and after the birth continued to remain a Virgin."
4. Herban reverts to the stumbling block of the Cross, 657B. Gregentius replies at considerable length: "It was all foretold by the prophets," which reduces Herban to a protracted silence. He is in a "quandary", he says, and cannot harmonize Moses ("The Lord our God is one Lord,") and the clear prophecies of Isaiah, 664B. To that too Scripture furnishes an answer: "Hear ye indeed, but understand not."
5. After some ironic flattery, 665B, Herban affirms the superior authority of their Law because of its priority to the "law" of the Christians. Gregentius,
 - a. "The law of the Lord (i.e. Christ) is perfect."
 - b. "God shall come from Thaeman (heaven) and the Holy One from the darkshaded Mount Pharan (Mary)."
6. Herban answers vaguely, "Old wine is better than new," 672B. Gregentius, "Not if it has soured."
7. The Restoration to the Land ¹⁾ ("The Lord doth build up Jerusalem: he gathereth together the outcasts of Israel.")

1) This topic continues to the end of the Second Day and comprises a fourth of the entire work.

676B is put forward by Herban as a sufficient answer to all that has been advanced by Gregentius. Many OT texts and undisputed historic facts (their several periods of exile) are cited by Gregentius to show God's rejection of Israel. Herban cites many passages in support of the Restoration, to all of which Gregentius has a ready reply. "Look up and see, how that all of Jerusalem is full ^{of} ~~for~~ Christians, not of Jews." Herban returns to the charge that Christianity is polytheism and, he adds, Christ is a "more recent God". Gregentius, "How could God make himself known without his Word?"--"By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made, etc."

At the end of the day both sides rejoiced in their spokesmen.

III The Third Day's Debate 728A-749A

1. Gregentius takes up again the interpretation of, "Wash you, be clean," (Is. 1:16) which he maintains is a reference to baptism, because elsewhere in the chapter God makes clear that he does not desire the Jews to appear before him in the Temple. "But," rejoins Herban, "did He not say, 'I will purge thee to pureness...and thou shalt be called...the faithful mother-city Zion'?" (Is. 1:25sq). "That," says Gregentius, "refers to the effect of the Babylonian captivity." 729A

2. Gregentius gives his interpretation of Is. 2:2,

"For in the last days the mountain of the Lord shall be glorious, and the house of God, (not the temple of Solomon, but "where the Nazarene was buried"), shall be lifted up on the top of the mountains, ("of the world, ascending which most hatefully did they sacrifice to idols"), and it shall be exalted above the hills, ('of the created world on which the temples of the idols are situated')."

3. Discussion of Is. 49, 741Asq. "But Judea shall be inhabited forever," means according to Gregentius, "the Judea above, which is the country of the Word of God who was made flesh from the line of Judah."

744D

4. Gregentius maintains that Psalm 47 refers to the ascension of Christ and his rule over all the nations.
5. Herban adduces Psalm 77, but Gregentius says, "There is no time to answer you, O most shameless one, for the hour is late." 749A

The Jews again "rejoiced because Herban could meet the responses of the Archbishop," but Herban tells of a vision which he had the previous night which bodes ill for the Jews.

IV The Fourth Day's Debate 749D--784B

1. Gregentius first replies to some reviling of the previous day and then interprets Psalm 77:13, which Herban had adduced at the end of the day.--"Thy way,

- O God, is in the sanctuary." (Sanctuary means Israel, says Herban; Christ, says Gregentius). "Say among the Gentiles that the Lord (signifies his divinity) reigneth (his humanity)." Ps. 96:10, 753BC.
2. How about Ps. 96:5, "For all the gods of the Gentiles are idols"? 753D. Gregentius, "Bring me as many demon-possessed people as you wish, and I shall merely call upon the Lord Jesus Christ and the demons shall be seized with trembling and shall depart from them." 756A
 3. Herban returns to his old difficulty, the Cross is an offense, "impossible and absolutely unbelievable", 761A. Gregentius answers that God himself had to atone for sin, for he "did not wish to snatch man from the hands of the Savage One tyrannically." 761D
 4. Why did Jesus break the sabbath? 765B. Again, if God, how could he say, "I ascend unto my Father, and your Father, etc."? 765C
 5. Palladius, the secretary of the Archbishop is seen "taking down the remarks of both". 768B
 6. Herban appeals to the fact that Moses and Elijah were made perfect through the Law, 768C. Gregentius replies at length that Christ alone attained perfection, 769A--772D
 7. Miraculous conclusion, 773B. Baptism of Herban and all the Jews.

* * *

From this brief survey it can be seen that certain themes recur. When hard pressed Herban resorts to one or the other of two points of view which he feels are unassailable. The Cross is an offense, (629C, 657B, 761A, 764C), and, Christianity is a worship of more than one God and this the OT strictly forbids, (649B, 664D, 712C). These objections are unanswerable, apart from accepting Christianity. Gregentius' answer usually consists in expounding some aspect of the Nature of Christ, (645D, 656B, 672B, 709ABC, 741B, 761A).¹⁾

1) I cannot agree with the opinion of Williams, ^{op. cit.} Adversus Judaeos, p. 141, where he apparently includes the Dialogue in the following indictment, "...the deeper reason, the natural dislike of that humiliation of spirit which is necessary for the reception of the Cross of Christ, has remained unnoticed by them, and but dimly perceived by Christians."

The Manners of the Disputants

Herban is clearly at a disadvantage in having to argue his case before a hostile court (621A), yet he preserves a dignity and poise which wins for him the reader's sympathy,-- an effect which Gregentius could scarcely have intended. The miraculous conclusion would seem to suggest that the Jew had the better of the argument. Herban, (unlike Justin's Trypho), was something more than a 'layman' in Jewish lore. The Archbishop, calm and suave in the assurance that he is fortified on all sides by the power of the throne, is never at a loss for either a question or an answer. As a whole, one feels that the discussion proceeds in a gentlemanly fashion. And yet, behind the polish, one senses the utter lack of sympathetic understanding on the part of each, which goes far in accounting for the ineffectiveness of the Dialogue. The arguments are unavailing, either in winning the Jews to Christ or in clarifying for Christians the special difficulties which the Jews faced in accepting Christianity. A citation of their unguarded utterances may serve to show more truly the temper of the discussion. As will be seen, they are about evenly matched in name-calling. Vituperation is less pardonable in the Archbishop.

Herban says that Gregentius allegorizes what is to his advantage, (636D, 697AB), has a "lofty tongue" (641B), is an "inquisitive busybody" (649B), blasphemes (653B), invents interpretations (657A), practices "sleight-of-hand and craftiness" (668D), is an "idle babbler" (677C), is "a great manufactory of much clever speech" (704B), etc.

Gregentius charges Herban with unfair interpretation of a text (632D), says he is full of folly (633A), calls him blind (636A), "you lie" (645C), "blind, foolish, senseless, malignant, stupid, unbelieving, abusive, confused, darkened" (664A), a "bastard" (669A), "you delight in false words and useless thoughts" (684B), refuses to believe even if he lives "as long as Methuselah" (713D), "your case is that of a dog: it is customary for dogs to be beaten and to be driven from the house and again to have the effrontery to forget the beating and to enter the house, and then they are struck and driven out" (721B), etc.

Gregentius' Text of the Septuagint

While for the Dialogue as a whole the judgment of Krumbacher is a counsel of perfection, it sounds a note of caution which cannot be ignored when one investigates the Scriptural quotations.¹⁾ It is certainly true that the text of a patristic writing requires to be critically edited before a satisfactory comparison can be made of the quotations with the MSS of the LXX. This is all the more true for the Dialogue in view of the extremely doubtful character of the circumstances of composition. However, this requirement is of significance most of all when the study of the Scriptural quotations is undertaken for the light which they may throw on the text of the LXX. Because of its lateness, the Dialogue cannot be made to serve that very useful end.²⁾ There is, furthermore, this to be said in favor of accepting the general reliability of the quotations as they are now found in Migne: the variations do not all point in the same direction as they most probably would if they had been the object of a copyist's revision. We may then, for our purpose, assume that the text represents Gregentius' own quotations from the biblical MSS of his time.

Because the process of consulting a MS was difficult, it is natural for us to assume that early Christian writers

1) "Eine neue Ausgabe ist die Vorbedingung für die geforderte Untersuchung." Byz. Lit., 1897, p. 59

2) *Except as is indicated on p. 16 a.*

quoted from memory. That is both an easy and a plausible explanation of the difference between the version found in the Father and in our Scripture. And indeed it may be a sound principle when applied to the writings in general, but care must be taken that it does not obscure a more specialized reason for textual divergences.

The most significant aspect of the Dialogue as regards the quotations is that it is an apology. Whatever may be true for other writers, an Apologist must exercise some care in his quotations. The requirements of his subject are such that verbal accuracy is needed. The list of texts which follows shows that Gregentius quotes with great accuracy and discrepancies between his quotations and the MSS of the OT must not be laid down to inaccuracy. If the facts were all known they would probably reveal variations in the current text.

Gregentius quotes 249 OT texts, of which 107 agree verbally with the printed text of Swete. The agreement is closest in the Psalms. May this not be ascribed to the fact that the Psalms were learned more from memory than other parts of Scripture? It will be seen that the variations agree with one or another of the greater MSS of the LXX. ¹⁾ See p. 16 a

Of the 21 NT texts quoted, 15 are verbally identical with the Oxford NT. 9 of the 21 texts are quotations from the LXX and are assigned to the NT merely because they show ²⁾ greater correspondence to the NT form.

-
- 1) The MSS cited do not in each instance account for all the variations in the text.
 - 2) In Migne they are generally assigned to the OT. cf. e.g., 664D 215.

The standard used for quotations from the LXX would be the current version of the time and district. Hence it is not surprising to find a noticeable leaning in Isaiah toward Q, frequently in company with Sin A. It is worth noting that the combination Sin A Q is found in 13 of the 106 texts of Isaiah. In 7 of these 13 texts the witness of Γ can be added. This agreement of Q and Γ is of some interest. It tends to corroborate what Kenyon, (The Text of The Greek Bible, p. 54), states rather provisionally about the relation of Γ to Q: "...a text [Γ] which seems to be...akin to that of Q..."

It will be recalled that there are two opinions concerning the date of the Dialogue, Williams preferring the second decade of the sixth century and Krumbacher, the subsequent years of the reign of Justinian (cf. p. 5, note 1). The very definite leaning toward Q would seem to favor the later date. Dr. Ceria the distinguished editor of Q, places it not later than the sixth century. More recent opinion (cf. Kenyon, op. cit. p. 53) assigns it outright to that century. It is not likely that the manuscript would be available to a writer far off in the Arabian peninsula in the second decade of the century.

Those variants which are of special interest are discussed in the Commentary. It may be convenient to summarize here certain peculiarities of the quotations, the details of which are to be found in the Commentary.

1. It is not safe to assume that words omitted by Gregentius were unknown to him. cf. 724A 598, 724B 600, 728B 631.

2. The requirements of the argument or the particular form of the setting of a quotation account for many of the differences between Gregentius and the LXX.

629C	<u>26</u>	721A	<u>584</u>
657C	<u>159</u>	724C	<u>608</u>
664A	<u>209</u>	728A	<u>630</u>
664B	<u>210</u>	728B	<u>632</u>
680B	<u>309</u>	728C	<u>636</u>
684C	<u>334</u>	736C	<u>672</u>
685B	<u>344</u>	744A	<u>706</u>
685B	<u>345</u>	745A	<u>722</u>
701A	<u>446</u>	745B	<u>730</u>
717A	<u>560</u>	748A	<u>739</u>
717B	<u>563</u>		

3. Double or triple quotations frequently do not agree throughout.

640B	<u>69</u>	709A	<u>508</u>
660D	<u>182</u>	713B	<u>533</u>
664C	<u>214</u>	716A	<u>543</u>
665C	<u>225</u>	721C	<u>587</u>
676B	<u>276</u>	725A	<u>617</u>
692A	<u>383</u>	729B	<u>642</u>
693A	<u>397</u>	748D	<u>745</u>
697C	<u>424</u>	756D	<u>780</u>
700B	<u>434</u>	756D	<u>781</u>
700C	<u>439</u>	757D	<u>789</u>
705D	<u>494</u>	757D	<u>790</u>
708C	<u>504</u>		

4. Occasionally only part of a text is quoted, (sometimes followed by $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \iota\acute{\kappa}\eta\varsigma$), although the argument clearly requires the omitted words. Might this not be the fault of a scribe who was not at the trouble of completing the text?

641C	<u>88</u>
745B	<u>727</u>
748D	<u>743</u>

5. There are some paraphrases or loose quotations.

632A 30
649C 121
656A 187 ¹³⁷
661D 200
664B 211
665A 219
665C 226
676A 272
676D 281

681A 316
700A 428
712C 528
717D 569
745B 730
745D 737
760C 793
765B 808
769D 826

I

Old Testament

Gen.

2:18 625D	LXX
12:2 660A	dpd ₂
12:3 625A	LXX
700B	
49:9 745B	
49:10 633A	Venice Cod. 72

Ex.

3:7 716A	LXX
3:8 716A	F
4:22 628C	qu
22:1 760C	
33:13 660A	
716A	
33:16 660A	v. Commentary

Deut.

4:27 629C	LXX (?)
6:4 625D	Ancient Versions and Fathers
664C	
6:13 (Mt. 4:10) 664D	A

1) This study is based on Swete, Brooke and McLean, and Holmes and Parsons. For the Psalms I have also made use of Rahlfs, Septuaginta, X Psalmi cum Odis, Gottingen, 1931. While I have followed Tischendorf and all subsequent (continued on next page)

Deut. (cont.)

18:15 (Acts 3:22) 632A	v. Commentary
665C	
18:19 (Acts 3:23) 632A	
665C	
27:26 (Gal. 3:10) 693C	
28:66 632C	v. Commentary
32:26 629C	AF
32:28 676D	LXX
32:49 769B	
32:50 769B	

I Kings

17:1 769D
18:17 716C

Psalms

2:1 657D	LXX
2:2 657D, 660A	LXX
2:4 660B	LXX
2:5 660B	LXX
2:7 648B	
2:8 648C	LXX
2:9 648D	LXX
2:10 649A	LXX
2:11 649A	LXX
2:12 649A	LXX
9:20 672C	LXX

(continued from previous page)
editors in recognizing the hands of four original scribes
in the text of Codex Sinaiticus, it is now fairly clear

Psalms (cont.)

10:5 760B	LXX
10:16 676D	LXX
15:3 664A	Sin ^{c.a.}
16:4 676B	AU
757B	LXX
16:5 676C	LXX
16:10 645B,C	LXX (v. Commentary)
17:14 672C	B ^{a mg} (non inst B) ^b
18:11 688B	LXX
19:7 665C, 668C	LXX
19:8 668C	LXX
22:7 661A	LXX
22:8 661A	LXX
22:16 661A	LXX
22:17 661A	LXX
22:18 661A	LXX
25:22 672C	LXX
27:12 660C	LXX
33:6 628B, 713B	LXX
35:16 660D	LXX
35:17 660D	LXX
41:7 657C	
41:8 657C	LXX
41:9 657C	LXX
47:1 748B ^c	LXX

(continued from previous page)

discovery to Milne and Skeat, Scribes And Correctors of The Codex Sinaiticus, British Museum, 1938. See Professor Henry Sanders very favorable review in "Amer. Jour. of Philol." *October, 1939*

Psalms (cont.)

47:5 745C	LXX
47:7 745A	
47:8 745B	
51:6 748A	LXX
69:21 661B	
72:4 641C	LXX
72:5 641C	LXX
72:6 640C	
72:7 640D, 641B	LXX
72:8 641A	LXX
72:9 641A	LXX
72:17 641D	LXX
644C	T
73:9 748C	LXX
74:2 716B	LXX
75:8 673B	LXX
77:13 748D	LXX
77:14 748D	LXX
77:15 748D	LXX
81:9 649B	LXX
81:10 649B	LXX
82:6 752B	LXX
82:7 752C	c c.a. B Sin ART
86:17 693C	LXX
94:1 780A	LXX
94:14 673B	LXX
94:16 673D	c.a. Sin AT
96:5 753D	
96:7 753B	LXX
96:8 753B	

Psalms (cont.)

96:9 753B	LXX
96:10 753B, 753C	LXX
97:1 756C	
98:1 756C	ab B
98:2 756D	LXX
98:3 756D	LXX
109:5 657C	LXX
109:17 657C	LXX
109:18 657C	c.a. Sin ART
110:1 649C, 745B	LXX
110:2 653B	c.a. T Sin
110:3 656A	c.a. Sin ART
656B	LXX Sin ^{c.a.} AT
110:4 656B	AT
119:130 768B	LXX
119:155 689D	c.a. Sin AR*T
146:5 676C	c.a. Sin RT
147:2 676A	LXX
724A	
147:3 676A	LXX
147:12 672C	LXX
147:13 672C	LXX

Isaiah

1:2 717A, 768A	LXX
1:3 717A	
1:4 717B	
1:5 717C	LXX

Isaiah (cont.)

1:6 717D, 720A	Q ^{mg} ; Orig. ii.569; Cyrill. Alex. ii.695
1:7 673D	
720A	LXX
720B	
1:8 720C, 728B	LXX
1:9 684C, 721A	
1:10 721C	
1:11 721C	LXX
1:12 721C, 721D, 728B	LXX
1:13 724A, 728B	LXX
1:14 724A, 724B, 728B	LXX
1:15 724C	Sin AQΓ
724D	
725A	
728B	
1:16 684D, 725B	Γ (v. Commentary)
1:20 725B	LXX
1:25 728C	
1:26 728C	LXX
1:27 729A	LXX
2:1 729B	
2:2 729B, 729C	Sin AQΓ (v. Commentary)
2:3 729D	^{mg} Q Sin (v. Commentary)
3:10 (Wisdom 2:12) 657D	
4:2 684A	
4:3 684A	LXX
4:4 684A, 685C	Sin* (improb Sin ^{c.b.})
4:5 685B, 685D	

5:2 688D	Sin* (X improb ut vid Sin) AZΓ
689A	Sin AQΓ (v. Commentary)
5:3 689A	Sin AQZΓ
5:4 689A	Z
5:5 689A	Q ^{mg} Z
689B	LXX
5:6 689B	LXX
689C	Sin ^{c.a.} AQZΓ
5:7 689D	Sin AQ (sub:) Z
6:9 665A	LXX
6:10 665A	Sin AQ
7:7 696C	LXX
7:8 696D	
7:14 (Mt. 1:23) 656B	
10:12 733B, 733C	b B Sin AQ (v. Commentary)
10:13 733D	Sin AQΓ
10:14 733D	mg ab a Q AB Q
10:15 736B	
10:17 732C	A
10:18 732C, 737B	
10:19 732C, 737B	
10:20 732C	Sin ^{c.a.} Γ (v. Commentary)
740A	
11:10 692B, 692C	LXX
11:11 692A, 693A	Sin AQ
11:12 692A, 692C, 693C	(v. Commentary)
11:13 692A	
11:16 692B, 696D	
12:1 692B	LXX

Isaiah (cont.)

14:24 677C	LXX
14:25 677C	Sin c.b. AQ*P
14:29 676D	LXX
28:16 713C	(v. Commentary)
29:11 656D	
40:27 673D	
41:4 704C, 709A	LXX
41:5 704C	mg Q (v. Commentary)
41:6 704C	(v. Commentary)
41:7 704D	A
41:8 705A, 705C	LXX
41:9 705A	
41:10 705A, 705B, 705D, 709A	
41:11 705B	
708C	LXX
41:12 705B	a Q
41:13 705B	LXX
41:14 705B	mg Q Symmachus
45:11 709C	
45:13 709D	LXX
45:14 709D, 712A	
45:15 712A	Sin AQ
45:16 712A	
45:17 672D	
49:8 741A	Sin AQ (v. Commentary)
49:9 741A	a Q
49:10 741D	c.c(vid) a Sin AQ
49:11 741D	LXX

Isaiah (cont.)

49:12 744A

Sin*

49:13 744A

b

49:14 740D

B

49:15 740D

(v. Commentary)

50:6 660C

LXX

52:14 661B

52:15 661B

53:1 664D

LXX

53:2 661B

53:3 661B

53:4 661C

mg
Q (v. Commentary)

53:5 661C

661D

a

Q

53:7 660C

~~LXX~~ Sin^{c.a.} AQ

53:8 661D

mg

Q

53:9 664A

ab

B Sin Q

664B

c.a.

Sin AQ

668C

c.a.

Sin AQ

63:3 637D

mg

Q

63:15 716C

63:16 716C

63:17 716C

65:9 701A, 704A

Sin AQ

66:18 700B, 701D

(v. Commentary)

66:19 700B

700C

66:20 700C

701A

Isaiah (cont.)

66:21 701A

66:22 701B

(v. Commentary)

66:23 701B

A

66:24 701C

701D

Jer.

11:19 640B

660D

LXX

15:7 677B

LXX

31:7 716C

Ezek.

36:24 697B

36:25 697B

(v. Commentary)

36:26 697B

(v. Commentary)

36:27 697B

(v. Commentary)

36:28 697B

LXX

Dan.

Da.Th.Su. 56 752B

Hos.

11:1 (Mt. 2:15) 628C

Joel

3:18 744B

744C

3:19 744C

Joel (cont.)

3:19 744D

3:21 745A

Amos

8:9 661B

LXX

Mich.

4:6 680B

A (v. Commentary)

4:7 680B

^a
Q (v. Commentary)

5:2 (Mt. 2:6) 681A

A

5:3 681A

5:4 681B

AQ

Hab.

3:2 672B

LXX

3:3 668D

669A

c.a.c.b.
Sin

Zech.

8:7 677C

8:8 677C

8:13 680A

8:14 680A

8:15 680A

8:20 680B

8:21 680B

8:22 680B

LXX

11:12, 13 (Mt. 27:9) 657D

II

Apocrypha

Wisdom

2:12 (Is. 3:10) 657D LXX

Baruch

3:36 633C LXX

3:37 633C v. Commentary

III

New Testament

Mt.

1:23 (Is. 7:14) 656B

2:6 (Mich. 5:2) 681A

2:15 (Hos. 11:1) 628C NT

3:7 753A NT

4:10 (Deut. 6:13) 664D NT

17:2 772D NT

17:5 772D NT

17:20 776B NT

27:9 (Zech. 11:12, 13) 657D NT

27:10 657D NT

Mk.

16:16 764B NT

John

1:14 648B

5:8 765C NT

8:48 664A NT

John (cont.)

10:33 664A NT

12:40 688B

12:46 688B NT

Acts

1:9 688A NT

3:22 (Deut. 18:15) 632A NT

3:23 (Deut. 18:19) 632A, 665C

Gal.

3:10 (Deut. 27:26) 693C

The Dialogue and Other Antijudaicae

a. A Comparison of the Texts Used by Gregentius
(c. A. D. 480) and Similar Apologists

(The apologists chosen for comparison do not include all writers of Antijudaicae which precede Gregentius. However, what follows is, I believe, a fair representation of this class of writings. The dates are those of Williams, (op. cit.). The following symbols are used:

- B--The Epistle of Barnabas c. A. D. 100
 T--Justin Martyr: The Dialogue With Trypho,
 A. D. 155-161
 Ter--Tertullian: An Answer To The Jews, c. A. D. 200
 H--Hippolytus: Treatise Against The Jews, A. D. 238
 C--Cyprian: Ad Quirinum (Liber Testimoniorum),
 A. D. 246-248
 TA--The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila, A. D. 200
 AZ--The Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus,
 A. D. 325)

I Old Testament

Gen.

2:18 625D

12:2 660A

12:3 625A, 700B

49:9 745B - T LII. 1

49:10 633A - T CXX. 4; TA Fol. 110 v^o; AZ 47Ex.

3:7 716A

3:8 716A

4:22 628C

22:1 760C

33:13 660A, 716A - TA Fol. 106 r^oDeut.

4:27 629C

6:4 625D, 664C - TA Fol. 76 r^o, 80 r^o; AZ 1

Deut. (cont.)

6:13 (Mt. 4:10) 664D

18:15 (Acts 3:22) 632A, 665C - TA Fol. 82v^o, 109 r^o

18:19 (Acts 3:23) 632A, 665C - C Bk. I, 18

27:26 (Gal. 3:10) 693C - T XCV. 1

28:66 632C - Ter ch. XI; C Bk. II, 20; TA Fol. 100 r^o,
133 r^o; AZ 36, 37

32:26 629C

32:28 676D

32:49 769B

32:50 769B

I Kings

17:1 769D

18:18 716C

Psalms

2:1 657D - C Bk. I, 10; AZ 110

2:2 657D, 660A - C Bk. I, 10; TA Fol. 81 v^o, 89 r^o; AZ 110

2:4 660B

2:5 660B - H 10

2:7 648B - T LXXXVIII. 8; Ter ch. XII; C Bk. II, 8; TA Fol.
81 v^o, 82 v^o, 84 r^o; AZ 49

2:8 648C - Ter ch. XII; C Bk. II, 8; AZ 49

2:9 648D

2:10 649A

2:11 649A

2:12 649A

9:20 672C

10:5 760B

10:16 676D

Psalms (cont.)

15:3 664A

16:4 676B, 757B

16:5 676C

16:10 645B - H 3; C Bk. II, 23

17:14 672C

18:11 688B

19:7 665C, 668C

19:8 668C

22:7 661A - T XCVIII; C Bk. II, 13

22:8 661A - T XCVIII; C Bk. II, 13

22:16 661A - T XCVIII; Ter ch. VIII, X, XIII; C Bk. II, 20

22:17 661A - B ch. VI; T XCVIII; Ter ch. XIII; C Bk. II, 20

22:18 661A - T XCVIII; Ter ch. X; C Bk. II, 20

25:22 672C

27:12 660C

33:6 628B, 713B - C Bk. II, 3

35:16 660D

35:17 660D

41:7 657C

41:8 657C

41:9 657C

47:1 748C

47:5 745C

47:7 745A

47:8 745B

51:6 748A

Psalms (cont.)

69:21 661B - Ter ch. X; H 4

72:4 641C

72:5 641C - T XLV. 4

72:6 640C

72:7 640D, 641B

72:8 641A

72:9 641A

72:17 641D, 644C

73:9 748C - TA Fol. 85 r^o

74:2 716B

75:8 673B

77:13 748D

77:14 748D

77:15 748D

81:9 649B

81:10 649B

82:6 752B - T CXXIV. 2

82:7 752C - T CXXIV. 2

86:17 693C

94:1 780A

94:14 673B

94:16 673D

96:5 753D - T LV. 2

96:7 753B - Ter ch. V

96:8 753B - Ter ch. V

96:9 753B

96:10 753B, 753C - T LXX. 1; Ter ch. X

Psalms (cont.)

97:1 756C - C Bk. II. 29

98:1 756C

98:2 756D

98:3 756D

109:5 657C - TA Fol. 92 r^o

109:17 657C

109:18 657C

110:1 649C, 745B - B Ch. XII; T XXXII. 6, LXXXIII. 1;
C Bk. II, 26

110:2 653B - T XXXII. 6; C Bk. II, 26

110:3 656A, 656B - T XXXII. 6, XLV. 4; C Bk. I, 17

110:4 656B - T XXXII. 6

119:130 768B

119:155 689D

146:5 676C

147:2 676A, 724A

147:3 676A

147:12 672C

147:13 672C

Isaiah

1:2 717A, 768A - Ter ch. III, IX; C Bk. I, 3; TA Fol. 119 v^o

1:3 717A - C Bk. I, 3

1:4 717B - Ter ch. III, XIII; C Bk. I, 3

1:5 717C

1:6 717D, 720A - B ch. V

1:7 673D, 720A, 720B - B ch. V; Ter ch. III, XIII; C Bk. I, 6

Isaiah (cont.)

- 1:8 720C, 728B - B ch. VI; Ter ch. III, IV, XIII; C Bk. I, 6;
TA Fol. 128 v^o
- 1:9 684C, 721A - T LV. 3; TA Fol. 119 v^o
- 1:10 721C - B ch. IX; Ter ch. IX; TA Fol. 89 v^o
- 1:11 721C - B ch. II; Ter ch. V; C Bk. I, 16; TA Fol 89 v^o
- 1:12 721C, 721D, 728B - B ch. II; Ter ch. V; C Bk. I, 16;
TA Fol. 89 v^o
- 1:13 724A, 728B - B ch. II, XIII; Ter ch. V
- 1:14 724A, 724B, 728B - B ch. II; Ter ch. V; TA Fol. 89 v^o
- 1:15 724C, 724D, 725A, 728B - Ter ch. III
- 1:16 684D, 725B
- 1:20 725B
- 1:25 728C
- 1:26 728C - TA Fol. 122 r^o, 122 v^o
- 1:27 729A - TA Fol. 122 r^o, 122 v^o
- 2:1 729B
- 2:2 729B, 729C - Ter ch. III; C Bk. II, 18; TA Fol. 127 v^o
- 2:3 729D - Ter ch. III; C Bk. I, 10, II, 18; TA Fol. 127 v^o
- 3:10 (Wisdom 2:12) 657D - B ch. VI; T CXXXVI. 2, CXXXVII. 3;
H 9; C Bk. II, 14; TA Fol. 85 v^o
- 4:2 684A
- 4:3 684A
- 4:4 684A, 685C
- 4:5 685B, 685D
- 5:2 688D, 689A - Ter ch. XIII; TA Fol. 121 r^o
- 5:3 689A - TA Fol. 121 r^o
- 5:4 689A - TA Fol. 121 r^o
- 5:5 689A, 689B - TA Fol. 121 r^o
- 5:6 689B, 689C - TA Fol. 121 r^o

Isaiah (cont.)

5:7 689D - TA Fol. 121 r^o

6:9 665A - C Bk. I, 3

6:10 665A - C Bk. I, 3; TA Fol. 132 v^o

7:7 696C

7:8 696D

7:14 (Mt. 1:23) 656B - T XLIII. 6, LXVII, 1, LXXXIV. 1;
Ter ch. IX; TA Fol. 94 r^o, 102 r^o,
111 r^o; AZ 30, 31, 32

10:12 733B, 733C

10:13 733D

10:14 733D

10:15 736B

10:17 732C

10:18 732C, 737B

10:19 732C, 737B

10:20 732C, 740A

11:10 692B, 692C - TA Fol. 119 v^o

11:11 692A, 693A

11:12 692A, 692C, 693C

11:13 692A

11:16 692B, 696D

12:1 692B

14:24 677C

14:25 677C

14:29 676D

28:16 713C - B ch VI; C Bk. II, 16

29:11 656D - C Bk. I, 4

40:27 673D

41:4 704C, 709A

Isaiah (cont.)

41:5 704C

41:6 704C

41:7 704D

41:8 705A, 705C

41:9 705A

41:10 705A, 705B, 705D, 709A

41:11 705B, 708C

41:12 705B

41:13 705B

41:14 705B

45:11 709C

45:13 709D

45:14 709D, 712A - C Bk. II, 6; TA Fol. 127 r^o; AZ 89, 91, 93

45:15 712A - C Bk. II, 6; AZ 89, 93

45:16 712A - C Bk. II, 6; AZ 89

45:17 672D

49:8 741A - T CXXII, 5

49:9 741A

49:10 741D

49:11 741D

49:12 744A

49:13 744A

49:14 740D

49:15 740D - TA Fol. 123 r^o

50:6 660C - C Bk. II, 13; TA Fol. 86 v^o

52:14 661B

52:15 661B

53:1 664D - C Bk. II, 13; AZ 38

Isaiah (cont.)

53:2 661B - Ter ch. XIV; C Bk. II, 13; TA Fol. 113 r^o; AZ 38

53:3 661B - Ter ch. IX; C Bk. II, 13; TA Fol. 113 r^o; AZ 39, 40

53:4 661C - C Bk. II, 13; TA Fol. 84 v^o, 113 r^o; AZ 39, 40

53:5 661C, 661D - B ch. V; C Bk. II, 13; AZ 39, 40

53:7 660C - Ter ch. IX, XIII; C Bk. II, 13, 15; B ch. V;
TA Fol. 87 v^o, 113 r^o; AZ 39, 40

53:8 661D - T XIII. 6, XLIII. 3; Ter ch. X, XIII; C Bk. II,
15; TA Fol. 81 r^o, 87 v^o, 113 r^o, 120 r^o;
AZ 39, 40, 43, 44

53:9 664A, 664B, 668C - Ter ch. X; C Bk. II, 15; AZ 39, 40;
TA Fol. 113 r^o, 120 r^o

63:3 637D

63:15 716C

63:16 716C

63:17 716C

65:9 701A, 704A

66:18 700B, 701D

66:19 700B, 700C

66:20 700C, 701A

66:21 701A

66:22 701B

66:23 701B - Ter ch. IV

66:24 701C, 701D

Jer.

11:19 640B, 660D - T LXXII. 2; Ter ch. X; C Bk. II, 20;
TA Fol. 85 v^o

15:7 677B

31:7 716C

Ezek.

36:24 697B

36:25 697B

36:26 697B

36:27 697B

36:28 697B

Dan.

Da. Th. Su. 56 752B

Hos.

11:1 (Mt. 2:15) 628C

Joel

3:18 744B, 744C

3:19 744C, 744D

3:21 745A

Amos

8:9 661B - Ter ch. X

Mich.

4:6 680B - T CIX. 3

4:7 680B - T. CIX. 3

5:2 (Mt. 2:6) 681A - T LXXXVIII. 1; TA Fol. 81 r^o

5:3 681A

5:4 681B

Hab.

3:2 672B

Zech.

8:7 677C

8:8 677C

8:13 680A

8:14 680A

8:15 680A

8:20 680B

8:21 680B

8:22 680B

11:12, 13 (Mt. 27:9) 657D - TA Fol. 84 v^o; AZ 107

II Apocrypha

Wisdom

2:12 (Is. 3:10) 657D - H 9; TA Fol. 86 r^o

Baruch

3:36 633C - C Bk. II, 6; TA Fol. 84 r^o, 109 v^o, 126 v^o;
AZ 24

3:37 633C - C Bk. II, 6; TA Fol. 81 r^o, 109 v^o, 126 v^o

III New Testament

Mt.

1:23 (Is. 7:14) 656B

2:6 (Mich. 5:2) 681A

2:15 (Hos. 11:1) 628C

3:7 753A

4:10 (Deut. 6:13) 664D

17:2 772D

17:5 772D

17:20 776B

Mt. (cont.)

27:9 (Zech. 11:12, 13) 657D - AZ 107

27:10 657D

Mk.

16:16 764B

John

1:14 748B

5:8 765C

8:48 664A

10:33 664A

12:40 688B

12:46 688B

Acts

1:9 688A

3:22 (Deut. 18:15) 632A

3:23 (Deut. 18:19) 632A, 665C

Gal.

3:10 (Deut. 27:26) 693C - T XCV. 1

b. Literary Affinities of the Dialogue

An investigation of the literary affinities of our Dialogue may well begin with a study of the Scriptural quotations. This is the one common element of structure in all these writings. They all quote the Bible, (particularly the OT), and make its texts the starting point for the argument. It is right here, by the way, that the common weakness of these works lies. The texts of Scripture were thought of as an arsenal of as many separate weapons, each to be used with little regard to the other. More serious than this was the employment of Midrashic and Haggadic methods of exegesis,--a theory of verbal inspiration which would seem ridiculous to even the extreme literalists of our days--by Christian as well as Jew. The spokesman for Christ rarely shows any appreciation for the combined impact of all prophecy and symbolism of the OT. In other words, there was lacking that systematization of Scriptural teaching which might have made their defence convincing.

The comparison of texts made above reveals at a glance two striking matters. The one is that Gregentius quotes many texts not employed by his predecessors. He stands alone in 78 of his 270 quotations. The significance of this fact is not so much evidence of originality in our writer as of the greater length of his apology. The second observation will bring us face to face with the central problem of this part of our study. It will be seen from the table that the writings tend to be grouped after certain texts. The easiest conclusion is that we have clear

proof of literary indebtedness. And yet the matter is not quite so simple. Even very close parallels may mean nothing more than the existence of an oral tradition with regard to appropriate texts and a common method of interpretation which cannot be ascribed to imitation, conscious or unconscious. Such sameness may well rest on a broader basis than is indicated by our customary terminology of literary connection.

This is not the place to consider the many arguments for and against the existence in early times of a book of Testimonies. That theory is associated most of all with the name of Rendel Harris and postulates that, "A Collection of texts from the OT which bore testimony to Christ and Christian teaching--hence called the Book of Testimonies--was drawn up in very early times, indeed before the composition of our present Gospels."¹⁾ It is no part of the present study to weigh the merits of this theory. That would demand an examination of many relationships which fall outside of the question of the relation of Gregentius to his predecessors. In general, so far as my investigation is concerned, the conclusion of Williams constitutes a satisfactory interpretation of the facts,--

"To sum up. The Book of Testimonies, considered as one book, is a myth. But the proper meaning of "myth", we have often been told, is the pictorial representation of a spiritual truth. In this case the truth denotes the permanence of a certain method which produced catena after catena of texts from the OT which were regarded as Testimonies to Christ and Christianity."²⁾

1) Williams, op. cit., p. 4, cf. also Rendel Harris, Testimonies, 1916 and 1920

2) op. cit., p. 12. I have placed in the Commentary many citations from other writers of Antijudaicae, dealing with points of special interest.

Yet, in spite of what has been stated above, there is one dialogue to which Gregentius' disputatio bears so close a resemblance that it is hard to believe that the correspondence is only accidental. The likeness of our Dialogue to Timothy and Aquila has escaped the notice of students of the subject. In his note to section 36 of Athanasius and Zacchaeus, Conybeare remarks, after calling attention to the verbal agreement in the quotation of Deut. 28:66 between AZ and Gregentius, that the latter work is "probably based on this dialogue."²⁾ Williams says of TA, "...the treatise is never quoted, or apparently, ever used, by other writers, save (as it seems) by the author of AZ."¹⁾ If we put these two statements together we get something of a relationship between TA and Gregentius by way of AZ.

The following table sets forth the details of this relationship.

(see next page)

1) op. cit., p. 68 The same writer has an Appendix on p. 122, "Showing in some detail the relation of AZ to TA." It is a curious fact, (in view of the position taken above), that of the twenty points there mentioned only one is to be found in Gregentius. cf. 760B 792

2) cf. 34

Timothy and Aquila

Gregentius

1. "in Alexandria" Raphael (both are African)
2. held in presence of "the king and his angelic bishop." Fol. 100 ro "the king and the most holy archbishop were present" 621A
3. there was "a great audience" Fol. 76 v^o, chiefly Jews, Fol. 76 v^o; cf. 78 ro "the whole city in a body stood round about them" 621A, but only the company of the Jews figure subsequently in the dial.
4. the bystanders broke into laughter when Aquila was cornered. bystanders reveal their emotions, 725D

(Order of Subjects)

1. Introduction--historical occasion, Fol. 75 v^o - 79 v^o Idem. 621A, B
2. The Trinity and the Incarnation, Fol. 79 v^o - 113 v^o the Trinity is the first matter discussed, 625B
3. The rejection of the Jews in favor of the Gentiles, 113 v^o - 132 v^o "Yes, but because of your rejection of the Christ we have supplanted you in God's favor." 629C This follows immediately upon the discussion of the Trinity. The passion of Christ is the third topic, 629C seq.
- Epilogue: Conversion and Baptism of the Jew, Fol. 138 ro - 138 v^o Idem. 780D

) "That, however, some sort of a Dialogue between a Christian and a Jew did take place, upon which this treatise was founded, is clear from the statement that the bystanders broke out once into laughter..." Williams, op. cit., p. 67 Is this not proof of nothing more than the author's dramatic art?

The Discussion of St. Gregentius
Archbishop of Taphar
With The Jew Herban

The First Day's Debate

621A Upon the expiration of the appointed period
of forty days, the Jews, as they had been ordered,
came together for the discussion. The trial was
held in the Threlletus,¹ which was the largest and
most important of the rooms of the royal palace.
The whole guard and the sacred senate, together with
the king and the most holy archbishop, were present.
And when these had seated themselves, the whole city
in a body stood round about them. The Jews, then,
upon coming before the court,² made Herban their
spokesman for the debate. This man was very
learned³ in the law, the sacred books of the proph-
ets, the Octateuch, and all the other writings of
Scripture. A crowd of Scribes, Pharisees, and
teachers of the Law stood round about him. From
B all the cities, at the command of the king, the
chief of the learned Jews and as many as were
skilled in debate had assembled. After a deep
silence the archbishop spoke to Herban and to the
whole company of the Jews.
Gregentius. Now that the night has passed and the
S^{on} of Righteousness has risen, why do you obstinately

1

Superior figures refer to notes which will be found
on p. 201

contend with his light, resisting and refusing to believe in him?

624A Herban. If then the ~~Son~~^u has risen and we believing in the God of the law oppose, as you say, his light,⁴ how much the more do you, who are an alien people and who hold to beliefs that are alien to the laws and oracles⁵ given by our God?

GREG. Whose⁶ creation, then, and handiwork are we Gentiles?

HERB. God's, of course; he made the both of us.

GREG. What preeminence then do you have over us?

HERB. Such as we have over the Egyptians.

GREG. Show your preeminence.

B HERB. Do you not know the great wonders which God marvelously wrought through Moses in the land of Egypt, and in the Red Sea, and in the desert, for the deliverance of Israel, drowning the Egyptians beneath the waters and saving Israel?

GREG. There is no difference between you and the Egyptians. Them he drowned in the Sea; you he laid low in the desert. And you who crossed the Red Sea as dry land, by perishing in the wilderness suffered shipwreck as it were in the harbor. Of the six hundred thousand and more, only Caleb and Joshua the son of Nun were deemed worthy to inherit the land of promise. See how God preferred you to the Egyptians!

C HERB. For whom did he rain manna from heaven in the desert, for Israel or for the Egyptians?

GREG. What to you seemed the more honorable, the food which you were eating in Egypt or the manna in the desert?

HERB. Indeed the manna.

GREG. And how was it that in the desert your thoughts went back to your former food and you longed for the onions and garlic, the flesh of swine in the cauldrons and all the food of Egypt, hating the manna?

HERB. It was a mistake for our fathers to have consented to translate the sacred books of Israel into the Greek tongue, only ⁷ to have you employ ₈ them in bridling us all!

GREG. When God saw that you would not prove worthy of them, in divers manners he preserved them for us.

HERB. If we proved unworthy, as you say, whence did the prophets arise?

GREG. The prophets were sent to us from God, messengers as it were, declaring the will and counsel of the Almighty. They did not have their origin with you.

625A HERB. Moses and Aaron and Joshua and Samson and Samuel and David and those that came after them,-- are they not the seed of Abraham?

GREG. They most truly are Abraham's seed, since they manifested the works of Abraham, and are rightly called his sons. But you are far from the righteous deeds of Abraham. Therefore God

made your works to cease and raised up us to be children of Abraham. To him God had said, "And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."⁹ Behold! He has spoken and it has come to pass. For out of the whole world those peoples, tribes and tongues who through faith have believed in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are blessed by the Almighty, together with his faithful and honored servant Abraham.

B HERB. Whence then did you receive your belief in Father, and Son, and Spirit, introducing three strange deities?

GREG. Seeing with the eyes of the mind as it were, thus do we hold: there is one God in three persons,¹⁰ and in three natures. Let him be accursed who introduces three Gods. The Mind of the Almighty, as being the cause of all things, we call Father; the Word, as begotten of the Mind, we rightly designate Son; the Holy Spirit, as proceeding from the Mind and residing in the Word and giving life to all, we call Spirit.

HERB. How is it that God did not reveal to Moses
C and to the prophets, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit
as objects for belief, but only¹¹ to you alone who have recently come to know this, as you say?

GREG. In a figure did God show to Abraham that he had a son, and that he would become a man, and that he would be sacrificed, and that he would die and would not die. For, when for the love he bore

God, Abraham was ordered to sacrifice Isaac, in obedience to the command he slaughtered him and did not slaughter him, fulfilled the order and did not fulfill it. For contrary to expectation God restored him alive. So also God the Lord sacrificed his own son for the salvation of the world. But rising on the third day, though slain, he was not slain; though he died, he did not die. He conquered slaughter and, overcoming death by death, as true God and very man, he showed that in truth he was Son of God. And Moses in Genesis refers to the Son when he says, "And the Lord God said..."¹³ The Son is Lord, the Father is God and it was the Holy Spirit who spoke, for speech without spirit is lifeless.

HERB. If that is true, why¹⁴ has God with his own mouth spoken to his own people in the desert the saying called the Decalogue, in which his first utterance is, "Hear, O Israel: the Lord ~~our~~^{thy} God is one Lord,"¹⁵ and besides Him there is no other God."?

628A GREG. Even I myself admit it is so. For when he says, "Lord" he gives proof of his Word and Son; and when he says, "God is one" he indicates the Father along with this Word. Does not the Holy Spirit seem to you to share the Divine Mind, as I affirmed to you? Does he not seem to you to have also the Word? Is God not then also Spirit? We accept these three persons, believing that

each person has his own nature. The three persons contribute equally to the one divinity. We confess therefore a trinity of persons and natures¹⁶ in one and the same Godhead, yet believing that each, [i.e. Trinity and Divinity] constitutes one God. Also David, the father of God, testifies to my utterance, confirming what I say, when he says, "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made." This Word is the Son of God. "And all the host of them by the breath of his mouth."¹⁷ This breath which he says is of his mouth is the Holy Spirit.

HERB. What need is there to pry too curiously into the nature of God, and to make threefold what is one in essence?

GREG. David makes it threefold, and shall not I? Consider the logic¹⁸ of our argument. You Jews in holding the Godhead to be only one, turn its simplicity into poverty, cheaply disposing of the affairs pertaining to the Godhead. The Greeks bowing down to their vain idols and multiplying the Godhead, given as they are to many Gods who are at variance with each other, fall away into the deceit of idolatry. We Christians making the Godhead threefold proclaim it to be immensely great in richness and power. We confess one God having a threefold sway, and thus beating off alike the poverty of your conception of God and the polytheism of the Greeks, we make good our escape. So you see the wisdom of the Christians.

HERB. Very correctly do you speak, and we have nothing to say in reply to this. Yet hearken to God as he speaks, testifying that Israel is loved by him. Says he, "Israel is my son, ~~even~~ my first born."¹⁹ And ~~Again~~, "[I] called my son out of Egypt."²⁰

D If then God calls Israel his first-begotten son, how do you erring peoples, not possessing the Law, come to think of Israel himself as a cast-out, a polluted person, and unclean, when you ought to be honoring him rather than dishonoring?

GREG. We do not deny that Israel is ²¹ first-begotten. In truth he was first-begotten and it is not possible to gainsay it. And also I most certainly believe that you were led forth from Egypt to Palestine, being set free from servitude. Still, the younger son supplanted the older. Did he not?

629A He has taken his birthright; he took also his blessing, and from the face of lawful service,²² he fled to another country,--to the confirmation, I mean, pleasing to God,²³ of his faith in the only-begotten Son of God.

HERB. Jacob did, to be sure, supplant Esau. But to what purpose did you appropriate to yourself another's supplanting?

GREG. That supplanting²⁴ was a type of our supplanting. In that instance the younger son supplanted the older. Now the younger people supplanted

the older people.

HERB. Wherein then did you supplant? Can it be that you became Jews and we Greeks? Are we not Hebrews, and are not you Gentiles, as you were?

B GREG. But God sent his only-begotten Son from heaven to you and you did not receive him. God let go of you as being wicked and lawless, and he came to us and we accepted him. And he took away all that was yours and gave it to us. You he uprooted and scattered to the ends of the earth, and you were alienated from him.

HERB. And what did he take from us and give to you?

GREG. He took from you, first, the kingdom, then the Law and the prophets. He took the service and the sacrifices. He took your city, your temple, Mount Sinai and the bush. In short, whatever valuable thing you had he took from you and gave to us Christians. And you he scattered, as he said in Deuteronomy, "I shall scatter them;"²⁶ and, "I ~~would~~^{shall} make the remembrance of them to cease from among men."²⁷ You see that he has in every respect made your remembrance to cease.

HERB. You mean the Nazarene and you call him the only-begotten Son of God? He was a human being, wherefore our fathers put him to death as an evil-doer.

GREG. Not quite as you relate did they put him to death, but rather because he raised the dead, one

of which was the blessed Lazarus who had been dead four days.

D HERB. He who raised Lazarus, as you say, how was it that he was crucified and died?

GREG. Just now you were confidently assured that he was Son of God and now you say that he is not the Son of God because he is a Nazarene.

HERB. You have stated, "We [i.e. the Christians] divide the Godhead into three," and you cannot deny it. Now you say that the condemned man is the Word of God, he who, as the whole world knows, was crucified and died.

632A GREG. As the Law and the prophets foretold, he became flesh, was crucified, died as to the flesh, not as to his divinity, and arose after the third day.

HERB. Tell us further the proofs; where, and what and how many things did the Law and the prophets witness to?

GREG. Moses the prophet says, "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a ^{ke} prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me... And it shall come to pass, that ^{every soul, which will not hear that prophet,} ~~whosoever will not hear-~~ ^{shall be destroyed from among the people.} ~~ken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him."~~³⁰ Who then is that prophet concerning whom he spoke?

HERB. He certainly refers to David. For no prophet has risen from Moses until him. God forbid!

B GREG. So then David is as Moses? Not at all.

32

For the one was a prophet and a lawgiver, but not a king. He led his people out of Egypt and received from heaven the tablets of stone and fed the sons of Israel manna. The other was raised from poverty to the throne, and was occupied in war. When he had completed the Psalter he died. How then is David like Moses? In no way.

HERB. Both were leaders of the people and prophets of one and the same people.

GREG. David fell into murder and adultery. Moses was never guilty of these.

HERB. But Moses did commit murder but not, however, adultery.

C GREG. Moses killed a foreigner and hence was innocent of murder.

HERB. Tell me about Christ and omit the prophets.

GREG. Moses says, "You shall see your life hanging before your ³³ eyes." ³⁴

HERB. What is this life and where did it hang?

GREG. Jesus Christ is the life, whom you hanged on the cross of wood before your eyes.

HERB. Moses did not refer to this when he said, "You shall see your life hanging," but to their unending captivity and exile which they were going to suffer from their foes in days to come. For the
D text, "You shall see your life hanging," means either that, led away into captivity you will lead a wretched

life, or that those leading you away will kill you, or that they will sell you into slavery.

GREG. You give an unfair meaning to the text. For he said, "You shall see the life hanging." Whatever hangs is either a body or some material object, which things do not hang without that which by force holds them, because they are not able to hang by themselves. It can not therefore be doubted that he said this concerning the human nature of the only-begotten Son of God, because his body was going to be hanged on the wooden cross.³⁵

633A HERB. As you are not persuaded by my words, so neither am I by yours.

GREG. Jacob blessing his sons said, ^{"a ruler shall not} ~~"The sceptre~~ ^{fail from Judah, nor a prince from his loins, until these come the things stored up³⁶} ~~shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from~~ ^{for him; and he is the expectation of the nation³⁶"³⁷} ~~between his feet, until Shiloh come. And he is~~ ^{the expectation of the Gentiles."}³⁷ What now do you say about this? Are then these things not so?

HERB. We know that he is going to appear, but ³⁸ he has not yet come. And when he comes we shall believe on him.

GREG. You are full of folly. You observe that he says, the one who comes is the "expectation of the Gentiles." And you say he has not yet come. If ³⁹ the Gentiles had not believed on him, as Jacob said they would, with good reason you would be ⁴⁰ saying that he has not come. But if, in accordance

B with the prophecy of the patriarch, the Gentiles have believed on him, it is clear that he has come, and you behave foolishly, laboring in vain.

HERB. I am surprised that to his own dishonor God became flesh, and came into this world for no other reason than that he might be arrested. He was born, grew up, betrayed, laid hold of, held captive, crucified, drank vinegar and gall, was pierced in his side with a spear, cried out and died. I am surprised, I say, O archbishop, that for this as you affirm he came into the world. But it is better that not even you Christians know of what sort those things are which you speak of.⁴¹

GREG. Yes, he came to his own dishonor, in order
C that through his dishonor those believing on him might be honored, set free from the dishonor of the transgression in Eden. Yet what did Jeremiah mean when he prophesied concerning his glorious coming? "This is our God, and there shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him. He hath found out all the way of knowledge and hath given it unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel that is beloved of him."⁴²

HERB. He said this entirely in reference to the God of the Law and this saying of his fits in with my point of view. For every path of knowledge God found out and gave to us, the sons of Jacob, as his beloved and children and heirs.

GREG. Israel the beloved was my Lord, O foolish

D one, and Jacob the son is Jesus Christ the Son of God. But you he called foreign sons through David and through Jonah, offspring of vipers. And if you do not believe, O senseless one, consider the rest of the verse, "Afterward did he appear upon earth and was conversant with men."⁴³ After what things? After the law was given, after the prophets were sent, after he finished all things as many as he desired in the law.

HERB. Do you think that your God is he, concerning whom the prophet said, "There shall none other be accounted of in comparison of him"?

GREG. Observe that he said, "This is our God",
636A and that he himself next said, "He did appear upon the earth and was conversant with men." And you say, "You ^{kind} surmise"? How was he seen by men? In his mere divinity? Not at all. For who can see him in his essence, as he is? No one, I fancy, unless he entirely voluntarily had become man.

HERB. As I have already stated, to his dishonor and disgrace he came into the world.

GREG. Is this a disgrace, blind one, that when he came he cleansed your lepers, O wretched man? that he banished every disease and every infirmity from the sick among you and drove away the crowds of demons? that he walked on the sea and from five loaves nourished and satisfied five thousand? And yet for all this you did not give

B heed to him. Indeed the contrary, for you persecuted him and foolishly you condemned and crucified him. And then because of this you say that he was dishonored! Nay rather, on this account he endured ~~44~~ dishonor, in order that thence even your wickedness might be manifest, which apart from him you always bore in your heart, through which even before he came to you, Naboth you killed by stoning, Elijah in terrible ⁴⁵ wrath you made to go for forty days, Isaiah you sawed asunder, ⁴⁶ Jeremiah you threw into the miry pit, the multitude of the infants you slaughtered, Zachariah you killed, John you beheaded. What about the fact that you also murdered their Lord? I need not mention the rest. How then do you say that to his dishonor he came?

C HERB. Being God, why did he not, if he was able, reject the cross?

GREG. If he had rejected the cross, how were the prophecies going to be fulfilled?

HERB. Tell me the prophecies concerning the cross and what ⁴⁷ prophets have spoken of it. ⁴⁸

GREG. By the wood of the ark, foreshadowing the cross, God saved in the time of Noah the remnant of the human race. The ark was of wood and the cross was of wood. The ark at that time miraculously saved those entering it in the belief that there was going to be an utterly destructive ⁴⁹ flood. And the worthy cross redeems from the tyranny of Satan

and from eternal punishment those who worship it
D and believe in the one crucified on it. And the
tree of Sabek⁵⁰ in which a ram⁵¹ was caught fast
at the time of Abraham, bringing⁵² release for
Isaac, typified the sacred cross. The ram typified
the flesh of the Word of God nailed to the cross;
the ~~thicket~~^{tree} foreshadowed the cross.

HERB. Of the many things which you have learned
you conveniently allegorize⁵³ those which are to
your advantage.

637A GREG. I do not allegorize, but I persuade you from⁵⁴
your Scripture, cleaving as it does to the truth.
Consider what it says. Did not Jacob the patriarch,
when he was about to bless his sons,⁵⁵ raising him-
self a little from the couch on which he was lying,
and leaning on the top of his staff, (which signi-
fied the blessed cross), thus bless them with his
hands crossed?⁵⁶ Did he not pass by the first, who
was a type of your people, and bestow his whole
blessing on the second, who was a type of the
Christian people? The thing that was done in the
case of Joseph I call to your attention. Did not
the staff of Moses, through which he worked signs
and wonders, typify the cross? Did not the wood
which Moses cast into Marah, sweetening the water,
B prefigure the worthy **cross**?⁵⁷ When Moses, stretch-
ing forth his hands in the shape of a cross, de-
feated Amalek, did he not typify the cross?⁵⁸

HERB. You, wherever you find the wood useful in the Old Testament, think it ^{timely} ~~fitting~~ to liken it to your cross.
59

GREG. Not only did wood prefigure the cross but also the raisings of hands and the encounters of wars ⁶⁰ and things similar to these.

HERB. As I previously said, of the many things which you have learned you ^{straightway} ~~conveniently~~ ⁶¹ allegorize those which are to your advantage.

C GREG. When Joshua the son of Nun clashed with the enemy in that frightful war, as night was coming on, did he not halt the sun upon Gibeon and the moon likewise in the valley until he gained the victory over his enemies? ⁶² This was a prototype of the suffering of my glorious Lord Jesus Christ. He was Jesus and this one was Jesus. He was commander-in-chief of Israel; this one, king and God not only of Israel but also of the whole world. He defeated nations, and this one, the hosts of the demons. He caused the sun and the moon to stop until he triumphed over all the phalanxes of his enemies. At the suffering of my Lord the sun shud-
D dered and grew dark, and the moon did not give her light, ⁶³ the day quickly because of fear passing into darkness. The one with spear and lance destroyed the heathen; the other by the power of his divinity crushed the bars of Hades and by his sacred cross reduced demons to ashes. He by the multitude of armies accomplished these things, for he was a

man and could do no more than a man. This one,
64
however, alone; nay rather, he was twofold, both
human and divine. The prophet says concerning him,

"I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the
people there was none with me." 65

It was with spir-
itual insight that he spoke of his suffering as
640A grapes, even because his suffering was going to
bring salvation to the world. 66
And because no man
shared in his suffering, he added, "And of the people
there was none with me." Not that he himself had
need of the help of people, but because he was show-
ing 67 that the people had been saved through his
sufferings.

HERB. Why did not one of the prophets openly say
that the Word of God would come down from heaven,
that he would become flesh from the woman Mary,
that he would put on man's nature, would be cruci-
fied and would die, and that he would rise on the
68
third day, and all the other things?

GREG. O foolish one, does not Isaiah the prophet
B openly proclaim all things concerning him? Does
not David cry out in the psalms, and the rest of
the prophets with power? Hear what Jeremiah the
prophet says of your fathers, revealing before-
hand in what manner they were going to take counsel
together against their Lord, ^{Counsel and let us put wood into} "~~Let us destroy the~~
^{his bread} ~~tree with the fruit thereof,~~ and let us cut him
69
off from the land of the living." And previously,
^{as an innocent lamb led to the slaughter, knew not. "70}
"~~But I was like a lamb or an ox that is brought to~~

the slaughter, and I knew not." ⁷⁰ Show me, therefore, where was Jeremiah killed, where did they ^{put wood into his bread} "destroy the tree with the fruit thereof"? Perhaps ⁷¹ you would not be able to indicate this. We find that he was only thrown into the mire. So it is clear that in prophesying he spoke concerning Christ and his suffering.

HERB. Jeremiah spoke these things obscurely, ⁷²
C whether in reference to himself or to another ⁷³ does not concern me. Tell me this that I ask: who of my prophets spoke openly and not in parable about your Christ?

GREG. Of a truth, being carnal you seek after ⁷⁴ the things of the flesh and of the intellect. It cannot be, surely, that the prophets reckoned with your stupidity or your ignorance or your lack of understanding, so that prophesying simply they ⁷⁵ uttered plain sayings. Hear then what David says concerning his coming down from heaven to the Virgin ⁷⁶ for the sake of being made flesh. "He shall come down ^{as} like rain upon ^{a fleece} the mown grass; ^{and a drop falling} as ^{upon} showers that ⁷⁷ water the earth."

HERB. David said this of Solomon, and why ^{to whom 78 do you make} do you ^{these words refer?} change the reference?

D GREG. As it continues, what does the psalm say? ⁷⁹ "In his days shall ^{righteousness spring up} the righteous flourish." And who of you shall convict him of sin? ⁸⁰ Solomon, ⁸¹ having wrought evil before God, perished.

HERB. Jesus became in his days the cause of innumerable dissensions among our fathers.

GREG. Alas, that he took away your infirmities^{81a} and healed your diseases and raised⁸² your dead, and you as mad dogs raged at him! Who was the cause of uproars, you or he? Hear further the words that follow, "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth."⁸³ Has it not come to pass? Does not the faith which has him for its object shine unto the ends of the earth? "The Ethiopians shall bow before him."⁸⁴ Did not all Ethiopia believe on him and does it not daily worship him as true God? "And his enemies shall lick the dust."⁸⁵ Who are his enemies? Are they not the Jews, who lick the dust out of great hunger?⁸⁶ That is to say, the dead and dust-like, carnal and inflamed mind is not able to feed on the spiritual thought of the Christians.

HERB. Having acquired a lofty tongue you know how to utter forth these matters. But what does this section of the verse point out? "And abundance of peace, till the moon be ~~no more~~^{removed}."⁸⁷ What is the abundance of peace?

GREG. The abundance of peace refers to the great love which the churches of God have for each other. By the moon he signifies the catholic and apostolic church. Until the Lord comes and the church passes away, until that time shall the peace of God prevail

in the midst of the churches. But when the church passes away then also shall peace be removed from the midst; indeed the end is then at hand. That you may be sufficiently aided by this psalm, attend to its words. What does this psalm say previously?

C "And ^{he shall bring low the false accuser} ~~[he] shall break in pieces the oppressor~~, and he will live as long as the sun, and ⁸⁸ before the moon, throughout all generations." ⁸⁹ And then you say that this was spoken concerning Solomon! Show me what ^{false accuser} ~~oppressor~~ Solomon ^{brought low} ~~crushed~~. Did he ⁷ live as long as the sun?" As you know, he is dead. Where was he before the moon? On the fourth day of the creation of the world God fashioned the moon and the stars. David at a certain time begat Solomon from the wife of Uriah. Before the sun, where was his ⁹⁰ name? ⁹¹ Neither was David at that time uttering his prophecies.

HERB. That Solomon ^{brought low} ~~broke in pieces~~ the ^{false accuser} ~~oppressor~~

I can prove, because not only one but countless tyrants he subdued after he had reduced them to terror. He held the mastery over the evil spirits and bound them safely. In saying that he will live as long as the sun, he hints at the splendor of his kingdom. Because the sun is ruler of the day he ^D likens his strength to the sun. [In saying that he lived before the] moon he says [that he lived on] the first day [of creation, thus indicating] his origin. And thereafter he says, "He will remain safe throughout all generations." ⁹² And similarly,

that "His name continues before the sun", ^{92a} means
that his name shall have glory and honor before
the kingdom in the whole world. ⁹³

644A GREG. Solomon subdued demons? You do not know
what you are saying. For a time he kept them
safely in vessels, ^{93a} and sealed them down, and cov-
ered them with earth. But consider with me the
thing that then took place. He was overcome ^{in mind} and
defeated ~~in spirit~~ by the demons themselves, and,
as the Scripture testifies, he endangered his own
salvation. As a horse that is mad for the mares, ^{93b}
he gathered together a band of women and instituted
the worship of idols and burned incense to the abom-
inations of error, and betaking himself to his palace
he shamefully lay with a foreign woman. ⁹⁴ On a sud-
den he brought his life to an end, having wrought
evil in the presence of God, nor was he able to show
a trace of repentance. The saying, "He will live as
long as the sun", does not speak of the splendor of
his kingdom, but is a prophecy of my Christ and God:
B that his undefiled humanity shall live as long as
the sun in the mystical splendor of his divinity,
(in view of the fact that he was twofold, both God
and man), ^{and then 94a} ~~even though~~ he was taken up into heaven
to his own Father and God, and sat down on the right
hand of his power. The words, "Before the moon",
do not indicate a first and a second and a third
day before the moon, but moon means the catholic
and apostolic church. Before this came into being,

he says, he coexisted with the sun, that is, with his Father and God, not only in the ages since the beginning of time, but before the beginning. The text, "His name continues before the sun", you have also interpreted obscurely. The sun does not refer to kingdom, but he simply and plainly says that before this sun existed, his name was wonderful.

C HERB. You completely urge your own point of view and overthrow my interpretation. And I contending for my point of view do not accept your explanation.

GREG. The truth overthrows you because you do not wish to assent and agree. I call your attention to what follows below, "And all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in him."⁹⁵ All nations shall bless him. And just above, "His name shall be blessed forever."⁹⁵ Do you therefore now tell me, when were all the tribes of the earth blessed in Solomon, or when did they bless him, or in what ages was his name blessed? Who blesses Solomon? All men consider him accursed,--as one who has wrought evil before God.

HERB. Did not Solomon write Ecclesiastes and the whole book of Proverbs? It is obvious that he did. Are not his writings read? Behold that where the grace of his wisdom is known, he is praised by his hearers and lauded by his readers and blessed by those who comprehend his wisdom.⁹⁶ How can you say⁹⁷ that there is no one who blesses him?

645A GREG. The author of the psalm says in the spirit

that his name is blessed, and not only blessed but
blessed forever. How then will the name of Solomon⁹⁸
be blessed, who ended his life in sins? He was not
God nor Son of God, as was my Lord Jesus Christ.

Neither is any one else's name blessed forever, only
that of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Solomon
was corrupted towards the end, and he has perished;
he was separated from the love of God and was under
the control of the licentiousness of the demons.

And⁹⁹ unless our Lord Jesus Christ, when, crucified
and dead, he descended into Hades, had reached forth¹⁰⁰
his hand to save him, he would be having nothing.

Not only will his name not be blessed, as you say

B it will, from beginning to end, but also to endless
ages he shall be punished with sinners, as a trans-
gressor and as one who has fallen ^{completely} from whatever
¹⁰¹
(is good).

HERB. Although your Christ died, had he the power
to save? See how he just now saved himself! and
was he able to deliver Solomon?

GREG. Tell me, what then does the prophet say, and
concerning whom: "Thou wilt not leave my soul ^{to see corruption} ~~in~~
¹⁰²
hell"?

HERB. Clearly concerning himself he speaks, be-
seeching God as a suppliant.

C GREG. You lie directly against the truth. Is not
David's tomb in Palestine and his body in the tomb?
How then does he declare, "For thou wilt not leave
my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy

One to see corruption," seeing that he did not arise but still lies in the tomb, being utterly corrupted? But the truth reveals that he said these things in reference to my Christ, knowing that after the third day he would arise, not awaiting corruption, inas-
103
much as he was powerful. But he applied the text to himself, speaking as if about himself, knowing that Christ according to the flesh would be born from his thigh, rising again incorruptible.^{103a}

HERB. For that matter, if thus it is as you say, then this is not the word of the Lord, "Thou wilt
D not leave my soul in hell", but of some servant or of some needy person making supplication to one who is greater. In that case you must know that he was not Son of God but a servant.

GREG. My God was also
104
man. He possessed two
104a
natures and two beings and two volitions, but in one
105
and the same person. On account of the nature of his humanity, as being a created nature and joined to his divinity, he uttered this cry of a subordinate,--a plea as it were. And this is no stumbling
648A
block. For the resurrection of his body, even the fact that his flesh was not corrupted in the tomb, was wrought for his humanity by the divine power of his Godhead. Whenever then his humanity implores his divinity I am not ashamed.

HERB. If thus it is, then the same person is both

slave and Master, and it is necessary for him, that he as a slave clashes with himself as Master.

GREG. In stating your opinion you speak foolishly. That he is slave and Master, not even do I myself disown. The same is one, and Son of God, because in his divinity and in his humanity he is in one person: "The Word ^{of God} was made flesh," as the Scripture says, "and dwelt among us." 106

HERB. That he is your Lord I understand. But why must he also be a servant?

GREG. As pre-existing, he is Lord, but for this reason he wished to become a slave, in order that in the form of a servant, after wrestling with and overcoming the adversary, he might free from the bondage and the curse him who in paradise had been wrongfully enslaved by sin through the transgression.

HERB. I am in a daze and astonished, if the son of Joseph the carpenter and of Mary his wife is the Son of God who comes into the world.

GREG. Thus do I hold. God through the mouth of the prophet has said concerning him, "The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee." 107

HERB. As many things as David has spoken of himself, you appropriate these to your Christ.

GREG. You talk foolishly, not understanding the Scripture in the light of experience. Note what he says next, "Ask of me, and I shall give the heathen

for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of
the earth for thy possession." ¹⁰⁸

HERB. And David ruled over not ¹⁰⁹ a few nations,
after he had conquered and smitten them.

D GREG. Did his possessions extend entirely to the
uttermost parts of the earth? His sway extended
only over Palestine and he was king of the Jews,--
in no wise of the uttermost parts of the earth.
Granted that for a time he controlled nations, he
did not do so forever. It is one thing to receive
the "uttermost parts" and quite another to control
a conquered nation, be it an entire nation. So
then, you are talking foolishly in this matter.
The text has reference to our Lord Jesus Christ.
If you go off to the ends of the earth you will
find Christ reigning spiritually. Concerning him
therefore David prophesied. Observe that Chris-
tianity has gained control everywhere, and among
all nations churches have been set up as a monument
to the crucified one. That the saying is not about
David but about my Lord and God, hear what the end
of the psalm reveals: "Thou shalt ^{rule} ~~break~~ them with
¹¹⁰
649A a rod of iron." The rod of iron is the honored
cross. Whom shall he break? Them of whom he said,
"Be wise now therefore, O ye kings: be instructed,
ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear,
and rejoice with trembling." ¹¹¹ Then he says,
^{Accept Correction}
"~~Kiss the Son~~, lest he be angry, and ye perish

from the ^{righteous} way." 112 Whom does David refer to as Lord, himself? No need for argument! Nobody of intelligence calls himself Lord, and especially not in writing. Further, how great a prophet would he be if he appropriated to himself the name of his Lord and God, or, again, had prophesied of himself? Give ear then also to what he says in conclusion, "When his wrath

is ^{suddenly} kindled, ~~but a little~~. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him." 113 Why? He was not God; 114 he was a man, as one of men, and as a prophet he prophesied. You see how mistaken are the things you declare.

HERB. Moses the prophet, (if you have read the Pentateuch), has laid on us the sons of Israel very great curses, from God and the angels and the saints, placing also all the elements under heaven under a curse, if ever we hearken to another God besides the god of our fathers. 115 Why then are you an inquisitive busybody? Even God himself through the prophet exhorts us, saying, "There shall no strange god be in thee; neither shalt thou worship any strange god. I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt." 116 What then do you say to these things?

C GREG. Because of the carved images of the Canaanites these things were there commanded 117 to you: "Thou shalt not worship any strange God," but not with reference to the only begotten Son of God. Whom therefore introducing does he indicate, saying, 118 "The

Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand,
until I make thine enemies thy footstool." ¹¹⁹ What
¹²⁰ Lord said this? And to what Lord do you think
these things were spoken? Interpret it now and
tell me.

HERB. The God in heaven said this, Lord of things
in the heavens, and of things on earth, and of
things under the earth. ¹²¹ David also was Lord,
in the days of his kingdom, of all the land over
which he was king. God therefore spoke to him say-
ing, "Sit thou at my right hand," that is to say,
D Do not turn aside to the right or to the left from
the right commands of the law, but keep the law;
and I shall subdue all nations, and I shall make
thine enemies thy footstool. For the best defense
in war is said to be the keeping guard even among
the people over justice. ¹²²

Although all this discussion took place ¹²³ be-
tween the most holy archbishop and Herban ¹²⁴ the
teacher of the law, when ~~even~~ the pious king was *also*
present and certain bishops and a crowd of Jews and
the whole city, the question in dispute reached no
652a issue. For the coming of evening cut short their
contest. The Jews rejoiced in Herban because he
was entirely able to stand with the archbishop in
debate, and they all kissed him very fervently.
But Herban spoke to them, saying, "Let us pray

rather, brethren, that the God of the Law may aid us, because, as you see, the archbishop is a resourceful man in the Scriptures, and no little strength is needed to persuade him. You know that better than we he understands our arguments." So they encouraged him not to be afraid.

The Second Day's Debate

On the following day the king again ordered the court to convene.¹²⁵ When all was now in readiness and the king and the archbishop had seated themselves in front, the Jews arrived and again presented Herban as their spokesman. The archbishop commanded¹²⁶ silence and said,

GREG. Yesterday you said that Moses the prophet has laid a curse on the Jews from God and the angels and the elements.¹²⁷ Nor do I doubt that he did. And the prophet has done well, knowing the slipperiness of your mind and the instability of your choice. For if even in spite of this injunction you sacrificed your sons and daughters to the demons, what would you not have displayed if this curse had not been held in store for you? And we Christians do not serve idols, do we? We do not introduce a foreign god, do we? Having come to know the Word of the great God who loved Abraham and his seed, the Word made flesh for our salvation from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, (even the all-hallowed

mother of God), together with the Father himself and his Holy Spirit,--the only true God we worship and serve; and in believing we neither take anything away nor add anything, only, we recognize more distinctly and clearly than you the divinity. We gladly accept Moses and his wise legislation, his wise accomplishments and prohibitions. But the text, "The Lord said to my Lord," David uttered. When we had arrived at that point in our argument yesterday we rested and it is necessary again to make a beginning from thence. If then David was lord over the land of which he was king, (which fact I admit), he was a lord full of shadow and dream, even as we all. But that he called himself lord is uncertain, ^{unsupported} ~~weak~~ and unlikely. For we do not find such a custom, that one should call himself lord. But the Lord spoke to his Word and Son, to him who had assumed human nature and had died, and on the third day arose, and after forty days was taken up from the Mount of Olives to heaven in the presence of his holy disciples and apostles, to him who over-

653A came all the host of the higher powers and sat down on the right hand of his majesty. The power of his divinity said this, saying to his undefiled humanity, "Sit thou at my right hand, until the end of the world come. And I shall make thee judge of the living and the dead. At that time every knee shall bow of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth to thy power, and thine enemies shall be

trampled under foot and they shall be thy footstool and thou shalt give to each according to his works." These things the truth interprets, if indeed you wish to receive them.

B HERB. You bring a great blasphemy into the world in saying that the crucified one is on the right hand of power in the heavens.

GREG. If he has been crucified, has on this account his cross been made a stumbling block to you? That you may be convinced that I interpreted correctly, "The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou at my right hand," attend also to the following verse, how he reveals because of the cross, (for the sake of which you choose to be offended), "The Lord shall send ^{out a} ~~the~~ rod of ^{power for thee} ~~thy~~ ~~strength~~ out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies." ¹²⁹

HERB. Do you take the rod which he speaks of to be the cross? If he meant it thus, he should have said cross and not rod. In saying that the rod is sent from Zion, he could not mean, could he, that that wood from which the cross was made was cut from Mount Sinai? ¹³¹ You would not be able ¹³² to show this!

C GREG. In a spiritual sense, ¹³³ O fool, in a riddle as it were, the prophet mentioned the rod. As a rod cannot be moved of itself and cannot strike one, if there be no hand which by its contact enables it, so also the precious cross. For it was of the earth and needed strength from Zion, that it might be raised against the enemies of Christ the King. nay rather

against the opponents of the creation of God the King. When you hear "out of Zion" do not look downward. It is the Mount Sinai¹³⁴ which is seen with the mind and this was said in a spiritual sense. Zion is the city of God, above, in which he himself dwells and all his angels. Therefore the divine power came from the Zion above, that is to say, the Word of God came from heaven and lifted the rod from the earth, I mean, the honored and life-giving cross. And having stretched forth his right hand and his lofty arm, he struck all his enemies and has gained the victory, over Hades, death, sin, the curse, and that malignant serpent himself who deceived Eve together with Adam in Eden. And forthwith he was ruler in the midst of his enemies. To this king God even the Father gave¹³⁵ to rule¹³⁶ the whole universe, when the end comes and the resurrection takes place. And all the saints¹³⁷ round about him shall shine as luminaries. See how he continues, saying, "With thee is dominion in the day of thy power, among the splendors of thy saints."¹³⁸

HERB. Do you mean that he who was born of Joseph will come to judge the world?¹³⁹ Bless me, what error!

GREG. Verily, one who is blind is not able to see the sun. Joseph did not beget my Lord God, as you in your short-sightedness say, being deceived. Heaven forbid! But nevertheless I shall tell you. From whence did my beloved Lord Jesus Christ spring? God

B says concerning him, "I have begotten thee from the
womb before the morning."¹⁴⁰ And that you who are un-
discerning might not say that it was mere talk, he
added, "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent."¹⁴¹
Anticipating that you might next declare that he is
not of the essence of God, he says, "I have begotten
thee from the womb before the morning." Our God, he
says, swore, "You are of my essence."¹⁴² Then that
you might not say, "The priesthood of Aaron has not
been transferred to him," he has said, "Thou art a
priest forever after the order of Melchizedek."¹⁴³
Isaiah says, explaining how his humanity came into
the world, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and
bear a son, and ^{they} shall call his name Emmanuel,"¹⁴⁴
which is, being interpreted, ¹⁴⁵ "God is with us."
There David speaks of how by the mere Godhead, "I
C have begotten thee from the womb before the morn-
ing"; here Isaiah, of his birth according to the
flesh, how that he was born of the Ever-Virgin and
Mother-of-God. But if what David proclaims you
apply to David, then has David or someone else been
begotten before the morning? or, only my Master, and
my God, and Lord?¹⁴⁶

HERB. I know that your Christ was begotten, but that
he certainly was begotten from the seed of Joseph, I
supposed, was obvious, as I previously stated.

GREG. Do not be absurd. For not of the seed of Jos-
eph as you think, but of the Holy Spirit he was be-
gotten. The prophet has spoken concerning him, and,

D showing that the Virgin was not defiled by Joseph, he says the following, "The sealed book shall be given to

a man that is learned; and the man shall say, I cannot read for the book is sealed."¹⁴⁷ What can the sealed

book be other than the Virgin and Mother-of-God? Who is the man? Joseph the carpenter. What does it mean

that the sealed book was given to a man that is learned?¹⁴⁸

That it was given to one who had been joined in marriage to another woman,¹⁴⁹ by whom he

had also acquired children. What does it mean that

he was unable to read the divine writing, the book?

That he could not know her, since he understood from

657A God that she was shut up and guarded in incorruption

for the Lord Jesus, in order that God might be incarnated from the Holy Spirit, and might be born¹⁵⁰

mortal as to his essence from her.

HERB. You surely have bestowed a great deal of thought on inventing all this. It was a man that Mary once gave birth to and not a god. How is it that you call him who was born of Mary, God?

GREG. Worthily she bore both God and man.

HERB. And how could the womb of a woman accommodate the fearful greatness of the Godhead?

GREG. As the fire did not consume the bush in the desert, so also a Virgin gave birth and after the birth continued to remain a Virgin.¹⁵¹

B HERB. In that case he was born of her only in semblance and appearance, and not in reality. For it is

impossible and entirely unbelievable.

GREG. How in those days did Habakkuk visit Daniel in the lions' den, when the entrance to the den had been closed all around with bonds and seals? ¹⁵² Tell me how he came to him and left him and neither opened the door nor injured the seals.

HERB. Without hesitation you resolved the contradictions as none ¹⁵³ other. ¹⁵⁴ However, that your Christ died a violent death ¹⁵⁵ offends my spirit.

GREG. Since you do not understand the divine mystery of the suffering of his death you are naturally offended. ¹⁵⁶ Hear what the prophet says of Judas ^S the betrayer, "He that did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me." ¹⁵⁷ And later he says of him, *Yea, he put on cursing as a garment, and it is come as water into his bowels, and as oil into his bones.* ¹⁵⁸ ~~"As he clothed himself with cursing like as with his bowels, and as oil into his bones. And according as he took not pleasure in his garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, blessing, so it shall be removed far from him."~~ ^{158 159} ~~and like oil into his bones. As he delighted not~~ ¹⁵⁹ ~~in blessing, so let it be far from him."~~ And concerning the Scribes and the chief priests, and their plan against the Lord, he says, "All that hate me whisper together against me: against me do they devise my hurt." ¹⁶⁰ They denounced a wicked word against me. ¹⁶¹ And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love." ¹⁶² And in another place Isaiah ^D says, speaking in the persons of you evil-doers, "But let us lie in wait for the righteous man, because he is of disservice to us." ¹⁶³ And concerning the reward which you gave to Judas the betrayer as the price of

bloodguiltiness, Jeremiah says, "And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the children of Israel did value; and gave them for the potter's field, as the Lord appointed me."¹⁶⁴ And concerning his betrayal he says, "Why do the nations rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed."¹⁶⁵

660a HERB. Perhaps we have been called nations as well as people.¹⁶⁶ But why have we been called kings?

GREG. Has not God spoken to Abraham, saying, "And I will make thee exceeding fruitful, and I will make nations of thee?"¹⁶⁷ For this reason, also you are called nations. And did not Moses say to God, "So both I and thy people shall be glorified beyond all the nations?"¹⁶⁸ And afterwards, "And I shall know that this nation is thy people?"¹⁶⁹ And this, "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed."¹⁷⁰ Since you were called a royal priesthood by Moses,¹⁷¹ you are kings; since you were chosen to be first out of all nations, you are rulers. You took counsel together¹⁷² against the Lord, as God and Saviour; against his anointed, as true man, seeing that he was God and had become man.¹⁷³ And if you wish to understand it more clearly: Herod and Pilate "set themselves", and Annas and Caiphas

with the rest, against the Lord, and against his
anointed. That you may be convinced that these
"raged" against the Lord, the prophet afterwards
speaks of the requital from the Lord which was
meted ¹⁷⁴ out to them for their "raging", saying,

"He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the
Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he
speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his
sore displeasure." ¹⁷⁵ Do you see the displeasure of
even God the Father against those who crucified him?
Because, moreover, they bore false witness against
him, he says, "For false witnesses are risen up
against me, and injustice has lied within herself." ¹⁷⁶

That they scourged him and struck and spat upon him,
Isaiah prophesies, "I gave my back to the smiters,
and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair: I
hid not my face from shame and spitting." ¹⁷⁷ And if

you say that in consequence of folly he has endured
these sufferings, you will not find it to be so.

That he was led to be crucified without saying a
word, again Isaiah foretold, "He is brought as a
lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her
shearers is dumb, ¹⁷⁸ so he openeth not his mouth." ¹⁷⁹

The soldiers mocked and crucified him, and the sun
grew dark and the moon was wrapped in darkness. ¹⁸⁰

Vinegar and gall you gave him to drink and his gar-
ments you parted. David prophesies, "They sneered
at me most contemptuously, they gnashed their teeth

upon me. O Lord when wilt thou look upon me?" ¹⁸¹ And
Jeremiah spoke concerning the cross, ^{Come and let us put wood} "Let us destroy
^{into his head} the tree with the fruit thereof, and let us cut him
off from the land of the living, ^{and let} that his name be no
more remembered." ¹⁸² And concerning those who re-

661A proached him when he hanged on the cross, David says,
"All they that ^{saw} see me ^{laughed} laugh me to scorn: they ^{spoke with} shoot
^{their lips} out the lip, they ^{shook} shake the head, saying, He trusted
on the Lord: ^{let him deliver him} that he would deliver him: let him ^{save} de-
liver him, seeing he delighted in him." ¹⁸³ And of

¹⁸⁴ the nails with which they nailed his feet and his
hands when they hanged him, as the people of Jerus-
alem stood about in a circle and watched, he said,

"^{many} For dogs have compassed me." ¹⁸⁵ That moreover they
were of your accursed ¹⁸⁶ synagogue, hear, "The assem-
bly of the wicked have inclosed me." ¹⁸⁷ And concern-

ing the nails, "They pierced my hands and my feet.
They counted all my bones." ¹⁸⁸ And of the parting of
his garments, "They part my garments among them, and
cast lots upon my vesture." ¹⁸⁹ And of the vinegar

B and the gall which he was given to drink, "They gave
me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave
me vinegar to drink." ¹⁹⁰ And concerning the darkening

of the day, the prophet Amos foretold, saying, "The
sun shall go down at noon, and the light shall be
darkened on the earth by day." ¹⁹¹ That he will die

on the cross Isaiah says, "As many ^{shall be amazed} were astonished at
thee," ¹⁹² although seeing thee work wonders before

thy suffering. "So shall thy face be without glory
from men, and many nations shall wonder at ^{hee} ~~him~~.¹⁹³

and we saw him, but he had no form nor beauty nor
glory, but his form was ignoble, and inferior to
that of the children of men."¹⁹⁴ That he was

pierced in the side with a spear, he says, "A man
C of sorrows and acquainted with grief, for his face
is turned ¹⁹⁵ from us: he was dishonored and not
esteemed."¹⁹⁶ In order that the prophet might show
that he had to suffer, (not for himself, for he him-
self had no sin), but because of our sin, he con-
tinues, "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried
our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten
of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our
transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities."¹⁹⁷

You understand then, O Herban the Jew, what Isaiah
the prophet says concerning the sufferings of Christ,
and the reason for his suffering. And you say, "Be-
cause he suffered I am offended."¹⁹⁸ You see that
because of our sins, or rather for the sins of the
D world, he was betrayed to death. Hearken to what
follows. "The chastisement of our peace," he says,
"was upon him."¹⁹⁹ That is to say, because we sinned
he was chastised, in order that by slaying the enmity
of the transgression through his sufferings, he might
reconcile us who were enemies of God, that in the
future we might have peace with God.²⁰⁰ Listen there-
fore to the prophet, O Herban, and be persuaded, as he
says, "With his stripes we are healed."²⁰¹ Our Lord

gave himself up to death for our sins. He says, "For
202

664A the transgression of my people he was stricken, and
I will give the wicked for his burial, and the rich for his death." 203
~~And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the
203 rich in his death."~~ And David says, "He that

backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to
204 his neighbor."

Those who understand the truth
about him have borne witness, but you who are blind,
foolish, senseless, malignant, stupid, unbelieving,
205 abusive, confused, and darkened, say to him, "Thou
206 hast a devil," and taking up stones, you went after
him, saying, "For a good work we stone thee not, but
207 because thou, being a man, makest thyself God." 208

Alas for your wretchedness; you are to be pitied above
all men! Yet, attend to the words, "Neither was any

B deceit in his mouth." 209 The Father, even God, speaks
this through the mouth of his prophet, concerning his
only-begotten son, in return for all that he suffered,
being sinless, "I shall give him those who are steeped
210 in iniquity to be saved," they who are publicans
and fornicators and sinners, and who have believed on
his name. And in return for this, (because he wrought
salvation for the human race), he received a burial as
is given to the sons of men: "My beloved and dearest
211 son." "I shall give him all the heathen, who are
212 under the vanity of idolatry, and they shall believe
on him and shall be deemed worthy of the kingdom of
heaven." They, says he, shall be his reward, in re-
turn for all that my Son suffered, being sinless; and

in their stead he has conquered the ancient supplanter
and his power. All these things, O Herban, are so, ^{and you yourself know very well that they are so}
but of your own free will you deny the truth and you
do not choose to admit the truth.

C When he had heard all this Herban was stunned
and for a long time stood speechless, unable to make
any reply. ²¹³ The crowd of Jews who were standing
there and who had heard everything were amazed, know-
ing that from the words of Isaiah he had convicted
them. But the Christians surrounded the archbishop
with praises, and the king with his nobles rejoiced
greatly, since he had never before heard from anyone
the matter put so convincingly.

^{213a}
HERB. I am in a quandary and my mind is divided in
this matter. For when I hear Moses saying, rather
God himself, "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is
one Lord, and besides Him there is no other God," ²¹⁴
and then, "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and
serve him," ^{alme. 215} and again, when I also hear David
and Isaiah speaking surely of him who is called
Christ, I am at a loss.

GREG. For this reason Isaiah has again spoken,
knowing your unsteadiness and unbelief in every
665A respect, "Who hath believed our report? and to whom
is the arm of the Lord revealed?" ²¹⁶ To none other,
I reckon, except to all nations, ²¹⁷ for Isaiah knew
your unbelief. Therefore also elsewhere he speaks
with a view to your shamelessness, ²¹⁸ "Hear ye in-
deed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but

perceive not. ^{For} ~~Make~~ the heart of this people ^{has become} fat, and
their ears heavy, and ^{they have} shut their eyes; lest they see
with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and under-
stand with their heart, and convert, and ^{I should lead them} ~~be healed~~." 219

If your fathers beheld him raising their dead, re-
220
storing their paralytics, and performing other in-
221
describable wonders,--if I say, although they saw

B him working all these things, they did not believe,
will you, who are a generation of vipers and who have
seen no miracles, be able to believe from hearsay
alone? Indeed not.

HERB. Hear, O archbishop: your words are true and
fixed. You speak with simplicity and tell what is
literally true, and there is no deceit in your mouth.
222
You have not persuaded us by reasoning on the basis
of your own ideas, but from the divine writing of the
law. Therefore you are worthy of being believed and
223
listened to. Yet, since our law was first given
224
to us, then yours, it seems to me that the one
first given is the more authoritative. So then it is
required that we keep our law and that you keep yours.

C GREG. Moses said, "The Lord thy God will raise up
unto thee a ^pProphet...like unto me," 225 that is, a
lawgiver, "And it shall come to pass, that ^{every soul, which will} ~~whoever~~
^{not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people} ~~will not hearken...I will require it of him.~~" 226

Since he spoke thus, it is obvious that until that
prophet comes, the law was acceptable. Now that he
who was looked for has come, and has brought another

law, it is required that the first law be silent. Therefore no longer does the Lord take pleasure in your law, not even if you practice it the whole day long.

HERB. The Lord certainly does take pleasure in it, seeing that he says of it through the mouth of his prophet, "The law of the Lord is perfect, converting
D the soul that it may know the Lord."²²⁷ How can you say that the Lord does not take pleasure in it?

GREG. In the first place, observe concerning what law the prophet has spoken, and then base your authority on that, and do not pervert the Scriptures. The prophets do not deal with what has passed but with the things to come. When the prophet said, "The
668A law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul," he referred to the law which sits in judgment²²⁸ on the Gentiles, [viz., Christ]. Converting what souls, and from what, and to what?

HERB. Those who stray from the law, the same law as it is unfolded, quickly converts to itself and through itself it leads all to God.

GREG. You are hopelessly confused. For all of you have gone astray from the law in adulteries and un-
natural lusts.²²⁹ Moreover, on each of your sabbaths you read the law, but to no purpose and in vain, for not a soul of you is truly converted to the Lord. Who of you keeps the law? No one, I fancy. For this reason even God was turned from you and banished you and scat-
B tered you to the ends of the earth. Why, tell me, are

you dispersed to the four winds of heaven and are as a curse among all nations?

HERB. Clearly, because of our sins.

GREG. And I told you that because of your sin you were scattered, driven from the land of promise. How then could you say that the law converts your souls to a willing service of God? Does God thrust aside from himself and scatter them who are pleasing to him? Behold, what you say is a boundless slander of God.

HERB. Do you yourself then declare what the text means.

GREG. The law of the Lord is my Jesus Christ, who, when he had come down from heaven and had become man, converted a multitude of the sons of Israel to the goodness of the Father, having taught them to be Christians,-- many and especially Peter. Not only these, but from all nations thousands and ten thousands he converted by his Holy Spirit, through his disciples, to a recognition of the Trinity. So perfect was he, that Isaiah has cried concerning him, "...he had done no violence, neither was any deceit in his mouth."²³⁰

HERB. The prophet there was enumerating the excellencies of the law, and to those already mentioned he adds, "...the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart, the commandment of the Lord,²³¹ etc." But you, with a sort of sleight-of-hand and craftiness and a very quick-sighted skill appropriate²³² all these matters to your own ends. For with a smooth

233
tongue, by twisting you turn every thought to your own advantage.

GREG. You do not listen to what Habakkuk says about those things, which you said the prophet spoke as an enumeration²³⁴ of excellencies. For they are the excellencies of God and of my Christ, which Habakkuk too has recounted, "His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise."²³⁵

669A HERB. He certainly said this in reference to the God who is the author of the law. For who is like him in excellencies?

GREG. Has someone led you astray, so that you think that the Word of God, who came down from heaven, is not God of the law? You gain no advantage on this point, O bastard.²³⁶ For my Lord is Lord also of your law, and God and king of the new grace. Habakkuk says, "God shall come from Thaeman, and the Holy One from the darkshaded Mount Pharon."²³⁷

HERB. What does Thaeman mean? What does the darkshaded mount signify?²³⁸

GREG. Thaeman shows that he came from above, from heaven, that is, originally. The truth reveals that
B the prophet means that he shall get his Incarnation from a virginal body, as also happened, even from our holy Lady, Mother-of-God and Ever-Virgin Mary. The Virgin herself is the darkshaded mount, from which he came forth, miraculously made flesh. He calls her a mountain because just as God came down on Mount Sinai, so he came down on her and dwelt with her. She is

also called a mountain because of the unapproachableness of her virginity, since the thickets of mountains are difficult of approach, or even entirely untraversable. He declares her to be darkshaded because the mystery of the same virginity overshadowed her with a multitude of virtues. Add to this the fact that it is not known in what manner she herself was born. A virgin gave birth and after giving birth she again continued to remain a virgin.

239

C HERB. He does not say this concerning Christ, nor concerning her whom you call Virgin, but concerning the God of the law, who appeared to Moses on Mount Sinai. If it were as you say, then he should have said, "Christ will come from Thaeman," not, "God." We call Thaeman ²⁴⁰ the place from which the south wind blows.

GREG. We call Thaeman the place from whence we pray. We were taught to pray to the east, because we find that there God fashioned man and made paradise. It is clear that he who fulfills all things has his abode there. And you, from whence you pray, this you call

D Thaeman. For you pray to the west and there is no question about this. For the words you utter are full of a want of understanding, since you do not know well the prophecies. "God," he said, "shall come from Thaeman, and the Holy One from the mountain." ²⁴¹ Tell me, who is that God and who is that Holy One?

HERB. God himself is also the Holy One; they are two

designations for one person.

GREG. Which of the two is greater, that God or that Holy One?

HERB. That God ²⁴² is greater than that Holy One.

672A GREG. See how you have slipped and you do not realize it. Above you said that that God is stronger than that Holy One. In that case, there is in God a greater and a less name.

HERB. Do you yourself then tell me what this passage means.

GREG. That he shall come, but in a body. The Deity does not move about from place to place, as do bodies. ²⁴³ "And the Holy One from the mountain," signifies that his human nature will come, (accompanied by his divine nature), from the undefiled womb of the Ever-Virgin and Mother-of-God Mary. The one we call God, because he is in essence divine; the other, the Holy One, because of his essentially human nature; ²⁴⁴ since, as I stated above, my Lord Jesus was twofold, ²⁴⁵ God and man. This same prophet says previously concerning him, "Thou shalt be known between the two living creatures," ²⁴⁶ that is, thou shalt be known ²⁴⁷ between the two persons and the two ²⁴⁸ natures, the one and the same really existent Word of God. And that he will come and will not delay, is shown by his saying, "Thou shalt be acknowledged when the years draw nigh; thou shalt be manifested when the time is come." ²⁴⁹

HERB. You give an intelligent reply. Yet, it always

distresses us Jews to forsake our ancestral faith and
to adopt new beliefs. As you know, old wine is better
250
than new.

GREG. Your law is old wine, but since it has turned
251
sour it has become useless. I know that a veil
252
C always covers your heart and prevents you from giv-
253
ing your assent to the truth, and keeps you from
hearing the words of life and faith, and from truly
254
believing. Nevertheless, with justice renouncing
you, the prophet has said, "O Lord, scatter them
255
shortly from the earth in their life. Appoint, O
Lord, a lawgiver over them: ^{let} ~~that~~ the nations ~~may~~ know
^{that they are} 256
~~themselves to be but men.~~"

HERB. The prophet said that in reference to something
else, since of us the same prophet says, "Redeem Is-
rael, O God, out of all his trouble." 257 And again,
"Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem; praise thy God, O Zion.
For he hath strengthened the bars of thy gates; he
D hath blessed thy children within thee." 258 And Isaiah
says, "Israel shall be saved ^{by} ~~in~~ the Lord." 259

GREG. The words, "Scatter them shortly from the
earth," mean that your dispersion from the land of
promise among all nations has taken place in a short
time. "Appoint, O Lord, a lawgiver over them," and
what follows is a prophecy of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

673A The Father appointed him lawgiver over the nations,
260
because you were unwilling to govern rightly even
yourselves. That the prophet said, "Redeem Israel,
O God, etc.," is not hard to account for. He was

beseeking God on behalf of his own nation. We Christians, as is to be expected, fearing God as we do, pray for you daily, that you may know what is for your own good. The text, "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem, etc.," is also true. For prior to the coming of Christianity, the saying was appropriate, nor do I at all object to it. Before the Lord came from heaven to earth, even I, had I been living then, would have been a Jew. For in those days, only through the law of Israel was there salvation. As for your statement that the old wine is stronger than the new,--that old wine has been used up and there is nothing left in your wine-jars except dregs; as the prophet says, "For there is a cup in the hand of the Lord, full of unmingled wine; and he has turned it from side to side."²⁶¹ God has turned from the old law to the new, which is the fulfillment of the honey-flowing words and thoughts of the sacred prophets.²⁶² And there is nothing left for us in the old law, since it was emptied into the new, except the dregs, that is to say, now that the Scriptures have been fulfilled, they are for the future, idle.²⁶³ HERB. You completely reject the point of view of Israel, and through the crucified one you assign to the Almighty your own ideas, not understanding the word of the Lord which says, "For the Lord will not cast off his people, neither will he forsake his inheritance."²⁶⁴

GREG. And why did you not read the verse which

follows? That the Lord will not cast off his people,

I know better ²⁶⁵ than you, and I understand very

clearly that he will not forsake his inheritance.

But, tell me, how long? The verse that preceeds ²⁶⁶

this, fixes a definition of a limited time, saying,

"until." Until righteousness return to a spiritual

judgment, that is to say, until it return to Chris-

tianity. When my Lord and Christ comes he will be

the true righteousness. He will return those who

are obedient. These are they who follow after the

D new grace, the upright in heart, both Jews and Gen-

tiles who have believed on him. But of you unbe-

lieving Jews, the same prophet says, "Who will rise

up ~~for me~~ against the evildoers? or who will stand

up ~~for me~~ against the workers of iniquity?" ²⁶⁷ It

is certainly clear that in the last days, Vespasian

rose up and Titus, and according to the prophet, de-

stroyed them. At that time, being in distress you

cried as Isaiah prophesied, "Now the Lord has taken

away my judgment, and has departed from me, ²⁶⁸ and

strangers devour us with their teeth." ²⁶⁹ And in-

deed deservedly!

676A HERB. We Israelites shall rise again and our city

shall be built, and you who preach Christ shall be

put to shame. It is written for us by the Lord,

"The Lord doth build up Jerusalem: he ^{will} gather ~~eth~~

together the outcasts of Israel. He healeth the

broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds." ²⁷⁰

Whether soon, whether ²⁷¹ late, this word shall be

fulfilled. What then have I to do with you, ²⁷² O
archbishop?

GREG. If you founded ²⁷³ one city and were gathered
together into one city, what does that prove? Did
not Nebuchadnezzar capture Jerusalem and lead away
its people, and overthrow it? Did not afterward

²⁷⁴ B Cyrus in pity rebuild it, and bring you who were
dispersed together again? Was not your city deliv-
ered over to the enemy in the days of Jeremiah and
Baruch and destroyed, and again when deemed worthy
of kindness, rebuilt? And finally, not to recount
its trials, it was utterly destroyed by the Romans.
Why do you sit and wait for a prophecy that has al-
ready been fulfilled twice and three times and which
holds nothing better for the future? Therefore, hear
the sentence which God pronounced in general on you,
that you may understand clearly, that God thrust you
from his heart. Seeing that he will not take pleasure
hereafter in your services, God said, "I will by no
means assemble their bloody meetings, neither will I
C make mention of their names ²⁷⁵ with my lips." ²⁷⁶ Of
the inheritance which pertains to him, his only-be-
gotten Son said to God himself, "Thou art he that re-
stores my inheritance to me." ²⁷⁷ You see, O Herban,
how from his very heart God has hated you, and has
decreed ²⁷⁸ against all your synagogues, "I will by
no means assemble their bloody meetings, neither will
I make mention of their names with my lips." Since

not even with his lips does God wish to make mention of you, of what are you deserving, you who are benighted and blinded and confused and forgotten?

HERB. Behold,²⁷⁹ does not the prophet say, "Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God."²⁸⁰ Behold, does not even Moses say, "You shall perish unless you have the law for an aid."²⁸¹ And of you Gentiles David said,²⁸² "Ye Gentiles shall perish out of his land." And again Moses, "For they are a nation void of counsel,²⁸³ neither is there any understanding in them." Behold, does not Isaiah say, "Rejoice not, all ye Philistines, because the yoke of him that smote you is broken."²⁸⁴ Since therefore you are condemned by the prophets, in vain do you rejoice, and in vain do you hope.

677A GREG. First read through and discover what these texts mean, and then charge us. "Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob," was spoken of the patriarch Jacob. And you say that your hope is in the Lord, as the text states. But I say that formerly it was, but even now it no longer is. For hope has already perished from among you, since you denied that glorious and divine hope which God sent to you from heaven. As for, "Ye Gentiles shall perish out of his land," he does not say this, as you may suppose, concerning us, but rather concerning you Jews. Since you made a bad use of the law which was given to you, and mingled with the Gentiles and learned their ways,

also you, O senseless one, he called Gentiles. For-
B sooth, tell me, who perished out of his land, we or
you, who are transgressors and self-confessed deniers
of God? Behold, do we not dwell hitherto in the land
of your fathers, but you the transgressors of the law,
the Lord God pursuing drove out of the land of the
Gentiles, whom, he said, he would give to you to de-
stroy and to inhabit their land, and you did not de-
stroy them, but mingled with them and learned their
ways? So wretched are you that ²⁸⁵ never yet have you
possessed your own land. Behold, therefore, in accord-
ance with the saying of the Lord, "I will completely
scatter them," ²⁸⁶ you are scattered among all nations ²⁸⁷
and you are a reproach and a destruction to yourselves.

As for what Isaiah said, "Rejoice not, all ye Philis-
tines,"--he prophesied this of the destruction of the
Assyrians. For above ²⁸⁸ he declares, "As I have pur-
posed, so it shall remain, even to destroy the Assyr-
ians ^{from} ~~upon~~ my land, and ^{from} ~~upon~~ my mountains: and they
shall be for trampling." ²⁸⁹ What have you to say to
this?

HERB. What can one say in answer to an idle bab-
²⁹⁰ bler? ²⁹¹ You pervert whatever reply we make. What
does Zechariah say, as from the Lord himself? "Behold
I will save my people from the east country, ²⁹² ...and
I will bring them ²⁹³ into their land, and they shall
²⁹⁴ dwell in the midst of Jerusalem: and they shall be
my people, and I will be their God, in truth and in
righteousness." ²⁹⁵ And below, "And it shall come to

D pass, that as ye were a curse among the heathen,
 O house of Judah, and house of Israel; so will I save
 you, and ye shall be a blessing: ²⁹⁷ fear not, but let
 your hands be strong. For thus saith the Lord of
 hosts: As I thought to punish you, when your fathers
 680A provoked me to wrath, ~~saith the Lord of hosts,~~ and I
 repented not: ²⁹⁸ So ~~again~~ have I ^{prepared and} thought in these days
 to do well unto ^{Israel in} ~~Jerusalem and to~~ the house of Judah:
 fear ye not. These are the words ²⁹⁹ of God." ³⁰⁰ What
 now will you say in answer to this, O archbishop? ³⁰¹

GREG. In truth, the prophet did foretell these things,
 and twice and three times you were recalled from the
 Gentiles and restored to Jerusalem, and for a time you
 continued ³⁰² to be blessed. Then because you had sinned
 you were delivered over to be plundered and preyed upon,
 and for a curse among the heathen. Did not I enumerate
 for you above how often Israel was led away captive,
 and how often you were brought back? ³⁰³ Will not this
 continue forever, until Satan and Antichrist come into
 the world? ³⁰⁴

B You were set at nought and found to be
 utterly useless, so that ³⁰⁵ God called the Gentiles in
 your stead. And hear Zechariah ³⁰⁶ as he says, "Thus
 saith the Lord of hosts; ~~It shall yet come to pass,~~
^{Yet shall many peoples come,}
 that there shall come people, and the inhabitants of
 many cities: ~~And the inhabitants of one city shall~~
^{and they shall come together} ³⁰⁷ ~~go~~ ^{to one city}
³⁰⁷ ~~to another,~~ saying, Let us go ~~speedily~~ to pray
^{the face of} before the Lord, and to seek ^{the face of} the Lord of hosts..." ³⁰⁸

Handwritten notes:
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...
 ...

You see how Zechariah, nay God himself, foretold the
 turning of the Gentiles to God. "Many people," he says,
 "and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of
 hosts..." ³⁰⁹ What do you say to this? ^{the face of}
 HERB. Micah the prophet says, "In that day, saith the
^{these days}

many

Lord, will I ~~assemble~~ ^{gather} her that ~~halteth~~, and I will ^{is bruised} ~~And I will call those whom I~~ ^{And I will call those whom I} ~~gather~~ her that is driven out, ~~and her that I have~~ ^{is bruised} ~~have driven out~~ afflicted; And I will make her that ~~halted~~ ^{is bruised} a remnant, and her that was ~~cast far off~~ ^{rejected} a strong nation: and the Lord shall reign over them in mount Zion from henceforth, even for ever." ³¹⁰

Do you not think that the time is coming when God the Lord shall recall Israel whom he cast off, and that it must needs be that he become a strong nation and a kingdom greatly to be feared?

GREG. You certainly are deceived, O Herban, in appropriating the prophecy to your own nation. For when he spoke of "her that ~~halteth~~" ^{is bruised} he foreshadowed the sojourn in Jerusalem of the Gentiles, and by "her that is driven out" ³¹¹ he means that idolatry has been driven out of these same Gentiles. ³¹² Is it not the

rule of the Romans which is great and strong among the nations? Is not Jerusalem full of churches and sacred shrines of the crucified Christ? Did not Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom you deny, come from Bethlehem?

Does he not rule from Mount Zion, that is, from heaven on high, over almost the ends of the whole earth? Consider what Micah says later on, "But thou, Bethlehem, ^{house of}

³¹³ Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; ^{his} whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." ³¹⁴ because even God

was from eternity. "Therefore shall he appoint them

For, says he, as a man he was born recently, but "his goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting,"

to wait till the time of her that brings forth."³¹⁵
That is to say, he shall appoint you Jews to confirm
the law of Moses till the time of her that brings
forth the divine law and leader: he who comes forth
out of Bethlehem, that is, from the Ever-Virgin and
Mother-of-God Mary. "For," says he, "a virgin shall
bear the ruler of Israel."³¹⁶ It is written that his

brethren, (those who are held to be so because they
were born to Joseph), did not believe in him. "And
he," says the prophet, "shall stand and see of what
sort his flock shall be."³¹⁷ and that you may see³¹⁸

B that the Gentiles are given over to him: "And he
shall feed his flock in the strength of the Lord."³¹⁹

And the Gentiles shall dwell in the glory of the name
of the Lord his God."³²⁰ "Therefore now shall the

good shepherd be magnified to the ends of the earth,"³²¹

that is, from the days of the Virgin and Mary the
Mother-of-God to the end of time. And if you wish
to gainsay that he who shepherds the Gentiles, the
Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, is magnified, look
up and see with your eyes to the ends of the earth,
how our Lord Jesus Christ is magnified forever, until
the end of time. For such is the meaning of, "he
shall be magnified to the ends of the earth."³²²

HERB. If that were true, why did not the prophet
say, "...out³²³ of thee shall he come forth unto me

C that is to be ruler among the Gentiles," instead of
"in Israel"?

GREG. Israel means, "The Mind Seeing God."³²⁴ When

the only-begotten Son of God came to you, you Jews who once were "The Mind Seeing God", of your own accord shut your eyes lest you see the endless light. At once you were blinded and you ceased to be "The Mind Seeing God." Instead, the Gentiles who formerly were blind looked up to God and believed on his only-begotten Son. At once they saw, and received the holy baptism. And straightway they were given the name Israel, which by the hand of God had been taken from you. Now, therefore, those who truly see God are rightly called Israel, while they who are blinded by unbelief have ceased to be and to be called Israel. Since the name Israel has been transferred from you to the Gentiles, it is clear that the prophet spoke concerning the Gentiles, that is, the new Israel, "The Lord shall come forth that is to be ruler in Israel."

HERB. In desperation you say very much to cripple the race of Jews, lest they look for a restoration.

684A But I shall not tolerate your words, when I hear the prophet Isaiah saying, "And in that day God shall shine gloriously in counsel on the earth, to exalt and glorify the remnant of Israel in Zion and the remnant in Jerusalem. All that are appointed to life in Jerusalem shall be called holy." And then, "When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of

judgment, and by the spirit of burning." There-
fore, it needs must be that we be restored, even as
you hear the prophets say, and again come into our
former honorable estate, nay rather into greater
honor. Wherefore, no longer resist me with your
great flow of words, but believe that thus it shall
in the end come to pass.

332
B GREG. You do not comprehend the subtle precision
of the divine Scriptures; you delight in false words
and useless thoughts. That, "In that day God shall
shine gloriously in counsel on the earth, to exalt
and glorify the remnant of Israel," has already taken
place. For the only-begotten Son of God, shining
from the holy Virgin and Mother-of-God in Jerusalem,
glorified and exalted the remnant of Israel. Spir-
itually, did he glorify, not physically, as you being
a carnal Jew suppose. What is "the remnant", and
through whom "appointed"? Listen carefully, that you
may know what is good and serviceable for your sal-
vation, should you wish to be saved. The "remnant of
C Israel" is that multitude of Hebrews who believed in
the coming ³³³ of Christ. It is a remnant left by God,
that is to say, chosen. The race of mankind was pre-
served from the tyrannizing cruelties of demons, (you
must interpret this in a spiritual way), in order that
it might believe on the Son of God and be saved, lest
by unbelief the race of the Hebrews perish utterly.
In this connection the prophet says, "Except the Lord
of hosts had left unto you a ^{seed} ~~very small remnant~~, you

should have been as Sodom, and you should have been like unto Gomorrah,"³³⁴ signifying thereby, those of you who have believed and hence have been saved.

"Appointed to life" means, appointed to heavenly life through the only-begotten Son of God. When he says, "...the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the ^{Sons and of the} daughters of Zion," he refers to the believers. And

D that the Lord, "...shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof," no one will contradict that this he does by the honored and holy baptism. Of this Isaiah says, "Wash you, make you clean,"³³⁵ and what follows there. "By the spirit of judgment," means, that the Lord shall judge in benevolence, with the Holy Spirit, and shall search out so great a good.³³⁶ "By the spirit of burning,"--the Lord shall consume by the fire of his own spirit the sins of those who through faith come to the baptismal font.³³⁷ For the Holy

Spirit is capable of burning away defilement. The words, "...to exalt and glorify the remnant," refer³³⁸ to the multitude of Israel, which having been purged

685A from their unbelief, away from Satan, (according as God was vexed with him, because he drove the whole race of the Jews through unbelief), were so exalted and glorified, that all those Gentiles who believed in my Lord and God Jesus Christ, from that time to the present, honor and glorify them, and build houses of prayer, and call them holy and just, and yearly observe their holy remembrances, according as it is

written, that they shall all be called holy, (by
the Gentiles), who were enrolled under the law and
appointed to life, (which is Christ), by faith and
baptism. You have the twelve apostles, you have the
seventy,³³⁹ you have the two thousand,³⁴⁰ you have the
five thousand who ate the loaves,³⁴¹ you have the four
B thousand,³⁴² all of whom you killed, making them mar-
tyrs of my Lord Jesus Christ. There are also many
other souls, not only men but also women, who were
turned from being Jews and came to the holy baptism.
Concerning all of whom the prophet wrote, "The rem-
nant of Israel shall be saved."

HERB. Forthwith you twist the words of the prophecy
to suit your point of view. Granted³⁴³ that you are
right, when did the crucified one, walking in Jerus-
alem, as after this the prophet says, "...overshadow
every region round about Zion with a cloud by day,
and as smoke and light of fire burning by night."³⁴⁴
C When was he a defence³⁴⁵ upon all the glory, and when
did he raise himself into a shade for the obedient
from the heat by day, and a shelter and a hiding place
from inclemency of weather and from rain?³⁴⁶ For this
is what the prophet says in the verse that follows the
text: "The Lord shall have purged the blood of Jerus-
alem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgment,
and by the spirit of burning."³⁴⁷

GREG. Were you living in the days of his sojourn on
earth,³⁴⁸ and did you see whether a cloud overshadowed,

and whether a fire shone with burning light, or that something else happened, so that ³⁴⁹ you take the liberty to talk so glibly about him? Not understanding the true mind of the sacred Scriptures you undertake to judge all its prophecies with carnal conceptions. But observe what the sayings mean. For, O blind Jew, when you think that you are gathering figs, you pluck D thistles. The prophet says that the Lord, "...shall come," ³⁵⁰ and we know that he has come. "And it shall be," he says, "with regard to every place of mount Zion, yea all the region round about it." ³⁵¹ That Zion was a mountain and a lofty one too. You must come to think of that Zion which is in heaven as also being a mountain, the heavenly city and church of the Gentiles. That, "every place of mount Zion, yea all the region round about it," is under the control of Zion, the truth testifies. For when the Lord became flesh, the Zion below renounced the devil and yielded in subjec-

688A tion to the Zion which is above, after that it had believed on my Lord Jesus Christ. Tell me, is there any place here below where churches have not sprung up to the crucified God? These words, then, must be understood spiritually, not carnally. "A cloud shall overshadow," ³⁵² refers to the fact that when Christ ³⁵³ was transfigured on Mt. Tabor in the presence of his disciples, a bright cloud ³⁵⁴ overshadowed them. And again, when he was taken up into heaven, it is written, "a cloud received him out of the sight," of his

disciples. ³⁵⁵ "...as it were the smoke and light of
fire burning by night," and "...upon all the glory
shall be a defence," signify the following: he says
"smoke" because of the gloom, perceptible to the mind
or even corporeal, with which God concealed his di-
vinity from you unbelieving Jews, obviously indicating
that he was not to be known by you, in order that also
what Isaiah said might be fulfilled, "He has hardened
their hearts," etc. ³⁵⁶ And David says, "He made dark-
ness," that is, his body, "his secret place" ³⁵⁷ of his
divinity, lest he be seen by the unbelievers. Smoke,
that is, darkness, prevents one from doing anything,
and smarts and blinds one's eyes. ³⁵⁸ On this account
the one suffering from smoke ³⁵⁹ does not see clearly,
but there is only darkness before him. For God always
blinds the thoughts of unbelievers. "...as it were
light of fire burning by night" ³⁶⁰ --he himself was a
light, as also he said, "I am come a light into the
world." ³⁶¹ He was burning, that is to say, he shone
forth in unapproachable divinity, through signs and
wonders, upon the Jews who then were groping in the
C night of life. The words, "Upon all the glory shall
be a defence," mean as follows: Having been crucified
he was so glorified by the Father and honored on earth
by true men, that all the kingdoms which are under
heaven, confessing him to be true God and Lord and
Master and King and Redeemer, honor and worship and
serve him. "And it shall be for a shadow ³⁶² from the

heat by day," ³⁶³ --by "day" he means the spiritual
beneficence; by "heat", the burning missiles of the
evil one. The Lord, therefore, in all the days of
this dispensation, himself overshadows and cares for
and guards all those that love him, not only from the
burning heat of the evil one who inflames the souls
of men to perform his lawless deeds, but also from
D chance happenings and "the destruction that wasteth
at noon-day," and from the rest of the tyranny of
Satan, from "inclemency" and evil rain. ³⁶⁴ Are these
distortions, and senseless and unclean thoughts?

These matters, O Herban, must be interpreted and de-
termined in this way. Concerning the Synagogue of
you Jews, observe what as he proceeds, the same pro-
phet says in his prophecy, "The Lord says: I planted
a vine, a sorech." ³⁶⁵ Sorech means choice vine. This
689A was clear in the case of Abraham. "And I made a hedge
round it, and dug a trench, and built a tower in the
midst of it, and dug a place for the wine-vat in it:
and I waited for it to bring forth grapes, and it
brought forth thorns. And now, ye men of Judah, and
ye dwellers in Jerusalem, judge between me and my
vineyard. What shall I do any more to my vineyard,
that I have not done to it? Whereas I expected it
to bring forth ³⁶⁶ grapes, it has brought forth
thorns." ³⁶⁷ As he goes on, he tells of your de-
struction and of the just fate that shall overtake
you. ³⁶⁸ "And now I will tell you what I will do to

my vineyard." ³⁶⁹ Now consider, O Herban, the precise destruction (which he foretells) of your Synagogue.

"I will take away its hedge, and it shall be for a spoil." ³⁷⁰ What is the hedge? The law, of course,

B which bounds round about with hedges of commands the vineyard transplanted from Egypt to the land of promise. Who are the destroyers? In a physical sense, the Assyrians, the Persians, the Romans. In a spiritual sense, the demons who incite to heresy. For with a variety of heresies from time to time you have violated the law of Moses. "And I will pull down its walls, and it shall be left to be trodden down." ³⁷¹

What is the wall? The right hand of the Most High, which is a tower of safety to those that love him.

Who are they that trod down? The enemy that take captive in war, who spiritually and physically rule over your synagogue, at the end of whom I see Pilate and they that stand before him. "And I will forsake my vineyard," ³⁷² that is to say, I shall leave it desolate. "And it shall not be pruned nor dug," ³⁷³

C which means, I shall bestow no care on it. "And thorns shall come up upon it as on barren land." ³⁷⁴

That is, much sin shall be heaped ³⁷⁵ on it, as on

lawless and incurable heathen who are steeped in much lawlessness and ignorance. "And I will command the clouds to rain no rain upon it." ³⁷⁶ What are the

clouds? The prophecies and the books of the law. The words and thoughts are the rain. For you certainly

were blinded and unable to read the true mind of your sacred Scriptures. Lest you should say that the prophet foretold these things concerning another matter and not concerning your Synagogue, clarifying the prophecy, nay even purifying ³⁷⁷ it, he added, "For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the ^{man} ~~men~~ of Judah his beloved plant," ³⁷⁸ this is the royal line of David from Judah. Is this then not the truth concerning you, O senseless and unbelieving Jew? And yet you sit at ease and look for a restoration. "Salvation is far from the wicked." ³⁷⁹ For if what God destroyed, rather fulfilled, he is even now building up, he makes of himself a transgressor, (perish the thought!). But God could ³⁸⁰ never be a transgressor, for he does not forget as we do.

692A HERB. You have learned to say a great deal about eliminating the hope of Israel. But not yet have you completely frightened me, since Isaiah says concerning the restoration of Israel, (clarifying the truth), ³⁸¹ "And it shall be in that day, that the Lord shall again show his hand, to be zealous for and to seek the remnant that is left of Israel, ³⁸² which shall be left by the Assyrians, and that from ^{Ethiopia} ~~Egypt~~, and from the ^{Elamites} ~~country of Babylon~~, and from ^{Egypt} ~~Ethiopia~~, and from the Elamites, and from the rising of the sun, and out of Arabia, and from the islands of the sea. And he shall lift up a standard for the nations, and he shall gather the lost ones ³⁸³ of Israel, and he

shall gather the dispersed of Judah from the four
B corners of the earth. And the envy of Ephraim shall
be taken away, and the enemies of Judah shall perish. ³⁸⁴
And it shall be to Israel as the day when he came forth
out of the land of Egypt. ³⁸⁵ And thou shalt say," says
Isaiah, "in that day, I will bless thee, O Lord, for
thou wast angry with me." And then, "But thou hast
turned aside thy wrath, ^{from me} and hast pitied me." ³⁸⁶ Can it
be that these things are not true? Prove that they are
not. Not only, says he, shall Israel be restored, but
also the enemies of Judah, who are you Christians, shall
perish. These things are true, or the prophecies are
false.

GREG. You have only mentioned what is to your advan-
tage. What favors my point of view you passed over
in silence. What ³⁸⁷ is the main point of the words
of the prophet which you have recited?

HERB. The main point? Do you yourself reply.

GREG. "Thus saith the Lord, in that day there shall
be a root of Jesse, and he that shall arise to rule
C over the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles trust." ³⁸⁸
And lest you say that "he that shall arise to rule
over the Gentiles" is an enemy of God, he states,
"he shall be of the root of Jesse." And he says,
"...his rest shall be glorious." ³⁸⁹ Do you take not-
ice, boorish and ignorant one, that the prophet has
said that his rest shall be divinely ³⁹⁰ glorious?

So then, be fully assured that "he that shall arise

to rule over the Gentiles" is from God, seeing that also his rest is called glorious. And he goes on to say, "And he shall lift up a standard for the nations, and he shall gather the lost ones of Israel, and he shall gather the dispersed of Judah,"--as I have already said, not once, nor twice, but often he gathered them. ³⁹¹

but you people continue in the same disobedience. After for a time remaining steadfast, D again you were scattered, and you continue in the same dispersion till the present day. I give you this explanation of the texts which you have quoted. But if you wish to know the truth of this prophecy and its manifest interpretation, attend to what follows. "Thus saith the Lord, in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall arise to rule over the Gentiles." Who is the root of Jesse, other than my Lady and Mother-of-God Mary, who was of the 693a tribe of Jesse? Who is he that shall arise to rule over the Gentiles? Jesus Christ, who was born of her. That he rules over the Gentiles ³⁹² you see clearly. You also see that "in him shall the Gentiles trust." That "his rest shall be glorious," ³⁹³ admits of no satiety. By rest he means the sleep, that is, the death which he died while hanging on the cross. And immediately the prophet adds, "And it shall be in that day." ³⁹⁴ In what day? Forsooth, in the day that he who "shall rise to rule" arose. If you say ³⁹⁵ that he does not refer to that day, do you

then tell of what day he speaks. For if you maintain that he speaks of the Last Day, then the prophet should have said Last Day. But you would not be able ³⁹⁶ to show this. Therefore he says, "In that day, the Lord shall again show his hand." ³⁹⁷ What does it mean, "the Lord shall show"? That he who received the Gentiles when they turn to him, will recall ³⁹⁸ also from Israel, the true Israelites, who both faithfully keep the law, and eagerly adopt ³⁹⁹ Christianity through faith in him; and will turn to Christianity, not only them from Jerusalem, but also from the ends of the earth. For after his disciples had been scattered to the twelve winds ⁴⁰⁰ of the earth which is under heaven, a great multitude even of Jews who were scattered throughout the whole world, believed with all their households, and with the believing Gentiles were gathered together into the Church. Therefore he says, "He shall lift up a standard for the nations." What is the standard, other than the honored and life-giving cross? Through it he will gather together to salvation the lost ones of Israel, and the outcast ones of Judah to the kingdom of heaven. But if you will also say, "Where in the Old Testament is the cross called a standard?"-- David, prophesying concerning the cross, says to God, "Show me a standard [AV: token] for good, etc." ⁴⁰¹

These things are fixed firm and sure, in accordance with the divine adjudication of the Spirit.

HERB. The prophet says without qualification that

"he shall seek the remnant that is left of his
people."⁴⁰² And you say that, those who have been
separated from the law and who have believed on Christ,
these alone⁴⁰³ does the prophet include with certainty.
How do you explain this contradiction?⁴⁰⁴

GREG. What is written concerning the law? "Cursed
be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law
to do them."⁴⁰⁵ Therefore, they who do not keep the
D law, are not worthy to be reckoned in the number with
those who keep the law, as do also the Christians.

All are called Christians, but only they who observe
the precepts of the Christians, are Christians. Those
who do not keep the law are not Christians.⁴⁰⁶ And so,
indeed, as many as faithfully kept the law of Moses in

those days, as soon as they heard that my Christ had
come, immediately were pricked by the God of the law,
and they believed on his only-begotten and dearest

Son. But as many as did not keep the law of God be-
fore the advent of Christ,⁴⁰⁷

696A but through their evil
works were serving Satan, the God of the law knowing
that he did not help them by giving them the law of
Moses, so neither will he help them who did not be-
lieve⁴⁰⁸ in Christ; but the very lawless deeds which
they committed, while under the law, these even though
they have become Christians they will continue to do.
For he blinded their hearts, and having made them un-
yielding, he rendered them obtuse. And they disbe-
lieving, perished. For this reason then the prophet,

(and I too), with good reason would have called only those who keep the law, Israel and the people of God and Judah. What will you say in reply to this?

HERB. And if that is the way these matters stand, why has the prophet said, "And the envy of Ephraim shall be taken away, and the enemies of Judah shall perish"? What is Ephraim, and who ⁴¹⁰ are the enemies of Judah? Do you now tell me.

GREG. They of the tribe of Ephraim, O senseless man, were Hebrews who lived in the days of Isaiah the prophet, and they alone ruled over the other tribes that had broken away from the tribe of Judah. But the tribe of Judah ruled over all of Palestine. ⁴¹¹ For this reason, the kingdom of Ephraim had become ⁴¹² very envious of Judah, that is, of the kingdom of David, even so much so that civil war broke out between them. When, therefore, Isaiah as a prophet of God saw that in very truth Christ according to the flesh would rise from the tribe of Judah and would destroy the kingdom of Ephraim, he added this word: when the Lord Jesus rises from the tribe of Judah, "the envy of Ephraim shall be taken away," that is, the enmity, because Ephraim shall be destroyed. And these Ephraimites, as being enemies of Judah, that is of the Lord and king who rises from the tribe of Judah, shall immediately perish. The prophet foretelling the destruction of Ephraim uttered this word. When ⁴¹³ in the days of Achaz, the son of Joatham, the son of Ozias, king of Judah, Rasin king of Aram came

up, and Phakee son of Romelias, king of Israel, (of
the tribe of Ephraim), to besiege Jerusalem,⁴¹⁴

Isaiah said, "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, This
counsel shall not abide."⁴¹⁵ And a little below,

D "And yet within sixty and five years the kingdom of
Ephraim shall cease from being a people."⁴¹⁶ For
this reason he said, "The envy of Ephraim shall be
taken away, etc."

HERB. And why did the prophet add, saying, "And it
shall be to Israel as the day when he came forth out
of the land of Egypt"⁴¹⁷? For he proclaimed that this
deliverance shall be similar to the ancient deliverance
from Egypt.

GREG. In a physical sense Israel came forth out of
Egypt, and set free from physical bondage, inherited
697A the land of promise. But now in a spiritual sense,
having come forth out of sin, first he has been lib-
erated from the curse of the law, and then having put
off the ancient garment of sin, he has put on the new
garment which is renewed through water and spirit.
And finally, coming forth out of all sin, as from
Egypt, he has taken up his abode in the new Jerusalem,
the Church, as in another land of promise. And so
great was his joy and happiness, that to inherit that
extraordinary country was more wonderful⁴¹⁸ than the
departure from Egypt. Therefore the prophet said,
"And it shall be to Israel as the day when he came
forth out of the land of Egypt."

HERB. As I said before, we shall never gain the mastery⁴¹⁹ over the question under discussion by arguing allegorically,⁴²⁰ evidences which we marshall, now from the law, now from the prophets. Still, I have not come to the end of speaking nor do I halt my defense. Ezekiel the prophet exclaims, "Thus saith the Lord. I will take you out from the nations, and will gather you out of all the lands, and will bring you into your own land: and I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be purged from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you. And I will give you a new heart, and will put a new spirit in you: and I will take away the heart of stone out of your flesh, and will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit in you, and will cause you to walk in my ordinances, and to keep my judgments. And ye shall dwell upon the land which I gave to your fathers; and ye shall be to me a people, and I will be to you a God."⁴²¹ Did not the prophet say these things?⁴²² Explain them. For behold, a pure testimony⁴²³ admits of no refutation by anyone.

GREG. I shall not say a great deal to convince you concerning this prophecy. The prophet did not speak of the Jews, but of the Church of the Gentiles, when he said,⁴²⁴ "From all your idols I will cleanse you." Tell me, did God cleanse Israel from their idols, or the Gentiles who were serving idols? Did the straying Gentiles possess hearts of stone, or the Israelites

who through the law of Moses served the holy God?

D Did the Israelites first walk in the prescribed ordinances, or the Gentiles who did not have the law? Not as yet did Israel exist as the people of God; or, is it not true, as the prophet promises, after these things they were called the people of God, seeing that previously they were not? Then never yet had they received the Spirit of God, but after this ought they to have received it? In vain do you expect, O senseless Herban. For the prophet has spoken concerning
700A the things awaited, not concerning what has long ago come to pass. God forbid!

HERB. "I will take you," Ezekiel says, "out from the nations, and will bring you into your own land." And you proclaim monstrous things. "And ye shall dwell upon the land which I gave to your fathers." And you give a strange explanation. Tell me, did the Lord
426 gather the Gentiles out from the Gentiles, as you say? Again, did the Gentiles dwell
427 in the land of their fathers? What have Hebrews and Gentiles in
428 common? Do you speak true things, O archbishop?
429 This that you have spoken is not true.

GREG. You ask
430 whether God shall gather the Gentiles out from the Gentiles. Yes, he gathered the Gentiles out from the Gentiles. In what way is this true? He gathered the Gentiles who believed out from
431 the Gentiles who did not believe. You ask whether the Lord shall settle the Gentiles in the city of

B Jerusalem, as in the abode of their fathers. ⁴³² If
you did not have eyes I would be concerned ⁴³³ about
this point. Look up and see, how that all of Jerus-
alem is full of Christians, not of Jews. For this
saying which was spoken by the Lord to Abraham, "In
thee shall all the Gentiles be blessed," ⁴³⁴ God has
fulfilled. As for your question, ⁴³⁵ What have Hebrews
and Gentiles in common? hearken to what Isaiah has
said, "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I am going to
gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come,
and see my glory. And I will leave a sign upon them,
and I will send forth them that have escaped of them
to the Gentiles." ⁴³⁶ And who are they that have es-
caped from the Gentiles, whom the Lord will send
forth, other than the heralds of Christ, the prelates
C who were chosen by the twelve apostles to shepherd the
churches of Christ everywhere? "And I will send forth
them that have escaped of them to the Gentiles, to
Tarsus, and Phud, and Somoch, ⁴³⁷ and Thobel, and to
Greece, and to the isles afar off, to those who have
not heard my glory; ⁴³⁸ and they shall declare my glory
among the Gentiles. And they shall bring your brethren
out of all nations for a gift to the Lord with horses
and chariots." ⁴³⁹ You see therefore, O Herban, Isaiah
discoursing concerning the coming ⁴⁴⁰ of Christ, to the
Jews beloved by God said, "They shall bring your breth-
ren out of all nations for a gift to the Lord." So
that those Jews who were faithful before the coming of

D Christ, and those who after his coming believed on him, and as many of the Gentiles as believed in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit,--these all, as Isaiah has testified, have become brethren. How can you ask, ⁴⁴¹ What have Hebrews and Gentiles in common? Moreover, Hebrews who believe in Christ are held in greater honor than they of the Gentiles who believe in Christ. If then I do not speak, O senseless one, what is in accord with experience, refute me.

701A HERB. As the Lord God lives, ⁴⁴² I praise your words which are spoken with understanding and out of great experience. Yet, ⁴⁴³ again Isaiah says, "And I will lead forth the seed that came of Jacob and of Judah, and they shall inherit my holy mountain." ⁴⁴⁴ When then God has given us Jerusalem as an inheritance, who will say us nay? For a short and a little while we have been driven out, but, I think, we shall again receive ⁴⁴⁵ what is ours and we shall inherit all things as of yore.

GREG. The same Isaiah clearly prophesies, saying, "They who are of the Gentiles shall bring to my midst the sons of Israel, their sacrifices with psalms to my house. And I will take of them for myself priests and Levites." ⁴⁴⁶ Behold how the Lord who fulfilled the law made clear beforehand through his prophets that he would work also a change in the priesthood:

B "And I will take of them for myself priests and Levites, saith the Lord." When then he speaks, what

remains for you to say? "For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed and your name remain,"⁴⁴⁷ that is, through faith in Christ, referring to those of you who have believed in Christ.

"And it shall come to pass from month⁴⁴⁸ to month," (indicating the various festivals of the Christians),

"and from Sabbath to Sabbath," (meaning Sundays),⁴⁴⁹

"that all flesh shall come to worship⁴⁵⁰ before me in Jerusalem, saith the Lord."⁴⁵¹ You notice, O fool,⁴⁵²

he says, "all flesh shall come." He who has said to

C you Jews, "You shall not associate in any way with a Gentile, you shall not do business with him, you shall not eat and you shall not drink⁴⁵³ with him, etc.,"⁴⁵⁴

the same says, "all flesh shall come to worship before me in Jerusalem, saith the Lord. And they shall go forth and see the carcasses of the men,"⁴⁵⁵ that is,

the bones of those who had died and had previously dwelt⁴⁵⁶ in that place of the lawless Jews. In order

that you who are uncomprehending may understand that because of his sins Israel was thrust away, and by reason of his wantonness he was hated and delivered over to utter destruction, not only in the present age, but also in the age to come, the prophet said,

"...the carcasses of the men who have transgressed against the commands of the law." They of all flesh

D who come to worship God through faith in Jesus Christ, shall see the bones of them lying naked in boundless shame. In the age to come, "...their worm shall not

die, and their fire shall not be quenched; and they shall be a spectacle to all flesh." ⁴⁵⁷ When you hear ⁴⁵⁸

the Lord saying through his prophet, "Behold I am going to gather all nations and tongues," ⁴⁵⁹ and, "all flesh shall come to worship before me in Jerusalem," no longer ⁴⁶⁰

704A

er say anything, but look and see how that seventy tongues jointly ascending in Jerusalem, worship the God of the law and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and how that the unbelieving Jews call themselves un- ⁴⁶¹

happy. ⁴⁶² And seeing all these things, keep still, be quiet, and do not fight with God, but yield to the ⁴⁶³

truth. As for the text which you have cited, ⁴⁶³ "Thus saith the Lord, I will lead forth the seed that came of Jacob and of Judah, and they shall inherit my holy mountain," ⁴⁶⁴

consider: it is not to be interpreted as you suppose, but as I indicate to you. "The seed that came of Jacob," is the twelve tribes, and of none ⁴⁶⁵

of his seed does he make mention, but of Judah alone, for Judah is the seed of Jacob. Jesus Christ my Lord was of the seed of Jacob. Every Christian is ⁴⁶⁶

B

spiritually of the seed of Christ. Concerning this seed which is engrafted ⁴⁶⁶ through Jesus Christ in the seed of Judah, the prophet has spoken. He shall lead it forth after the spiritual work of this present ⁴⁶⁷

life, and it shall inherit the kingdom of heaven. That holy mountain is the heavenly city of Jerusalem. The mountain which is seen, Zion, shall not be called, I think, holy, since it is of the dust of the earth

and of ashes. Furthermore, no one of those who of old dwelt in it has received this inheritance, for they have all passed away, and they now dwelling there shall pass away.

HERB. The Christians finding you to be a great manufactory of much clever speech, have set you as protagonist in their place, for you are skillful at perverting words.⁴⁶⁹ Perhaps, if you so decide, you will pervert with your words⁴⁷⁰ the heaven and the earth and the things under the earth, but us at least you will not easily confute, thinking that we are unable to reply. That you may the more easily understand that the Lord loves Israel even greatly, hear what the prophet Isaiah says, nay rather God, concerning us. "I God, the first and to all futurity, I am.⁴⁷¹ The nations saw, and feared; the ends of the earth were amazed, they drew nigh, and came together, every one judging his neighbor, to assist his brother."⁴⁷²

Therefore, also you, O archbishop, according to this injunction, since you belong to those nations overcome by fear, so judge⁴⁷³ as to assist us your neighbor, who are even your brethren, since we are kindred,⁴⁷⁴ for from us you claim your salvation. Instead, the royal priesthood, the race of Israel, you thrust aside,⁴⁷⁵ commanding it to be set at nought and to despair.

What does the same prophet say concerning those who fashion new images? "The artificer has become strong,⁴⁷⁶ and the coppersmith that smites with the hammer, and

forges also: sometimes he will say, It is a piece
well joined: they have fastened⁴⁷⁷ them with nails,"
that is, the idols. "They will fix them, laboring on
the earth, and they shall not be moved."⁴⁷⁸ In them
705A do you Gentiles boast. But observe what he commands
concerning Israel. "The Gentiles take pleasure in
these idols. But thou, Israel, art my servant Jacob,
and he whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham, whom
I have loved, whom I have taken hold of from the ends⁴⁷⁹
of the earth, and from the high places of it I have
called thee. Fear⁴⁸⁰ not; for I am with thee. Wan-
der not; for I am thy God, who have strengthened thee;
and I have helped thee and established thee with my
just right hand."⁴⁸¹ Attend, O great master, that you
may marvel at God's great love for Israel. Hear words
full of love and boundless ardor.⁴⁸² "I have estab-
lished thee with my just right hand. Behold, all thine
adversaries shall be ashamed and confounded. Thou shalt
seek them, and thou shalt not find the men who have in-
solently raged⁴⁸³ against thee; for they shall be as if
B they were not, and they that war against thee shall not
be. For I am thy God, who holdeth thy right hand, who
saith to thee, Fear not, I have helped thee, fear not,
thou worm Jacob, and Israel few in number. I have
helped thee, saith thy God, he that redeems⁴⁸⁴ thee,
O holy Israel."⁴⁸⁵ Are not these things so? Does not
God speak thus through his prophet concerning the He-
brews? For the rest, cease, and trouble us no further.

GREG. You have indeed repeated the words of the prophecy, but its meaning you do not at all understand.⁴⁸⁶

HERB. He certainly refers to Israel and to Jacob and to the seed of Abraham. And then you charge that I do not understand the words I utter? From the ends
C of the earth, that is from Egypt, the prophet says that God called them to the land of promise, and do you deny all of this?

GREG. As for the words, "But thou, Israel, art my servant Jacob, and he whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham, whom I have loved,"⁴⁸⁷ O Herban, you who still are wandering about in the desert,⁴⁸⁸ hearken to what I say, and do not err,⁴⁸⁹ thinking that God said this concerning the whole race of the Jews. He referred to my Christ, who was begotten of God, and who in the last days became a man from the seed of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. Lest you say⁴⁹⁰ that perhaps Christ came from the tribe of Ishmael, (seeing that Ishmael as well as⁴⁹¹ Isaac was a son of Abraham),⁴⁹² the prophet said, "...thou art my servant Jacob, whom I have loved." But if you persist in saying⁴⁹³ that the prophecy refers to you Jews, do you point out to me at what time God has not forsaken you. Are you not dispersed to the ends of the
D earth; are you not a reproach? Are you not forsaken by God and man? The prophet says, "...for I am with thee, and I am thy God, who have strengthened thee; and I have helped thee and established thee with my

just right hand." ⁴⁹⁴ How can you say that God is
708A with you Hebrews, when even the small nations who
do not believe on Christ beat you and make sport of
you? In what respect do you now receive strength
from the Lord, when you are so weak that ⁴⁹⁵ you do
not possess ⁴⁹⁶ the strength of a mosquito to bite
your enemies? When now is the Lord seen helping
you, in what matter, in what act of ready obed-
ience, ⁴⁹⁷ in what glory or honor or exercise of
power? ⁴⁹⁸ Are you not as ashes and as a mist before
the face? Behold, Hebrews are here, and also your-
self. Let them who wish look at ⁴⁹⁹ your faces. Are
they not dust, are they not ashes? How so? Because
the grace of God is not in you, because you do not
possess the Holy Spirit. On account of your unbe-
B lief and misdeeds, are you not separated from each
other to the ends of the earth, as a garment that is
torn asunder and as a mantle that has become old?
When were all who opposed you "ashamed and confounded"?
Are your adversaries "as if they were not"? When did
you "seek them" and "they could not be found"? Does
God "hold your right hand" and lead you into some
happy issue? When do you find ⁵⁰⁰ the haughty and
stony-hearted character of the Jews humbled as a
"worm"? When were you "few in number", and when did
you receive redemption from the Lord, you who are as
locusts ⁵⁰¹ in the whole earth, being spat on by all
and receiving no redemption from the Lord? You are

C deceived, O Herban. The prophet foretold these things concerning my Christ and God. And God chose him, and called, and sanctified, and loved, and did not forsake, and strengthened, and helped, and established him with his strong right hand.⁵⁰² Answer me, who now is glorified, who rules as king, who is strong and exceedingly powerful, other than Jesus Christ my Lord and God? Are not you Hebrews in shame and in exceeding confusion, because you resisted and do still oppose him? Is it not true that you are "as if you were not"? Furthermore, where are you respected? You, who are enemies of the crucified one, seek and you do not find, because you "insolently raged,"⁵⁰³ crucifying the just and the holy and the sinless one. Be assured, therefore, that concerning you the prophet has said, "Behold, all thine enemies shall be ashamed and confounded."⁵⁰⁴

D For no one is so opposed to my Lord Jesus Christ, as you, who are accursed and who are unbelievers. As compared with you, those of other sects who oppose him, do so only in part. No longer go about speaking vainly.⁵⁰⁵ God has given me spiritual eyes⁵⁰⁶ wherewith I spy out the truth that lies hidden in his sacred Scripture. You being blind shall not be able to ensnare me.

709A HERB. And if thus it is, how can you call your Christ God, seeing that⁵⁰⁷ my God chose him and loved him, etc. In that case he is not God, (as you affirm he is), because God says of him through his prophet, "I

am he who have strengthened thee." ⁵⁰⁸ How then do you call him your God and Saviour, who, as the prophet affirms, can do nothing without my God?

GREG. Even though you have been shown so many proofs concerning him, not yet do you understand, O wretched man, the nature of my Master? Did not I say yesterday that my Jesus Christ was God and man? What God? He who says, "I God, the first." ⁵⁰⁹ What follows:

"...and to all futurity, I am,"--what futurity does he speak of other than the mystery of the Incarnation? ⁵¹⁰

B Since therefore he was God and man, he was certainly helped in his humanity. God says to Christ, "I have chosen thee," that you may be one with me in essence; and, "I have helped thee," that is to say, through you I have helped every individual who is baptized in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. ⁵¹¹

HERB. Where has one of the prophets foretold that Christ would be God and man, as you affirm?

GREG. I have told you that the divine nature fashioned the human nature for itself, which it also did. Jesus Christ came forth from the undefiled blood of the Virgin and Mother-of-God, (who was of the seed of David), without male intervention. After the Incarnation he was one person, consisting of two natures. His human nature possessed all the qualities which I possess,
C except sin; his divine nature possessed all the qualities of the Father, except the state of not being be-
God the Father was not begotten; his Word was begotten.
gotten. ^ The divine nature and the human nature were

joined in one person. His flesh was not begotten of seed, but the word of God in place of seed in the womb of the Virgin led to his Incarnation, without any change taking place in his divine nature. For the divine nature is immutable and unchangeable.

Because ⁵¹³ it did not wish to live with men in its naked essence, the divine nature, as we have said, fashioned the human nature for itself. Concerning Christ, Isaiah the prophet says, "Thus saith the Lord God who fashioned him and who formed the things that are to come," ⁵¹⁴ that is, the mysteries of the new

D grace, "I have raised him up," he says, "to be a king with righteousness, and all his ways are right," ⁵¹⁵ that is, Christ's. "He shall build my city," ⁵¹⁶ that is, the universal Church, "...and shall turn the captivity of my people," ⁵¹⁷ from the error and captivity of Satan. "Not with ransoms," says he, "nor with rewards, saith the Lord God," ⁵¹⁸ but with the strength of his divinity. Hear the subjection of the Gentiles.

"Thus saith the Lord God of hosts, Egypt has labored for thee," that is, being enslaved to error, "and the merchandise of the Ethiopians. And the Sabeans, men of stature, shall pass over to thee," that is, believing, "and shall be thy servants; and they shall follow after thee bound in fetters," ⁵¹⁹ forsooth, because of the certainty of their subjection. "And they shall pass over to thee, and shall do obeisance to thee," ⁵²⁰ through faith, "and make supplication to

thee: because God is in thee," that is, in thy human nature; "thou art God."⁵²¹ Observe, "And there is no God beside thee,"⁵²² --because he was the true Word, the prophet speaks truthfully. "For thou art God, yet we knew it not," because we have been prevented by the deceit of idolatry; "God of Israel,"⁵²³ and although thou wert made flesh, they received thee not. But thou art "the Saviour."⁵²⁴ And then, concerning those who do not believe in him, he says, "All that are opposed to him shall be ashamed;"⁵²⁵ he says this both of us Gentiles, and of you Hebrews. "And they shall walk in shame,"⁵²⁶ as unbelievers and alienated from the truth. Do you note, Herban, what the prophet says? What then will you reply to this? He surely does not lie, who speaks these things from the mouth of God.

HERB. God forbid! The prophet speaks as you have recounted. But I think that he has not yet come, although he certainly will come in his own time.

GREG. You are similar to a snake that is pursued and struck, and although it exposes its whole body to the one striking, its evil head cannot be killed. I refer to your unbelief and denial of the only-begotten Son of God. I rather think⁵²⁷ that the proofs of the prophets persuade you, but you do not wish to come to the truth. An evil attitude having been established C in you by time, you have become hard to cure, or even completely incurable. You will repent greatly, when,

leaving this present life, the eyes of your soul shall be opened, and you shall see how those who do not believe in Christ are taken and condemned.

HERB. Moses charged us in the Pentateuch, saying, "I know that in the last days you shall be scattered among all nations. I call heaven and earth this day to witness against you, that you be not persuaded to worship another God, apart from the Lord your God."⁵²⁸ Therefore it is hard for me to leave the God of the law,
D (whom even you testify to be the true God), and to worship a more recent God, not knowing whence he came. For who is there that will fully assure me that in truth he is the Christ, concerning whom the prophets justly speak? Or is some other, who has not yet come, the Christ?

GREG. Since you do not believe your prophets, how will you believe another? He who opposes the evidence of his own eyes, how will he accept another's witness? You have said concerning my Christ and God that you are unable⁵²⁹ to believe⁵³⁰ in a more recent God, and I think, when you uttered these words you were in complete darkness. Do you call the Word of God the

713A Father, him who was begotten of the Father from everlasting, through whom the heaven and the earth have been made and all that is in them, a more recent God? Shall I show you that God the Father does nothing without this more recent God, as you call him? Observe carefully. If there is some king or other ruler, who

in no wise is able to utter a sound, how will he be able to communicate his will to his people and to his senate, in order that they may serve him?

HERB. Verily, in no way at all, unless perchance he knows how to write, and though his tongue be silent, he inscribes his words on a roll, and he publishes them abroad, and they come to pass.

GREG. But if he does not know ⁵³¹ how to write, what is the result?

B HERB. If he is ignorant of letters, he remains completely inefficacious.

GREG. Does God appear to be performing his works by his Word, or by a certain silence and discipline? ⁵³²

HERB. By his Word and by his command.

GREG. It is written, "By the Word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them ⁵³³ by the Breath of his mouth, etc." ⁵³⁴ We find this Word in

the last days, incarnate from the seed of David for our salvation, and we recognize him to be one God with the Father and the Spirit, and we believe on him. How then can you say that he is a more recent God, he, apart from whom, God the Father never has wrought anything? Be silent, therefore, and do not ⁵³⁵ blaspheme, even though you do not believe on him.

HERB. And what prophet orders me to believe on him?

GREG. The God of the law himself commands you, saying through Isaiah the prophet, "Behold, I shall lay for the foundations of Zion a costly stone, and he

that believes on him shall not be ashamed." ⁵³⁶ Since,
therefore, God commands you to believe on him, why do
you thrust him aside and close your eyes and stuff
your ears, and put off coming to him? If you disre-
gard your God and provoke him to wrath, who commands
you ⁵³⁷ to worship his Son, will you ever hearken to
me or to another in this matter? I do not think so,
D not if you were to live on this earth as long as
Methuselah.

HERB. As I see it, we find even the prophets for the
most part contradicting themselves. In some passages
they favor us Jews, elsewhere, you who are of the Gen-
tiles.

GREG. Not at all do they contradict themselves, or
favor the Jews, as you say, but rather do they con-
demn you, since from the beginning you have been
716A stiff-necked ⁵³⁸ and of uncircumcised ears, ⁵³⁹ disbe-
lieving the things of God and resisting the Holy
Spirit. You greatly grieved his most holy name.

HERB. Who will be able to assemble your elegant
words which are more numerous than the sand which is
on the shore of the sea? ⁵⁴⁰ Who will join debate with
you who are a perverter of words? Did not God say to
Moses at the thorn-bush, ⁵⁴¹ "I have surely seen the
affliction of my people that is in Egypt...and I have
come down to deliver them" ⁵⁴²? Did not Moses say to
God, "If I have found favor in thy sight, show me thy
glory, that I may know that this people is thine?" ⁵⁴³

Did not God, since he loved his people, that is us,
show him his glory? ⁵⁴⁴ And Balaam who was summoned
B by Balak the king to curse our ancestors who were
encamped in his country, because he saw that they
were the people of God, blessed them and did not
curse. ⁵⁴⁵ Did not Joshua the son of Nun, waging
dire war for the safety of his people, say to the
greatest heavenly bodies ⁵⁴⁶ which give light in the
firmament of heaven, "Let the sun stand over against
Gibeon and the moon over against the valley, until I
utterly destroy the enemies of the Lord?" ⁵⁴⁷ And the
sun obeyed, sparing ⁵⁴⁸ the people of God. Did not God
converse with Samuel for the safety of Israel, loving
his people? Did not David, being moved on behalf of
Israel, say, "Remember thy congregation, which thou
hast purchased of old; the rod of thine inheritance,
C which thou hast redeemed" ⁵⁴⁹ Did not Elijah the
prophet speak to Ahab, saying, ⁵⁵⁰ "Spare the people.
Art thou he that perverts Israel, thou and thy father's
house" ⁵⁵¹ Elisha pleading on behalf of the people
said by himself, "Lord spare thy people; and he did not
disclose to me, and I am ^{not} in pain the whole day long." ⁵⁵²
Did not Jeremiah, weeping for his people, say, ^{Alas, O Lord,} "O Lord,
^{will thou destroy the remnant of Israel} ⁵⁵³ ~~save thy people, the remnant of Israel~~"? And Isaiah,
"Where is the abundance of thy mercy, Lord, that thou
hast withholden thyself from us? ⁵⁵⁴ For thou art our
Father; deliver us. From the beginning, O Lord, thy
name was upon us. Why hast thou caused us to err, O

Lord, from thy way? ^{Thou} and hast hardened our hearts,
D that we should not fear thee, etc." ⁵⁵⁵ When all these
are moved on behalf of Israel and defend us, how could
you say that the prophets condemn us and not the rather
help us?

GREG. This is not what I meant in saying that the pro-
phets condemn you. What has preceded I pass over.
Consider what follows.

HERB. Show me what follows.

GREG. One saying or rather one prophecy I shall de-
clare ⁵⁵⁶ to you without going into detail, and you
will be greatly amazed.

HERB. Speak on and do not delay.

GREG. Isaiah, beholding from afar with prophetic
eyes the unusual extent of your wickedness, and that
you will not be able to rest on your former trust,
that is, your Jewish types and figures, but only on
the new law of Christ, said, "Hear, O heavens, and
give ear, O earth: for the Lord hath spoken, I have
begotten and brought up children, and they have re-
belled against me." ⁵⁵⁷ Hearken, that you may under-
stand and be amazed. ⁵⁵⁸ "The ox knoweth his owner
B who bought him, ⁵⁵⁹ and the ass his master's crib:
but Israel doth not know me, my people doth not con-
sider." ⁵⁶⁰ You see a mystery in his mention of the
crib ⁵⁶¹ of the herd at which daily they feed. ⁵⁶²
"But Israel doth not know me, my people doth not
consider." Do you see a mystery in his saying that

you are more lacking in comprehension than cattle? 563

Then he adds, "Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity,"⁵⁶⁴ not in part, but completely, the seed no longer of Abraham, but a base seed; sons no longer of God, as he says in the beginning, "I have begotten children,"⁵⁶⁵ but now he speaks of "lawless sons".

And he continues the charge,⁵⁶⁶ "Ye have forsaken the Lord, and provoked the Holy One of Israel," in that you crucified him. Consider the truth of the prophecy. Not only have you forsaken, denying him who came into your midst as man, that is, our Lord Jesus Christ, but "you have provoked the Holy One of Israel," to no purpose crucifying him. Why have you been "smitten"⁵⁶⁷ in your heart by Satan, fashioning lawlessnesses? The former extent of your wickedness, says Isaiah, did not suffice, but even still blaspheming, and bringing requital on the only-begotten Son of God, you fill to the top your measure of lawlessness. In order that you might not say that some of you were dutiful and some were sinful, he says, "...the whole head is sick"; and in order that you might not say that they not at all the less are guilty of sinning, but are fallen in sin and evil, he says, "and the whole heart faint."⁵⁶⁸ Each is vexed with his neighbor in envy and wrath and malice, because iniquity abounds and the love of many among you is waxed cold.⁵⁶⁹ "From the sole of the foot even unto the head," the prophet says, lest you say

that only the common folk have wrought evil and not the king and his council. That is what this text signified: "From the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in them;⁵⁷⁰ neither wound,⁵⁷¹ nor bruise, nor festering ulcer are healed,"⁵⁷¹ but from top to bottom there is weakness and unmitigated pain. There is no art or skill which can cure. "It is not possible to apply a plaster, nor oil,"⁵⁷² because of the permanence of sin. "It is not possible to apply a bandage,"⁵⁷³ because of their unrepentant heart. "Your country is desolate,"⁵⁷⁴ refers to your earthly tabernacles,⁵⁷⁵ which are destitute of holiness, because they are full of sin. The righteous man is a temple of God. "Your cities are burned with fire,"⁵⁷⁶ refers to your evil synagogues, which are destroyed by the flame of sin, because there is no council there of divine operation, but a conflagration of pestilence and evil, blazing in sinful lusts.⁵⁷⁷ "Your land, strangers devour it⁵⁷⁸ in your presence," that is, human life, and the evil spirits consume your mind;⁵⁷⁹ "and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers," your mind and heart by foreign misdeeds. Do you see, O Herban, how Isaiah tells of your complete separation from God, and his departure from you?

HERB. Proceed further and you will find.

GREG. What shall I find? Nothing other than your utter destruction.

HERB. What destruction awaits⁵⁸⁰ us?

C GREG. If you will, consider: "And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city."⁵⁸¹

What is your reply to this? For, says he, as those who dwell in huts, caring for their vineyards and their cucumbers, for no other reason than for their fruit, when the crop has been gathered, leave their huts desolate and depart for home and no longer guard their bare vineyard and cucumber patch, so is God disposed toward your synagogue. Until the advent of Christ, in what way soever you were bearing fruit according to the law, God as a good keeper of his temple, (although another temple had been made ready for him),
D he who fulfills all things dwelling in it, guarded your tribes. But when you continued entirely barren of fruit and brought forth great lawlessness, God, seeing your incurable departure from the law,⁵⁸² devised another way of salvation for you and sent forth his only-begotten Son and Saviour. But when you were not aided by the law, nor proved yourselves worthy in grace, God left you and came to the Gentiles, and they received him, and he called them the new Israel, and he gave them your inheritance, even the kingdom
721A of heaven. Therefore, has she not "been left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city"? But you are shameless as dogs, prating and fighting against God, seeing that you have no defense.

HERB. Speak to me the prophecy and you will know what follows below.

GREG. What does the prophet say next? Certainly the following: "Except the Lord of hosts had left unto us a seed, ^{you}~~we~~ should have been as Sodom, and ^{you}~~we~~ should have been like unto Gomorrah."⁵⁸⁴

HERB. This is sufficient confirmation for us, that the Lord did not utterly destroy us, but has left unto us a seed. We certainly are the seed which he speaks of as left by the Lord, we who now are scattered throughout the whole earth, and preserved, in order that from this small seed in the last days the earth may be sown ⁵⁸⁵ with the promise, and the fields may be covered with the best tribes of Israel, that is, the cities of Judah, which is the vine of the twelve tribes of the people.

GREG. Having had your appetite whetted so often with this hope, have you not yet given up the impudence of continuing to hope? Still, why do we apply this criticism to you? Your case is that of a dog. It is customary for dogs to be beaten and to be driven from the house and again to have the effrontery to forget the beating and to enter the house, and then they are struck and driven out. Wherefore, even again I shall strike at your shamelessness, and I shall pursue you vigorously, because heedlessly and in vain do you revile. I shall show you that unless you are baptized into the holy Trinity, you shall not have life in

yourselves. ⁵⁸⁶ As for the words, "Except he had left
unto us a seed," ⁵⁸⁷ I indicated to you above, ⁵⁸⁸ that
this signified those Israelites ⁵⁸⁹ who have believed
on Christ Jesus and have been saved. Concerning the
part of you who have not believed, it has been said
by Isaiah, "Hear the word, ⁵⁹⁰ ye rulers of Sodom," ⁵⁹¹
you know the rest of the text, and he continues, "To
what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto
me, saith the Lord?" ⁵⁹² This he says lest you boast
that the Lord indeed needs your sacrifices and for
this reason will again restore your synagogues. "I
am full of whole-burnt-offerings of rams; and I de-
light not in the fat of lambs, and the blood of bulls
and goats: neither shall ye come with these to appear
before me." ⁵⁹³ How God hates you! ⁵⁹⁴ How many evils
vain sin produces! It has made you who were beloved
of God, abominable. "I delight not, neither shall ye
come with these to appear before me; for ⁵⁹⁵ who has
required these things at your hands?" that is, the
sacrifices; "ye shall no more tread my court." ⁵⁹⁶

724A Therefore, to whom shall we hearken, to David or to
the Lord, even our God? ⁵⁹⁷ Observe now. You say,
"The Lord doth build up Jerusalem: ^{will} he ^{gathereth} to-
gether the outcasts of Israel." ⁵⁹⁸ However, hearken:
God himself says to you, "ye shall no more tread my
court." But we ought to listen to both, for these
utterances were appropriate to their own contexts.
You who are slow of heart and ignorant, have strange

ideas. When you hear God saying, "ye shall no more tread my court," why are you without shame? "For though ye bring fine flour, it is vain," says he, "incense is an abomination to me; your new moons, and your Sabbaths, and your festivals my soul hates, and your great day I cannot bear."⁵⁹⁹ When you hear

B these things, why do you act like a dog, bringing him your sacrifices, and shamelessly celebrating for him your festivals? Your festivals have become hateful to God. For God says, "your fasting, and your rest from work,⁶⁰⁰ and your festivals my soul hates: ye have become loathsome to me."⁶⁰¹ Therefore God

says, "All things that you perform in your Jewish ceremonies⁶⁰² my soul hates."⁶⁰³ But as for you, in your shamelessness you continue to offer him your sacrifices. Cease, for you merely endure toil: you are opposing God and shall never receive recompense for all your trouble. God says, "Ye have become loathsome to me; I will no more pardon your sins."⁶⁰⁴

See the anger and displeasure⁶⁰⁵ of God. As when a man enduring countless evils from another and being no longer able to bear them, says⁶⁰⁶ in great hate,

C D "No longer do I endure you, but I shall avenge myself on you,"⁶⁰⁷ so God speaks, saying, "'You have become loathsome to me,' filling me with wrath and anger; therefore 'I will no more pardon,' that is, I will no more bear with your sins, but I will take requital, yea I will thrust you from my face." And he adds the

implication of the prophecy when he says, "Ye will stretch forth your hands to me, and I will turn away mine eyes from you." ⁶⁰⁸ Spare, O Lord, those who have hoped in thee! The word of the Lord is to be shuddered at, and his hate for the Jews is inexpressible, because of their foul transgressions, and their murmuring and undisciplined nature. ⁶⁰⁹

Hear, therefore, Herban, and be amazed. It is not I who have invented these curses, lest ever you say, "Because you are opposed to my religion you have brought forth these charges," but God himself is he who rebukes you, and says, "O Jew, do not stretch forth your hands to me, from the day that I shall send my son to you." ⁶¹⁰ But if you do, 'I will

turn away mine eyes from you: and though ye make supplications, I will not hearken to you,' ⁶¹¹ though you make supplication to me all the years of your life, from the day you heard and did not believe that the Son of God had come, 'I will not hearken to you.'" ⁶¹² Why?

725A "For your hands are full of blood," ⁶¹³ he says, from the murder of his ⁶¹⁴ only-begotten Son, and the rest of his saints. Because they believed in the name of the only-begotten Son of God, you killed them. Therefore, "Though ye make supplications, I will not hearken to you." Yet why do you worship in accordance with the law ⁶¹⁵ of your God, when he does not accept your petitions? What is the reason? "Because your hands are full of blood." ⁶¹⁶ What blood? I call heaven this day to witness against you and the sea, ⁶¹⁷ and also the

One-in-Three God who is forever glorified, that he brings this charge against you for no other reason than because of that precious blood of the Lord Jesus, which you in your lawlessness shed. If you are not baptized into the holy Trinity you shall never be
B cleansed from this sin. For this reason even the prophet, rather God himself adds, saying, "Wash you,⁶¹⁸ be clean; remove your iniquities from your souls," that is, Be baptized, each in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, leaving the law, removing also your iniquities from "before mine eyes,"⁶¹⁹ that is, from before my Godhead, etc. If all these things persuade your insensible heart, grace and peace to you; but if they do not persuade you, the sword shall devour you. "The mouth of the Lord has spoken these things."⁶²⁰

C HERB. Not concerning your baptism did the prophet speak, saying, "Through it, 'wash you'", but he referred to the lavers which always stood about in front of the temple of Solomon.⁶²¹ There was a law that he who sinned in some matter and wished to be restored, should speak to the priests, and because of his sin he was excluded from the temple. When the period of his exclusion had passed, washed⁶²² and healed in spirit, thus he then without fear would enter the temple and pay his vows. It was to this cleansing that the prophet referred, not to your baptism.⁶²³

These things were spoken on the second day between Herban and the archbishop. When the king arose they again withdrew in a commotion. ⁶²⁴ The Jews rejoiced in Herban because he proved capable of debating with the archbishop. The Christians were overjoyed with the blessed Gregentius because the grace of the Spirit was with him. When on the third day again the king was seated and the archbishop, and all were come together ⁶²⁵ to the same place, also Herban arrived with his guard. ⁶²⁶ And when he drew near, the archbishop said to him,

The Third Day's Debate

728A GREG. Yesterday you stated that the text, "Wash you, be clean," was spoken in reference to the ceremonial lavers and not to the Christian baptism. Is it not God who says to you, "The daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers," forsooth, from his protection and care, and, ⁶²⁷ "I delight not: neither shall ye come with these to appear before me," and, "Ye shall no more tread ⁶²⁸ my court; though ye bring fine flour, it is vain; ⁶²⁹ incense is an abomination to me," and, "I cannot bear your new moons, and your Sabbaths, and the great day," ⁶³⁰ that is, I have no need of this day, and, "Your fasting, and rest from work, and your feasts my soul hates," and, B "Ye have become loathsome to me," ⁶³¹ and, "When ye stretch forth your hands, I will turn away mine eyes from you," ⁶³² and, "Though ye make supplications, I

will not hearken to you"? When he thrust from him and thoroughly hated all these things, and forbids you to bring your sacrifices in conformity to the law, and swears that he detests the supplications of your souls and your petitions and the raisings of your hands, do you still think that he cares for the lovers of the people? Your claim is absurd. Beyond any doubt, God through the prophet mystically fore-⁶³⁴ shadowed the Christian baptism.

HERB. What am I to do, archbishop, seeing there is no word which you do not pervert, no prophecy which you do not twist? What does the prophet add after
C saying these things? To those who reason correctly, it is irrefutable that by reason of our sins we are under these curses, and because we have provoked his holiness to wrath. Yet, because you completely remove us from hope, and assure us that henceforth no help remains for us in the law, the prophet adds, saying, "I will bring my hand upon thee, and purge thee to pureness; and I will destroy the rebellious from among you, and will take away from thee all trans-⁶³⁵gressors. And I will establish thy judges as before, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: and afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteous-⁶³⁶ness, the faithful mother-city Zion." Observe well what God says by the mouth of his prophet and you will
D see that he foretold our restoration.⁶³⁷ For after he spoke those dire words, he adds, "I will establish thy

judges as before, and thy counsellors as at the beginning." If then he were going to raise up another law or establish another religion, he would not have spoken these things. "And thou shalt be called the city of righteousness," he says, "the faithful mother-city Zion." What is your answer to this?

729A GREG. When Jerusalem was captured, at that time was this prophecy fulfilled. The people returned from captivity, the lawless ones having been destroyed during the captivity, and those who were rescued were of a good conscience and feared the Lord, and judged justly as at the beginning, and gave wholesome counsel as formerly, walking according to the law of the Lord. Nor do I at all deny the prophecy. The prophet himself declares, saying, "^{The captives} ~~They that~~ return of her," that is, of Jerusalem, "shall be saved with judgment." 638

HERB. If we enter in, you thrust us out, and if we go out, you drive us within. 639 It would be better for us to keep silent and to depart.

GREG. Are you bidding me to descend to your level and to conform to the religious notions and customs of the Jews? Never will you succeed in this, O

B Herban. Hear what the prophet says concerning you, 640 that you may understand this also: "The word," he says, "which came to Isaiah the son of Amos concerning Judaea and concerning Jerusalem." 641 Coming from whence? From God, forsooth. Concerning what? "Concerning Judaea and concerning Jerusalem," he says.

To what effect? "For in the last days the mountain of the Lord shall be glorious, and the house of God shall be lifted up ⁶⁴² on the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills." ⁶⁴³ Why

then until the last days was that mount obscure and unnoticed, or the house which Solomon built, situated in the lowest part of the land, and each required, the one, that it be seen, the other, that it be elevated? ⁶⁴⁴ This is not at all the case. But, ⁶⁴⁵

he says, it shall be more conspicuous and admired and desirable to behold, not indeed to the Jews who profaned it, but to the Gentiles who begin to believe in Christ. "And the house of the Lord shall be lifted up ⁶⁴⁶ on the top of the mountains." What house? The

temple of Solomon? God forbid! Go and see how that it has been razed to the ground. But what house?

Where the Nazarene was buried, and dwelt for three days and three nights ⁶⁴⁷ and from whence he arose and immediately above the tomb a temple was raised and is called the Holy Resurrection. ⁶⁴⁸ By, "...shall be

lifted up on the top of the mountains," the prophet means, shall be lifted up with glory and with honor.

To what mountains does he refer? Indeed, the mountains of the world, ascending which most hatefully did they sacrifice to idols. "...and it shall be exalted above the hills." What hills? Those of the

created world, ⁶⁴⁹ on which the temples of the idols are situated. And the Gentiles shall leave the

mountains and the hills on which they were serving demons, and they shall leave all their ways of error. And they shall come to the more glorious mountain and to the new temple of the Holy Resurrection in Jerusalem. "And many Gentiles shall go and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will tell us his way, and we shall walk in it."⁶⁵⁰ Here you have a clear prophecy in which there is nothing cryptic, but one in which the truth is spoken openly.⁶⁵¹

732A HERB. The prophet says that the Gentiles shall go to the house of God. How do you make this refer to that temple which Queen Helena built?⁶⁵²

GREG. Well, who informed you that the only-begotten Son and Word of God is not the God of Jacob? If you will not be angry, the same⁶⁵³ is also God and Lord of Abraham and of Isaac and of Joseph and of Moses. It cannot be, can it, that someone has caused you to err, so that you think that in the faithful Jews who lived before the coming of Christ you have, as it were, a refutation of the Christians?⁶⁵⁴ Heaven forbid! We have great respect for them because they piously observed the law of God. But you we abominate, you who are unbelievers and hard-hearted though living after the coming of Christ.

B HERB. Why?

GREG. Because the law and the prophets said that he would come, and when he did come you denied him and did not receive him.

HERB. Who will not suffer a pain in his head when he discusses with you? Perhaps he of whom the prophets witnessed has not yet come. But when he does come it cannot be but that he will seek his people whom he set free from the slavery of the Egyptians with terrible signs and wonders.

GREG. Clearly, O wretched man, you are prating about the Antichrist; it is he for whom you are looking. Alas for you, because you shall perish in your sin. Instead of a shepherd you welcome an evil beast and a savage wolf.

C HERB. Concerning the ultimate salvation of us Israelites, Isaiah says, "And it shall be in the last day that the light of Israel shall be as a fire, and God shall sanctify him with a burning flame,⁶⁵⁵ and it shall burn and eat the wood as grass. In that day shall the mountains be consumed, and the hills, and the forests, and fire shall devour both soul and body: and he that flees shall be as one fleeing from burning flame. And they that are left of them shall be a [small] number, and a child shall write them. And it shall come to pass in that day that the remnant of Israel shall no more join themselves with, and the saved of Jacob shall no more trust in them that injured them; but they shall trust in the holy God of Israel."⁶⁵⁶

D GREG. Explain the prophecy to me, for I know that you are utterly unaware of its significance.

HERB. If I were unaware of its meaning, I would not be quoting it to you.

GREG. Speak then, seeing that you understand it.

HERB. At the end of this life a fire shall come down from God, having a double effect. On Israel a light will be seen, even lighting up his sojourn, but, changed into a flash of lightning and travelling through the whole earth, it shall consume the remain-

733A

ing Gentiles, as strangers and alien to the law of God. Not only them shall it consume but whomever it finds associating with some of the Gentiles, or even trampling upon that which the law pronounces good. In the whole world, only they shall be found who have remained from the terrible threat⁶⁵⁷ of that consummation, that is, of the burning with fire. And neither shall they be in want,⁶⁵⁸ nor shall they still add, but they shall be in the world as angels of God, no more trusting in another, or in Christ, or in the Son of God, or in Jesus; "but they shall trust in the holy God of Israel."⁶⁵⁹ This is the explanation of the prophecy.

GREG. The interpretation is very bad, O Herban, and what you have just now said is full of unreason and ignorance. I know that you have purposed to twist B also this explanation to your advantage, just as your former interpretations.

HERB. But do you yourself give your interpretation.

GREG. The principal meaning of this prophecy is somewhat as follows. "And it shall come to pass, when the Lord shall have finished doing all things on mount Zion

and Jerusalem." ⁶⁶⁰ What things? Forsooth, what the prophet himself foretold: that the kingdom of Judah shall cease; that the Hebrews shall be led away even in terrible anguish, indeed in captivity; that the rulers of Israel shall perish, whom he likened unto Sodom; that the people shall be destroyed, whom he compared to Gomorrah; that the law shall cease; that

C Israel shall be betrayed to the Chaldeans and shall be for plundering to the Romans; that Christ the Son of the living God shall come and shall perform signs and wonders, and instead of being received, shall be taken hold of by the lawless Jews and shall suffer much, and shall be taken up into heaven, and shall send his disciples to the ends of the earth, and shall turn ⁶⁶¹ all nations to a knowledge of him. When therefore he shall have finished doing all these things on mount Zion and Jerusalem, he that sitteth in the highest and dwelleth in the heavenly Jerusalem of his kingdom, "shall visit upon," as one might appropriately say, ⁶⁶² "the proud heart, even upon the ruler of the Assyrians, and upon the boastful haughtiness of his eyes." ⁶⁶³ For he says, "I will act in the strength

D of my hand, and in the wisdom of my understanding I will remove the boundaries of nations, and will spoil their strength. And I will shake the inhabited cities: and I will take with my hand all the world as a nest: and I will even take them as eggs that have been left; and there is none that shall escape me, or contradict

me, opening his mouth and peeping." ^{out} What then?

Concerning whom does the prophet say that God will look upon the proud heart, upon him who boasts in all these things which I have mentioned? Who is the proud heart that breathes out these excesses? The prophet himself shall tell: it is the ruler of ^{the} Assyrians, he says, that is, the kingdom of the Assyrians, indeed

736A of the Persians. For God gave way to this kingdom and showed Jerusalem the most terrible evils, when even the captain ⁶⁶⁵ of Nebuchadnezzar set fire to the house of God, and led away the people into captivity. ⁶⁶⁶ But when with God's permission that kingdom had done these things, it did not bear itself with a humble heart, nor did it understand that by the decrees of God the ends of the earth are governed, but it thought that it had met with these successes through its own wisdom. And forthwith the king ⁶⁶⁷ was exalted in heart and incapacitated in mind, and arrogantly published abroad, saying that the whole earth was subject to him. Wherefore, God refuting his folly through his prophet and wishing to destroy him, added to the aforesaid, saying,

B "Hear, thou that attributeth all things to thyself and not to the decrees of God, 'Shall the axe glorify itself without him that hews with it,' as if it cuts of itself? 'or shall the saw lift up itself without him that uses it,' to saw ⁶⁶⁸ something or other? 'or shall a staff be lifted up by itself,' ⁶⁶⁹ and strike ⁶⁷⁰ whatever it wishes?" The prophet speaking in a parable

against that proud kingdom, says, "It is fitting that you, guided by these representations, understand and comprehend, that, neither is it of the one who runs, nor of him who pursues, but of God who allows these things to come to pass in this way: wars and victories and defeats and certain other military advantages.

Since you are unwilling, though given such a sign, to reckon that all is of God, but lifted up in heart you breathe out great swellings, fancying that by your own spirit these things come to pass and not by mine, the Lord says, 'As I live, (thou) who hast planned, ⁶⁷¹ it shall not be so, but I will send dishonor upon thy honor, and fire upon thy glory.'" I mean the fire that tries, which even shall burn greatly. "And the light of Israel shall be as a fire, and it shall sanctify him with a burning flame, and it shall burn and eat the wood as grass."⁶⁷² There you have, O Herban, the answer to our question. You somehow gave a senseless interpretation to this passage. For this reason I was compelled above to describe to you the principal significance of this prophecy, in order that you might hear and understand.⁶⁷³ When the prophet said, "The light of Israel shall be as a fire, and it shall sanctify him with a burning flame, and it shall burn and eat the wood as grass," he figuratively spoke of the light of chastisement which of necessity consumes their entrails: their being straitened in captivity, and their enforced sojourn in a strange land, and the reproach of the Gentiles, and the pain and the fear

of death inspired by the king of the Assyrians, and
their conquest⁶⁷⁴ and living abroad,⁶⁷⁵ which, taken
captive and being in a strange land, they must endure.
For when they lived at ease in their own land they were
darkened and sinned without scruple. Wherefore God
stirred up the king of the Assyrians, and he encamped
737A against Jerusalem and took it, after the death of king
Manasseh,⁶⁷⁶ and he led away the people to the land of
the Chaldeans and settled them there, in order that
pain and wretchedness and the sojourn in a strange land,
consuming as a burning fire, might enlighten the minds
of those whom licentiousness and drunkenness and wan-
tonness had darkened and had made neglectful and for-
getful of the commands of God. And consider how the
leading away into captivity enlightened Manasseh. For
having been saved from thence and repenting he found
mercy with God. With this in mind, O Herban, the pro-
phet said, "The light of Israel shall be as a fire,
and it shall sanctify him," which indeed it did. Con-
cerning the king⁶⁷⁷ who led Manasseh away captive, be-
cause⁶⁷⁸ this king was insolent and did not reckon
B that all is of God, but was lifted up in heart, God
declaring against him says through his prophet, "In
that day shall the mountains be consumed, and the
hills, and the forests, and fire shall devour, both
soul and body: and he that flees shall be as one
fleeing from burning flame. And they that are left
of them shall be a small number; and a child shall

write them." ⁶⁷⁹ What are the mountains which he says
680

will be consumed, and the hills and the forests
which a fire shall devour, both soul and body? Listen
carefully. By mountains he means the great satraps of
the Assyrians, by hills he means the lesser rulers.

When he speaks of forests he clearly refers to the
savageness of their natures, and their lack of spir-
itual fruit. For acorns are the food of pigs; and

C the deeds of sinners, the food of demons. He includes
the whole race of the Assyrians when he speaks of moun-
tains, hills, and forests, since they are fit for no
good fruit but only for sin, and they bear, as I have
said, only acorns, on which pigs feed as demons ⁶⁸¹ feed
on sins. Not only does he say that their great and
honored shall be destroyed, but their whole race.

Scarcely a few shall be saved, and so few that, "a
child," he says, "shall write them," which is to say,
in some confined level place they shall be easily cir-
cumscribed. The rest, "both soul and body," that is,
both one and many shall go to destruction, dying both
physically and spiritually. Those paltry few who are
D saved, will flee, he says, "as from burning flame."

And that thereafter this fate overtook the Assyrians
because they boasted in the downfall of the Jews and
were insolent, history testifies. For through the
incessant wars waged against them by the kingdom of
the Medes, all their goodness perished, and their ⁶⁸²
great honor issued in frightful dishonor, according

to the word of the prophet. And the remnant of Israel which was in the land of the Assyrians in those days, left over from that most horrible threat of the
740A Almighty, which he brought upon their kingdom, shall no longer be under the hand of them who once for all have been reduced in number. And those of Jacob who are saved from the land of the Assyrians and restored to Judaea, freed from that dire captivity, no longer shall trust in them that injured them and led them away captive to their own country, but they shall trust in the holy God of Israel, who recalled them from bondage and restored them safe to their own
683 country. This, O Herban, is the true interpretation of the prophecy. The interpretation which
684 you gave, or rather tried to give, was an old-womanish tale, useless.

B HERB. As I see it, in you there is one form of knowledge and another in us. So then, it is fitting that each be obedient to his own knowledge and be at
685 rest.

GREG. And if
686 your knowledge is not safe, of what good is this difference of opinion to you who sit near to vanity and attend constantly to deceitful allurements?

HERB. And who convinces me that my knowledge is vanity?

GREG. By interrogation I have changed and continue to alter your statements, and you say, "Who convinces

me and persuades me?"

HERB. I cannot accept your arguments simply and
without qualification,⁶⁸⁷ for you are an enemy, and
protecting your own interests as it were with a

C shield, you take your stand against me. You despise
my point of view and heedlessly slight me.

GREG. If⁶⁸⁸ I do not take thought for the truth
both as regards myself and as regards you, I shall
be a stranger to the fellowship and service of the
only-begotten Son of my God.

HERB. Behold, you say that God no longer has need
of the law which of old through Moses he laid up as
a treasure for us Israelites. Therefore, with what
ears or with what heart shall I hearken to you, ut-
tering and speaking such things to me?

GREG. Verily, do I thrust you from my Scriptures?
Your own lips condemn you. Come now, O fool, will
you blame your fathers? Walk with your prophets and
D be instructed. Anticipate and resist their prophe-
cies, for it is by means of their thoughts that I
shall convince you that henceforth God has no need
of your law.

HERB. Isaiah said, "Zion said, The Lord God has
forsaken me and God the Holy One has forgotten me."⁶⁸⁹

And the Lord answered, saying, "Will a woman forget
her child, so as not to have compassion upon the off-
spring of her womb? but if a woman should even for-
get these, yet I will not forget thee, saith the

Lord."⁶⁹⁰ God says, "I will not forget thee," and

you say that he has no need of us, nor of our law.

741A GREG. You are angry with me and you say, "You speak of what is advantageous to you, and what is serviceable to my argument you conceal. And, as I observe, you play this part,⁶⁹¹ but no longer will I tolerate you." Tell me, what does the prophet say previous to the words which you quoted? "Thus saith the Lord, In an acceptable time I have heard thee, and in a day of salvation I have succored thee: and I have formed thee, and have given to thee, and have made thee for a covenant of the nations, to establish the earth, and to cause to inherit the desert heritages:⁶⁹² saying to them that are in bonds, Go forth, and to them that are in darkness, Show⁶⁹³ yourselves."⁶⁹⁴ Concerning whom does he say these things? Explain.

HERB. Why should this not refer to those who at the time of Moses were in the bonds of sin and were held fast in the darkness of error? Is it more likely that the prophet means that the God of the law "formed" and created Christ? And if he did "form" Christ, how do you dare call Christ God, making⁶⁹⁵ him equal to him who fashioned him?⁶⁹⁶

GREG. Have I not told you above, O senseless man, that God formed his human nature? Have not I already stated that Christ was twofold: true God and very man, yet without sin? Whenever then, O thrice-unhappy one, you hear of "forming" or "creating",⁶⁹⁷ remember that these terms apply to his human nature. Attend to

what is next stated, how the prophet bears witness to the restoration of the Gentiles. After saying, "...to them that are in bonds, Go forth, and to them that are in darkness, Show yourselves," he adds, "They shall be fed in all the ways." Do you see? They shall attend to every spiritual way, nay, they shall walk therein, working that which is pleasing to God. "...and in all the paths shall be their pasture." Do you observe the witness? There shall not be left, he says, so much as one path of those sought out leading to the Lord, in which they shall not walk with rejoicing, working that which is pleasing to God. "They shall not hunger," that is, they shall not lack the Word of God; "neither shall they thirst," failing to secure spiritual thoughts; "neither shall the heat smite them," meaning, the heat of sin; "neither shall the sun," (Christ the sun of righteousness), "smite them," because they transgress; "but he that has mercy ⁶⁹⁸ on them shall comfort them," with the Comforter, the Holy Spirit; "and through fountains of waters shall lead ⁶⁹⁹ them," ⁷⁰⁰ cleansed through a knowledge of the thoughts of the Scripture and the prophets and the gifts of the Holy Spirit. "And I will make," he says, "every mountain a way," that is, I will make easy of access the inaccessible places of the mountains; "and every path a pasture to them," ⁷⁰¹ that is, they shall attend ⁷⁰² to all the commands which previously I commanded. Not from Egypt, whence the Hebrews, not from the tribe of

Jacob, whence the Jews, (lest ever you say that he speaks concerning Jews), "But they shall come," says he, "from the north⁷⁰³ and from the west,⁷⁰⁴ and others from the land of the Persians."⁷⁰⁵ In these regions of the earth which are thought to be Gentile, they who shall come dwell. "Rejoice,⁷⁰⁶ ye heavens," that is, the angels; "and let the earth be glad," that is, the people who have obtained salvation; "let the mountains break forth⁷⁰⁷ with joy," that is, the unfruitful Gentiles shall come to fruitfulness through faith; "the hills shall drop justice," that is, ye kings and rulers of the Gentiles who confess Christ, judge with truth and righteousness; "for the Lord has had mercy on his people,"--lest you say, O Herban, that he called only those of the house of Jacob his people; "and has comforted the lowly ones of his people,"⁷⁰⁸ that is, those who are greatly⁷⁰⁹ burned.

B with sin he shall help very much. "And it shall come to pass in that day that the mountains of the kingdom shall drop sweet wine," forsooth, hymns and melodies⁷¹⁰ for the joy of the holy ones, who are the multitudes of the angels of God; "and the hills shall flow with milk," the beginning of the divine banquet,⁷¹¹ which is the crown of the angels of God; "and all the fountains of Judah shall flow with water."⁷¹² He speaks of the spiritual veins⁷¹³ as fountains, those that send forth the living water, and the gushing springs, the life-giving stream of the kingdom of

heaven. For just as on earth waters gush from veins and the whole world drinks, so in heaven spiritual waters issue forth from God, and the angels and all the saints of God drink. By Judah he indicates the Lord Jesus, since he is sprung from the tribe of Judah. "And a fountain," he says, "shall come forth from the house of the Lord and shall water the valley of flags."⁷¹⁴ By fountain he means that ineffable joy and merriment and pleasure and fragrance of the Holy Spirit which inexplicably and endlessly proceeds from the Almighty, and which will water the companies of the saints and will fill their hearts with that awful and incomparable sweetness. "Egypt shall disappear," that is, all error, and the slavery of brickmaking, indeed, of sin; "and Idumea shall be a desolate plain."⁷¹⁶ I refer to every foreign tribe, all those who are not offspring of the sacred pool, through the holy baptism. Why? "Because,"⁷¹⁷ says, he, "they have shed the blood of the righteous in their land,"⁷¹⁸ of prophets, apostles, and martyrs. For these are sons and friends and true⁷¹⁹ brethren of Christ my Saviour who miraculously sprang from the tribe of Judah. These having been slain were greatly wronged. "But Judea shall be inhabited for ever,"⁷²⁰ the Judea above, which is the country of the Word of God who was made flesh from the line of Judah, and of those who are first-born; "and Jerusalem to all generations."⁷²¹ Not Jerusalem below but the heavenly Jerusalem, of

745A

which it is correct to say, "to all generations."

"And I will make inquisition for their blood,"⁷²²

that is, for those who lived under the law and for those who lived after the law in the new grace; he will make inquisition because of their beautiful testimony, because for God's sake and for the sake of the immaculate incarnation of his Word they poured out their very blood. "And I will by no means leave it unavenged,"⁷²³ but shall consume with eternal fire; "and the Lord shall dwell in Zion."⁷²⁴ This is the true interpretation, O Herban, and if you still think that I pervert the truth, as you previously claimed, refute me.

HERB. Heaven forbid that I should refute you! Yet the prophet was a Jew and prophesied these things to Jews. "God is king over all the earth,"⁷²⁵ even as he has created it. Therefore David says, "Sing praises to him as king and God."⁷²⁶

GREG. What does the prophet say after this? "God
B reigns over the nations: God sits upon the throne
of his holiness."⁷²⁷ He who was made man and who
was taken up into heaven after that he had completed
his life on earth,⁷²⁸ sat down at the right hand of
him who begot him, upon the throne of his holiness.
For if you wish to say that this was spoken of God
who incorporeally was seen by Moses and Elijah on
the mountains that are seen all around, I am able to
overthrow you, because "sits", and, "Sit thou at my

right hand," ⁷²⁹ and, "Having couched he lay," ⁷³⁰ and similar things are spoken of one who has a body.

These statements cannot be made of incorporeal divinity, which no one has seen in any fashion at all, whether sitting, whether standing, whether not sitting, whether embracing, whether reclining.

HERB. You are telling me very strange things. Why does the prophet say above, ⁷³¹ "He has subdued the peoples under us, and the nations under our feet.

C He has chosen out his inheritance for us, the beauty of Jacob which he loved"? He then who chose out the Gentiles and ruled over them, why did he subdue them, ("the beauty of Jacob"), under us Israelites who have sprung from Jacob?

GREG. With reference to the ascension of my Lord Jesus Christ this psalm is mystically uttered forth ⁷³² by the prophet under the influence of the Holy Spirit. ⁷³³ He says concerning the flesh of the only-begotten Son of God, made divine through immortality

after the resurrection from the dead, "God is gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of a trumpet." ⁷³⁴ Bodily the Lord ascended, bodily he shall

D descend: ⁷³⁵ first, when he was taken up into heaven; then, when he shall descend from heaven to judge all the sinners on earth. "He ascended and descended," ⁷³⁶ was not spoken concerning the divine nature. The

apostles were witnesses of his resurrection and of his ascension. Since therefore he sent them to teach

all nations ¹²¹ and since they were of Israel and the seed of Jacob according to the flesh, and because Jesus Christ our God chose all these from Israel for his heritage, David, beholding from afar with spiritual eyes the thing that afterward took place, said to God, "...thou hast manifested to me the secret and hidden things of thy wisdom."⁷³⁸ He speaks of the hidden things as if in the person of the apostles, nay rather as if in the person of Israel as a whole. Seeing the rejection of Israel, that God the Lord cast off his people, and will alone preserve them whom when coming he chose because of their blameless faith, David said, "He has chosen out his ⁷³⁹ inheritance for us," that is, the twelve apostles, and, "the beauty of Jacob ⁷⁴⁰ which he loved." The flower, so to speak, he plucked, because it appeared serviceable to his purposes, and the rest of the unbelieving people, as being useless, he forsook and scattered. That, "He has subdued the peoples under us, and the nations under our feet,"

B refers to the apostles. For after our Lord Jesus Christ was taken up from them into heaven, immediately they went out into the whole world and proclaimed the gospel. And God the Lord the Most High subdued under them not only people and tribes and tongues, according as the prophet has said, but kings and satraps and rulers. And if you think I err and speak falsehoods, look and see, over what people do you exercise authority, and what are the nations that God has now subdued

under you? You would not be able to indicate. Behold how almost the whole world in accepting Christianity has been spiritually subdued under the apostles. HERB. When certain nations had been subdued under David during the days of his kingdom, concerning this C subjection, as I think, the Psalmist wrote. But you appropriate everything to your advantage.

GREG. When he said, "Clap your hands, all ye nations," had David indeed subdued all nations? And he adds, "shout to God with a voice of exultation."⁷⁴¹ Being in error you express yourself ineptly. These words of David are to be understood as I explained to you, and not otherwise.

HERB. He who desires to debate with you ought to be of those concerning whom David said, "They set their mouth against the heavens, and their tongue walketh through the earth."⁷⁴² For my sake the race of the D Jews holds you very reprehensible. But teach me what the prophet means: "Thy way, O God, is in the sanctuary: who is so great a God as our God? Thou art the God that doest wonders," clearly, the great God of Israel, and not another, "thou hast declared thy strength among the people."⁷⁴³ Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph.⁷⁴⁴ He speaks of the sons of Jacob and Joseph and not of the sons of foreign nations. In speaking about God and the tokens of his power and his redeeming work, how is it that he did not say, (acting

lawlessly), "Who is so great a God as Jesus the son of Joseph and Mary? He alone is the God that doeth wonders"? Or again, why did he not say, "Thou hast declared thy strength among the people. ⁷⁴⁵ Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people," meaning the sons of Gentiles that serve idols? But he said, "Thou hast redeemed thy people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph." Give me your explanation of this.

GREG. There is no time to answer you, O most shameless one, for the hour is late.

Then the king rose up and the silence ⁷⁴⁶ was broken. The Jews, however, crowded together in one place and eagerly anticipated the meeting of the next morning. They rejoiced because Herban could meet the responses of the archbishop, and they encouraged him, saying, "Speak, then, and do not fear, for God is with you." But Herban said to them, "When I consider what sort
B of man I face and the intelligence of his words to me, I shall never be able to persuade him. In fact, I affirm most truly brethren, that we shall be worsted by him. For this night I saw Moses the prophet, and Jesus the crucified one concerning whom there is this strife between us. I saw both of them standing on the pinnacle of some temple and discoursing. And I observed that Moses was worshipping Jesus, and binding his hands to him as to the Lord God, and in fear he stood by him. Although I was only a

by-stander, of a sudden I opened my mouth and said,
'Lord Moses, it is a fine thing ⁷⁴⁷ that you are
doing!' But he turned and rebuked me, saying, 'Cease,
most shameless man, I make no mistake, for I am not on
C your side. I know who my Creator and Lord is. What
then have you to do with the just archbishop, ⁷⁴⁸ whom
in vain you are troubling? Yet tomorrow and the next
day you shall see that you shall be badly overcome by
him, and even as I, you shall worship my Jesus and
Lord.' ⁷⁴⁹ These things I have seen, brethren, and
their significance I do not understand. Still, mean-
while I shall not be neglectful of my duty." These
and many other things were spoken by them. On the
following day when the council was made ready, the
king arrived with the archbishop. Herban also was
on hand with his priests and teachers of the law.

The Fourth Day's Discussion

D GREG. Yesterday you said ⁷⁵⁰ that he who desires to
debate with me ought to be of those concerning whom
it is written, "They set their mouth against the
heavens, etc." But I say to you that he who desires
to debate with me ought to be of Christ, in order
that he may have ⁷⁵¹ the Holy Spirit, which opens the
ears of the deaf, and, paradoxically, makes clear the
tongue of the dumb. He ought not to be a Jew as you,
who live in circumcision ⁷⁵² and unbelief and lawless-
752A ness and evil and wickedness and in hostility to God

and with a heavy veil covering your heart. Indeed, you are verily of those unhallowed and profane ones, concerning whom you yourself have said, ⁷⁵⁴ "They set their mouth against the heavens," in blasphemy, "and their tongue walketh through the earth," in abuse and slander because of the Lord Jesus Christ. For throughout all your days even until now you do not cease blaspheming terribly and pitiably the living God Jesus Christ, who is the ineffable offspring of God the Father. However, as for what you said above, ⁷⁵⁵ "Make clear the meaning of the text, 'Thy way, O God, is in the sanctuary,'"--do you rather explain to me what the sanctuary is in which the way of God is.

B HERB. Sanctuary refers to the people of Israel. We are told in our law ⁷⁵⁶ and more sublimely by our Lord, ⁷⁵⁷ "I have said, Ye are gods, etc." ⁷⁵⁸

GREG. You have lied badly, O most hostile one. Are you saints, you who as regards his body put to death the God of heaven and earth? you, of whom it has been said, ⁷⁵⁹ "The seed of Canaan and not of Judah"? Are you then a saint? and the crowd that stands around you? If you are a chosen one, as you say, and a saint, ask of the Lord and let the earth open her mouth, and we all who oppose you shall go down therein, ⁷⁶⁰ as once happened to the congregation of Dathan and Abiram. But this you would not be able to do. Heaven forbid! I too know that it has been told you, C "I have said, Ye are gods, etc." But where will you

conceal what follows? For he adds, "But ye shall die
like men, and fall like one of the princes." ⁷⁶¹ As

the ruler of the hosts of the angels, ⁷⁶² says he, you
have fallen from the greatest glory, from the glory of
the only-begotten, Jesus Christ, and no longer are you
sons of God, but as men, sinful and slow of heart and
hateful, miserably do you die a spiritual and a phys-
ical death. When he says, "Thy way, O God, is in the
sanctuary," he refers to the way of God the Father,
which operates through and has prior effect in his

holy Lord Jesus Christ. "Who is so great a God as
our God?" ⁷⁶³ He is a great God, whose way is in his

D holy Son Jesus Christ, and they are one. Concerning
their oneness he says, "Thou art the God that doest
wonders": ⁷⁶⁴ God is the Father and the sanctuary is
the Son, in whom the way of God the Father, (through
the Incarnation), has saved those Jews who believed
in him and has led all nations into his kingdom. By
such a spirit, O Herban, are spiritual matters dis-
cerned, and not as you judge, steeped in the mind of
the flesh. "Thou hast declared thy strength among the

753A people," means that God has made known among us his
people Jesus Christ, who is the great strength of God
the Father. For he, as God born of God, when bodily
he dwelt amid your synagogues, ⁷⁶⁵ wrought many marv-
elous works and signs and wonders, though you were
not aware of it. But those of your number who at that
time were capable of seeing the signs and wonders,

these believed in his name and did not perish. And, as I think, to these will apply the word spoken by the prophet, "Thou hast declared thy strength among the people. Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph." But you who continue in unbelief are nothing other than what John the son of Zacharias called a "generation of vipers",
766
B etc. That is the interpretation of this passage. 767
Observe what the prophet says concerning the calling of the Gentiles. Does he not say, "Bring to the Lord, ye families of the Gentiles"? 768
Bring what? "Glory and honor." You see plainly, how we the families of the Gentiles glorify the holy God of the law and now bring honor to his name and to his only-begotten Son. "Take offerings," he says, "and go into his courts. Worship the Lord in his holy court: let all the earth tremble before him." 769
Let it tremble, yea overcome with holy fear and reflecting on the descent of the Word of God and his incarnation and his signs and wonders. "Say among the Gentiles that the Lord
770
C reigneth." How? "Lord" signifies his divinity; "reigneth" 771
refers to his humanity. This text therefore was spoken with reference to his humanity. The prophet there proclaims to all the Gentiles, urging all prophets who come after him to be wakened into life. "Say among the Gentiles," also you, since even I have spoken, because the Lord is known. Having become incarnate he shall reign among you, and he shall

bring it to pass that the whole earth shall live in a knowledge of God and in deeds that are pleasing to him,--"so that it shall not be moved from him."⁷⁷²

These matters are thus, O Herban, in truth and righteousness, and not otherwise. Therefore attend to me, and hearken to me, and leave Judaism, and come to Christ, that it may be well with you, both now and in the age to come.

D HERB. With what intent did the prophet say, "For ~~all~~ the gods of the Gentiles are idols: but the Lord made the heavens"⁷⁷³? Since therefore all the gods of the Gentiles are idols, have you anything to say concerning these?

GREG. It is true beyond a doubt that all the gods of the Gentiles are idols. But the Lord Jesus Christ with much wisdom made the heaven and the earth and the sea. Furthermore, that he has fashioned the kingdom of the heavens, even I too know. Therefore you cannot say this of my Master and Creator and Lord. Nay, he was a mighty silencer⁷⁷⁴ of demons and of idols and of⁷⁷⁵ all those creatures who are related to the evil dragon who was hurled from heaven, and a destroyer of all the works of the dragon. And consider how that from the very day that he was nailed to the cross, all the gods and demons went away like smoke. When the name Christ is spoken the demons shudder. You do not believe this? Bring me as many demon-possessed people as you wish, and I shall merely call upon the Lord

Jesus Christ and the demons shall be seized with trembling and shall depart from them.

HERB. The prophet said concerning the gods of the
B Gentiles that they are idols. Therefore, since your Jesus was a god of the Gentiles, he belongs to those of whom the prophet spoke.

GREG. Stop your blaspheming, O most shameless one, and do not play the fool. For if each of us should proceed to a demonstration of the power of his faith, you are likely to experience trial and affliction and to lead in the future a precarious life. For not in ineffectual speech is the truth proclaimed, but in the power of faith.

HERB. I have heard that in these days the prophets of
C the Christians, taking leave of the world and living in desert places, perform many great miracles. There is nothing incredible in this. You too, seeing you are one of them, are not unable to do this, if indeed you wish to harm me. Yet, first persuade me with words, then if you are permitted, act.

GREG. Wretched man, have you not heard enough? An argument repeated more than is fitting would not be
776
comprehended. Yet if you desire to hear further, attend diligently. "The Lord reigneth," says he,
"let the earth rejoice; let the multitude of isles be
777
glad thereof." 778 Tell me, what isles? And in another place he says, "Sing to the Lord a new song; for the Lord has wrought wonderful works, his right

hand and his holy arm, have wrought salvation for
him." ⁷⁷⁹ Does God then save himself, and with his

D right hand does he protect himself? But from whom?
Who wages war against him? Explain the following:

"The Lord has made known his salvation, he has re-
vealed his righteousness in the sight of the nations. ⁷⁸⁰

He has remembered his mercy to Jacob, and his truth to
the house of Israel; all the ends of the earth have
seen the salvation of our ⁷⁸¹ God." ⁷⁸² Give your at-

tention to this and consider why the prophet has
spoken and narrated these matters to us.

757A HERB. No doubt he exhorts the isles to be glad be-
cause Israelites ⁷⁸³ are scattered abroad among them.
When the Lord reigns in Jerusalem, they shall be re-
called. As for the text, "...his right hand...has
wrought salvation for him," I think it was spoken
with reference to the people whom he saved from the
bondage of Egypt. "The Lord made known his salvation,"--
obviously to the house of Israel. "...he has revealed
his righteousness in the sight of the nations"; there-
fore, "...all the ends of the earth have seen the sal-
vation of our God," which he wrought for us Israelites
in leading us from the land of Egypt. Thus these mat-
ters are concerning which you inquire.

GREG. The isles shall be glad when you are recalled
from them,--liberated as they will be from your tyranny

B and rejoicing together ⁷⁸⁴ with us as of the same faith.

HERB. Heaven forbid that we tyrannize over any people,

and may it not be that they are glad at our re-
call! We are not of the same faith as you Christians.
He speaks entirely of us who sit in the isles of our
dispersion, for he does not concern himself with you
Gentiles.

GREG. He who said, "I will by no means assemble their
bloody meetings, neither will I make mention of their
names with my lips,"⁷⁸⁶ will he recall you? Will he
disregard what his own lips have uttered? And will he
who delivers over to destruction all those who speak
C falsehood, himself prove false? The good thing which
you have spoken shall not befall you. As for the
text, "Sing to the Lord a new song; for the Lord has
wrought wonderful works,"--he spoke this of my Christ
and God. He said, "a new song", not an old one. By
"new" he means recent, that is, a song of the new
grace, forsooth, the precious songs of the Chris-
tians.⁷⁸⁷ The Lord has done marvelous things in the
midst of your synagogues: raising your dead and mak-
ing your blind to see, etc. Therefore, the prophet
says, "Sing to the Lord a new song," a song named
after Christ, "for the Lord has wrought wonderful
works; his right hand, and his holy arm, have wrought
salvation for him." Indeed, his divinity saved his
D & humanity,--from none other than from you lawless and
God-hating Jews, and from the evil work of the demons
which are most dear to you. Since God was also man,
there was one Son of God, consisting of one person,⁷⁸⁸

the superinfinite residing in two natures and two
essences. "The Lord has made known ⁷⁸⁹ his salvation,"
not to you Jews who formerly knew and were known, but
"in the sight ⁷⁹⁰ of the nations" who were ignorant.
For that is the meaning of the text, "...he has re-
vealed his righteousness in the sight of the nations."

760A The righteousness of God is nothing other than the Word
of his divinity, made flesh from the Holy Spirit and
the ever-virgin Mary. "...all the ends of the earth
have seen the salvation of our God,"--you have eyes
and you see ⁷⁹¹ that the whole earth has been filled
with a knowledge of its Lord. For, as I have often
said, from one end of the earth to the other, the gos-
pel of the kingdom of Jesus Christ has been proclaimed,
and having been accorded a worthy and honorable re-
ception, it has been believed and accepted.

HERB. As you do not accept my words nor are persuaded
by my interpretation, in like manner I disbelieve what
you tell me.

GREG. It is right that he who makes an excellent
B speech should be listened to. But if in anger we fol-
low what is said, to no purpose and in vain do we waste
our time discussing.

HERB. I am convinced that I speak better than you.
I am also aware of the fact that you suspect me. And
yet what shall spring up between us?

GREG. We ought not to argue with one another in the
spirit of arrogance and contempt, but according to
God, in truth and righteousness. For it is written,

"...him that loveth violence his [God's] soul
792
hateth."

HERB. I too do not love unrighteousness. Heaven
forbid! For it is written in the law that everyone
C who doeth wrong and is arrogant shall incur a four-
fold punishment from the Lord. "He that steals an
ox shall repay with four, and in every matter he
shall make just recompense." 793 But if, says the law,
the theft shall not have been discovered, the Most
High shall none the less requite him fourfold; he shall
not be deemed guiltless. 794 Moreover, it says, if you
strike a poor man, the same shall happen to you four
times, from a quarter which you do not suspect. There-
fore, seeing that one must give an account of both word
and deed, neither shall I argue with you in arrogance
and contempt, but to the best of my judgment, what I
say is without falsehood.

GREG. I also know that this is so, but we are not
arguing these matters, but concerning faith and
795
truth, that you may understand and come to know
D the truth which is in Christ Jesus and may inherit
the kingdom of heaven. For verily I proclaim to you
the good news that you shall appear as a slave of
Christ, if not at the beginning then at the end, and
you are destined to be his slave, and you must cleave
to him, recognizing him as the one who is to come,
when he looks down in favor from heaven and opens the
eyes of your heart, and enlightens and sanctifies you,

and shows you the whole truth, and that in very truth he is the Messiah, the Christ, of whom the prophets foretold ⁷⁹⁶ much.

761A HERB. It would be a great thing for me if I were fully assured that your Christ is the one who was to come. That he descended and became a man when he was God and of his own free will died the shameful death, is both absurd and unmentionable. And if this be true, what force drove him, so that, though there was no compulsion, he was eager to come and to give himself for death? To reflect on this drives me to distraction. That superior nature, that wonderful strength, that ineffable power,--he who was endowed with great glory, proceeded to dishonor utterly his magnificence,--this is impossible and absolutely unbelievable.

B GREG. You do not understand the power of the mystery and therefore you marvel. It is impossible for him who is held and sits in the darkness of night to see the things that fly in the air. And how will the man whose eyes are mutilated see clearly the rays of the sun? Likewise also you. Those in whom the Holy Spirit does not dwell, with difficulty observe spiritual matters. Believe, therefore, in the Lord Jesus Christ and be baptized in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and then you will understand those things, at which now you are astounded.

HERB. It is impossible for me thus simply and as it chances to be persuaded,--unless I receive the full

C assurance that I desire. Tell me therefore again what I ask. Why did your Christ suffer those terrible things, and in addition die?

GREG. Have I not told you very often, and again you ask?

HERB. A certain ignorance envelopes my reasonings, and forthwith casts into forgetfulness what you have told me.

GREG. My opinion is as follows. Those who are not baptized into the life-giving name of the Holy Trinity, suffer even worse things than these. ⁷⁹⁷ Why did Christ suffer and why after suffering much did he die?

D Attend. All men from Adam up to the advent of Christ ⁷⁹⁸ have fallen pitiably in great error and awful trespasses. And I speak not merely of the Gentiles who have gone astray unto vain idols, but also of you Jews who received the law and did not observe it. Wherefore that evil demon rejoiced, (he who led Adam astray), ⁷⁹⁹ when he saw the whole creation panting after him, and he exulted greatly. What then happened? God, who had made human nature, was distressed, and did not wish to snatch man from the hands of the Savage One tyrannically. He planned a just occasion, and sent his Word from heaven to the Holy Virgin. And being within her,
764A he fashioned a man for himself from the undefiled blood of the Holy Virgin and Mother of God. He himself was united unchangeably as to nature with the man, and was thence begotten, and he grew, (while being God), in his

human nature, and within he possessed the mind of the Godhead. He defeated and put to shame the demons. The evil spirits marvelled at this. Thereupon they envied him, and, as I said above, they contrived his death through you Hebrews, which thing also he himself desired. He was sold for thirty pieces of silver, he was handed over, bound, and beaten as a man. He inhabited a prison because of the condemnation of Adam. He descended into Hades. He wrestled with Hades and with corruption on behalf of those who were held there in darkness and shadow of death. He conquered and released those held there. He raised himself from the dead and them who were with him. He made his twelve disciples witnesses of his resurrection, then the seventy, then the five hundred. He ascended with his human nature to heaven after he had sent out his disciples to you who had crucified him. Then while you remained in unbelief and disobedience, he gave to them his Holy Spirit and sent them to all the Gentiles, saying, "Say to the Gentiles, leave your idols and believe in the almighty God, and in his only-begotten Son, who was beaten and was crucified and died and contrary to expectation arose, and believe in the Holy Spirit. ⁸⁰⁰ 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be ⁸⁰¹ damned.'" For this reason, O Herban, our Lord Jesus Christ suffered.

HERB. And if he wished all to be saved, why did he

set the offense of his sufferings as a stumbling-block before the face of all? Was it not more meet for God, that no one should be offended by the stumbling-block of Jesus' sufferings,⁸⁰² but all coming directly to him should believe and be saved?

D GREG. God the Holy One did not wish even in the case of the Devil himself to act unrighteously, so precise is he in the matter of justice. For this reason God blesses and sanctifies those who take the side of righteousness and holiness. In the beginning God made man a free agent, and he preferred that we yield to all his wishes from good choice and not out of compulsion. Since then we all sinned and an approaching judgment was coming upon us, and a requital of eternal punishment, the extremely good and very merciful Master, wishing to pity and to save his creature, of necessity, (there being no other just plan), in his compassion⁸⁰³ contrived this [way of salvation]. And just as he [Jesus] seized the Devil, and as a man fought with him, and [in so doing] gave offense to his divinity and was put to shame,⁸⁰⁴ so his sufferings are a test of the faith of those who are saved. 765A And he says, "Great is their faith."⁸⁰⁵ Why is it great? The Lord says, "They hear that I have been betrayed and laid hold of and beaten and mocked, and bound in dungeons, and scourged, and that I have died a most shameful death such as evil-doers die, and that I was buried and arose. And they hearing all these

things are not offended but they confess that I am
God sprung from God, and king, and maker, and creator
of them. How therefore shall I do otherwise than re-
ceive and pity them and deem them worthy of my unde-
filed kingdom? For if I had come ⁸⁰⁶ in my naked di-
vinity and they seeing had believed, you would have a
just reason for charging me that I deal unjustly with
B you. In view of this, your defense is broken before
your face." ⁸⁰⁷

These matters stand thus, O Herban,
and no deceit shall be found in my mouth. His suf-
ferings are an offense to unbelievers, to some even
foolishness, as long as they continue in their unbe-
lief. After they are baptized, these sufferings are
seen to be the intelligence of God and the wisdom of
⁸⁰⁸
God.

HERB. It is a deep mystery. Yet, why did he go
about healing on the Sabbath, a thing forbidden by
the Law; and whoever does not observe this command is
punished as a law-breaker? For this reason, as I
think, our fathers were vexed with him and crucified
him, because he did not keep the Sabbath according
to the Law, but did what was not necessary.

C GREG. That he healed, this you have said truly. But
he healed not as a physician of this world but as God.
He merely uttered a word and the sick, with whatsoever
illness he was oppressed, found himself restored. The
rulers of the synagogues and the Scribes and the Phar-
isees being consumed with envy because of him did these
things, since the people magnified him above them by

reason of his wonder-working. What transgression of the Law is it to raise the dead, to open the eyes of the blind and to say to the paralytic, "Rise, take up thy bed, and walk,"⁸⁰⁹ and to do and say things of this sort?

D HERB. If he was true Son of God, why did he prophesy to his disciples, saying, "I ascend unto my Father, and your Father; and to my God, and your God"? There through his own mouth he showed himself to be man, like his apostles, and not God. You see, although you look upon me as a Jew, I have often read your Gospels, saying to some Christian friend of mine, "Hand me one of your books, in order that I may read and be advantaged, and I too may become a Christian."⁸¹⁰

768A GREG. No blame attaches to your reading of the books of the Christians! We approve of this, if someone of the unbelievers reading and understanding, perhaps is forthwith aided.⁸¹¹ That from this saying of his you consider my Lord Jesus Christ to be only man, because he said to his disciples, "I ascend unto my Father, etc.," attend. According to his divine nature he was God, and the Son of God; according to this nature he said God was his Father; but according to the extent of his human nature, showing that he was truly man, fashioned by the hand of the Father, he spoke of his Father, calling him Lord and Master. In saying this of his disciples, he did not speak falsely, for when he said that God was the Father of his disciples, he

spoke what the prophet had said: "The Lord has
spoken, saying, I have nourished and brought up chil-
dren." ⁸¹² He says "God" because every earth-born
creature and created thing is of God himself, but
especially God is Lord of the saints. But God is
not Lord of wicked and sinful men, but sin is their
God, which indeed they love and serve. God is Father
of the righteous, not by nature but by grace: God hav-
ing brought them from that which was not to that which
was. ⁸¹³

HERB. These words shall be manifested also to others.
(This he said for he saw Palladius, the secretary of
the archbishop, whom he had brought from Alexandria,
taking down the remarks of both.) ⁸¹⁴

GREG. For this reason the prophet said, "The mani-
festation of thy words will enlighten and instruct
the simple." ⁸¹⁵

C HERB. Who are the simple of whom he spake?

GREG. By simple he meant you Hebrews: infants,
nourished and brought up as it were by another milk
because of your imperfect law, in order that in the
process of time you might arrive at the advent of
Christ and through his grace might attain unto those
things which are perfect, though you fell short of
that which had been set before you.

HERB. Were not Moses and Elijah through this imper-
fect Law of ours, made perfect, ⁸¹⁶ being well pleasing
to the God of the Law? Why have you said that the Law

100

is imperfect? Moses conversed face to face with God,
as friend with beloved friend. As a God to Pharaoh⁸¹⁷
D he afflicted Egypt with seven⁸¹⁸ plagues; and the
other matters perhaps you yourself know. Did not
Elijah bring fire down from heaven and shut up the
rain for three years and six months? Did he not make
a journey of forty days without eating? And did he
not, while walking in the very rare atmosphere on Mt.
Horeb,⁸¹⁹ see the God of the Law? Does he not live
among the living to this day? How then do you declare
the Law to be weak, imperfect, and inefficacious?

769A GREG. I have said that the Law was incomplete, but
not at all inefficacious. For by very many certain
signs, it required that they should be fit for the
kingdom of heaven. As for Elijah and Moses, you have
no argument there. For that all these things were
wrought by them through the Lord, I most certainly
know. But even so, not in these wonders is the ful-
fillment of the virtuous way of life manifest, but in
the cross of the Lord Jesus, through which every sin
is removed. The Law did not profess to destroy the
error of idolatry and to remove sin. Only the grace
and truth of Jesus Christ can do that. Moses was
unable to control the immoderate impulse of the
people, so that they would not sin but would rever-
ence and fear the Lord. And he himself⁸²⁰ appeared
sinful⁸²¹ in the sight of the Lord, when he arrived
B with the people at Marah and could not drink the

water of Marah, for it was bitter. And the people murmured against the Lord, saying, "The Lord has done evil to us in leading us out of the land of Egypt: we are not able to find water to satisfy our thirst."⁸²³

Then indeed Moses was seen to murmur with the people against the Lord. Wherefore God did not allow him to tread the land of promise, but led him to a lofty mountain and there he showed it to him. Then God said to him, "Go up to the mount and die, for thou shalt not inherit the land of promise because even thou together with the people have angered me."⁸²⁴ And he

who had spoken face to face with God, and as a God to Pharaoh had afflicted Egypt with seven⁸²⁵ plagues and had done other things,--this one died on that very mountain and did not walk in the land of promise. Neither could Elijah resist sin so as to remove it in his own person, nor could he free the people of the Lord from its harm. When he saw all the people bowing the knee to Baal, he became angry by reason of his inability to do anything and he turned to cursing, and became unmerciful and proceeded against the creature. First he called for fire to come down from heaven and to burn up the captain of fifty and the fifty soldiers with him, which also happened. Then when another captain of fifty soldiers came to him with another fifty soldiers, in his wrath he brought upon them a destruction like unto that which befell the first, although they had done no wrong.

D Thereupon he slew the fourhundred and fifty priests of shame, forsooth, those of Baal. Next he mercilessly bound the heavens that he might destroy utterly the inhabited world with famine and drought:

"As the Lord lives, there shall not be rain on the earth, except by my mouth." ⁸²⁶ And his word stood

fast: for three years and six months the whole earth was pitiably bound by a most horrible drought and awful burning. Though all these things happened, Elijah still raged. How were these who had fallen into such

772A

sins made perfect, as you say, by the Law? In no way at all! For it needs must be that they, since they were mortals, were under sin. There is one who is perfect. Who is he? Jesus Christ, who was not enslaved to the yoke of sin, who never committed lawlessness, whose hands were guiltless and whose heart was pure, who beguiled not with his tongue, but continued the rather spotless and sanctified in his perfect humanity. Moreover, he himself assumed the sin of the whole world, and through his sufferings he removed it in justice, and snatching the erring Gentiles from the Devil he led them to God the Father. And he deified lowly human nature and took it up with him into heaven and made it to sit with God the Father.

B This is perfection, O Herban. Moses and Elijah could accomplish nothing for the salvation of the common race of man. There was only one Holy One, one Lord, Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father. Amen.

But if you think that the miracles, which you said God performed through Moses and Elijah, constitute the perfection of virtue, it follows that the six hundred thousand who crossed the Red Sea with dry feet, whom the cloud of light overshadowed by day and the pillar of fire lighted by night, must be considered by you to have been perfected in sanctification, seeing that God wrought the extraordinary wonders which have been mentioned. But this you are unable to affirm. For all those thousands were utterly destroyed in the desert in those forty years by reason of their great lawlessness. And so from these it can be seen that, not because the Highest wrought wonders for certain people did this constitute perfection for them, but their perfection lay rather in their being punished for the sake of the Lord, in being tried, in enduring suffering and dishonor, and with humility and thankfulness remaining steadfast, and performing no miracle beyond what was needful. This is the perfection of the saints: to rest on God and to esteem him above all else. I have not said these things in condemnation of Moses and Elijah; Heaven forbid! but to show most clearly the characteristics of the perfection of virtue. At that time did God make Moses and Elijah perfect, giving of his own perfection, that is, grace, when Jesus Christ my Master having been made flesh was transfigured on

Mt. Tabor in the midst of Peter and James and John:

with him, and forthwith I shall admit defeat and become a Christian.

When Herban had spoken thus, the crowd of Jews which were standing by cried with a loud shout, "We beseech you, O teacher, do not be deceived ⁸³⁴ and become a Christian, but play the man and be steadfast. You know that nothing is more firm than the God of our fathers." And Herban answered them, "You talk nonsense. If he will fully persuade me that Jesus is truly the one concerning whom our fathers foretold much, I shall be an alien from the God of our fathers, if I do not believe on him without any doubt." When the archbishop perceived that he spoke in earnest and not in jest, he said to him,

GREG. But how do you wish that I persuade you?

HERB. Pray your Master, if he is in heaven as you say, to come down to me, that I may behold him and speak with him, and as the Lord liveth, whom you say is Father of your Christ, I shall be baptized at once and shall believe on him.

When Herban had said this, the multitude of the Scribes and Pharisees cried out, saying, "Yes, noble Sir, do this now, and let us see if the claims of your words are substantiated by deeds. Show us your Christ and with fear and trembling we shall believe on him, not having any further defense." But when

they had spoken, they said quietly to one another, "Do you wish that he show us him? Alas! we shall become Christians." Others said, "If he really shows us him, why should we not believe?" And others, "Verily, will he show us a man, who though he has been dead so long a time, ⁸³⁵ lives today? ⁸³⁶

776A Whence shall he appear, whose very bones, so to speak, lie parted in the tomb?" The archbishop, knowing that unless he met their demand, his silence would be their greatest victory, said to them in reply, "Know that without a doubt I shall show him to you, and although you are unwilling, you shall believe. However, if you do not believe, a sword shall consume you. But if I show him not, you shall depart at your discretion."

This pleased Herban and those with him, for they said among themselves, "He shall not at all be able to show him to us, because he is dead, having been put to death by our fathers, and was safely put away in the tomb, and was stolen from his disciples." But B St. Gregentius, knowing well that the Lord had said, ⁸³⁷ "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, etc." rose up and went out alone, after that he had commanded the king to remain there lest the whole company be broken up. And the blessed man going a distance from the Council stood in the attitude of prayer, and bowed his knees to the pavement three times, and arising and stretching forth his hands to

heaven, in the presence of all he spoke from his heart as follows:

"O wondrous Word of the wondrous and great and unseen Father, thou who wert begotten of the Father from everlasting, not made, the Only-begotten flashing forth from the only unbegotten Light: Thou who through the Father hast established from the beginning the heaven and the earth, and by Thy Holy Spirit hast laid the foundations and hast set each of the two above the waters: Thou who hast left heaven and hast come down as rain on wool, to the holy ever-virgin Mary: Thou who hast chosen disciples for Thyself on earth from the Hebrews and wast transfigured before Thy chief apostles on Mt. Tabor: ⁸³⁸ Thou who didst work wondrous signs and miracles before the lawless Jews,-- Jesus Christ, we beseech Thee, who art ever-present and fillest all things, pity these darkened multitudes and overshadow them with Thy power, and open their gloomy eyes which the Devil has blinded, and according to the multitude of Thy mercies, show Thyself to them, in order that they may behold Thee clearly and may believe in Thee the only true God, and in the true Father who sent Thee, and in Thy Holy Spirit. Amen."

When the faithful multitude and the king with his chief men had said "Amen", (for the eyes of all were fixed ⁸³⁹ on him), there was a great earthquake, and it thundered so violently in the east that they all shuddered with fear and fell on the earth. And after

a little while they all arose, and as they were gazing toward the east, behold, the gates of heaven were opened, and immediately a bright cloud unfolded itself from the gate of heaven, as a level plain about to come upon them. ⁸⁴⁰ While they were still

777A looking intently, behold, the Lord Jesus came from the gates of that opening, and he came towards them walking above the cloud before their eyes. And his form was very beautiful. Thus he came and stood on the summit of the cloud, near the archbishop and the Council, about twenty cubits above them, so that he was seen by all, wrapped in a most beautiful purple cloud from which rays of divinity were issuing forth. On his head was the brightness of lightning, and a diadem of inconceivable beauty, and a crown with rays like thorns; in his left hand he held a sword ⁸⁴¹ and with his right hand he supported himself. As the Lord stood before Gregentius, an indescribable quivering of joy came over the king and his chief men and
B over the whole company of the Christians, so that because of that fearful sight they could not utter a word. Only, looking upward with pleasure, they beheld him, and were amazed with boundless joy. The Jews, including Herban, seeing that fearful mystery, were very much astonished and smote their breasts, and in their trembling they looked here and there, seeking escape. But the archbishop cried out to Herban in a loud voice, "Behold, O Herban, that

terrible mystery, concerning which you have made much search and inquiry, and be assured beyond doubt that there is One who is Holy, one Lord: Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father. Amen."

However, Herban remained silent. There came then a voice from the Lord to the Jews, "Because of the great entreaty of the archbishop, I appear before you, I who was crucified by your fathers." When this voice was heard they were all distracted and fell prone on the earth, and the very blindness which once befell the blessed Paul when the Lord was seen by him, this same blindness they at this time suffered, for though their eyes were open they saw nothing. When this had happened, the bright cloud which was beneath him, firmly fixed before the Lord on high, hid him from their face,⁸⁴² and thus as the Saviour⁸⁴³ went back inside, gradually the cloud closed in behind him until he had withdrawn within heaven. The king and the company of the Christians at that time made confident, with a loud voice cried out from behind him, "Lord, have mercy!"⁸⁴⁴ And the reverend archbishop lay prone on the earth and made supplication to the Lord our God. When these matters had thus transpired, and all had assembled together in council, the king and his counselors in great reverence feared and greatly honored the archbishop, glorifying him exceedingly together and marvelling. But as for the Jews,⁸⁴⁵ one would ask the other,

"Can you see, brother?" And he would reply, "Not at all." To Herban they said, "Alas for us, Master, what are we to do ⁸⁴⁶ now?" And he inquired of them, "Have we alone been blinded, seeing the God of the Christians, or have also they suffered this?" And some of the Christians there hearing this, said with a loud voice, "Heaven forbid! We Christians by his indescribable grace see better now than before we beheld him. You alone, because of your unbelief, are blinded." They were all thus blinded and could not see at all. Herban, led by the hand, came to the archbishop and said to him,

HERB. Every man seeing his God is helped by him.

But we, when we saw ⁸⁴⁷ your God, suffered evil. If such benefits he gives to them who come to him, he certainly does not possess the goodness of his Father.

GREG. "The Lord is a God of vengeance;" and now, "the God of vengeance has declared himself." ⁸⁴⁸ For according to your blasphemies it has happened to you.

B HERB. And if he returns evil for evil, to whom hereafter will he distribute our property?

GREG. The physician who cuts away what has decayed is not to be regarded with censure for doing so. It is because you looked on the Lord with unworthy eyes that you were blinded.

HERB. Of all that we have heard and seen from you, one thing alone remains for you to do: open our eyes and we shall all become Christians. But if you shall

not do this for us, you shall give an account in the day of judgment on our behalf.

GREG. If you wish, I shall baptize you and you shall see.

C HERB. But if you baptize us and our eyes are not opened, what then?

GREG. I shall baptize one of you, and if he does not recover sight, then do not accept baptism.

This pleased Herban and the rest of the Jews. And one of them was baptized and immediately his eyes were opened, and he cried, saying, "Jesus Christ is true God and I believe on him." When the rest heard this, they came to the holy baptism with much eagerness, and taking the seal of Christ they were reckoned among the Christians. And there was great joy and rejoicing for the Church of God on that day, and losses for the Devil. Herban and
D all his company were baptized. At once their eyes were opened and they glorified God. Then Herban, inspired by the vision of the Lord and God and our Saviour Jesus Christ which had appeared to him, said, "In the heavens was our Lord Jesus Christ, whom our foolish fathers crucified and killed, and whom we in our stupidity counted with them who lie in the tomb." And smiting his breast with tears, he said, "Master, Lord Jesus Christ, in truth Son of the living God, forgive the sins which in

ignorance I committed against thee." Moreover, he
reverenced the blessed Gregentius, and honored him
781A greatly, and looked upon him as an angel of God, and
was unwilling to depart from him. And the king,
realizing that Herban was an accomplished and learned
man, became his sponsor at the holy baptism, and re-
named him Leo and made him a member of his Council,
making him what the Romans called a "patrician".^{848a}⁸⁴⁹

These things thus transpired. And an innumer-
850 able host of Jews were baptized 851 with Herban,
and not a few presents were received, and with glad-
ness of heart they returned to their homes. At the
command of the king and the archbishop the whole
synagogue of the Jews, that is, those who dwelt in
all the cities of the kingdom, were baptized. And
B immediately at the suggestion of the most holy arch-
bishop, the most pious king scattered their families
from each other and ordered them to mingle with the
families of the Christians. And the most blessed
Gregentius ordered the king to enjoin by law that
in no way at all might any one of the recently
baptized 852 Hebrews take a man from the Hebrews as
a husband for his daughter but he must secure a
husband for his daughter from among the Christians,⁸⁵³
and the same rule must be observed in choosing a
wife for his son. And he who disobeys this law,
let him fall by the sword. In this way 854 the
whole race of the Jews became mingled and kneaded

together with the Christians, and in the course of time completely forgot its ancestry.

C The whole kingdom of the Homerites was illuminated, and piously professed Christianity, and there was the greatest joy in the churches of God: all celebrated the festivals with eagerness, a profound peace prevailed everywhere, the king reigned in security together with the most holy archbishop of God, and diligently discharged the divine services and the all-night vigils to the benevolent Master. As was previously stated, they had zeal for and desire after God, giving many alms to the poor and to orphans and to widows. And he removed every unjust agreement and rescinded every evil action, and demanded written guarantees from the chief men that they would not harm the poor nor deprive anyone of his rights or illegally transfer these rights to another, nor condemn the innocent.

D Those who trampled on the law of God and the commands of his king he destroyed with fire and sword and depth of sea. No one, neither ruler nor pauper, was excused from the judgments of God's law. As for his plans with respect to peace or war or any other matter, he first inquired of the Lord through the holy archbishop and zealously carried out what was enjoined upon him, nor did he ever fail in his duty, but he did it as commanded by God. When he had ruled for thirty years he departed from life in

784A peace. The blessed Gregentius had foretold him his death. And the king was buried in Tephah the royal city of the Homerites. Serdidus his son succeeded him and was like his father in all things, following the blessed Gregentius.

The saintly archbishop shepherded the flock of Christ well and faithfully and builded on the foundation of the apostles. After that he had wrought many signs and wonders to the glory of God, both during his life and after his death, shortly after the death of the king he too left this present life, on the 19th. of December, inheriting the kingdom that has no end. He was buried in the cemetery of
B the great church, amid an assembly of overseers, priests, deacons and very many anchorets, weeping and lamenting the loss of him very much. For he had been a good father to all, imparting to each what was needful, and being a very compassionate
855 mediator between God and man, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be the glory and the power, the honor and the adoration, now and forever in all eternity. Amen.

COMMENTARY

When LXX is enclosed in brackets: (LXX)
it means that the text as quoted by
Gregentius is verbally identical with
the LXX.

Wherever a textual emendation is cited
without comment it is accepted.

Greg. = Gregentius

G. = Gulon(ius)

1 Did the debate of the Fourth Day also take place here? It appears so (749C). If this was a roofed enclosure how could they see Christ on a cloud (776C)? Williams speaks of "the crowded assembly under the open sky", Adversus Judaeos, p. 141

2 εἰσαχθέντες, used of the accused to "come before the court", cf. Plato Apol. 29C

3 ἦν παιδευμένος Analytical tenses are rare in the Dial. ἦσαν συνηθροισμένοι 621B, ἦν προσδεθείς 636D, ἐγένετο σκέπων 685B (345), ἐξουθενισμένος εἶναι 704D, εἰ διεσκοπισμένος... εἰ ἐγκαταλειψιμένος 705D, χρηματίζει... τεταπεινωμένος 708B, ἔσται καθορώμενον 732D, ἔσονται διαφένοντες 737D, ἦσαν ἕνα ποσκοποῦντες 776D, ἦν ἐρχόμενος 777A, ἔστὲ τυφλώτεροντες 780A, ἔστι κερτημένος 780A.

4 Indefinite relative ὅστις for simple relative ὃς is common, but as in the LXX, only in the nom., cf 624A, 632D, 637A (ter), 664B, 668B, etc.

5 ~~θεῖον seems to equal θεῖον neut. plu., "religious observances"~~

6 τίνας] forte τίνος G. This is likely because the next sentence begins τοῦ θεοῦ.

7 As is to be expected, Gregentius employs ἵνα clauses of all varieties: 624C ironical purpose, (as in Plato, Apol. 22a7, Rep. 337e1; 640C result; 648B, 653C, etc. purpose; 652D noun clause; 673A combining purpose and content. For ἵνα with the indic., cf. 558

8 "It (the LXX) was not...accepted by the stricter Jews, who in controversy repudiated arguments based on Septuagint texts." Kenyon, The Text of The Greek Bible, p. 29. Thus, Trypho LXVIII. 7, Justin remarks to Trypho, "...your teachers, who dare say that the interpretation made by your Seventy elders, when at the court of Ptolemy king of Egypt, is in some points untrue. (μὴ εἶναι ἐν τισὶν ἀληθῆ)" The crucial instance was the rendering of (the Heb. word) by παρθένος in Isa. 7:14, where *virginis* it was contended, would have given the true meaning of the Heb. word." (cf. 144) Swete, Introd. to OT, p. 30. It is interesting to note that while it was Jerome's purpose to undermine the influence of the Greek OT and to establish in its place the Heb. (by means of his Latin version), his rendering of Isa. 7:14 ecce virgo concipiet, preserves the LXX. cf. also 770 for another LXX quotation which Jews rejected on the ground that it was a Christian addition. On the whole subject, cf. Rahlfs, Septuaginta, p. xxiii

9 This text is assigned in Migne to Gen. 22:18, with which it agrees in sense, though not verbally. It corresponds exactly to Gen. 12:3 cf. the same text 700B

10 τὸν Θεὸν ἕνα ἐν τρισὶ πρόσωποις, καὶ τρισὶν ὑποστάσεσι.

When used of the Godhead πρόσωπον equals ὑπόστασις cf. 788

11 ἀλλ' ἢ so also 665A, 692B, 693B, 708C, 709A, 737C; ἀλλ' ἢ μόνον 645A. The combination of particles ἀλλ' ἢ very common in OT and usually is simple a strengthened form of ἀλλά. οὐ μόνον... ἀλλ' ἢ 701C

12 Note εἰάν with indic. (twice). Fairly common in LXX and NT. cf. εἰάν... ὡκοδομήσατε 676A, εἰάν... ἔστιν 740B. Under the same head is ὅταν with indic. 648A, 712D and ὅσα ἂν with indic. 677C. But, ὅποταν παραγένηται 680A, while ὅποταν... ἀνέβη 696C (cf. 413), ὅποταν ἀνελήθη 745C, ὅποταν καταβήσεται 745D, ὅποταν ἐπιβλέψω... διανοιήσῃ... φωτίσει... ἀγιάσει... ὑπεδείξει 760D. Note also ὅσας κἄν... παράγωμεν 697B. For ὅταν with subjunc., cf. 724A, 741B

13 Gen. 2:18 (LXX)

14 δι' ἣν αἰτίαν equals apparently διὰ τίνος αἰτίας (used also 621B, 660A, 668B, 696B, D, 724B, 724D and 732B (stands alone), 745B, 756D, 764C, 765A, B, C) cf. Ἐφ' ᾧ πάρετι; equals ἐπὶ τι Mt. 26:50. Here there is no mark of interrogation at the end of the sentence; however, the sense requires that it be read as a question. Observe that here and 681B δι' ἣν αἰτίαν is preceded by καὶ εἰ οὕτως ἔστί (696B καὶ εἰ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον) 729B and 744C δι' ὃν τρόπον; In 661C the phrase is used as an indir. interrogative, cf. Lk. 8:47. On the use of the relative in direct and indirect interrogations, cf. A.T. Robertson, Grammar, p. 725. Note also the citations in Soph. Lex. under ὅς (4. p.820a).

15 Deut. 6:4 σου] BELP (ancient versions cited by Brooke-McL) Clem Or-lat Eus 1/3 Ath 4/5 Chr Cyr 18/19 Thdt A-Z-T-A Iren Hil Prisc 1/2 Spec 1/2: ἡκῶν LXX (and Mk. 12:29) The rest καὶ πλὴν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔστι Θεὸς ἕτερος is perhaps Mk. 12:32 (καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ) cf. 214

16 cf. 2710

17 Ps. 33:6 (LXX)

18 σύνθεσιν] Vet. cod. σύνεσιν Illud seriem, hoc sensum et intellectum significat. G. Either makes good sense. However, since in what follows Greg. shows the sagacity of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, rather than the structure of that doctrine, σύνεσιν would seem more probable.

19 Ex. 4:22 Πρωτότοκος μου ὁ υἱὸς Ἰσραήλ] Υἱὸς πρωτ. μου [σ. LXX. ὁ υἱὸς] γε μὴ οὐ LXX.

20 ... ἐκάλεισα τὸν υἱὸν μου Migne assigns this text to Hos. 11:1. However, Herban quotes exactly the words of Hos. as found ^{αὐτοῦ} in Mt. 2:15 (Souter's ed.) (The LXX version is μετεκάλεισα τὰ τέκνα ἅ). This raises two interesting questions:

1. How is it that Herban the Jew quotes Mt? If the Dial. represents an actual debate ("...he saw Palladius taking down the remarks of both" 768B) there must have been editorial revision.
2. Why does not the archbishop call Herban's attention to the fact that the words which he has just uttered are quoted by Mt. with reference to the Christ?

21 Note the subjunc. (^ῥη) in oratio obliqua. ✓

22 That the younger should serve the older. Jacob's case was unique. Gen. 25:23; Rom. 9:12

23 Θάρρευτον] (~~not in the lexicons~~) θεοῦ ῥητόν (spoken of God) or θειάρρευτον (pleasing to God) G.

24 περισμός for περιρισμός, typographical error.

25 ἀπὸ ἀλλοτριώθη] ἀπὸ ἀλλοτριώθητε. - ζ.

26 Deut. 4:27 διασπερῶ αὐτούς] διασπερεῖ Κύριος ὑμᾶς. LXX
The change from the 3rd to the 1st person is perhaps due to the context, and does not represent a textual variant.
cf. Introd. IV, 2

27 Deut. 32:26 καταπαύσω] AF παύσω LXX.

28 ἔχων] ἔχεις G. The change is likely though not obligatory. The 2nd person is needed but can be inferred from εἶρηκας.

29 Herban's point is: if one of the Persons of the Trinity is dead, then there is no longer any Trinity. Greg. explains that he died only as to the flesh, not as to his divinity.

30 Deut. 18:15,19. On verse 15, cf. 225 Verse 19 differs very much from LXX, though the essential thought is the same. It is found also 665C. It is almost verbally identical with Acts 3:23 cf. Introd. IV, 5

31 μὴ γένοιτο - pure opt. also found 656A, 700A, 712B, 729C, 732A, 745A, 752B, 757B (bis), 760B, 772C, 780A

32 The use in the Dial. of μὲν and δέ is some indication of its literary quality and especially of the quality of the Greek which Greg. writes. When one remembers that this familiar feature of Greek style occurs only six times in the LXX (apart from Wisdom and Maccabees) the following is an impressive list. The enumeration covers only the first quarter of the Dial.

ὁ μὲν... ὁ δέ 632B, ὁ μὲν... τὸ δέ 636D, ἐγὼ μὲν 637A, ὅτι μὲν... ἀλλ' ἀπίρους μὲν... πάντων δέ 641C, Δεσπότης μὲν... δοῦλος δέ 648B, ὡς μὲν... ὡς δέ 660A, οὗτοι μὲν... ὑμεῖς δέ 664A, ἡμᾶς μὲν... ὑμᾶς δέ 665B, τὸ μὲν... ἢ δέ 669A.

33 ἡμῶν] ὑμῶν G. This correction is practically certain since the 2nd person is already used twice in the text.

34 Deut. 28:66 "Ὁφείσθε τὴν ζωὴν ὑμῶν (Athanas. i. 61. ii, 182. sic Orig. i, 443, sed σου iii, 553, 687) κρεμαμένην ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν (Athanas. i. 61, et alibi, sed et alibi ut Vat. ὑμῶν Orig. i, 443. iii, 687, sed σου iii, 553)] καὶ ἔσται ἡ ζωὴ σου κρεμαμένη ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν σου. LXX.

Athanasius and Zacchaeus (36) agrees verbally with Greg. in the quotation of this text. Conybeare at this point speaks of Greg's Dial. as "probably based on this (AZ) dial." However, he says nothing about this relationship in his Prolegomena to AZ, where he has several pages on "Traces of The Dial. AZ in Christian Literature". *cf. also 38*
cf. Swete, Introd. To OT in Greek, p. 466 for additional variants in patristic writers.

35 Greg. insists that hang can only be used literally (of material substance) and not figuratively (as Herban interpreted it above). Hence the text, so he argues, refers to Christ hanging on the cross. κρεμάννυμι, however, is used metaphorically as well as literally, cf. Plato Legg. 831C

36 ὁ ἀπόκειται] τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῶ-G (αὐτῆ in Migne - typographical error) "The varieties of reading may perhaps be explained on the hypothesis that the original version (of the LXX) followed a common Hellenistic idiom in reading ὃ τὸ ἀποκείμενον (τὰ ἀποκείμενα) αὐτῶ and that ὁ ἀπόκειται was a gloss or alternative translation for τὸ ἀποκείμενον which found its way into the text: hence the readings ὁ ἀπόκειται αὐτῶ and ὁ ἀπόκειται come from an earlier reading ὃ δ' ἀπόκειται αὐτῶ This inter-hypothesis pretation is supported by the combination of the original reading and the gloss in the remarkable Venice Cod. 72 τὸ ἀποκείμενον αὐτῶ ὁ ἀπόκειται -Hatch, Essays In Biblical Greek, p. 169. Athanasius and Zacchaeus (47) also has ὁ ἀπόκειται.

37 Gen. 49:10, cf. 36

38 cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 106 Ταῦτα ὁμολογουμένως περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἴρηται· ἀλλ' οὐδέπω ἠλθε τῆς.
Conybeare (in his ed. of AZ) says at this place that Greg's Dial. is an expansion of that of pseudo-Athanasius. cf. also his comment above, 34.

However, it quite likely negatives ἐπίστυσαν.

39 Note οὐκ in the protasis of a condition. Goodwin-Gulick 1394b

40 λέγει] ἔλεγεσ αντ λέγεισ G. The change from the 3rd to the 2nd person is needed. ἔλεγεσ however, rather than λέγεισ because it is in contrary to fact condition.

41 The probable meaning is: It is better that you Christians do not realize how ignominious are the facts of the life of your Christ.

42 Baruch 3:36, 37 (transl. from Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, vol. I, p. 509. Verse 36 (LXX), verse 37 ἔσωκεν] ἔσωκεν αὐτὴν LXX. Cellier cites this passage as evidence for his claim that the Dial. is forged: "It must be added that this author, in making Herban argue in defense of the Jews, has him gain advantage from the 37th verse of the 3rd chap. of Baruch, which the archbishop has quoted under the name of Jeremiah. In which he was mistaken, because not only did the Jews not believe that the book of Baruch was by Jeremiah but also they did not receive this same book as canonical even as St. Jerome assures us in the Preface to this prophet." (transl. mine) Histoire Generale des Auteurs Sacres et Ecclesiastiques, Paris, 1862, p. 280 Gulon writes in the margin, "...fortasse quia Baruch eius scriba fuit." In the dial. of Athanasius and Zacchaeus, 24sq., Athanasius says in support of his naming Jeremiah as the author of Baruch 3:35-37, "Jeremiah with Baruch and Lamentations and the Epistle are written in one book, and these four as one book are called 'Jeremiah'".

43 cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 27.

44 ἀνέσχετο equals ἀνέσχετο This is no doubt a double augment.

45 ἐμβριθίματα forte ἐμβρικήματα. V. comminatione et indignatione. G This looks like a slip. There is no ἐμβριθίματα.

46 On the sawing asunder of Isaiah, cf. Trypho CXX. 5 and Williams' note on the history of the idea.

47 Greg. frequently uses ποῖος for τίς . cf. 649C, 657A, 665D, 668A, 669B, etc.; a characteristic of modern Greek.

48 cf. what follows with Tertullian's (An Answer to The Jews, ch X) "types of the cross". There is little similarity as to facts cited; the method, however, is the same.

49 πανωλέθριος equals πανώλεθρος Soph. Lex. cites this instance and Clement 524C

50 τὸ δὲ φυτὸν τοῦ Σαβείκ. Here Greg's. ignorance of Heb. led him astray. (His translator and editor Gulon was also apparently Hebrewless). The translators of the LXX render: κριὸς εἰς κατεχόμενος ἐν φυτῷ σαβείκ τῶν κεράτων (Gen. 22:13) σαβείκ is Heb. for ἀκενθεών (Lat. dumetum). (Aquil. συκνῶ). Greg. mistakes it for a place name. Tertullian (An Answer to The Jews, ch. XIII) also cites this incident as a type of the cross. cf. fragment of Melito in OHO vol. ix

51 G. adds κριός Necessary; as it is, there is no subject.

52 πορυσάμενος equals πορισάμενος

53 ἔτυμολογεῖς 636D, 638B, πρὸς ἔτυμολογὸν κεκτῆμένοι τὴν διάλεξιν. 697A.
Though the lexicons do not indicate any such use, ἔτυμολογεῖν
in each of these passages means allegorize rather than
etymologize. Observe that in every case the charge is
made by Herban.

54 Gregentius repudiates not the charge but the possibility
of allegorizing. The Scriptures are true, hence, he
maintains, any use that he makes of them, especially with
reference to the Christ is both legitimate and decisive.

55 i.e. Joseph's sons. That is made clear below.

56 Gen. 48:14

57 Ex. 15:25 Tertullian (An Answer to The Jews, ch. XIII)
also cites Marah as a type of the cross.

58 With his arms extended his body would form a cross.
cf. also Tertullian (An Answer to The Jews, ch. X), Justin
(Trypho, CXI.1), Cyprian (Ad Quirinum - Liber Testimoniorum,
Bk. II. 21), Epistle of Barnabas, ch XII, Timothy and Aquila
Fol. 99 v, where this same incident is cited as a type of
the cross.

59 or, "it is now the proper time for you to liken it to
your cross."

60 πολέμων συμβολαί. The reference is perhaps to the war with
Amalek which has just been mentioned.

61 Note elliptical use of the femine adjective: ἐπ' εὐθείας
[ἔδδ.δ.] = εὐθείως 636D.

62 Josh. 10:12

63 There is no mention of the moon in the NT account of the
crucifixion. Greg. perhaps has in mind Is. 13:10 "...the
sun shall be darkened in his going forth, and the moon shall
not cause her light to shine." cf. 180

64 G. adds Θεάνθρωπος. I do not think it necessary. The
words immediately following speak of his humanity and his
divinity.

65 Is. 63:3 Ἀρνὸν ἐπάτησα κονώτατος] Qmg.

66 Perhaps the meaning is: as in treading the winepress the
grapes are all mixed, so in suffering he brought salvation
to all.

67 ~~ἔδδλων perhaps equals ἔδδλου to balance with ἔχρηζεν,
(rather than a contraction of ἔδδλωσαν)~~

ἔδδλων] ἔδδλου Radian

68 Tertullian (An Answer to The Jews, ch. X) also answers the objection that the prophecies ought to have been clearer: "And, of course, it had been meet that the mystery of the passion itself should be figuratively set forth in predictions; and the more incredible (that mystery), the more likely to be a "Stumbling Stone", if it had been nakedly predicted; and the more magnificent, the more to be adumbrated, that the difficulty of its intelligence might seek (help from) the grace of God."

69 Jer. 11:19, cf. ^{and 182} Introd. IV, 3, [^] cf. Trypho, LXXII. 2 and note 2. To his list of apologists who cite this text, add Tertullian (An Answer to the Jews, ch. X)

70 idem. ἐγὼ μὲν] ἐγὼ δὲ LXX, om δὲ Sin A Q.

71 ἂν ἔχης in Class. Greek the opt. would be used. cf. ἂν γένηται 689 D, 380, ἂν ἔχοις 693 A 396, ἂν εἴπη 733 C 662, ἂν εἴπη 748 B, ἂν εἴπη 748 B, ἂν ἔχης 752 B, ἂν ἔχης 772 B.

72 ~~Κάν, Κάν Crasis for καὶ ἰάν, not for καὶ ἂν. cf. 676 A, 684 B, 685 C.~~

73 τοῦτο. ὁ εἶπ. Vet. cod. ὁ σοι εἶπ. ἀπὸ τοῦ σε G. ~~I do not understand this note. = ὁ σοι id est ὁ σε~~

74 The νόημα which has not been brought into subjection to Christ: αἰχμαλωτίζειν πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ 2 Cor. 10:5. cf. 641 A where the σαρκικά τε καὶ ἔμπαθῆ νόηματα (of the Jews) is contrasted with the πνευματικά νόηματα (of the Christians).

75 προβαλλοῖντο] προβάλλοντο G.

76 cf. Zeus visiting Danae in the form of a golden shower.

77 Ps. 72:6 σταγῶν ἢ στάζουσα] σταγόνες σταζοῦσαι LXX.

78 ποῶ equals ποῖ as often in LXX. cf. 668A

79 Ps. 72:7 (LXX)

80 cf. John 8:46 τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας;

81 cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 82 Σολομών οὔτε ἱερεὺς ἐγένετο. οὔτε ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ βίῳ αὐτοῦ εὐπρέστησε τῷ Θεῷ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον Κυρίου ποιήσας ἀπέθανεν. πῶς οὖν κέρεϊ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα;

82 ἀνίστα equals ἀνίστη. Collet. form from ἰστάω, occasionally found in MSS of Attic writers, freq. later, *Illosc.* 4.43.

83 Ps. 72:8 (LXX)

84 Ps. 72:9 (LXX)

85 Ps. 72:9 (LXX)

ἀβάλε. Soph. Lex. distinguishes between ἀβαλε (= εἶθε) and ἀβάλε (ἀβάλα, ἀβάλαι) = λει.

86 cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 109 καὶ οἱ ἔχθροὶ αὐτοῦ ὑμεῖς.
Χοῦν ἐφ' ἑστέ.

87 Ps. 72:7 (LXX)

88 G. adds from an ancient cod. about 25 words, part of which is Ps. 72:5. All of what he adds is essential for what follows. cf. Introd. IV, 4

89 Ps. 72:4, 5 (LXX)

90 i.e. Solomon

91 ἄν. with the imperfect (ἐχρημάτιζεν) as in Class. Greek to denote customary action.

92 ~~Ps. 72:17 (LXX) Διακείει ὄσος εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν~~ not found in Scripture.

92a B. 72:17 Διακείει Διακείει LXX.

93 Herban's interpretation of "sun" and "moon" is very obscure. (see bottom of page for further notation)

93a cf. Campbell Bonner, "The Sibyl and Bottle Imps", Quantulacumque, Nov. 1938, where this passage is cited.

93b →
see below

94 "The Rabbis who denounce Solomon interpret I Kings 10:13 as meaning that Solomon had criminal intercourse with the Queen of Sheba, the offspring of which was Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed the temple." Jewish Encycl. vol. XI, p. 443 cf. 99

94a εἶτε καὶ. more likely εἶτα καὶ.

95 Ps. 72:17 ἔσται] ἔστω LXX.

96 cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 103 for a similar defence of Solomon. The question there also is the applicability to him of Ps. 71.

97 πῶς εἶρηκας Vet. cod. πῶς δὲ εἶρ. G.

98 κἠ with indic. in a statement, also found 684B. For an example of how κἠ may be used with indic., cf. Goodwin-Gulick 1350. However, in authors of the Roman and Byzantine periods it is often used for οὐ with the indic. cf. Cleomed. 37, 11 "ὅτι τοίνυν κἠ ἔστι πρὸς ἀνατολήν."

99 "The disagreement among the Rabbis with regard to the personality of Solomon extends also to his future life. According to Rob, the members of the Great Synagogue purposed including Solomon among those denied a share in the future life, when the image of David appeared, imploring them not to do so..." Jewish Encycl. Vol. XI, p. 444 cf. 94

100 Note omission of ἄν. Occasionally thus in OT, cf. Nb. 22:33. (Contrast Nb. 22:29 and cf. II K. 2:27) ἄν also omitted 700B; ἄν found 633A, 732D

93b a reminiscence of Jer. 5:8.

93 (Continued). Might not this rather long discussion of sun and moon reflect the old paganism of the district? "The religion of South Arabia was in its essence a planetary-astral system..." Witt; History Of The Arabs, p. 60.

101 This sentence appears to contradict the preceding.

102 Ps. 16:10 Greg. has combined the beginning and end of this verse: ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ἄδην, οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. Otherwise equals LXX. See below (645c) where the full text is quoted.

103 i.e. David.
^{103a} David could say "my soul" because David was, in a sense, part of Christ

104 ἐκός, καὶ ἀνθ.] ἐκός καὶ θεός καὶ ἀνθ. G. This change is not necessary. It is perfectly clear if καὶ be interpreted intensively.

^{104a} see next page.

105 μίαν δὲ τήν] μίαν δὲ καὶ τήν G. This addition of καὶ is necessary, being needed to join μίαν to ὑπόστασιν.

106 John 1:14 ὁ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ σὰρξ ἐχρημάτισε] ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο (NT i.e. Souter's ed)

107 Ps. 2:7 μου] + εἶ LXX. cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 49-51 for a similar discussion.

108 Ps. 2:8 (LXX)

109 μὴ ὀλίγων ἐθνῶν ἤρξεν and οὐ μικρά, 652A.

110 Ps. 2:9. (LXX)

111 Ps. 2:10, 11 (LXX)

112 Ps. 2:12. (LXX)

113 Ps. 2:12 (LXX)

114 I remove the mark of interrogation.

115 Deut. 28:15 sq. (cf. 712c and 528).

116 Ps. 81:9, 10 (LXX)

117 διεντέλλεται this compound not found in lexicons

118 λέγων used to introduce speeches - a Hebraism, cf. 660A, etc

119 Ps. 110:1 (LXX) cf. Trypho, XXXII. 6, LXXXIII. 1 note 3 for a lengthy discussion (by Williams) of the application of this text to the Messiah.

120 Quinam Dominus] dixit G. The addition is as necessary for the English translation, though not needed for the Greek text.

121 ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων cf. Phil. 2:10 and Introd. IV, 5

122 Philosophical utterances are rare in this Dial. cf. 250, 358, 685

There are some eleven or twelve passages which speak of the natures of Christ, (cf. Index. p. 259, s.v. Christ). Taken apart from their context, these references to the natures of Christ might seem to reflect the Monophysite controversy.²⁾ Close examination reveals, however, that the question is always discussed with reference to the particular difficulty of the Jew. The ecclesiastical controversy, - to state the matter briefly, - challenged the humanity of Christ, the Jew stumbled over the divinity of Christ. Gregentius' utterances in this matter are addressed always to the Jew. The following selection of instances, (taken in the order of their occurrence in the Dialogue), show with what purpose the point is made:³⁾

632A - that Christ is also divine, (in answer to Herban's statement that he is only human)

637D - that Christ is human and divine, (Joshua was only human)

645A - Christ is God and Son of God, (Solomon was neither)

645D - Christ possessed two natures, two beings, two volitions, in one and the same person, (to explain "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.")

648A - one person in his divinity and humanity, ("The word was made flesh...")

1) Why mention two volitions? I do not think that we are justified in concluding anything about the date of our Dial. from this single glance (if it be that) at the problem of Monotheletism. It is perhaps nothing more than Gregentius' way of making explicit the "two natures" and the "two beings".

2) Two reasons make the theory attractive. First: It was Christianity of the Monophysite type which entered South Arabia at an early date, cf. Hitti, History of The Arabs, p. 61. Second: If the tradition that Gregentius was sent to the Himyarites by Proterius (cf. p. 4) and if this Proterius is the Diphysite who replaced the Monophysite Dioscurus as a result of the Council of Chalcedon, (cf. Hastings, Enc.Rel. & Ethics, vol. VIII, p. 313), the theory is doubly attractive. The Dial. emphatically affirms and seeks to preserve the integrity of the two natures of Christ.

3) This is not to deny, of course, that the author of our Dial. was conversant with the Monophysite controversy.

123 πασῶν ῥηθειῶν] πάντων ῥηθέντων G. The feminine cannot be right.

124 A reference here to the use of νομοδιέσκαλος (note: in Migne, p. 649, footnotes 19 and 20 are turned about.)

125 κροτηθῆναι equals συγκροτηθῆναι This passage is cited in Soph's Lex.

126 G. adds σιγήν to προστάξας That is perhaps correct. Note that the First Day's argument is preceded by a similar expression (σιγῆς δι' γεγονύας) 621B

127 This is not quite the same as Herban's statement 649B.

128 cf. 121

129 προαιρη] προείρηκας G. Not necessary, as the translation makes clear.

130 Ps. 110:2 σοι] Sin^{c.a.} T. om LXX.

131 Here and in what follows it seems that Zion equals Sinai. For the contrast between Zion and Sinai, cf. Heb. 12:18-22 "For ye are not come unto the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words... but ye are come unto mount Zion (Σιών), and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem..." cf. *De Montibus Sina et Zion*, a short tract by Cyrilian, Martell's ed. iii. 104-119, Vienna 1868.

132 ἂν ἔχεις perhaps this is for ἂν ἔχῃς, in which case it is the same as 640B (71)

133 ἀναγωγικῶς Not found in new Lid-Scott. (The passage is cited in Soph's Lex.)

134 τὸ Σινᾶ Cotelarius ad Barnabae epist. cap II Gregentium coarguit. Oportuit enim, inquit, Σιών dicere, non Σινᾶ cf. 131

135 τοῦ κρίναι] τὸ κρίναι G. He is clearly in error here. τοῦ with the inf. can introduce a noun clause, indicating content, in no way differing from τὸ cf. Mt. 21:32; Lk. 17:1; Acts 10:25; James 5:17

136 ἔξῃ equals ἦξῃ

137 cf. ἐν οἷς φαίνεσθε ὡς φωστῆρες Phil. 2:16 cf. Introd. IV, 5

138 Ps. 110:3 ἦ] Sin.^{c.} ART om LXX / ταῖς λαμπρότησι] ΑΤῆ λαμπρότητι LXX

139 cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 43 ἐγὼ δὲ ἰησοῦ λέγω τὴν γενεάν· υἱὸς γὰρ ἦν τοῦ ἰωσήφ.

140 Ps. 110:3 (~~LXX~~) ἐγέννησα] *Sim^{ca}* AT ἐξεγέννησα LXX.

141 Ps. 110:4 Σὺ] AT + εἶ LXX

142 This is clearly direct statement and should be printed:
ὅτι ἔκ, not ὅτι ἐκ

143 Ps. 110:4

144 Migne assigns this to Is. 7:14. It is more likely that Greg. is quoting Mt. 1:23 (equals Is 7:14) because the interpretation of Ἐκκαρῶνῃ is added. It is verbally identical with the NT (Souter's ed.) except that Greg. writes ἀψεται (*B^t vid*) instead of ἔξει. cf. Trypho XLIII, 6; LXVII, 1; LXXXIV, 1 note 4 where there is a discussion (by Williams) of (a) the correctness of παρ θεῶν as a rendering of the Heb. (cf. 8); and (b) the application of the promise to Hezekiah.

145 ὁ ἔστι μεθερμηνεύμενος This is a Scriptural quotation, part of Mt. 1:23

146 The sentence is somewhat elliptical. In full it would be, "But if what David proclaims you apply to David or to some other person, then David or some other person has been begotten before the morning. But was David or some other person begotten before the morning? No. Obviously the words must apply to my Master..."

146a see bottom of page.

147 Is. 29:11 Δοθήσεται τὸ ἐσφραγισμένον βιβλίον ἀνδρὶ εἰδῶτι γράμματα· καὶ ἐρεῖ ὁ ἀνὴρ, Οὐ δύναμαι ἀναγνῶναι· τὸ γὰρ βιβλίον ἐσφράγισται] καὶ ἔσται ὑμῖν τὰ ῥήματα πάντα ταῦτα ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ ἐσφραγισμένου, ὃ ἂν δῶσιν αὐτὸ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπισταμένῳ γράμματα λέγοντες Ἀνάγνωθι ταῦτα, καὶ ἐρεῖ Οὐ δύναμαι ἀναγνῶναι, ἐσφράγισται γάρ. LXX.

148 I place the question mark here, rather than at the end of the next sentence.

149 γάρῳ ἐν ἄλλῃ γυν Nota hunc locum non probari omnibus orthodoxis. (Migne omits to mention the author of this note, which is G.)

150 γεννηθεῖς] γεννηθῆ -Radius

151 Mary's perpetual virginity was asserted in the second century. Clemens of Alexandria II, 529B cf. 239

152 Bel and The Dragon, v. 36 Greg. means that the miracle of the Virgin Birth is no harder to accept than all other miracles.

146a σολοικίζεῖν lit. "to speak or write incorrectly," then, "to err against good manners or propriety" in any way. Its use here seems to go somewhat beyond even the more generalized meaning of the word.

153 ὡς οὐδεὶς ἢ ὡς οὐδεὶς G. The change is not necessary.

154 πλὴν Here as often in Paul (1 Cor. 11:11, Eph. 5:33) ending the discussion (of the Virgin Birth) and calling special attention to the essential (Christ's death on the cross). For similar use, cf. 628D, 665B (balances with above), 672B, 685B, 701A, 756C, 765B. Slightly different is 652C. 673C πλὴν balances with κεν above.

155 βιοθάνατον a corruption of βιαιοθάνατον.

156 λέγει ἐν πρώτοις The phrase ἐν πρώτοις doesn't seem to make sense here, unless we construe it with ἀκούσων (as does the Latin translator).

157 Ps. 41:9 (LXX)

158 Ps. 109:18 ὡσεὶ 2° ἢ ὡς LXX [ὡσεὶ 3°] Sin. c. a. ART ὡς LXX.

159 Ps. 109:17 καθότι ἢ ὡς LXX The presence of καθότι here perhaps results from the fact that verse 17 is quoted after verse 18. cf. Introd. IV, 2

160 Ps. 41:7 καὶ ἢ μου LXX - more likely, merely a misprint for σου.

161 Ps. 41:8 (LXX)

162 Ps. 109:5 (LXX)

163 Wisdom 2:12 and Is. 3:10 (transl. from Charles, Apoc. and Pseud., p. 538, cf. also note on p. 524) It appears that Greg. is quoting Wisdom (ἐνεδρευσωμεν) rather than Is. (δίσσωμεν). cf. Trypho, CXXXVI.2, CXXXVII.3 note 6, where there is some discussion about the relation of Wisdom 2:12 and Is. 3:10.

164 Mt. 27:9, 10 (equals in part Zech. 11:12, 13) agrees with NT - Souter's ed. Greg. like Mt. ascribes this prophecy to Jeremiah. The mistake is perhaps due to a confusion between Zech. 1. c. and Jer. 18:2

165 Ps. 2:1, 2 (LXX)

166 Herban's reluctance to admit that Jews were nations (ἔθνη) as well as people (λαοί) is correct. λαός was characteristically used of God's chosen people. ἔθνος and particularly τὰ ἔθνη (gentes) meant the nations outside Judaism. cf. 665A for the same distinction. cf. also the curious interpretation of these words by Tertullian (An Answer to The Jews, ch. I): "...out of the womb of Rebecca 'two people and two nations were about to proceed', - of course those of the Jews, that is, of Israel; and of the Gentiles, that is ours. Each, then, was called a people and a nation; lest, from the nuncupative appellation, any should dare to claim for himself the privilege of grace."

167 This text is assigned in Migne to Gen. 17:6 It is, however, much closer to Gen. 12:2 *καὶ πολὺ] d p d₂ om LXX.*

168 Ex. 33:16 ... ὁ λαὸς οὗτος] 76. Georg (H+P) ὁ λαὸς σου LXX.

169 Ex. 33:13 (a) It is strange that this text which precedes in Ex. the previous quotation is introduced by *μετεπειτα* (b) *καὶ γινώσκωμαι ὅτι λαὸς σου τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο, καὶ λαὸς, καὶ ἔθνος.* (differs considerably from LXX). I have not included the last two nouns in the translation. How can they be part of the text? Perhaps the meaning is: in this text there is an identification of ἔθνος and λαός . cf. 173 and the rendering of this text 716A

170 Ps. 2:2 (LXX)

171 Ex. 19:6

172 *σύνηχ. μέν] [ante συνηχ. γαρ, ob sequens μεν. —*
(the author of this note is not mentioned) The suggestion is good.

173 Greg. sets about proving in detail that Ps. 2:1,2 (with which he concluded his last speech, 657D) applies to the Jews. Thus he shows that the Jews are nations (ἔθνη) from Gen. 17:6 and Ex. 33:16. Ex. 33:13 proves they are both ἔθνη and λαοί (people). From the adj. kingly in Ex. 19:6 they are shown to be kings (βασιλεῖς). That they are rulers (ἄρχοντες) is clear from their having been chosen out of all nations. So it is clear that the Jews took counsel together against the Lord, and against his anointed!

174 ἀντικεμηθέν this compound of νέμω not found in the lexicons.

175 Ps. 2: 4, 5 (LXX)

176 Ps. 27:12 (LXX)

177 Is. 50:6 (LXX)

178 ἄφωνος *Sequentia desunt, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα G.*
True, but the word ἄφωνος is enough to prove Greg's point.

179 Is. 53:7 (~~LXX~~) cf. 178 *κείραντος αὐτὸν] κείραντος Sin^{c.a.} (κίρ) Α + αὐτὸν Sin^{c.a.} (nas Sin^{c.b.}) A Q κείροντος om αὐτὸν LXX*

180 cf. 63

181 Ps. 35:16, 17 (~~LXX~~) *κυκτηρισμῶ] κυκτηρισμόν LXX.*

182 Jer. 11:19 Here Greg. writes *Δεῦτε, καὶ ἐμβάλωμεν ξύλον εἰς τὸν κρητὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκγρίψωμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ζώντων (LXX).*
At 640B he gives a slightly different version: ... ἐμ βάλλωμεν...
ἐκ γῆς ζώντων cf. *Introd. IV, 3*

183 Ps. 22:7, 8 (LXX)

184 It is hard to see the connection between "nailing" and "For dogs have compassed me". Perhaps the sentence should have been arranged thus: Concerning the people of Jerusalem who stood about in a circle and watched when they hanged him and nailed his feet and his hands, he said, etc.

185 Ps. 22:16 (~~LXX~~) περιεκύκλωσαν] thus verse 13 ἐκύκλωσαν LXX.

186 κεκρατημένη Vet. cod. κατπραμένη Melius, de synagoga detestabili. G. This sense certainly demands καταράσθαι rather than κρατέω.

187 Ps. 22:16 (LXX)

188 Ps. 22:16, 17 (LXX)

189 Ps. 22:18 (LXX)

190 Ps. 69:21 ἔδωσαν] ἔδωκαν LXX.

191 Amos 8:9 (LXX)

192 Is. 52:14 cf. 193

193 Is. 52:14, 15 14. ἐξ] ἀπό LXX 15. καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ θαυμάσονται ἐπὶ σε] οὕτω θαυμάσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ LXX.

194 Is. 53:2, 3 2. γάρ] οὐ LXX / οὔτε δόξαν] οὐ LXX 3. ἐκλεῖπον τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων] ἐκλεῖπον παρὰ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων LXX.

195 ἀπέστρεψεν] οὐκ ἀπέστρεψεν G. This correction is a mistake. ὅτι ἀπέστρεψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ is part of Is. 53:3 and should have been printed as such in the text. ἀπέστρεψεν] ἀπέστραπται LXX.

196 Is. 53:3 ὑπὲρ] περὶ LXX / ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτόν] διὰ *σπ + εἶναι LXX / πληγῆ] ἢ ἐν LXX.

197 Is. 53:4, 5 4. ὑπὸ Θεοῦ] ὑπο Θεοῦ (sic ut vid.) Q^m om LXX αὐτός at the beginning of 4 rather than αὐτός (LXX) may be due to αὐτός at the beginning of 5, or, possibly Greg. was quoting Mt. 8:17 (αὐτός), though the rest does not agree. H & P cite on behalf of αὐτός - Cyrill. Alex. tom. i, part 1, p. 98 et in Cat. Nic. tom ii, p. 642 (cf. vol. i part 1, p. 100 et al). 5. πάσχει] οὐ LXX / αὐτὸς ἔει] + ἔτραυματίσθη LXX which Greg. puts after πάσχει.

198 This refers to what Herban said (657B) τὸ βιοθάνατον γεγονέναι τὸν Χριστὸν σου, σκανδαλίζει τὸ πνεῦμα μου.

199 Is. 53:5 παιδεία] Q^a παιδία LXX / γάρ] οὐ LXX / εἰρήνη] cor. 1st error? εἰρήνης LXX

200 On this sentence, cf. Eph. 2:14, 15, 16 τὴν ἔχραν... ἀποκτείνεις seems to be a latent quotation of ἀποκτείνεις τὴν ἔχθραν (Eph. 2:16 end), cf. Introd. IV, 5

201 Is. 53:5 πάντες] ου LXX.

202 ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν μου] Huius loci hiatus non perspexit
interpres. Leg. ex LXX, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου.
(author of this note not mentioned)

203 Is. 53: 8, 9 γ. ἀνομιῶν] + τοῦ λαοῦ LXX (cf. 202) ἤκει] Q^{ms}
ἤχθη LXX/γ. ἐν πλεονασμῷ ἀδικῶν] πλουσίου LXX/αὐτοῦ B^{ab} Sin. Q om LXX.

204 Ps. 15:3 καὶ οὐκ] Sin.^{c.a} οὐδέ LXX

205 οἱ λωβοί New Lid-Scott = λωβητός coinage in EM 570.37

206 John 8:48 (NT, i.e. Souter's ed.)

207 ἀλλ' ὅτι Desunt ἀλλὰ περὶ βλασφημίας, καί -G. True, but
the essential meaning of the text is not affected by the
omission.

208 John 10:33 (NT, i.e. Souter's ed.), but cf. 207

209 Is. 53:9 οὐκ] (Greg. uses οὐκ because he omits the
immediately preceding words, cf. 668C 230 where οὐδέ is
found) οὐδέ LXX/εὐρέθη δόλος] Sin.^{c.a} A Q δόλον LXX. cf. Introd. IV, 2

210 Is. 53:9 cf. the reading of the same text 664A. By
adding εἰς σωτηρίαν Greg. has changed the meaning to suit
his argument. cf. Introd. IV, 2

211 If I have interpreted this sentence correctly, it means
that Christ's burial was evidence that the Father was
satisfied with the redemptive work of his Son. This inter-
pretation would coincide with Is. 53:9. The words, "My
beloved and dearest son" are printed as a Scriptural quota-
tion; the thought is Scriptural, but it is hard to assign
a reference. The same is true of the next quotation.
cf. Introd. IV, 5

212 πιστεύουσι this should be πιστεύουσιν.

213 cf. Timothy and Aquila, Fol 138 r^o But the Jew remained
speechless about an hour."

213a ἰλιγγίῳ. cf. ἰλ. ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀπορίας Plato Lys. 216 c. Found also 648 B

214 Deut. 6:4 Here, ἄλλος θεός in 625D 15 where the same
text occurs, θεός ἕτερος cf. Introd. IV, 3

215 Deut. 6:13 προσκυνήσεις] A φοβηθήσῃ LXX | κένω A omit LXX,
Verbally identical with Mt. 4:10

216 Is. 53:1 (LXX)

217 "to all nations" (ἔθνεσιν), i.e. to everybody except
the Jews. Intended as sarcasm. cf. 166

218 ἀκούσατε] Scribe ἀκούσατε et mox βλέψατε G. However, ἀκούσατε = LXX. Swete cites ἀκούσατε (Γ = cod. re-scriptus Cryptoferratensis)

219 Is. 6:9, 10 9. (LXX) cf. 218 10. ὡς] ^{Sim.* (hab. Sim^{c.6}) +} αὐτῶν LXX/αὐτῶν] ^{Sim. A Q om LXX/} ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, καὶ νοήσωσι. ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς LXX. Greg's. addition of καὶ νοήσωσι is a non sequitur. It perhaps comes from the quotation of this verse in John 12:40, where it is followed by τῆ καρδία. cf. Introd. IV, 5

220 παραλύτους σφίγγαντα a use of σφίγγειν which our lexicons do not mention. It calls attention to the literal meaning of παραλύτους. To heal the paralytic is to bind up his loose limbs.

221 ἀπαρρητὰ - ^{elsewhere} invariably derogatory, though obviously not here.

222 πεποίκας] πέπεικας G. The verb πείθειν and not ποιεῖν is required. *Except for the presence of η this might be an itacism.*

223 πειθοῦς καὶ ἰτακούσεως. Should not the order be reversed? πειθοῦς, this is an unusual use (as demanded by the context), ἰτακούσεως cited by Soph's Lex Not found in new Lid-Scott.

224 ἡμᾶς] forte ἡμῖν G. Quite likely, though (εἰς) ἡμᾶς is a possibility.

225 Deut. 18:15 Here ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν The same text 632A, ὁ θεὸς ἐκ πῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν. Both differ from LXX. The quotation at 632A is verbally identical with Acts 3:22. cf. Introd. IV, 3

226 Deut. 18:19, cf. 30 and Introd. IV, 5

227 Ps. 19:7 The added words τοῦ συνιέναι τὸν Κύριον are not found in the LXX, nor in the repetition of this text 685D. NB

228 περὶ τοῦ βραβευθέντος νόμου τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Wrote reading

229 ἀνδρομανίας equals παιδεραστίας. Is it not strange that a Greek should bring this charge against a Jew? It is the reverse of Rom. 1:27, where a Jew accuses the Gentile world of this sin. 50

230 Is. 53:9 αὐτός] om LXX/εὐρέθη δόλος] ^{Sim. c.a. A Q} δόλον LXX. Rabbi

231 Ps. 19: 7, 8 (LXX)

232 ἐπισύρεις, usually of "dragging or trailing after" one in a careless, listless way. At first glance the use here of this word may seem to be unusual, but doesn't it intensify Herban's charge of trickery?

233 ἱεροσολικῶς , mentioned only in Soph's Lex, where this passage is cited.

234 ἑπαριθ.] ἀπαριθ. G. I can see no reason for the change.

235 Hab. 3:3 τῆς συνέσεως] ἀνεσέως LXX. *Perhaps an error of sound plus dittography of σ.*

236 μηθὲν σοι πρὸς τὰτα καύζηρε G. conjectures καῦρε for καύζηρε Soph's Lex: καύζηρος incorrect for κάρζηρος , the Greek form of the Shemitic *κακζήρ* , 'bastard'. This passage cited by Soph. Not found in new Lid-Scott.

237 Hab. 3:3 ἀπὸ] *Sim. e. a. c. b.* ἐκ LXX / ὄρους] *Sim. e. a. c. b.* + Ἐπαρίν LXX.

238 Here G. cites in the margin Augustine Civ. D. lib. 18, ch. 32 "...from Teman (say some) that is from the south: signifies the heat of charity and the light of truth." *cf. 240, 241*

239 cf. 657A and 151

240 Thaeman (or Teman) is Heb. for 'south region'. The territory was in Edom (Jer. 49:20); apparently in the northern part (Ezek. 25:13). The "Onomasticon" of Eusebius (260, 155) mentions a region called Thaiman, in Gebalene (the Gebal of Ps. 83:7), and thus in the district of Petra, noting also East Teman, a *town* with a Roman garrison fifteen (according to Jerome, five) miles from Petra. cf. Dillman on Gen. 36: 11 and Job 2:11; Driver on Am. 1:12; Wetzstein, Ztschr. f. allgem. Erdkunde, xviii, 52f. *cf. 238, 241*

241 The paragraph is obscure. I would suggest the following explanation. Greg. had said (669A) that Thaeman is heaven. Herban has stated that it was a place on earth, from whence the *νότος* south, or south-west wind blows. To pray toward the east is to direct one's prayer to where God dwells (Thaeman = paradise = heaven). The opposite of this is to pray toward the west, which, at bottom, is not praying at all because it is directing one's prayer to an earthly place (Thaeman as defined by Herban). This explanation does not account for all the details. Since writing the above I have come upon G.'s marginal note (not given in Migne) : "Christiani ad ortum solis spectantes: Judaei vero ad occasum eum adorant: Christus verus sol oriens, lex Mosaica velut sol occiduus." *cf. 238, 240*

242 τὸ θεὸς, κ. τ. λ.] Videtur aliquid esse praetermissum a scriba; quod licet conjicere ex ipso exemplari ms. in margine, cuius sunt haec verba, τὸ θεὸς κείνον ἢ τὸ ἅγιος G. This line is certainly essential.

243 If God is to come, he ^{will} ~~shall~~ have to do so in and through a body, τὸ γὰρ θεῖον οὐ μεταβαίνει τόπον ἐκ τόπου, ὡς τὰ σῶματα.

244 Δέγομεν οὖν τὸ, ὁ Θεὸς, διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς Θεότητος. τὸ δὲ καὶ, ὁ Ἄγιος, διὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ἐνθρονώσεως.

This is not to deny that the Father and the Son are one in essence.

245 cf. 637D

246 Hab. 3:2 (LXX) ~~Here footnote in Migne: In hunc locum videtur Toutteum ad Cyrill. Hier. Catech. xii, cap. 20, p. 174~~

247 ἑκατ.] ἐν ἑκατ. G.

248 δύο οὐσιῶν... φύσεων. Here οὐσία equals φύσις with which it is interchanged occasionally. cf. Plato Rep. 359, a, b; Arist. PA 646^a25. I have taken a slight liberty with the translation of οὐσιῶν.

249 Hab. 3:2

250 cf. 122

251 ὁψώσας, apparently from ὁψώω, not found in lexicons

252 cf. 753

253 ἀνανεῦσαι At first glance this seems to be used here in the sense of its opposite, κατανεύω or ἐπινεύω I offer two explanations: (1) the veil prevents them from "throwing their heads up" - (the literal meaning of ἀνανεύω - cf. LSJ), (2) the meaning of ἀνανεύω is affected by the Lat. annuere 'to give assent'. cf. 399, where ἐκνεύω is used in sense of annuere.

254 ὅμως, this conjunc. seems illogical, unless the meaning be: although you could not be expected to believe because of the veil, yet (ὅμως) the prophet was right in condemning you, because you are responsible for your spiritual blindness.

255 Ps. 17:14 ἀπὸ ὀλίγων] B^a mg (non int B^a), ἀποδώων LXX.

256 Ps. 9:20 (LXX)

257 Ps. 25:22 (LXX)

258 Ps. 147:12, 13 (LXX)

259 Is. 45:17 σωθήσεται] σώξεται LXX.

260 Μὴ καθ.] καὶ μὴ καθ. G. Not absolutely necessary, though it does make it smoother and plainer. The μὴ, of course, cannot be translated into English. cf. Goodwin-Gulick 168.

261 Ps. 75:8 (LXX)

262 ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν would be better.

263 ἔκρυψις, this compound of κρύω found only in Soph's LEX, where this passage is cited.

264 Ps. 94:14 (LXX)

265 εἰδὼ ὅσα ἢ σοί. Positive rather than comparative adverb, as is frequent in LXX and NT. Mk. 9:43 καλὸν... ἢ. But it is also found in Hdt. ix. 26 sub. fin., ἡμέας δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρως ἢ περ Ἀθηναίου.

266 It is true that εἰως occurs in the verse that preceeds, but it is also the very first word in the next verse. Moreover, it is this next verse on which Greg. rests his argument. He quotes it almost verbatim, inserting as he gives it, his interpretation. Further, the beginning of the paragraph speaks of the verse that follows, τὸ ἐξῆς τοῦ στίχου τῆς περὶ τοῦ στίχου. For these reasons I would change ἐκπροσθεν to ὀπίσθεν.

267 Ps. 94:16 ἀναστήσεται] + μοι LXX | τοὺς] Sm. c. a. AT om LXX.

268 Is. 40:27 Νῦν τὴν κρίσιν μου ἔρε Κύριος, καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπ' ἐμοῦ] καὶ ὁ Θεὸς μου τὴν κρίσιν ἀφείλεν καὶ ἀπέστη; LXX cf. 269 for continuation of quotation.

269 Is. 1:7 These words are assigned by Migne to "Is. 1:7 sec. LXX" However, ἀλλότριος κατεσθίουσιν are the only words that agree. cf. 268. At 720 AB the quotation of Is. 1:7 is almost verbally identical with the LXX.

270 Ps. 147:2, 3 (LXX)

271 cf. 72

272 καὶ τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ τὸ λοιπόν; cf. Mk. 1:24 τί ἡμῖν καὶ σοί; ; John 2:4 τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί; The meaning here is perhaps: Wherein have you the advantage (in the argument) over me? See the reply of Greg. Ἐὰν μίαν ὠκοδομήσατε, καὶ εἰς μίαν συνήχθητε, τί σοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ περ ἐμοί; cf. Introd. IV, 5

273 cf. 12

274 Κύριος. Cotelarius ad Barnabae Epist. cap. 12, suspicatur Κύριος impressum fuisse pro Κύρος. (author of this note not given).

275 οὐδ' οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ τῶν ἀνορέτων ^{αὐτῶν.} Not indicated as a quotation.

276 Ps. 16:4 Here οὐδ' οὐ μὴ μνησθῶ (AU), while 757B οὐδ' μὴ μνησθῶ (LXX) cf. Introd. IV, 3

277 Ps. 16:5 (LXX)

278 καὶ ἀπεφώνησαν.] Ἐκλείπει, καθ' ὑμῶν· καὶ τὸ κέριον, καὶ, παρέλκει G.

279 ἰδοὺ] ἰδοὺν, G. At nihil mutandum videtur. Sic enim paulo post, οὕτως ἰδοὺ Ἡσαΐας λέγει. This criticism of G's suggestion seems pointless. There is no need to emend ἰδοὺ. The threefold ἰδοὺ of the paragraph is appropriate in the mouth of a Jew.

280 Ps. 146:5 αὐτοῦ] Sin.^{c.a.} ῬΤωμ LXX / θεόν] + αὐτοῦ LXX.

281 Deut. 8:20 (according to Migne). The two texts have only the word ἀπολείσθε in common. It is clearly wrong to assign this to Deut. 8:20 So far as I can discover these words do not occur in Scripture. Note that they are ascribed to Moses. cf. Introd. IV, 5

282 Ps. 10:16 (LXX)

283 Deut. 32:28 (LXX) Migne omits this reference.

284 Is. 14:29 Migne reads ἡμᾶς. This should be ἐμᾶς. Otherwise (LXX)

285 A clause introduced by ἵνα or ὥστε would be more natural. Same use of ὅτι 680B, 685C, 761A. However, cf. Mt. 8:27 ποταπὸς ἔστιν οὗτος ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ ἡ θάλασσα αὐτῶν ὑπακούουσιν;

So also Lk. 8:25. The weakening of ὅτι causal to ὅτι ecclastic is Hebraistic. OT also furnishes examples: Τίς ἐγώ, ὅτι πορεύσομαι πρὸς Φαράω; Ex. 3:11

286 Jer. 15:7 (LXX)

287 ἑαυτοῖς equals σεαυτοῖς as is frequent in LXX and NT

288 κατωτέρω] This should be ἀνωτέρω. The texts which follow precede the text he has just quoted.

289 Is. 14:24, 25 24. LXX 25. με] οὐμ LXX / ἀπό 1°] Sin.^{c.} A Q * ἐπί LXX / γῆς] + τῆς LXX / ἀπό 2°] Sin A Q Γ ἐπί LXX.

290 πρὸς σπερμολόγον ἄνθρα] σπερ. does not seem to be the right word here, unless it has a use not mentioned in our lexicons. Herban generally speaks of Greg's. ability to deal with OT prophecy in terms of praise. cf. 652A

291 For ὅσα ἂν with indic., cf. 12

292 ἀπὸ γῆς ἀνατολῶν] Desunt haec, καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς δυτικῶν -G. This and the corrections of G. (293, 294) bring Zech. 8: 7, 8 into conformity with the LXX

293 αὐτῶν] Scribe αὐτοῦς Sequentia inclusa non sunt in textu. G. He refers to "into their land".

294 κατασκευώσουσιν] leg. ut in textu κατασκευώσω -G.

295 Zech. 8: 7, 8 cf. 292, 293, 294

296 ἐν κατάρα] sic LXX. Sed forte leg. cum Vulg. absque ἐν G. The editors of the LXX do not agree with G. in following the Vulg. here. cf. 297

297 εἰς εὐλογίαν] Rescribe cum LXX ἐν εὐλογία Forte hic quoque legendum εὐλογία, absque ἐν G. cf. 296

298 μετενόησαν] Scribe cum LXX, μετενόησα Sic et Vulg. -G.

299 τοῦ Θεοῦ] pro his, apud LXX, οὓς ποιήσετε -G.

300 Zech. 8: 13, 14, 15 13. εἰς εὐλογίαν] ἐν εὐλογία LXX
14. Κύριος] + Παντοκράτωρ LXX / ὑμῶν] + λέγει Κύριος Παντοκράτωρ LXX /
μετενόησαν] μετενόησα LXX 15. τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰούδα] τὴν
Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰούδα. LXX / τοῦ Θεοῦ] οὓς ποιήσετε LXX.

301 τί οὖν ἐρεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα, ὡ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος These words are not part of the quotation and should not be printed as such.

302 διαρκέσαντες] Scribe, διαρκέσθε σαυταῖς -G. διαρκέσαντες is not an impossible reading.

303 676A, B

304 Perhaps this is the meaning: Οὐκίτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, οὐκ οὐκίτι εἰ μὴ ὅποτεν παραγένηται ὁ Σ. κ.τ.λ.

305 cf. 285

306 τοῦ Ἡσαίου Non Isaias, διὰ εἶδωλ. sed Zacharias viii, 20, 21. (author of this note not given) This is correct. The words διὰ εἶδωλ. do not belong here. See Migne p. 680, n. 56

307 συνελεύ.] LXX Vat. συνελεύσονται κατοικοῦντες πέντε πόλεις εἰς μίαν πόλιν. AA. LL. κατοικοῦντες μίαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν. (author of this note not given)

308 Zech. 8: 20, 21 20. ὅτι ... κατοικοῦντες] ἔτι ... κατοικοῦντες LXX.
21. συνελεύσονται εἰς μίαν πόλιν] συνελεύσονται κατοικοῦντες πέντε πόλεις εἰς μίαν πόλιν. LXX (cf. 307) | Πορευθῶμεν πορευόμενοι, δεηθῆναι πρόσωπον Κυρίου παντοκράτορος] Πορευθῶμεν δεηθῆναι τοῦ προσώπου Κυρίου καὶ ἐκζητῆσαι τὸ πρόσωπον Κυρίου Παντοκράτορος LXX

While G. (in his notes) brings this extended quotation from Zech. (8: 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21) into conformity with the LXX he neglects to note the last of the above mentioned variations, though it is the most extensive.

309 This text is assigned to Mich. 6: 6, 7. It should be Zech 8:22 (=LXX as far as it goes). Did Greg. intentionally stop where he did? The very next words are ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ! cf. Introd. IV, 2

310 Mich. 4: 6, 7 ἡ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις] 22, 36, 57, 62, 86, 95, 114, 147, 185, 233, 238 (H+P) ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ LXX / ἀπωσμένη] Α ἔξωσμένην LXX / καλέσω οὓς] οὓς LXX 7. ὑπόλοιμα] Q ὑπόλοιμα LXX / ἰσχυρόν] Q δυνατόν LXX / ἐν Σιών] 87, 91, 97, 228, 310 (H+P) ἐν ὄρει Σειῶν LXX.

311 εἶδωλ.] Scribe, διὰ εἶδωλ. G. cf. 312

312 This is strange exegesis, especially the second half of the sentence. G's emendation (311) does not help matters much. To pass from "her that is driven out" to "the idolatry that is driven out from her" demands a reconstruction of the sentence.

313 Ἐυφρ.] Rescribe, Ἐυφραθᾶ ὀλιγοστός εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ^{ἐν Χιλ.} G. No substantial difference in meaning.

314 Mich. 5:2 ἡρούμενος after ἐξελύσεται is a reading from A; it is also found in Mt. 2:6 (where this passage is quoted), though, because of many differences, it is not likely that Greg. is quoting Mt.

315 Mich. 5:3 (not indicated as a Scriptural quotation) αὐτοῦ
αὐτοῖς... τικτούσης] αὐτοῦ... τικτούσης τεύεται LXX.

316 Printed as a Scriptural quotation, though the location is not given. The idea, of course, is thoroughly Scriptural. Presumably Greg. assigned it to Micah. Note that τεύεται which is missing in his quotation of Mich. 5:3 (315) constitutes the first word of this citation. cf. Introd. IV, 5

317 Mich. 5:4 ποῖον ἄρ' ἔσται τὸ πείνιον αὐτοῦ. These words are nowhere cited by editors of the LXX as being part of Mich. 5:4 cf. 319

318 καὶ ἴδῃ, ὅτι κ.τ.λ. I interpret ἴδῃ as a subjunc. of purpose with the conjunc. omitted.

319 Mich. 5:4 (not indicated as a Scriptural quotation) These words are the continuation in the LXX of the immediately preceding, "He shall stand and see." cf. 317

320 Mich. 5:4 τοῦ Θεοῦ] AQ om τοῦ LXX / αὐτοῦ] αὐτῶν LXX / ὑπάρξουσιν
τὰ ἔθνη] om τὰ ἔθνη LXX.

321 Except for the addition of ὁ ποιῆν καλός these are the concluding words of Mich. 5:4 (not indicated as a Scriptura quotation)

322 Greg. unnecessarily complicates the interpretation of these words. One can "look up and see with one's eyes" that Christ is magnified to the ends of the earth (εως ἀκροῦ τῆς γῆς). One can hardly observe in the same way that Christ is magnified to the end of time.

323 ὅτι ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἔξελεύσεται] This should be ὅτι Ἐκ σ. κ. εἰς.

324 "Νοῦς ὁρῶν τὸν Θεόν cf. Philo, De Praemiis et Poenis, 7; Mangey, ii, 415. So Jerome on Is. 1:3 (Israel, id est, mens videns Deum), but rejected in his Quaest. Hebr. Gen. xxxii:23" -Williams, Adversus Judaeos, p. 145, note 1 G. writes in the margin: Hoc erit in fine praemium sanctorum, and cites Aug. Civ. D. lib. 16, ch. 39, "...Israel is as much as 'seeing God', which shall come to pass in the end of the world." It seems that Aug. derives this meaning for the name from the circumstance that it was while he wrestled with the angel (God?) he was given the name Israel.

325 τὸ ἀνέσιπρον φῶς Used also with φῶς by Methodius of Patara (A. D. 312), Patr. Graeca XVIII, 209A

326 χρηματίζοντα Greg. uses this word in a variety of ways: cf. 624A, 624D, 628B, 629C, 640C, 641C, 645D, 649B, 669A, 673A, 688B, 689C, 692D, 696A, 709A, 709B, 725C, 728C, 736B, 741A, 744C, 752A, 765B

327 ἀνένευσαν cf. 253

328 ἐμπρηῶν, as if from ἐμπρηῶ, which is not found in lexicons.

329 ἀνακλήσεως the technical word for recall from exile

330 Is. 4:2, 3 2. ἐν Σιών] om LXX. 3 (LXX)

331 Is. 4:4 τὸ αἶμα Ἱερουσαλήμ] Sin.* (improv Sin.*^e) om Ἱερουσαλήμ LXX | πνεύματι 1^o] με ἐν LXX.

332 For μή with indic. cf. 98

333 ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ = ἡ πρώτη παρουσία. In NT, when used of Christ, παρουσία always refers to his second coming. This is called in eccles. writings, ἡ δευτέρα παρουσία. Trypho XL, CX, CXXI

334 Is. 1:9 In the LXX this text is in 1st person plu. wherever Greg. gives a 2nd person plu. The number is changed to conform to the context. cf Introd. IV, 2

335 Is. 1:16 λούσασθε καί] 93, 144 (H + P.) Clem. Rom. ad Corinth. Ep. 15 & Clem. Alex. p. 305. Slav. Mosq. om^{καί} LXX / μνεσθε] Γ Cyrill. Alex. vol. 1. part 1., p. 528. et al. γενεσθε LXX.

336 τὸ τῆς δικούτου ἀγαθόν. It is not clear just what this means.

337 Greg. mixes his figures somewhat.

338 ἐνφέν.] forte λουσφεν G.

339 Luke 10:1

340 The only two-thousand in the NT are the swine who were choked in the sea. Mk. 5:13

341 Mk. 6:44

342 Mk. 8:20

343 cf. 154

344 Is. 4: 5. Note that Herban makes Christ the subject of the verb ἐπεσκίασε of this text, and he changes νεφέλη (nom. and subject of ἐπεσκίασε in the LXX) to νεφέλη. In the same way in the next sentence (cf. 346) he makes Christ the subject of ἔσται, whereas ἔσται is simply used to introduce the sentence, in imitation of Heb. idiom., cf. III Kings 18: 12. In Greg.'s reply there is no clear recognition of this use of ἔσται cf. Introd. IV, 2

345 ἔκλειπων.] In textu prophetiae legitur ut infra, σκεπασθήσεται (There is no need to change σκείπων. Herban changes the future tense of the text to a past to meet the needs of the context in which he quotes. So above he changed σκιάσει to ἐπεσκίασε. cf. Introd. IV, 2 Note the analytical ἐγένετο σκεπων. The use of γίνεσθαι instead of εἶναι as an auxiliary is fairly common in LXX. A close parallel is Nb. 10: 34 ἐγένετο σκιάζουσα.

346 In what follows the reader must remember that this sentence is, with slight differences, a continuation of the previous quotation.

347 Is. 4: 4 cf. 331

348 cf. 333 for use of παρουσία.

349 cf. 285

350 Λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφήτης, ὅτι ἤξει Κύριος. ἤξει might have been indicated as a Scriptural quotation, being the beginning of Is. 4: 5, and for the argument, the most important word.

351 Is. 4: 5 This part of the text - LXX

352 σκιάσει forte ἐπεσκίασε -G. cf. 345

353 "In the second century the opinion was current that Thabor was the scene of the transfiguration, and ecclesiastical buildings in commemoration were erected from time to time on the summit. The theory is beset by the difficulty that there was a town on the summit in the days of Christ." - Davis, Dict. of the Bible, p. 757

354 νεφέλη φωτεινή, so also Mt. 17: 5 The description is odd. σκοτεινή would seem more appropriate.

355 νεφέλη ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.
These words are a Scriptural quotation, Acts 1: 9 Curiously enough, this detail is not found in the Gospels.

356 These words are assigned by Migne to Is. 6: 10. The wording does not agree with the LXX, though the thought is the same. Greg.'s version is close to that found in John 12: 40 (ascribed to Isaiah): ἐπώρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν καρδίαν] πεπώρωκεν NT (Souter's ed.) It is likely that Greg. is quoting John because a few lines below he quotes John 12: 46

357 Ps. 18:11 (LXX)

358 καπνὸς δὲ σκότος, οὐδὲν εἶασεν ἐνεργεῖν, ἢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δριμύττειν καὶ τυφλεῖν.
Another translation might be: ... has no other effect than to smart and blind the eyes. On the generalized statment, cf. 122

359 τὸν καπνὸν] ὁμολογῶν of the eyes suffering from smoke, cf. Arist. Probl. 31. 6, cf. 10. 51

360 (not indicated as a Scriptural quotation)

361 John 12: 46 (equals NT, Souter's ed.)

362 ὡς σκιά] In textu, καὶ ἔσται εἰς σκιά. Vel legendum ὡς σκιά -G. Either εἰς σκιά or ὡς σκιά must be read. For the sense, there is little difference.

363 Greg. now begins his interpretation of Is. 4: 6. All that has preceded in this paragraph dealt with verse 5.

364 "but also from chance happening...rain". I have taken a few liberties in translating, yet preserving, I believe, the essential meaning of the Greek: ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ συμπτώματος καὶ δαιμονίου κέσημβρινῶ... ὅπερ ἐστὶ σκληρότης καὶ ὑστὸς πονηρὸς.
Note that the " 'inclemency' and...rain" are the concluding words of Is. 4: 6

365 Is. 5: 2 σωρηχ] Sim* (χ improbat ut vid. Sim.^c) ΑΖΓ σωρηήκ LXX.

366 ποιήσῃ] scribe, ποιῆσαι -G. cf. 367 (4)

367 Is. 5: 2 - 4 2. φραγμὴν αὐτῶ] σὺ αὐτῶ LXX / ὑπολήνιον] προλήνιον LXX / ἐποίησε δὲ] Sim. A Q Γ Alex. Chrysost. xi. 239. Theodoret. ii. 135ν (H+P) καὶ ἐποίησεν LXX. 3. ἄνθρωποι τοῦ Ἰούδα, καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ] ἄνθρωπος... ἐνοικοῦντες Sim. A Q Z Γ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ἰούδα LXX / τῶ ἀρπελῶνι] ἀνα μέσον τοῦ ἀρπελῶνος LXX. 4. ἵνα ποιήσῃ (366) Z τοῦ ποιῆσαι LXX.

368 Note opt. in dep. question: τί δέοι γενέσθαι as in Class. Greek. Not found in Biblical Greek outside of Luke-Acts.

369 Is. 5: 5 οὖν] Q^m θ Z δέ LXX / ἀρπελῶνι] τῶ ἀρπ. LXX.

370 Is. 5: 5 This part of the text = LXX

371 Is. 5: 5 This part of the text = LXX

372 Is. 5 : 6 This part of the text = LXX

373 Is. 5: 6 This part of the text = LXX

374 Is. 5: 6 (ὥστε) χέρσον should be indicated as part of the quotation.) ἀναβήσεται] Sim. c. 6. A Q Z Γ ἀναβήσονται LXX / ἀκανθα] Sim. c. a. A Q Z Γ ἀκανθαί LXX

375 ἀφθῆ, why subjunc?

you should answer
"why subjunc?"

376 Is. 5: 6 This part of the text = LXX

377 πρηνύσας τὴν προφητείαν, μᾶλλον δὲ καθαροποιήσας.

The use of καθαροποιεῖν here (and also 692A καθαροποιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν) is not at all clear. The new Lid-Scott cites several uses of this word (not found in the old ed.) but nothing similar to what is found here.

378 Is. 5: 7 Ἰσραὴλ ἔστι] Sim. A Q (Sub $\overline{\cdot}$) Z σὺ ἔστι LXX.

379 Ps. 119: 155 σωτηρία] Sim. c. a. A R* T με η̄ LXX.

380 ἂν γένηται cf. 71

381 cf. 377

382 τοῦ Ἰσρα.] τοῦ λαοῦ Ἰσρα. -G.

383 ἀπολυμ.] ἀπολομένοις, νεκρωμένοις -G. Below, 692C, the text is quoted using ἀπωσμένοις 693C the text is paraphrased: τοὺς ἀπολυμένους τοῦ Ἰσραήλ... τοὺς ἀπωσμένοις Ἰούδα.
cf. Introd. IV, 3

but that
is not the
point

384 Is. 11: 11 - 13 11. Κύριος] Sim. A Q με δ LXX / καὶ ζητῆσαι] σὺ LXX / τοῦ Ἰσραήλ (cf. 382)] τοῦ λαοῦ LXX / slight variation in order of place-names / καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νησῶν τῆς θαλάσσης] 36, 48, 51, 67, 90, 93, 147, 233 (H+P) σὺ LXX. 12. ἀπολυμένοις] cf. 383 ἀπολομένοις LXX.

385 Is. 11: 16 In Migne this is incorrectly assigned to verse 13 $\tau\eta\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \eta\]\ \eta\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \delta\tau\epsilon\ \text{LXX.}$

386 Is. 12: 1 (LXX)

387 $\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\ \phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \dots$ As can be seen from Herban's reply, this should be $\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\ \delta\epsilon\ \phi.$ $\delta\upsilon\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \delta\epsilon\ \phi.$

388 Is. 11: 10 (LXX)

389 Is. 11: 10 (LXX) Greg. uses this text to support the divinity of Christ. Chrysostom, A Demonstration to the Jews, cap. viii, cites it as a prophecy of the glory of the Cross.

390 $\tau\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\sigma\omicron\nu\]\ \epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\upsilon\upsilon$ is not part of the text

391 cf. 303

392 These words are italicized in Migne. In general there is no uniformity in Migne in this matter. When the exact words of parts of texts are repeated, sometimes they are indicated as a quotation, then again they are not. I have followed no consistent practice either, (in the translation) other than clarity for the reader.

393 $\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu\ \eta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\eta\ \eta\ \kappa\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \omicron\upsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu.$

This looks like a paraphrase of Iliad 13. 636: $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \kappa\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \upsilon\pi\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \phi\iota\lambda\omicron\gamma\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma.$

394 $\pi\omicron\iota\alpha\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\]\ \pi\omicron\iota\alpha\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ -G. The parenthetic nom. in expressions of time found also in NT, cf. Mt. 15: 32, Mk. 8: 2, Lk. 9: 28 "The case has a certain tendency to be residuary legatee of case-relations not obviously appropriated by other cases." -Moulton, Prolegomena, p. 69

395 $\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma,$ while in the next sentence $\epsilon\iota\ \dots\ \epsilon\iota\ \pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma.$

$\epsilon\iota$ and the subjunc. is common in Homer, rarer in Class. Greek and common again in Hellenistic Greek. Contrary to expectation, it is rare in LXX and NT. cf. Phil. 3: 11 $\epsilon\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\tau\eta\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\nu\ \epsilon\zeta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\nu.$ ($\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\tau\eta\gamma\omega$ is probably subjunc. $\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\ \kappa\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega$ $\phi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ immediately).

396 cf. 71

397 Is. 11:11 cf. Introd. IV, 3

398 $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \dots\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\alpha\iota,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\tau\eta\delta\alpha\iota,$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ with the infin. of another verb is a common Heb. It is found in this sentence because the form of the sentence is determined by the immediately preceding text (Is. 11: 11) There it is $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \dots\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\tau\eta\epsilon\iota.$

399 $\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$ The use here of $\epsilon\iota\kappa\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\nu$ is somewhat unusual. Yet, cf. "fall headlong", $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ Euripides, Phoenissae, 1268. cf. also 253

400 Ancient Hebrew lit. recognizes only 4 winds. However, cf. Enoch. 76:1 sq., "At the ends of the earth I ~~was~~^{have} twelve doors opened toward all the quarters of heaven, and the winds came forth from them, and blew over the earth."

401 Ps. 86: 17 (LXX)

402 τοῦ λαοῦ, cf. 382

403 τούτους νόμους κτλ.] νόμους should be μόνους, which is also found in the conclusion to Greg.'s reply, 696A

404 Greg. claims that the true Christian must obey the law, (καὶ τὸν νόμον καλῶς τηροῦντας 693B). In spite of this, Herban, as one would expect, continues to assume that to accept Christianity is to disregard the law. Greg.'s next speech is a reply to this assumption. He points out:

- 1) that the Christian must keep the law, or he is a Christian in name only;
- 2) that the Jews who failed to accept Christianity, never had kept the law either, and that therefore God had hardened their hearts;
- 3) that only the Jews who kept the law deserved the name "people of God" or "Israel" or "Judah". Hence, the prophecy, "He shall seek the remnant of his people," does not mean his people 'without qualification (καθολικῶς), but only the perfect who keep the law. He refuses to admit that keeping the law is incompatible with believing in Christ.

405 Deut. 27: 26 (the footnote in Migne should be 37, not 36)
... ἐκρίνει ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτὰ] ἐκρίνει ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ νόμου τούτου ποιῆσαι αὐτούς. LXX

There is some reason for thinking that Greg. is quoting Gal. 3: 10, rather than Deut., and that a copyist's error accounts for the missing words (which should precede ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ πᾶσιν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις).

406 ἀχριστιανοί. this compound not found in the lexicons.

407 Ὅσοι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἐφύλασσον... εἰδὼς ὁ θεός...
The nom. absol. is also found in the LXX, cf. Nb. 22: 24
καὶ ἔστη ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς εὐλαξίν των ἀμπέλων, φραγκὸς ἐντεῦθεν καὶ φραγκὸς ἐντεῦθεν.
cf. also Nb. 24: 4

408 πιστεύσαντες] πιστεύσαντας et mox ὠφέλησεν -G.
These changes are essential if the sentence is to mean anything.

409 ἔγνωε] forte ἐπήγαγε. -G. The text is satisfactory and there is no need to emend.

410 of ἐχθροί] scribe, καὶ οἱ ἐχθροί -G. Instead of making this change, I remove τίνες from the preceding line. The leaves the quotation unbroken.

411 i.e. prior to the split between Israel and Judah. Ephraim had always insisted that it was the sovereign tribe and had never become reconciled to the passing of the sceptre to Judah in the person of David (II Sam. 2: 8ff). When the split finally came between Israel and Judah in the days of Rehoboam, Ephraim played a leading part, and maintained its hegemony for the next two hundred and fifty years, until Israel was destroyed by the Assyrians.

412 ἦγουν τοῦ Δαβὶδ βασιλείαν ἐκέκτητο. A comma after βασιλείαν is quite essential.

413 ὁπόταν... ἀνέβη Indefinite in form but definite in meaning. cf. Mk. 2: 20, and 12

414 Up to this point the sentence is substantially Is. 7: 1

415 Is. 7: 7 (LXX)

416 Is. 7: 8 Note the curious variation from the LXX: ἔτι ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε] ἔτι ἐξήκοντα καὶ πέντε ἔτων - LXX.

417 Is. 11: 16 cf. 385

418 κρείττονα] forte κρείττον εἶναι G. This makes good sense.

419 γενόμεθα] forte γενοίμεθα -G. The past potential cannot be allowed here. It would imply that they had already solved the question in dispute, whereas Herban's criticism here is that because of their allegorical method they have not reached their goal.

420 cf. 53

421 Ezek. 36: 24-28 24. γενεῶν] γαιῶν LXX. 25. καθαριῶ] 22, 231, 239, 306 (H+P) Greg. Nyss. iii. 377 καὶ καθαριῶ LXX. The comma after ἀκαθαρσιῶν ἁρῶν accounts for Greg's reading. 26. πνεῦμα καιρὸν δώσω ὑμῖν] 26, 49, 90, 106, 147 (H+P) Athan. 1.525, Hildyml. de Trin. p. 116. 188 πνεῦμα καιρὸν δώσω ἐν ὑμῖν. LXX. δώσω ἐν ὑμῖν καρδίαν] δώσω ὑμῖν καρδίαν. LXX. 27. πνεῦμα] 147 (H+P) τὸ πνεῦμα μου LXX. πορεύεσθαι] ἵνα... πορεύησθε LXX [φυλάξεσθε] φυλάξεσθε καὶ ποιήσητε. LXX. 28. = LXX.

422 Εἰ τοῖουτο εὐ λέγει ὁ προφήτης οὕτως, ἀπόφοι λόγοι. I place a mark of interrogation after οὕτως. In Biblical Greek ἰ is common as a direct interrogative particle. However Jannaris (Hist. Grk. Gr. 2055) claims that it is nothing but an itacistic misspelling for the colloquial ἦ. So also, Souter, Pocket Lexicon.

423 καθαρά μαρτυρία. It is not at all clear what Herban means by these words. μαρτυρία is the characteristic word for "testimony" to the truth of Christianity.

424 καθαριῶ ὑμᾶς ἐκ παντῶν τῶν εἰδῶλων ὑμῶν. Compare this with the same text above 697B, καὶ ἀπὸ παντῶν τῶν εἰδῶλων ὑμῶν καθαριῶ ὑμᾶς

cf. Introd. IV, 3

425 τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἅγιον forte τῷ θεῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ -G. λατρεύειν is regularly construed with the dative, cf. 615

426 ἀθροίσειν, κατοικοιεῖ, optative in dir. ques. is unusual. (for indir. ques. cf. 368)

427 cf. 426

428 τίς γὰρ κοινωνία ἔθνεσι πρὸς Ἑβραίους; cf. 2Cor. 6: 14 τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος;) The implied answer is: Nothing. There is such a wide gap between Hebrews and Gentiles that prophecies pertaining to Hebrews cannot possibly be applied to Gentiles. cf. Introd. IV, 5

429 I place a mark of interrogation after this sentence.

430 Εἰρηκας. Herban asked, not stated this.

431 cf. 430

432 This is not an exact statement of Herban's question. If this is what Herban meant, he would have asked above (700A): ἔθνη κατοικοιεῖ ἐν τῇ γῆ τῶν πατέρων ἐκείνων; (κατ' αὐτῶν).

433 ἐμέλετό μοι, ἐμελέ μοι -G. The middle can stand. For omission of ἀν, cf. 100

434 Gen. 12: 3 ... πάντα τὰ ἔθνη] πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. LXX. cf. 9 (625A) where the quotation of this text corresponds exactly to the LXX. cf/Introd. IV, 3

435 cf. 430

436 Is. 66: 18, 19 18. Ἴδοὺ συναγαγεῖν ἔρχομαι] 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 144, 233 (H) ἔρχομαι συναγαγεῖν LXX.

437 καὶ Φουδ, καὶ Λουδ, καὶ Μοσοχ. -G.

438 αἱ οὐκ ἄκ. μου τὴν δοξ. LXX οἱ οὐκ ἄκ. μου τὸ ὄνομα, οὐδὲ ἑωράκασι μου τὴν δοξάν. - β.

439 Is. 66: 19, 20 19. cf. 437, 438 20. τοὺς ἀδελφούς] LXX, few lines below τοὺς ἀδελφούς τοῦς cf. Introd. IV, 3

440 τῆς παρ.] ὅτι περὶ τῆς παρ. -G.

441 cf. 430

442 ζεῖ.] ζῆ -G. Confusion between ζῖ, ηι, η is common. On the expression ζεῖ (ζῆ) Κύριος ὁ Θεός, cf. I Kings 25: 26 ζῆ Κύριος καὶ ζῆ ἡ ψυχὴ σου.

443 cf. 154

444 Is. 65: 9 τὸ 2^ο] Sin. A Q om LXX.

445 ἀποδηφόμεθα ἀν] ἀν with a future indic. as in Homer. Rare in Attic prose. Found in Tatian.

446 Is. 66: 20, 21 This is a continuation of what Greg. quoted above, (700C). The first sentence here is the conclusion to verse 20. Greg. has seriously changed this part of the text, (to suit his argument). The text runs, "They shall bring your brethren out of all nations...as the children of Israel bring their sacrifices to me ... (so both the LXX and the Heb.) cf. Introd. IV, 2

447 Is. 66: 22 ἔσται] γάρ LXX / κένειν] 22, 26, 36, 48, 62, 301 (H+P) κένει LXX.

448 κῆνα] κῆν -G. LXX tamen ex cod. Alex. habent κῆνα (the author of this comment on G's correction is not given). G., of course, was wrong. The word is not subject of ἔσται but accus. of 'time when'. The use of the accus. in this construction is not unknown in Class. Greek and become more frequent in the Hellenistic period. cf. John 4: 52 Χθὲς ὡραν ἰβδόμην ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ὁ πυρετός.

449 αἱ ἀναστάσεις καὶ ἡμέραι (the day of the resurrection of Christ), Sundays. Eus. V, 213C, Basil. IV, 192A

450 προσκ.] τοῦ προσκ. -G. Deest quoque τοῦ in cod. Alex. (for this comment on G., cf. 448)

451 Is. 66: 23 cf. 450

452 ἀνόντε] scribe ἀσύνετε -G. I do not see any reason for G's correction.

453 Οὐ συναλλάξεις... οὐ πραγματεύσῃ... οὐ φάγῃς... οὐ πίῃς. Note the change from the jussive future (συναλλάξεις) to aorist subjunc. The οὐ with συναλλάξεις is regular, with the subjunctives they may be due to analogy.

454 This, of course, is not a Scriptural quotation.

455 Is. 66: 24

456 προκατοικησάντων. This compound found only in the new Lid-Scott, where Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae, 1.6.1 is cited.

457 Is. 66: 24 τὰς ἐντολάς] ἐν ἐμοί LXX / γαρ] om LXX.

458 ὅταν ἀκούης. For ὅταν with indic., cf. 648A, 625C (12) ✓

459 Is. 66: 18 cf. 436

460 αἱ ἐβδ.] scribe, καὶ αἱ ἐβδ. -G. The connective may be inserted here, but it is more to the point to insert it a few lines below before τοὺς ἀπιστήσαντας.

461 ταλαρίζοντες] scribe ταλαρίζοντας -G.

462 ὄνωπα, πεφίμωσο. The same found in Mk. 4: 39. The rare perfect imperative indicates that what has been commanded is to continue in its effects: "Be still and remain so."

463 cf. 701A

464 Is. 65: 9 cf. 444

465 ἀλλὰ τό] ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ -G. The change is not obligatory.

466 ἐγκενστρισθέντος. The usual spelling is ἐγκεντρισθέντος.

467 Ἐξάξει δὲ αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ τῆδε βίου... This could mean several things.

468 Χεὺς τῆς γῆς ὄν καὶ τέφρα. τέφρας would be better.

469 Μέγα ἔργαστήριον πεπλησμένον πολλῆς ὀλκῆς ῥημάτων ὁ Χριστιανοὶ εὐράμενοι, πρόμαχον ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου κεκαθήκασι φοβερός γὰρ εἴ διαστροφὰς ῥημάτων

1) πολλῆς ὀλ. ῥημ. the expression looks like an imitation of tractus orationis lenis et aequabilis, Cic. de Or. 2, 13, 54 or cetera continuo magis orationis tractu, Quint, 5, 8, 2.

2) εὐράμενοι. 1st aor. termination on a 2nd aor. stem

3) The sentence really requires the pronoun σέ.

4) πρόμαχον = προμαχεῖν, as in Procopius (contemporary of Greg.) III, 316, 14

470 ῥήμασιν] scribe ἄμμασιν -G. I can see no need for this change.

471 εἶδον] LXX εἶδοσαν -G.

472 Is. 41: 4, 5, 6 4. (=LXX) 5. εἶδον (471)] 22, 36, 48, 51, 62, 90, 144, 147, 233, 308 (H+P) εἶδοσαν LXX / γῆς ἐξέστησαν] (ἡ γῆς ἐξέστησαν LXX. 6. τὸν πλησίον 26, 199 (H+P) τῷ πλησίον LXX / τῷ ἀδελφῷ] καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ LXX.

473 τὸν πλ. scribe κρίνον τὸν πλ. (author of this note not given). This correction is inevitable; cf. previous text κρίνων τὸν πλησίον.

474 This would appear to be the meaning of this difficult sentence: "κρίνων ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον, ὡς θῆσα, τῷ ἀδελφῷ" (95.41.6) "let each judge his neighbor (= his brother) charitably, and let him not despise the royal priesthood."

475 ἔξουθενισκίμων εἶναι, for the analytical tense, cf. 3

476 τύπτων, σφύραν ἄμα, LXX Alex. τύπτων (author not given)

477 ἴσχυσεν.] scribe ἴσχύρωσαν (ut apud LXX). Mox καμώντες non est in textu Gr. -G. G. should have written καμώντες ἐν τῇ γῆ.

478 Is. 41: 7 σφύραν (476) σφύρω LXX/τότε] Α ποτέ LXX/ἴσχυεν (477)] ἴσχύρωσαν LXX/καμώντες ἐν τῇ γῆ (477) om LXX.

479 ἐπ' ἄκρ.] scribe ἀπ' ἄκρου, juxta LXX. Sic enim paulo post et hic, c. (author not given)

480 Μὴ φοβοῦ] scribe (juxta LXX) καὶ εἶπά σοι Παῖς μου εἶ, ἐξελεξάμην σε, καὶ οὐκ ἐγκατέλιπόν σε. Μὴ φοβοῦ. κτλ.

481 Is. 41: 8, 9, 10 8. LXX 9. ἐπί (479)] ἀπό LXX (for omission of concluding words of 9, cf. 480. 10. μου τῇ δικαίᾳ] τῇ δικαίᾳ του LXX.

482 ζέσεως. The meaning "ardor" might have been added in Lid-Scott (new ed.) cf. Dexipp. 16, 20

483 παρωνήκασι.] scribe παραρομήσασι -G. LXX (this last seems to have been added by a later hand)

484 ὁ θεός, ὁ λυτρ.] scribe ὁ θεός σου, ὁ λυτρ. -G. Ita quidem LXX, cod. Vat. at Alex. at hic, ὁ θεός, ὁ λυτρ.

485 Is. 41: 10 - 14 ἡ ἀντίδικοι] ἀντικείμενοι LXX (Greg. perhaps wrote ἀντίδικοι from its occurrence later in this text - not quoted by him; note that 708 C (504) he writes ἀντικείμενοι) 12. εὐρήσεις] Q^a εὐρήσεις LXX/παρωνήκασι σε (483)] παρωνήσουσιν εἰς σέ LXX. 13. LXX 14. σκώληξ] Symmachus om LXX/ὀλιγοστοί] ὀλιγοστός LXX/ὁ ἅγιος] Q^{mg} om LXX.

486 οὐδαμοῦ] forte οὐδαμῶς -G.

487 Is. 41: 8 (LXX)

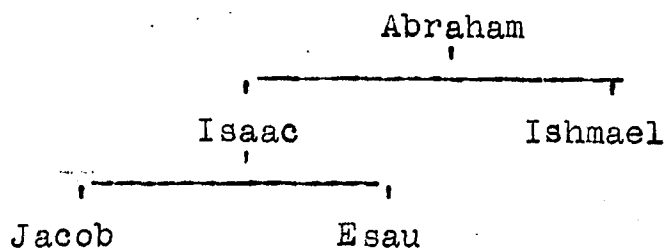
488 ἔρηκο βάττυς, not found in Lid-Scott (new ed.) They only cite ἔρηκο βάττης. Found in Soph's Lex. where this passage is cited. The meaning here is perhaps that Herban like the Jews of old is still wandering in the desert, i.e., he has not yet come into the land of promise (Christ).

489 περιρρέμ βαζου - the old Lid-Scott (8th ed.) gives this spelling as Eccl. The new ed. gives only περιρρέμ βομαι. Soph's Lex. gives only περιρρέμ βάζομαι and cites this passage. As for its use here, - there is perhaps a participle lacking, cf. κὶ περιρρέμ βου (sic) ζητοῦσα θεόν - Zos. Alch. p. 244B (cited in the New Lid-Scott) ἐνωτιζόμενος (above) cannot very well be construed with περιρρέμ βαζου.

490 εὐρῆς] forte ἐρεῖς (sic et paulo post) -G.

491 Ἰσαάκ] forte ὡς Ἰσαάκ -G.

492 ἐπειδὴ Ἰσραήλ ἐξ Ἀβραὰμ ὡς Ἰσαάκ ἔφϋ. I place these words in the sentence that follows, where it seems to me they logically belong. Herban might say that though Christ came from Abraham, yet his descent is by way of Ishmael.



493 cf. 490

494 Is. 41: 10 On the omission here (and the inclusion above, 705A) of *Μὴ πλανῶ*, cf. *Introduct. IV, 3*

495 On the ecbatic use of *ὅτι*, cf. 285

496 ἀν... κέκτησθε. The ἀν seems wrong. The point of the result clause must be that they do not possess the strength of a mosquito, not that they would not have possessed, etc. Unless the meaning be, you could not bite your enemies (if you desired).

497 ἀπειθεία] forte εὐπειθεία -G.

498 I have made all the nouns here dative, parallel to *πράγματι*. The omission of the iota-subscript is a common typographical error.

499 ἴδεγωσαν. the termination -σαν for 3rd person plural imperative is common in Hellenistic Greek.

500 *Χρηματίζεται*] forte *Χρηματίζει* -G. I would accept this emendation and construe it with *τεταπεινωμένος* as an analytical tense. cf. 3 (note that in the next sentence *κρηματίζετε* does double duty, first with *ὀλιγοί* and then with *κεκτημένοι*).

501 ἀκρεῖς] forte ἀκρίφες -G. It is obvious that ἀκρεῖς will not do. However, ἀκρίφες doesn't seem to be entirely satisfactory.

502 The enumeration of verbs, (not all of which are to be found in Is. 41: 8 - 14 - which is the passage under discussion), is intended by Greg. to be a summary of his argument that the prophet refers to Christ, not to the Jews.

503 cf. 483

504 Is. 41: 11 Here Greg. uses ἀντικείμενοι (LXX), above
705A, ἀντικείμενοι, cf. Introd. IV, 3

505 λογοτριβῶν. Not found in the lexicons.

506 ὀφθαλμοὺς... νοερούς. The combination is rare, yet appropriate

507 ἐφ' ᾧ. This combination has a variety of meanings. Here
it equals ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ὅ, τι.

508 Is. 41: 10 On the difference between the wording here
and 705A, cf. Introd. IV, 3

509 Is. 41: 4 This had been quoted by Herban, 704C

510 τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας. οἰκονομία = "dispensation", applied to
the Incarnation and the concomitants thereof. cf. 728

511 This looks like a nonsequitur.

512 cf. τὸ ἀγρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Orig. I, 697A

513 ἐπεὶ belongs with ἔβουλετο rather than with εἰρήκαμεν.

514 Is. 45: 11 φησί] λέγει LXX / ὁ πλάσας αὐτόν] ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσραήλ LXX.

515 Is. 45: 13 (LXX)

516 Is. 45: 13 (LXX)

517 Is. 45: 13 (LXX)

518 Is. 45: 13 (LXX)

519 Is. 45: 14 φησί] λέγει LXX / Σαββανῶν] Σαβαεὶμ LXX / ἀναβήσονται]
διαβήσονται LXX.

520 προσκ. σε] προσκ. σοι G.

521 Is. 45: 14 σε 2° (520)] σοι LXX.

522 Is. 45: 14

523 Is. 45: 15 εἶδομεν] ἤδειμεν LXX.

524 Is. 45: 15 ὁ Σωτήρ] Sin. AQ om LXX

525 Is. 45: 16 πάντες] ἢ καὶ ἐντραπήσονται LXX

526 Is. 45: 16 οὗτοι] om LXX.

527 Μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι — cautious assertion, cf. ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο οὐ
καθῶς ἤμολογῆσαμεν, Plato, Meno 89C

528 This text is incorrectly assigned (in Migne) to Deut. 4: 26. So far as my investigation has gone, these words are found nowhere in the OT. (Williams, Adversus Judaeos, p. 145 uncritically follows Migne in assigning this text to Deut. 4: 26. cf. 720) Furthermore, there are two linguistic peculiarities here:

1) Διακαρτύρομαι οὖν ὑμῖν, τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὅς ἐστι σήμερον ...

These last words - ὅς ἐστι σήμερον - what sense do they make?

2) ὑποκληθῆναι - apparently from ὑποκαλέω, a word not found in the lexicons.

cf. 617 and Introd. IV, 5. See next page for supplementary note.

529 As the form ἀδυνατῶ shows, this is direct discourse and should have been printed, ὅτι Νεωτέρω Θεῶ ...

530 ἀδυνατῶ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι. The gen. inf. equal to the 'prolative inf.' of Lat. grammar is common in the LXX, cf. οὐκ ἠδυνάσθηεν τοῦ βλέπειν, Ps. 39: 13

531 εἰάν δε μὴ ἐπίσταται. For εἰάν with the indic., cf. 12 (found also in the next sentence.)

532 ἐπιστήρη. Perhaps here in the ecclesiastical sense of discipline, order: ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἐπιστ., church-disciple, Eus. II, 620A. (The mark of interrogation should be placed after this word in Migne.)

533 αὐτοῦ] leg. αὐτῶν G. αὐτῶν is found in the quotation of this text, 628B, cf. Introd. IV, 3

534 Ps. 33: 6 (incorrectly given in Migne as verse 36) (LXX)

535 ἐπεὶ.] ἔτι G. I am inclined to think that ἐπεὶ is correct here. "By a natural ellipsis, ἐπεὶ sometimes has virtually the force of although or and yet." GMT, 719, 2 (to the examples cited there, add, Euth. 4 c 3, 9 b 5; Apol. 19 e 1

536 Is. 28: 16 πολυγελῆ] + ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντικον, εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς. LXX εἰς αὐτὸν] εἰσεβ. om LXX / οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται] εἰσεβ. Theodoret iii. 113 οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῆ LXX

The form of this text is perhaps influenced by the NT quotation of it, Rom. 9: 33 ἐπ' αὐτῷ and καταισχυνθήσεται. Cyprian, Ad Quirinum (Liber Testimoniorum), Bk. II. 16 begins his discussion of "That Christ also is called a Stone," with this passage.

537 τῷ Θεῷ - περοργίζη, κελεύοντός σου. τὸν Θεὸν - παροργίζει, κελεύοντί σε vel κελεύοντα. - ζ. The only correction demanded is κελεύοντί σε.

538 σκληροτράχηλοι τῆ καρδίᾳ - a double and mixed figure.

539 ἀπερίτρητοι τοῖς ὠσίν. For the figure, cf. Jer. 6: 10 ἰδοὺ ἀπερίτρητα τὰ ὠτα αὐτῶν.

540 τίς ἀθροίσει κορυφαῖ ῥήματα ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄκμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τῆς θαλάσσης.

I am not entirely satisfied with the translation. Τέ' or α' after ῥήματα would make my version more legitimate.

Swete, Introduction To The OT, p. 412, says of the Epistle of Barnabas:

The writer is fairly exact in well-known contexts belonging to the Psalter or the Book of Isaiah, but elsewhere he appears to trust to memory, and not to concern himself greatly about the words of his author. Even when preceded by a formula citandi his citations often wander far from the LXX, although they are clearly based upon it; e.g. Ex. 33, 1-3 is quoted... Similar liberties are taken even when the writer mentions the book which he is quoting: x. 2 Μωυσῆς... λέγει αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ καὶ διαθήσομαι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον τὰ δικαιώματά μου -
- a sentence which, though it has all the notes of a strict quotation, proves to be a mere summary of Deut. iv. 1-23

Is this not a surprisingly close parallel to Gregentius 712C, where Deut. iv. 26sq is given in summary?

Gregentius

Μωυσῆς ἤκιν ἐν τῇ Πεντατεύχῳ παραγγέλλει λέγων· Ἐπίσταμαι ἐγὼ, φησὶν ὅτι ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων διασκορπισθήσεσθε ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι. Διακαρτύρομαι οὖν ὑμῖν, τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὃς ἐστὶ σήμερον, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν γῆν, κη πεισθήναι θεῶ ἑτέρῳ ὑποκλῆθῆναι, παρὲξ Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

LXX

ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν (30).
διὰτιπερὶ Κύριος ὑμᾶς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (27).
διακαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν σήμερον τὸν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν (26)
λατρεύετε ἐκεῖ θεοῖς ἑτέροις (28).

The LXX says, "The Lord will scatter you because you will apostasize." Gregentius, "The Lord will scatter you and do not apostasize." Gregentius has changed a curse to a warning, and this warning he interprets as meaning that they should not accept the God of the Christians.

This instance is entirely unique in the Dialogue. Herban usually quotes correctly (substantially) and then proceeds to exegete to his own purpose. Here he has transposed and omitted words and phrases to produce his point of view in the very quoting of Scripture.

(continued on next page)

1) but cf. 446

In this connection I should like to recall the reader to a previous assertion (not a Scriptural quotation) also of Herban. At 649B Herban says:

Moses the prophet, (if you have read the Pentateuch), has laid on us the sons of Israel very great curses, from God and the angels and the saints, placing also all the elements under heaven under a curse, if ever we hearken to another God besides the god of our fathers.

At this point in the Commentary I referred to Deut. 28: 15sq, but it is clear that there are matters in Herban's statement which cannot be assigned to that passage in Deuteronomy, nor, for that matter, to any part of either the Old or the New Testament. And yet, as with the Scriptural passage which we assign provisionally to Deut. 4: 26sq, there is the explicit attributing of the curse to Moses and the Pentateuch! Professor Bonner rather inclines to the hypothesis that the first of the two passages may be a fragment from the lost Testament of Moses.

541 ἐπὶ τῆς βάρου. So Mk. 12: 26; ἐπὶ τῆς βάρου Lk. 20: 37

542 Ex. 3: 7, equals LXX up to Ἀιγύπτῳ, the rest is verse 8. This should have been indicated in Migne.
τοῦ ἐξελεῖσθαι] Ἐστω τοῦ LXX.

543 Ex. 33: 13 The form of the text given here is unintelligible. I would suggest the following: Εἰ εὐρον... δεῖξον μοι...
ἵνα γινῶ ὅτι λαός... This would approximate the LXX. cf. also the rendering 660A. cf. Introd. IV, 3

544 God passed by while Moses was covered in a cleft of a rock. Ex. 33: 22

545 cf. Numbers 22, 23, 24 for the story of Balaam. According to the Scriptural account, it was not "because he saw that they were the people of God" that he blessed rather than cursed. It is repeatedly stated that he could not do otherwise. Numbers 23: 20 is typical: "Behold, I have received commandment to bless: and he hath blessed; and I cannot reverse it."

546 Strictly, Joshua did not "say to the greatest heavenly bodies." His words were addressed to God, as can be seen from Στήτι.

547 Joshua 10: 13 The same incident is used by Greg. 637C for an entirely different purpose.

548 φειδῶ] φειδομέρος. -G.

549 Ps. 74: 2 (LXX)

550 φειδοῖ] φείδου -G.

551 I Kings 18: 17 Φειδοῖ (550) τοῦ λαοῦ. σὺ εἶ ὁ διαστρέφων τὸν Ἰσραήλ, καὶ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ πατρός σου;] Εἰ σὺ εἶ αὐτὸς ὁ διαστρέφων τὸν Ἰσραήλ; LXX.

552 Hoc non invenitur in versione LXX. -G. I have not been able to locate it. The οὐκ preceding ὀδυνώμενος seems to give quite the opposite of what is expected.

553 Jer. 31: 7 (38: 7 -LXX) Οἴκοι, κύριε, ἀπολέσεις σὺ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ;]
~~The agrees quite well with AV, but not so well with LXX:~~
"Ἐσωσεν κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸ κατὰ λοιπὸν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ."

554 ὅτι ἀπεσχ. LXX ὅτι ἀνέσχου ἡμῶν; -G.

555 Is. 63: 15-17 15. σου] + καὶ οἰκτιρικῶν σου LXX / ἀπέσχον ἡμῶν (534)] ἀνέσχου ἡμῶν LXX. 16. ἀρχῆς [κύριε] σὺ κύριε LXX. 17. ἡμᾶς] + κύριε LXX.

556 σαφίνισον] σαφνίσω -G.

557 Is. 1: 2 (LXX)

558 ἵνα συνιῆς καὶ ἰλιγγιάσεις. Note the present and the future indic. after ἵνα. Instances of the future indic. occur in both OT and NT: Gen. 16: 2; III Kings 2: 3, I Cor. 9: 18, Gal. 2: 4; common in Revelation - 3: 9, 6: 4, 8: 3, etc. The pres. indic. is rare, cf. I Cor. 4: 6, Gal. 1: 17. cf. also 764C ἵνα... προδεκόπτε... ἐπίστεινον... ἐσώζοντο.

559 ἄνθρωπον πριάμενον. Hujus modi scholion, sive ingenio amanuensis, sive alii versionum editioni acceptum referatur, absurdum certe atque absonum. Wesseling., Epist. de Aquilae in Script. Philon. Jud. fragment., pag. 24. (author of this note not given)

560 Is. 1: 3 συνῆκε after τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοῦ anticipates the συνῆκεν at the end of the verse. The intervention of ἄνθρωπον πριάμενον (559) perhaps made ἔγνω too far removed to serve as the verb of ὄνος. Apart from this, it = LXX. cf. Introd. IV, 2

561 κτηνῶν] κτηνῶν φάτην -G. φάτην is quite obviously necessary as the antecedent of εἰς ἡν.

562 The meaning is not clear. Perhaps Greg. refers to the eucharist, which was one of the "mysteries" (recognized by Saint Theodorus Studites - 1524B) The feeding of the cattle at the crib, in that case, would symbolize the Christian eucharist. This explanation, however, is of no service in dealing with the sentence two lines below, beginning also Ὁρᾶς μυστήριον. A simpler explanation, adaptable to both sentences, would rest on a modern meaning of mystery, - "a seeming contradiction". (I doubt whether μυστήριον is ever so used). The "mystery" then would be that animals know the hand that feeds them, whereas Israel does not; hence (the second μυστήριον), Israel is "more lacking in comprehension than cattle."

563 ἀνομιῶν] ἀκαρτιῶν -G. ἀνομιῶν is by no means an impossible reading; it perhaps is due to the ἀνομοί which follows (ἐπέγρα πονηρόν, υἱοὶ ἀνομοί) cf. Introd. IV, 2

564 Is. 1: 4 cf. 563 Apart from what is there mentioned, = LXX.

565 υἱοὶ ἀνομοί not indicated as a Scriptural quotation.

566 τὴν ἄρνησιν. This does not seem to be the right word. But see the next sentence, where forsaking the Lord is explained as "denying him who came into your midst as man."

567 ἐπλήρητε - not indicated as a Scriptural quotation. (Is. 1:5)

568 Is. 1: 5 (LXX).

569 διὰ τὸ πληθύνεσθαι τὴν ἀνομίαν, καὶ φυγῆναι ἐν ἤρῃ τὴν ἀγάπην τῶν πολλῶν. With this, cf. Matt. 24: 12 διὰ τὸ πληθύνεσθαι τὴν ἀνομίαν φυγῆται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν. cf. Introd. IV, 5

570 ἐπ' αὐτοῖς] scribe ἐν αὐτῷ -G. Praecedens αὐτῶν et subsequentia ἐν κέρει , desunt apud LXX. Hunc locum aliter effert Vulgata, et quidem multo planiorem. (author of this note not given)

571 Is. 1: 6 κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν] om αὐτῶν LXX / οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς (570) ὁλοκληρία]
Cmg Orig. ii. 569 Cynell. Alex. ii. 695 (H+P) om LXX / Τραῦμα ἐν κέρει] om ἐν κέρει LXX /
φλεγκαίνουσα ἐν πέρατι τοῦ σώματος] om ἐν περ. τ. σώμ. LXX.

572 Is. 1: 6 Not indicated as a Scriptural quotation.

573 κατὰ δσοκοῦ] καταδέσφους -G. (note that οὐκ ἔστι... ποιῆσαι, should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation, -concluding words of Is. 1: 6)

574 Is. 1: 7

575 σκηνώματα. Tropically, = σκῆνος , the earthly tabernacle, body.

576 Is. 1: 7 (LXX)

577 συνδυάσασιν not found in the lexicons.

578 κατ.] κατ. αὐτήν -G.

579 Is. 1: 7 κατεσφίουσιν (578)] + αὐτήν LXX / κατεσκαμμένη] κατεστραμμένη LXX

580 ὀσόραι] scribe εἴσομαι -G.

581 Is. 1: 8 (LXX)

582 ἐπινοήσας] scribe ἐπένοησε -G. A finite verb is needed.

583 οἴση] Scribe εἴση τά -G.

584 Is. 1: 9 On the variations from the LXX, cf. Introd. IV, 2

585 ἀνασπαρθεῖ Not found in the lexicons.

586 ἑαυτοῖς ■ σεαυτοῖς Common in NT

587 εἰ μὴ ἐγκατέλιπεν κ.τ.λ. Above, 721A καὶ εἰ μὴ Κύριος ἐγκατέλιπεν. cf. Introd. IV, 3

588 684C

589 περὶ τὸν Ἰσρ.] scribe περὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰσρ. -G. The change is not obligatory.

590 λόγον] scribe λόγον κυρίου Mox post Σοδόμων , adde, προσέχετε νόμον θεοῦ, ὁ λαὸς Βαβυλῶνας -G. G. is wrong here. Greg. intentionally omits the rest of the text and says, ἐπίστασαι. (cf. the translation)

591 Is. 1: 10 λόγον] + Κυρίου LXX (570)

592 Is. 1: 11 (LXX)

593 Is. 1: 11, 12 (LXX)

594 βα βαὶ τοῦ μέσους.

595 Τίς γάρ... οὐ προσθήσειθε. In editione Parisiensi Gulonii tum hic, tum paulo post, male habitum hunc Isaiae locum resituimus ex LXX Sixtino exemplari; ex quo etiam sic reformandus interpretis: Quis enim exquisivit haec de manibus vestris? Calcere atrium meum non apponetis. (author of this note not given)

596 Is. 1: 12 (LXX)

597 The mark of interrogation in Migne should be removed.

598 Ps. 147: 2 ὁκοδοκῶν] + Ἱερουσαλήμ LXX, and thus 676A, cf. Introd. IV, 1

599 Is. 1: 13, 14 (LXX) cf. 631

600 Νηστεία, καὶ ἀργία. These words which are part of Is. 1: 14 were omitted by Greg. when he quoted the text above. cf. Introd. IV, 1

601 Νηστείαν... πλησμονήν. These words should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation, being part of Is. 1: 14

602 Ἰουδαϊκοῖς χαρακτῆρσι. A use of χαρακτήρ (Lat. ritus) not cited in the lexicons.

603 Imaginative words put into the mouth of God by Greg.

604 Is. 1: 14 Not indicated as a Scriptural quotation in Migne.

605 βάρος. The lexicons cite nothing parallel to the use here of this word.

606 εἶπης] scribe εἶπη -G.

607 δεῖξω εἰς σέ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν. The usual construction is ἐκδίκησιν ποιῆσαι τινος.

608 Is. 1: 15 Note that the form of the text as given here by Greg. differs from the LXX because of the context, in which it is cited. LXX: Ὅταν ἐκτείνητε Here ὅταν ἀσπῆ, τὰς χ... ἐκτενεῖτε. Note also that Greg. has πρὸς με, agreeing with SinaQ¹ against the LXX. cf. Introd. IV, 2 and 632.

609 καὶ τὸ ἰδιοπισμὸν καὶ γογγυστικὸν τε καὶ ἄτακτον. For ἰδιοπισμὸν G. conjectures τὸ ἴδιον ὄπισμα vel τὸν ὄπισμον. Neither is really satisfactory.

610 cf. 603

611 Is. 1 : 15 ^{ἀποστρέψω... ὑμῶν.} Not indicated as a Scriptural quotation.

612 εἰς. ὑμῶν.] εἰς. σου -G. The sing. should be used here because the rest of the verbs and pronouns are singular.

613 Is. 1: 15

614 ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ Υἱοῦ μου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ.
Obviously, either μου or αὐτοῦ is wrong. I have changed μου to αὐτοῦ.

615 Note the unusual construction: λατρεύεις ἐν τῷ νόμῳ cf. 425

616 "Because their hands are full of blood" could hardly be a reason for their worshipping in accordance with the law of their God, although God does not accept their petitions. Logic demands that it read: Why does God not accept your petitions, although you worship in accordance with his law? Because your hands, etc. Yet to reconstruct the Greek thus leaves λοιπὸν unaccounted for, since it seems to introduce a new point, (the reconstruction would not represent anything new). Hence I conclude that the trouble is not with the question, but we are given the wrong answer. The question is pertinent, and constitutes a new point, - (cf. λοιπὸν)

617 Μαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὅτις ἐστὶ σήμερον, καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν...
(not indicated as a Scriptural quotation). With this, cf. Διαμαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν, τὸν οὐρανὸν, ὅς ἐστι σήμερον, καὶ τὴν γῆν...
and cf. 528 and Introd. IV, 3

618 Is. 1: 16 cf. 335 for textual variants up to γίνεσθε.
ὑμῶν / °] om LXX.

619 Not indicated as a Scriptural quotation, though it is part of Is. 1: 16

620 Not indicated as a Scriptural quotation, though it is part of Is. 1: 20 (LXX)

621 Here G. writes in the margin: Fortasse intelligit decem illa labra arnea de quibus 3 Reg. c. 7 (I Kings 7: 38)

622 ἀπολυόμενος. Una littera minus habet hic Gregentii locus. Quis enim non videat certam lectionem ἀπολυόμενος ?
Cotel. ad Const. Apost. lib VI, cap. 18 (author of this note not given)

623 There follows in Migne: "Transitus Ad Disputationem Tertii Diei". At the close of the First Day's Debate there is a similar transitional paragraph without the above caption. (Likewise at the close of the Third Day). Hence I omit it here and indicate the break by spacing.

624 πάλιν ἀδύντακτοι ἀνεχώρησαν. πάλιν is correct only if ἀδύντακτοι mean "in commotion" or something similar. (see next sentence) cf. 652A

625 ἀδρείται·] αθροισθέντων -G.

626 παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ Ἑρβάν μετὰ τῆς κοινοῦστας αὐτοῦ.
What is the meaning of this? Was Herban under arrest?
(The lexicons cite only Mt. 27: 65 for the Latinism, κοινοῦστας)

627 οὐ βούλομαι Should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation.

628 πατεῖν κτλ. Vide supra notam ad pag. 637 (author of this note not given). cf. 595

629 θυρίαμα. Μάταιον θ. -G. Thus it was quoted 724A

630 Compare the wording of this text here and 724A.
cf. Introd. IV, 2

631 πλησμονήν. Addunt LXX: οὐκέτι ἀνήσω τὰς ἁμαρτίας ὑμῶν -G.
True, this is part of the LXX and is found 724B. However, there is no obligation to include these words here.
Cf. Introd. IV, 1

632 Compare the wording of this text here with what is found 724C. cf. Introd. IV, 2 "ὅταν... ἐκτενεῖτε The indic. is perhaps due to ἐκτενεῖτε of 724C. But cf. 12

633 Greg. repeats in this sentence, texts (Is. 1: 8, 12, 13, 14, 15) which he discussed 720C - 724D.

634 κρυφιορῶς. Perhaps here equals κρυπτικῶς (note that the word is not found in the new Lid-Scott)

635 τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦστας ἀπὸ σου... ἀνόμους. Not indicated as a Scriptural quotation, though it is part of Is. 1: 25

636 Is. 1: 25, 26 The only variation here from the LXX is the addition of ἀπὸ σοῦ after ἀπειθοῦστας (v. 25) and is perhaps due to the analogous ἀπὸ σοῦ at the end of the verse.
cf. Introd. IV, 2

637 Προσέχοις τοῖς λεγομένοις διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, συνίεις διὰ τὴν ἀνάκλησιν ἡμῶν προκατέρχεται. G. would change συνίεις to σύνιεις ὅτι. προσέχοις opt. is also to be suspected.

638 Is. 1: 27 (LXX)

639 A figure derived perhaps from the irrational treatment frequently accorded slaves.

640 συνήσθης scribe σύνιεις -G. σύνῃς is more likely.
cf. 673

641 Is. 2: 1 τῆς 2^ο] μὲν περὶ LXX

642 ἀρθήσεται ἀπ' ἀκρων τῶν ὀρέων. ἀπό can scarcely be correct. Read ἐπί with the LXX and note that in the repetition of this text below (729C) ἐπί is used. cf. Introd. IV, 3

643 Is. 2: 2 ἀρθήσεται] οὐ LXX/ἀπό (642)] ἐπί LXX/ἀκρων] Sin. A Q Γ Compl. Const. Apost. lib. vi. c. 5, Theod. i. 28, Cyril. Alex. iii. 715 et al., Theod. ii. 806, 967. in 965 ἀκρου LXX/ἐπάνω] (H+P) ὑπεράνω LXX and Theod 729 C.

644 The meaning of this sentence is not at all clear. Cyprian, Ad Quirinum (Liber Testimoniorum), Bk. II quotes the same text, -Is. 2: 2 His line of thought is, "That Christ also is called a Stone" (ch. 16), "That afterwards this Stone should become a mountain, and should fill the whole earth" (ch. 17), "That in the last times the same mountain should be manifested, and upon it the Gentiles should come, and on it all the righteous should go up" (ch.18)

645 καὶ ἔστ.] scribe ἀλλ' ἔστ. -G. This is correct. What follows comes in place of what has been rejected in the previous question.

646 Here ἐπαρθήσεται , above (729B) ἀρθήσεται.

647 τρεῖς νύκτας. Jesus was in the tomb only two nights.

648 cf. 652

649 κτίσεως] scribe κτήσεως (author of this note not given). I can see no need for emending. κτίσεως is parallel to Κόσμου above.

650 Is. 2: 3 ἐλεύσονται] πορεύσονται LXX/πολλοὶ λαοί] Q^m ἔθνη πολλά LXX/περυσώμεθα] 147, 301 (H+P) Sin. πορευτομέθα LXX.

651 I remove the mark of interrogation.

652 Helena, the mother of Constantine. For a summary of the testimony of the Church Fathers pertaining to the discovery of the Tomb and the erection of a church above its site, cf. Cath. Encyl., vol. VII, p. 425

653 οὕτως] scribe ὁ οὕτος, aut ὄντως -G. I adopted ὁ οὕτος.

654 This is perhaps the meaning of this difficult sentence.

655 I remove the mark of interrogation after Θεός.

656 Is. 10: 17-20 17. ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ] οὐ LXX/ὡς] A εἰς LXX/ἐν φλογὶ καιομένη Θεός, καὶ φλέξει, καὶ φάγεται τὴν ἕλην ὡς χόρτον] ἐν πυρὶ καιομένῳ, καὶ φάγεται ὡς εἰς χόρτον τὴν ἕλην. LXX. 18. ὡς] + ὁ φεύγων LXX. 19. παιδίον μικρὸν] 22, 24, 36, 48, 57, 62, 87, 90, 93, 109, 147, 228, 233, 302, 308, 309 (H+P) Compl. Ald. Euseb. d. lxx. Evang. p. 72 οὐ μικρὸν LXX. 20. τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ] Sin. c. a. πᾶσι τοῦ LXX./οἱ καταλειφθέντες] οἱ σωθέντες LXX/οὐκ ἔσονται] ὡσιν LXX.

657 For ἀπειλή construed with πυρός , cf. Eus. II, 601A

658 λείψουσιν] scribe ἐλλείψουσιν -G.

659 These words should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation. They are the conclusion of the quotation from Isaiah cited by Herban above, (732C).

660 Is. 10: 12 Should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation. Σιών] B⁺ Sin. AQ Σειών LXX / ἐν Ἱερ.] AQ Theodor. ii. 1134 Slav. Mosq. om εν LXX.

661 Note that in this series of six ὅπως clauses, eleven of the verbs are future indic., while three are aor. subjunc.

662 cf. 71

663 Is. 10: 12 Should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation. ἐπισκέψεται] ἐπάξει LXX / μέναν] Sin. AQ Γ + ἐπί LXX.

664 Is. 10: 13, 14 13. τῆ ἰσχύϊ] Sin. AQ Γ με εν LXX / ἰσχύϊ] + τῆς χειρὸς LXX / συνείσεώς μου] om μου LXX. 14. χειρὶ μου] A om μου LXX / καταλελειμμένα] B^{ab} Q^a καταλελειμμένα LXX / ἀνοίγων στόμα καὶ στρουθίων Q^{mg} om LXX.

665 ἐρχιμάγειρος, literally, chief cook. The title of a great officer in oriental courts, Gen. 39:1, Dan. 2: 44 (LXX)

666 Τοιγαροῦν does not seem to be the right connective here.

667 Strictly, the subject is still βασιλεία but βασιλεύς is required here by the sense. Furthermore, note αὐτῷ which cannot stand for βασιλεία.

668 διὰ τοῦ] scribe διὰ τοῦ G. I see no reason for emending.

669 Is. 10: 15 δι' αὐτῆς] ἐν αὐτῇ LXX / ἢ ἀρθήσεται ῥά βδος ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς] ὡς ἂν τις ἄρη ῥά βδον LXX.

670 τύψεται should be τύψεται.

671 ὅς βεβούλευσαι

672 Is. 10: 17 For the difference between the wording of the text here and above (732C), cf. Introd. IV, 2

673 συνήσῃς] forte συνῆς -G. cf. 640

674 ἀλωσίαν] forte ἀλωσιν vel αἰχμαλωσίαν (author of this note not given in Migne; from the editio princeps it can be seen that it is G'.s)

675 ξεντεῖαν misspelling of ξενιτεῖαν.

676 μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν βασιλείῳ Μανασσή. There is some mistake here. The events here described took place during his lifetime. The subsequent repentance of Manasseh is narrated a few lines below and conforms to the Scriptural account. cf. II Chron. 33: 11 - 19

677 Esarhaddon

678 ἀνθ' ὅτου, occasionally construed with the accus. in Byzantine Greek. cf. Soph's Lex. for citations. cf. 717

679 Is. 10: 18, 19 cf. 656

680 ἀποσβεσθῆναι perhaps should be ἀποσβεσθήσεσθαι.

681 ὡς δαίμονες] adde ἐκ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν. -G. This is likely in the light of the foregoing sentence.

682 αὐτῶ more likely αὐτῶν, or αὐτοῖς.

683 This and the foregoing sentence is substantially Is. 10: 20 with Greg.'s interpretation added. Herban had quoted it above, (732C) and given his interpretation, (732D sq.)

684 ἑρμηνεύσεις I would emend to ἡρμηνεύεις. Herban has already given his interpretation of this passage from Isaiah. cf. 732D sq.

685 With this philosophical view of the matter, cf. last sentence of Plato's Apol.

686 For εἶν with the indic., cf. 12

687 Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνέχομαι πείθεσθαι τοῖς σοῖς ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν.
For ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς cf. Max. Hier. 1349A. cf. Οὕτως ἀπλῶς, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, πείθεσθαι με ἀδύνατον, 761 B.

688 Ἐὰν μὴ φρονιζῶ. Here the verb can be either indic. or subjunc. cf. 12

689 Is. 49: 14 Σιών· Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἐγκατέλιπε (B⁶) με] Σείων
Ἐγκατέλειπέν με Κύριος LXX / ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος] Κύριος LXX.

690 Is. 49: 15 λέγει] 22, 26, 48, 49, 57, 62, 87, 90, 97, 104, 106, 109, 144, 147, 228, 302, 305, 308, 309 (M + P) εἶπεν LXX.

691 καὶ, ὡς ὄρω, σὺ τὸ δράμα τοῦτο ἐργάζῃ. The meaning here is doubtful.

692 κληρονομίαν ἐρήμου] scribe κληρονομίας ἐρήμου -G. Codices Sinaiticus Alexandrinus, and Marchalianus read κληρονομίαν ἐρήμου.

693 ἀνακαλύπτει] scribe ἀνακαλυφθῆναι. Mox vero καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν δεσμοῖς. -G Greg. has rendered as a direct command; the LXX, indirect.

694 Is. 49: 8, 9, 8. Ταῖς] 233 (H+P) οὕτως LXX / σοι 2°] σε LXX / καὶ ἐθήκα σε] omit LXX / κληρονομίαν ἐρήμου (692)] Sin. A Q κληρονομίας ἐρήμου LXX. 9. ἐξέλθετε] Q^a ἐξέλθατε LXX / ἀνακαλύπτει θε (693)] ἀνακαλυφθήσεται LXX.

695 Πῶς οὖν σὺ πολὺς ἴσταν τῷ πλαστῆ αὐτῷ θεὸν ὀνομάζων;
ποιεῖν or some such word must be understood with πολὺς.

696 This seems to be the meaning of this difficult paragraph.

697 Ὅταν οὖν ἀκούσης πλάσιν καὶ θείσιν καὶ δόσιν, κ.τ.λ.
These three nouns correspond to the verbs ἐπλασα, ἔθωκα, ἔθλικα of Is. 49: 8, quoted above (741A).

698 ἔλαιῶν] scribe ἐλεῶν -G. The full passage is ἀλλ' ἔλαιῶν αὐτοῦ, τῷ λουτρῆ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, παρακαλέσει αὐτοῦ, τῷ Παρακλήτῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.

The words of Isaiah which the reader expects here are: ἀλλ' οἱ ἐλεῶν αὐτοῦ παρακαλέσει. G.'s correction does not go far enough. If ἐλεῶν be read, τῷ λουτρῆ τῆς παλ. must be dropped. The objections to Greg.'s reading are:

- 1) ἐλαιῶν is not used in the active and certainly cannot be used for κυρίζων.
- 2) λουτήρ is the "laver", not the act of baptism (λουτήριον, βαπτισμα).

699 ἐξεί] scribe ἄξει -G.

700 Is. 49: 10. διψήσουσι] Sin. c.c. (vid.) A Q^a / οὔτε 1° 2° 3°] οὐδέ LXX / μήν] om LXX / ἔλαιῶν κ.τ.λ. (698) / ἐξεί (699)] ἄξει LXX.

701 Is. 49: 11 (LXX)

702 περὶ πασῶν τῶν ἐπιτολῶν μου πρότερον μελετήσουσιν.
μελετήσω followed by περὶ is unusual.

703 βορᾶν] scribe βορῶν -G. βορᾶν, however, is a Sin. reading.

704 "from the west" ἀπὸ... θαλάσσης.

705 Is. 49: 12 βορᾶν (703)] Sin. * βορῶν LXX.

706 εὐφραίνεσθωσαν] scribe εὐφραίνεσθε -G. The 3rd person imperative is a possible reading, all the more so because it is followed by ἀγαλλιάσθω, cf. Ps. 95 (LXX): 11 Εὐφραίνεσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ γῆ. cf. Introd. IV, 2

707 ῥηξάτω] scribe ῥηξάτωσαν -G. Note, however, that the subject τὰ ὄρη is neuter plural.

708 Is. 49: 13 εὐφραίνεσθωσαν (706)] εὐφραίνεσθε LXX / οἱ οὐρανοὶ] om οἱ LXX / ῥηξάτω (707)] ῥηξάτωσαν LXX.

709 εἰς ἄγαν For the superfluous εἰς cf. Theophylactus Simocates (A.D. 628) Διὰ τὸ εἰς ἄγαν ἐκπαθῶς διακονεῖσθαί.

710 ἄτινά εἰσι πλῆθη τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ Θεοῦ... αἱ τινές εἰσιν αἱ κορυφαὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Pronouns which have predicate nouns associated with them may agree by attraction with these nouns. The first shows attraction in gender, (cf. Mk. 15: 16 τῆς αὐλῆς, ὃ ἔστιν πραιτώριον) the second, attraction in number.

711 cf. 710

712 Joel 3: 18 τῆ ἡμέρα] ἐν τῆ ἡμέρα LXX / τὰ ὄρη τῆς βασιλείας] τὰ ὄρη. LXX

713 φλέβας] scribe φλέβας -G.

714 cf. 712

715 φρικτῆς, lit., "to be shuddered at"

716 Joel 3: 19, ἀφανισμοῦ γενήσεται] 23, 23, 45, 51, 61, 62, 86, 147 (229 super nasum)
H + P ἀφανισμοῦ ἔσται LXX. / ἀνθ' ὅσον (711)] ἀνθ' ὧν LXX

717 ἀνθ' ὅσον. LXX ἀνθ' ὧν Note that Greg. writes ἀντί with the accus. This is a Byzantine construction. cf. 678

718 cf. 716

719 Οὗτοι γὰρ υἱοὶ καὶ φίλοι καὶ γνήσιοι, καὶ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ...
I remove καί after γνήσιοι and join with ἀδελφοί.

720 Williams, Adversus Judaeos, p. 146, incorrectly assigns this passage to Isaiah.

721 Joel 3: 20 κατοικισθήσεται] κατοικήθησεται LXX.

722 Joel 3: 21 ἐν τῆ ἄνω Σιών] ἐν Σιών LXX.

Above (744D) Greg. interpreted the reference to Judah in Joel 3: 20 by adding ἡ ἄνω Ἰουδαία. Here he saves himself the trouble by inserting ἄνω in the text of Joel! cf. Introd. IV, 2

723 Not indicated as a Scriptural quotation in Migne.

724 cf. 722

725 Ps. 47: 7 The sense corresponds closely though the wording differs considerably from the LXX.

726 cf. 725

727 Ps. 47: 8 Ἔβασ. -ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη] scribe ὁ θεὸς κάθηται ἐπὶ θρόνου ἁγίου αὐτοῦ, τουτέστιν, ἐκείνος ὁ βασιλεύσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη, ὃ καὶ ἔναρθρ. - 2...

It is essential for the argument in the next sentence that ὁ θεὸς κάθηται ... αὐτοῦ be added. The arrangement of the clauses in this text as given by G. differs from the LXX and is not essential to the argument. cf. Introd. IV, 4

728 μετὰ τὸ τελεῖσθαι τὴν οἰκονομίαν For the use of οἰκονομία ,cf. 510
cf. also Hippolytus, Treatise Against the Jews, 4: "Now
Christ prayed all this oeconomically (οἰκονομικῶς) as man;
being, however, true God."

729 Ps. 110: 1 (LXX)

730 ἀναπερῶν κεκοίμηκε. Perhaps this is part of Gen. 49: 9
ἀναπέσων ἐκοιμήθης (κεκοίμηκε to suit the context), which
is spoken of Judah but clearly refers to Christ. cf. Introd.
IV, 2, 5

731 μετέπειτα Legendum potius πρότερον vel ἄνωθεν -G.
This correction is in order. The text which Herban quotes
(fs. 47: 4) preceeds the verse (Ps. 47: 8) which Greg. dis-
cussed.

732 διεξήχεται This compound not found in the lexicons.

733 I remove the comma after ἀγιῶ .

734 Ps. 47: 5 (LXX)

735 κατέβη] I would suggest καταβήσεται.

736 The sentence is not entirely satisfactory. Greg. means
that ascension and descension (as "sitting", cf. argument
above, 745B) apply to the 2nd person of the Trinity and
not to the 1st person who is pure divinity. cf. ἐπὶ τὸν τὸ σῶμα
κεκτομένον λέγεται 745B. ἀνέβη, καὶ κατέβη is printed as a Scriptural
quotation. ἀνέβη comes from Ps. 47: 5 which Greg. has just
quoted, but where is κατέβη found?

737 μαθητεύσαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη cf. μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη Mt. 28:
19, cf. Introd. IV, 5

738 Ps. 51: 6 (LXX)

739 Above 745C τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ, here ἑαυτοῦ. The change
is perhaps due to the εαυτῶ of 745D (last line). For
Greg.'s method of quoting, cf. Introd. IV, 2

740 εἶπεν] scribe εἶλεν, cepit. -G.

741 Ps. 47: 1 (LXX)

742 Ps. 73: 9 (LXX)

743 At this point Greg. writes καὶ τὰ εἶης . I have added verse
15 to make the next sentence intelligible. Apparently Greg.'s
hearers (and readers) could be presumed to know these words.
cf. Introd. IV, 4

744 Ps. 77: 13, 14, 15 (LXX)

746 τὸ σελέντιον, ἢ σιγή -G. videsis Congium in Glossario Graec. tom. II, pag. 1370, v. Σελέντιον. Ubi paulo post, vocem σελέντιον pluribus illustrat. (author of this note on G. not given) For σελέντιον, Soph.'s Lex cites Theop. 629, 10; Theop. Cont. 378; Genes. 51 The new Lid-Scott takes no note of either form of this Latinism. On "the silence was broken," - no mention was made at the beginning of the Third Day of a proclamation of silence. However, cf. 126

747 καλὰ ταῦτα ἂ ποιεῖς. For the ironical καλά, cf. Mk. 9: 43 καλὸν ἔστιν σε κυλλὸν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν.

748 τί σοὶ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ; cf. Mk. 1: 24 τί ἦν καὶ σοί, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρητέ;

749 προσκυνήσεις αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐγώ, τὸν Ἰησοῦν... For αὐτῷ G. suggests αὐτόν. It is better to emend τὸν Ἰησοῦν to τῷ Ἰησοῦ. During the classical period the accus. was used with προσκ., later the dative, Mt. 2: 2, 11, John 4: 23, Dio C. 67. 13.

750 cf. 748C

751 ἴνα... ἔξει. ἔξει perhaps equals ἔξει. For ἴνα with fut. indic. cf. 558

752 ἐν περιτομῇ καὶ ἀκροβυστία διαγῶν. ἀκρ. can hardly be correct here. The Jew lives in circumcision, not in the state of uncircumcision.

753 cf. 2 Cor. 3: 15 κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται. cf. 252

754 εἶρηκεν] forte εἶρηκας ut paulo post. Et sic legit Interpres. (author of this note not given)

755 cf. 748D

756 Ex. 22: 28

757 Εἶρηται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑψηλότερον τοῦτο παρὰ Κυρίου, ὅτι κ.τ.λ. Williams, Adversus Judaeos, p. 147 "for it is said in our Law, which is higher than yours"; the rendering of the second clause is certainly not correct.

758 Ps. 82: 6 (LXX)

759 Da.Th.Su. 56

760 ἐν κεραιῶσιν] scribe εἰς κένωσιν -G. The emendation is not entirely satisfactory.

761 Ps. 82: 7 δέ] β^c Σω. ^{c. a.} ART + δὴ LXX.

762 τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων For δυνάμεις as applied to "angels",
cf. Philon, I, 587, 17

763 θεὸς ἡρώων] Rescribe θεὸς μέγας ὡς θεὸς ἡρώων ; subdit
enim auctor, μέγας ἐκ. -G.

764 οὐ εἶπ' ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιῶν θαυμάσια. Not indicated as a Scriptural
quotation.

765 ταῖς συν] forte ἐν ταῖς συν. Sic et mox, ἐν τοῖς λαοῖς , ut
paulo ante. -G.

766 Mt. 3: 7 (- NT, i.e. Souter's ed.)

767 τῆς κλ. deest forte περί -G.

768 Ps. 96: 7 (LXX) The underscoring is mine.

769 Ps. 96: 8, 9 (LXX)

770 Ps. 96: 10 (LXX) The Fathers often quote this text, as,
"God hath reigned from the tree", as a type of the cross.
The underlined words (ἀπὸ ξύλου) are not part of the LXX but
come from R*. Thus Tertullian, An Answer To The Jews, ch. X
"The points at issue were, however, in part, a mere matter
of Christian additions, introduced into the LXX merely by
the naive lack of discrimination shown by the early Christians,
as was, for instance, the case with regard to Ps. 96: 10,
in which ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν was supplemented by ἀπὸ ξύλου.
These words "from the cross" were regarded by Justin Martyr
as so evidently belonging to the original text of the Bible,
that he was able, in all sincerity, to accuse the Jews of
having maliciously expugned them." -Rahlfs, Septuaginta,
p. xxiii. cf. also 8

771 βασιλεύς] forte ἐβασίλευσε regnavit. -G.

772 Ps. 96: 10 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ] σα LXX.

773 Ps. 96: 5 οἱ θεοί] πλ. πάντας LXX.

774 φικωτής . Not found in the lexicons.

775 καὶ ἀπό scribe καὶ τῶν ἀπό -G.

776 οὐ μὴ φωραθείη . Why the opt?

777 εὐφρ.] scribe ἀγαλλιάσθω ἢ γῆ, εὐφρ. -G. This correction
is unnecessary. The text of the LXX is: Ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν,
ἀγαλλιάσεται ἢ γῆ, εὐφρανθήσωνται ῥῆτοί πολλοί.
Greg. has merely omitted the second clause.

778 Ps. 97: 1 ci. III

779 Ps. 98: 1 αὐτόν] β^{ab} αὐτῶ LXX

780 ἔθν.] scribe τῶν ἔθν. -G. Note that thus (τῶν ἔθν.) it is rendered on the following page, 757A, 757D (bis); cf. Introd. IV, 3

781 τοῦ θ.] scribe τοῦ θ. ἡρῶν -G. Note that thus (τοῦ θ. ἡρῶν) it is rendered 757A, 760A; cf. Introd. IV, 3

782 Ps. 98: 2, 3 (LXX) cf. 780, 781, 774

783 οἴκου] forte οἱ τοῦ οἴκου vel οἴκοι -G.
Vel οἴοι Edd.

784 συνευ.] forte συνευφραϊνόμενα -G.

785 ἡρῶν] scribe ὑρῶν -G. This emendation is possible only if ἀνακλησεί equals κλησεί of two lines above, and this is extremely doubtful.

786 Ps. 16: 4 (LXX)

787 I place a full stop after ἄσματα.

788 For πρόσωπον and ὑπόστασις, cf. 10

789 Here Ἐγνώρισε δὲ Κύριος, above 756D and 757A Ἐγνώρισε Κύριος. cf. Introd. IV, 3

790 Here ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἔθνῶν, while above 757A ἐναντίον τε τῶν ἔθνῶν and below 757D ἐναντίον τῶν ἔθνῶν cf. Introd. IV, 3

791 βλέπ.] forte ἢ βλέπ. -G. I prefer to leave it as it is.

792 Ps. 10: 5 Greg. and LXX ὁ ἀγαπῶν τὴν ἀδικίαν κίσει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν, which is quite different from AV. However, the rendering of AV suits the context better. cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus, 61 and Timothy and Aquila, Fol. 100 v°, 134 v° where it is also urged that the discussion should be free from insults.

793 Ex. 22: 1 Ὁ γὰρ κλέπτων βοῦν, τέσσαρας ἀποτίσει is a loose and inaccurate version of Ex. 22: 1. cf. Introd. IV, 5. What follows καὶ ἐπὶ παντὸς πράγματος τὰ παραπλήσια is found nowhere in LXX.

794 This would appear to be the meaning of this difficult sentence. I have not been able to locate the Scriptural authority for this and the following sentence.

795 I remove the full stop after ἀληθείας.

in lexicons, apparently found only here and 773B.

797 καὶ χεῖρα τούτων καθυπομένουσι. τούτων perhaps refers to the sufferings of Christ.

798 ἐπιφρικωσεστάτος. This compound not found in lexicons.

799 βλέπων ἄπαυαν τὴν κτίσιν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ κεκηνῶσαν,
The lexicons taken no notice of this figurative use of χέσκω.

800 Imaginative words put into the mouth of God.

801 Mk. 16: 16 (= NT, i.e. Souter's ed.), though Greg. writes οὖν for καί : ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεῖς.

802 It is hard to decide whether the meaning is that God should not allow Jesus' suffering to constitute a stumbling-block or that God should not have allowed Jesus to suffer.

803 εὐσυνπαθήτως. Soph's Lex gives εὐσυνπάθητος and cites Greg. 784B Neither the adjective nor the adverb is found in Lid-Scott.

804 καὶ ὡςπερ ἔλαθεν τὸν διάβολον, καὶ προσέβαλεν αὐτῷ ὡς ἄνθρωπον, καὶ προσέκρινε τῇ θεότητι, καὶ κατεσχύνθη, οὕτως...
As it stands the sentence is unintelligible. For ἔλαθεν I suggest ἔλαβεν and for ὡς ἄνθρωπον, ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

805 cf. 800

806 παρίηεν] forte παρήν vel παρήεν -G.

807 cf. 800

808 cf. I Cor. 1: 18 - 25 cf. Introd. IV, 5

809 John 5: 8 (= NT, i.e., Souter's ed.)

810 Justin's Trypho says (X. 2) "For I took some trouble to read them (the Gospels)".

811 ὠφελήθησεν forte ὠφελήθησεται -G.

812 Is. 1: 2 Υἱὸς ἐγέννησα, καὶ ὕψωσα (LXX) For clarity I have added the words which immediately precede, Κύριος ἐλάλησεν. Greg.'s point is that Jesus was right in speaking of God as the Father of his disciples, because God himself had said the same thing, (through the mouth of Isaiah).

813 cf. Rom. 4: 17 καλοῦντος τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς ὄντα.

814 At this point G. writes in the margin: - Hinc conicere licet Paladium authorem esse sive scriptorem huius disputationi

815 Ps. 119: 100 (LXX) περιβηαι ηαυ σαυ (four lines above)
Ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα καὶ ἑτέροις δηλωθήσονται Greg. replies
'Η δηλώσις τῶν λόγων...

816 καθωράθησαν What verb is this?

817 cf. Ex. 7: 1 καὶ εἶπε Κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν, λέγων, ἴδου δέδωκά σε
θεὸν Φαραὼ...

818 There were ten plagues in all.

819 Whether the sentence has reference to Elijah's translation
(II Kings 2: 1 - 2) or to his appearing to Christ on the
Mount of Transfiguration cannot be determined with certainty.
In either case χωρήθ (= Sinai) is wrong.

820 καὶ αὐτ. scribe ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτ. -G. The change is not
needed.

821 ἡραρτικῶς (= ἁμαρτικῶς) There seems to be no
authority for this spelling.

822 Greg. has confused the several occasions when the Is-
raelites were threatened with a shortage of water during
their sojourn in the desert. Moses's sin, which resulted
in his being denied entrance into the promised land, did not
take place at the Marah of "bitter waters" Ex. 15 (equals
Nb. 33). That occurred at the second encampment at Kadesh
(Meribah, Nu. 20)

823 These words (as far as the word "Egypt") are printed
as a Scriptural quotation and assigned to Ex. 17: 3.
However, they are found nowhere in the OT. Furthermore,
there is an unnecessary ἄν in the second half: καὶ οὐκ ἄν ὕδωρ
εὕρεϊν δυράμεθα τοῦ κορεσθῆναι.

824 Deut. 32: 49, 50 Ἀνάβαινε (ἀνάβηθι LXX) εἰς τὸ ὄρος is part of
verse 49, καὶ τελευτᾶ belong to 50. The rest of what is in-
closed within quotation marks in the translation are imagina-
tive words put into the mouth of God.

825 cf. 818

826 I Kings 17: 1 Ζῆ Κύριος εἰ ἔσται ὑετὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ διὰ
στόματός μου] Ζῆ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, ὃς παρέστην
ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, εἰ ἔσται τὰ ἔτη ταῦτα δρόσος καὶ ὑετός, ὅτι εἰ μὴ διὰ στόματος
λόγου μου. LXX. cf. Anthod. III, 5...

827 cf. 353

828 Mt. 17: 2 (= NT, i.e., Souter's ed).

829 Mt. 17: 5 (= NT, i.e., Souter's ed.) though Greg. omits ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα.

830 Elijah was translated to heaven without dying. II Kings 2: 1 - 12

831 Ἰμάτιον γάρ ἐστι συμφυῆς τῆς ψυχῆς, συμφυῆς would seem to imply a closer connection between body and soul than Greg. intends. On the relation of the body to the soul, cf. Trypho, XL. 1 (note 5)

832 αὐτὴν] forte αὐτῇ -G.

833 cf. 353

834 ἀπατηθεῖς] forte ἀπατηθῆς -G.

835 κῆκει] forte κῆκος -G. That dat. will stand as specification.

836 I place a mark of interrogation here.

837 Mt. 17: 20 (= NT, i.e., Souter's ed.), though Greg. writes εἰ ἔχητε for ἐὰν ἔχητε.

838 cf. 353

839 ἔναποσκοπούρτες. This compound not found in Lid-Scott. Soph's Lex cites this passage and says ἐναποσκοπέω = ἀποσκοπέω.

840 This is perhaps the meaning. ὡσεὶ πεδίας φθάνουσα μέχρι αὐτῶν. cf. L.

841 τῶμόν. Somewhat unusual as a substantive.

842 κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ κυρίου εἰζωθεῖσα εἰς ὕψος ἢ ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ νεφέλη φωτεινὴ ἀπέκρυψεν, κ.τ.λ.

If this is the meaning the word-order is unusual.

843 Observe the spelling of Σωτῆρως (= Σωτῆρος).

844 Soph's Lex cites this passage and Sophronius 3708D for the "ejaculatory prayer" κυρίε ἐλέησον.

845 Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι, perhaps a nom. of reference.

846 τί ποιούμεν ἄβτι; Deliberative use of pres. ind., cf. Gen. 37: 30, John 11: 47

847 ἴδομεν = εἶδομεν.

848 Ps. 94: 1 (LXX)

848a It is interesting to speculate on whether Herban was given this name in memory of Pope Leo I (440-461) whose famous doctrinal letter, the so-called Τόμος Διοντορος, formed the basis for the settlement of Chalcedon in favor of Diphysitism. cf. 104a

849 ἕνα τῆς συγκλήτου αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ἀπέφηνε, ὑπεκκλησίονα αὐτοῦ ποιήσας,
ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πατρικίον καὶ κανικλείονα προσαγορεύουσιν.

ὑπεκκλησίονα and κανικλείονα are not found in the Lexicons.
πατρικίος was used as a title in the Byz. times, POxy.
1206. 1 (4th cen. A. D.)

850 ὡσεὶ πεντακισχιλίων πεντακοσίων χιλιάδων.

851 τοῖς - βαπτ.] forte τῶν βαπτισθέντων -G.

852 νεοφ. scribe Θεοφ. -G. I do not understand G.'s
substitution, nor do I see any need for emending.

853 Williams, Adversus Judaeos, p. 149 - "...marriages with
unbaptized Hebrews being strictly prohibited." This is not
correct; they were forbidden to marry Hebrews at all -
πρὸς τὸ κηδ' ὅλως τοῦ κῆν τινα τῶν νεοφωτιστῶν Ἑβραίων, λήψασθαι γὰρ βρὸν
τῆ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ, ἄρ' ἔρα ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκοφύδων Ἑβραίων, ἀλλὰ λαμβάνειν γὰρ βρὸν...
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξ ἔθνῶν Χριστιανῶν.

This is also in accord with the concluding sentence of the
paragraph, (which Williams quotes verbatim!)

854 τοιοῦτορόπως (= τοιοῦτοτρόπως?)

855 cf. 803

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Athanasius and Lacchaesus, text and notes: F. C. Conybeare, 1898, in "Anecdota Oxoniensia," Oxford, 1892

Barnabas, Epistle Of, text, F. X. Funk in his Patres Apostolici, 1901, I, pp. xx-xxxii, 38-97; translation, Clark, Ante-Nicene Library, 1867, vol. I, pp. 101 ff.

Brooke, A. E. and Mc Lean, N., The Old Testament In Greek, Oxford, 1906

Cellier, D., Histoire Generale des Auteurs Sacres et Ecclesiastiques, Paris, 1862

Chrysostom, A Demonstration To Jews and Greeks That Christ Is God, From The Sayings Concerning Him Everywhere In The Prophets, text, Migne, P. G., xlviii, 813-838; Montfaucon, 1834, I. 681-712

Cyprian, Ad Quirinum (Liber Testimoniorum), text, Hartel's, Vienna, 1868; translation, Clark, Ante-Nicene Library, vol. V, pp. 507 ff.

Gregentius, Disputatio Cum Herban Judaeo, apud Federicum Morellum, Typographum Regium, Lutetiae, 1586. (This is the editio princeps, a copy of which is in the Rare Book Collection of The University of Michigan,--thanks to Professor Campbell Bonner.)

idem. in Migne, P. G., lxxxvi, 621-784

Hatch, E., Essays In Biblical Greek, Oxford, 1889

Hippolytus, Treatise Against The Jews, text, Migne, P. G. x, 787-794; translation, Clark, Ante-Nicene Library, Hippolytus, II, 41-45, 1869

With: Philip K., History Of The Avesta, Macmillan, London, 1937.

Holmes, R. and Parsons, J., Old Testament In Greek, 1798-1827

Justin Martyr, The Dialogue With Trypho, text, J. C. T. Otto, S. Justini Philosophi et Martyris Opera, 3rd ed., 1877; translation and commentary, L. Williams, S.P.C.K., 1930

Krumbacker, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur, 1897, p. 59 (in Iwan Muller)

Milne, H. J. M., and Skeat, T. C., Scribes And Correctors Of The Codex Sinaiticus, British Museum, 1938

Moberg, A., Book of The Himyarites, Translation and Introduction in English, Lund, 1924

Rahlfs, A., Septuaginta, Stuttgart, 1935
Septuaginta, X Psalmi cum Odis, Göttingen, 1931

Sanders, Henry A., The Old Testament Manuscripts In The Freer Collection, N. Y., Macmillan, 1917

Swete, H. B., Introduction To The Old Testament In Greek, Cambridge, 1914

Swete, H. B., The Old Testament In Greek, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1909

Tertullian, An Answer To The Jews, text, Oehler, Adversus Judaeos, 1853; translation, Clark, Ante-Nicene Library, Tertullian, vol. III, 151-173, 1890

Timothy and Aquila, text, F. C. Conybeare, 1898, in "Andecdota Oxoniensia", Oxford, 1892

Wellhausen, J. Beste Arabischen Heidenthums, Leipzig, 1927, 2nd ed.

Williams, L., Adversus Judaeos, Cambridge, 1935

Wright, T., Early Christianity In Arabia, London, 1855

INDICES

1. English

Aaron - 625A

Abraham - 625A
- offered Isaac 625C

Allegorize - Herban accuses Gregentius of, 636D 53

Ark - type of the Cross 636C

Athanasius and Zacchaeus, 34, 36, 38, 43, 81, 86, 96, 107,
139, 792

Barnabas, Epistle of - 58

Caleb - 624B

Cellier - estimate of the Dial. 633C 42

Christ - death of an offense 629C, 633B, 636A, 657B, 761A,
764C
- natures of ^{632A,} 637D, ^{645A,} 645D, ^{648A,} 656B, 672B, 709ABC, 741B, 745D
757C, 761A. Summary of the question, 104a
- appears on a cloud 777A
- Trinity, 625Bsq.

Christianity - is polytheism, says Herban, 649B, 664D, 712C
- extensive sway of 648D

Chrysostom, A Demonstration To Jews, etc. 389

Conybeare - on the authenticity of the Dial. 632C 34,
633A 38

Cyprian, Ad Quirinum 58, 536, 644

Cyrus - 676A

Cross - types of 636sq.

Date of Dialogue - p. 5, note 1; p. 16 a

David - believes in Trinity 628B
- foretold by and like Moses 632Asq.
- sway of 648Csq.

Elijah - exiled by Jews 636B

Enoch - 400

Ephraim - "envy of" 696Bsq.

Esarhaddon - 737A 677

Grapes - symbolic of Christ's suffering 637D 66

Greeks - polytheism of 628B

Gregentius - life of, Introd. I
- manners of, Introd. III
- ignorant of Hebrew 636D 50
- use of OT 637A 54
- date of the Dialogue, p. 5^r, p. 16 a, 104 a

Gulon - first editor of the Dial. Introd. I
- ignorant of Hebrew 636D 50

Habakkuk - visited Daniel 657B 152

Helena - 732A 652

Herban - Introd. I
- manners, Introd. III
- description of 621A
- has read the Gospels 765D 810
- quotes Mt. 628C 20
- is stunned 664C
- is called by Greg. a snake 712B, a dog 721B
- is blinded 777D
- is baptized 780D
- is renamed Leo 781A

Hippolytus, Treatise Against the Jews, 728

Iliad - 693A 393

Infants - slaughter of 636B

Isaiah - sawed asunder by Jews 636B 46

Israel - definition of 681C 324
- God's son 628CD

Jacob - supplanted Esau, (so Christians supplant Jews) 629A
- his staff a type of the cross 637A
- crossing his hands 637A

Jeremiah - thrown in a pit 636B, 640B

John - beheaded 636B

Joshua - 624B
- Abraham's seed 625A
- prototype of Jesus 637C

Justin Martyr, Dialogue With Trypho - 8, 46, 58, 69, 119,
144, 163, 333, 810, 831

King - presides at the discussion 621A

Law - priority of the Jewish 665B
- nature of 665Csq.

Lazarus - 629CD

Manasseh - 737A

Manna - 624C

Marah - 637A, 769B 822

Mary - perpetual virginity of 657A 151

Meribah - 769B 822

Moon - 637D 63

- signifies the Church 641B, 641D 93

Moses - 625A, 632A

- his staff a type of the Cross 637A

- commands monotheism 649B

- crossed his hands in the defeat of Amalek 637B 58

Naboth - stoned by Jews 636B

Nebuchadnezzar - 676A

Noah - 636C

Palladius - author of the Dial. Introd. I, 768B 814

Philosophical utterances - 649D 122

Plagues - number of in Egypt 768C 818

Preeminence - of Jew over Christian 624Asq.

Samson - 625A

Samuel - 625A

Septuagint - Jewish estimate of 624D 8
- quotations from Introd. IV

Sinai - equals Zion 653B 131

Solomon - 640C, 641C, 645A 99
- author of Prov. and Eccles. 644C
- subdued demons 644A
- and Sheba 644A 94

Sun - 641D 93

Sunday - 701B

~~Trinity - 675 B sq.~~

Taphar - Introd. I

Tertullian, An Answer To The Jews, 48, 50, 57, 58, 68, 69, 166, 770

Thabor - 688A 353

Thaeman - 669C 240, 669D 241

Threlletus - 621A 1

Timothy and Aquila, 58, 213, 792

Titus - 673D

Trinity - 625Bsq., 628A, 668B

Vespasian - 673D

Williams (Lukyn), - Introd. II p. 12, 621A 1, 681C 324, 712C 528, 744D 720, 752B 757, 781B 853

Winds - four 668B

- twelve 693B 400

Zachariah - killed by Jews 636B

Zion - equals Sinai 653B 131

2. Greek Words and Phrases

ἄβαλε - 640D 812

ἄλλ' ἢ - 625C 11

ἄλωσίαν - 736D 674

ἀνακλήσει - 757B 785

ἀνανεῦσαι - 672C 253

ἀνδρομανίαις - 668A 229

ἀνέσπερον - 681C 325

ἀνθ' ὅσον - 737A 678, 744C 717

ἀπειλή - 733A 657

ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς - 740B 687

ἀπόρρητα - 665A 221

ἀρχιμάγειρος - 736A 665

βάρος - 724B 605
δι' ἣν αἰτίαν - 625D 14
δυνάμεις - 752C 762
ἔθνη - 660A 166
ἐπνεύειν - 693^β 399
ἐλαιῶν - 741C 698
ἐπεῖ - 713C 535
ἐπιστήμη - 713^β 532
ἐπισύρεις - 668D 232
ἔσται - 685^β 344
ἐτυμολογεῖν - 636D 53
ζέσεως - 705A 482
θαβώρ - 688A 353
θαιμάν - 238, 240, 241
θείου - 624A 5
ἱλιγγίω - 648^β, 664^γ 213a, 717A
Ἰσραήλ - 681C 324
καθαροποιεῖν - 689C 377
καθωράθησαν - 768C 816
κουστωδία - 725D 626
κρεμάννυμι - 632D 35
κροτηθῆναι - 652A 125
λαοί - 660A 166
λατρεύειν - 697C 425, 725A 615
λέγων - 649C 118
λουτήρ - 741C 698
λωβοί - 664A 205
μελετάω - 741D 702
μέν...δέ - 632^β 32

μυστήριον - 717B 562

οίκονομία - 709A 510

οὐσία - 672D 248

παρουσία - 684C 333

περιρρέμβάζου - 705C 489

πλήν - 657B 154

ποιός - 636C 47

κοῡ - 640C 78

προκατοικησάντων - 701C 456

πρόμαχον - 704B 469

προσκυνήσεις - 749C 749

προτιθέσθαι - 693B 398

πρόσωπον - 625B 10

Σαβέκ - 636D 50

Σιών - 653B 131

σηνώματα - 720A 575

σολοικίζειν - 656C 146a

σπερμολόγον - 677C 290

σφίγγειν - 665A 220

τομόν - 777A 841

χαρκτήρ - 724B 602

χάσκω - 761D 799

χρηματίζω - 681C 326

Χωρήβ - 768D 819

3. Grammatical

accusative - of time "when" 701B 448
- with αντί 737A 678, 744C 717

- uv - with pres. ind. 655B 122
- with fut. ind. 701A 445
- with imperf. ind. 641C 91
- omission of 645A 100

Analytical tenses - 621A 3

έáv - with indic. 625C 12

εί - 693A 395, 697C 422

ίνα - varieties of 624C 7
 - with indic. 717A 558

Indicative (present) - deliberative use of 777D 846

μή - 645A 98, 648C 109, 673A 260

Nominative - absolute 693D 407
 - of reference 777D 845
 - parenthetical 693A 394

όκοταν - with indic. and subjunc. 625C 12
 - indefinite in form but definite in meaning 696C 413

Optative - pure 632A 31
 - in dep. question 689A 368
 - in dir. question 700A 426

όπως - 733C 661

ότι - ecbatic 677B 285

ούκ - in protasis 633A 39

Pronouns - agreement of 744B 710
 - reflexive 677B 287, 721C 586

Relative - indef. for simple 624A 4; - for interrogative 14.

Subjunctive - in oratio obliqua 628D 21
 - with uv 640B 71

τοῡ - with infin. 653D 135

4. Orthography and Misspelling

άνίστα - 640D 82

βιοθάνατον - 657B 155

έγκενστρισθέντος - 704B 466

έδηλων - 640A 67

ἐμβριθηματι - 656B 45

ἔξῃ - 656A 136

ζεῑ - 700D 442

ἡμαρτικῶς - 769A 821

ἠνέσχετο - 636B 44

ἴδομεν - 780A 847

ξενητεΐαν - 736D 675

πακολέθριος - 636C 49

κορησάμενος - 636D 52

πτερισμός - 629A 24

σωτήρος - 777C 843

τσιουτορόπως - 781B 854

τύπηται - 736B 670

5. Words Not Found In Liddell & Scott, but in Sophocles *

ἀβάλε - 640D 81a

ἀναγωγικῶς - 653C 133

εἰσακούσεως - 665B 223

ἐκμυεῖς - 673B 263

ἐνακοσκοποῦντες - 776D 839

ἐρημοβάτευτε - 705C 488

εὐσυμπαθήτως - 764D 803

κρυφιομύστως - 728B 634

μαύζηρος - 669A 236

σελέντιον - 749A 746

τρεπτικῶς - 668D 233

* This designation does not ignore the fact that the 9th ed. of L & S, (unlike former editions), does not include Ecclesiastical words. It merely serves to indicate the extent of the non-classical words used by Gregentius.

6. Words Not Found In Either Liddell & Scott
Or Sophocles

- ἀνασκαρθῆ - 721B 585
ἀντινεμηθέν - 660B 174
ἀχριστιανοί - 693D 406
διεντέλλεται - 649C 117
διεξηχεῖται - 745C 732
ἐμπερῶν - 681D 328
ἐπιφρικωδεστάτοις - 761D 798
θάρευτον - 629A 23
κανικλείονα - 781A 849
λογοτριβῶν - 708C 505
ὀξώσας - 672B 251
προεκελάδησαν - 760C 796
συνδυάσμασιν - 720A 577
ὕπεκκλησίονα - 781A 849
ὕποκληθῆναι - 712C 528
φιμοτής - 756A 774

(Galland, Vet. Patrum Biblioth. vol. XI, p. xxii, 599)

I. Gregentius is said to have been born at Milan of Agapius his father and Theodota his mother, according to the Greek Menaea on the 19th. of December, and it certainly must be admitted, says Lequienius,¹⁾ that the name Gregentius is Latin rather than Greek. Proceeding then to Egypt he seems to have lived for some time at Alexandria, where when he had embraced the life of an anchoret, thence at length he is reported to have been sent to rule the church of the Homerites. For not far from the end of the dialogue,²⁾ Herban the Jew is said, "to have noticed Palladius the secretary of the archbishop, whom he had brought from Alexandria, etc."
 εώρα γὰρ Παλλάδιον τὸν σχολαστικὸν τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ὃν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤγαγε, κ.τ.λ. In the works of Assemanus³⁾ there is an excerpt from the History of John Bishop of Asia, which Dionysius patriarch of the Jacobites wove into his chronicle, where also it is stated that the worthy John lived and wrote in the time of Justinian: so that on this account it appears that his report must be believed. And so, when in that excerpt it is told how that the tyranny of the Jews over the Homerites was put down by the king of

1) Lequien. Or. Chr., tom. II, pag. 665c

2) Gregent. Disput. infra, 768B (Migne)

3) Assem. Bibl. orient., tom. I, pag. 381 seqq.

Egypt and now that the Christian religion was restored, at the same time mention is made of bishop Gregentius having been sent there from Alexandria. This excerpt, indeed, does honor to this best of men in many respects. Among the principal accounts of the Ethiopian expedition against the Homerites are those of Procopius,⁴⁾ Theophanes,⁵⁾ and Nicephorus,⁶⁾ from whom it might be in order here in this place to borrow some pertinent facts. But Palladius, who took down his dialogue, briefly reports the distinguished acts of the blessed priest.⁷⁾ And so, when he had passed thirty years in his episcopate, St. Gregentius died, in the opinion of Pagius,⁸⁾ in the year 552, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ 19', "on the 19th day of the month of December," as his writing shows.⁹⁾

II. We learn from books, editions, and manuscripts, that this blessed priest of the Homerites left two works of literature. And first there is the Legislation In The Name Of Abramius King Of The Homerites, which up to this time remains unpublished in the Bibliotheca Caesarea, as Lambecius reports:¹⁰⁾ Νομοθεσία τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Ἀβραμίου. Likewise Lequienius reports that this legislation, or these laws described by our bishop,

4) Procop. De bell. Persic., lib. I, cap. 20

5) Theoph. Chronogr. ad ann. Justinian. XVI

6) Niceph. Hist. eccl., lib. xvii, cap. 32

7) Gregent. Disput. infra, p. 781C sq. (Migne)

8) Pagi, ad ann. 523, section 13

9) Gregent. Disput. infra, p. 784A (Migne)

10) Lambec. Commentar. de bibl. Caesar. lib. v, apg. 231

are to be found in the codex Coislinianus CCLV, of
which Montfauconius makes mention,¹¹⁾ and that they
precede his Dialogue;¹²⁾ mention of those laws occurs
toward the end of the Dialogue.¹³⁾ Wherefore, in my
opinion there is no reason why we should think with
Fabricius,¹⁴⁾ that the Dialogue of Gregentius is muti-
lated at the beginning: for the beginning of the Dia-
logue coming immediately after his above-mentioned laws,
as we now understand from Lequienius, does not there-
fore seem to be abrupt.

III. Further, there is a better known work of Gregentius,
a Dialogue which he had with Herban the Jew. This Dia-
logue had lain for a long time in obscurity, until
Aegidius Noallius, legate of the most Christian king,
brought it from the East to Gaul. Nicolaus Gulonius,
royal professor of Greek literature, after translating
the Dialogue into Latin and dedicating it to this same
distinguished Noallius, published it at Paris in both
languages in 1586. We have used this first edition,
(printed in clear Morellian type), in preparing ours,
passing by the three which in succession followed it.
Beyond the notes of the editor, in so far as they per-
tain to the purification of the text, we have added
a very few besides from the opinion of exceedingly

11) Montf. Bibl. Coisl., pag. 304

12) Lequien., l. c. pag. 664a

13) Gregent. Disput. infra, p. 780B sq. (Migne)

14) Fabric. Bibl. Gr., tom. IX, pag. 15, et De
verit. relig. Christ., pag. 110

erudite men, whereby the same text might now go forth
 more free from error. To this we are happy to add here
 one or another note, found too late for our edition in
 the work of Lambecius.¹⁵⁾ Doubtless from the codex
 Caesareus in which is found the Dialogue With Herban
The Jew of St. Gregentius, instead of Τεφρών, which
 appears in the title of Gulonius's edition, he (Lam-
 becius) corrects to Τάφρων or rather Ταφάρων. For
 St. Gregentius was Tapharian bishop, not Tephrian, the
 seat of which was the very celebrated city Taphar in
 Arabia Felix, (said to be Saphar by Ptolemaeus).¹⁶⁾
 Lambecius continues, and instead of τῆς δοκιμασίας
 γεγонуσίας (below, p. 621A), which Gulonius translated,
 probatione facta, ('the trial was held'), he writes
 τῆς ἐτοιμασίας γεγ., apparatus facta, ('the preparation
 was made'). Finally, instead of ἐν τῷ Θρελλέτω (ibid.)
 he contends that it should be ἐν τῷ Θολωτῷ which word,
 however, seems to have been unknown to the lexicographers,
 although they recognize θόλος, from which the librarian
 at Vienna thinks this is derived. But the opinion of
 Pagius,¹⁷⁾ which also Assemanus follows,¹⁸⁾ that this
 Dialogue of St. Gregentius is fictitious, we leave to
 others to judge. If someone wishes to know the chief
 items of this Dialogue, let him consult Imbonatus,¹⁹⁾
 who however is found to have erred in this: he thinks
 the things there narrated happened in the fifth century.

15) Lambec. Commentar. bibl. Caesar., lib. v, pag. 127 seqq.

16) Ptolem. Geogr., lib. viii, in Asiae tab. vi

17) Pagi, ad ann. 523, sec. 13

18) Asseman. l.c., pag. 385, not. 1

19) Imbon. Bibl. Lat. Hebr., pag. 58, 62

Fabricius, Bibliotheca Graeca, vol. X, p. 115

Caspar Barthius elsewhere and in Bk. V of his Adversaria chap. 3 (where he makes plain more matters of this man), calls Palladius the Alexandrine the author of the Dialogue, which for five days Gregentius of Taphar held in the presence of Abramius, the Christian king of the Homerites,¹⁾ and in the presence of the bishops and very many Jews and the whole citizen-body of the metropolis of the Homerites, (Taphar or Saphar in Fortunate Arabia), about 540 A.D., with Herban the Jew, whom certain codices call νομοδιδάσκαλον. This archbishop Gregentius of Taphren, (or Taphar, or Tapharen) Barthius says, died on the 19th of December, 552 A.D. (26th. year of Justinian), after the death of Abramius in the same year 552 (the 30th year of his reign), when now Serdidus the son of Abramius was king of the Homerites.²⁾ There is no doubt but that the opinion of Barthius rests upon what is stated in that Dialogue p. 184, edition of Gulon (Ducaean. p. 264), ταῦτα τὰ ῥήματα καὶ ἑτέροις δηλωθήσονται. 'Εώρα γὰρ Παλλάδιον τὸν σχολαστικὸν τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ὃν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤγαγε, τὰ ῥήματα ἑκατέρων σημειούμενον.³⁾ "What has been said shall be made plain to others. For he saw Palladius, the secretary

-
- 1) παρόντας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ τινῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ πάσης πόλεως, p.38, ed. Gulc
 2) Conf. G. Cave Hist. litter. SS. Eccles. tom. I, p. 121. Pagii Critic. Baron. 523, X-XIII, p. 331 seq. tom. IX, Hamburger. Z. N. III, p. 396 seqq. Saxii Onom. lit. II, p. 24. Harl.
 3) Migne, 768B

of the archbishop, whom he had brought from Alexandria, taking down the whole discussion." At this place, Gulon the commentator, notes in the margin, "Hence one may conjecture that Palladius is the author of this Dialogue." I do not deny that this is more likely than that the author is Nonnosus the ambassador to the Homerites of the Emperor Justinian, (Lambeckius, Bk. V, p. 131, (p. 277 ed. Kollar. de cod. CCLXVII)), to whom also he ascribed the martyrship of Aretha and her companions, (Bk. VIII, p. 387, (p. 823 ed. Kollar. de cod. XL)). I discussed Nonnosus in vol. VI of this Bibliotheca, p. 239 our edition vol. VII, p. 543 sq. But Nicolaus Gulonius, royal professor of Greek Literature, translated this Dialogue, (which was brought from the East by Aegidius Noallius, ambassador of the most Christian king), and published it in both languages at Paris in 1586 and 1588; whence it was reprinted in Greek and Latin in Auctarius Graecus Latinus Bibl. Patrum Ducaenus, Paris 1624, vol. I and in Bibliotheca Patrum, Paris 1654, vol. XI, p. 194. I pass over the oft-repeated Latin editions in collections of the Fathers, (also in Greek and Latin In Galland, Vet. Patrum Biblioth., vol. XI, p. 599-661, where in the preface, p. xxiii there is a brief discussion about Gregentius). In all these editions, as also in codex Caesareus, (Lambeckius, Bk. V, p. 131, (p. 270 sq. Kollar)), and in codex Seguerianus, (Montfauconius in Bibl. Coislina, p. 304), certain things are missing at the beginning, as is at

once apparent to anyone from the abrupt beginning. It is not, however, as well known, that in the Royal Library at Berlin there is a four-hundred year old Slavonic codex, 4) many pages larger at the beginning, the first words of which translated into Latin, M. V. La Crose, the very learned head of that library, has sent me:

December the 19th, the Life and Conversation of our blessed father Gregory, (thus always he calls him instead of Gregentius, as in the Greek Menaea he is known as Γριγεντινος), bishop of Taphron a city of the Homerites, and the Story of his Miraculous Deeds, written by the bishop of Negran. (Hence it is clear that neither Palladius nor Nonnosus is the author but the bishop of Negran in the region of the Homerites, which is called the city of martyrs in the acts of the suffering of St. Aretha and her three hundred and forty companions, who suffered and were betrayed by Dunam the Hebrew tyrant of the Homerites). Give me your blessing, father. There is a certain town of no great name on the border of Avaria and Asia by the name of Loplianus. There dwelt the parents Agapius and Theotecna of the worthy Gregory, members of the church, joined in marriage, etc.

Codex Caesareus begins as follows:

Ἀρχὴ τῆς διαλέξεως τῶν Ἰουδαίων . Τούτων οὕτως γεγονότων καὶ οὕτω παρακλουθησάντων, καὶ τοῦ βασιλεως ἐπὶ τούτοις αἰχουντος τὸν Κύριον, καὶ τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ ἀδικεῖν τὸ σίνου μὴ τολμώντων, καὶ πάντων χαρὰ εὐφραϊζόμενων, παραγένετο καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καθὰ καὶ ἐκελεύθη αὐτοῖς, ἀναλωθείσης αὐτοῖς ἤδη τῆς προθεσμίας τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν. Παρεγένοντο δὲ τοῦ διαλεχθῆναι ἕνεκα, καὶ τοῦ βασιλεως ὑπομνησθέντος ἐτοιμασίας ἐν τῷ θολωτῷ γεγονυίας, (less correctly in editions- τῆς δοκιμασίας ἐν τῷ θρελλέτῳ γεγονυίας, confer Lambec. V, p. 129 (p. 271, Kollar) αὐτῆ δὲ τούτῳ μεγίστη καὶ πρώτη τῶν βασιλειῶν περιεστὶ. Ἐκεῖσε τοιγαρουν ἐτοιμασίας γεγονυίας, καὶ ἀπάσης τῆς τάξεως ἀθροισθείσης, παρούσης καὶ τῆς ἱερας συγκλήτου, παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ, etc.

Hence it is plain that this is not complete but mutilated in the first part, it may be better and more

4) codicem Slavonicum quadringentorum annorum

complete in editions elsewhere. And so our Reverend Wolfius (Bibl. Hebraica, p. 352) must be accepted. Concerning this Dialogue and the consequent conversion of the Jews, see

(there follows a bibliography, much of which is cited by Galland)

The work of the archbishop Gregentius which contains the legislation of his king Abramius, is found in Greek in a MS (cod. CCXLVII, n. 33) in the bibliotheca Caesareus, divided among XXIII headings and hitherto unedited. (It is also found in cod. Selleri VI. V. Cat. codd. Angliae, etc., tom. II, p. 96, n. 4775.) (then follow the headings of the first eight sections of the Laws of the Homerites.) See, Lambecius liv. V de Bibl. Vindob. p. 131 seq. (277 ed. Kollar.)

RULES COVERING USE OF MANUSCRIPT THESES
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARY
AND THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OFFICE

Unpublished theses submitted for the doctor's degrees and deposited in the University of Michigan Library and in the Office of the Graduate School are open for inspection, but are to be used only with due regard to the rights of the authors. For this reason it is necessary to require that a manuscript thesis be read within the Library or the Office of the Graduate School. If the thesis is borrowed by another Library, the same rules should be observed by it. Bibliographical references may be noted, but passages may be copied only with the permission of the authors, and proper credit must be given in subsequent written or published work. Extensive copying or publication of the thesis in whole or in part must have the consent of the author as well as of the Dean of the Graduate School.

This thesis by William T. Radius
has been used by the following persons, whose signatures attest their acceptance of the above restrictions.

A Library which borrows this thesis for use by its readers is expected to secure the signature of each user.

NAME AND ADDRESS DATE