## Isaac of Antioch's Homily against the Jews

by

## Stanley Kazan

Homily Two against the Jews is preserved in Vatican Syriac Manuscript 120, fols. 141 a-148 b\*, J. S. Assemani, Bibliotheca Orientalis 1 (Rome 1719) 231, no. 73. The script most closely resembles that of plate XX in H. P. Hatch, An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts (Boston 1946), which is a specimen of a manuscript dated 548. There is nothing to indicate that the handwriting is that of an archaizing, much later hand. The manuscript, of course, cannot be older than the latest author whose work it contains. However, all the texts contained in our manuscript are those of Isaac of Antioch, if we can rely on the brief description contained in the Assemani catalogue. Since it is reasonable to assume that our manuscript was not written during the lifetime of the author, it cannot antedate the second half of the fifth century. The safest and most probable dating that can be suggested without a more detailed examination of the original is to call it a sixth-century manuscript.

The manuscript is written in a beautiful Estranglā script. Fol. 144a provides the exception to an otherwise easily legible manuscript. It appears that a later hand has attempted to fill in with ink the blurred outlines of the earlier text. In the process, many letters and words have been obliterated beyond recognition. Fortunately, the text is largely a midrash on Genesis 49, 8–12 which can be recovered with the help of the Biblical text.

Each folio page contains two columns varying in length from 22-25 lines. One column extends to 26 lines. The words are written in large letters, thus there are no more than two or three words on each line. Fol. 146a col. A, 1. 4 contains four words, and fol. 145a col. A, 1. 19, which also contains four words, is written in a much smaller Estranglā script. Fol. 145b col. B, 1. 22 contains one long word.

The manuscript contains many additions, repetitions, and omissions which, in all probability, were not found in the original. The addition of superfluous letters occurs frequently in the manuscript. It is difficult to ascertain whether these errors may be attributed to the scribe or to earlier errors already contained in his *Vorlage*. In any event, our manuscript, despite its antiquity, does not contain a very reliable text. This is all the more regrettable since no other manuscript of this work has so far been traced.

<sup>\*</sup> I offer my sincerest thanks to the Vatican Library for permission to publish this manuscript.

Fol. 141 a col. B

Homily two against the Jews

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I have a judgement with Jacob, And a discourse with the Jews.

Fol. 141 b

If we all have one Father, Why should anyone feel superior to the nations?1

I belong to the nations, And on behalf of my people I speak. What do you think, O nation, Did not the Lord create us as well as you?

If God created us and you, He loves us as well as you. If your begetter did not beget us (too), (Then) you have in mind another God.

But if your begetter is one, (Then) He doesn't love you any more than me, And you are no closer to (His) thoughts Than I or my people.

These sentiments<sup>2</sup> of your fathers, You should not ascribe to God. For Esau<sup>3</sup> labored in hunting, And Jacob took the blessings.

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Fol. 141 b col. B

1º In margin in Sertō script and.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The manuscript everywhere indicates Yhūdayē, Īhūda, Yhūdayūta, and  $Yh\bar{u}d\bar{a}y\bar{a}$  with an h. The form without the h is later, cf. R. Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus (Oxford 1879) 1569. The preposition b and the accusative l are pronounced ba and la when they precede these forms, cf. Th. Nöldeke, Compendious Syriac Grammar, trans. James A. Crichton (London 1904) sec. 44, p. 31.

<sup>3°</sup> Ms. 2007.

<sup>310</sup> I have not followed the manuscript which never joins the Semkat to the letter following it. However, I have indicated the diacritical points where they are shown in the manuscript.

<sup>4°</sup> Ms. 01.

ammā, "the nation", refers to the Jews. The plural ammē, "the nations", refers to the Christians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Bedjan, Homiliae S. Isaaci Syri Antiocheni 1 (Paris 1903) 565,18, "whoever hears these sentiments (haššē)".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Genesis 27,3; 31. Cf. Jacob of Sarug, The Blessings of Isaac to Jacob = Br. Mus. add. 17,159, fol. 23b, lines 3-4: "he (Isaac) sent him (Esau) to toil a bit in hunting".

And Jacob also blessed Ephraem<sup>3a</sup>
Not as a result of his merit<sup>4</sup> and glory.
Both made the younger the older,
In the blessings but not in the possessions.

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Isaac made Jacob the older,
But he did not disinherit Esau.
With the blessings of his mouth he disregarded him,
But he did not deprive him of (his) portion (of the inheritance)<sup>5</sup>.

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Since he was the father of both of them,
He also loved them both.

And when he made the younger the older,
If you have been persuaded, these are
mysteries.

Through the law you (appear) superior to me,
Through circumcision and the Sabbath which you observe.
And you boast of these
Which are dear to your childishness.

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Fol. 142 a col. A

And when Esau, the elder, was sent to hunt prey,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> For metrical reasons the pronoun *ennōn* may take an enclitic form *nōn*. Cf. lines 108 and 140, *līṭīn-nōn*; 1.419, *dahzā-nōn*. For additional examples in the writings of Isaac of Antioch, see P. Bedjan, *Homiliae S. Isaaci Syri Antiocheni* 1 (Paris 1903) 90,14; 96,20; 135,5; 143,5.

<sup>3</sup>a Genesis 48,19-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 'amlā means 'labor', and also the 'result of labor', cf. Brockelmann, Lex. Syr. 530. The root 'ml also has both meanings in Biblical Hebrew, cf. H. L. Ginsberg, Studies in Koheleth (New York 1950) 1, on Koheleth 1,3, and Supplementary Studies in Koheleth = Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research 21 (1952) 35/36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Jacob of Sarug, Br. Mus. add. 19,159, fols. 27b, 1. 18–28a, 1. 2:

When he was dying, Isaac did not write about his abundance,

And he did not leave orders concerning who should inherit his possessions.

He gave the blessing which was riches to the one who received it,

And concerning the possession, he did not leave any orders because it was despicable in his eyes.

Thus Esau was not deprived of his rightful share of Isaac's material possessions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. lines 215/8. Just as Jacob who was younger than Esau was blessed by his father, so the nations who are younger than the Jewish nation were blessed by God. Cf. Jacob of Sarug, Br. Mus. add., fol. 23b, lines 13–18:

The mystery of the nations called the younger that he should be blessed. (Divine) goodness, then, took hold of Jacob through his mother,

For without labor he was blessed like the nations.

Concerning the law and circumcision
And Sabbath observances which you
have taken hold of<sup>7</sup>,
Let us open and read in the law
Concerning the first days:

With what was Abel<sup>8</sup> triumphant?
And how was Enoch crowned?
How Noah and those of the House of Seth?
And we shall see whether the law is good.

From this very law of yours
You may learn of its invalidation.
The weapon which you have seized
(turns) against you,
And the arrow which you have shot is
wounding you.

That the righteous ones triumphed who did not observe it,
It shows (thereby) great contempt for those who observed it
But did not achieve the measure of the ancients.

For since the law itself proclaims

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Fol. 142 a col. B

6° Ms. درمه, cf. 1. 67.

<sup>7</sup> Meaning, let us examine Scripture to ascertain whether the law which you

stubbornly hold on to is valid.

<sup>8</sup> Isaac argues that the ancients were considered righteous men even though they did not observe the law. This theme occurs frequently in Syriac polemic literature against the Jews, cf. Aphraates, *The Homilies of Aphraates*... (London 1869), ed. W. Wright, 205,12–18; Jacob of Sarug, Vat. Syr. ms. 117, fol. 342a col. B, lines 21–30; Dionysius bar Ṣalibhi, *The Treatise of Dionysius bar Ṣalibhi against the Jews* (Leiden 1906), ed. J. De Zwaan, Chap. II. An almost perfect parallel to this Isaac passage is found in Ephraem Syrus, Ed. Rom. 3,183 F-184A:

Let the righteous be unto you An image of love, and be like them.

See, then  $(hz\bar{i} h\bar{a}k\bar{e}l)$ , and become good in Enoch.

Be like Noah, the second head (of mankind).

My conjecture that the correct reading is hzī Hābēl "see Abel", has been substantiated by Professor P. Edmund Beck of St. Anselms College in Rome who was kind enough to check the reading in the Vat. Syr. ms. and in the Br. Mus. add.

On the favored position of Abel, see M. Sprengling and Wm. C. Graham, Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament: Part I, Genesis-II Samuel = The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publication 13 (Chicago 1931), facs. p. 28, l. 30, where the name Abel has been derived from the Syriac mawhabtā dallāhā, "the gift of God".

By lengthily narrating the fame Of those who were without the law, It proclaims its own invalidation Since the ancients lived without it.

(Moses brought down the law.)9 Through him are its observances made truthful, (And) He proceeds with (His) history So that we should be blameless.

Had they been accused by Him10, The House of Seth and Enoch and those of the House of Noah, They would have been enabled to confirm The observance of Sabbath and circumcision.

However, since He began by praising Those who triumphed without these, His scriptures are a reproach to you, That you have not achieved any portion.

It was not the Sabbath that adorned The righteous men of the first generations. Since they were victorious without the law, Why do you need the law?

If you assume its truthfulness, you consider it false, Since it declares victorious (one) who is not victorious. And if you assume its validity, you invalidate it, Since you are revoking circumcision

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Fol. 142b

<sup>7</sup>º Ms. ماراه.

<sup>7</sup>a° Perhaps read in plural.

<sup>80</sup> Ms. Loo, the waw having been added through dittography.

<sup>9</sup> Meaning, Moses brought down the law from Mt. Sinai and made its observances mandatory, but the Lord continued with His divine history invalidating the law through Jesus.

<sup>10</sup> If God had considered Seth, Enoch, and Noah delinquent because of their non-observance of the law, He would have shown, thereby, that the law is valid. Since God praised them, He confirmed the invalidity of the law.

The Jew says these (words) again: "Concerning the law and circumcision Why were they (ordained) then?"

And I answered and said to him
Against the perversity of his saying:
"That it should be a fetter for your
servitude12
(Similar to) that which you served in

Egypt."

And he answered again and said to me:
"Do you call the law a fetter?"
Then I clarified my words and said to him:
"I am not (the cause of) your rebuke."

Is it not after you turned astray
From the Lord after the calf
(That) there came down for you from
Mount Sinai<sup>14</sup>
A chain for your bonds,

A heavy yoke which was cast As if upon your rebellious neck. And bonds and a shackle it was for you That you would not leave your Lord.

Those of the House of Seth and Enoch and of the House of Noah Were free men and (faithful) sons. 15 And they did not need the fetters of the law. To prevent your flight it was formed.

Your father was a righteous man.

See his justification against you

Which in his last will and testament he proclaims

To the band of his sons from his

household.

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Fol. 142 b col. B

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<sup>11</sup> Meaning, and I answered him to counteract this perverse question.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> On the law as "shackles and fetters and bonds", cf. Ephraem Syrus, Ed. Rom. 3,188 E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Cf. Bedjan, *Homiliae S. Isaaci* ... 343,18-19; 345,5-6, the law is a rebuke to Israel for its sinfulness. The Hebrew *mūsār* is translated *mardūtā* in the Peshitta.

<sup>14</sup> This is a play on Exodus 19,20: "the Lord came down from Mt. Sinai".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Cf. Bedjan, *Homiliae S. Isaaci* ... 283,11: "have compassion upon faithful sons (bnayyā)".

Fol. 143 a

col. A

Reuben<sup>16</sup>, you are my might and the first of my strength.
Unstable as water, you shall not remain.
Simeon<sup>17</sup> and Levi are brothers.

Instruments of wrath are they cursed.

[Dan<sup>18</sup> is a serpent, and his brother<sup>19</sup> is a wolf,

And another<sup>20</sup> is also a robber.]<sup>21</sup>
Benjamin<sup>19</sup> is a ravenous wolf,
And Dan is a basilisk.

Gad<sup>20</sup> shall go out with a (robber) troop, And Issachar<sup>22</sup> has become a tribute.

Why did he call one of them a lamb<sup>23</sup>, Or another a dove<sup>24</sup>, or a merchant?<sup>25</sup> One a wolf, and one a serpent, And another he called a robber?

And from the entire body of his sons
He separated the heart as for a sacrifice.
He chose Judah (to be) the center
Just as the heart which is in the center
(of the body).

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<sup>9°</sup> Delete this line which has been erroneously added under the influence of lines 141/2.

<sup>16</sup> Genesis 49,3,4.

<sup>17</sup> Genesis 49,5.

<sup>18</sup> Genesis 49,17.

<sup>19</sup> Benjamin, Genesis 49,29.

<sup>20</sup> Gad, Genesis 49,19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Cf. lines 141-142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Genesis 49,15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Naphthali, Genesis 49,21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> This should refer to Joseph, Jacob's favorite son. Cf. Ed. Rom. 1,110E-112B, for the high esteem in which Joseph is held in the tradition of the Syrian Church. But I can find no reference to Joseph as a "dove" in any of the commentaries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> This refers to Zebulun. Cf. Ephraem Syrus' Commentary on Genesis, Ed. Rom. 1, 109 D: "since he dwells on the sea coast, his trade (taggurteh) is from the yield of the ships." The edition of this work by R. M. Tonneau, Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim et in Exodum Commentarii = CSCO 152, 115, sec. 8, has only minor variants. This allusion is also found in Barhebraeus' Scholia, ed. Sprengling and Graham, facs. p. 248, 1. 13, English translation p. 249, v. 18. Cf. also Sifre (Vienna 1864), w-zōṭ hab-brākā, p. 147, sec. 354.

Reuben, the head, he rejected.

And he cursed Simeon and Levi.

And in Judah who was, so to speak,
in the position of the heart,
The sick man, Jacob, found comfort.

The sick men of the nation became accustomed

To grieving and coveting the heart

That even the hearts...(?).

He loved (?)<sup>26</sup> in the manner of sick men.

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In Judah, as in the heart
There are the mysteries of the Messiah.
In him the sick man, Jacob, found comfort,
And upon him did he shower blessings.

He did not want to be known

(As) the father of a band of worthless ones.

So while he was distributing their inheritances,

He spelled out their vices.

Reuben, you shall not remain.

And Simeon and Levi are cursed.

Dan is a serpent, and his brother is a wolf,

And another is also a robber.

Reuben was called water
Which is swallowed up in the earth.
And Levi and Simeon he named
"instruments of wrath and killing".

Fol. 143 b col. A

Fol. 143 a col. B

<sup>10°</sup> Tepūš for tpūš as in 1. 106, cf. Nöldeke, Compend. Syr. Gram., sec. 177 C, p. 125, and G. Hölscher, Syrische Verskunst = Leipziger semitistische Studien N.F. 5 (Leipzig 1932) 183.

<sup>11°</sup> Ms. المختور, but neither the MT nor the Peshitta of Genesis 49,5 have a waw.
12° Ms. العمدة.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The manuscript reads rhm, and the meter requires a one-syllable word so that rhem, "he loved", is a possibility. But the meaning of this verse and of the entire stanza escapes me.

Dan, the serpent, hated the captain<sup>27</sup>. Gad is the (robber) troop that loves the hiding place. And Benjamin is the wolf who watches out

For the food of the shepherds<sup>28</sup>.

Behold, the earth swallowed up the water, And Reuben, the head of your tribes, is no more.

There was a redemption for the nations, And the instruments of wrath are no more.

Behold, the serpent is crushed by the cross, For the captain<sup>27</sup> of the nations has blinded him<sup>29</sup>.

The (robber) troop that is persecuted by daylight

(Now) hides for day has overcome it30.

And the flock dwells peacefully (without disturbance) from the wolf,

For the shepherd has reproved it through the cross.

The mighty scepter from Zion<sup>31</sup> The Lord has sent to the nations. Leadership<sup>32</sup> and priesthood,

And your mighty scepter, you have no more.

Upon Judah, Jacob poured forth The entire treasury of his blessings, That they would be preserved in the mystery, so to speak, For the Messiah (coming forth) from Judah.

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Fol. 143 b col. B

<sup>130</sup> Ms. ogliox.

<sup>140</sup> Ms. 10.

<sup>150</sup> Ms. Lai; 2,00.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> This refers to Jesus who is called mallāḥā dauštā, "the captain of truth", and mallāḥā dhaymānūṭā, "the captain of faith" in Ed. Rom. 1, 3 C and D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> That is, the prospective prey guarded by the shepherds which serves as food for the wolf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> On Dan as the Antichrist, cf. Jacob of Edessa in Ed. Rom. 1, 191/3, and W. Bousset, The Antichrist Legend, trans. A. H. Keane (London 1896) 171/4.

<sup>30</sup> Just as the robber troop is active only at night, hiding at dawn because of the fear of day, so must the Jew now hide that the dawn of Christianity has come.

<sup>31</sup> Psalms 110,2.

may correspond to οἰκονομία, cf. Brockelmann, op. cit. 140.

He established wedding gifts in Judah
For the bridegroom who was to shine
forth from him.
He gave a portion to the church
From that treasury of blessings.

Judah, your brothers shall praise you.

And your hand (shall be) on the neck
of your enemies.

Your father's sons shall worship you<sup>33</sup>.

I have designated you king over your

Judah<sup>34</sup> is a lion's whelp.From the killing, my son, you have come up.He kneeled and couched like a lion,And a lion's whelp, and who dares arouse him?

brothers.

Fol. 144 a col. A

A king shall not depart from you,

Nor a prophet from the midst of your land<sup>35</sup>,

Until one shall come and shine forth

To whom that kingdom belongs.

And it is not yours, my father, Jacob.

He<sup>36</sup> says: "It is not mine?

Tell us about his likeness,

And what is the essence of him who comes?"

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<sup>160</sup> Ms. مكلما.

Nöldeke, op. cit., sec. 199, p. 149. The less frequent  $\dot{o}_i \lambda_j$  is also found in 1. 332. Cf. T. J. Lamy, Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones 1 (Mecheln 1882) 631,5–8, where both forms occur in the same passage and are parallel to one another.

<sup>33</sup> Genesis 49,8.

<sup>34</sup> Genesis 49,9.

<sup>35</sup> Genesis 49,10 reads, "the staff (šabṭā) shall not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver (mbaddqānā) ..." Ephraem's Genesis Commentary, Ed. Rom. 1, 107 F = Tonneau, op. cit. 113, lines 16-17, reads; "He wrote, 'the staff shall not depart,' which is the king (malkā), nor 'the lawgiver (mbaddqānā)', which is the prophet (nbīyā) who predicts the future (danbaddeq 'tīdātā)." This midrash is found in Jacob of Sarug, Homily 1, Vat. Syr. ms. 117, fol. 340 b, col. C, lines 32-33, and even in Dionysius bar Ṣalibhi who lived in the twelfth century, cf. De Zwaan, op. cit. 27, sec. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> The Jew is speaking, cf. lines 209-10, where the Jew also is speaking.

He has no beauty and no splendor<sup>37</sup>, Nor chariots and horsemen. He shall tie his foal to the vine<sup>38</sup>. Indeed, he has arrived but does not go inside.

He says that the nations are waiting for him.He will not tarry with you.To the house of his friends he passes

quickly,
And he does not linger with you.

Fol. 144 a col. B Like a passer-by to the vine

He ties his foal (but does not enter).

He does not remain (with you),

For there will be a lodging among the nations.

He guards the vine of the nations, And lays waste the vineyard of Israel. And he cleanses his garment in wine<sup>39</sup>, And his vestures in the blood of grapes.

Not with the blood of sacrifices does he make

The offering, but rather with wine.

He cleanses his cloak which has become red

With the blood of grapes, not with sacrifices.

"What is the appearance, my father Jacob, Of the lord of the kingdom?" 40 حمد حماء حمله ما لمما حدیم حرق حامه مای حمای خمصح مای حمای مایم مایم حمای مایم

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<sup>17</sup>a° The usual form is 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18°</sup> Cf. lines 192-196.

<sup>.</sup> حدمها .Ms ووا

<sup>20°</sup> Ms. : 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Isaiah 53,2.

<sup>38</sup> Genesis 49,11.

<sup>39</sup> Genesis 49,11.

The Jew is speaking, cf. n. 36.

His eyes are more sparkling than wine, And his teeth whiter than milk41. That with wine he abolishes sacrifices Is his sign of glory.

Fol. 144b

Isaac blessed the younger As though he were the older, and he was believed. And God blessed the nations. And according to your word, it is not true?

Read the last will and testament of your father When he disinherits you, And shakes himself free from their name, That they would not be called his heirs.

Jacob was blessed through deceit, And he is (rightfully considered) truthful and righteous. The nations turned in prayer, And should they not be worthy of the inheritance?

Tacob spoke falsely, And he left his sons the blessings. The Messiah blessed us in his name, And should his blessings, then, not be true?

Fol. 144b col. B Shall creation have fulfilment While the truth shall not?42 Shall a stolen treasure be re-established, While one for the nations shall not be established?

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<sup>41</sup> Genesis 49,12. The traditional interpretation of this passage would be, "his eyes glisten from wine, and his teeth are white from milk", but this would make Judah a drunkard. Cf. Ibn Ezra, ad. loc.: "eyes redder than wine, and (teeth whiter) than milk".

<sup>42</sup> Since the world has seen its fulfilment in the birth of Jesus, surely the truth contained in his blessings to the nations will find fulfilment.

Reuben was alienated and rejected
In the last will and testament of their father.
Moses came and gave him
His inheritance among his brothers.

Moses revoked the curses,
And brought Reuben to the inheritance.
And our master revoked the curse
of the law<sup>43</sup>
For the nations with his cross.

With his testaments, the son of Amram Invalidated the testament of Jacob. In the testament of Israel,
Reuben was cursed and was alienated.
And in the testament of Moses,
The nations were rejected and were cast away.

Fol. 145 a

Moses revoked the judgement of Jacob,
And gave Reuben the inheritance.
The Messiah revoked the curse of Moses,
And made the nations enter the
inheritance.

The blessings of the son of Amram were invalidated,
And the curse of Jacob became confirmed.
The last will and testament of the father was confirmed,
And our savior sealed it.

Jacob judged with justice,
And Moses blessed with mercy<sup>44</sup>.
And the force of justice prevailed,
And that of mercy which they did not
deserve is invalidated.

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<sup>210</sup> Ms. מנבי. The additional stroke forming the *nūn* is a later addition probably under the influence of 1. 246; cf. 1. 220.

250

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22°</sup> Ms. No. This line appears to be a later addition in much smaller writing. All four words are on the same line where usually we find only two or three words. However, the verse fits the context and the versification scheme.

<sup>43</sup> Galatians 3,13: "the curse of the law".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Jacob judged in accordance with the "measure of justice (*middat had-dīn*)," Moses in accordance with "the measure of mercy (*middat hā-rahamīm*)."

That which the father wrote,
Like (the word of) God, was believed.
The last will and testament of the father will not
Ever be revoked by the judge.

Fol. 145 a col. B A father is master over his actions As God is over His (actions)<sup>45</sup>. Therefore, Isaac blessed, And God sealed his words.

When Moses wanted to revoke
The testament and judgement of Jacob,
God came and affirmed
That the law of the father may not ever
be invalidated.

During his lifetime, Moses was able
To revoke the judgement of Israel.
After his death, his (own) judgement
was invalidated,
And that which the father decreed
remained.

Moses and Jacob (were) like slaves —
That which they wrote had to be confirmed.
But that which a prince writes,
May not be revoked or changed.

Fol. 145 b col. A Our lord is the lord of both of them, His command may not be changed. His decree is everlasting, And his blessings are unto eternity.

Circumcision, you fool, was (but) a seal.

It protected the treasury (which was)
in your father.

Now that (its) riches have come forth,

Of what use is the seal to you?

علیہ محک حددیں حہلا ہے، دنی میصیم مملک سام کے حاص

שאיל בלון אינט שאר בלדי אינט ביני בשנים בלך גינט ביני בשנים בלך גינט ביני בשנים בלד גינט

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<sup>23°</sup> Ms. ;200 ,200/20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> A father may do as he pleases, just as God may do as he pleases.

There is a sealed money bag which is empty.

Is (this) not you, O Jews?

The treasure is dug out from you.

Why do you use the seal?

مرم دیمی تراوید مهویم هدهم سالیای هر که اوریم الوری اور یمراه

Fol. 145 b col. B Abraham was stamped like a vessel

Because of the treasure that was in him.

And the seal continued in your generation

Because the treasure was in you until now.

Now that (its) riches have come forth
And you have been sent from his treasury,
Why do you labor to employ the seal?
The ruined stores of your limbs
Are not fit to be treasures.

For upon rocks kings paid homage 46(?). In their times when they were filled, Zealously they were sealed.

And when the riches within them went forth
Because of which they were sealed,
They remained open in a ruined state and were made
A latrine like you are.

Fol. 146 a col. A

So, the Jews
Were stamped with circumcision
Because of the seed of everlasting life
Which was preserved within them until
the proper time.

And when that which it was 46a (to protect) went forth,
Seal and stamp became ineffective 47.

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310

מלכה הלבשה ופגל מחם מלכה הלכבה הלבשה הלבשה הלבשה הלבשה הלבשה ופגל מחם

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24a°</sup> Cf. 1. 322 and Nöldeke, op. cit., sec. 304, for Joo L. with feminine forms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> This allusion escapes me, nor am I certain that yaqqar means "paid homage".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46a</sup> Prof. Kutscher suggests that אָכֹוְפָּאַף, = Heb. יֶבוּלְפָּאַף, "before it".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The root npl also has this meaning in Biblical Aramaic, cf. L. Köhler and W. Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti 2 (Leiden 1953) 625.

Behold, they<sup>48</sup> are ruined, destroyed and despoiled,
And (yet) they are proud of the seal upon them.

The treasure is dug out and taken away.

(Its) riches have come forth, but the seal stands.

Now you might say: "Behold the treasure is with you.

Why do you not use the stamp?"

[Abraham was stamped like a vessel
Because of the treasure that was in him.
And the seal continued in your
generations,
Because the treasure was in you until now.
Now that the treasure has come forth,

(Its) riches have come forth, but the seal stands.

Fol. 146 a

Now you might say: "Behold, the treasure is with you.
Why do you not use the stamp?"]
"It was given to me for sustenance,
Clearly, not as (it was given) to you.

In you it was in custody and was safeguarded.

And it was (preserved) under the stamp.

To me it was given for use.

Therefore, I do not circumcise myself like you."

טחשינים בלבדא נבשט

مادح دهد نعدم اعدده ماده دهد ما مدهده الماده مه دهاما با الماده مه داده ا

Delete lines 321–328. A number of difficulties are raised by this passage. Firstly, lines 321–324 are simply a repetition of lines 293–296 which add nothing to the argument. Secondly, the same question is repeated almost verbatim in lines 319–320 and 327–328, with one answer offered after the second question only. Thirdly, lines 325–326 make no sense. What may have happened is that while the scribe was writing the words \$\L\_J\$ (1. 320), or perhaps after he had written them, he recalled that previously he had written approximately the same words (f. 293). He referred back to them and inadvertently continued copying the previous passage. Then he returned to the passage he was in the midst of copying and he continued with lines 318–320 repeating them again in lines 326–328.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> A masculine plural subject is understood. Perhaps it is Yhūdāyē, "the Jews".

Fol. 146 b col. A O nation, you were the guardians
Of the riches which were preserved for the nations.
You want to continue circumcising; you will not give peace.
Would that each of you would cut al

Would that each of you would cut all the way<sup>49</sup>.

Its rightful owners have taken the trust, And you are concerned with the regulation<sup>50</sup>.

Unseemly<sup>51</sup> are the clasps (seals)<sup>52</sup> of the furs

And of the garments which are cast upon the ground.

For when the garments on which they were, wore out,

They were trampled and fell and were cut off.

So long as there is strength in the garment,

The clasp (seal) of its master guards it.
But since its strength wore out and fell,
Its clasp (seal) is being trampled among
its tattered shreds.

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وه Ms. مادمی، but there is no such form in the lexicons. Cf. Nöldeke, op. cit., sec. 51, p. 37, the rarer form is المعادية; the more common form المعادية). The Ms. does not indicate a plural form, but the sense seems to require it. Read مادمی = 0 + | مرد المعادية والمعادية والمعادي

<sup>49</sup> This is a paraphrase of Galatians 5,12. J. Moffat, *The Holy Bible* (New York 1926) 248 translates, "O that those who are upsetting you would get themselves castrated." Cf. P. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* <sup>3</sup> (Paris 1892) 271,21–22, "then the prefect said to the doctor, 'why did you not cut out (*gawwīt*) and sever (*qta*'t) his tongue?""

<sup>50</sup> Meaning, you are concerned with the regulation to protect the trust when, in reality, the trust has been taken from you. In other words, you practice circumcision for no reason since the treasure is no longer yours. Cf. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* 4420f. qānōnē waṭḥūmē, "rules and regulations".

<sup>51</sup> Unworthy of being seen. Cf. Payne Smith 1233, znayyā hzayyā, "mores spectabiles", neššē hazyāṭā, "feminae spectabiles". Cf. Talmudic Aramaic, דוֹם = Mishnaic Hebrew אָר, "fit." Cf. also 1.301.

<sup>52</sup> Clasps inlaid with gems that hold the garments in place. Cf. Brockelmann, Lex. Syr. 267. "gemma." The term has the meaning "seal" in the sense of circumcision throughout this homily. Meškē, "furs", has the double meaning of "foreskins". Cf. Brockelmann 407, meškē d̄gabrūṭā, "praeputium".

That strength has gone forth from you, O nation, and your might has left you. And behold you are rolling on the ground With your ancient circumcision.

Your garment has become soiled by blood,
And has become fuel for the fire.

Isaiah<sup>53</sup>, who saw you, assigned you<sup>54</sup>,
To the burning of the flame did he put you.

Fol. 146 b col. B

For your shame do you carry your stamp,
That you may indicate to me what
you were.

אבשל אוידל מש אינשחן בי לבדא אבשטיבע אבדל בי אריים ארבא אבעטיבע אבדל בי אריים ארבא אבים אינה לביל אריים אריים אינה לביל

you were.
From your stamp I recognize
That something great was (once)
hidden in you.

محدة عدد المار ال

Now you may say: "It is the stamp Which the Lord placed upon Abraham." But if you are Abraham now, There is neither Sabbath nor circumcision 54a.

> جابد من هند فیک هند مای میاب مای مای ما دون می دعونه مای ما دون می دعونه

I am circumcised, not on (the) flesh, But rather (with) circumcision which is not (done) with hands<sup>55</sup>. Not with the removal of flesh, but In the spirit, by a removal that (removes) from evil.

<sup>270</sup> The ? is added above the line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Isaiah 10,16-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 648, "proposuit".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54a</sup> According to the Syriac polemic tradition, Abraham and the ancients did not observe the Sabbath. Cf. Jacob of Sarug, Vat. Syr. ms. 117, fol. 344, col. C, lines 3–5, "look at Abraham who did not observe the Sabbath at all." Cf. De Zwaan, op. cit., p. 8, sec. 5, "also Abraham prior to circumcision recognized God," and Aphraates, op. cit., 205: 12–18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Colossians 2,11: "and in him were you circumcised with a circumcision (made) without hands, with a removal of the flesh of sins, with the circumcision of the Messiah".

I have removed the entire flesh With the circumcision of baptism. Not like you, who of the little Flesh which you cut off are proud. leto on cois studon cois studon cois realit

370

Fol. 147 a col. A By nature I am your brother, Though you have alienated us from you. Come, inherit with me in the Messiah. I am not envious like you.

I do not bar you from entering
The house of holiness, as you have barred us.
For you put guards at the gates,
That the Ammonite<sup>56</sup> would not enter.

امعمر ما سرم ما ما معمده معدم علم مرد مدامه ما معمده معدم ما مرد مداء ما

I know that God will not Reject you if you return. And He loves you as (He loves) me, If you follow the right course. Come, inherit God with me,

And He will not recall your waywardness.

Seek vindication through the son whom you have crucified,

And He will not remember your bitterness.

مل منه عدد دملس ما مدخ له دعمل ما مدخ له دعمه ما مدخ الم دعمه ما مدخ ما

I say and I repeat:
For my sake, O nation, and for yours,
Pay attention, O envious one,
Let your neck serve peace.

سالا بریم درب درب المحدد سالا بریما محدد المحدد مد بریما محدد المحدد المحدد

Fol. 147a col. B

<sup>28°</sup> In margin, partially obliterated; apparently a later addition, possibly, intended to replace الآلاء

28a° Rd. Jos 20 or Joos 200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Deuteronomy 23,4.

The key has come which opens
The treasures which you held before me.
And he has cast his key with your keys
Which you have hidden from the nations.

Like a dragon upon a treasure
You sat on the law.
And like a heap of stones they cleared
and cast you away,
That the riches beneath you might
be used.

Your hiding place has been uncovered, And your law has been opened. In it we saw the mystery of the son, As well as both his festivals and appointed seasons.

In it we read and knew

That a virgin shall conceive and give birth. 57
In it we learned how much you afflicted The prophets in your rebelliousness.
In it we observe your mentality 58,
That you have been very disobedient in your days.

And because of these you desired That no one should learn your laws. You did not enter life through them, And you did not let (others) enter. مانده مانده القائد مانده مانده مانده القائد مانده القائد مانده مانده مانده

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محلاء ماه عدد ماه کامه مده ماه عدد ماه عدد ماه کاه کاه

29° Cf. Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* 3495, for additional examples of this form used as a preposition, and also Jacob of Sarug, Br. Mus. add. 17,159, fol. 25b l. 4, and fol. 32a, 1. 10. The Ms. clearly indicates have in the plural, but the meter requires the singular. An alternative reading would be 20...

The  $\bar{a}la\bar{p}$  seems to be erased. The more common form is b in the  $p^cal$ , but the  $a\bar{p}^cel$  with the same meaning, apparently, is possible.

31° Ms. 34.

31a° An enclitic form pronounced qray-nan. Cf. Nöldeke, op. cit., sec. 63, p. 44.

<sup>57</sup> Isaiah 7,14.
 <sup>58</sup> Cf. Bedjan, *Homiliae S. Isaaci* ... 77,10: "grant me a contrite heart, and a mentality (tar'īţā) full of love".

Fol. 147b col. A The lot has come which removes
Controversies between mighty ones.
The lot of life is our lord
Through whom life has come to the nations.

At that time, the prophet who saw them In this mighty conflict Of the nation said: "Indeed, I And the nations are being wronged with regard to the inheritance."

He raised his voice to the heights:

"Lower the heavens, O Lord, and come down 59.

For through you can be removed This mighty conflict."

He came down according to the word which was spoken,
And his revelation was like the lot.
His kingdom has come to the nations,
And Israel sits in amazement.

When the lot of Jonah 60 was defeated
On the sea, and (the lot) of the sailors
was victorious,
He knew that the nations were
victorious (in the legal battle),
And the nation was guilty in judgement.

He drew lots with the nations, and they defeated him,
And with the sailors and he was not

victorious. He protested impudently

to no avail, For he drowned, and they were saved.

Fol. 148a col. A

Fol. 147b col. B

> Let us take for ourselves a Scripture, That we may inquire of it concerning

us and you.

And from the treasury of your books bring forth

The invalidation of your observances.

ماحم لحنور ماس درم حدی های مام درم معدس ما معاونام ماری حدید

سه من حاله دمهمدنه حرام حادمات احدم عدده معدد دادمات معزم

> בינ מבא בניוא בקחיד וכיי היניד שטא ניבוצא וכיי היניד שטא ניבוצא וכיי

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وعر حقد مادیمه، معر حام حقد هه معر حام حقام امام معرد معر حوزه مام مهرد معرد مصرف ماه، لمه

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<sup>320</sup> Ms. 92) with Nestorian ālap.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Psalms 144,5.

<sup>60</sup> Allusion to the storm in Jonah 1.

The Lord said to my lord, Jesus 61:
Sit at my right hand, and behold he is sitting (there),
And I will make your enemies
A footstool under your feet.

محدة هذي لحدة, عدد. هد در حديد دهم طد مملم مصمر ديادددب ددد محمد ديادددبه دد محمد ديادددبه

The Peshitta text of Ps. 110,1-4	T of Ps. 110,1-4	33° The M
اهن هنا لهنا	נאם יהוה לאדוני	(1)
ذاح حد معس منما ذاصم	שב לימני עד־אשית	
وتلودوم دودها لمزالم	איביך הדום לרגליך	
سه ۱۰۶ فحصدر دهنو	מטה עזך ישלח	(2)
عنا م انه و معربه	יהוה מציון רדה	
الا فتلاحصر	בקרב איביד	
حصر معدسا حموها بسلا	עמך נדבות ביום חילך	(3)
حده زند مه فع مدحدا	בהדרי קדש מרחם משחר	
م منم کر کرم حزار	לך טל ילדתך	
معل منا ملا بدي والتحيية المحمد الم	נשבע יהוה ולא	(4)
بحرد واتم ١٥٥ دومزا لالمر	ינחם אתה־כהן לעולם	1812
حفص و فعرومان	על-דברתי מלכי-צדק	

Isaac's exegesis of Ps. 110,1-4:

This portion of the Isaac manuscript is a midrash on Ps. 110,1-4. Cf. n. 33° of the text for a detailed comparison of the MT, the Peshitta, and Isaac's exegesis.

said to my lord: "Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet". (2) The Lord will send you the mighty scepter from Zion, and it will rule over your enemies. (3) (To)? your glorious nation, on the great day(?), in adornments of holiness from the womb, from the beginning I begot you, o child. (4) The Lord has sworn and He will not break faith, you are the priest forever, in the likeness of Melkizedek.

The mighty scepter from Zion
I am sending amidst the nations,
That it will rule over your enemies,
So that they will be unto you a
glorious nation.

دست ما حدم دعدسه المعرب الما المام عيدم معيد ما المام المام عيدم معرب ما المام الما

450

In adornments of holiness from the womb,
At the very beginning, (when) I begot
you, O child,
I said to you: You are the priest,
Forever in the likeness of
Melchizedek 62.

- (3) This verse is very difficult. Isaac overcomes the difficulties by reading 3a with 2b, and by reading במל מבבעל בשבעל only, eliminating the difficult במל מבבעל יישלו together. The Peshitta separates the two words. For the difficult מיים, it reads מיים which is equivalent to the Hebrew ממון מאודר as the first word of 3c.
- (4) Isaac omits 4a returning to it later in lines 457-458. He interpolates the words לב לביסו, and he follows the Peshitta text of 4b and 4c. The Hebrew is very difficult. Some Hebrew manuscripts read על דברחי Two Septuagint texts read של דברח which occurs three times in Koheleth 3,18; 7,14; 8,2 with the meaning "because of". The usual translations of these two words in Ps. 110 found in most English Bibles "after the order of", or "in the manner of", are educated guesses. The Peshitta reads מוֹנִייִּסְבּיִּכְּעָבְּיִבְּיִּ

(Lines 457-458) Isaac returns to 4a. For the Peshitta of 4b المحاف من المحاف ا

(Lines 459-460) Isaac interpolates عمر عمر عمر and المعامل إلى عمر عمر عمر المعامل ال

As may be seen, the Syriac Bible text of Ps. 110 which Isaac was familiar with is very similar to our Peshitta text. However, Isaac does not quote literally. He rearranges verses, interpolates words, and omits phrases which do not suit his purpose. This portion of the Isaac manuscript may well be called a midrash on Ps. 110,1–4.

34° Ms. -19012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> On the Jewish interpretation of the Melkizedek passages in Genesis 14 and Psalms 110, cf. A. Aptowitzer, *Malkizedek. Zu den Sagen der Agada* = Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums 70 (1926) 93-113.

470

Fol. 148 a col. B Tell me, O nation, who is

This one (concerning whom) these promises (were made)?

The Lord swore, and He will not break faith

That he should be a priest forever

Who is born of the adornments of holiness

From the beginning (of time) to the en

From the beginning (of time) to the end (of time).

You would not give a cup of water

To the god who restored life to your dead.

Let it be (assumed) that he had committed a murder.

Does one give vinegar to a murderer?

The nations give wine
To a murderer who goes out to die.
You give him vinegar
To cause him additional pain.

Fol. 148 b col. A Behold, he died in hanging as you wished.

For what reason do you (continue to) blaspheme him?

Does not his blood flow upon the ground?

And still you are not satisfied.

Blessed is he who uprooted the vine That squeezed vinegar<sup>63</sup> into the mouth of its lord, Who turned up the vine of Sodom<sup>64</sup> That gave gall<sup>65</sup> for his hunger. سب المراحب ال

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Ended is the second (homily) Kana Lands , ids Kinks alz against the Jews.

(To be continued)

<sup>36°</sup> Ms. 200 A); cf. n. 33°.

<sup>63</sup> Matthew 27,48.

<sup>64</sup> Deuteronomy 32,32.

<sup>65</sup> Matthew 27,34.