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

Τοῦ ἐν ἄγιοις Γρηγορείου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου
γενομένου Τέφρων Διάλεξις μετὰ Τουδαίου
ἐκβαίνει τούνομα

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.)
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.
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Biographical notices of Gregentius are rare and meager. 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 Soplian—"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 Eleesbaan (Caleb) in 528 had overcome Dunaan, the Jewish king of the Homerites, Grentius 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 (Zafar) he spread Christianity among the idolaters of Yemen. He died in 552 on the 19th. of December, (according to the Dialogue, 784A).


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 Saphar, 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). No strong historical weight can be attached to the tradition which credits him with these two works. 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 116 f.). In so far as they concern the Dialogue they are discussed at their proper place in the Commentary.


2) Moberg, *op. cit.* p. 111, "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, 314). 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 Heidentums*, 1927, p. 230 sq.) It is this struggle which our Dial. reflects. The judgement of Wright, (Nebel 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 Menaeae 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. However, this fourfold partition is merely arbitrary and convenient and does not represent a logical arrangement of the material. The fact is that there is no discernible order or sequence in the debate; 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 wilt 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."
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 ("The Lord doth build up Jerusalem: he gathereth together the outcasts of Israel.")

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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 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."

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."

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,
1. 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.

* * *

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753BC: Psalm 96:10

753D: Gregentius' response to Herban's arguments.

756A: Herban's continued argument.

761A: Gregentius' response to Herban's argument about the Cross.

761D: Gregentius' further response on the impossibility of the Cross.

765B: Herban's question about Jesus breaking the Sabbath.

765C: Gregentius' response to Herban's question.

768B: Palladius' role in recording the discussion.

768C: Gregentius' discussion on Moses and Elijah.

769A--772D: Gregentius' detailed response to Herban's arguments on Christ's perfection.

773B: Conclusion of the discussion with Herban's baptism and that of 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 unsailable. 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).

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1) I cannot agree with the opinion of Williams, Adversus Judæos, 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.
IV

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. 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. 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. 162.
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.  \[1\]

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 greater correspondence to the NT form.  \[2\]

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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 $\Gamma$ can be added. This agreement of Q and $\Gamma$ 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 $\Gamma$ to Q: "...a text[$\Gamma$] 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.

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<td>629C 26</td>
<td>721A 584</td>
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<td>657C 159</td>
<td>724C 608</td>
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<td>664A 209</td>
<td>728A 630</td>
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<td>664B 210</td>
<td>728B 632</td>
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<td>680B 300</td>
<td>728C 656</td>
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<td>684C 334</td>
<td>736C 672</td>
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<td>685B 344</td>
<td>744A 706</td>
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<td>717A 560</td>
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3. Double or triple quotations frequently do not agree throughout.

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<td>640B 69</td>
<td>709A 508</td>
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<td>713B 533</td>
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<td>725A 617</td>
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<td>729B 642</td>
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<td>748D 745</td>
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<td>757D 790</td>
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<td>708C 504</td>
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4. Occasionally only part of a text is quoted, (sometimes followed by καὶ τίς ὁσ.), 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?

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<td>641C 88</td>
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<td>745B 727</td>
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5. There are some paraphrases or loose quotations.

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<th>632A</th>
<th>30</th>
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Scriptural Quotations And Their Sources

I

Old Testament

Gen.
2:18 625D LXX
12:2 660A dpd2
12:3 625A LXX
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 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
16:5 676C LXX
16:10 645B,C LXX (v. Commentary) mg b
17:14 672C B non inst 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 LXX
41:8 657C LXX
41:9 657C LXX
47:1 748D LXX

(discontinued from previous page)

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
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.a.
86:17 693C  LXX
94:1 780A  LXX
94:14 673B  LXX  c.a.
94:16 673D  Sin  AT
96:5 753D  LXX
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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, 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)

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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." 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
the author's dramatic art, 

WILLIAMS'S OPT. 67. Is this not proof of nothing more than

the statement that the Prétre's broke out once into laughter.

If this be true, then the Prétre was found out. In clear form

did take place. Upon which the truth of the matter was founded and a new

departure between a Christian and a Jew.

\[ \text{[Note: however, some sort of a disturbance between a Christian and a Jew.]} \]

**SHAKESPEARE:**

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**Timothy and Antigone.**
The Discussion of St. Gregentius
Archbishop of Taphar
With The Jew Herban

The First Day's Debate

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, 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, made Herban their spokesman for the debate. This man was very learned in the law, the sacred books of the prophets, the Octateuch, and all the other writings of Scripture. A crowd of Scribes, Pharisees, and teachers of the Law stood round about him. From 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 Sôn of Righteousness has risen, why do you obstinately

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1 Superior figures refer to notes which will be found on p.101
contend with his light, resisting and refusing to believe in him?

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

GREG. Whose 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. Then 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 to have you employ 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.

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." 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, 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 and to the prophets, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as objects for belief, but only 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..." 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, why 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 God is one Lord, and besides Him there is no other God."

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 natures 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." 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 logic of our argument. You Jews in holding the Godhead to be only one, turn its simplicity into poverty, cheaply disposing of the aff airs 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." And Again, "[I] called my son out of Egypt." If then God calls Israel his first-born 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 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?

He has taken his birthright; he took also his blessing, and from the face of lawful service, he fled to another country,—to the confirmation, I mean, pleasing to God, 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 supplanting was a type of our supplanting. In that instance the younger son supplanted the older. Now the younger people supplanted
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?

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 up-rooted 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;" and, "I would make the remembrance of them to cease from among men." 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.

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 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, shall be destroyed from among the people.KEN unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him." 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!
So then David is as Moses? Not at all.

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.

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 eyes."

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 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.

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

"A ruler shall not fail from Judah, nor a prince from his bones, until there come the things thereof; shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come. And he is the expectation of the Gentiles." What now do you say about this? Are then these things not so?

HERB. We know that he is going to appear, but 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 the Gentiles had not believed on him, as Jacob said they would, with good reason you would be saying that he has not come. But if, in accordance
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.

GREG. Yes, he came to his own dishonor, in order 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."

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
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." 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", and that he himself next said, "He did appear upon the earth and was conversant with men." And you say, "You 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
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 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 wrath you made to go for forty days, Isaiah you sawed asunder, 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?

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 prophets have spoken of it.

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 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 Sabek in which a ram was caught fast
at the time of Abraham, bringing release for
Isaac, typified the sacred cross. The ram typified
the flesh of the Word of God nailed to the cross;
the thicket foreshadowed the cross.

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

GREG. I do not allegorize, but I persuade you from
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, raising himself 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? 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? When Moses, stretch-
ing forth his hands in the shape of a cross, de-
feated Amalek, did he not typify the cross?
HERB. You, wherever you find the wood useful in the Old Testament, think it fitting to liken it to your cross.

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

HERB. As I previously said, of the many things which you have learned you conveniente allegorize those which are to your advantage.

COR. 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? 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 shuddered and grew dark, and the moon did not give her light, 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,

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." It was with spir-

Ital. insight that he spoke of his suffering as
grapes, even because his suffering was going to
bring salvation to the world. 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 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
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, "Let us destroy the
his tree with the fruit thereof, and let us cut him
off from the land of the living." And previously,
as an innocent lamb led to the slaughter, hence not, "70
"But I was like a lamb or an ox that is brought to
the slaughter, and I knew not." Show me, therefore, where was Jeremiah killed, where did they put wood into his head. "destroy the tree with the fruit thereof"? Perhaps 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, whether in reference to himself or to another 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 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 uttered plain sayings. Hear then what David says concerning his coming down from heaven to the Virgin for the sake of being made flesh. "He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass; as showers that water the earth."

HERB. David said this of Solomon, and why do you change the reference?

GREG. As it continues, what does the psalm say? "In his days shall the righteous flourish." And who of you shall convict him of sin? Solomon, 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 and healed your diseases and raised 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." 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." Did not all Ethiopia believe on him and does it not daily worship him as true God? "And his enemies shall lick the dust." Who are his enemies? Are they not the Jews, who lick the dust out of great hunger? 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." 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?

"And he shall break in pieces the oppressor, and he will live as long as the sun, and before the moon, throughout all generations." And then you say that this was spoken concerning Solomon! Show me what oppressor Solomon crushed. Did he 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 name? Neither was David at that time uttering his prophecies.

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 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." And similarly,
that "His name continues before the sun", means that his name shall have glory and honor before the kingdom in the whole world.

644A GREG. Solomon subdued demons? You do not know what you are saying. For a time he kept them safely in vessels, and sealed them down, and covered them with earth. But consider with me the thing that then took place. He was overcome 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, he gathered together a band of women and instituted the worship of idols and burned incense to the abominations of error, and betaking himself to his palace he shamefully lay with a foreign woman. On a sudden 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:

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), 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." All nations shall bless him. And just above, "His name shall be blessed forever." 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. How can you say that there is no one who blesses him?

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 Solomon 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.

And unless our Lord Jesus Christ, when crucified and dead, he descended into Hades, had reached forth his hand to save him, he would be having nothing. Not only will his name not be blessed, as you say it will, from beginning to end, but also to endless ages he shall be punished with sinners, as a transgressor and as one who has fallen from whatever 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 in hell"?

HERB. Clearly concerning himself he speaks, beseeching God as a suppliant.

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, inasmuch 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. 

HERB. For that matter, if thus it is as you say, then this is not the word of the Lord, "Thou wilt 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 man. He possessed two natures and two beings and two volitions, but in one 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 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 was made flesh," as the Scripture says, "and dwelt among us."

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."

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."

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

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 Christianity 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 break them with 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." Then he says, "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish
from the way."

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 kindled, but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him."

Why? He was not God; 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. 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." What then do you say to these things?

C GREG. Because of the carved images of the Canaanites these things were there commanded 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, "The
Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool." What 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. David also was Lord, in the days of his kingdom, of all the land over which he was king. God therefore spoke to him saying, "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.

Although all this discussion took place between the most holy archbishop and Herban the teacher of the law, when the pious king was also present and certain bishops and a crowd of Jews and the whole city, the question in dispute reached no 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. 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 commanded 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. 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, 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 overcame 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 the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies."

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? You would not be able to show this!

GREG. In a spiritual sense, 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 Sinai 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 gave to rule the whole universe, when the end comes and the resurrection takes place. And all the saints 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."

HERB. Do you mean that he who was born of Joseph will come to judge the world? 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
E says concerning him, "I have begotten thee from the womb before the morning." 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." 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." 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."

Isaiah says, explaining how his humanity came into the world, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Emmanuel," which is, being interpreted, "God is with us." There David speaks of how by the mere Godhead, "I have begotten thee from the womb before the morning"; 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?

HERE. 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 Joseph as you think, but of the Holy Spirit he was begotten. The prophet has spoken concerning him, and,
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." 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? That it was given to one who had been joined in marriage to another woman, 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 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 born 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.

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? 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 other. However, that your Christ died a violent death offends my spirit.

GREG. Since you do not understand the divine mystery of the suffering of his death you are naturally offended. Hear what the prophet says of Judas the betrayer, "He that did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me." And later he says of him, "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." 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. They denounced a wicked word against me. And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love." And in another place Isaiah 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." 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." 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."

560. HERB. Perhaps we have been called nations as well as people. 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"? 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"? And afterwards, "And I shall know that this nation is thy people"? And this, "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed." Since you were called a royal priesthood by Moses, you are kings; since you were chosen to be first out of all nations, you are rulers. You took counsel together against the Lord, as God and Saviour; against his anointed, as true man, seeing that he was God and had become man. 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 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." 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." 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." 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 shearsers is dumb," so he openeth not his mouth." The soldiers mocked and crucified him, and the sun grew dark and the moon was wrapped in darkness. Vinegar and gall you gave him to drink and his garments you parted. David prophesies, "They sneered at me most contumeliously, they gnashed their teeth
Upon me. O Lord when wilt thou look upon me?" And Jeremiah spoke concerning the cross, "Let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof, and let us cut him off from the land of the living, that his name be no more remembered." And concerning those who reproached him when he hanged on the cross, David says, "All they that see me laugh me to scorn: they shoot out the lip, they shake the head, saying, He trusted on the Lord: that he would deliver him: let him deliver him, seeing he delighted in him." And of the nails with which they nailed his feet and his hands when they hanged him, as the people of Jerusalem stood about in a circle and watched, he said, "For dogs have compassed me." That moreover they were of your accursed synagogue, hear, "The assembly of the wicked have inclosed me." And concerning the nails, "They pierced my hands and my feet. They counted all my bones." And of the parting of his garments, "They part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture." And of the vinegar 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." 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." That he will die on the cross Isaiah says, "As many were astonished at thee," although seeing thee work wonders before
thy suffering. "So shall thy face be without glory from men, and many nations shall wonder at him. 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." That he was pierced in the side with a spear, he says, "A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, for his face is turned from us: he was dishonored and not esteemed." In order that the prophet might show that he had to suffer, (not for himself, for he himself had no sin), but because of our sin, he continues, "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." 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, "Because he suffered I am offended." You see that because of our sins, or rather for the sins of the world, he was betrayed to death. Hearken to what follows. "The chastisement of our peace," he says, "was upon him." 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. Listen therefore to the prophet, O Herban, and be persuaded, as he says, "With his stripes we are healed." Our Lord
gave himself up to death for our sins. He says, "For the transgression of my people he was stricken, and I will give the wicked for his burial, and the rich for his death." And he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death." And David says, "He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbor." Those who understand the truth about him have borne witness, but you who are blind, foolish, senseless, malignant, stupid, unbelieving, abusive, confused, and darkened, say to him, "Thou hast a devil," and taking up stones, you went after him, saying, "For a good work we stone thee not, but because thou, being a man, makest thyself God." Alas for your wretchedness; you are to be pitied above all men! Yet, attend to the words, "Neither was any deceit in his mouth." 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 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 son." "I shall give him all the heathen, who are 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 return 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, but of your own free will you deny the truth and you do not choose to admit the truth.

When he had heard all this Herban was stunned and for a long time stood speechless, unable to make any reply. The crowd of Jews who were standing there and who had heard everything were amazed, knowing 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.

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," and then, "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him," 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 respect, "Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" To none other, I reckon, except to all nations, for Isaiah knew your unbelief. Therefore also elsewhere he speaks with a view to your shamelessness, "Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but
perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and
their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see
with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and under-
stand with their heart, and convert, and be healed."

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

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
listened to. Yet, since our law was first given
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.

GREG. Moses said, "The Lord thy God will raise up
unto thee a Prophet...like unto me," that is, a
lawgiver, "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever
shall not hear the word of God, that prophatic shall be destroyed from among the people
will not hearken...I will require it of him."

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 the soul that it may know the Lord." 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 law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul," he referred to the law which sits in judgment 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 unnatural lusts. 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 scattered 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, etc." 231 But you, with a sort of sleight-of-hand and craftiness and a very quick-sighted skill appropriate all these matters to your own ends. For with a smooth
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 enumeration 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."

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. 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 Pharæn."

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

GREG. Thaeman shows that he came from above, from heaven, that is, originally. The truth reveals that 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 unapproachable-ness 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.

C Herba. 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 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." Tell me, who is that God and who is that Holy One?

Herba. 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 is greater than that Holy One.

GREG. See how you have slipped and you do not realize it. Above you said 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. "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; since, as I stated above, my Lord Jesus was twofold, God and man. This same prophet says previously concerning him, "Thou shalt be known between the two living creatures," that is, thou shalt be known between the two persons and the two 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."

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 than new.

GREG. Your law is old wine, but since it has turned sour it has become useless. I know that a veil always covers your heart and prevents you from giving your assent to the truth, and keeps you from hearing the words of life and faith, and from truly believing. Nevertheless, with justice renouncing you, the prophet has said, "0 Lord, scatter them shortly from the earth in their life. Appoint, O Lord, a lawgiver over them: that the nations may know themselves to be but men."

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

The Father appointed him lawgiver over the nations, 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
beseeching 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 unmixed wine; and he has turned it from side to side." God has turned from the old law to the new, which is the fulfillment of the honeyflowing words and thoughts of the sacred prophets. 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.

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."

GREG. And why did you not read the verse which
follows? That the Lord will not cast off his people,
I know better than you, and I understand very clearly that he will not forsake his inheritance. 265
But, tell me, how long? The verse that precedes 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 Christianity. 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 new grace, the upright in heart, both Jews and Gentiles who have believed on him. But of you unbelieving Jews, the same prophet says, "Who will rise up for me against the evil doers? or who will stand up for me against the workers of iniquity?" 266 It is certainly clear that in the last days, Vespasian rose up and Titus, and according to the prophet, destroyed 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, and strangers devour us with their teeth." 268 And indeed deservedly!

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 gathereth together the outcasts of Israel. He healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds." 270 Whether soon, whether late, this word shall be
fulfilled. What then have I to do with you, 0 archbishop?

GREG. If you founded 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 Cyrus in pity rebuild it, and bring you who were dispersed together again? Was not your city delivered 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 already 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 make mention of their names with my lips." Of the inheritance which pertains to him, his only-begotten Son said to God himself, "Thou art he that restores my inheritance to me." You see, 0 Herban, how from his very heart God has hated you, and has decreed 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 be-
nighted and blinded and confused and forgotten?

HERB. Behold, does not the prophet say, "Happy is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose

D hope is in the Lord his God."? Behold, does not even Moses say, "You shall perish unless you have the

279 law for an aid."? And of you Gentiles David said, "Ye Gentiles shall perish out of his land." And

280 again Moses, "For they are a nation void of counsel, neither is there any understanding in them." Be-

281 hold, does not Isaiah say, "Rejoice not, all ye Phil-

282 istines, because the yoke of him that smote you is broken." Since therefore you are condemned by the

283 prophets, in vain do you rejoice, and in vain do you hope.

284

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 glor-
ious 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
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 never yet have you
possessed your own land. Behold, therefore, in accord-
ance with the saying of the Lord, "I will completely
scatter them," you are scattered among all nations
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 he declares, "As I have pur-
poused, so it shall remain, even to destroy the Assy-
rions upon my land, and upon my mountains: and they
shall be for trampling." What have you to say to
this?

HERB. What can one say in answer to an idle bab-
bler? 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, ...and
I will bring them into their land, and they shall
dwell in the midst of Jerusalem: and they shall be
my people, and I will be their God, in truth and in
righteousness." And below, "And it shall come to
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: fear not, but let  
your hands be strong. For thus saith the Lord of  
hosts: As I thought to punish you, when your fathers  
provoked me to wrath, saith the Lord of hosts, and I  
repented not: So again have I thought in these days  
to do well unto Jerusalem and to the house of Judah:  
fear ye not. These are the words of God." What  
now will you say in answer to this, O archbishop?  
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 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? Will not this  
continue forever, until Satan and Antichrist come into  
the world? You were set at nought and found to be  
utterly useless, so that God called the Gentiles in  
your stead. And hear Zechariah as he says, "Thus  
saith the Lord of hosts; It shall yet come to pass,  
that there shall come people, and the inhabitants of  
many cities: And the inhabitants of one city shall  
go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray  
before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of hosts..."  
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..." What do you say to this?  
HERB. Micah the prophet says, "In that day, saith the
Lord, will I assemble her that halteth, and I will receive gather her that is driven out, and her that I have all that is driven out; And I will make her that halted a remnant, and her that was cast far off a strong nation: and the Lord shall reign over them in mount Zion from henceforth, even for ever."

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" he foreshadowed the sojourn in Jerusalem of the Gentiles, and by "her that is driven out" he means that idolatry has been driven out of these same Gentiles. 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, 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; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting," because even God was from eternity. "Therefore shall he appoint them
to wait till the time of her that brings forth." 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." 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." And that you may see that the Gentiles are given over to him: "And he shall feed his flock in the strength of the Lord. And the Gentiles shall dwell in the glory of the name of the Lord his God." "Therefore now shall the good shepherd be magnified to the ends of the earth," 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." HERB. If that were true, why did not the prophet say, "... out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler among the Gentiles," instead of "in Israel"? GREG. Israel means, "The Mind Seeing God." 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."

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

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
Therefore, 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.

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. Spiritually, 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 salvation, should you wish to be saved. The "remnant of Israel" is that multitude of Hebrews who believed in the coming of Christ. It is a remnant left by God, that is to say, chosen. The race of mankind was preserved 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 seed of hosts had left unto you a very small remnant, you
should have been as Sodom, and you should have been like unto Gomorrah," 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 daughters of Zion," he refers to the believers. And 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," 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. "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. For the Holy Spirit is capable of burning away defilement. The words, "...to exalt and glorify the remnant," refer to the multitude of Israel, which having been purged 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, you have the two thousand, you have the five thousand who ate the loaves, you have the four thousand, all of whom you killed, making them martyrs 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 remnant of Israel shall be saved."

HERS. Forthwith you twist the words of the prophecy to suit your point of view. Granted that you are right, when did the crucified one, walking in Jerusalem, 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."?

GREG. Were you living in the days of his sojourn on earth, and did you see whether a cloud overshadowed,
and whether a fire shone with burning light, or that something else happened, so that 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 thistles. The prophet says that the Lord, "...shall come," 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." 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 subjection 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," refers to the fact that when Christ was transfigured on Mt. Thabor in the presence of his disciples, a bright cloud 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. "...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 divinity 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. and David says, "He made darkness," that is, his body, "his secret place" 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. On this account the one suffering from smoke 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" --he himself was a light, as also he said, "I am come a light into the world." 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 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 from the
heat by day," --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
chance happenings and "the destruction that wasteth
at noon-day," and from the rest of the tyranny of
Satan, from "inclemency" and evil rain. Are these
distortions, and senseless and unclean thoughts?
These matters, O Herban, must be interpreted and de-
determined 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." Sorech means choice vine. This
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 grapes, it has brought forth
thorns." As he goes on, he tells of your de-
struction and of the just fate that shall overtake
you. "And now I will tell you what I will do to
my vineyard." 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." What is the hedge? The law, of course, 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." 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," that is to say, I shall leave it desolate. "And it shall not be pruned nor dug," which means, I shall bestow no care on it. "And thorns shall come up upon it as on barren land." That is, much sin shall be heaped 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." 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 it, he added, "For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel, and the men of Judah his beloved plant," 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." 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 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), "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, which shall be left by the Assyrians, and that from Egypt, and from the country of Babylon, and from 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 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.
And it shall be to Israel as the day when he came forth
out of the land of Egypt. 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, and hast pitied me." 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 advan­tage. What favors my point of view you passed over
in silence. What 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." 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." Do you take not­ice, boorish and ignorant one, that the prophet has
said that his rest shall be divinely 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. But you people continue in the same disobedience. After for a time remaining steadfast, 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 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 you see clearly. You also see that "in him shall the Gentiles trust." That "his rest shall be glorious," 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." In what day? Forsooth, in the day that he who "shall rise to rule" arose. If you say 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
396 have said Last Day. But you would not be able to
show this. Therefore he says, "In that day, the Lord
shall again show his hand." What does it mean, "the
Lord shall show"? That he who received the Gentiles
when they turn to him, will recall also from Israel,
398 the true Israelites, who both faithfully keep the law,
and eagerly adopt Christianity through faith in him;
399 and will turn to Christianity, not only them from Je-
rusalem, but also from the ends of the earth. For
after his disciples had been scattered to the twelve
400 winds 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
401 it he will gather together to salvation the lost ones
of Israel, and the outcast ones of Judah to the king-
dom 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,
401 "Show me a standard [AV: token] for good, etc."
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." And you say that, those who have been separated from the law and who have believed on Christ, these alone does the prophet include with certainty. How do you explain this contradiction?

GREG. What is written concerning the law? "Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them." Therefore, they who do not keep the 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. 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 before the advent of Christ, 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 believe 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 unyielding, he rendered them obtuse. And they disbelieving, 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 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. For this reason, the kingdom of Ephraim had become 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 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,
Isaiah said, "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, This counsel shall not abide." And a little below,
"And yet within sixty and five years the kingdom of Ephraim shall cease from being a people." 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"? 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 the land of promise. But now in a spiritual sense, having come forth out of sin, first he has been liberated 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 wonderful 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 mastery over the question under discussion by arguing allegorically, 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." Did not the prophet say these things? Explain them. For behold, a pure testimony 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, "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?

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 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 gather the Gentiles out from the Gentiles, as you say? Again, did the Gentiles dwell in the land of their fathers? What have Hebrews and Gentiles in common? Do you speak true things, O archbishop?

This that you have spoken is not true.

GREG. You ask 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 the Gentiles who did not believe. You ask whether the Lord shall settle the Gentiles in the city of
Jerusalem, as in the abode of their fathers. If you did not have eyes I would be concerned about this point. Look up and see, how that all of Jerusalem 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," God has fulfilled. As for your question, 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." And who are they that have escaped from the Gentiles, whom the Lord will send forth, other than the heralds of Christ, the prelates 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, and Thobel, and to Greece, and to the isles afar off, to those who have not heard my glory; 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." You see therefore, O Herban, Isaiah discoursing concerning the coming of Christ, to the Jews beloved by God said, "They shall bring your brethren out of all nations for a gift to the Lord." So that those Jews who were faithful before the coming of
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, 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.

HERB. As the Lord God lives, I praise your words which are spoken with understanding and out of great experience. Yet, again Isaiah says, "and I will lead forth the seed that came of Jacob and of Judah, and they shall inherit my holy mountain." When 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 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." Behold how the Lord who fulfilled the law made clear beforehand through his prophets that he would work also a change in the priesthood:

"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," that is, through faith in Christ, referring
to those of you who have believed in Christ.
"And it shall come to pass from month to month,"
(indicating the various festivals of the Christians),
"and from Sabbath to Sabbath," (meaning Sundays),
"that all flesh shall come to worship before me in
Jerusalem, saith the Lord." You notice, O fool,
he says, "all flesh shall come." He who has said to
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 drink with him, etc.,"
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," that is,
the bones of those who had died and had previously
dwelt 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
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." When you hear the Lord saying through his prophet, "Behold I am going to gather all nations and tongues," and, "all flesh shall come to worship before me in Jerusalem," no longer 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 unhappy. And seeing all these things, keep still, be quiet, and do not fight with God, but yield to the truth. As for the text which you have cited, "Thus saith the Lord, I will lead forth the seed that came of Jacob and of Judah, and they shall inherit my holy mountain," 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 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 spiritually of the seed of Christ. Concerning this seed which is engrafted through Jesus Christ in the seed of Judah, the prophet has spoken. He shall lead it forth after the spiritual work of this present 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 manufacturer of much clever speech, have set you as protagonist in their place, for you are skillful at perverting words. Perhaps, if you so decide, you will pervert with your words 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. 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."

Therefore, also you, O archbishop, according to this injunction, since you belong to those nations overcome by fear, so judge as to assist us your neighbor, who are even your brethren, since we are kindred, for from us you claim your salvation. Instead, the royal priesthood, the race of Israel, you thrust aside, 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, and the coppersmith that smites with the hammer, and
forges also: sometimes he will say, It is a piece
well joined: they have fastened them with nails," that is, the idols. "They will fix them, laboring on
the earth, and they shall not be moved." In them

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 ends
of the earth, and from the high places of it I have
called thee. Fear 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." Attend, O great master, that you
may marvel at God's great love for Israel. Hear words
full of love and boundless ardor. "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-
solutely raged against thee; for they shall be as if
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 redeems thee,
O holy Israel." 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. 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 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," 0 Herban, you who still are wandering about in the desert, hearken to what I say, and do not err, 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 say that perhaps Christ came from the tribe of Ishmael, (seeing that Ishmael as well as Isaac was a son of Abraham), the prophet said, "...thou art my servant Jacob, whom I have loved." But if you persist in saying 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 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." How can you say that God is 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 you do not possess 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 obedience, in what glory or honor or exercise of power? Are you not as ashes and as a mist before the face? Behold, Hebrews are here, and also yourself. Let them who wish look at 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 unbelief 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 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 in the whole earth, being spat on by all and receiving no redemption from the Lord? You are
C deceived, O Herbas. 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. 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," 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." 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. God has given me spiritual eyes wherewith I spy out the truth that lies hidden in his sacred Scripture. You being blind shall not be able to ensnare me.

HERB. And if thus it is, how can you call your Christ God, seeing that 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." 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." What follows: 

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

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.

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, except sin; his divine nature possessed all the qualities of the Father, except the state of not being begotten; his Word was begotten. 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 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," that is, the mysteries of the new grace, "I have raised him up," he says, "to be a king with righteousness, and all his ways are right," that is, Christ's. "He shall build my city," that is, the universal Church, "...and shall turn the captivity of my people," from the error and captivity of Satan. "Not with ransoms," says he, "nor with rewards, saith the Lord God," 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," forsooth, because of the certainty of their subjection. "And they shall pass over to thee, and shall do obeisance to thee," through faith, "and make supplication to
because God is in thee," that is, in thy human nature; "thou art God." Observe, "And there is no God beside thee," 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," and although thou wert made flesh, they received thee not. But thou art "the Saviour." And then, concerning those who do not believe in him, he says, "All that are opposed to him shall be ashamed;" he says this both of us Gentiles, and of you Hebrews. "And they shall walk in shame," 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 think that the proofs of the prophets persuade you, but you do not wish to come to the truth. An evil attitude having been established 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." 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 unable to believe 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 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 how to write, what is the result?

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?

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 by the Breath of his mouth, etc." 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 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." 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 disregard your God and provoke him to wrath, who commands you to worship his Son, will you ever hearken to me or to another in this matter? I do not think so, 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 Gentiles.

GREG. Not at all do they contradict themselves, or favor the Jews, as you say, but rather do they condemn you, since from the beginning you have been stiff-necked and of uncircumcised ears, disbelieving 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? Who will join debate with you who are a perverter of words? Did not God say to Moses at the thorn-bush, "I have surely seen the affliction of my people that is in Egypt...and I have come down to deliver them"? 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?"
Did not God, since he loved his people, that is us, show him his glory? And Balaam who was summoned 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. Did not Joshua the son of Nun, waging dire war for the safety of his people, say to the greatest heavenly bodies 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"? And the sun obeyed, sparing 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, which thou hast redeemed"? Did not Elijah the prophet speak to Ahab, saying, "Spare the people. Art thou he that perverts Israel, thou and thy father's house"? Elisha pleading on behalf of the people said by himself, "Lord spare thy people; and he did not disclose to me, and I am in pain the whole day long." Did not Jeremiah, weeping for his people, say, "O Lord, will thou destroy the remnant of Israel, save thy people, the remnant of Israel"? And Isaiah, "Where is the abundance of thy mercy, Lord, that thou hast withheld thyself from us? 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? and hast hardened our hearts,
that we should not fear thee, etc." 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-
close 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." Hearken, that you may under-
stand and be amazed. "The ox knoweth his owner
who bought him, and the ass his master's crib:
but Israel doth not know me, my people doth not con-
sider." You see a mystery in his mention of the
crib of the herd at which daily they feed.
"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? Then he adds, "Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity," 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," but now he speaks of "lawless sons". And he continues the charge, "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" in your heart by Satan, fashioning lawlessnesses? The former extent of your wickedness, says Isaiah, did not suffice, but even still blasphemying, 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." 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. "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; neither wound, nor bruise, nor festering ulcer are healed," 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," because of the permanence of sin. "It is not possible to apply a bandage," because of their unrepentant heart. "Your country is desolate," refers to your earthly tabernacles, 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," 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. "Your land, strangers devour it in your presence," that is, human life, and the evil spirits consume your mind; "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 awaits 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."

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), 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, 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 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, we should have been as Sodom, and we should have been like unto Gomorrah."

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 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
yourself. As for the words, "Except he had left unto us a seed," I indicated to you above, that this signified those Israelites 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, ye rulers of Sodom," you know the rest of the text, and he continues, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord?" 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 delight not in the fat of lambs, and the blood of bulls and goats: neither shall ye come with these to appear before me." How God hates you! 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 who has required these things at your hands?" that is, the sacrifices; "ye shall no more tread my court."

Therefore, to whom shall we hearken, to David or to the Lord, even our God? Observe now. You say, "The Lord doth build up Jerusalem: he gathereth together the outcasts of Israel." 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." When you hear 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, and your festivals my soul hates: ye have become loathsome to me." Therefore God says, "All things that you perform in your Jewish ceremonies my soul hates." 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." See the anger and displeasure of God. As when a man enduring countless evils from another and being no longer able to bear them, says in great hate, "No longer do I endure you, but I shall avenge myself on you," 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." Spare, O Lord, those who have hope 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. 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. But if you do, 'I will turn away mine eyes from you: and though ye make supplications, I will not hearken to you,' 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.'" Why? "For your hands are full of blood," he says, from the murder of his 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 of your God, when he does not accept your petitions? What is the reason? "Because your hands are full of blood." What blood? I call heaven this day to witness against you and the sea, 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 cleansed from this sin. For this reason even the prophet, rather God himself adds, saying, "Wash you, 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," 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."

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. 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, washed 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.
These things were spoken on the second day between Herban and the archbishop. When the king arose they again withdrew in a commotion. 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 to the same place, also Herban arrived with his guard. And when he drew near, the archbishop said to him,

The Third Day's Debate

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, "I delight not: neither shall ye come with these to appear before me," and, "Ye shall no more tread my court; though ye bring fine flour, it is vain; incense is an abomination to me," and, "I cannot bear your new moons, and your Sabbaths, and the great day," that is, I have no need of this day, and, "Your fasting, and rest from work, and your feasts my soul hates," and, "Ye have become loathsome to me," and, "When ye stretch forth your hands, I will turn away mine eyes from you," and, "Though ye make supplications, I
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 lavers of the people? Your claim is absurd. Beyond any doubt, God through the prophet mystically fore-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 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 transgressors. And I will establish thy judges as before, and thy counsellors as at the beginning: and afterward thou shalt be called the city of righteousness, the faithful mother-city Zion." Observe well what God says by the mouth of his prophet and you will see that he foretold our restoration. 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?

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, "They that return of her," that is, of Jerusalem, "shall be saved with judgment."

HERB. If we enter in, you thrust us out, and if we go out, you drive us within. 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, 0 Herban. Hear what the prophet says concerning you, that you may understand this also: "The word," he says, "which came to Isaiah the son of Amos concerning Judæa and concerning Jerusalem." Coming from whence? From God, forsooth. Concerning what? "Concerning Judæa 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 on the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills." 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? This is not at all the case. But, 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 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 and from whence he arose and immediately above the tomb a temple was raised and is called the Holy Resurrection. 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, 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." Here you have a clear prophecy in which there is nothing cryptic, but one in which the truth is spoken openly.

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?

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 same 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? 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.

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, 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."

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 remaining 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 threat of that consummation, that is, of the burning with fire. And neither shall they be in want, 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." 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 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." 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 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 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, "the proud heart, even upon the ruler of the Assyrians, and upon the boastful haughtiness of his eyes." For he says, "I will act in the strength 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." 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 Assyrians, he says, that is, the kingdom of the Assyrians, indeed of the Persians. For God gave way to this kingdom and showed Jerusalem the most terrible evils, when even the captain of Nebuchadnezzar set fire to the house of God, and led away the people into captivity. 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 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, "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 something or other? 'Or shall a staff be lifted up by itself,' and strike 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, 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." 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. 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 conquest and living abroad, 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 against Jerusalem and took it, after the death of king Manasseh, 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 wantonness had darkened and had made neglectful and forgetful 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 prophet said, "The light of Israel shall be as a fire, and it shall sanctify him," which indeed it did. Concerning the king who led Manasseh away captive, because this king was insolent and did not reckon 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
What are the mountains which he says 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 spiritual fruit. For acorns are the food of pigs; and the deeds of sinners, the food of demons. He includes the whole race of the Assyrians when he speaks of mountains, 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 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 circumscribed. 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 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 theirgoodliness perished, and their 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 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 country. This, 0 Herban, is the true interpretation of the prophecy. The interpretation which you gave, or rather tried to give, was an old-womanish tale, useless.

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 rest.

GREG. And if 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, for you are an enemy, and protecting your own interests as it were with a shield, you take your stand against me. You despise my point of view and heedlessly slight me.

GREG. If 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, uttering 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 be instructed. Anticipate and resist their prophecies, 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." And the Lord answered, saying, "Will a woman forget her child, so as not to have compassion upon the offspring of her womb? but if a woman should even forget these, yet I will not forget thee, saith the Lord." God says, "I will not forget thee," and
you say that he has no need of us, nor of our law.

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, 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: saying to them that are in bonds, Go forth, and to them that are in darkness, Show yourselves." 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, making him equal to him who fashioned him?

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", 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 on them shall comfort them,"
with the Comforter, the Holy Spirit; "and through
fountains of waters shall lead them," 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," that is, they shall attend 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 north and from the west, and others from the land of the Persians." In these regions of the earth which are thought to be Gentile, they who shall come dwell. "Rejoice, ye heavens," that is, the angels; "and let the earth be glad," that is, the people who have obtained salvation; "let the mountains break forth 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," that is, those who are greatly burned 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 melodies 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, which is the crown of the angels of God; "and all the fountains of Judah shall flow with water." He speaks of the spiritual veins 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." 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." I refer to every foreign tribe, all those
who are not offspring of the sacred pool, through the
holy baptism. Why? "Because," says, he, "they
have shed the blood of the righteous in their land,"
of prophets, apostles, and martyrs. For these are
sons and friends and true 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," 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."
Not Jerusalem below but the heavenly Jerusalem, of
which it is correct to say, "to all generations." And I will make inquisition for their blood; 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," but shall consume with eternal fire; "and the Lord shall dwell in Zion." 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," even as he has created it. Therefore David says, "Sing praises to him as king and God."

GREG. What does the prophet say after this? "God reigns over the nations: God sits upon the throne of his holiness." He who was made man and who was taken up into heaven after that he had completed his life on earth, 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," and, "Having couched he lay," 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, "He has subdued the peoples under us, and the nations under our feet. 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 by the prophet under the influence of the Holy Spirit. 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." Bodily the Lord ascended, bodily he shall descend: 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," 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 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." 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 inheritance for us," that is, the twelve apostles, and, "the beauty of Jacob 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," 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 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." 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." For my sake the race of the 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 dost wonders," clearly, the great God of Israel, and not another, "thou hast declared thy strength among the people. Thou hast with thine arm redeemed thy people, the sons of Jacob and Joseph." 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. 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 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 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 that you are doing!' But he turned and rebuked me, saying, 'Cease, most shameless man, I make no mistake, for I am not on your side. I know who my Creator and Lord is. What then have you to do with the just archbishop, 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.' These things I have seen, brethren, and their significance I do not understand. Still, meanwhile 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

GREG. Yesterday you said 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 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 and unbelief and lawlessness 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, "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 pitifully the living God Jesus Christ, who is the ineffable offspring of God the Father. However, as for what you said above, "Make clear the meaning of the text, 'Thy way, 0 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 and more sublimely by our Lord, "I have said, Ye are gods, etc."

GREG. You have lied badly, 0 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, "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, 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, "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." As the ruler of the hosts of the angels, 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 physical 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?" He is a great God, whose way is in his holy Son Jesus Christ, and they are one. Concerning their oneness he says, "Thou art the God that doest wonders": 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 discerned, and not as you judge, steeped in the mind of the flesh. "Thou hast declared thy strength among the 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, wrought many marvelous 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", etc. That is the interpretation of this passage.

Observe what the prophet says concerning the calling of the Gentiles. Does he not say, "Bring to the Lord, ye families of the Gentiles"? 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." 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 reigneth." How? "Lord" signifies his divinity; "reigneth" 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." 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.

HERB. With what intent did the prophet say, "For all the gods of the Gentiles are idols: but the Lord made the heavens"? 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 silencer of demons and of idols and of 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 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 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 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 glad thereof." 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." Does God then save himself, and with his right hand does he protect himself? But from whom? Who wagers war against him? Explain the following:

"The Lord has made known his salvation, he has revealed his righteousness in the sight of the nations. 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 God." Give your attention 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 because Israelites are scattered abroad among them. When the Lord reigns in Jerusalem, they shall be recalled. 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"; therefore, "...all the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God," which he wrought for us Israelites in leading us from the land of Egypt. Thus these matters 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 and rejoicing together 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 recall! 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," 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 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 Christians. The Lord has done marvelous things in the midst of your synagogues: raising your dead and making 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 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,
the superinfinite residing in two natures and two

essences. "The Lord has made known his salvation," not to you Jews who formerly knew and were known, but "in the sight of the nations" who were ignorant. For that is the meaning of the text, "...he has revealed his righteousness in the sight of the nations."

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 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 gospel of the kingdom of Jesus Christ has been proclaimed, and having been accorded a worthy and honorable reception, 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 speech should be listened to. But if in anger we follow 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 hateth."

HERB. I too do not love unrighteousness. Heaven forbid! For it is written in the law that everyone who doeth wrong and is arrogant shall incur a fourfold punishment from the Lord. "He that steals an ox shall repay with four, and in every matter he shall make just recompense." 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. 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. Therefore, 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 truth, that you may understand and come to know 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 much.

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
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. Why did Christ suffer and why after suffering much did he die?

D Attend. All men from Adam up to the advent of Christ have fallen pitifully 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), 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, 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 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. 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be 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, but all coming directly to him should believe and be saved?

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 compassion 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, so his sufferings are a test of the faith of those who are saved. And he says, "Great is their faith." 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 receive and pity them and deem them worthy of my unde-filed kingdom? For if I had come in my naked divinity and they seeing had believed, you would have a just reason for charging me that I deal unjustly with you. In view of this, your defense is broken before your face." These matters stand thus, O Herban, and no deceit shall be found in my mouth. His sufferings are an offense to unbelievers, to some even foolishness, as long as they continue in their unbelief. After they are baptized, these sufferings are seen to be the intelligence of God and the wisdom of 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.

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 Pharisees 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," and to do and say things of this sort?

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."

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. 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 children." 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 having brought them from that which was not to that which was.

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.)

GREG. For this reason the prophet said, "The manifestation of thy words will enlighten and instruct the simple."

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 imperfect Law of ours, made perfect, being well pleasing to the God of the Law? Why have you said that the Law
is imperfect? Moses conversed face to face with God, as friend with beloved friend. As a God to Pharaoh he afflicted Egypt with seven 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, 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?

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 fulfillment 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 reverence and fear the Lord. And he himself appeared sinful in the sight of the Lord, when he arrived 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."

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." And he who had spoken face to face with God, and as a God to Pharaoh had afflicted Egypt with seven 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.
Thereupon he slew the four hundred 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." And his word stood fast: for three years and six months the whole earth was pitifully 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 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.

This is perfection, 0 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 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, lives today? 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 St. Gregentius, knowing well that the Lord had said, "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: 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 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. While they were still
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 and
with his right hand he supported himself. As the
Lord stood before Gregentius, an indescribable quiv­
ering of joy came over the king and his chief men and
over the whole company of the Christians, so that be­
cause of that fearful sight they could not utter a
word. Only, looking upward with pleasure, they be­
held 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, and thus as the Saviour 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!" 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, 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 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 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." For according to your blasphemies it has happened to you.

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.

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 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
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".

These things thus transpired. And an innumera-
able host of Jews were baptized 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
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 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,
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 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
peace. The blessed Gregentius had foretold him his death. And the king was buried in Tephar the royal city of the Homerites. Serdidas 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 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 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.
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 ἵνα ἀνθρώπους, used of accused to "come before the court", cf. Plato Apol. 29C

3 τοιοῦτοντιμίος, Analytical tenses are rare in the Dial. ἄραν συνεπεηρμε fuera 624B, ἴνα πρωτεύτησις 636D, ἐγινετο σχέπαν 685B (345), ἵνα ενίρεισυν 704B, ἰτί διεκκορμισμένοι... ἵνα ἕκαταληγαίμενος 705D, ξεμαρτίζοντες... ἐσται καθαρωμένοι 733B, ἤσσαν διαφεύρουντες 737D, ἰτίαν ἱπνατο σκοπούντες 776D, ἰνέρχομεν 777A, ἰστι τοπαλύττοντες 780A, ἰστι κεκτημένος 780A.

4 Indefinite relative ἐστίς for simple relative ἐστί is common, but as in the LXX, only in the nom., cf. 624A, 632D, 637A (ter), 664B, 668B, etc.

5 τιμίον seems to equal ἔννοια neut. plu., "religious observances"

6 τότε] forte, τότες G. This is likely because the next sentence begins τοῦ ὅραμα.

7 As is to be expected, Gregentius employs ἐνα clauses of all varieties: 624C ironical purpose, (as in Plato, Apol. 22a7, Rep. 337a1; 640C result; 648B, 653C, etc. purpose; 652D noun clause; 673A combining purpose and content. For ἐνα 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."(ἡ ἐνα, ἐν πάντα γὰρ) The crucial instance was the rendering of (the Heb. word) by ἑρμίνοις in Isa. 7:14, where νυν... 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.
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

When used of the Godhead πρόωμα equals ὑπόστρασις cf. 788

The combination of particles ἀλλ' ἐπί very common in OT and usually is simple a strengthened form of ἐλλειπόμενον...

Note ἐπί with indic. (twice). Fairly common in LXX and NT. cf. ἐπί... ὑπόστασις 676A ἐπί... ἐστιν 740B. Under the same head is ἐπί with indic. 648A, 712D and ἓν ἐπί with indic. 677C. But, ὅπου ἐπάνω 680A, while ἐπάνω... ἐπίβλησι 696C (cf. 413), ὅπως ἐπήλθον 745C, ἔποταν καταβαθμισταὶ 745D, ἔποταν ἐπιβληθε... ἔποταν... ἐπιθέτει... ἐπιθέτει... ὑπεδιδόθη 760D.

Note also ὅπως... ἐπάνω 679A. For ἐπί with subjunc., cf. 724A, 741B

Gen. 2:18 (LXX)

di' ἐν ἄρθρῳ equals apparently δι' ἐν ἀρθρῳ (used also 621B, 660A, 668B, 669B, D, 724B, 724D and 732B (stands alone), 745B, 756D, 764C, 765A, B, C) cf. ἐπὶ... ἐπίτετρε; equals ἐπὶ τῇ 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' ἐν ἄρθρῳ is preceded by καὶ τῇ... ζητεῖ (696B καὶ εἰ ταῦτα ταῦτα ἔχει τὸν τρόπον) 729B and 744C Δ' ἐν 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).

Deut. 6:4 ὅς BELPF (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 3 Specii ὅς LXX (and Mk. 12:29) The rest καὶ ἐν δόξα ὅς ἐπὶ τῇ Θεῷ ἐκεῖνος is perhaps Mk. 12:32 (καὶ ἐδώκει ἑκείνῳ ἄλλος πάντα αὐτῷ) cf. 214

cf. 270

Ps. 33:6 (LXX)

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.

Ex. 4:22 ἐν δύο ... Ἐσσαὶ Ἐσσαὶ, ὅς πρῶτον ἡν ἩΕ ὃς LXX.

dύο... ἩΕ ὃς LXX.
However, Herban quotes exactly the words of Hos. as found in Mt. 2:15 (Souter's ed.) (The LXX version is κρίνεται τι τέκνα, x
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?

Note the subjunct. (το) in oratio obliqua.

That the younger should serve the older. Jacob's case was unique. Gen. 25:23; Rom. 9:12

Two etymological errors:

24 πρεσβυτέρος for πρεσβύτερος, typographical error.

7 Deut. 4:27 διασπέρων Κύριος θέασε. 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 καταπαύσοντες A F παύσον LXX.

28 ἀναλλοίωτος G. The change is likely though not obligatory. The 2nd person is needed but can be inferred from ἀναλλοίωτος.

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 πάντως - pure opt. also found 656A, 700A, 712B, 729C, 732A, 745A, 752B, 757B (bis), 760B, 772C, 780A

The use in the Dial. of μὴ and ἤ 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., o μὴ...o θεός 612B, o μὴ...τὸ θεός 636D, ἔγνω μὴν 637A, ὅτι μὴν...ἀλλ' ἀνεπίρους μὴν...παντὸς δὲ 644C Δεσπότης μὴν...δόλος δὲ 644B, ἐάν μὴν...ἀδελφὸς δὲ 660A, ὅτι μὴν...ορίσει δὲ 664A, ἡραὶ μὴν...ορίσει δὲ 667B, τὸ μὴν...ἤ δὲ 669A.
This correction is practically certain since the 2nd person is already used twice in the text.

Deut. 28:66 "Offer you sons to the Lord your God (Athan. i. 61. ii. 162. Die Oxy. 1, 443, sed sou iii. 553, 667) kra'kepē̂n απέναντι των ὑποθαλμῶν ἵματων (Athan. i. 61, at alibi sed at alibi at loc. ὑμῶν Oxy. i. 443. iii. 677 sed sou iii. 553) Kai ἵματα ἵματο σου ἱκραμένην ἀπέναντι τῶν ὑποθαλμῶν 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 34 of Swift, lit. to OT in Greek, p. 486 for additional variants in patristic writers.

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. Kra'kepē̂n, however, is used metaphorically as well as literally, cf. Plato Legg. 831c

δ' ἁπόκειται τα' ἁποκτίκενα οὐρω-γ 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 δ' ἁποκτίκενα (τα' ἁποκτίκενα) οὐρω- and that δ' ἁπόκειται was a gloss or alternative translation for το οὐρω-which found its way into the text: hence the readings δ' ἁπόκειται οὐρω- and δ' ἁπόκειται come from an earlier reading δ' ἁποκτίκενα οὐρω- This inter-hypothesis explanation is supported by the combination of the original reading and the gloss in the remarkable Venice Cod. 72 το οὐρω- ἁπόκειται -p. 169. Athanasius and Zacchaeus (47) also has δ' ἁπόκειται.

Gen. 49:10, cf. 36

cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 106 Ταῦτα ὁμολογούντως περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενναῖον ἐκκλησίας ἡ Χριστός ἔδωκεν. 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 negative intension.

Note οὐκ in the protasis of a condition. Goodwin-Gulick 1394b

The change from the 3rd to the 2nd person is needed. ἐλέης however, rather than λέης because it is in contrary to fact condition.

The probable meaning is: It is better that you Christians do not realize how ignominius are the facts of the life of your Christ.

Ceiller 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 ἀνέσκητο—equals ἀνέσκητο—This is no doubt a double augment.

45 ἐκρηθήκατι forte ἐκρηθήκατι, V. comminatione et indignatione. G This looks like a slip. There is no ἐκρηθήκατι.

46 On the sawing asunder of Isaiah, cf. Trypho CXX. 5 and Williams' note on the history of the idea.


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 πανωκεθρος equals πανωκεθρος Soph. Lex. cites this instance and Clement 524C

50 τῷ ἐκ φυτῶν τοῦ Σαβίκ. Here Greg's ignorance of Heb. led him astray. (His translator and editor Gulon was also apparently Hebrewless). The translators of the LXX render, κριός εἰς κατεκήκενος εἰς φυτὸν σαβίκ τῶν καρατων (Zech. 2:13) σαβίκ is Heb. for ἄκεφεων (Lat. dumetum). (Aquil. τούτῳ). 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 040 vol. ix

51 G. adds κρίσις Necessary; as it is, there is no subject.

52 περισταμένος equals περισταμένος
Though the lexicons do not indicate any much use, ἐπικολογεῖν 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 ἀμαλκ. The reference is perhaps to the war with Amalek which has just been mentioned.

61 Note elliptical use of the feminine adjective: ἔπειτα μὴ ἀπελάσθη στὸ σώμα. Ἐπικολογεῖτοτ, 636 D. 

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 ἐκείνη ἤρων. I do not think it necessary. The words immediately following speak of his humanity and his divinity.

65 Is. 63:3 Ἀννών ἐπάτησα κονάτας ζῷον. 

66 Perhaps the meaning is: as in treading the winepress the grapes are all mixed, so in suffering he brought salvation to all.

67 ἡμεῖς perhaps equals ἐπικολογεῖτος to balance with ἐκείνη, (rather than a contraction of ἐπίκολος) ἐσθήνων ἐσθήνων θείου.
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. 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. ἐὰν μὲν ἐν λόγῳ ἐπὶ Ἐκκλησίαν

71 ἀν ἔχεις in Class. Greek the opt. would be used, ἔχον ὑπάρχων ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ 693. ἔχεις ἄφεν 693 A 724, ὀν ὑπάρχω 723 C 668, ὀν ὑπάρχω 748 B, ὀν ὑπάρχω 772 B, ὀν ὑπάρχω 772 B.

72 ἔδεικνύειν Ἡ χάρισμα πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τὸν Καί Μακαρίων. ἐν καὶ ἀν. 674 A, 684 B, 685 C.

73 ἀντίκρισιν ἐφ. Ἐκκλησίαν, ἐφ. τῶν Ἐκκλησίων. ο.I do not understand this note. = ὥς τοι ἐκεῖν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ

74 The νόμος which has not been brought into subjection to Christ: αὐτὸς ἐκβάλλει τὸν νόμον σὺς ἐν ὑπάρχειν τοῦ Χριστοῦ 2 Cor. 10:5. of LXX. when the Παρθένια τοῦ Και Ἐρμής τῆς Ἐρμῆς (of the Jews) is contrasted with the Πνευματικά νόματα (of the Christians).

75 ἐπίθετον τὸν Εὐαγγέλιον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

76 cf. Zeus visiting Danae in the form of a golden shower.

77 Ps. 72:6 ἡ στάσεως ἡ στάσεως στάσεως στάσεως LXX.

78 ὁς equals ὅς as often in LXX. cf. 668A

79 Ps. 72:7 (LXX)

80 cf. John 8:46 τοῖς ὑμῖν ἐν ἡμῖν με περί ἐκκλησίας

81 cf. Athenasius and Zaccheus 82 Σαλαμᾶς ὁ ἄνδρας ἐγένετο. ὅπερ ἐν ἰδίῳ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐτῇ ἑνῷ ἐν ὑπάρξει τοῦ Θεοῦ ζεῦσαν καὶ τοῦ θανάτου ἔχειν τοῦ Κυρίου ποιησάων ἀποκλεισάων. ὡς ὥστε ἐγένετο ἐν ἰδίῳ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

82 ᾧ ἀναφέρεται. ὡς ἀναφέρεται. ὃ ἡ ἀναφέρεται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ

83 Ps. 72:8 (LXX)

84 Ps. 72:9 (LXX)

85 Ps. 72:9 (LXX)

86 Ps. 72:9 (LXX)

87 ἐβάλε. ἐπὶ δὲ διακόσιον ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἑτεροίς and ἐβάλε (ἐβάλε, ἐβάλε, ἐβάλε) τοι.
86 cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 109 καὶ ἐξῆνε· αὐτὸς ἀρεῖσι.
χοῦρ ἁγθῆτε.

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 ἂν. with the imperfect (ἐκπήνης τε) as in Class. Greek to denote customary action.

92 Ps. 72:17 (LXX) Διαρκεῖ δὲ ἡ ἡγαίρει· ἡ ἡγαίρει. Not found in Scripture.

93 Ps. 72:17 ἡ ἡγαίρει. LXX.

94 Herban's interpretation of "sun" and "moon" is very obscure (see bottom of page for further notation).

95 cf. Campbell Bonner, The Sibyl and Battle Leaks. Quantukatunanne, Nov. 1938, where this passage is cited.

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 ἄρως ἡράκλας. Vet. cod. ἄρως δὲ τίπον G.

98 μὴ with indic. in a statement, also found 684B. For an example of how μὴ may be used with indic., cf. Goodwin-Gullick 1350. However, in authors of the Roman and Byzantine periods it is often used for ὡς with the indic. cf. Cleomed. 37, 11 ὡς τῆς μῆνος μὴ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡμῶν.

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


95 cf. a reminiscence of Jer. 5:8.

96 (Continued). Might not this rather long discussion of sun and moon reflect the old paganism of the district? "The religion of South Africa was in its essence a planetary-astral system..." Smith, History of The Rocks, p. 60.
101 This sentence appears to contradict the preceding.

102 Ps. 16:10 Greg. has combined the beginning and end of this verse: οὐδὲ ἐνισταλέσθε τῷ πατέρι μου εἰς ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δύσεις τῷ ὄντι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σιγά ἐπεφθαρεν. Otherwise equals LXX. See below (634e) when the full text is quoted.

103 i.e. David, David could say, "my soul" because David was, in a sense, part of Christ.

104 Ἰησοῦς, καὶ τοιὴν, ἰησοῦς καὶ θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώ. G. This change is not necessary. It is perfectly clear if καὶ be interpreted intensively.

105 ἰησοῦς τὴν καὶ τὴν καὶ τὴν Καὶ. G. This addition of καὶ is necessary, being needed to join μίαν to ὅποιος τοιήν.

106 John 1:14 ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος ἐχετήρισε οὐ Λόγος ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγενετο (NT i.e. Soulie's ed.)

107 Ps. 2:7 μιᾶς + μὲν LXX. cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 49-51 for a similar discussion.

108 Ps. 2:8 (LXX)

109 καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγένετο (LXX)

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.


116 Ps. 81:9, 10 (LXX)

117 ἄλλα ταύτα this compound not found in lexicons

118 λέγω, 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 ἵππωρεῖν καὶ ἰππεῖν καὶ κατακλησίων. 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. 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:

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 It is not quite the same as Herban’s statement 649B.

124 A reference here to the use of νομοθετήκας (note: in Migne, p. 649, footnotes 19 and 20 are turned about.)

125 G. Not necessary, as the translation makes clear.

126 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...

130 Cotelerius ad Barnabae epist. cap II Gregentium coarguit. Oportuit enim, inquit, εἴην dicere, non εἴην cf. 131

135 G. He is clearly in error here. ταύτα with the inf. can introduce a noun clause, indicating content, in no way differing from τοι cf. Mt. 21:32; Lk. 17:1; Acts 10:25; James 5:17

136 cf. in os φανερεῖς οὐδε Φωτεντέρες Phil. 2:16 cf. Introd. IV, 5

138 Ps. 110:3 Σιών c. "Art in LXX [τάς λαμπρότητι] A τοι λαμπρότητι LXX

139 cf. Athanasius and Zacchaeus 43 εἰμί δέ ἡ ἰσος λέγω τῷ γνωρίζω, νιώτε γέρῳ ἐν τῷ ἱστόρῳ.
Ps. 110:3 (LXX) ἐγέννησεν τοὺς AT ἐγέννησεν LXX.

Ps. 110:4 Σοῦ AT τι LXX

This is clearly direct statement and should be printed:
οὕτως ἡν, non οὕτω εἶναι

Ps. 110:4

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 ἐγέννησεν is added. It is verbally identical with the NT (Souter's ed.) except that Greg. writes λογος instead of ἐκεῖνος. cf. Trypho XLIII, 6; LXVII, 1; LXXXIV, 1 note 4 where there is a discussion (by Williams) of (a) the correctness of ἐγέννησεν as a rendering of the Heb. (cf. 8), and (b) the application of the promise to Hezekiah.

This is a Scriptural quotation, part of Mt. 1:23

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..."

Is. 29:11 θεοποιηται το ἐσφραγισμένων βιβλίων ἐποτι ἐγέννησεν γράμματα, καὶ ἔρε, δὲ ἀνήπ οὐ δύναμαι ἀναγνώσαι, ἀλλ' ἐγέννησεν ἐσφραγίστατο τοι καὶ ἐτῶς ἡμεῖς τὰ πάντα ταῦτα ὡς οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου τοῦ ἐσφραγισμένου, δὲ ἐν δικέει αὐτὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστάμενων γράμματα λέγεται ἀναγνώσθαι ταῦτα, καὶ ἔρε, ὡς δύναμαι ἀναγνώσαι, ἐσφραγίστατο ρέπ. LXX.

I place the question mark here, rather than at the end of the next sentence.

Nota hunc locum non probari omnibus orthodoxia. (Migne omits to mention the author of this note, which is G.)

Mary's perpetual virginity was asserted in the second century. Clemens of Alexandria II, 529B cf. 239

Bel and The Dragon, v. 36 Greg. means that the miracle of the Virgin Birth is no harder to accept than all other miracles.

To speak or write incorrectly, then, to err against good manners or prophets, in any way. Its use here seems to go somewhat beyond even the more generalized meaning of the word.
153 ἦς οὐκείς ἣς οὐκεῖς  G. The change is not necessary.

154 πάντως 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 πάντως balances with πάντως above.

155 βοθάττερ σ a corruption of βιοθάττερ σ.

156 ἐξερείς ἐν πρώτοις The phrase ἐν πρώτοις doesn't seem to make sense here, unless we continue it with ἐκκοιτάζω (as does the Latin translator).

157 Ps. 41:9 (LXX)

158 Ps. 109:18 ὅσιοι ἱματισμοί οὐκ ἦς LXX ὅσιοι ἱματισμοί LXX.

159 Ps. 109:17 καθέτι ἠν LXX The presence of καθέτι here perhaps results from the fact that verse 17 is quoted after verse 18. cf. Introd. IV, 2

160 Ps. 41:7 κοιτάζω LXX - more likely, merely a misprint for ποιεῖ.

161 Ps. 41:8 (LXX)

162 Ps. 109:5 (LXX)

163 Wisdom 2:12 and Is. 3:10 (transl. from Charles, Apoch. and Pseud., p. 538, cf. also note on p. 524) It appears that Greg. is quoting Wisdom (ἐκραυτώμενον) rather than Is. (ἀποκράυτομενον). 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 MT - 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. 13:2

165 Ps. 2:1, 2 (LXX)

166 Herban's reluctance to admit that Jews were nations (θέασι) as well as people (λαοί) is correct. λαοί was characteristically used of God's chosen people. Ἰουδαίος and particularly Ἰατίς (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 δὲ αὐτοῦ LXX.

168 Ex. 33:16 ἀλὸς σώον LXX. This text is, however, much closer to Gen. 12:2 καὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ LXX.

169 Ex. 33:13 (a) It is strange that this text which precedes in Ex. the previous quotation is introduced by καὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ LXX. (b) καὶ γνώριμαι ὅτι λαὸς σῷ τῷ ἔθνῳ τοῦτῳ, 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 λαὸς. cf. 173 and the rendering of this text 716A.

170 Ps. 2:2 (LXX)

171 Ex. 19:6

172 (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, 657A) applies to the Jews. Thus he shows that the Jews are nations (ἔθνῃς) from Gen. 17:6 and Ex. 33:16. Ex. 33:13 proves they are both ἔθνῃς and λαοῖ (people). From the adj. kingly in Ex. 19:6 they are shown to be kings (βασιλεῖς). That they are rulers (ἵπποντες) 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 ἐντερπαθῆν τοῦτο this compound of ὑπάρχω not found in the lexicons.

175 Ps. 2:4, 5 (LXX)

176 Ps. 27:12 (LXX)

177 Is. 50:6 (LXX)

178 ἐφίνων Sequentia desunt, οὕτως οὐκ ἐνείπει τῷ Θεῷ G. True, but the word ἐφίνων is enough to prove Greg's point.

179 Is. 53:7 (LXX) cf. 178 κτίσαντες αὐτοῦ κτίσαντες αὑτοῦ (κτίσαι) A κτίσαντες αὐτοῦ LXX.

180 cf. 62

181 Ps. 35:16, 17 (LXX) κυκτίσαντος κυκτίσαντων LXX.

182 Jer. 11:19 Here Greg. writes ἄδητα ἐκ βαλλων ἓπειρον εἰς τὸν ἐρρῆν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἱεροφημεν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνω τῶν (LXX). At 640B he gives a slightly different version: ἐκ βαλλων... ἐκ γῆς ἄνω τῶν. cf. Introd. IV, 3
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.

186 καταραθηναι Vet. cod. καταραθηναι Melius, de synagoga detestabili.

187 Ps. 22:16 (LXX) περιεκτικολωταν [This sense is ἐκολοθραττον LXX.]

188 Ps. 22:16, 17 (LXX)

189 Ps. 22:18 (LXX)

190 Ps. 69:21 ἐσοσάν ἐσωκαν LXX.

191 Amos 8:9 (LXX)

192 Is. 52:14 cf. 193

193 Is. 52:14, 15 ἐφ' ἐξαπο ὑπὸ LXX ἐπὶ καὶ ἔθεν πολλὰ θανάτων ἐπὶ σε [ou ὑπὸ θανάτων ἔπι σε] ὑπὸ πολλὰ ἔπι αὐτῶν LXX.

194 Is. 53:2, 3 2. ἡμὶ ὑπὸ LXX [ou ἐθανάτου] ὑπὸ LXX. 3. ἐκ Ἰησοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγιων τῶν ἁγίων ἔπα τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἔπα τῶν ἱερῶν LXX.

195 ἀπεστροφή ἀπεστροφή G. This correction is a mistake.

196 Is. 53:3 διερμηνεύτηκας αὐτοὺς σὺ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν LXX.

197 Is. 53:4, 5 ἐν ὑπὸ θεοῦ ὑπὸ ὑπὸ (ὁ ὡριμασάς) ὑπὸ LXX ἀπὸ αὐτὸς at the beginning of 4 rather than ἀπὸ αὐτῶν (LXX) may be due to ἀπὸ αὐτῶν at the beginning of 5, or, possibly Greg. was quoting Mt. 8:17 (ἀπὸ αὐτῶν), though the rest does not agree. H & P cite on behalf of ἀπὸ αὐτῶν - Cyrill. Alex. tom. i, part i, πι 98 et in Cat. Nic. tom ii, p. 642 (cf. vol. i part i, p. 100 et al). Πάσες ἡμείς ὑπὸ LXX ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἐφεράρασθαί εἴπηntο ἐν LXX where Greg. puts after πάσες.

198 This refers to what Herban said (657B) γι' θεοσανατον μεγαλητὴν τὸν κριτόν σου, σκανδαλίζει γι' τὸν εν θαμα κοι.

199 Is. 53:5 πειθαρχεῖ ἐπὶ παίσια λαχ./Κα. παίσια λαχ./Κα. παίσια λαχ. εὐρίνης ἐπιριςίδος ἐναρ[ιν] ἐπιριςίδος LXX

200 On this sentence, cf. Eph. 2:14, 15, 16 τὸν εὑραμενον ἀποκτείνας seems to be a latent quotation of ἀποκτείνας τῶν ἐξ Θεοῦ (Eph. 2:16 end), cf. Introd. IV, 5.
201 Is. 53:5 πάντες] sow LXX.

202 άτο τῶν ἄνομων ἦσαν ἥπερ σοφίας τῶν ζωηφηρίων. Leg. ex LXX, άτο τῶν ἄνομων ἡσαν ἥπερ σοφίας τῶν ζωήφηρων. (author of this note not mentioned)

203 Is. 53:8, 9 γ. ἄνομων καὶ τοῖς λαοῖς LXX (of 202) ἐπὶ καὶ ἑπὶ τῆς ζωῆς. ΛHK in LXX/γ. ἐπὶ πλέονασμάτων δικαίωμάτων λαυστικοῖς LXX | τοῦτο ἐπὶ θόσον Q om LXX.

204 Ps. 15:3 καὶ οὐκ] Sin. c. οὐκέ LXX

205 oἱ λυβροὶ New Lid-Scott = λυβροὶς coinage in EM 570.37

206 John 8:48 (NT, i.e. Souter's ed.)

207 ηλθότι Desunt ηλθότι ἐπὶ διαφοράς, καὶ — 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 οὗτοι] (Greg. uses οὐκ because he omits the immediately preceding words, cf. 668C 230 where οὗτοι is found) οὗτοι LXX/εὑρίσκεται θεὸς LHH/Sin. c.a. AL θεὸς LXX. cf. Intr. IV, 2

210 Is. 53:9 cf. the reading of the same text 664A. By adding θεὸς Ovthier Greg. has changed the meaning to suit his argument. cf. Intr. 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 interpretation would coincide with Is. 53:9. The words, "My beloved and dearest son" are printed as a Scriptural quotation; the thought is Scriptural, but it is hard to assign a reference. The same is true of the next quotation. cf. Intr. IV, 5

212 Μετάδεδωσι this should be Μετάδεδωσι.

213 cf. Timothy and Aquila, Fol 138 r° But the Jew remained speechless about an hour.

214 Deut. 6:4 Here, ἀρχεῖς Θρός in 625D 15 where the same text occurs, Θρός ἀρχεῖς cf. Intr. IV, 3

215 Deut. 6:13 ψευστήριος Ζήτα φοβοῦσθε Θρός LXX | μέρες A omit LXX. Verbally identical with Mt. 4:10

216 Is. 53:1 (LXX)

217 "to all nations" (ἀνείπετο), i.e. to everybody except the Jews. Intended as sarcasm. cf. 166
218 ἀκούετε, G. However, ἀκούετε = LXX. Swete cites ἀκούετε (Γ = cod. re-scriptus Cryptoferratensis)

219 Is. 6:9, 10 9. (LXX) cf. 218 10. ἐστιν τοις ἱνωτι τις ἑθαλμοις, και νοσῶτας. ἤνως τις ἑθαλμοις ἀντι. Greg's. addition of και νοσῶτας is a non sequitur. It perhaps comes from the quotation of this verse in John 12:40, where it is followed by ἐστιν κατισ. cf. Introd. IV, 5

220 παραλύτως ὀφίπταντα a use of ὀφίπτειν which our lexicons do not mention. It calls attention to the literal meaning of παραλύτως. To heal the paralytic is to bind up his loose limbs. ἀπορρήτα - invariably derogatory, though obviously not here.

221 πεποίθη καὶ πέπειθήσεται G. The verb περείποιθεν and not ποτὲ is required. Except for the presence of η this might be a citation.

222 πεποίθη καὶ πέπειθήσεται. Should not the order be reversed? ητε Πουκ, this is an unusual use (as demanded by the context), πεποίθησεις cited by Soph's Lex. Not found in new Lid-Scott.

223 ᾧρᾶς ] forte ὧρᾶν G. Quite likely, ὧρᾶν (τουσ) ὧρᾶς is a possibility.

224 Deut. 18:15 Here ὦθος ὧρῶν The same text 632A, ὦθος ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὧρῶν. Both differ from LXX. The quotation at 632A is verbally identical with Acts 3:22. cf. Introd. IV, 3

225 Deut. 18:19, cf. 30 and Introd. IV, 5

226 Ps. 19:7 The added words ὡς συνελε σκό ἱν ὑπὲρ ᾧρῶν are not found in the LXX, nor in the repetition of this text 685D.

227 Ps. 19:7, 8 (LXX) ᾧρῶν ὀφίπτειν, ὕπερ ᾧρῶν τοις ἑθαλμοις

228 ἐνδορμανίας equals παραρατησίας. 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.

229 Is. 53:9 ὡς τοις ἐν ἐκ περὶ ὥρας ὕπερ Σαι. c.a. AQ ὡς τοις ἐν ἐκ περὶ ὥρας

230 Ps. 19:7, 8 (LXX)

231 ἐπιστρέφειν, 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 ἰπερτικώς, mentioned only in Soph's Lex, where this passage is cited.

234 ἵππος ἐπὸς ἀποτεῖς. G. I can see no reason for the change.

235 Hab. 3:3 ἄτις σύνεσις Ἰακωβέως ἸΧΧ. Perhaps an error of sound plan diadography for.

236 μαύρη σοι πρὸς μάρκος μαύρη G. conjectures μαύροι for μαύρη Soph's Lex: μαύρη incorrect for μαύρη, the Greek form of the Semitic μαύρη, 'bastard'. This passage cited by Soph. Not found in new Lid-Scott.

237 Hab. 3:3 ἀρέτας c.e.c. τό LXX ὅπου c.e.c. τό Ἐπαρέν LXX.

238 Here G. cites in the margin Augustine Civ. D. lib. 13, ch. 32 "...from Teman (say some) that is from the south: signifies the heat of charity and the light of truth." cf. 238, 239

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 Lusebius (260, 155) mentions a region called Thaeman, 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 ὀρος 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 vero sol oriens, lex Mosaica velut sol occiduus." cf. 238, 240

242 Videtur aliquid esse praetermissum a scriba; quod licet conjecture ex ipso exemplari ms. in margine, cuius sunt haec verba, το θεός μίζον ὡς ἐστιν G. This line is certain essential.

243 If God is to come, he shall have to do so in and through a body, τῷ ἐπὶ Θεον ἐν μεταθείνει τόπου ἐν τόπου, ὡς ἐν σώματα.
This is not to deny that the Father and the Son are one in essence.

Hab. 3:2 (LXX) Here footnote in Migne: In hunc locum videas Toutteum ad Cyrill. Hier. Catech. xii, cap. 20, p. 174

Hab. 3:2

J & K. Here οὐκείρα equals φόνος with which it is interchanged occasionally. cf. Plato Rep. 359, a, b; Arist. P 646 a 25. I have taken a slight liberty with the translation of οὐκείρα.

Hab. 3:2

cf. 122

apparently from ἂνω, not found in lexicons

cf. 753

At first glance this seems to be used here in the sense of its opposite, κατανεύω or τρεπεῖ. I offer two explanations: (1) the veil prevents them from "throwing their heads up" - (the literal meaning of ἀνατεῖν) or (2) the meaning of ἀνατεῖν is affected by the Lat. annuere 'to give assent'. cf. 399, where τηνεύω is used in sense of annuere.

ὁκως, this conjunct seems illogical, unless the meaning be: although you could not be expected to believe because of the veil, yet (ὁκως) the prophet was right in condemning you, because you are responsible for your spiritual blindness.

Ps. 17:14 ἀπὸ ἑνήκεν ἤθεν ἐστὶν ἠθηνά (ὢμιστ ἔστι), ἀπολύσων LXX.

Ps. 9:20 (LXX)

Ps. 25:22 (LXX)

Ps. 147:12, 13 (LXX)

Is. 45:17 ἀναμφίστηται ἀναμφίστηται LXX.

Μη καὶ ἦ καὶ μὴ καὶ 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.

Ps. 75:8 (LXX)
262 ἄνωτέρων, would be better.

263 ἵππος, this compound of ἵππος, found only in Soph's LXX, where this passage is cited.

264 Ps. 94:14 (LXX)

265 οὐ. Positive rather than comparative adverb, as is frequent in LXX and NT. Mk. 9:43 καὶ ἐκεῖνος. But it is also found in Hdt. ix. 26 sub. fin., ἅμα ἐκείνος ἔχειν τοὺς ἵππους ἀνάμερα ἂν διέργετο.

266 It is true that ἐως occurs in the verse that precedes, 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, τοῦτο τοῦτον τῆς περιπέτειας. For these reasons I would change ἐκείνοις to ἐπιθετικά

267 Ps. 94:16 ἀναστρέφεται μετ' οὗ τοῦ LXX | ὑπὲρ ὑπὸ AT του LXX.

268 Is. 40:27 Νῦν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ ἄνεμον καὶ ἐν θεώ καὶ ἐν θεῷ καὶ τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὴν δόξαν, καὶ ἀπεστηκαί LXX cf. 267 for continuation of quotation.

269 Is. 1:17 These words are assigned by Migne to "Is. 1:7 sec. LXX". However, άλληλοιον κατενθώσαντες 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 γιὰ ναὶ καὶ σοὶ τὸ ἀθρόισθεν cf. Mk. 1:24 Τί ὅρις καὶ σοι; John 2:4 Τί ὅρις; kai souj. The meaning here is perhaps: Wherein have you the advantage (in the argument) over me? See the reply of Greg., καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς διακονίας, καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς διακονίας, τί σοι μᾶλλον ἀπέριστον; cf. Introd. IV, 5

273 cf. 12

274 Κύριος, Cotelerius ad Barnabae Epist. cap. 12, sus-
picatur Κύριος impression fuisse pro Κύριος. (author of this note not given).

275 οὗτος ἐν μυστήριῳ τούτῳ ἄνωτέρων, Not indicated as a quotation.

276 Ps. 16:4 Here οὗτος τῇ μυστήριῳ (AU), while 757B οὗτος τῇ μυστήριῳ (LXX) cf. Introd. IV, 3
277 Ps. 16:5 (LXX)

278 καὶ ἀπεξήναι ἧς ἐκλείπτει, καὶ ὡμὼν, καὶ το κύριον, καὶ παρέλαμψεν.

279 ἢς δύος ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωφίνεος λέγει. This criticism of G's suggestion seems pointless. There is no need to emend ὡς. The threefold ὡς of the paragraph is appropriate in the mouth of a Jew.

280 Ps. 146:5 αὐτοῦ]

281 Deut. 8:20 (according to Migne). The two texts have only the word ἀποκλίνετο 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 ᾧς. This should be ὡς.

285 A clause introduced by ἵνα or ὥστε would be more natural.

286 Jer. 15:7 (LXX)

287 έαυτός equals ἐαυτός as is frequent in LXX and NT

288 κατωτίς] This should be ἐαυτός ὑπερ φρονήματα. The texts which follow precede the text he has just quoted.


290 ἄνθρωπον ἀνάπτυχτον ἦσσει. 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 ὃν ἐν with indic., cf. 12

292 ἀντί μέν ἐναντίον t. Desunt haec, καὶ ἀντί ρῆς δομικῶν -G. This and the corrections of G. (293, 294) bring Zech. 8: 7, 8 into conformity with the LXX

293 aōtou] Scribe aōtou Sequentia inclusa non sunt in textu. G. He refers to "into their land"
294 κατασκευάσωσιν] leg. ut in textu κατασκευάσω -G.
295 Zech. 8: 7, 8 cf. 292, 293, 294
296 εν κατάρπασι sic LXX. Sed forte leg. cum Vulg. absque εν G. The editors of the LXX do not agree with G. in following the Vulg. here. cf. 297
297 εις τόλμην] Rescribe cum LXX εις τόλμην Forte hic quoque legendum τόλμην , absque in G. cf. 296
298 κεκοιμήσας] Scribe cum LXX, κεκοιμήσας Sic et Vulg. -G.
299 τοῦ θεοῦ] pro his, apud LXX, οὗς οικίσκει -G.
300 Zech. 8: 13, 14, 15 13. εις τόλμην] εις τόλμην LXX
14 Κύριος] + Παντοκράτωρ LXX /σύμφωνα] + ΑεριτιΚύριος[Παντοκράτωρ LXX/
κεκοιμήσας] κεκοιμήσας LXX is τὸν τοῦ Ισραήλ εἰς τῷ οίκῳ τοῦ βασιλέων τῆς
Περσηφονῆς καὶ τῶν αἰώνων Ιουδαίας. LXX /Τοῦ θεοῦ] οὗς οικίσκει LXX.

301 τί δέν ερείς πρὸς αυτούς, διὰ ερίσκομαι? These words are not part of the quotation and should not be printed as such.
302 διαρκείαν] Scribe, διαρκείαν σαυταίς -G. διαρκείαν is not an impossible reading.
303 676Α, B
304 Perhaps this is the meaning: Οὐκέτι τις τὸν αἵμα, εἰκὼν τι
μὴ ἐστῶν παραγενόται ὁ Σ. Κτλ.
305 cf. 285
306 τοῦ Ἰσαίου Non Isaiah, διὰ εἰσδοκηθείς sed Zacharias viii, 20, 21.
(author of this note not given) This is correct. The words εἰς εἰσδοκηθείς do not belong here. See Migne p. 680, n. 56
307 οὐ δέν] LXX Vat. οὐ δέν εὐλογοῦνταΙ κατοικοῦντες πέντε πόλεις τις μίαν πόλιν
AA. LL. κατοικοῦντες μίαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν.
(author of this note not given)
308 Zech. 8: 20, 21 20. ὅτι ... κατοικοῦντες] ἕτεροι κατοικοῦντες LXX.
21. εἰς εἰσδοκηθείς εἰς μίαν πόλιν] εὐλογοῦνταΙ κατοικοῦντες πέντε πόλεις εἰς μίαν πόλιν. LXX (cf. 307) / Παντοκράτορος] Παντοκράτορος εἰς τὸ τρόπον Κυρίου Και
εἰς τὴν πτολομέαν τοῦ τρόπον 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.
This text is assigned to Mich. 6:6, 7. It should be Zechariah 8:22 (LXX as far as it goes). Did Greg. intentionally stop where he did? The very next words are ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ. cf. Introd. IV, 2

Mich. 4:6, 7. ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ] Ἀβιμωθίων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Ἰερουσαλήμ. cf. Introd. IV, 2

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.

"Ἐφραῖος"] Rescribe, Ἐφραῖος ὁλιγοστός τοῦ τιμοῦ, G. No substantial difference in meaning.

Mich. 5:2. ἐπούκαμεν after ἐπούκαμεν 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.

Mich. 5:3 (not indicated as a Scriptural quotation) אִיּוֹת אֵשׁ, πτωχοῦς אֵשׁ, πτωχοῦς ἡ ἐν τῷ Ἰερουσαλήμ.

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 ἔσται which is missing in his quotation of Micah. 5:3 (315) constitutes the first word of this citation. cf. Introd. IV, 5

Mich. 5:4. ποιεῖ ἔτη ἐστὶν τῷ ποιμνίῳ αὐτοῦ. These words are nowhere cited by editors of the LXX as being part of Micah. 5:4. cf. 319

καὶ ἐφῄν, ἐν κ.π.λ. I interpret ἐφῄν as a subjunct. of purpose with the conjunct. omitted.

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

Mich. 5:4. ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἀμών ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰερουσαλήμ. ἀμών ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰερουσαλήμ ἢ ἐπάρθη ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἀμών ἦν ἐν τῷ Ἰερουσαλήμ.

Except for the addition of ἐπάρθη ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἀμών these are the concluding words of Mich. 5:4 (not indicated as a Scriptural quotation)
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 (ς εἰς τὰ ἐξω πᾶσας πρᾶς). One can hardly observe in the same way that Christ is magnified to the end of time.

"νοσος ἐπι τον Θεόν" cf. Philo, De Praemiis et Poenis, Ι; Mangey, 11, 415. So Jerome on Is. 1:3 (Israel, id est, mens videns Deum), but rejected in his Quaest. Hebr. Gen. xxvii: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.

το ἐντείνεσθαι φῶς Used also with φῶς by Methodius of Patara (A. D. 312), Patr. Graeca XVIII, 209A


ἀνενευναν cf. 253

ἐπηρῆνων, as if from ἐπηρέω, which is not found in lexicons.

ἐνακτήρεως, the technical word for recall from exile

Is. 4:2, 3 τὸν Σιὼν ἐν τῷ ΛΧΧ. 3 (ἐν ΛΧΧ)

Is. 4:4 τὰ μαρτυρίων ἑαυτοῦ ἔφαγεν, ἐπηρέων ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ΛΧΧ

332 For μὲν with indic. cf. 28

333 ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ, ἐν πρώτῃ παρουσίᾳ. In NT, when used of Christ, παρουσία always refers to his second coming. This is called in eccles. writings, ἡ δεύτερα 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

336 το Τηλ. Κουτον ἀγαθόν. It is not clear just what this means.
337 Greg. mixes his figures somewhat.
338 ἦσθιν ἦσθι λογοφότος 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 ἰπτηκάσει of this text, and he changes νεφέλη (nom. and subject of ἰπτηκάσει in the LXX) to νεφέλην. In the same way in the next senteence (cf. 346) he makes Christ the subject of ἐστι, whereas ἐστι 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 ἐστι cf. Introd. IV, 2
345 σκέπων. In textu prophetiae legitur ut infra, οὐκέται σκέπων. There is no need to change σκέπων. 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 ἐσκεπτός to ἰπτηκάσσετο. cf. Introd. IV, 2 Note the analytical ἔρευνος σκέπων. The use of ἔρευνος instead of ἐστι as an auxiliary is fairly common in LXX. A close parallel is Nb. 10:34 ἔρευνος σκέπεσα.
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 δι' ἐρμήνευσι, ὡς ἦστι Κύριος. ἦστι 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 ἰπτηκάσει forte ἰπτηκάσσει -G. cf. 345
"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 φωτείνη, so also Mt. 17: 5 The description is odd. σκοτεινή would seem more appropriate.

355 νεφέλη ἐπέλαβεν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφθαρσίων 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); ἐπίφωτωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν κεραίαν] πετώμυκεν 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 κανῶς δὲ σκότους, οὐδὲν εἶδον ἐνεργεῖν ἑτῶν ἀφθαρσίων δριμύτερα καὶ τυφλεῖν. Another translation might be: ... has no other effect than to smart and blind the eyes. On the generalized statement, cf. 122


360 (not indicated as a Scriptural quotation) η' εις τοὺς σκότους... τούς σκότους...

361 John 12: 46 (equals NT, Souter's ed.)

362 ὡς σκίαν] In textu, καὶ ἔστω χίς σκίαν. Vel legendum ὡς σκίαν - G. Either χίς σκίαν or ως σκία 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 καταρράκτων... ὅπερ ἔστω σκληροτες καὶ ύπερ τοὺς πονηρούς.

Note that the "'inclemency' and...rain" are the concluding words of Is. 4: 6

365 Is. 5: 2 σωρνάδικ] Sin. 5 (X imperfect ut vid. Sin. ε) ΑΖΓ ομηρύκ TTX.

366 ποιήσας] scribe, ποιήσαι - G. cf. 367 (4)
367 Is. 5: 2 - 4  
2. ἠσθὼν αὐτῷ ἵππον Ῥωμαίον παρὰ τῶν Χασα. 
Παραγόντα ἐπιτίθενται ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ. 
[The notes on lines 367-372 are about the LXX, particularly isolating parts of the text from the Septuagint.]


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 ὁ λόγος Χριστοῦ should be indicated as part of the quotation. ΄αν δεῖ Χριστὸς ὁ οὐρανός, ἵππον ἢ ζῷον ᾐραλίας ἢ τὸ καταλείπεται ἢ τὸ καταλείπῃ τῷ Ἵππῳ ἢ ζῷῳ ζῷοι Χριστοῦ ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἐπικράτεια. ΄αν δεῖ Χριστὸς ὁ οὐρανός ἢ τὸ καταλείπεται ἢ τὸ καταλείπῃ τῷ Ἵππῳ ἢ ζῷῳ ζῷοι Χριστοῦ ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἐπικράτεια. ΄αν δεῖ Χριστὸς ὁ οὐρανός ἢ τὸ καταλείπεται ἢ τὸ καταλείπῃ τῷ Ἵππῳ ἢ ζῷῳ ζῷοι Χριστοῦ ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἐπικράτεια.

375 ἐρείπεν, why subjunct?

376 Is. 5: 6 This part of the text = LXX

377 τρενάθη τῶν προφηταίων, πάλαις ἢ καθαρσοφηνα τις. The use of καταρσοφήνιας here (and also 692A καθαρσοφηνα τις καθαρσοφηνα 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 Ἰσραήλ ἦς ζωής τὰ σιν. A Q (Sub: 5) Ζωής ἦς. LXX.

379 Ps. 119: 155 οὐπνηρίας παρὰ ἌΡΣΤ η η ἦς. LXX.

380 cf. 71 of. 377

381 τοῦ Ἱσραήλ τοῦ λαοῦ Ἰσραήλ.

383 ἀποκλατμάσων, ἀποκλαθμάτων -G. Below, 6920, the text is quoted using ἀποκλαθμάτων 693C the text is paraphrased: τούτω ἀποκλαθμάτων τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. Σούς ἀποκλαθμάτων Ἰσραήλ.

384 Is. 11: 11 - 13 Ισραήλ ὁ λαός τοῦ Ἱσραήλ. LXX.

385 τοῦ Ἱσραήλ (cf. 385) τοῦ λαοῦ LXX. There is slight variation in mode of place-names: και ἄπολυκένοις τοῦ Ἱσραήλ LXX. LXX.

386 ἀπολυκένοις τοῦ Ἱσραήλ LXX.
385 Is. 11: 16 In Migne this is incorrectly assigned to verse 13 το ιδρης η η κηρα γε λκκ. 

386 Is. 12: 1 (LXX) 

387 το ιδρης φεος αν... As can be seen from Herban's reply, this γε should be το ιδρης φεος. 

388 Is. 11: 10 (LXX) 

389 Is. 11: 10 (LXX) Greg. uses this text to support the divinity of Christ. Chrysostom, A Demostation to the Jews, cap. viii, cites it as a prophecy of the glory of the Cross. 

390 ηρην Ἡθονμένα, 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 ἀοτριστην γιγνεται ανάρανσισ αυτού, το ιδρης φος δι ης τοτιν. 
This looks like a paraphrase of Iliad 13. 636: πάντων κιν κόρης ἡ γη, καὶ ἱππον καὶ φιλοφρονος. 

394 ηρην η η κηρα ἡρην η η κηρα. -c. 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 residiary legatee of case-relations not obviously appropriated by other cases." -Moulton, Prolegomena, p. 69 

395 το ιδρης, while in the next sentence το ιδρης. 
το 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 το εντος καταντήσων τον τον ἐσανάσκησαν. (καταντήσων is probable, subjunc. εν καταλθέω follows immediately. 

396 cf. 71 

397 Is. 11:11 cf. Introd. IV, 3 

398 προϊονται... καὶ μεταφορά, προϊονται... 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 προϊονται... τον τον. 

399 θυσίας. The use here of θυσίας is somewhat unusual. Yet, cf. "fall headlong", εἰς τον Ευριπίδης, Phoenissae, 1268. cf. also 253
Ancient Hebrew lit. recognizes only 4 winds. However, cf. Enoch. 76:1 sq., "At the ends of the earth twelve doors opened toward all the quarters of heaven, and the winds came forth from them, and blew over the earth."

Ps. 86:17 (LXX)

Tαύτεις νόμοις καθάρπασας should be μένειμοι, which is also found in the conclusion to Greg.'s reply, 696A.

Greg. claims that the true Christian must obey the law, (και τον νομον καθαρπασας 698B). 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 (καταλυκως), but only the perfect who keep the law. He refuses to admit that keeping the law is incompatible with believing in Christ.

Deut. 27: 26 (the footnote in Migne should be 37, not 36)

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 εν τω Βιβλίῳ): παντίς τοις μηθαινοις.

This compound not found in the lexicons.

The nom. absol. is also found in the LXX, cf. Nb. 22: 24 και οτι το ψυχιον του θεου εν τοις θεασθε τον αμφιλοχυ χρησις εντεθεν και φρεακθα εν τεθειν.

cf. also Nb. 24: 4

These changes are essential if the sentence is to mean anything.

The text is satisfactory and there is no need to emend.
of εἰκόνις scribe, καὶ of εἰκόνις — G. Instead of making this change, I remove τίνος 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 ἡ διὰ τοῦ Δαβίδ Βασιλείαν ἐκέλητο. A comma after Βασιλείαν is quite essential.

413 ἀνάπτυξιν... ἔντον 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: εἰς κύριον καὶ πνεύματι εἰς κύριον καὶ πνεύματι — LXX.

417 Is. 11: 16 cf. 385

418 κρέιττον... forte κρέιττον εἰναι G. This makes good sense.

419 μενόθεα... forte μενόθεα. — 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 μενόθεα... μενόθεα LXX. 25. καθαρίσω] 22, 231, 231, 348, 348 (ลบ) Χρ. Χρ. Χρ. III. 377 καὶ καθαρίσω LXX. The comma after καθαρίσω in LXX accounts for BHS's reading. 26. πνεῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα... εἰς κύριον LXX. 147 (ลบ) Αθην. 1. 535, ἡ καθαρίσω Κύριον πνεύμα καὶ πνεῦμα... εἰς κύριον LXX. 27. πνεῦμα... LXX. Κύριον τὸ πνεῦμα... LXX. πορευόμενος... LXX. πορευόμενος... LXX. 28. ἐν Κύριῳ LXX.

422 Εἰ τοῖσιν ἐν αὐτὸν οἱ προφητῆς ὁπτα ᾧ ἦσσας λόγον I place a mark of interrogation after ὁπτα. In Biblical Greek ὁ 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 ὁ. So also, Souter, Pocket Lexicon.
It is not at all clear what Herban means by these words. `καθαρία' is the characteristic word for "testimony" to the truth of Christianity.

Compare this with the same text above 697B, καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς τῶν ἐγκύων καθαρίων ὄρας of Introd. IV, 3

`ὁραίος' is regularly construed with the dative, cf. 615

ὁραίος, κατοικοί; optative in dir. ques. is unusual.

(For indir. ques. cf. 368)

'εν' καθαρίας. Herban asked, not stated this.

This is not an exact statement of Herban's question. If this is what Herban meant, he would have asked above (700A): ἤπνη κατοικοίτι ἐν ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἐκείσων; (κατ' αὐτῶν).

The middle can stand: For omission of ἀν', cf. 100

Gen. 12: 3 ... πάντα γὰρ ἢ πάντα πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς. LXX.

cf. 9 (625A) where the quotation of this text corresponds exactly to the LXX. cf/Introd. IV, 3

cf. 430


καὶ Θοῦ, καὶ Θαύματος LXX καὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ θαύματος, καὶ Μοσχάριος.

αἱ οἰκ. ἵκ., καὶ τὸν δοξ. LXX ὀἱ οἰκ. ἵκ., καὶ τὸν δοξ., οὐδὲ ἑωράκασι μου τὴν δοξάν. - G.

Is. 66: 19, 20 19. cf. 437, 438 20. `τοὺς ἀπελθοῦσιν'

LXX, few lines below τοὺς απελθούσις τοὺς cf. Introd. IV, 3

τῆς παρ. ἀπο περὶ τῆς παρ. - G.

cf. 430

cf. 154

Is. 65: 9 ἤ ἡ οὐ Ἄ Q om LXX.

ἀπολαύσασα ἐν with a future indic. as in Homer. Rare in Attic prose. Found in Tatian.

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

Is. 66: 22 ἐσταταὶ ἑπί LXX/κέντειν ἑπί 24, 26, 34, 45, 61, 361(ἡ ρ) ἑκεῖ LXX.

καὶ ἵππα -G. LXX tamen ex cod. Alex. habent (the author of this comment on G's correction is not given). G., of course, was wrong. The word is not subject of ἵππα, but accus. of 'time when'. The use of the accus. in this construction is not unknown in Classical Greek and become more frequent in the Hellenistic period. cf. John 4: 52 ΧΘΙΣ ὑπάρχω ἡ ἀφήνειν ἀνθρώποις.

οὐ ἀναγεννησεῖ ἥκεισ (the day of the resurrection of Christ), Sundays. Eus. V, 213C, Basil. IV, 192A

ἔξεσκε ὑπὸ LXX/προσκέ προσκ. -G. Deest quoque τῶ in cod. Alex. (for this comment on G., cf. 448)

Is. 66: 23 cf. 450

αὐτὸντε ἱς scribe ᾧτὸντε -G. I do not see any reason for G's correction.

αὐτὸς ἐναλλάξεις...αὐτὸ πράγματος...αὐτὸ σχῆς...αὐτὸ πίθης.

Note the change from the jussive future (ἐναλλάξεις) to aorist subjunct. The ἀὖ with ἐναλλάξεις is regular, with the subjunctives they may be due to analogy.

This, of course, is not a Scriptural quotation.

Is. 66: 24

προκατεσκήτων. This compound found only in the new Lid-Scott, where Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae, 1.6.1 is cited.

Is. 66: 24 ἃς ἐπιτολάς ἐν ἦς ἰπό LXX/παρ ὁς LXX.
458 ὥστε αἰκουσ. For οἴνοι with indic., cf. 648A, 625C (12)

459 Is. 66: 18 cf. 436

460 αἱ ἡμέραι γεγονότα -G. The connective may be inserted here, but it is more to the point to insert it a few lines below before τοὺς ἀποστόλους.

461 ταξινομήσας] scribe ταξινομήσας -G.

462 πτώσα, προφήμων. 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 ἄλλα τὸν ἅλκην τοῦ -G. The change is not obligatory.

466 ἑρμηνευτικός. The usual spelling is ἑρμηνευτικός.

467 Ἠράκλ. δὲ αὐτὸ μετὰ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἑρμασίαν τοῦ ἰῶσθε βιῶν... This could mean several things.

468 Καὶ γὰρ γῆς ἄν καὶ τέφρας. τέφρας would be better.

469 Μέγα ἑρμηνευτικόν πεπληροῦν τολλὸς δὲ κης ἑπτάνων ἐπὶ Χριστιανοὶ ἐρμηνευτοῦν, προμαχέατον περὶ Θεοῦ κεκληκαίας φοβότος μὲ παῦνσας ἐπὶ πάνω

1) τολλὸς δὲ κης. 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) ἐρμηνευτοῦν. 1st aor. termination on a 2nd aor. stem

3) The sentence really requires the pronoun σε.

4) προμαχέατον = προμαχάτων as in Procopius (contemporary of Greg.) III, 316, 14

470 ἑρμην. scribe ἑρμην. -G. I can see no need for this change.

471 οἶων ] LXX ἐφοσον -G.

472 Is. 41: 4, 5, 6 

473 τὸν. scribe κρίνων τὸν. (author of this note not given). This correction is inevitable; cf. previous text κρίνων τὸν πλατίν.
474 This would appear to be the meaning of this difficult sentence: "κρίνων ἐκατός τῶν πληθῶν βοὶ θεῖα, τῷ ἔδειξάν μου." (Ex. 3:6) "let each judge his neighbor (—his brother) charitably, and let him not despise the royal priesthood."

475 ἐξουθενιστῆτε τοὺς γίγαντα, for the analytical tense, cf. 3

476 πίπτων, σφόδραν ἁμά, LXX Alex. ὁ μήτεν (author not given)

477 'ισχυρωσθ还不如ลง (ut apud LXX). Max καρόντες non est in textu Gr. -G. -G. should have written καρόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ.

478 Is. 41: 7 οὐδέραν (LXX) οὐδέραν LXX/ὅτας Ἓξε ἐξυνε (423) ἔχωρων LXX/καρόντας ἐν τῇ γῇ (427) om. LXX.

479 ἔκοψεν ἔκρισε τῇ ἄκρῃ, juxta LXX. Sic enim paulo post et hic, c. (author not given)

480 Μιὰ φοβοῦστι, scribe (juxta LXX) kai τίπα σος Πάτης κε αὐτωτα, ἐκαθελάκτων σι, καὶ νυκτι θανατί ποιει νυκτι. Μιὰ φοβοῦστι, κτλ.

481 Is. 41: 8, 9, 10 8. LXX 9. 'ίππ (423) ἄπο LXX / for omission ὁ θεοκατοικία ὀρχόμη τίς τῆς ὑποχρεώς ἐν τῇ γῇ. 10. μὲν τῇ σικαίς ἀγαθὰ σικαίς μοι ὁ LXX.

482 ξένος. The meaning "ardor" might have been added in Lid-Scott (new ed.) cf. Dexipp. 16, 20

483 παραγωγήσων, scribe χαράγωγος —G. LXX (this last seems to have been added by a later hand)

484 οὗτος, οὗτος ἀναφερόμενος, scribe ὁ θεὸς ὅμω, ὁ λυπρ. —G. Ita quidem LXX, cod. Vat. at Alex. at hic, ὁ θεὸς, ὁ λυπρ.

485 Is. 41: 10 - 14 πὶ ἄντικειον πὶ ἄντικειοι ὁ LXX (Exeg. perhaps wrote ἄντικειοι from its reversion late in this text—note later, note that 708 C(Sof) gives ἄντικειοι) τῇ ἔργῳ ὁ LXX/πὶ ἄντικειοι (483) πᾶσιν ἐν ὁ LXX 13. LXX 14. σκυλεύτω/Συναγωγῆ ὁ LXX ἐν ὁ LXX. 15. LXX 16. ὁ τὴντücken ἐν ὁ LXX ὁ ἔγραψεν ὁ LXX.

486 ὀδακρος, scribe ϐόδακρος —G.

487 Is. 41: 8 (LXX)

488 ἔρημον ἀέτων, not found in Lid-Scott (new ed.) They only cite ζηραμμένοι. 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 περὶ ἑταρου the old Lid-Scott (8th ed.) gives this spelling as Eccl. The new ed. gives only "περὶ ἑτάρου. Soph's Lex. gives only "περὶ ἑτάρου and cites this passage. As for its use, here, —there is perhaps a participle lacking, cf. ἔλθας περὶ ἑταροῦ (sic) ἐως τῶν Θεοῦ —Zos. Alch. p. 244B (cited in the New Lid-Scott) (above) cannot very well be construed with περὶ ἑταροῦ.
235

490 ἔρεις I forte ἐφεῖς (sic et paulo post) -G.
491 Ἰσαὰκ I forte ὡς Ἰσαὰκ -G.
492 Ἰσραήλ ἢ Ἰσραήλ ἢ Ἀβραάμ ὡς Ἰσαὰκ ἢ Ἐφива. 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.

Abraham

Isaac    Ishmael

Jacob    Esau

493 cf. 490

494 Is. 41: 10 On the omission here (and the inclusion above, 705A) of ἰόν ἠλαῶ, cf. Introd. IV, 3

495 On the ebatic use of ὅτι , cf. 285

496 ἅν... κεκαθαραίε. The ἅν 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 ἰπτηθεῖς I forte ἐμπεθεῖς -G.

498 I have made all the nouns here dative, parallel to ἔφαγεν. The omission of the iota-subscript is a common typographical error.

499 ὅπερον. the termination -άν for 3rd person plural imperative is common in Hellenistic Greek.

500 ἔκπαρσεν I forte ἔκπαρσεν -G. I would accept this emendation and construe it with ἔκπαρσεν as an analytical tense. cf. 3 (note that in the next sentence ἔκπαρσεν does double duty, first with ἔλυσεν and then with κεκαθαραίε.)

501 ἀκρεῖς I forte ἀκρεῖς -G. It is obvious that ἀκρεῖς will not do. However, ἀκρεῖς 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 cf. Introd. IV, 3

505 λογοτριβῶν. Not found in the lexicons.

506 ἐθαλαμῶς...μνείρος. The combination is rare, yet appropriate

507 ἰψῶς. This combination has a variety of meanings. Here it equals ἐν ἄκαρτῳ, ὄ, ἀν.

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 ἐνσαρκίου δικονομίας. δικονομία = "dispensation", applied to the Incarnation and the concomitants thereof. cf. 728

511 This looks like a nonsequitur.

512 cf. ὁ ἀγρεπτόν καὶ ἀναλαμβάνων τοῦ Θεοῦ. Orig. I, 697A

513 ἐπει̃ belongs with ἐβουλεύτο rather than with ἡμίκαριν.

514 Is. 45: 11 θησαυρός, LXX | ὁ πλάτος αὐτῶν | ὁ ἁγιός 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 ὁ θησαυρός, LXX | ὁ πλάτος αὐτῶν | ὁ ἁγιός Ἰσραήλ, LXX.

520 προσκ. ὥστε προσκ. δοὺς. G.

521 Is. 45: 14 ὅτι ἡ ἀρχὴ. G.

522 Is. 45: 14

523 Is. 45: 15 οἱ δοκεῖν ἀποπειραμένοι LXX.

524 Is. 45: 15 ὁ Σωτήρ. Sin. AQ om LXX

525 Is. 45: 16 πάντες Ἰρα. καὶ ἐγείραντον LXX

526 Is. 45: 16 ὁτοί ὁμ. LXX.

527 Μὴ γὰρ ὁ ἑπτάκαη — cautious assertion, cf. ἀλλὰ µὴ τοῦτο οὐ καλὸς ὑπολογίσατε. Plato, Meno 89C
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 Judaæos*, p. 145 uncritically follows Migne in assigning this text to Deut. 4: 26, cf. 720) Furthermore, there are two linguistic peculiarities here:

1) Διακρίνωμεν είναι δριν, τοις οδηγών, δι' ἐνί σήμερον...

These last words - δι' ἐνί σήμερον - what sense do they make?

2) ὁποια Θεω - apparently from ὁποιαν, a word not found in the lexicons.

cf. 617 and Introd. IV, 5. See next page for supplementary note.

As the form διακρίνω shows, this is direct discourse and should have been printed, ὃς υπερήφανος ἤθε...

The gener. inf. equal to the 'prolative inf.' of Lat. grammar is common in the LXX, cf. οὐκ ἄνωνας τοις βίεσιν. Ps. 39: 13

ζην δὲ μὴ ἐπιστατεῖ. For ζην with the indic., cf. 12 (found also in the next sentence.)

Perhaps here in the ecclesiastical sense of discipline, order; ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἐπίσκεψις, church-disciple, Eus. II, 620A. (The mark of interrogation should be placed after this word in Migne.)

ἐντὸς] leg. ἐντῶν. G. ἐντῶν is found in the quotation of this text, 628B, cf. Introd. IV, 3

Ps. 33: 6 (incorrectly given in Migne as verse 36) (LXX)

G. I am inclined to think that ἐπεί is correct here. "By a natural elliptis, ἐπεί 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

Is. 28: 16 ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκρότωσαν ἐκ τριῶν γίν. τῇ Θερήλα αὐτὸς, ἤν ἐκ τοὺς βασιλ. ομ. LXX oδοκαὶ καταχθεῖσθαι τῇ ἀνεχ. ἐκείνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς. Ἐκκλησ. III, 113 ὡς ἡ καταχθή σος. LXX The form of this text is perhaps influenced by the NT quotation of it, Rom. 9: 33 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ καταχθεῖσθαι. Cyprian, *Ad Quirinum (Liber Testimonialorum)*, Bk. II. 16 begins his discussion of "That Christ also is called a Stone," with this passage.

The only correction demanded is καταχθή σοι.

Σκληροτράχηλος γὰρ καρπὸς - a double and mixed figure.

ἀπεργηματισμὸς γάρ ωσίν. For the figure, cf. Jer. 6: 10 ἰδον ἀπεργηματα γα ἐντα αὐτῶν.

Τις ἐφορεῖται κομψὰ βρήκατα ἐπερ τὸν ἄμμον τὴν περῆ ἐν τοῖς χωλοῖς τοῖς ψαλάντεσ.

I am not entirely satisfied with the translation. Τι or ἐ after βρήκατα 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 ἀπόψις τῷ Δευτερονόμῳ καὶ διαβάζοντα πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον τα διδαχώμενα 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gregentius</th>
<th>LXX</th>
</tr>
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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. 4:14b
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 ἐν τῇ βάτου. Σο Μκ. 12: 26; ἐν τῇ βάτου Λκ. 20: 37

542 Ex. 3: 7, equals LXX up to Ἀγωθω, the rest is verse 8. This should have been indicated in Migne.

543 Ex. 33: 13 The form of the text given here is unintelligible. I would suggest the following: Εὐ τοῦ... ἔστω ητο... ἤν γνῶ ἐφ' ἑαυτ... 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 Σπάτω.

547 Joshua 10: 13 The same incident is used by Greg. 637C for an entirely different purpose.

548 φιλήτα] φιλόκριτος... -G.

549 Ps. 74: 2 (LXX)

550 φιλήτα] φιλόκριτος... -G.

551 1 Kings 18: 17 φιλήτα (558) τοῦ λαοῦ, σὺ εἶ διαστρέφων τον Ἰσραήλ, καὶ δοκιμῶν τοῦ πατρὸς σου... Εἰ σὺ εἶ αὐτός, διαστρέφων τον Ἰσραήλ; LXX.

552 Hoc non inventur in versione LXX. -G. I have not been able to locate it. The above proceeding δυσνύκερος seems to give quite the opposite of what is expected.

553 Jer. 31: 7 (38: 7 -LXX) οἶκος, κύριος, ἀπολέσεις σὺ τῷ λαῷ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ; The agrees quite well with AV, but not so well with LXX:

554 ὁτι ἄνετος. LXX ὅτι ἄνετος ἡμῶν... -G.

555 Is. 63: 15-17 γιὰ ἔφεκτα καὶ οἱ γερμακοὶ σου LXX ἐπέστηκεν ἡμῖν (53Y) ἐν τῇ ήμῶν ἡμῖν ἡμῖν ἡμῶν ἡμῖν (53Y) ἐν τῇ ήμῖν (53Y)

556 ἀραφήνιον] ἀραφήνιον -G.

557 Is. 1: 2 (LXX)
Note the present and the future indic. after \( ινα \). 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.


Is. 1: 3 \( δύνατε \) after τοῦ Κυρίου \( οὗτος \) anticipates the \( δύνατε \) at the end of the verse. The intervention of \( ἀνθρώπου ἀπέκτενος \) (559) perhaps made ἦν too far removed to serve as the verb of \( ὑποστήριγμα \). Apart from this, it = LXX.

cf. Introd. IV, 2

561 \( κτηνὸν \) \( κτήνον \) \( φάτε ραν \) - \( G. φάτε ραν \) is quite obviously necessary as the antecedent of \( τά χωρά

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 \( ὑπεράκοι ὑποστήριγμα \). A simpler explanation, adaptable to both sentences, would rest on a modern meaning of mystery, - "a seeming contradiction". (I doubt whether \( μυστηρίον \) 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 \( ἀνομία \) \( ἀνομία \) - \( G. ἀνομία \) is by no means an impossible reading; it perhaps is due to the \( ἀνομία \) which follows
(ἐπέρακα πουνρόν, \( οἰοί ἀνομία \)) cf. Introd. IV, 2

564 Is. 1: 4 cf. 563 Apart from what is there mentioned, - LXX.

565 \( οἰοί ἀνομία \) not indicated as a Scriptural quotation.

566 τὴν ἀρπάζου. 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 ἐπιλήψε - not indicated as a Scriptural quotation. (\( θ. κ. \))

568 Is. 1: 5 (LXX).

570 In autós] scribe In autó - G. Praecedens autóν et subsequentia in kérri, desunt apud LXX. Hunc locum aliter effert Vulgata, et quidem multo planiorem. (author of this note not given)

571 Is. 1: 6 κατά δισθοκαλούμενος - G. (note that óuk ékteni... poixhía), should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation, concluding words of Is. 1: 6)

572 Is. 1: 6 Not indicated as a Scriptural quotation.

573 κατά δισθοκαλούμενος - G. (note that óuk ékteni... poixhía), should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation, concluding words of Is. 1: 6)

574 Is. 1: 7

575 σκινανάται - G. Tropically, σκινάνος, the earthly tabernacle, body.

576 Is. 1: 7 (LXX)

577 κατασκήνωσται not found in the lexicons.

578 κατά δισθοκαλούμενος - G.

579 Is. 1: 7 κατασκήνωσται (578) + autón LXX [κατασκήνωσται] kathathrahēn WM

580 δεικνυμαίνει scribe δεικνυμαίνει - G.

581 Is. 1: 8 (LXX)

582 ἐπιθυμίας] scribe ἐπιθυμίας - G. A finite verb is needed.

583 ὃς ἔσεθαι] Scribe ὃς ἔσεθαι - G.

584 Is. 1: 9 On the variations from the LXX, cf. Introd. IV, 2

585 ἐναπανθήθη] Not found in the lexicons.

586 εὐαυτοῖς = εὐαυτοῖς Common in NT

587 ἐν τῷ ἐγκαθέλθεν κ.τ.λ. Above, 721A καὶ εἰ ἐν κύριος ἐγκαθέλθεν. cf. Introd. IV, 3

588 684C

589 περὶ τῶν Ἰσρ. scribe περὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰσρ. - G. The change is not obligatory.

590 λόγον] scribe λόγον κύριον Mox post Ζοδείαν, add, ἐπιθυμεῖτε νόμων τούτων, ἐκεῖς ὑμῖν ἔχοντες - G. G. is wrong here. Greg. intentionally omits the rest of the text and says, ἐπιθυμεῖτε. (cf. the translation)
Iσ. 1: 10 λόγου κυπίου LXX (στο)

Iσ. 1: 11 (LXX)

Iσ. 1: 11, 12 (LXX)

βα παί τολ μέσους.

Iσ. 1: 11, 12 (LXX).

Iσ. 1: 13, 14 (LXX) cf. 631

600 Νηστικών και ἀγρίαν. These words which are part of Iσ. 1: 14 were omitted by Greg. when he quoted the text above. cf. Introd. IV, 1

601 Νηστικια...πλησιονιν. These words should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation, being part of Iσ. 1: 14

602 Ἰουδαίων ἡ Χαρακτήρας. A use of Χαρακτήρ (Lat. ritus) not cited in the lexicons.

603 Imaginative words put into the mouth of God by Greg.

604 Iσ. 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 εἴπης I scribe εἶπη -G.

607 δὴ τις ὄγ τὴν ἐκδίκησιν. The usual construction is ἐκδίκησιν παίσχθαι πίνον.

608 Iσ. 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: Οτὲν ἐκτίνατε Here εἴπης l.ηπη, ὑπὲρ X...ἐκτίνατε. Note also that Greg. has πρὸς μέ, agreeing with SinAQN against the LXX. cf. Introd. IV, 2 and 632.

609 καὶ τὸ θεαπίσσον καὶ μηνυτόλοις τὰ καὶ ἑλιατόν. For ὁδεγημάτων G. conjectures τῶν ὑπ' ὑπηρετ. vel τῶν ἑλιατῶν. Neither is really satisfactory.
610 cf. 603 ἀποκρύψα... ὑμῶν.

611 Is. 1: 15. Not indicated as a Scriptural quotation.

612 τις ὑμῶν... ἢς... -G. The sing. should be used here because the rest of the verbs and pronouns are singular.

613 Is. 1: 15

614 ἀπὸ τῶν φόνων τοῦ Υιοῦ σου, καὶ... τῶν ἀγίων σου.
Obviously, either σου or συν is wrong. I have changed σου to συν.

615 Note the unusual construction: ἀπετύχεσιν 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 λεπτόν 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. λεπτόν )

617 Μαρτύρομαι ὅτι ὑμῶν, οὗτος ἦστι σήμερον, καὶ τὴν θανατίν... (not indicated as a Scriptural quotation). With this, cf. διαμαρτύρομαι ὅτι ὑμῖν, γὰρ σήμερον, ὢς ἦστι σήμερον, καὶ τῶν γην... and cf. 528 and Introd. IV, 3

618 Is. 1: 16 cf. 335 for textual variants up to γίνεσθε... ὑμῶν ̣' ἦστε... cf. 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 decum illa labra arnea de quibus 3 Reg. c. 7 (I Kings 7: 38)

622 ἀπολύρνειν. Una littera minus habet hic Gregentii locus. Quis enim non videat certam lectionem ἀπολύρνειν ? 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.
pálin δοῦναις ἀνεξαρτήσιν. pálin is correct only if ἀνεξαρτήτως mean "in commotion" or something similar. (see next sentence) cf. 652A

ἀπρίτως ἢ ἀπροσθέτως -G.

626 What is the meaning of this? Was Herban under arrest? (The lexicons cite only Mt. 27: 65 for the Latinism, κουστωδία.)

οἱ δικαίωμα Should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation.

628 Vide supra notam ad pag. 637 (author of this note not given). cf. 595

629 Θυράρας, Μάταιν δ. -G. Thus it was quoted 724A

630 Compare the wording of this text here and 724A. cf. Introd. IV, 2

πληκούντων. Addunt LXX: δοκείτως ἀνήσυ ἀκρατίας ὑπάνων -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 “οὖν... ἐκκενείτε” The indic. is perhaps due to ἐκκενείτε 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 κρυφομένως. Perhaps here equals κυρικάω (note that the word is not found in the new Lid-Scott)

635 τῶν δὲ ἄνεκας καί σοῦ... ἀνέκοντες. 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 σαυρ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνάκλασιν (v. 25) and is perhaps due to the analogous ἀπὸ σαυρ... at the end of the verse. cf. Introd. IV, 2

637 Προσέχοις τῶν λεγομένων διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, συνείς διὰ τὴν ἀνάκλασιν ἀπὸ τῷ προφήτῃ. G. would change συνείς to συνείς ὁπ. prošēchos opt. is also to be suspected.

638 Is. 1: 27 (LXX)

639 A figure derived perhaps from the irrational treatment frequently accorded slaves.

δύνης scribe δύνης -G. ἰδιούς is more likely. cf. 673
641 Is. 2: 1 Τυπ ι ι α μι γι αν υπν ι α μι

642 ἀριστεραὶ ἀν' ἀκρων ὑπν ἀκρων. ἀπὸ can scarcely be correct.
Read ἀπο with the LXX and note that in the repetition of this
text below (729C) ἀπο is used. cf. Introd. IV, 3

πρ. 1° (? + P) ὑπναρχεῖν ΛXX and Mark 7:29 C.

644 The meaning of this sentence is not at all clear.
Cyprian, Ad Quirinum (Liber Testimonialorum), 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 ἐκείνη] scribe ἀλλ' ἐκείνη. -G. This is correct. What
follows comes in place of what has been rejected in the
previous question.

646 Here ἐπαρθείναται, above (729B) ἀριστεραὶ.

647 ἤτοι τῶν νυκτῶν. Jesus was in the tomb only two nights.

648 cf. 652

649 κρίτων] scribe κρίσεως (author of this note not given).
I can see no need for emending. κρίσεως is parallel to κόσμου
above.

650 Is. 2: 3 ἐλεφανταὶ περιβόλων [LXX] πολλοὶ λαοὶ ἐκ των ἐθνῶν πολλοὶ LXX/
περιβολῶν οὖν ὑπερτεροῦσιν ἐκ Τῶν Τῶν πολλόν 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 dis-
covery of the Tomb and the erection of a church above its


654 This is perhaps the meaning of this difficult sentence.

655 I remove the mark of interrogation after ὅτωσις.

656 Is. 10: 17-20 17. ἐν τῷ ἔγχυσεν ἐκ τῶν ημῶν ἡμῶν LXX/ ἐν φθείρᾳ
καὶ φασι καὶ φασιν ἐν τούς ὡς χειρόν ἐν πορίς ἐκείστως, ἑαυτῷ
ἐν ημῖν ἀκρων Χριστὸν τῶν ημῶν ἔχειν. LXX. 18. ἐν γε 
σφόρῳ LXX. 19. Μακίας κλήθητι
ἐν τῷ ἔγχυσεν ἠμὲν ἐν τῷ ἔγχυσεν ἡμῶν LXX. 20. Γεύσονται ἡμῖν ἐκ 
σφόρου LXX. 21. Γεύσονται ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν ημῶν ἔχειν. LXX. 22. Γεύσονται ἡμῖν ἐκ 
σφόρου LXX.
For ἀπείρη construed with παρέσ, cf. Eus. II, 601A

These words should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation. They are the conclusion of the quotation from Isaiah cited by Herban above, (732C).

Is. 10: 12 Should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation. If we have in LXX ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορεμα Σωτ. and in LXX Ἀγιασμοῦ, so in LXX.

Note that in this series of six ἀπείρη clauses, eleven of the verbs are future indic., while three are aor. subjunc.

cf. 71

Is. 10: 12 Should be indicated as a Scriptural quotation. ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορ. Σωτ. LXX / κάνειν Ἰσ. AQ + ἐπὶ LXX.

Is. 10: 13, 14 ἐκ τῶν ἢ καὶ τῶν Ἰορεμα Ἀγιασμοῦ Σωτ. ὦν ἤτοι LXX. Ἐκ τῶν Ἰορεμα Ἀγιασμοῦ ὦν ἤτοι LXX [καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἰορεμα Ἀγιασμοῦ ὦν ἤτοι LXX]. Ἀκούσων οὖν τῆς τούτος καὶ στρέψων οὖν Ὀραμαὴν ὀν ὦν LXX.

ἐρχόμενος, literally, chief cook. The title of a great officer in oriental courts, Gen. 39:1, Dan. 2: 44 (LXX).

tοιομάνων does not seem to be the right connective here.

Strictly, the subject is still ἡμεῖς but ἡμεῖς
is required here by the sense. Furthermore, note ἄρα which cannot stand for ἡμεῖς.

scribε δα τε G. I see no reason for emending.

Is. 10: 15 δὴ ἄρα ὥσ ἡμεῖς ὅτε ἀρέσται πᾶ ἡ ἁδες ἃ ἄρα ἕκανες ὥσ ἦν τὸς ἄρα ὅτε ἡ ἁδες ὥσ ὦν LXX.

Τῷ σηματι, should be Τῷ σηματι.

ὁς βασιλεύσαι?

Is. 10: 17 For the difference between the wording of the text here and above (732C), cf. Introd. IV, 2

δωμίνοις, forte συν把手-G. cf. 640

ἀλωσία, forte ἀλωσία vel ἀλωσία (author of this note not given in Migne; from the edition princeps it can be seen that it is G'.s)

ἐφημερίεω misspelling of ἐφημερία.
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

Esarhaddon

Occasionally construed with the accus. in Byzantine Greek. cf. Soph's Lex. for citations. cf. 717

Is. 10: 18, 19 cf. 656

Perhaps should be ἀποσβήσας θνήσθαι.

ὡς διήκονει, add ἐν τῶν ἐπιρρήμων. -G. This is likely in the light of the foregoing sentence.

.autw, more likely αὐτῶν, or αὐτοῖς.

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.)

I would emend to ἐπιρρήμεναι. Herban has already given his interpretation of this passage from Isaiah. cf. 732D sq.

With this philosophical view of the matter, cf. last sentence of Plato's Apol.

For τέω with the indic., cf. 12

Her verb can be either indic. or subjunc. cf. 12

Is. 49: 14 Σὺ τῷ Κύριῳ ὧν θεῖς ἐρμὴτελείη περὶ Κύριος οὗ θεῖσ τῷ ἐρμήτελετον Κύριος ΛΧΧ.

Is. 49: 15 ἐρμήτελετον μετὰ Κύριος ΛΧΧ ὧν θεῖσ τῷ ἐρμήτελετον ΛΧΧ.

καί, ὡς ἐφώ, σὺ τῷ ἐρμήτελετον ἐφώ. The meaning here is doubtful.

Codices Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Marchalianus read κληρονομίαν ἐφοίσαι. Greg. has rendered as a direct command; the LXX, indirect.
694 Is. 49: 8, 9, 10. The LXX quotes Is. 49: 8, 9, 10.

695 This seems to be the meaning of this difficult paragraph.

These three nouns correspond to the verbs ἐκλείπει, ἐκλείπει, ἐκλείπει of Is. 49: 8, quoted above (741A).

The words of Isaiah which the reader expects here are: ἐλεψάντος αὐτῷς, ἐλεψάντος, τὸς παλαίρινες, παρακαλέσαι αὐτοῖς, τῷ Παρακλήτῳ καὶ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι.

696 This seems to be the meaning of this difficult paragraph.

697 Οὐκ οὖν ἐκλείπει πλάσιν καὶ Θείν καὶ θάνατον σοιδιάτον ἐνορμάζων; or some such word must be understood with τοῖς.

698 ἔλεψαν, scribe ἔλεψαν -G. The full passage is ἔλεψαν αὐτοὺς, τῷ Παρακλήτῳ τὸς παλαίρεσες, παρακαλέσαι αὐτοῖς, τῷ Παρακλήτῳ καὶ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι.

699 έπελεύσεται, scribe ἐπελεύσεται -G. The full passage is ἐπελεύσεται αὐτοὶς, τῷ Παρακλήτῳ τὸς παλαίρεσες, παρακαλέσαι αὐτοῖς, τῷ Παρακλήτῳ καὶ ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι.

700 Is. 49: 10. διαφημίσεως, scribe διαφημίσεως -G. A Q / d i a f h m i s e i s / 2. 3. οὐδὲ LXX / τοῖς LXX. (LXX) / διαφήμισε LXX.

701 Is. 49: 11 (LXX)

702 εὐφραίνως, scribe εὐφραίνως -G. εὐφραίνως followed by εἰς is unusual.

703 βορᾶ, scribe βορᾶ -G. βορᾶ, however, is a Sin. reading.

704 "from the west" ἄνδρα... ἐν ἄνδρος.

705 Is. 49: 12. βορᾶ, scribe βορᾶ -G. Is. 49: 12. (LXX)

706 εὐφραίνως, scribe εὐφραίνως -G. The 3rd person imperative is a possible reading, all the more so because it is followed by ἁγγαλάθεσιν. cf. Ps. 95 (LXX): 11. εὐφραίνως, εἱ ἐφιστήρες καὶ ἀγγαλάθεσιν ἑ γεν. cf. Introd. IV, 2

707 ὑποτέθηκε, scribe ὑποτέθηκε -G. Note, however, that the subject ὑπότεθηκε is neuter plural.

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 τὸς αὐτός, ὁ ἵστων πραγματον) the second, attraction in number.

711 cf. 710

712 Joel 3: 18 ἐν τῷ ἤκτρατι ἐν τῷ ἤκτρατι LXX / ἐν ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλείας] ἐν ὑπὲρ LXX
713 φλέκασα | scribe φλέκασ — G.
714 cf. 712
715 φρεκτὸς, lit., "to be shuddered at"

716 Joel 3: 19 ἀφανικοῦν λευκήσεως] 23, 31, 45, 51, 61, 72, 84, 117 (228 μετά λάθους)
717 ἀντ' ὀσορ LXX ἀντὶ ὀσορ Note that Greg. writes ἀντὶ ὀσορ with the accus. This is a Byzantine construction. cf. 678

718 cf. 716

719 οὗτοι γὰρ υἱοὶ καὶ φίλοι καὶ γνωστοί, καὶ διδάσκοι τοῦ ἐρωτου Σωμήρος Χριστοῦ... I remove καὶ after γνωστοῖ and join with διδάσκοι.

720 Williams, Adversus Judaeos, p. 146, incorrectly assigns this passage to Isaiah.

721 Joel 3: 20 κατοικισθήσεται | κατοικισθεστα LXX.

722 Joel 3: 21 ἐν τῷ ἁῶν Σιών] ἐν Σιών LXX.
Above (744D) Greg. interpreted the reference to Judah in Joel 3: 20 by adding ἁῶν Σιών. Here he saves himself the trouble by inserting ἁῶν 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 ἐλθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν σύρμαν] scribe ἐλθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν σύρμαν ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου
It is essential for the argument in the next sentence that ἀπὸ τούτου... ἀπὸ... 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
Ps. 110: 1 (LXX)

729 Perhaps this is part of Gen. 49: 9

730 Legendum potius πρότερον vel ἀνωθεν -G. This correction is in order. The text which Herban quotes (Ps. 47: 4) precedes the verse (Ps. 47: 8) which Greg. discussed.

731 This compound not found in the lexicons.

732 I remove the comma after ἀγίῳ.

733 Ps. 47: 5 (LXX)

734 κατάβας. I would suggest κατὰ βάσιν.

735 The sentence is not entirely satisfactory. Greg. means that ascension and descention (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. ἐστὶν τὸν τὸν ἑτέρον κληρονομοῦν λέγεται 745B. ἀνήλθεν, καὶ καταβας is printed as a Scriptural quotation. ἀνήλθεν comes from Ps. 47: 5 which Greg. has just quoted, but where is καταβας found?

736 λεγεῖτος, πάντα ἐκ δύναμις cf. μαθητεύσατε πάντα ἐκ δύναμις Mt. 28: 19, cf. Introd. IV, 5

737 Ps. 51: 6 (LXX)

738 Above 745C πᾶν κληρονομοῦν αὐτῶν, here αὐτῶν. The change is perhaps due to the αὐτῶν of 745D (last line). For Greg.'s method of quoting, cf. Introd. IV, 2

739 scribent scribe ἐκλεις, cepit. -G.

740 Ps. 47: 1 (LXX)

741 Ps. 73: 9 (LXX)

742 At this point Greg. writes καὶ τὰ ἔργα . 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

743 Ps. 77: 13, 14, 15 (LXX)
746 G. videsis Congium in Glossario Graec. tom. II, pag. 1370, v. & d'corr. Ubi paulo post, vocem selec tion illustr. (author of this note on G. not given)
For selection, 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 καὶ οὐδέ μοι ἐστί. For the ironical καὶ, cf. Mk. 9: 43 καὶ οὐδὲ ἐστὶν σε κυκλών ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ζωήν.

748 τί σοι καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἀρχηγονότω τε j cf. Mk. 1: 24 τί ὅρν καὶ σοι, Ἰησοῦ Ναζαρηνῇ

749 προσκυνήσεις ἐμοί, ὡσ κάρω, τῷ Ἰησοῦν ... For αὐτῶ G. suggests αὐτήν. It is better to emend τῷ 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 ἐμὲ τί ἐστιν. τί perhaps equals ἐστί . For ἐστι with fut. indic. cf. 558

752 ἐν περιπλῆκται καὶ ἄκροβισε διάμοναν. ἄκρ. can hardly be correct here. The Jew lives in circumcision, not in the state of uncircumcision.

753 cf. 2 Cor. 3: 15 καλοίκα ἐν τῷ καρπίῳ αὐτῶν κεῖται. cf. 252

754 ἵππες] forte ἵππες ut paulo post. Et sic legit Interpres. (author of this note not given)

755 cf. 748D

756 Ex. 22: 28

757 ἐκροτάται γὰρ ἤρεν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ἤρεν, καὶ ὑφαλότερον τῶν παρὰ κυρίον, ἔτη 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 κεναίσθοι — scrib ev kένωσιν -G. The emendation is not entirely satisfactory.
Ps. 82: 7 ού των άνω συνάκτων For συνάκτης as applied to "angels", cf. Philon, I, 587, 17

Ps. 83: 5 Rescribe οτες μέτε το θεος ἄκουν; enim auctor, μέτε τον. -G.

Ps. 84: 12 τον τῶν αὐτῶν θαυμάσια. Not indicated as a Scriptural quotation.

Ps. 95: forte in τοις συν. Sic et mox, in τοις λασις, ut paulo ante. -G.

Mt. 3: 7 (= NT, i.e. Souter’s ed.)

Ps. 96: 8, 9 (LXX) The underscoring is mine.

Ps. 96: 8, 9 (LXX)

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 (ἀργαλίασθω) 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 ού κύριος έλασανες was supplemented by ἀργαλίασθω. 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." -Rahlf, Septuaginta, p. xxiii. cf. also 8

Ps. 96: 5 φίλακτος. Not found in the lexicons.

Ps. 96: 6 oωρί φωραθείν. Why the opt? Ps. 96: 7 οφρ. I scrible άγγαλείς ἔως τον, οφρ. -G. This correction is unnecessary. The text of the LXX is: ού κύριος έλασανες ἀγγαλιασθαι τῷ πάντος άφθαρκτων άνθρωπων. Greg. has merely omitted the second clause.
Ps. 91: 1 cf. LXX

Ps. 98: 1 αὐτῷ Ἰβαλεί αὐτῷ LXX

780 i.e. I scribe τὴν ἑσή -G. Note that thus (τὴν ἑσή) it is rendered on the following page, 757A, 757D (bis); cf. Introd. IV, 3

781 τοι Φ. I scribe τοῖο τοῖον -G. Note that thus (τοῖο τοῖον) it is rendered 757A, 760A; cf. Introd. IV, 3

Ps. 98: 2, 3 (LXX) cf. 780, 781, 774

783 δικαύον Ι fortè οτί τοίον dīkav vel dīkav -G.

Vel υπερ Edd.

784 Νος. I fortè συνενεφραίνεται -G.

785 ομιλῶν τοι I scribe ομιλῶν -G. This emendation is possible only if θελησει equals θελει of two lines above, and this is extremely doubtful.

Ps. 16: 4 (LXX)

787 I place a full stop after ἄπρατα.

788 For ἐπιπληθοῦν and ὑπόστασις, cf. 10

789 Here ἑνώριον ἑνόριο, above 756D and 757A ἑνώριον ἑνόριο.

790 Here ἐκπροσεθιν τὴν ἑσῆν, while above 757A ἐκπροσέθην τὴν ἑσῆν and below 757D ἐναντίον τὴν ἑσῆν cf. Introd. IV, 3

791 Ροιπ. I fortè μὴ ροιπ. -G. I prefer to leave it as it is.

792 Ps. 10: 5 Greg. and LXX ὅ τι περιπέτευχαν ἐνίκισαν μιση τὴν ἑσήν φυλὴν, which is quite different from AV. However, the rendering of AV suits the context better.

793 Ex. 22: 1 ὅ μὴ κλέπητιν ὅτιν τῆς ἀναμαθμάτων ἀποτίς is a loose and inaccurate version of Ex. 22: 1. cf. Introd. IV, 5. What follows ἑπὶ παρεστάρεις ἀπατεῖς 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 ἀκαθέτεσαι.
In lexicons, apparently found only here and 773B.

καὶ Χριστὸν ἂν καθοπεμψήνουσι. Τούτων perhaps refers to the sufferings of Christ.

Εἰσοδήμαρ. This compound not found in lexicons.

βλέπων ἔπειτά τινος ἀκόμη καθέναν,

The lexicographers took no notice of this figurative use of Χέρκω.

Imaginative words put into the mouth of God.

Mk. 16: 16 (= NT, i.e. Souter's ed.), though Greg. writes ὑπὲρ for καί ἵπτερον καὶ βαπτισθεῖσ.

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.

Soph's Lex gives ἑυσυρμακαθόρος and cites Greg. 784B Neither the adjective nor the adverb is found in Lid-Scott.

ἐσυμφασθήσον, "Sop. Lex gives ἑυσυρμακαθόρος and cites Greg. 784B Neither the adjective nor the adverb is found in Lid-Scott.

καὶ ἔρθη ἐκέφαλος, καὶ προσεβαλεν αὐτῷ ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ προσεκρίθη τῇ ἔκδοσι, καὶ κατασκεύασθαι οὕτως...

As it stands the sentence is unintelligible. For ἐκέφαλος I suggest ἐκέφαλος and for ἡ μαρτυρία, ἡ μαρτυρία.

cf. 800

περικεῖον vel περικεῖον -G.

cf. 800

cf. I Cor. 1: 18 - 25 cf. Introd. IV, 5

John 5: 8 (= NT, i.e., Souter's ed.)

Justin's Trypho says (X. 2) "For I took some trouble to read them (the Gospels)".

ὁμολογήσαι forte ὁμολογήσαι -G.

(Is. 1: 2 ἦλθεν ἔγενσα, καὶ ὑψωτα (LXX) For clarity I have added the words which immediately preceed, ἐλόγος ἔλεγον. 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).

cf. Rom. 4: 17 καθευδότες τὰ μὲν ἄστα ἐν ἀστά.

At this point G. writes in the margin: - Hinc conicere licet Paladium authorem esse aive scriptorem huius disputationi
815 Ps. 119. 150 (LXX) Nelson had said (four lines above) 
Ταῦτα τα ἐπέκαλε καὶ ἐτέρησε διὰ λόγου... Greg. replies 
'Ἡ διὰ λόγως τῶν λόγων...

816 καθωρά, What verb is this?

817 cf. Ex. 7: 1 καὶ τὸν Κύριον πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων ἵνα σέδωκα σε 
γιὰ τὴν ἑαρών...

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 ᾿Χωρῆς (- Sinai) is wrong.

820 καὶ αὕτη. scribe ἀλλὰ καὶ αὕτη. -G. The change is not 
needed.

821 ἁρπατικός (= ἁρπατικός) 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 ἀν in the second half: καὶ σῶμα ῾Οσ­ 
τὴν διὰ αὐτὸ τῶν Κουρασάντων.

824 Deut. 32: 49, 50 Ἀνάβαντα (ἀνάβαντι LXX) ἵνα ἤρεμος is part of 
verse 49, καὶ ἑλευθέρᾳ 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 Ζη τὸν Κύριον καὶ ἠκούσα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑδάτης, καὶ καὶ βαλ­ 
στέρατος μου ἵνα καὶ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, ἵνα παρά τὸν 
ἰμπλομένον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἠκούσα ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμέλεια καὶ ἠτερήσα, ἵνα καὶ βαλ­ 
στέρατος λόγον μου. LXX. cf. Ἀφθαρ. III, 2...

827 cf. 353

828 Mt. 17: 2 (= NT, i.e., Souter's ed).
Mt. 1: 5 ( = NT, i.e., Souter's ed.) though Greg. omits ἐν τῷ ἐσοφίσῃ.

Elijah was translated to heaven without dying. II Kings 2: 1 - 12

Τῷ τοῦ ὑψίσκεψιν τὸς ὑψίσκεψιν, ὑψίσκεψις 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)

αὐτῷ] forte αὐτῷ  -G.

cf. 353

ἀπαθηθῆς ] forte ἀπαθηθῆς  -G.

κηκίς ] forte κηκίς  -G. That dat. will stand as specification.

I place a mark of interrogation here.

Mt. 17: 20 (= NT, i.e., Souter's ed.), though Greg. writes ζητεῖτε for ἤλθεν ἐχθρῶ.

cf. 353

Ἐναποκοποῦτες. This compound not found in Lid-Scott. Soph's. Lex cites this passage and says Ἐναποκοπεῖτε = ἀποκοπεῖτε.

This is perhaps the meaning. ὅτε ἔχεις φθάνουσα μέχρι αὐτῶν. cf. 1.

Τοῖς. Somewhat unusual as a substantive.

κατὰ πρός ὑπό τοῦ κυρίου διαφωτίσας ὡς ὑπό τοῦ κυρίου, etc. If this is the meaning the word-order is unusual.

Observe the spelling of Εὐταρπος (=Εὐταρπος).

Soph's Lex cites this passage and Sophronius 3708D for the "ejaculatory prayer" Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Ὁ ἢ Τοῦδαλος, perhaps a nom. of reference.


ἲδομεν = ἶδομεν.

Ps. 94: 1 (LXX)

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 Ἱερός Ἀγωνομάξων, formed the basis for the settlement of Chalcedon in favor of Diphysitism. cf. 104a
842 ὒπερ τοῦς συγκλήτους αὐτῷ τοῦτον ἀπέφηνε, ὡς καὶ κανικλεῖόνα, ἀπό τοῦ πταίσας, ὧν ἑπτάδεπται πατρίκιοι καὶ κανικλεῖόνα προσάρμοσαν. 

850 ὡς Πεντακάκλινας Πέντα Καθώς Χιλιάδων.

851 Τοῖς — Γαντ. Ἰ ἑπτάτοις Θεόνων — G.

852 θεοφ. 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 καθ' ἀνως τολμῶν τινα τῶν ἑκατοντάκτων Ἑβραίων, λέγει θεός γὰρ θὲν τὴ νυμφή ἐτέλεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατοντάκτων Ἑβραίων, ἂ ν ἄρα λαβὼν γὰρ θὲν ἐτέλεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατοντάκτων Ἑρωδιάν.

This is also in accord with the concluding sentence of the paragraph, (which Williams quotes verbatim!)

854 Τοιοϋτοπάτθως (= Τοιο踊跃τοπάτθως ;)

855 cf. 803
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5. Words Not Found In Liddell & Scott, but in Sophocles

* These designations do 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

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φιμοτής - 756A 774
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, 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, Herban the Jew is said, "to have noticed Palladius the secretary of the archbishop, whom he had brought from Alexandria, etc."

εὕρα γὰρ Παλλάδιον τὸν σχολαστικὸν τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ὅν ἀκόνισεν Ἀλεξάνδρειας ἔγαγον, κτλ. In the works of Assemanus 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)
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, Theophanes, and Nicephorus, 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. And so, when he had passed thirty years in his episcopate, St. Gregentius died, in the opinion of Pagius, in the year 552, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ 19', "on the 19th day of the month of December," as his writing shows.

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: Νομοθεσία τοῦ ἄγιου Γρηγορίου ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως Ἀβραμίου. Likewise Lequienius reports that this legislation, or these laws described by our bishop,
are to be found in the codex Coislinianus CCLV, of which Montfauconius makes mention, and that they precede his Dialogue; mention of those laws occurs toward the end of the Dialogue. Wherefore, in my opinion there is no reason why we should think with Fabricius, that the Dialogue of Gregentius is mutilated at the beginning: for the beginning of the Dialogue coming immediately after his above-mentioned laws, as we now understand from Lequienius, does not therefore seem to be abrupt.

III. Further, there is a better known work of Gregentius, a Dialogue which he had with Herban the Jew. This Dialogue 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 pertain to the purification of the text, we have added a very few besides from the opinion of exceedingly

12) Lequien., I. c. pag. 664a
13) Gregent. Disput. infra, p. 780B sq. (Migne)
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. Doubtless from the codex Caesareus in which is found the Dialogue With Herban The Jew of St. Gregentius, instead of Ταφρων, which appears in the title of Gulonius's edition, he (Lambecius) 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).

Lambecius continues, and instead of τῆς δοξιμασίας γεγονυίας (below, p. 621A), which Gulonius translated, probatione facta, ('the trial was held'), he writes τῆς ἑτοιμασίας γεγ., apparatus facto, ('the preparation was made'). Finally, instead of ἐν τῷ Θεολέγῳ (ibid.) he contends that it should be ἐν τῷ Θεώνῳ 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, which also Assemanus follows, 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, who however is found to have erred in this: he thinks the things there narrated happened in the fifth century.

16) Ptolem. Geogr., lib. viii, in Asiae tab. vi
17) Pagi, ad ann. 523, sec. 13
18) Asseman. l.c., pag. 385, not. 1
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, 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 Serdios the son of Abramius was king of the Homerites. 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 ρήματα καὶ ἐτέρως δηλωθήσονται. Ἐώρα γὰρ Παλλάδιον τὸν σχολαστικὸν τοῦ ἀρχιεισικόνον ὁν ἀκόμη Ἀλεξανδρείας ἤγαγε, τὰ ρήματα ἐκατέρων σημειούμενον. "What has been said shall be made plain to others. For he saw Palladius, the secretary

1) παρόντες τοῦ ἐυσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ τινὸν ἐκισχόμενον καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ καθὼς πολεμῶν, p.38, ed. Gulc
Pagii Critic. Baron. 523, X-XIII, p. 331 seq. tom. IX,
Hamburger. Z. N. III, p. 396 seqq. Saxii Onom. lit. II,
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, (Lambecius, 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, (Lambecius, Bk. V, p. 131, (p. 270 sq. Kollar)), and in codex Seguierianus, (Montfauconius in Bibl. Coisliana, 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, many pages larger at the beginning, the first words of which translated into Latin, M. V. La Crosse, 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 Γρηγορίον), 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:

'Αρχη της διαλέξεως των 'Ιουδαίων. Ἕι τῶν οὐτως ἔχοντων καὶ οὕτω παρακληθησαντων, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ τοῦτοις αἰγοστος τόν. Κυριακ ν, καὶ τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτοῦ δέκα εν το σύνου μὴ τολμήσαντο, καὶ πάντων χαρη εὐφραγίας καὶ λογικον, παραγένετο καὶ οἱ Ιουδαίοι καθα και ἐκελεύθῃ αὐταίς, ἀναλογείας αὐταίς ἢδη τῆς προθεσιας των ἐπιθέσαντα μεραν. Παρεγένετο δὲ τοῦ διαλεξθησαν ἐνεχες, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπομηνθέντος ἐτοιμασίας ἐν τῷ θεότητι γεγονός, (less correctly in editions- Της δοκιμασίας ἐν τῷ Θερελλείτω γεγονός, confer Lambea. v. p. 129 (p. 271, Kollar) ήλθε δὲ τοῦτο μεγίστη καὶ κράτη τῶν βασιλείων κρίσις τε. Εἴχεις τοιγαρον ἐτοιμασίας γεγονός, καὶ ἄκαθης τῆς τάξεως ἀθροισθείσης, καρούσης καὶ τῆς ιερας συγκλησια, παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς μετὰ τῷ αγιωτατῳ αρχιεπισκόπῳ, 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.)
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