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بَحْوثٌ وَدَرَّاسَاتٌ

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Stephen J. Davis, Bilal Orfali,
and Samuel Noble

*A Disputation over a Fragment
of the Cross*



A Disputation over a Fragment of the Cross

*A Medieval Arabic Text from the History of
Christian - Jewish - Muslim Relations in Egypt*

*Edited and translated with an introduction by
Stephen J. Davis, Bilal Orfali,
and Samuel Noble*



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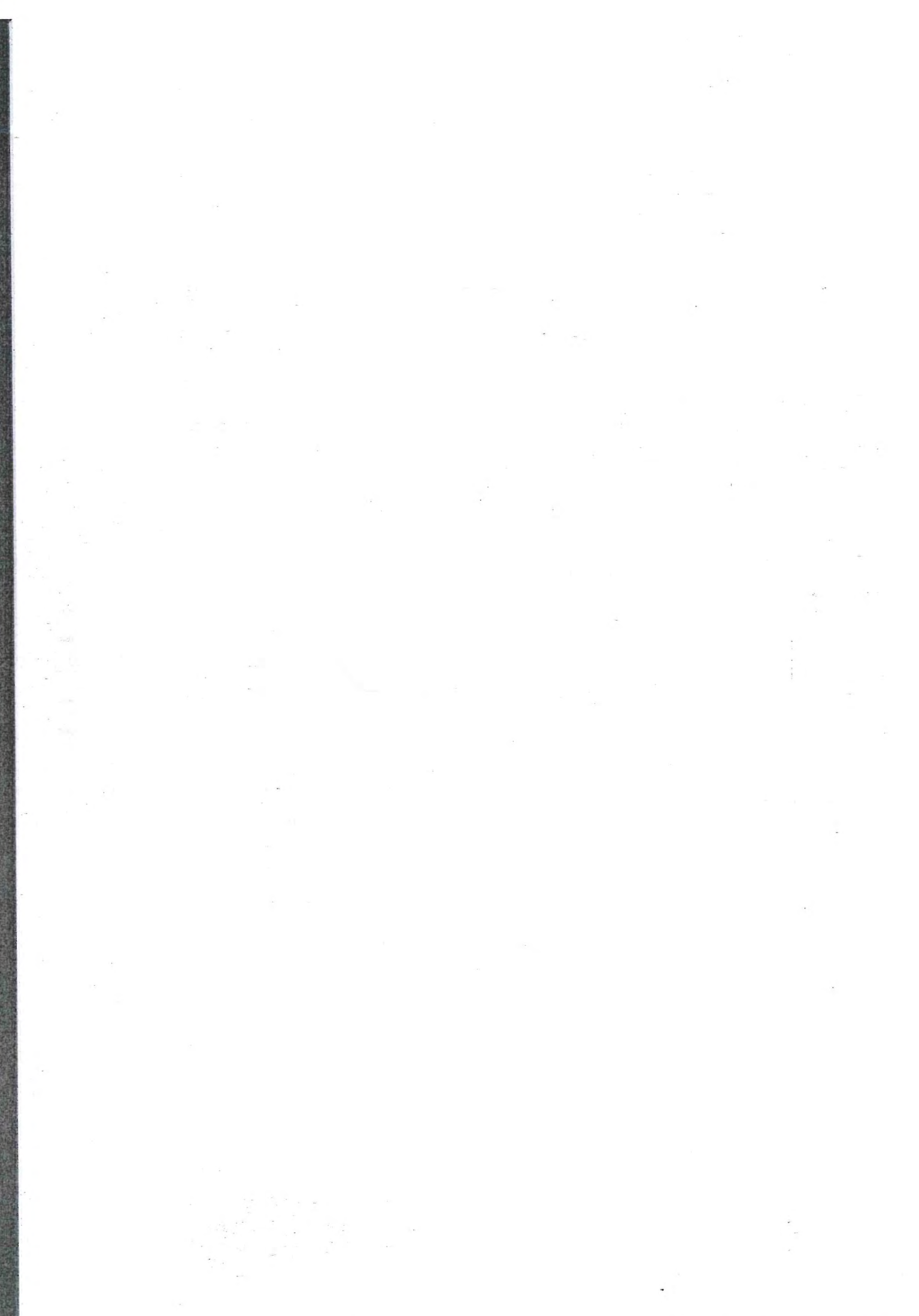
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Introduction

The Arabic text edited and translated here for the first time offers a unique range of insights for the study of Christian-Jewish-Muslim encounter in medieval Egypt. Cast as a literary disputation between a Coptic Christian, a Jew, a Melkite Christian, and a Muslim, the text touches on a number of themes central to Egyptian Christian piety – including biblical interpretation, liturgical practice, and theological apologetics.

The framing narrative of the disputation is set within the late seventh-century court of the governor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Malik, son and brother (respectively) of the Umayyad caliphs Marwān (684/5) and ‘Abd al-Malik (685–705). In the story, the event that gives rise to controversy and debate is the discovery of a piece of wood purported to be a fragment of the cross among the possessions of a recently deceased member of the Jewish community. The question is: who has the right to take possession of this sacred article? The specific participants in this dispute include a Coptic patriarch named John, a prominent Jew named Aaron, and an anonymous Melkite Christian. The governor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Malik (identified throughout the text as «the king,» *al-malik*, perhaps in a play upon his second patronymic) serves as the judge who will determine the victor. The Coptic patriarch engages with each dialogue partner in turn: both sides attempt to make the case for the truth of his religion and to advocate for his right to acquire the relic for a purchase price of 3000 dinar, although it is clear from the beginning that the dialogue is structured to favor John. After he indeed prevails in argument over his Jewish and Christian interlocutors, the text concludes with a dialogue on the crucifixion between the Coptic patriarch and the Muslim governor. In that dialogue, the patriarch cleverly persuades the governor to grant him the fragment of the cross without any payment due.

This text presents historians with interesting challenges related to the history of the Coptic patriarchate and the production of theological literature in Arabic, but it also adds to our knowledge regarding Christian apologetic concerns in encounter with Jews, with Christians from different christological confessions, and with Muslims during the medieval period. In particular, it provides valuable

evidence for the way that Copto-Arabic writers adopted the language and rhetoric of the Islamic *jadal* tradition to address concerns with their own community. By so doing, such writers were seeking to forge a particular kind of Arab Christian identity for the Coptic church in Egypt in the face of both intra- and inter-religious disagreements.

This introduction is designed to orient readers to the language, history, literary genre, and theology of the text, as well as to the methods employed in preparing the following critical edition and translation.

Language, Date, and Historical Setting

Language

Four Coptic fragments of this text from the Monastery of St. Macarius in the Wadi al-Natrun were published by Evelyn White in 1932.¹ All are preserved in the Bohairic dialect.² These fragments include one excerpt from the patriarch's debate with the Jew Aaron, one from his debate with the Melkite, and two from the closing dialogue with the Muslim governor. Apart from one place where a section of text has been omitted due to *homoteleuton*, the surviving Coptic texts do not seem to differ in content from the Arabic version beyond the occasional addition and subtraction of non-essential words.

Since Coptic translations of Arabic texts are relatively rare, one would typically expect the Arabic version to be a translation of the Coptic. However, a specific detail in the Arabic text complicates matters. In section 11 of the disputation, Genesis 49:11 is cited in a variant version that can only be explained by a citation of the biblical text *in Arabic* (for a fuller discussion, see the section below on «Christian-Jewish Encounter»). Therefore, we are left with two options for describing the relationship between these two versions: either the Coptic is in fact a translation made on the basis of the Arabic text, or the Arabic text is a translation *and expansion* of the Coptic. In the latter case, the reading of Genesis 49:11 in section 11 would represent new material added by an Arabic translator-

1) G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wādi 'n Natrūn*, vol. 1 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926; repr. 1973), 171-5 (#33).

2) Evelyn White (*The Monasteries of the Wādi 'n Natrūn*, vol. 1, 175) calls attention to several Sahidic fragments containing pieces of an anachronistic dialogue between the archbishop John Chrysostom and a Chalcedonian that he thought might have «belonged to the same cycle» as the Bohairic disputation fragments. However, the one published fragment of this dialogue does not provide tangible evidence of such a connection: Oxford, Bodl. MS Copt. g. 3; ed. Oscar von Lemm, *Koptische Miscellen I-CXLVIII* (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der deutschen demokratischen Republik, 1972), 915-16 (no. CXLI).

editor-author. Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the surviving Coptic documents does not allow a definitive conclusion regarding this question.

Date

We must rely on a relatively limited set of clues for determining when the Arabic version of the disputation was produced. Let us begin working toward a *terminus post quem* by identifying chronological markers for the events described within the text. Both the Coptic patriarch John and the Muslim governor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz are well-known historical figures. John III was the Coptic pope of Alexandria from 680 to 690.³

‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Malik ibn Marwān (d. 704) was the son of the Umayyad caliph Marwān I (d. 685) and the father of the caliph ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 720). He was governor of Egypt for some twenty years starting from either 684 or 685. The story of the text is thus set during the last couple years of John III’s reign. Additionally, the text mentions that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz built the nilometer at Ḥulwān in 715. On this preliminary basis, the text must be dated sometime after the second decade of the eighth century.

Harald Suermann has argued that the text in fact dates to the early eighth century, not long after the death of the protagonists. He makes this argument on thematic grounds, noting that the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the Incarnation, and the Crucifixion were current issues in Christian-Muslim and Christian-Jewish debate at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries. In addition, he points out that questions related to the respective actions of the divine and human natures of Christ, an issue touched on in the dialogue with the Melkite, were only resolved for the Byzantine church at the third council of Constantinople in 681.⁴ However, these themes and questions

3) Evelyn White (*The Monasteries of the Wādi ‘n Natrūn*, vol. 1, 171-5) incorrectly publishes the Coptic fragments under the heading, «The Controversy of John IV.» While he had in mind the correct decade for the patriarch John featured in the disputation, he should properly have identified him as John III (A.D. 680-690) rather than as John IV, whose reign was about a century later (777-799). The regnal dates of these two Coptic patriarchs are based on the chronology established by Mark Swanson, *The Coptic Papacy in Islamic Egypt, 641-1517* (Cairo and New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2010), esp. chapters 1 and 3. The dates given in Evetts’ edition of the *History of the Patriarchs* (*Patrologia Orientalis*, 5.1 and 10.5) differ and cannot be used independently as a basis for historical reconstruction.

4) Harald Suermann, «Copts and the Islam of the Seventh Century,» in *The Encounter of Eastern Christianity with Early Islam*, ed. Emmanouela Grypeou, Mark Swanson, and David Thomas (The History of Christian-Muslim Relations, vol. 5; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2006), 96-8; and «Anmerkungen zu Alter und Funktion der Diskussion des koptischen Patriarchen Johannes III. vor dem Statthalter ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,» *Parole de l’Orient* 32 (2007), 389-98.

remained live issues in Christian-Muslim and inter-Christian debate throughout the Islamic period, and so in and of themselves they give very little indication as to the date of the text's composition.

Possible internal evidence for a later dating of the text may be found in a brief reference to the *Questions and Answers of Saint Basil and Saint Gregory*, a pseudepigraphic work of popular theology framed as a dialogue between the two fourth-century theologians. Although manuscripts of this text now survive only in Arabic, Georg Graf, in his *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, argued on philological grounds that it was originally composed in Syriac.⁵ He also suggested that, given the author's use of Greek liturgical terms, the *Questions and Answers* was written in a Melkite milieu. On this basis, he dates the translation of the text to the ninth and tenth centuries, a period corresponding to the first major wave of Melkite translations into Arabic. The citation of one of Basil's answers to Gregory in our disputation text would make it rather unlikely that the latter was composed at the beginning of the eighth century.⁶

A final textual detail provides even stronger internal evidence for a later dating. In section 12, in the midst of the dispute with the Jew Aaron, the patriarch states that «God gave us his body and His blood to eat for a thousand years, until this point.» If taken at face value, this statement would indicate that the text probably dates from sometime in the early eleventh century (shortly after the year 1000). As discussed in more detail below, this dating is supported by the fact that the disputation shares particular elements of biblical exegesis in common with other contemporaneous Copto-Arabic theological literature from the same period.

Based on these considerations, even if the Arabic represents an expansion on a Coptic original, it would seem most likely that both versions would have been produced sometime not long after the turn of the millennium.⁷

5) Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), 324-7.

6) A manuscript in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University (Arabic MS 349, ff. 171-186) contains such a dialogue between Basil and Gregory, and it would appear to be a copy of the text that Graf describes: its vocabulary shows that it is Syriac in origin, and its explanation of the trisagion reveals it to be Jacobite (anti-Chalcedonian) in theological orientation. However, the specific answer cited in the disputation and at issue here does not appear anywhere in the Beinecke version of the text. An explanation for its absence may be found in a problem related to the transmission of this particular document. At the end of his transcription, the copyist explains that he was working from an old and damaged manuscript, and so he had to leave out some passages.

7) The fact that the only extant Coptic fragments of disputation are in Bohairic is consistent with this relatively late dating. According to Alexis Mallon (*Grammaire copte*, 4th edition [Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1953], 3): «Au commencement du XI^{ème} siècle, grâce à l'influence du Patriarcat,

Historical Setting

Despite the fact that the disputation probably dates to the eleventh century, much later than the events described therein, the choice of the late seventh century as the historical setting for those events should not be viewed as completely arbitrary. Rather, it would seem that certain details in the text have been loosely based on the earlier «biography» of John III recorded in the *History of the Patriarchs*, a text redacted in Arabic in the eleventh century, but containing material from earlier Coptic sources.⁸ The section of the *History of the Patriarchs* that covers the period from the Arab Conquest to A.D. 700 is in fact derived from an earlier Coptic account written at the close of the seventh century by a certain George the Archdeacon, whose life was contemporaneous with the events he describes.⁹

In his account of John III's tenure as patriarch,¹⁰ George the Archdeacon reports that when 'Abd al-'Azīz visited Alexandria in order to collect the land tax (*al-kharāj*), John did not come out to meet him, ostensibly because he did not know about the visit. At the instigation of a group led by one Theophanes, the Melkite governor of Maryūt, 'Abd al-'Azīz imprisoned John and subjected him to various torments in order to make him pay a fine of one hundred thousand dinars. Eventually, John was brought before 'Abd al-'Azīz, but after impressing the governor with his divinely-inspired wisdom he was released for a much lower price and with much honor, thus shaming the Melkites. Additionally, it is noted that during John's papacy two Melkite villages went over to the Coptic Church.

It would seem, then, that John III would have been an obvious choice as the protagonist of such a literary disputation, since he had already long been celebrated as a Coptic patriarch who triumphed over a Melkite rival in the presence of a Muslim governor. John III's reputation for having had the sagacity to eventually talk himself out of this difficult situation may be indirectly recalled

transporté alors d'Alexandrie au Caire, le Bohairique devint la langue officielle de l'Eglise» («At the beginning of the eleventh century, thanks to the influence of the patriarchate, which was moved then from Alexandria to Cairo, Bohairic became the official language of the church»). It was during this same period that learned Copts like Bishop Athanasius of Qūs began composing Copto-Arabic grammars and vocabularies designed to facilitate the learning of Bohairic among an increasingly Arabized Christian population (Mallon, *Grammaire copte*, 6-7).

8) Johannes den Heijer, *Mawhub ibn Mansur ibn Mufarrig et l'historiographie copte-arabe. Étude sur la composition de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie* (CSCO 513; Louvain: Peeters, 1989).

9) Mark Swanson, *The Coptic Papacy in Islamic Egypt*, introduction and chapter 1; Johannes den Heijer, *Mawhub ibn Mansur ibn Mufarrig et l'historiographie copte-arabe*, esp. 142-5.

10) *History of the Patriarchs*: ed. B. Evetts, in *Patrologia Orientalis* 5.1 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1947), 10-21.

at the end of the disputation, where he cleverly tricks 'Abd al-'Azīz into giving him the piece of the true cross with no obligation of payment. Likewise, the final words of the text – when 'Abd al-'Azīz «ordered that the Patriarch be honored and protected and revered, and he sent him off in peace» – are reminiscent of the ending of the story in the *History of the Patriarchs* where John is released from his imprisonment and honored by the governor. Thus, around the time that the *History of the Patriarchs* was being translated and edited in Arabic, the author of our disputation was likewise calling to memory (and creatively reworking) the story of John III's reign.

The Genre of the Muslim-Christian Disputation

The disputation text edited and translated here should be considered part of a genre – widespread among Arabic-speaking Christians in the Middle Ages – that Sidney Griffith has labeled under the heading, «the monk in the emir's *majlis*.»¹¹ Works of this genre feature a Christian figure (typically a monk in the Melkite and Syrian texts examined by Griffith) who debates representatives of Islam and other religious communities in the presence of a Muslim ruler. While this genre traces its Christian lineage back to the apologetic dialogues produced during the patristic period, its development in the Islamic period emerges out of the specific social milieu of the *majlis*.

Resembling in some ways a salon, the *majlis* was a gathering of various kinds of intellectuals, poets, men of letters, and philosophers who would meet and amuse themselves with cultivated conversation. While some of the most famous were held in the court of the Abbāsid caliphs, they were also held by various notables throughout the Islamic world. They provided a source of entertainment and cultural prestige for both the attending dignitaries and their hosts.

One of the central forms of entertainment in the *majlis* was the debate (*mujādala*) or disputation (*munāzara*) of two or more disputants in front of the rest of the attendees. These disputations seem to have been most often held between theologians representing different viewpoints, both Muslim and non-Muslim.¹² Over time, there developed an elaborate code of etiquette that dictated the way each disputation would proceed.¹³ This etiquette allowed a

11) Sidney H. Griffith, «The Monk in the Emir's Majlis: Reflections on a Popular Genre of Christian Literary Apologetics in Arabic in the Early Islamic Period» in *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam*, ed. Hava Lazarus-Yafeh et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 13-65.

12) Sarah Stroumsa, «Ibn al-Rāwandī's *sū' ādāb al-mujādala*: The Role of Bad Manners in Medieval Disputations,» in *The Majlis*, ed. Lazarus-Yafeh et al., 66-83.

13) The rules governing procedure in these disputations have been analyzed in detail in Josef

disputant a rather large amount of freedom both to express his own religious ideas and to criticize weaknesses in those of his opponents.

The object of a *munāzara* was not simply to provide intellectually stimulating entertainment. It was assumed that the participants were committed to the truth of their positions and were engaged in an effort to determine the truth. At the end of the debate, the one who had invited its participants had the privilege of deciding the winner. In disputations held by caliphs or viziers, there were often penalties for losers, and in some cases non-Muslims who lost a dispute to a Muslim would be expected to convert. On the other hand, in accounts of disputes where non-Muslims held their own against Muslims much care had to be taken to portray both disputants as finishing on equal terms, as can be seen in the case of the text at hand.

Through the course of a dispute, one disputant would take the role of a questioner and the other the role of respondent. The questioner was considered to have an advantage in the disputation, and so usually the weaker competitor would take that role first if the dispute was between two non-Muslims. In disputes between Muslims and non-Muslims, however, the Muslim would generally start as questioner. The questioner was allowed to ask questions but not to give his own explanations. In doing so, he was able to determine the course of the debate. The respondent, on the other hand, had to reply to all questions posed to him but could not raise his own questions. If the respondent gave a successful answer to a question, then the roles would be reversed.

Despite the historical reality of the *majlis* as a common social institution in medieval Islam, a major part of its legacy lies in providing inspiration for fictional interreligious encounters. As is the case with most examples of the monk in the emir's *majlis* genre, this Copto-Arabic disputation text is clearly fictional. Though it reflects aspects of actual interreligious debates at the time of its composition, it does not seem to reflect any specific historical debate. However, given that the text is a fictional composition, this raises the issue of its author's intended audience and reasons for composing the text. As with most texts of this genre, the intended audience is clearly members of the author's own community – namely, Coptic Christians who were literate in the Arabic language. However, the topics covered in the text are somewhat wider than the apologetic themes found in most other disputation texts and they are often expounded upon in ways not directly pertinent to questions that members of other religious communities might raise.

van Ess, «Disputationspraxis in der islamischen Theologie: Eine vorläufige Skizze» in *Revue des Études Islamiques* 44 (1976), 23-60; and Georges Vajda, «Études sur Qirqisani V: les règles de la controversie dialectique,» *Revue des études juives* 122 (1963), 7-74.

From this it is clear that in addition to providing answers that a Copt could use to defend his beliefs when talking to members of other communities, it also includes discussions of issues relating to the Eucharist and the Cross which provide a broader explanation of Coptic beliefs and practices. In this way, the text can be seen as fulfilling a catechetical purpose. Thus, while the text displays many aspects of the formal debates held in the *majlis*, they are frequently adapted with the goal of teaching in mind. Most notably, the roles of the questioner and respondent are fixed throughout the debate with the patriarch spending the greater part of the disputation answering questions posed to him by his interlocutors rather than taking on the role of questioner for any length of time himself.

The text can be seen as exhibiting a particularly Egyptian character in its choice of an Alexandrian patriarch as its protagonist. While the protagonists of similar texts from Iraq and Syria are very often monks, there are examples of Christian disputations in Coptic from the pre-Islamic period in which a bishop of Alexandria debates theology before a Byzantine emperor (see below). The position of John III in our disputation text demonstrates the author's understanding of the Coptic patriarch's position in Egyptian society, and by extension that of his community. At the beginning of the text, the patriarch John is portrayed as being present at the court of the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz. These two are the only historical figures in the story. The Jew and Melkite are, by contrast, summoned from outside the court specifically for the debate. The name of the Jew, Aaron (*Hārūn*), is only mentioned once, and in the oldest recension of the text the Melkite is not named at all. Additionally, no mention is made of their possessing any clerical or civil dignity that would put them on the same level as the patriarch. Instead, one is tempted to imagine them as *kuttāb*, members of the scribal bureaucracy that was dominated by non-Muslims in Egypt until the 8th/14th century and that occasionally counted among its ranks some able theologians. In this way, the Coptic patriarch is given a uniquely prominent place among non-Muslims owing to his proximity to the governor at court. However, as the ending of the disputation demonstrates, its author is well aware of the politically secondary status the patriarch and his community have when viewed in relation to Islamic political power.

Christian-Jewish Apologetics: The Coptic Patriarch John's Dispute with a Jew Named Aaron

The opening dialogue in the disputation (sect. 4-13) takes the form of an encounter between the Coptic patriarch John and a representative of the Jewish community named Aaron. The rhetoric of this encounter is framed by the

traditional Christian polemic of placing the blame and guilt for Christ's crucifixion squarely on the shoulders of the Jews and their descendents. Thus, after being shown the fragment of the cross taken from the household of the deceased Jew, the patriarch immediately says to the Muslim governor, 'Abd al-'Aziz, «The forefathers of this Jew crucified Christ and this is a piece from Christ's cross» (sect. 2). The dialogue that ensues between John and Aaron (identified as «the most prominent of the Jews») provides a staged scenario for presenting a series of supercessionist arguments designed to «prove» Christianity's superiority to Judaism.

The dialogue hinges on the contested interpretation of the Jewish Bible, the Old Testament, beginning with a discussion of historical lineage and divine pedigree. Aaron (referred to throughout simply as «the Jew») proclaims his identity as «a child of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob,» and «a son of Levi.» The patriarch counters by invoking Trinitarian doctrine and the Alexandrian church's apostolic legacy: «I am a child of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. ... I am a son of Mark, son of Peter, one of the twelve disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ.» When Aaron notes that the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ himself «came from my race... and from my stock,» John begins his exegetical line of argument first with the words of Psalm 45:10-11, reading them as an exhortation for Mary to separate herself from her own race in order to fulfill her divine commission: «O daughter, leave and forget your people and your father's house because the king desired you.» Then, he continues by evoking the metaphor of a «rose» (i.e. Mary and her offspring Jesus) that emerges from a tangle of «thorns» (i.e. the Jews).

The remainder of the dialogue between John and Aaron is loosely organized at best, but the prevailing theme throughout is the sharp contrast drawn between the old and new dispensations of God's salvific action. This contrast is marked with respect to five oppositional themes, introduced in sequence:

1. the earthly Jerusalem vs. the heavenly Jerusalem (sect. 5)
2. the Jewish tabernacle, Noah's ark, and the Temple vs. the church (sect. 6)
3. manna vs. the Eucharist (sect. 7, cf. 11-12)
4. hell/eternal death vs. heaven/eternal life (sect. 8-9)
5. the Old Testament patriarchs vs. Christian saints (sect. 10)

The first of these themes is worthy of special comment, for it provides insight not only into how the medieval Coptic author of the disputation read Scripture in the service of this anti-Jewish polemic, but also how he drew on earlier apologetic patterns of biblical interpretation found in late antique Christian dialogues *contra Iudaeos*. Themes 3 and 5 will also be discussed in some detail, insofar as they

reveal how this apologetic against Judaism was further grounded in the liturgical practice of the Egyptian church.

Claiming Jerusalem: Biblical Interpretation in Anti-Jewish Apologetic

Section 5 of the disputation is devoted to the first of the themes listed above. The patriarch sets Christian belief in the heavenly Jerusalem over against the earthly Jerusalem, and the physical abandonment of the latter serves for him as a metaphor for God's abandonment of the Jews.¹⁴ In the text, this argument is enabled by a quotation of Psalm 137:5 (136:5 LXX), which the author places in the mouth of Aaron. The original Hebrew text of that Psalm reads, «If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand wither!» The Greek text of the Septuagint (136:5 LXX) is slightly different, «If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten!» The author of the disputation has Aaron quote the Septuagint version but with a crucial change in the verse's wording: «I have forgotten you, O Jerusalem. My right hand I have forgotten.» The patriarch uses this version of the text as an opportunity to point out that the city «about which God said 'I forgot' is the Jerusalem of this world, which is your (i.e. the Jews') mother.» He then goes on to quote from two New Testament passages to reinforce this point. The first passage he cites is Luke 13:14, which identifies Jerusalem as the one «who killed the prophets.» By citing this verse, the author subtly returns to his introductory accusation against the Jews as Christ-killers, noting that «of all the prophets, the children of Israel did not kill any of them in Jerusalem until the Lord of all the prophets, that is, our Lord Christ.» After interpreting the Gospel in this way, the patriarch then invokes Paul's discourse in Galatians 4:30, which reads Hagar's son Ishmael as an allegorical figure for the Jews and denies him any right to inherit from his father Abraham. This verse would have had a special resonance for Copts living in an Islamic context: in the Qur'ān, it is Hagar's son Ishmael who is understood as Abraham's favored heir. Thus, even as Paul's words are wielded against a Jewish interlocutor, they would also have served as a subtle repudiation of Islamic theology and the Qur'ān.

The paired themes of Jerusalem's abandonment and its renewal likewise appear in earlier Christian apologetic literature *contra Iudaeos*. While there is no explicit evidence of direct dependence, the disputation shares selected exegetical motifs in common with works such as Justin Martyr's second-century *Dialogue with Trypho*, as well as with two additional Greek dialogues from an Alexandrian

14) On the importance of this issue for eastern Christian polemics against Judaism during the medieval period, see Adam H. Becker, «Beyond the Spatial and Temporal *Limes*: Questioning the 'Parting of the Ways' Outside the Roman Empire,» in *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, A. H. Becker and A. Y. Reed (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2003), 384.

provenance that probably date to the fifth and/or sixth centuries – the *Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus*, and the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*.¹⁵ It is noteworthy that both of these latter two works depict Alexandrian patriarchs as their protagonists. As such they perhaps represent an apologetic literary genre fostered in the Egyptian church and independently recapitulated in the debate between John and Aaron. The isomorphism of the anti-Jewish biblical polemic in this literature comes to expression quite vividly on the subject of Jerusalem. On two separate occasions, Justin Martyr refers to the city of Jerusalem – to its desolation and its rebuilding – in his *Dialogue with Trypho*. In chapter 25 of that work, he writes, «The city of Thy holiness has become desolate. Zion has become as a wilderness, Jerusalem a curse.»¹⁶ Later, in chapter 80, he responds to Trypho by articulating his hope that at the end of time there will be «a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be built, adorned, and enlarged.»¹⁷

Similar modes of biblical interpretation are on display in the fifth- and sixth-century Alexandrian Greek *Dialogues*. In the *Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus*, when Zacchaeus (the Jewish interlocutor) queries Athanasius about Jerusalem, the Alexandrian bishop replies, «(Jerusalem) is no longer a city of Jews, but a city of Christians. ... It was destroyed and dishonored for the Jews, but it was rebuilt and glorified for the Christians.»¹⁸ In the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, Timothy actually quotes from Psalm 136:5 LXX (albeit accurately and positively in this case) to underscore his hope in the heavenly Jerusalem: «Know, therefore, O Jew, that in the same section after the anger of the Lord was fulfilled on Jerusalem and on the Jews who were her sons at that time, then he promised to her that she would become a city of righteousness, the faithful chief city of Zion. For after he judged her, he was reminded of the oaths which he swore

15) The Greek texts of these two dialogues were originally edited and translated in English by F.C. Conybeare, *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and Timothy and Aquila* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Classical Series, Part 8; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898). A more recent edition and translation has been published by William Varner, *Ancient Jewish-Christian Dialogues: Athanasius and Zachaeus, Simon and Theophilus, Timothy and Aquila: Introductions, Texts, and Translations* (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity, vol. 58; Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004), 17-85 (Athanasius and Zacchaeus), and 135-281 (Timothy and Aquila). Each dialogue represents a posthumous attempt to appropriate the theological authority of Alexandrian patriarchs. For a brief introduction to and discussion of these two sources, see Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Ad-versus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1.-11. Jh.)*, 4th edition (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXIII Theologie, Band 172; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1999), 285-6 and 391-2.

16) Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 25.5: ed. E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1914), 119; trans. ANF 1, 207.

17) Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 80.5: ed. E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1914), 192; trans. ANF 1, 239.

18) *Dialogue of Athanasius and Zacchaeus* 70: Varner, *Ancient Jewish-Christian Dialogues*, 56-7.

through his holy prophets. For through David, he says: 'If I forget you, Jerusalem, may my right hand be forgotten' (Ps 137:5).»¹⁹

It is uncertain whether the author of the Coptic disputation had access to any of these patristic sources. He may rather have gleaned similar conclusions from the various florilegia of biblical quotations that circulated in the early medieval Egyptian church and that served as a common resource for theological debate and exposition.²⁰ Such apologetic discourse was probably also cultivated in homiletic practice, in the sermons preached regularly from Coptic pulpits. In what follows, we will explore further how the Coptic liturgy provided a setting for the development of the disputation's anti-Jewish apologetic.

Defending the Body and Blood: The Eucharist in Anti-Jewish Apologetic

The relevance of liturgical practice for the anti-Jewish apologetic in the disputation first becomes evident in section 7 of the text, where Aaron recalls the goodness of God's gift of manna in the desert to the Hebrew people, and the patriarch John responds by presenting the Eucharist as the greater and more permanent divine gift. Thus, while the Israelites received manna for only forty years in the wilderness, John notes that God «gave his body and his blood to eat for a thousand years, until this point.» Furthermore, the fruits of the Eucharist also prove more enduring. After receiving the manna, the Israelites quickly «forgot their Lord» and «made their gods idols,» but «as for us Christians, we keep his law and have not denied him as you denied him, and we have not forgotten him.»

For the author of the disputation, these virtues are epitomized by the Christian saints, whose feats exceed even those of Hebrew prophets. As tangible evidence, in section 10, patriarch John recites a litany of Egyptian monastic saints – Abū Macarius, Abū Anthony, Abū Shenoute, who was carried on a cloud, as well as Abū Pachomius, Abū Onnophrius – that echoes the list of names remembered in the standard eucharistic prayer voiced by the presiding priest in the Coptic *Liturgy of St. Basil*.²¹ Because of their faithful prayer God granted

19) *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* 43.11-12: Varner, *Ancient Jewish-Christian Dialogues*, 242-3.

20) On the use of biblical florilegia in Jewish-Christian apologetic contexts, see Marcus Simon, *Verus Israel: A Study of the Relations Between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire, AD 135-425* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1996), 154-5 and 460 (note 61). For Arabic examples from the tenth and eleventh century, see Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa', *The Precious Pearl (al-Durr al-thamīn)*: ed. P. Maiberger, 'Das Buch der kostbaren Perle' von Severus ibn al-Muqaffa': *Einleitung und arabischer Text (Kapitel 1-5)* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1972); and the *Confession of the Fathers (I'tirāf al-ābā')*, a text edited by an anonymous monk from Dayr al-Muḥarraḡ under the Arabic title, *I'tirāfāt al-ābā'* (2002).

21) *Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil* 150-60 (ed. Achim Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora: Text –*

these monks «power over the desire of their bellies and patience against hunger and thirst, which are greater than the lions» that Daniel faced in Babylon. As their reward in the face of such trials, «God sent his angel to them to strengthen them at all times with his body and his gracious blood.» Again, the Eucharist is highlighted as the divine gift and act of worship that sets the Christian apart from his or her Jewish counterpart.

This theme receives further exposition in sections 11 and 12 of the disputation. In section 11, the Jewish interlocutor Aaron asks John to explain how the eucharistic «sacrifice which you eat» can be «God's body and blood.» In answer, the Coptic patriarch turns to the Jewish Law, or Torah. First, he recalls Isaiah's vision of the fiery coal which the cherubim took from the heavenly altar and «put into (the prophet's) mouth» (Is 6:6-7). This coal (*al-jamra*) is read allegorically as the body and blood of Christ, which erases sins and washes away transgressions – an interpretation probably derived from the Alexandrian Greek writings of Cyril, who cites Isaiah 6:6 to this effect on more than one occasion.²²

A similar eucharistic interpretation is then applied to Genesis 49:11.²³ Here, the Arabic version of the disputation provides interesting evidence as to the reception of the biblical text in that language. Referring to Judah, the original Hebrew version of the biblical text reads, «Binding his foal to the vine and his donkey's colt to the choice vine, he washes his garments in wine and his robe in the blood of grapes.» The Greek text of the Septuagint closely follows this reading. However, in the disputation, patriarch John quotes only the final phrase from this verse and he cites it in a variant version, having Jacob say to his son Judah, «You wash your shirt with *coals* (*al-jamr*) and your tunic in grapes' blood.» The reason for the substitution of the word «coals» for the word «wine» lies in a scribal error. At some point in the manuscript tradition of the biblical text in Arabic, the word for «wine» (*al-khamr*) was misread as the word for «embers» or «live coals» (*al-jamr*). The forms of these two words are almost identical: the only difference is the location of the single dot marking the initial letters *khā'* and *jīm*. Such dots were often omitted in regular practice by Arabic scribes.

In any case, this quirk in the transmission of the biblical text proved fortuitous

Kommentar – Geschichte [Münster: Aschendorff, 2004], 183-9); see also the parallel Coptic, Arabic, and English texts edited by R. Moftah, M. Toth, and M. Roy, in *The Coptic Orthodox Liturgy of St. Basil* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1998), 551-2.

22) Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on Isaiah* 1.4 (PG 70.180D-184A, esp. 181B-C); *Scholia on the Incarnation* 9 (PG 75.1380A).

23) On the importance of Genesis 49 in Jewish-Christian polemic, see also Bernhard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et chrétiens dans le monde occidental, 430-1096* (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1960), 227-37.

for the author of the disputation, for it provides him with a verbal link («coals») that ties this Genesis text to the previous quoted passage from Isaiah.²⁴ This suggests once again that the Coptic author probably made use of biblical florilegia in Arabic. Here, he employs this linking image of the «coals» in a eucharistic argument for the supremacy of Christianity over against Jewish belief and practice. In doing so, it should be noted, he follows a precedent already established by Justin Martyr, who quotes the same Genesis passage (and its original reading of «wine») three times in his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* (chs. 54, 63, 76).²⁵

The disputation continues this eucharistic interpretation of Scripture in section 12, where Aaron offers the Passover event in Exodus 12 as proof of God's faithfulness to the Jews.²⁶ John counters by reinterpreting that event in christological and eucharistic terms:

God sent to us Christians Christ our Lord who is the holy lamb, and your fathers killed him and we took his blood and also smeared our doors with it, which are our lips, and so we are safe from the Devil who is the destroying angel. If the destroying angel comes to you and does not find upon you the trace of the pure blood of the pure lamb who is our Lord Christ, he will seize you and throw you into the fire which is never extinguished.

What is especially interesting about this interpretation is that it is almost identical to that found in a Copto-Arabic catechetical work called *The Book of the Elucidation* (*Kitāb al-Īdāh*).²⁷ Spuriously attributed to the famous tenth-century theologian Sāwīrus ibn al-Muqaffa', it in fact probably dates to the following century – that is, after the year 1000.²⁸ The author of the *Elucidation* similarly

24) Indeed, the scribal confusion described above may have originally taken place in conjunction with the compilation of florilegia of biblical texts in Arabic, long verse chains similar to the (shorter) ones found in the disputation.

25) Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 54.1-2, 63.2, 76.2: ed. E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1914), 154, 169, 186; trans. ANF 1, 222, 229, 236).

26) In the text, Aaron's «quotation» is actually a paraphrase of Exodus 12 combined with Psalm 78:49.

27) Par. ar. 170; Graf, *GCAL* 2.309-11. For an accessible but uncritical edition of this work, see Murqus Girgis, ed., *Kitāb al-durr al-thamīn fī īdāh al-dīn* (Cairo 1925; repr. 1971). For observations on the christology and eucharistic theory of this work, see Stephen J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 194-7, 230-6.

28) On questions of dating and authorship, see Mark Swanson, «A Copto-Arabic Catechism of the Later Fatimid Period: 'Ten Questions That One of the Disciples Asked of His Master',» 483, note 38; idem., «The Specifically Egyptian Context of a Coptic Arabic Text,» 216, note 9; and Stephen J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice*, 231.

takes the Israelites' action of smearing their door lintels with lamb's blood as a type for participation in the Christian sacrament, and reads the «body of the believer» as a house in which the Spirit dwells:

The door of the body is the mouth, and its lintel is its lips, and its threshold is its rows of teeth. And when one drinks the blood of Christ, his lips and teeth become stained.²⁹

Finally, as in the disputation, the stain or trace of Christ's blood upon the «lintel» of the body is understood to have an apotropaic function: it acts to wards off «the defiling angel Satan» when he comes to take possession of a person at his or her death.³⁰ The distinctiveness of this shared interpretation of the Passover, along with the earlier reference to a millennium of eucharistic celebration, offers further confirmation for an eleventh-century date of composition for the disputation. The dialogical structure of the disputation – which marks not only the Christian-Jewish debate between John and Aaron, but also the patriarch's subsequent encounters with his Melkite Christian and Muslim interlocutors – would have had a catechetical function similar to that of *The Book of the Elucidation*. That is to say, it would have been intended to instruct the Coptic faithful in the defense of their faith against all challengers.

Intra-Christian Apologetics: The Coptic Patriarch John's Dispute with an Unnamed Melkite

The debate between the patriarch and the Melkite initially follows a typical pattern for disputes between opponents and partisans of the council of Chalcedon. The Melkite begins the debate by asserting his belief in two distinct natures in Christ: one human by which he underwent suffering, and one divine by which he worked miracles. The patriarch then states his belief in a single nature. They also both confirm their mutual belief that Christ «was incarnate and became man and resembled us in everything except sin» (sect. 16).

After this, however, it becomes clear that the disputation at hand is not meant to reflect contemporary debates over christological formulas, or even to provide a guide for the faithful in engaging in debates with real Melkites. Instead, it serves as a kind of popular catechism explaining the doctrine of Christ's single, divine nature with an eye towards the new objections to this doctrine that were being raised in an Islamic milieu. For the most part, it does so without reference to the philosophical vocabulary utilized in most Arabic Christian polemics, but rather

29) *The Book of the Elucidation* 4 (Par. ar. 170, f. 71v; Girgis, 106).

30) *The Book of the Elucidation* 4 (Par. ar. 170, f. 71v; Girgis, 107).

with a decided preference for quotations from scripture and vivid, easily accessible images to illustrate its christological teaching.

Divinity Defended: Biblical Interpretation in Anti-Melkite (and Anti-Muslim) Apologetic

Throughout the rest of the debate, the author of the text portrays the Melkite position as a denial of Christ's divinity in favor of his humanity. This polemical perspective on the Chalcedonian position echoes earlier accusations, heard from the earliest opponents of the council, that those who accepted it were «the new Jews.»³¹ In several places, this also allows for the Melkite to serve as a mouthpiece for the Muslim rejection of Christ's divinity, as we shall see below.

The patriarch is at pains to emphasize Christ's divinity and contrast it with ordinary humanity, even to the point of implying that Christ did not have a normal earthly body. In fact, at one point he seems to interpret Luke 1:35 and Matthew 1:20 to mean that the Holy Spirit entered into the Virgin Mary and itself became the flesh that the Word assumed (sect. 15). And in section 23, he goes so far as to declare that «Christ is God and the body of which Peter spoke is the Holy Spirit.» This helps explain why, in section 16, the patriarch accuses the Melkite of saying that the Holy Spirit is a human being, for in his eyes to assert the (mere) humanity of Christ's body is to deny the divinity of the Spirit.

The patriarch illustrates exactly how the Holy Spirit became a body by using images of liquids becoming solids. His first illustration is that of milk becoming cheese, inspired by Job 10:10: «You created me like milk and squeezed me like cheese from one press» (sect. 16). By supplementing the biblical text with the final, added phrase, «from one press» (*min ṭab' wāḥid*), the author may be engaging in a play on words. In Arabic, the word *ṭab'* can mean either «press» or «nature»: indeed, it was frequently used in the latter sense as a technical term in Christian-Muslim debates over Christ's «nature.»³² In this context, the patriarch uses this metaphor to explain that just as milk and cheese are liquid and solid but are of one nature, so too is the Word of one nature both before and after the incarnation. Later, in sections 24 and 25, the patriarch uses the image of rain falling onto the ground and hardening into ice as another metaphor for explaining how the Holy Spirit became incarnate. In particular, the image of rain crystallizing into ice is meant to elucidate Genesis 6:1-2, the story of how angels came to earth and married the children of Seth. For the patriarch, this Old

31) On the role that this accusation played in the sixth-century writings of Severus of Antioch, for example, see Pauline Allen and C. T. R. Hayward, *Severus of Antioch* (London: Routledge, 2004), 12.

32) If this is an example of such a pun, it may offer additional proof that the disputation was originally composed in Arabic.

Testament account serves as a further proof for how spiritual beings can take on flesh.

On the other side of this literary debate, the use that the Melkite makes of the New Testament in disputing Christ's divinity reflects more accurately the context of Muslim-Christian polemic than actual positions held in intra-Christian disputes. In section 27, the Melkite quotes from Matthew 24:36 (cf. Mark 13:32) – where Jesus states that not the Son but only the Father knows when the end times will arrive – to argue against Christ's divinity. Similar use was made of the verse by a wide range of Muslim authors writing against Christians, including 'Alī al-Ṭabarī, al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb, Abū Muḥammad ibn Ḥazm, Pseudo-Ghazālī, and Shihāb al-Dīn Qarāfī.³³ Similarly, John 20:17, where Jesus states that he is ascending «to my Father and to your Father,» is also cited by the Melkite to refute the divinity of Jesus. Muslim polemicists also made use of this verse for the same purpose: examples are found in the writings of al-Jāḥiẓ, al-Ṭabarī, Aḥmad al-Ya'qūbī, al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, Abū Qāsim al-Balkhī, al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb, Ibn Ḥazm, Pseudo-Ghazālī, Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Shahrastānī, al-Qarāfī, and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.³⁴ That such arguments would be put into the mouth of a Melkite debating Christology with a Copt is evidence for the degree to which Muslim-Christian disputes over Christ's divinity could be understood by Christians in terms of earlier christological debates.

«A Body of Holy Divinity»: The Eucharist in Anti-Melkite Apologetic

In his debate with the Jew, the Coptic patriarch John had discussed the Eucharist via typological readings of key Old Testament texts – the manna given to the Israelites in the desert, the coal placed on Isaiah's mouth by the cherub, Jacob's instruction for his son to wash his clothes with coals, and the blood that the Israelites placed over their doors at Passover. It is this final type of the Eucharist that causes the Jew to proclaim his belief in Christ, and it is the recognition of Christ as God in the Eucharist that leads him to right belief.

The manner in which patriarch John discusses the Eucharist with the Melkite also emphasizes the paramount importance of recognizing Christ's presence as God in the sacrament. At first, when the Melkite asks the patriarch to explain the mystery of the bread upon the altar – «How does it change and become the

33) Martin Accad, «The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries: An Inventorial Table (Part II),» *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 14.2 (2003), 215; and «The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries: An Inventorial Table (Part III),» *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 14.3 (2003), 341.

34) Martin Accad, «The Gospels in the Muslim Discourse of the Ninth to the Fourteenth Centuries: An Inventorial Table (Part IV),» *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 14.4 (2003), 478.

body...?» (section 22) – the question may seem out of place, given that Melkites also believe that the eucharistic bread becomes Christ's body when it is consecrated. However, this question in fact reveals a critical difference between Coptic and Melkite Christology in the mind of the author. That is, if Christ has two natures, one from the flesh taken from his mother and one divine as the Melkite affirms, then how can divinity be communicated through the Eucharist? The patriarch's answer to this is to say that Christ's body, which he took from the Virgin Mary, is not an earthly body, but rather «a body of holy divinity» – a body that the eucharistic bread becomes «when it is borne upon the altar and the liturgy is read over it.»

On two separate occasions, John appeals to his own experience of divine visions to prove this point. First, in section 22, the patriarch recounts a vision of Christ he had a young deacon when he was experiencing his own doubts about the reality of the transformation that took place in the Eucharist. In the midst of this struggle, Christ had appeared to him on the altar and reassured him in words reminiscent of John 6:51-56 that those who eat and drink his body and blood with true faith will have eternal life, while those who do not believe will lose their baptism and will be condemned because they divided him from the Father and the Spirit. Within the context of John's debate with the Melkite, this condemnation, from the mouth of Christ himself, is aimed Chalcedonian Christians who are seen as guilty of denying Christ's divinity. In the vision, the absolute identity of Christ's person with the consecrated elements is highlighted by the way Christ descends onto the plate and is lost to sight when he completely «becomes» the Eucharistic gifts.

Later in the text, in section 31, John again cites his own visionary experience to underscore the salvific efficacy of the Eucharist. When the Melkite asks why holy water is consumed immediately after participation in the Eucharist, John recalls that when he was still a deacon he would often hear the (former) patriarch praying, «Save me from the arrows of the devil.» After appealing to God for understanding, he experienced an angelic vision in which he saw the devil in the form of a black man,³⁵ shooting arrows into all who passed by. In the case of two men, the arrows had lodged in their bodies so deeply that they could not be pulled out. When one partook of the Eucharist and drank the holy water, the arrows fell out easily and the wound was healed; the one who was not Christian

35) The racial prejudice in evidence here may draw on earlier traditions in Egyptian monasticism where the Devil and his demons are sometimes described as black men: see David Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006). ch. 7 («Ethiopian Demons: The Monastic Self and the Diabolical Other»).

could not be released from his torment since he was not welcome at the sacrament. At the same time that this vision vividly demonstrates the efficacy of the Eucharist as a medicine for the healing of sins, it also identifies the rite as a crucial marker of difference between Coptic communicants and outsiders. As in the case of the first vision, this story is designed to cultivate proper Eucharistic piety among the faithful, a purpose that points to the catechetical nature of the disputation and to the fact that it was designed primarily for the consumption of the Coptic community itself rather than for a Melkite (or Muslim) readership.

Heavenly Contemplation and the Power of Divine Deception: The Cross in Anti-Melkite (and Anti-Muslim) Apologetic

Finally, two other curious exchanges between the patriarch and his Melkite opponent bring the reader's attention back to the image of the cross, linking it closely to popular pieties related to the role of angels and demons, and to the central role of the liturgy for Coptic communicants. In section 32 (immediately after the second vision discussed above), the Melkite asks the patriarch which light in the heavens was created first – the sun, the moon, or the stars? The patriarch replies:

It is a great cross, one of the cherubim, and yet not a cherubim. It resembles a man, and yet it is not a man. He has six wings, two on each head, and he speaks in languages no one understands. None of the angels can look upon him on account of the great amount of light that is around him.

When the Melkite asks the meaning of this rather enigmatic answer, the patriarch offers an explanation that seems to rely on the visual setting of Coptic churches as a guide for the reader's understanding:

... [L]ook at the church, at the image of Christ our Lord. You see that the cross is a crown upon his head, just as the Prophet David said, «I have made glory and honor a crown upon his head» (Ps 8:5 [8:6 LXX]). The Apostle Paul said, «Truly you see Jesus in the pain of death upon the cross. Glory and honor are a crown upon his head» (Heb 2:9). Now it is suitable that the Cross is the first light that God created.

Here, in the face of challenging theological questions, the reader is exhorted to seek truth not in rational debate but in the practice of worship. By meditating on the familiar images of the Cross and Christ the Pantocrator accompanied by angels – images so often found in the apses of Coptic churches – the worshipper is called to come face-to-face with the divine mystery of a crucified king.

The second exchange in question (in section 36) effectively brings the patriarch's dialogue with the Melkite to its final conclusion. It begins with the Melkite's question about why a simandron (*nāqūs*) is knocked before the start of the liturgy. A simandron is a wooden (or sometimes metal) clapper used instead of a bell to call participants to worship. Frequently found in both Coptic and Melkite churches, it also was a fairly common theme in Christian polemical encounters with Islam, as its public use became an object of curiosity among Muslims.³⁶ The author of the dialogue makes a point of connecting the church's striking of the simandron to the story of the crucifixion and explaining it as an apotropaic act designed to ward off evil spirits. Likening the sound of the simandron to that of the hammer that drove the nails into Christ's hands and feet, John explains to his listener(s) that this sound is like burning arrows to the demons, causing them to flee in fear.

This explanation of the simandron is coordinated with other narrative elements borrowed from a familiar story of «divine deception» in Coptic theology – a story told of God's successful plan to trick Satan through the apparent weakness of the incarnate Christ and the shame of the crucifixion.³⁷ Once again, the aforementioned eleventh-century Copto-Arabic work, *The Book of the Elucidation* (*Kitāb al-Īdāh*), provides an important touchstone for comparison. In that text, the Son is described as hiding his true, divine identity from Satan under the guise of bodily weakness, so that the devil became «convinced that he was a weak human being» and that he posed no threat to him.³⁸ This divine ruse continued through his earthly life and culminated on «the night of the crucifixion,» when Satan «became emboldened» and «made his countenance hideous in (Christ's) face.»³⁹ It was at this moment that the trap was sprung and Christ was able to seize Satan by means of his divine power.

Elements of this narrative are detectable in John's discussion with the Melkite about the simandron in section 36 of the disputation. First, the patriarch explains that «Our Lord Christ, when he came down to the earth, came in humility and Satan did not know him. If he saw him working divine miracles he said, 'He is

36) For examples of the simandron being mentioned by Muslim poets, see Zayyāt Ḥabīb, *Al-Diyārāt al-Naṣrāniyya fī al-Islām* (Beirut: Dar al-Machreq, 1999), 97-105.

37) For more detailed discussions of this motif and its antecedents in patristic and earlier Arabic Christian literature, see Stephen J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice*, 230-6; Mark Swanson, *Folly to the Ḥunafā': The Cross of Christ in Arabic Christian-Muslim Controversy in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries A.D.* (Cairo: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Arabicorum et Islamologiae, 1995), 22-30; and Raymond Schwager, «Der Sieg Christi über den Teufel,» *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 103 (1981), 156-77, esp. 158-68.

38) *The Book of the Elucidation* 2 (Par. ar. 170, f. 25r-v, cf. 30r; Girgis, 43, cf. 49).

39) *The Book of the Elucidation* 2 (Par. ar. 170, f. 43r and 45v; Girgis, 67 and 71).

divine.' And if he saw him eating and drinking, he said, 'He is human,' and did not realize what he was.» At the crucifixion, Satan sends his demons to the cross to «look at what (Christ's) situation is, because it has been hidden from me and I do not know where he is from.» However, the demons flee when they hear the sound of the nails being struck by the hammer, and in the end Satan has to go to the cross to have a look for himself. At that moment, «our Lord Christ touched him with his forefinger and his thumb, he restrained him and bound him under his cross,» before finally sending him to hell with an angel to guard him.

The fact that these two texts share structural elements in common is not a reason to argue for literary dependence in either direction. Rather, it is compelling evidence for the popularity and wide circulation of such catechetical traditions about Christ, the cross, and the devil in the eleventh-century Coptic church. In this case we have the contemporaneous use of this narrative material by two authors interested in the relationship between theology, liturgy, and inter-confessional apologetics.

In the case of our disputation text, the author subtly redeploys elements of this narrative of «divine deception» as a context for pursuing his own particular catechetical and apologetic aims. Using a common liturgical implement as a teaching device, he conveys to his readers the efficacious power of the cross for the protection of the Coptic community from demonic influence. It is this power that prompts the Melkite to confess, «I believe in my Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God,» and to petition to be accepted by John into his communion (a petition that is deferred due to the patriarch's desire to meet immediately with the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz).

Christian-Muslim Apologetics: The Coptic Patriarch John's Concluding Dialogue with the Muslim Governor, 'Abd al-'Azīz

With this transition to John's meeting with the Muslim governor 'Abd al-'Azīz, the text sets the stage for a second and final act of «divine deception» – in this case, one performed rhetorically by the patriarch John at the expense (quite literally) of the governor himself. After an opening conversation about the Eucharist in section 38, the discussion turns to subjects more central to Christian-Muslim debate, especially the significance of biblical and Qur'ānic language and teaching on the question of Christ's identity as the Word and Spirit of God,⁴⁰ and on the question of whether Christ was really crucified.⁴¹ Appropriately, it is the

40) In the Qur'ān, Jesus is identified as both the «Word» (*kalima*) and «Spirit» (*rūh*) of God (Sura 4.171).

41) According to the Qur'ān, Jesus was not actually crucified: «They did not kill him, nor did they crucify him» (Sura 4.157).

topic of the crucifixion that provides the specific occasion for the discursive sleight of hand that concludes the work (sect. 39-40). After 'Abd al-'Azīz denies that Christ was crucified and asserts that «a thief who deserved to be killed» was crucified in his place, John asks the Muslim ruler how many thieves he had already crucified during his rule and for how much he had sold the wood on which they died. When 'Abd al-'Azīz answers that he had in fact crucified many thieves and that the wood used in those executions was «not good for anything except burning in fire,» the patriarch turns the tables on him: «If the matter is like this then, and the piece of wood... is the wood of a thief, then why did you take three thousand dinar for it from me?» Realizing that he had been painted into a corner, the governor graciously concedes the argument and then proclaims Christianity as «the true religion.»

This striking confession of Christian truth on the part of a Muslim governor may be recognized as a kind of literary-apologetic wish fulfillment, a dream-come-true for a community of readers who would have found themselves increasingly beleaguered by the repressive Fatimid policies of the eleventh century.⁴² It should remind us once again that this text, with all its idiosyncratic concerns about liturgical practice and catechetical traditions about the role of angels and demons, was directed primarily not toward potential converts (e.g. Jews, Melkites, and Muslims) but toward the Coptic faithful – those who were already in the fold but who found themselves forced to defend their religious identity in the face of new theological and social challenges within the Islamic world.

42) It should be noted that in the original recension of the text the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz does not convert, despite his acknowledgment of Christian truth. This conforms to the conventions of the disputation genre, in which the social taboo of Muslim conversion to Christianity was typically not broached. In contrast, the later recension (c) surprisingly throws such caution to the wind by fully embracing the fantasy of a Muslim ruler not only receiving baptism from the Coptic patriarch, but also «order[ing] that injustices, special taxes and the like cease to apply to Jacobite Christians.» On the impact of government discrimination and/or persecution on Coptic leadership and social identity during the Fatimid period, see Mark Swanson, *The Coptic Papacy in Islamic Egypt*, ch. 4 and 5.

Notes on Editorial Method

This critical edition is based on four manuscripts of the text of *Mujādalat baṭriyark Iskandariyya ma' al-yahūdī wa-malakī*. These are:

- A Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (Par. ar. 215; 1590 CE);¹
- B Paris, Bibliothèque nationale (Par. ar. 4881; 19th cent. CE);²
- C Los Angeles, St. Shenouda the Archimandrite Society (ML.MS 21; 1755 CE)³
- D Cairo, Coptic Museum (Cairo MS 54 = Theol. 236; 16th cent. CE)⁴

Marcus Simaika catalogues two other extant manuscripts of this disputation in the library of the Coptic Patriarchate (recently relocated from Cairo to the Monastery of Mari Mina outside Alexandria),⁵ but the present editors were unable to gain access to this collection. Nonetheless, it was possible to produce a critical text on the basis of the four manuscripts labeled A, B, C, and D above, and to deduce their interrelationship from the pattern of agreements and disagreements among them. The goal of this critical edition is to present a text that is as close as possible to the original. We will denote the original text by [a].

1) Par. ar. 215: William MacGuckin, baron de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1883-1895), no. 215, ff. 186r-202v.

2) Par. ar. 4881: Edgar Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1925), no. 4881, ff. 138r-167r.

3) This manuscript is currently housed at the St. Shenouda the Archimandrite Society in Los Angeles, CA: http://www.copticmanuscripts.org/ML_MS_21.htm. The editors of this volume want to thank the director of the society, Hany Takla, for providing us with a digital PDF copy of this text.

4) Coptic Museum, Cairo MS 54 (= Theol. 236): Marcus Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Government Press, Būlāq, 1939), 29-30 (ser. no. 54); Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 480 (= Kairo 132).

5) Coptic Patriarchate, Cairo MS 342 (= Theol. 216) and 420 (= Theol. 86): Marcus Simaika, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt*, vol. 2, fasc. 1 (Cairo: Government Press, Būlāq, 1942), 146 (no. 342), and 186-7 (no. 420); Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 480 (= Kairo 369 and 469). We are grateful to Prof. Dr. Harald Suermann (Universität Bonn) for his helpful contributions to our understanding of the state of the question regarding the surviving manuscripts of the disputation.

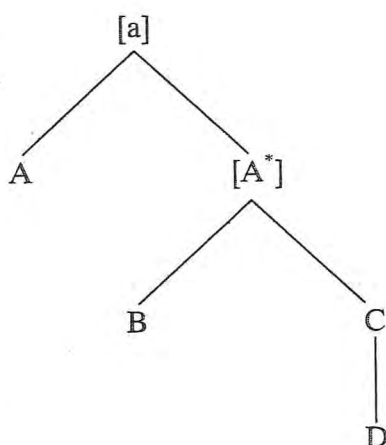
A comparison between the four manuscripts shows that B, C, and D belong to the same family; we will call the hypothetical archetype of this family [A*]. The following observations apply.

D agrees with C in all errors (i.e. readings of secondary origin, viz. corruptions and emendations), but D has some errors peculiar to itself. Therefore D is directly descended from C and can be ignored for the purpose of editing the text.

B and C agree in many errors against A. These errors suggest one of two cases: (1) these errors originally come from [A*], or (2) either B or C is derived from the other. However, in a few places, C agrees with A against B and fills in the lacunae in B, and, in other instances, B agrees with A against C and fills in the lacunae in C. This shows that neither B nor C is derived from the other, but both are dependent upon [A*]. The instances where B and C independently agree with A represent readings that presumably come from [a]. Thus, B and C may be used to reconstruct [A*].

A is one of the oldest of the extant manuscripts and presents a text which has the least number of errors, therefore the reading of A is often preferred in cases of disagreement between A and [A*]. Manuscript A, however, includes a number of lacunae due to *homoteleuton* – scribal errors resulting from a slip of the eye caused by lines ending with the same word.

Comparisons of the readings would give the following stemma:



This stemma could be an oversimplification of historical reality since we do not know about the intermediate copies between [A*] and B, [A*] and C or [a] and A, but the resultant text is a closer approximation to the original than any of the individual manuscripts.

The text of *Mujādalat batriyark Iskandariyya ma' al-yahūdī wa-malakī* is written

in so-called «middle Arabic.» Middle Arabic is a term used in modern scholarship to indicate all texts showing deviations from classical grammar.⁶ All four manuscripts used in producing this critical edition here include very few *hamzas* and diacritical marks. We have decided to add diacritical marks to the text for the sake of clarity. *Hamza*, however, is added only rarely: either when it appears in the manuscript tradition or when there is otherwise the potential for confusion with another word, as in the case of the word ماء which would be confused with the word ما if rendered without the *hamza*. *Kasra* followed by a *hamza* (i') is often simply represented as the long vowel *ī* (e.g. شئت becomes شيت), while *damma* followed by a *hamza* is written as the long vowel *ū* (e.g. أو من becomes او من). *Hamza* passes into *yā'* if a long *yā'* or *alif mamdūda* precedes it (e.g. قايلا become قايلا, الخطيئة becomes الخطيئة).

Colloquial influence on the text is clear in the merger of certain letters (e.g. *ḍ* and *z*; *t* and *ṭ*; *s* and *ṣ*). Typical morphological and syntactical mistakes are the frequent occurrence of incorrect verb forms (e.g. the use of reflexive verbs instead of regular verbs), the dropping of the subjunctive 'an (ان), incorrect subject verb agreement, and the appearance of *tū* marking the second person masculine plural ending in the perfect. All these mistakes were left in the text as they occur in the manuscript tradition. Our edition of the Arabic text also attempts to preserve orthographical variances and inconsistencies that appear in the manuscripts (e.g. ابن and بن, ثلاثة and ثلاثة, بن and ابن).

To make the text manageable for the reader and for easy comparison with the English translation, the text is arranged by paragraphs, with a number assigned to each in parentheses. Inasmuch as possible, each individual paragraph includes one or more items that form a textual unit.

In order not to overload the apparatus, minor variances between the manuscripts that do not affect the meaning were not included, such as the conjunctions *fā'* and *wāw*, the variant spelling of بطريك/بطيريك, the occasional use of the imperfect instead of the perfect in C, variances between (انني/اني) (هذا/ذلك) – (انني/اني) (هذا/ذلك) – (انني/اني) (هذا/ذلك), differences in word order (وبها/وبه) – (يقول/يقول) – (فذاك/التي – فذلك)/الذي/الذين).

6) See Kees Versteegh, *The Arabic Language* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 114ff., and 200. For a terminological discussion of the term, see Joshau Blau, «Das frühe Neuaramisch in mittelarabischen Texten,» in *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie*, vol. 1, ed. W. Fischer (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982), 96-109. For a general introduction to Middle Arabic see Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965). For types of «mistakes» in middle Arabic texts, see Blau, *On Pseudo-corrections in Some Semitic Languages* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1970).

(e.g. قال الملكي واليهودي/ قال اليهودي والملكي), and added words and phrases (e.g. يسوع المسيح له المجد/ يسوع المسيح/ المسيح and فأجاب وقال/ فأجاب).

Ancillary signs, such as the sign of nunation (*tanwīn*), the doubling sign over a consonant (*tashdīd*), and case endings (*ḥarakāt*), were added in the main text only when they are found in manuscript A. Finally, marks of punctuation were added to the Arabic text, such as commas, periods, question marks and exclamation marks, when the sense of the respective sentences required it.

<p>الكريمة وغربا الذهب الامر وكان التابوت مقبول بقوله لمن طلال الذهب ومن فوق ذلك القول شبهة من الذهب ومن فوق الشبهة متارة من حرم الذهب وكان ذلك التابوت بغيره على اولى وكل باب منهم كان عليه افتعال فعاودا شرعه الى الملك عليه ما عاينوه من التابوت فامر ان يحل ذلك التابوت ويحضر بين يديه وان يفتح حضور النظر بان ابايوس من اجل ذلك التابوت الى ان وضعه بين يديه الى ان ذلك ذهب من</p>	<p>لبس الاب والابن والروح القدس نستديعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه من غير الاله التي ظهرت من قطعه التي اصلت المجد على يد البطريرك ابايوس بابا الاسكندرية ومرت الملك واليهودي والملكي الى امانة القبط كان انان نصراني ماض من مرض وقد توفوا وليس له وارث فلما سلطان ان يحل جميع ما يملكه ذلك الممنوع الى خزانه الملك يحلون ما لذلك الممنوع فاصاب في بيته تابوت من الذهب وضع البطريرك واليوافق والنص</p>
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Coptic Museum MS Theol. 236 (first page)

<p>لبس الاب والابن والروح القدس نستديعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه شرح تعليم من قول ابينا القديسين معلمي البقية ائمة الدين تحت على المجده وعدم الجحد البضه ان الصالح قطير مجرد ولم يغضب من طول روحه قال الرب اخطا يا انا وخطايا العالم كله بكلامه بغير اضطرار قال يلا فلو نزلت الامة ومجده لبعضنا بعض ولا يكون للشيطان علينا بل يخلصنا منه ويقطع زرعه وزوانده من ارضنا المظلمة امانت امين قال سيدنا يسوع المسيح لا تكره الشجود لانا انت قد متهمت انك على الملك</p>	<p>زكيا نورا اني اذا اكله لان ان شربه فهو شرب في نفسه وجسد كله ولا يمتل منه تفلا ابدان ان يفضل منه الثقل وينظر الى الخارج فذلك بظلمة محال الذي يقولونه بغير معرفة باسرار الله الذي يكتشفها لمجده والعالمين بوضاها فلنسا المعانة وفضله العظم ورحمة الغيرة علينا ان يرد عقل كل مشي من الارواح الشريرة الى معرفة الله الحقيقية ويعد عنه الظنون الباطنة الشيطانية لتطهر من تبعات وديانات الشريعة القديمة للالهة المعبودة للفضيلة على كل عقدها بصلواته والذرة الكريمة الزكية والهدى وهي الاعمال الصالحة</p>
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Coptic Museum MS Theol. 236 (last page)

كسب الرب والابن والروح القدس اللله الواحد
 نسقيهم الله تعالى وحسن بيعة
 نسخ نسخة الالة التي ظهرت من قطعة
 الصليب المحمد علي بيد الابن الطيرين انا
 بواسرنا الاكلندرية وزد الملك المبرور
 والملكي ابي امانه العنط البيقانية تسلم اليه
 قال كان اسنان يهودي مما فرض مصر فرض
 وقد توفاه وليس له وارث فامر السلطان
 ان يحمل جميع ما عدا كفة ذلك الميت الى صرابة
 الملك وبقياهم يحملون مال ذلك الميت
 فاصواتي بنده ما بون من الذهب وضع الحو
 الشطة واليا قوتة القصور الحشمة
 من الذهب الاحمر كان الثابت

Coptic Society ML.MS 21 (first page)

قطع المطال والمكوشة وما يشبه ذلك
 عن جميع النصارى البيقانية وصاروا
 زحين مشرورين شاكرين لله في ابدية والى
 ما اتنا لله تعالى به والمحمد الابن والروح
 القدس اسحق الحقني المشاوي الابن وكل
 اوان والى حهر الداهرين وايد الابدين امين
 من اجل
 بجادك الطيرين مع اليهودي
 والملكي الملك تسلم من
 الروميين والشكس
 للهوايا ابيها
 امين

Coptic Society ML.MS 21 (last page)

دَسَّحَرُ الْإِلَهِ الْخَالِقِ الْمَعْرِى الْبَاطِقِ الْتَالُوتِ الْاَدَسِّ
 بِسَدْرِي بِعَوْنِهِ اللَّهُ سَمِيحًا أَنْهُ بِشَرْحِ مَجَادِلِهِ
 اِسْتَلْزَمَ الْاَبَّ الْبَطْرِيكَ اِسْتَبَايُونَ سَاطِرِيكَ
 اِسْتَلْزَمَ مَعَهُ الْيَهُودِيَّ وَالْمَلِكِيَّ عَلَّ اِبَا عَمِدِ
 الْعَزِيْزِ الْمَلِكِ مَمْرُوهٍ الْاَلِيَّ عَمْرُ الْمُقْيَاسِ مَحْلُوَانِ
 سَلَامًا مِنْهُ اَمِيْنُ قَالَ كَانَ فِي ذَلِكَ الزَّمَانِ
 مَعَى الْاَبِّ الْبَطْرِيكَ يَسْلَمُ عَلَى عَمِدِ الْعَزِيْزِ الْمَذْكُورِ
 فَبَيْنَمَا هُوَ جَالِسٌ عِنْدَهُ وَاذَا اِتَّصَابُ خَبْرٍ قَدِ وَايَ
 اِلَى الْمَلِكِ وَعَزَمَهُ اَنْ اِسْتَأْجِرَ يَهُودِيَّ مَدْتُوْنِيَّ قَوْلِيْلَهُ
 وَاَرْتِ نَامِرَ الْمَلِكِ اِنْ مَحَلَّ جَمِيْعًا مَا يَمْلِكُهُ ذَلِكَ الْمَيْتَ
 اِلَى خِرَابَةِ الْمَلِكِ وَبَيْنَمَا هُوَ يَحْلُوْنَ مَا لَدَى ذَلِكَ الْمَيْتِ نَاصِلًا
 فِيهِ تَابُوْتُ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ مَقْلُوكٌ مِنْ قَبْلِ اَنْ يَدْهَبَ فَنَجَّوْ
 مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَحَمَلُوهُ اِلَى اِيْنِ اَحْضَرُوهُ بَيْنَ يَدِي الْمَلِكِ نَامِرِ
 اَنْ يَفْتَحَ النَّابِرَ فَوَجَدَ اَوْبِيَهُ قَطْعَةً مِنْ خَشَبِ
 طَوْلِهَا شِبْرٌ وَاَحَدٌ تَجْمَبُ الْمَلِكِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ وَقَالَ اَيْشَ
 مَنَفْعَةٌ ذَلِكَ حَتَّى يَحْفَظَ هَذَا الْخَطَّ الْعَظِيْمَ قَلَمًا
 رَاجِي الْبَطْرِيكَ ذَلِكَ تَيْتَسُ فِي نَفْسِهِ اَنْهَا مِنْ صُلَيْبِ

Paris Arabe 215 (first page)

نَاجَابِ الْبَطْرِيكَ نَادَا كَانَ الْاَمْرُ عَلَيَّ هَذَا فَاَنْ الْقَطْعَ
 الْخَشَبِيَّ الَّذِي طَوْلِهَا شِبْرٌ وَاَحَدٌ هِيَ مِنْ خَشَبَةِ
 رَجُلًا لَمْ يَكُنْ اَخَذْتُ مِنْهَا تَلْتَةَ الَّذِي دِيْنَارِ
 فَاَدْنُ قَدْ ظَلَمْتَنِي وَالْحَقُّ يَحْكُمُ بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكَ فَلَمَّا
 سَمِعْتُ ذَلِكَ الْقَوْلَ مِنْ الْبَطْرِيكَ تَالَهُ اَلَمْ يَحْقُ اِنِّي
 ضَرْتُ قَدْرًا كَمَا تَمَلُّ الْاَخْرَسُ لَ اِطْبِقُ عَلَيَّ حَوَاتِيكَ
 وَقَدْ خَاطَبْتِ فَلَا سَعَةَ لَكَ تَبِيْرٌ وَمَجْمِيْنٌ وَغَيْرُهُمْ
 وَلَمْ اَرِيْ فِيْهِمْ مَتَلِكٌ وَحَقُّ لَيْسَ عَلَيَّ اَلْدِيْنَادُ مِنْ غَيْرِ
 دِيْنِ النَّصْرَانِيَّةِ هُوَ الَّذِيْنَ اَلصَّحِيْحُ وَاَمْرَ الْمَلِكِ
 بِالْكَرَامِ الْبَطْرِيكَ وَحَفِظَ جَانِبَهُ وَاَجْلَالَهُ
 وَشَرَحَهُ بِسَلَامٍ وَالسَّحْرُ لَهُ دَائِمًا اَبَدًا

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ وَالْإِبْنِ وَالرُّوحِ الْقُدُّوسِ الْإِلَهِيِّ وَاحِدٍ
 مُنْذَرِي بَعُونَ اللَّهُ نَمَائِي حَسَنُ فَوْجِيهِ بِنُطْحِ
 مَيْسَرَتِ الْقُدُّوسِ حَسَنُ الْمَلِكِ وَالسُّهُودِي
 أَنَّهُ كَانَ فِي حَقِّ عَبْدِ الْكَلِيمِ الْمَلِكِ بَعْدَهُ وَهُوَ الَّذِي بِنَا
 حَلَوَانَ وَهُوَ مِنْ بَنِي الشَّيْفِ بْنِ أَبِي الْبَلْبَلِ وَكَانَ
 فِي ذَلِكَ الزَّمَانِ يُوْحَنَّا الْبَطْرِيْقُ عَلِيٌّ كَرِيمِي الْأَسْلَمِيْرِي
 فَمِنِّي إِلَيْهِ الْبَطْرِيْقُ مَيْسَلَمُ عَلَيْهِ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ فِيمَا
 هُوَ جَا السَّرْعُنْدَهُ وَإِذَا بِطُحَابٍ حَبْرٌ قَدْ وَفَا الْمَلِكُ
 وَعَرَفَهُ بِأَنَّ أَنْتَابَ رُبِّي قَدْ قُتِلَ فَاوَلِيْسُهُ وَارْتِ
 فَا مَرَّ الْمَلِكُ أَنْ يُجْلِسَ مَا يَمْلِكُهُ ذَلِكَ الْهَيْتِ
 أَيُّ فَهَرَأْتِ الْمَلِكُ دِيْنَاهُ يُجْلِسُونَ مَا ذَاكَتِ
 الْهَيْتِ فَا هَا بِنَا هَيْسَهُ نَابُوتِ مِنْ هَيْسَهُ مَعْقُولِ

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الْحَبِّ طَوْلَهَا شَبْرًا وَاحِدًا هَيَّ مِنْ خَشْبَةِ
 رَجُلٍ لَصْنٍ فَلَمَّ اخَذَهُ مِنِّي فِيمَا نَلَأْتِ الْفِ
 دِيْنَارًا فَادْفَعْتُ لِي وَالْحَفَّ بِحَكْمِ بِيْنِي وَبِيْنِكَ
 فَلَمَّا سَمِعَ الْمَلِكُ ذَلِكَ الْغَوْلَ مِنَ الطُّورِيْنَ
 قَالَ لَهُ بِحَفِّ أَيُّ قَدْ صَرَفْتَ فَمَا مَكَرٌ مِثْلُ
 الْأَخْرَشِ لِأَطِيفِ عَلِيٍّ جَوَابِكَ فَمَا حَاطَبْتَ
 فَلَا تُسْفِهْ كَيْدًا وَبِجْبِينَ وَغَيْرَ دَعْوَةٍ فَلَمَّ ارِي فِجْمِ
 مِثْلَكَ وَيَحْفَ أَنْ لَيْسَ عَلِيٌّ الدِّيْنَارِيْنَ
 غَيْرَ دِيْنِ النَّصْرَانِيَّةِ فَهُوَ الدِّيْنُ الصَّحِيْحُ
 وَأَمْرُ الْمَلِكِ بِالْكَرَامِ الطُّورِيْنَ وَحَفَّطَ حَاتِبَهُ
 وَاحْلَالَهُ وَشَرَحَهُ بِسَلَامٍ بِرُكْنِ النَّالُوْتِ
 الْمَغْدَشِ الْأَبِ وَالْإِبْنِ وَالرُّوحِ الْقُدُّوسِ الْإِلَهِيِّ
 وَكُلُّ أَوَانَ وَالِي دَهْرٍ الْبَاهِرِيْنَ أَمْرًا

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[مجادلة بطريك اسكندرية مع اليهودي والملكي]

(a186r/b138r/c186r) بسم الاله الخالق الحي الناطق الثالث الأقدس^١

[اكتشاف قطعة من صليب المسيح]

(١) نبتدي بمعونة الله سبحانه^٢ بشرح مجادلة^٣ ابينا البطريك انبا يونس بطريك اسكندرية^٤ مع اليهودي والملكي^٥ على ايام^٦ عبد العزيز الملك بمصر وهو الذي عمر المقياس بحلوان^٧ بسلام من الله امين.^٨

(٢) قال كان في ذلك الزمان^٩ مضى الاب البطريك^{١٠} يسلم على عبد العزيز المذكور^{١١} فبينما هو جالس عنده واذا بصاحب خبر قد وافى الى الملك^{١٢} وعرفه

(١) بسم الاله الخالق الحي الناطق الثالث الأقدس / a / بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس الاله الواحد b, c.

(٢) بمعونة الله سبحانه a / بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه b, c.

(٣) بشرح مجادلة a / بنصح سيرة b / بنسخ سيرة الاية التي ظهرت من قطعة الصليب المجيد على يد c.

(٤) ابينا البطريك اثتيانوس بطريك اسكندرية a / القديس يوحنا b / الاب البطريك انبا يوانس بابا الاسكندرية c.

(٥) مع اليهودي والملكي a / مع الملك واليهودي b / ورد الملك واليهود والملكي الى امانة القبط اليعاقبة بسلام من الرب c.

(٦) على أيام a / انه كان في عهد b / ناقصة c.

(٧) عمر المقياس بحلوان a / بنا حلوان b / ناقصة c.

(٨) بسلام من الله امين a / وهو من بني اسماعيل ابن ابراهيم الخليل: زائدة b.

(٩) يوحنا البطريك على كرسي الاسكندرية: زائدة b.

(١٠) مضى الاب البطريك a / فمضى اليه البطريك b / ناقصة c.

(١١) يسلم على عبد العزيز المذكور a / يسلم عليه في المسجد b / ناقصة c.

(١٢) وافى الى الملك a / وافا الملك b.

ان^{١٣} انسان يهودي^{١٤} قد توفى وليس له وارث فامر الملك^{١٥} ان يحمل جميع ما يملكه ذلك الميت الى خزانة الملك، وبينما هم يحملون مال ذلك الميت فاصابوا فيه^{١٦} تابوت من فضة مقفول (b138v) من قفل من ذهب^{١٧} فتعجبوا من ذلك وحملوه الى ان احضروه بين يدي الملك فامر ان يفتح التابوت^{١٨} فوجدوا^{١٩} فيه قطعة من خشب طولها شبر واحد، تعجب الملك من ذلك وقال: ايش منفعة ذلك حتى تحفظ بهذا الحفظ العظيم؟ فلما راى البطرك ذلك تيقن في نفسه^{٢٠} انها من صليب (a186v) سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد. ^{٢١} فقال^{٢٢} للملك: ان ابهات هذا اليهودي صلبوا المسيح وهذه

(١٣) ان a / بان b / في ذلك الزمان... وعرف ان: ناقصة c.

(١٤) بارض مصر تمرض و: زائدة c.

(١٥) الملك a, b / السلطان c.

(١٦) فيه a, b / في بيته c.

(١٧) من قفل من ذهب a / بقفل ذهب b.

(١٨) ففتح: زائدة b.

(١٩) فوجدوا a / فاصابوا b.

(٢٠) تابوت من فضة... في نفسه: a, b / تابوت من الذهب مرصع بالجواهر البسيطة والياقوت والفصوص الكريمة وغرغر بالذهب الاحمر وكان التابوت (c186v) مقفول بقفولا من طلا الذهب ومن فوق ذلك القفول شبكة من اللولو ومن فوق الشبكة ستارة من حرير اطليسين وكان ذلك التابوت يقفل عليه سبعة ابواب وكل باب منهم كان عليه سبعة اقفال فعادوا الى الملك بسرعة وردوا عليه ما عاينوه من التابوت فامر الملك ان يحملوا التابوت ويحضره اليه بين يديه وان يفتح بحضوره وكان البطريك انبا يوانس حاضراً لذلك فحملوا ذلك التابوت الى ان وضعوه بين يديه فلما راه الملك تعجب من ذلك وقال يا الله العجب يا بطرك ما هو هذا الحرص العظيم في هذا التابوت فقال البطريك (c187r) للملك يا ملك العصر والزمان امر لي باذن قبل بانني افتحه فامر الملك للبطريك ان يفتح التابوت ففتح التابوت فاصابوا فيه سبعة لفايف من حرير البرفير وعلى كل لفافة قفل من الذهب الاحمر مرصع بالبانخشة ففتح البطريك السبعة قفول الذهب فاصاب قطعة خشب طولها شبراً واحداً فشموا منها رائحة اعظم من المسك فعند ذلك وقف البطريك على اقدامه وخر ساجداً للقطعة الخشب وجلس مكانه وجعلها بينه وبين الملك فاخذها الملك في يده وقبلها وقال للبطريك بعد تعجبه فيها وقيام البطريك وسجوده لها وقال (c187v) له يا بطرك ايش منفعة هذه القطعة الخشب حتى تتحفظ بهذه الحفظ العظيم وانت كبير امتك وقمت من حداي ساجداً لها فاجابه البطريك وقال له نعم يا ملك القصر والزمان فاني لما رايت هذه القطعة الخشب في هذا الحفظ العظيم تيقنت في نفسي c.

(٢١) له المجد: ناقصة b.

(٢٢) فقال a, b / وقال البطريك c.

قطعة من صليب المسيح . فقال الملك : بين لي ذلك .^{٢٣} فقال البطريك للملك :^{٢٤} امر ان يحضر^{٢٥} نار و حطب .^{٢٦} فلما احضروا ذلك^{٢٧} واشعلوا^{٢٨} النار حتى اضرمت جدا و طرحوا^{٢٩} القطعة الخشب في النار ، فلما حصلت في النار انطفئت^{٣٠} وصارت رمادًا ، ففعل^{٣١} ذلك ثلثة (b139r) مرار^{٣٢} ولم تحترق^{٣٣} بل تطفى النار .^{٣٤} فقال الملك عند ذلك للبطريك : اشترى مني هذه القطعة الخشب . فقال البطريك : نعم بكم هي ؟ قال له الملك :^{٣٥} بثلاثة الف دينار . فحمل البطريك المال^{٣٦} هو ورجلين اخر^{٣٧} نصارى واخذوها .^{٣٨}

(٣) فعند ذلك قال له :^{٣٩} أنا استهي اعرف اي دين من الاديان هو الحق ،^{٤٠}

- (٢٣) بين لي ذلك a / فكيف نبين لك ذلك b / للبطريك وكيف بيان لك ذلك c .
 (٢٤) اردت ان اثبت لك قولي عن هذه القطعة الخشب : زائدة c .
 (٢٥) امر ان يحضر a / امر باحضار b / فامر الملك (c188r) باحضار c .
 (٢٦) امر . . . حطب a, b / اردة ان اثبت لك قولي عن هذه القطعة الخشب فامر الملك باحضار نارًا و حطب c .
 (٢٧) النار والحطب : زائدة c .
 (٢٨) واشعلوا a, c / فلما اشعلوا b .
 (٢٩) اضرمت جدا و طرحوا a / او هجت فطرحوا b / توهج وعادت جهنم و طرحوا فيها c .
 (٣٠) النار : زائدة c .
 (٣١) ففعل a / ففعلوا b, c .
 (٣٢) مرار a / دفعوع b, c .
 (٣٣) الخشبة : زائدة c .
 (٣٤) وتجعلها رمادًا : زائدة c .
 (٣٥) له الملك a, b / الملك للبطريك c .
 (٣٦) فحمل البطريك المال a / فدفع البطريك المال b / فتبسم البطريك وقال يا ملك الزمان ابعت رخيص فدفع البطريك للملك المال في الوقت والساعة c .
 (٣٧) اخر a, b / ناقصة c .
 (٣٨) واخذوها a, b / واخذها البطريك (c188v) من الملك بفرح عظيم فلما عاين الملك ذلك الفرح الذي صار للبطريك فعند ذلك تحقق الملك في عقله وعرف ان الخشبة في حديث عظيم c .
 (٣٩) فعند ذلك قال له a / فنفذ ذلك فقال الملك للبطريك b, c .
 (٤٠) الصحيح : زائدة c .

فامر^{٤١} باحضار رجل من اكابر^{٤٢} اليهود يتسما^{٤٣} هروون وايضاً انسان ملكي^{٤٤} وقال لهم: أنا احب ان تعرفوني ايما هو الدين الصحيح. فابتدا كلا منهم يمدح دينه.^{٤٥} فقال الملك: ^{٤٦} كيف نعلم ذلك؟ فقالوا جميعا: ^{٤٧} امهلنا ثلاثة ايام نتناظر فمن^{٤٨} حصل الحق معه (c189r) رجعنا كلنا لمذهبه.^{٤٩}

[مجادلة البطريرك انبا يونس مع اليهودي هارون]

(٤) فلما كان عند ذلك اليوم اجتمعوا (b139v) الثلاثة (a187r) البطريرك والملكي واليهودي^{٥٠} قال اليهودي: أنا أول من يتكلم^{٥١} لاني أول من اعطاه الله الناموس.

قال له البطريرك: تكلم.^{٥٢}

فأجاب اليهودي وقال: في الابتدا أنا ولد ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب.^{٥٣}

فأجاب البطريرك قايلًا: ^{٥٤} أنا ولد الاب والابن والروح القدس.

فأجاب اليهودي: أنا بن لاوي احد الاثني عشر ولد يعقوب.^{٥٥}

(٤١) البطريرك: زائدة c.

(٤٢) اكابر a / كبراء b, c.

(٤٣) يتسما a, b / يسما c.

(٤٤) يسما يعقوب: زائدة c.

(٤٥) يمدح دينه a, b / يشرح في دينه c.

(٤٦) الذي هو السلطان و: زائدة c.

(٤٧) جميعا a, b / له اجمعنا و c.

(٤٨) نتناظر فمن a, c / ننظر فيمن b.

(٤٩) لمذهبه a, b / الى مذهبه c.

(٥٠) والملكي واليهودي a, b / واليهودي والملكي والملك العزيز رابعهم يسمع كلامهم الثلاثة c.

(٥١) انا اول من يتكلم b: مكررة a / اول من يتكلم انا c.

(٥٢) حتى نسمعك انت اول: زائدة c.

(٥٣) له البطريرك تكلم فاجاب اليهودي وقال في الابتدا انا ولد ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب: ناقصة / فايش تقول: زائدة c.

(٥٤) ان كنت انت ابن ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب: زائدة c.

(٥٥) ولد يعقوب a / اولاد يعقوب b / سبط ولد يعقوب c.

فأجاب البطرک: ^{٥٦} أنا ابن مرقس ابن بطرس احد الاثني عشر تلميذ الذي لسيدنا المسيح.

فأجاب اليهودي: مريم العذرى من جنسي خرجت. ^{٥٧}

فأجاب البطرک: داود النبي يقول يا ابنة انشطي ^{٥٨} وانسي شعبك وبيت ^{٥٩} ابيك لان الملك اشتهاك.

فأجاب اليهودي: ان المسيح الذي هو يسوع ^{٦٠} من اصلي خرج (b140r). ^{٦١}

فأجاب البطرک: ان شجرة الورد هي كلها شوك ومنها يخرج الورد الطيب ورايحه ^{٦٢} الحسنة ومنظره الحسن ويهدى للملوك، ^{٦٣} وكذلك ^{٦٤} انتم ايها (c190r) اليهود، انتم ^{٦٥} الشوك فخرج ^{٦٦} منكم الورد ^{٦٧} اعني مريم الطاهرة العذرى وانبعث ملكها يسوع المسيح وانت ^{٦٨} عارف ^{٦٩} بكل ما ^{٧٠} فعلوه ابايك ^{٧١} في امر المسيح من القبيح واخر كل شيء اخذوه وصلبوه ^{٧٢} ونحن النصرارى اخذناه منكم (a187v) لنحيا

- (٥٦) وقال ان (c189v) كنت ابن لاوي احد الاثني عشر سبط ولد يعقوب: زائدة c.
- (٥٧) مريم العذرى من جنسي خرجت a / مريم العذرى من حزبي خرجت b / ماذا تقول في مريم العذرى من اي جنس خرجت c.
- (٥٨) انشطي a / اسمعي وابصري b, c.
- (٥٩) وبيت a / وكل بيت b, c.
- (٦٠) الذي هو يسوع a, c / الذي هو يسوع المسيح الذي هو يسوع b.
- (٦١) ماذا تقول انت: زائدة c.
- (٦٢) ورايحه a / وريحته b / الراححة c.
- (٦٣) للملوك a / الى الملوك b.
- (٦٤) وكذلك a, b / ولذلك c.
- (٦٥) أنتم: ناقصة c.
- (٦٦) فخرج a / فنخرجت b / فخرجت c.
- (٦٧) الحسنة: زائدة c.
- (٦٨) ايها اليهودي: زائدة c.
- (٦٩) عارف a / عالم b, c.
- (٧٠) بكلمة a, b / بما c.
- (٧١) ابايك a, b / ابايكم c.
- (٧٢) واهانوه: زائدة c.

به^{٧٣} وجعلنا لكم الشوك لتموتوا^{٧٤} به الذي هو اعمالكم السو وقلة ايمانكم بسيدنا يسوع المسيح.^{٧٥}

(٥) اجاب اليهودي: ان الله^{٧٦} قال على لسان داوود النبي ان أنا نسيك يا يروشلیم^{٧٧} يميني نسيت.

فأجاب البطريرك: يا احمق الله لم (b140v) يقول^{٧٨} هذا القول بسبب اورشليم المبنية بالطوب والطين (c190v) وانما قال هذا القول عن^{٧٩} اورشليم السماوية مسكن القديسين والابرار، والذي قال الله نسيت^{٨٠} اورشليم الدنيا الذي هي امك فانا اعرفك اياه، قال الله^{٨١} اورشليم اورشليم التي قتلت الانبياء والذين ارسلوا اليها بالحجارة ومنهم^{٨٢} من في الانبياء كلهم لم^{٨٣} يقتلوهم بني اسراييل في بيت المقدس^{٨٤} حتى ورب^{٨٥} الانبياء اجمعين اعني سيدنا المسيح، ونسب^{٨٦} اورشليم السماوية^{٨٧} فهو يقول انها حرة واما نسبة اورشليم الارضية^{٨٨} انها مملوكة كما في الكتب اخرج المملوكة وولدها ليلا يرث ولدها مع ولدي وانت ابن المملوكة ونحن اولاد^{٨٩} الحرة.

(٧٣) الحياة الهنية الدائمة الى الابد: زائدة c.

(٧٤) لتموتوا a, b / لتتملوا c.

(٧٥) له المجد: زائدة c.

(٧٦) الله: ناقصة a.

(٧٧) نسيك يا يروشلیم a / نسيت ايروشليم b / نسيت اورشليم c.

(٧٨) يقول a / ناقصة b / قال c.

(٧٩) عن a, b / بسبب c.

(٨٠) نسيت a, b / بسبب c.

(٨١) الله b, c / ناقصة a.

(٨٢) ومنهم a, c / اذ منهم b.

(٨٣) لم a, b / ناقصة c.

(٨٤) المقدس a, b / القدس c.

(٨٥) ورب a, b / ورث c.

(٨٦) نسب a / بسبب b, c.

(٨٧) السماوية a, b / السماء c.

(٨٨) انها حرة واما نسبة اورشليم الارضية a / ناقصة b / انها حرة وبسبب اورشليم الارضية فهو

يقول c.

(٨٩) وانت ابن المملوكة ونحن اولاد a, b / ناقصة c.

- (٦) اجاب اليهودي: ان الله^{٩٠} كلم موسى حتى بنا له المظلة^{٩١} وكلم (c191r) نوح حتى عمل^{٩٢} السفينة وكلم سليمان حتى بنا له البيت فمن من ابهاتك انت^{٩٣} كلم^{٩٤} الله فقال لهم ابنوا لي (a188r) كنيسة؟
- فأجاب البطرک: ان الله^{٩٥} قد تكلم على لسان داوود النبي يقول^{٩٦} تحب^{٩٧} (b141r) ابواب صهيون اكثر من مساكن يعقوب كلها.^{٩٨}
- (٧) فأجاب اليهودي: إن الله^{٩٩} اوعد^{١٠٠} ابائنا بالخيرات واخرجهم الى البرية واعطاهم المن لياكلوا^{١٠١} اربعين سنة.
- قال البطرک: ^{١٠٢} لعمري ان الله اعطاهم المن اربعين سنة^{١٠٣} فلما غاب عنهم موسى اربعين يوم نسوا ربهم الذي صنع معهم الخيرات اربعين سنة وعملوا الهتهم اصنام^{١٠٤} وايضا عملوا العجل وعبدوه^{١٠٥} وقالو (c191v) لهرون هذه الهتك^{١٠٦} يا^{١٠٧} اسراييل الذي اخرجك^{١٠٨} من ارض مصر، ونحن النصرارى^{١٠٩} اعطانا الله جسده ودمه

(٩٠) الله a, c / ناقصة b.

(٩١) المظلة a, c / المظلمة b.

(٩٢) له: زائدة c.

(٩٣) حتى: زائدة c.

(٩٤) كلم a / كلمهم b, c.

(٩٥) ان الله: ناقصة a / ان الله b / الله c.

(٩٦) يقول a, c / اذ يقول b.

(٩٧) تحب a, b / احب الرب c.

(٩٨) كلها a, b / ناقصة c.

(٩٩) الله: ناقصة b.

(١٠٠) اوعد a / وعد b / قد اوعد c.

(١٠١) منه: زائدة c.

(١٠٢) قال البطرک a / فاجاب البطرک b, c.

(١٠٣) لعمري ان الله اعطاهم المن اربعين سنة b, c / ناقصة a.

(١٠٤) الهتهم اصنام a, b / لانفسهم الاصنام c.

(١٠٥) عملوا العجل وعبدوه a, b / عبدوا العجل c.

(١٠٦) هذه الهتك a, b / هذا الالهكم c.

(١٠٧) يا a, c / ناقصة b.

(١٠٨) الذي اخرجك a / الذي خيرك b / التي اخرجكم c.

(١٠٩) النصرارى a, c / النهار b.

ناكل منه ^{١١٠} الف سنة وهوذا نحن ناكل ^{١١١} الى هذه الغاية ونحفظ ناموسه ولم ننكره كما انكرتموه ولم ^{١١٢} ننساه.

(٨) فأجاب اليهودي: انت تقول ان ^{١١٣} النصرارى لا يموتوا فلم لا يموتوا؟
فأجاب البطرك: الحق قلت لك ان الموت موت ^{١١٤} الدنيا ليس هو موت وانما هي نقلة (b147v) من ^{١١٥} الدنيا الى الاخرة، والذي اذا ^{١١٦} مات انزل الى ^{١١٧} الجحيم فذلك هو الموت لا محالة الى الأبد.

(٩) فأجاب اليهودي: احب ان تعرفني ان كان في ^{١١٨} ناموسي مكتوب بان احد من اباينا نقل الى ^{١١٩} الجحيم.

فأجاب البطريك: (c192r) نعم مكتوب ^{١٢٠} في التوراة حيث قال يعقوب لما ^{١٢١} اتوه بقميص يوسف ولده ^{١٢٢} (a188v) لما راه خزق ثيابه وبكا وحزن وندم ^{١٢٣} وهو يقول: فان الوحش الذي اكل ولدي ^{١٢٤} يوسف هو اشر الوحوش، فاجتمعوا إليه جميع اهله وبقعته ^{١٢٥} كلهم يسألونه ^{١٢٦} يقل ^{١٢٧} من حزنه فقال لهم أنا انزل

(١١٠) ناكل منه a / ناكل ونشرب b / ناكل منه ونشرب c.

(١١١) وهوذا نحن ناكل b, c / ناقصة a.

(١١٢) ولم a, c / ناقصة b.

(١١٣) ان a, b / ناقصة c.

(١١٤) موت a, b / ناقصة c.

(١١٥) من a, c / في b.

(١١٦) اذا a, b / ناقصة c.

(١١٧) انزل الى a, b / ونزل c.

(١١٨) ان كان في a / من b, c.

(١١٩) نقل الى a / نزل b / نزل الى c.

(١٢٠) بان: زائدة b.

(١٢١) لما a, c / فلما b.

(١٢٢) يوسف ولده a / ولده يوسف b, c.

(١٢٣) وندم a / وندب b, c.

(١٢٤) ولدي: ناقصة b.

(١٢٥) اهله وبقعته a / نفره واهله b, c.

(١٢٦) يسألونه a, b / يسألوه ان c.

(١٢٧) يقول a / يقل b, c.

الى^{١٢٨} الجحيم وانا حزين على ولدي يوسف، وايضًا وقت ان^{١٢٩} مضوا اخوته الى مصر ليشتروا قمح^{١٣٠} واخذ يوسف سمعان احدهم^{١٣١} اعتقله عنده (b142r) حتى يحضروا اخيهم^{١٣٢} الاصغر فلما وافوا الى يعقوب وعرفوه ذلك بكاء وحزن وقال لهم يوسف مات وسمعان ليس هو ثم وبنيامين تريدوا تاخذوه،^{١٣٣} (c192v) انتم ترسلوا^{١٣٤} كبري الى الجحيم وانا حزين، والان قد عرفتك^{١٣٥} ذلك من ناموسك دفعتين بان ابايك قد نزلوا الجحيم.

(١٠) فأجاب اليهودي: ان^{١٣٦} دانيال^{١٣٧} النبي رُمي في جب السباع وصلى فوجه الله ملاكه اليه ونجاه من فم السباع وملاك الله نزل الى عبوق^{١٣٨} وقبض على شعر راسه وحمله من الشام الى بابل^{١٣٩} حتى انزله الى جب السباع لدانيال النبي بالطعام ثم انه رده الى^{١٤٠} بلده في (b142v) طرفة عين، عرفني الان من من^{١٤١} ابهاتك عمل الله معه من هذا شي؟^{١٤٢}

فأجاب البطريرك: نعم كثير (a189r) من ابهاتي عمل الله معهم مثل هذا من القديسين الذي هو ابو امقار وابو اندونه^{١٤٣} وابو شنوده^{١٤٤} (c193r) الذي

(١٢٨) الى a, b / ناقصة c.

(١٢٩) ان a, c / ناقصة b.

(١٣٠) قمح a, b / القمح c.

(١٣١) سمعان احدهم a / واحد منهم وهو سمعان b, c.

(١٣٢) يحضروا اخيهم a / يمضوا يجوا باخيهم b / يمضوا ويجيبوا اخوهم c.

(١٣٣) تاخذوه a / ان تاخذوه مني b, c.

(١٣٤) ترسلوا a / تشركوا b / وتركوا c.

(١٣٥) عرفتك a, c / عرفتكم b.

(١٣٦) ان: ناقصة b, c.

(١٣٧) دانيال a, b / ضانيال c.

(١٣٨) وملاك الله نزل الى عبوق a، وملاك الله نزل على عبوق b، وحبوق النبي نزل اليه ملاك

الرب c.

(١٣٩) بابل a, c / ارض بابل b.

(١٤٠) الى: ناقصة c.

(١٤١) من من a / فمن b / من c.

(١٤٢) شي a, b / الشي c.

(١٤٣) اندونه a, b / والقديس أبو بنوده c.

(١٤٤) وابو شنوده a, b / والقديس انبا شنوده c.

حُمِل^{١٤٥} على السحاب^{١٤٦} وابو بخوم^{١٤٧} وابو نفر^{١٤٨} وجماعة من القديسين لو^{١٤٩}
 بديت اسماهم^{١٥٠} لطال الشرح^{١٥١}، وهولاء صلوا الى الله فرزقهم القوة على شهوة
 بطونهم والصبر^{١٥٢} على الجوع والعطش الذي هو اشد من السباع ووجه الله ملاكه
 اليهم^{١٥٣} يقويهم^{١٥٤} في كل حين بجسده ودمه الكريم^{١٥٥}.

(١١) فأجاب اليهودي: احب ان تعرفني من الناموس ان هذا القربان الذي تاكلوه
 هو جسد الله ودمه.

فأجاب (b143r) البطريك: انا^{١٥٦} ابين لك ذلك^{١٥٧} من الناموس، اليس^{١٥٨} هو
 مكتوب حيث قال اشعيا النبي اني رايت مذبح عظيم في السماء وعليه^{١٥٩} جمرة من نار
 على ذلك المذبح ثم (c193v) اني رايت احد الكاروييم وقد^{١٦٠} اخذ الجمرة النار من على
 ذلك المذبح وادخلها فمي^{١٦١} وقال هذه^{١٦٢} الجمرة قد دخلت فاك^{١٦٣} وهي تمحي^{١٦٤}

- (١٤٥) حمل / a, b / حمله الرب .c
 (١٤٦) السحاب / a / السحابة .b, c
 (١٤٧) وابو بخوم / a, b / والقديس انبا باخوم .c
 (١٤٨) وابو نفر / a, b / والقديس ابو نفر .c
 (١٤٩) لو / a, b / ولو .c
 (١٥٠) اسماهم / a / اسميهم / b / اسميهم .c
 (١٥١) الشرح / a / به لك الشرح / b / بذلك الشرح .c
 (١٥٢) والصبر / a, b / واعطاهم الصبر .c
 (١٥٣) ملاكه اليهم / a / اليهم ملايكة / b / اليهم ملايكته .c
 (١٥٤) يقويهم / a, b / تقويهم .c
 (١٥٥) الكريم: ناقصة .b, c
 (١٥٦) ايضاً: زائدة .c
 (١٥٧) ذلك: ناقصة .b
 (١٥٨) اليس / a, b / ليس .c
 (١٥٩) وعليه / a, b / وعلى .c
 (١٦٠) الكاروييم وقد / a / الكروييم قد / b / الكاروييم وقد .c
 (١٦١) فمي / a / في فمي .b, c
 (١٦٢) قال هذه / a, c / قال لي هذا .b
 (١٦٣) قال / a / فاك .b, c
 (١٦٤) تمحي / a / تمحو .b, c

خطاياك وتغسل ذنوبك، فما^{١٦٥} الجمرة النار الذي محت الخطايا وغسلت الذنوب إلا جسد سيدنا المسيح ودمه، وايضاً قال يعقوب حيث دعا ولده^{١٦٦} يهودا تغسل قميصك بالجمر^{١٦٧} وايزارك (a189v) بدم العنب، فما^{١٦٨} القميص إلا الكنيسة وما^{١٦٩} الايزار إلا النصارى الذي غسلوا ذنوبهم^{١٧٠} من دم (b143v) الكرمة الطاهر الذي هو سيدنا يسوع المسيح.^{١٧١}

(١٢) فأجاب اليهودي: ان الله قال لموسى تاخذ خروف^{١٧٢} وتذبحه بالعشا وتاخذ دمه وتلطح به عتبة ابوابكم من اجل (c194r) الملاك المفسد ففعل موسى ذلك فلما جاء الملاك المفسد^{١٧٣} فالذي اصاب^{١٧٤} على بابيه الدم سلم^{١٧٥} منه والذي لم يكن عليه^{١٧٦} دم الخروف اهلكه وبيته اجمع.

أجاب البطرک: ان الله وجه الينا نحن النصارى^{١٧٧} سيدنا المسيح الذي هو الخروف المقدس^{١٧٨} وقتلوه^{١٧٩} ابهاتك فاخذنا من دمه ولطحنا ايضاً به^{١٨٠} ابوابنا التي هي شفاهنا فسلمنا من الشيطان الذي هو (b144r) الملاك المفسد فاذا جا الملاك المفسد^{١٨١} اليكم

- (١٦٥) فما a, b / فما c.
 (١٦٦) ولده a / لولده b, c.
 (١٦٧) قميصك a / قميصك بالجمر b, c.
 (١٦٨) فما a, b / فما c.
 (١٦٩) وما a, b / واما c.
 (١٧٠) بدم: زائدة c.
 (١٧١) له المجد: زائدة c.
 (١٧٢) حملاً سنويا: زائدة c.
 (١٧٣) المفسد: ناقصة b.
 (١٧٤) اليهم: زائدة c.
 (١٧٥) على بابيه الدم سلم a / الدم على باب بيته يسلم b, c.
 (١٧٦) عليه a / على بابيه b / على بيته c.
 (١٧٧) النصارى: ناقصة b.
 (١٧٨) المقدس a, b / الحمل الطاهر c.
 (١٧٩) وقتلوه a, b / الذي قتلتموه c.
 (١٨٠) به: ناقصة b, c.
 (١٨١) المفسد: ناقصة b.

ولم يجد^{١٨٢} عليكم^{١٨٣} اثر دم الخروف^{١٨٤} الطاهر الذي هو سيدنا المسيح قبض عليكم
والقاكم في النار التي لا تطفأ ابدا.^{١٨٥}

(١٣) فعند (c195v) ذلك صاح اليهودي^{١٨٦} وقال: اني او من بسيدي يسوع
المسيح انه ابن الله الحي وانا اسلك يا ابي ان تعمديني في هذه الساعة أنا واهل
بيتي.^{١٨٧}

فلما سمع البطريرك ذلك منه قال (a190r) له: اصبر^{١٨٨} حتى اخاطب هذا
الملكي وارده الى طريق الحياة واعمدكم جميعاً.

[مجادلة البطريرك انا يونس مع الملكي]

(١٤) فعند ذلك تقدم الملكي وقال (b144v) للبطرك: خاطبني أنا فان هذا
اليهودي ليس يعرف شيا فان غلبتني انت دخلت^{١٨٩} الى^{١٩٠} دينك وان غلبتك أنا
فتدخل^{١٩١} الى^{١٩٢} ديني.

قال له البطرك: تكلم انت ايضاً حتى اسمع قولك.^{١٩٣}

فأجاب الملكي: انتم تقولون ان الله تالم ونحن نقول (c195r) ان الله لا يتالم
ولا ياكل ولا يشرب ولا يرقد ولا يلمس بل نقول انه نزل الى الارض وتجسد

(١٨٢) يجد a / يطيب b / يصيب c.

(١٨٣) انتم اليهود و: زائدة b, c.

(١٨٤) الحمل: زائدة c.

(١٨٥) وهكذا عرفتك: زائدة c.

(١٨٦) صاح اليهودي a / صاح اليهودي بصوت عظيم b / تحقق اليهودي وصاح بصوت عظيم

عال c.

(١٨٧) واهل بيتي a / وكل اهل بيتي b, c.

(١٨٨) علي: زائدة c.

(١٨٩) انت دخلت a, b / امنت ودخلت c.

(١٩٠) الى a, b / في c.

(١٩١) فان غلبتك انت تدخل a / وان غلبتك انا فتدخل b / فان غلبتك انت فادخل c.

(١٩٢) الى a, b / في c.

(١٩٣) قولك a, b / كلامك c.

بجسده^{١٩٤} وتالم بالجسد واكل بالجسد وشرب بالجسد ومسكوه وصلبوه بالجسد واللاهوت هو الذي ابرا المرضى وصير^{١٩٥} الما خمراً وبارك^{١٩٦} في الخمسة^{١٩٧} خبزات^{١٩٨} حتى اكلوا منها جماعة^{١٩٩} (b145r) وشبعوا وبه مشى على البحر والعجايب كلها عملها باللاهوت^{٢٠٠} والتالم والصلب بالجسد.

فأجاب البترك: انك^{٢٠١} الان بهذا الكلام تفرقه على طبيعتين فطبيعة تتالم وطبيعة^{٢٠٢} يبرى بها الامراض^{٢٠٣}.

فأجابه الملكي: نعم هذه امانتي وهذا قولي الى الابد.

(١٥) اجاب البطريرك: (c195v) اليس لوقا الانجيلي يقول في انجيله^{٢٠٤} المقدس ان جبرائيل الملاك لما دخل الى العذرى مريم^{٢٠٥} وبشرها (a190v) حيث يقول روح القدس تحل عليك وقوة العلي تظلك وايضاً قال متى الزكي يا يوسف ابن داود لا تحزن^{٢٠٦} اقبل مريم خطيتك فان الذي تلده هو من روح (b145v) القدس فاذا كان روح القدس حل عليها والذي ولدته من روح القدس^{٢٠٧} كيف تصيره انت انسان.

فأجابه الملكي: لأنه مكتوب عنه انه تجسد وتانس وتشبه بنا في كل شيء سوى^{٢٠٨} الخطية.

(١٩٤) بجسده / a, c / بجسد .b

(١٩٥) وصير / a / وصيرت / b / وسيرت .c

(١٩٦) وبارك / a / باركت / b, c

(١٩٧) الخمسة / a / الخمس / b, c

(١٩٨) الشعير: زائدة / b, c

(١٩٩) من الوف وربوات: زائدة .c

(٢٠٠) كلها عملها باللاهوت / a / التي عملها كلها باللاهوت عملها / b, c

(٢٠١) انك / a, c / انت .b

(٢٠٢) فطبيعة تتالم وطبيعة / a / فبطبع يتالم وطبع / b / طبع يتالم وطبع .c

(٢٠٣) الامراض / a, b / المرضى .c

(٢٠٤) انجيله / a / الانجيل / b, c

(٢٠٥) مريم / a, b / مرتمريرم البتول .c

(٢٠٦) تحزن / a / تجزع / b, c

(٢٠٧) حل عليها والذي ولدته من روح القدس: ناقصة .b

(٢٠٨) سوى / a / ما خلا / b / فلا خلا .c

(١٦) اجاب البطرك: أنا ايضاً اومن بهذا فنحن ايضاً نشبه من؟

فأجابه الملكي: ليس ادري عرفني انت ذلك.

أجابه البطرك: ان الله (c196r) يقول في التوراة لنخلق انسان على شبهنا ومثالنا وكذلك خلقنا بشبهه^{٢٠٩} ومثاله، ايوب يقول خلقتني مثل اللبن وعصرتني مثل الحالوم من^{٢١٠} طبع واحد.

فأجابه الملكي: لعمرى ان اللبن والخالوم^{٢١١} واحد.

أجابه البطرك: ان اللبن اذا كان مرخي^{٢١٢} سما لبن واذا^{٢١٣} اجمد^{٢١٤} صار حالوم واللبن (b146r) من الحالوم والخالوم من اللبن وكذلك الكلمة من^{٢١٥} قبل ان تتجسد لا ترى ولا تلمس فلما تجسد ابصروه باعينهم ولمسوه بايديهم والكلمة من الجسد والجسد (a191r) من الكلمة علمت الان ان الكلمة والجسد^{٢١٦} كما اللبن والخالوم واحد واياك ان تقول انه تجسد بجسد ارضي مثل جسدنا حاشا الله^{٢١٧} بل (c196v) تجسد بجسد مقدس^{٢١٨} بلا جماع بلا رجل مع امرأة^{٢١٩} ولا دنس ولا نظفة فانك اذا قلت ان^{٢٢٠} الجسد الذي اخذه هو انسي فانت تقول ايضاً عن روح^{٢٢١} القدس

(٢٠٩) بشبه a, b / على شبه c.

(٢١٠) مثل الحالوم من a / مثل الحالوم b, c.

(٢١١) طبع: زائدة b.

(٢١٢) مرخي a, c / مرضي b.

(٢١٣) سما لبن واذا a / كان اسمه اللبن فاذا b / اسمه اللبن فاذا c.

(٢١٤) اجمد a, b / جمد c.

(٢١٥) من: ناقصة b, c.

(٢١٦) واحد: زائدة c.

(٢١٧) من ذلك: زائدة c.

(٢١٨) ظاهر: زائدة c.

(٢١٩) بلا جماع بلا رجل مع امرأة a / بلا اجتماع مرة مع رجل b / بلا اجتماع امرأة مع

رجل c.

(٢٢٠) ان a, c / اذا b.

(٢٢١) روح a, c / الروح b.

انه انسان حاشا الله^{٢٢٢} ان يكون هذا بل هو جسد طاهر^{٢٢٣} كما قال بولص^{٢٢٤} الرسول ان ثم^{٢٢٥} جسد (b146r) نفسانيًا وثم جسد روحانيًا ادم الأوّل نفسانيًا وادم الثاني روحانيًا، وايضًا يقول ان^{٢٢٦} الانسان الأوّل من الارض والانسان الثاني من السماء.

(١٧) اجاب الملكي: فلم تقول انه تأس؟

أجاب البطرک: نحن البشريين متواضعين متوجعين^{٢٢٧} ضعفاء والله جل ثناؤه بعيدًا مما قد^{٢٢٨} ذكرناه فلما شاء ان يتالم بسبينا وصلب بسبينا أتى إلى الأرض متواضع وكمل كل شيء بسبينا^{٢٢٩} وجعل على راسه الاكليل الشوك^{٢٣٠} وبصق^{٢٣١} (c197r) في وجهه بسبينا وطعن في جنبه^{٢٣٢} بسبينا فلما راوا اليهود قالوا هذا انسانًا مثلنا ونحن نومن ان اللاهوت لم يفارق الناسوت (b147r) في جميع ما ذكرنا^{٢٣٣} فحسبك (a191v) يكفيك ان المسيح هو الاله فانما بسبب خطايانا تشبه بنا حتى خلصنا فلما راوا اليهود ذلك منه قالوا هذا انسان،^{٢٣٤} فلما قال لهم أنا وابي واحد اخذوا حجارة ليرجموه فقال لهم: انا^{٢٣٥} عرفتكم اعمال صالحه من عند ابي فباي سبب ترجموني؟ فأجابوا: ^{٢٣٦} ليس بسبب عمل صالح نرجمك فانما هو بسبب انك انسانًا تصير نفسك

(٢٢٢) من ذلك: زائدة b.

(٢٢٣) مقدس: زائدة c.

(٢٢٤) بولص a, b / بولس c.

(٢٢٥) ثم a, c / انتم b.

(٢٢٦) ان: ناقصة b, c.

(٢٢٧) متوجعين: ناقصة c.

(٢٢٨) مما قد a, b / عنما c.

(٢٢٩) اتى الى الارض تواضع وكمل كل شيء بسبينا b / ناقصة a, c.

(٢٣٠) الاكليل الشوك a / اكليل الشوك b / اكليلًا من الشوك بسبينا c.

(٢٣١) وبصق a / وبصقوا b, c.

(٢٣٢) بالحرية: زائدة b.

(٢٣٣) ذكرنا a, b / ذكرناه c.

(٢٣٤) مثلنا: زائدة c.

(٢٣٥) قد: زائدة b, c.

(٢٣٦) فاجابوا a / فاجابوه b, c.

لله ابن،^{٢٣٧} اقول لكم ان كل انسان^{٢٣٨} يقول ان المسيح انسان ساذج^{٢٣٩} فهو مثل اليهود.

(١٨) اجابه الملكي: اذا كان المسيح^{٢٤٠} هو إله فلم (c197v) قال ليس^{٢٤١} ثم رحيم غير الله وحده؟

أجاب البطرك: نعم لما جا الرجل الموسر فقال^{٢٤٢} يا معلم يا رحيم (b147v) ايش الذي اصنع^{٢٤٣} حتى ارث الحياة الى الابد^{٢٤٤}؟ فقال له^{٢٤٥} سيدنا يسوع المسيح: ليس^{٢٤٦} ثم رحيم إلا الله وحده.

أجاب البطرك: ^{٢٤٧} تفسير ذلك انه ليس على الارض انسان طاهرًا بلا ذنب^{٢٤٨} غير سيدنا يسوع المسيح^{٢٤٩} نزل الى^{٢٥٠} الارض متواضعًا من اصلنا^{٢٥١} وفدانا بنفسه فاي رحمة اكثر من هذا فانما قال ليس رحيم إلا الله يعني نفسه وابوه^{٢٥٢} واحد ليس بينهما^{٢٥٣} افتراق في الجوهر.

(١٩) فأجابه الملكي: فلم قال سيدنا المسيح نفسي حزينة حتى^{٢٥٤} الموت

(٢٣٧) لله ابن a / الاله، امين b / اله الحق c.

(٢٣٨) كل انسان a / كلمن b, c.

(٢٣٩) ساذج: ناقصة b, c.

(٢٤٠) المسيح a / يسوع b, c.

(٢٤١) ليس: ناقصة b.

(٢٤٢) له: زائدة b, c.

(٢٤٣) اصنع a, c / افعل b.

(٢٤٤) الى الابد a, c / الابدية b.

(٢٤٥) له: ناقصة b.

(٢٤٦) له المجد: زائدة c.

(٢٤٧) اجاب البطرك a, b / قال البطريك له c.

(٢٤٨) ذنب a, b / عيب c.

(٢٤٩) المسيح: ناقصة c.

(٢٥٠) الى a, c / على b.

(٢٥١) من اصلنا a / من اجلنا b, c.

(٢٥٢) لانه ابوه: زائدة b / لانه وايه: زائدة c.

(٢٥٣) بينهما a / بينهم b, c.

(٢٥٤) الى: زائدة c.

فإذا كان رحيم لم قال هذا الكلام (c198r)؟

فأجاب ٢٥٥ البترك: انما قال هذا القول (b148r) من اجل ٢٥٦ (a192r) الخطاة ايما ٢٥٧ حزن اعظم من هذا أنا نرى ٢٥٨ بني اسراييل كلهم قد هلكوا في الخطية منهم من يستعد له المسامير ٢٥٩ ومنهم من يحد لهم ٢٦٠ الحربة ومنهم من يعمل لهم ٢٦١ اكليل شوك ٢٦٢ فلهذا حزنت نفسه عليهم.

فأجاب الملكي وقال: يوحنا الانجيلي يقول في انجيله المقدس ان الله لم يراه احدًا قط فاذا كان يسوع هو ٢٦٣ الله لم جعل الناس يروه؟ ٢٦٤

(٢٠) اجاب ٢٦٥ البترك: اشعيا النبي يقول سوف يروه ولا يامنوا ٢٦٦ به فاذا كنت لا تومن به انه الله فمن ذلك الذي راه موسى في شجرة العليقة وهو نار يشتعل فيها ولم تحترق اذ قلت لي انه ليس هو الله فانا اكذبك (c198v) من الكتب ٢٦٧ لأنه يقول ان صوت الله ٢٦٨ (b148v) كلم موسى من ٢٦٩ الشجرة يقول له أنا إله ابايك إله ابراهيم واله اسحق واله يعقوب.

(٢١) فأجاب الملكي: ذلك هو الله الاب ليس المسيح.

- ٢٥٥) فاجاب a, b / قال c .
 ٢٥٦) من اجل a, b / لاجل c .
 ٢٥٧) ايما a / وانما b, c .
 ٢٥٨) انا نرى a, b / انه يرى c .
 ٢٥٩) المسامير a, b / بالمسامير c .
 ٢٦٠) يجد لهم a / اتخذ له b / يحد له c .
 ٢٦١) ومنهم من يعمل لهم a / ومن عمل له b / ومنهم من يعمل له c .
 ٢٦٢) شوك a / من شوك b / الشوك c .
 ٢٦٣) ابن: زائدة c .
 ٢٦٤) يراه احدًا قط فاذا كان يسوع هو الله لم جعل الناس يروه: ناقصة b .
 ٢٦٥) اجاب a, b / قال له c .
 ٢٦٦) يامنوا a, b / يومنون c .
 ٢٦٧) المقدسة: زائدة c .
 ٢٦٨) الله a, b / الرب c .
 ٢٦٩) من a, b / في c .

أجابه البطرك: ^{٢٧٠} الان كذبت الكتب حيث تقول ان الشجرة هي مريم العذرى والنار هو سيدنا يسوع المسيح الذي حل في بطنها فلم تحترق مما ^{٢٧١} راى موسى في الشجرة فمن الذي نزل لابراهيم ^{٢٧٢} تحت الشجرة وكلمه وقال له ان صوت سدوم ^{٢٧٣} قد صعد ^{٢٧٤} الي فنزلت لاهلكهم فقال له ابراهيم: يا رب لا تهلك الصديقين مع الخطاة فيكونوا بالسوية ان اصبت فيها (c199r) خمسين من الصالحين تهلكهم (a192v) لا يا من تحكم على الارض، فان قلت الان انه (b149r) ليس المسيح فكيف يقول له ابراهيم يا من يقضي على الارض؟ ^{٢٧٥} فمن يقضي على الارض إلا المسيح كما قال يوحنا في انجيله ^{٢٧٦} ان الاب ليس يقضي على احد الان ^{٢٧٧} قد اعطى القضاء والحكم لولده، ^{٢٧٨} أنا اعرفك ايضاً في هذا شهادة اخرى ^{٢٧٩} باختصر حيث ^{٢٨٠} رمى الثلاثة فتية في اتون النار ^{٢٨١} ونظر اليهم وقال لعبيده اليس ثلاثة رجال رميناهم في الاتون ^{٢٨٢} وهم مكتفين هوذا ارى اربعة محلولين يمشوا ^{٢٨٣} في النار ^{٢٨٤} بلا الم ^{٢٨٥} والرابع يشبه ابن الله علمت الان ^{٢٨٦} يسوع هو امس وهو (c199v) اليوم وهو ايضا (b149v) الى الابد. قال يوحنا الكاين في الابتدا الذي سمعناه والذي رايناه وايدينا

(٢٧٠) انك: زائدة c.

(٢٧١) مما a, b / كما c.

(٢٧٢) لابراهيم a / بابراهيم b, c.

(٢٧٣) وغامورا: زائدة c.

(٢٧٤) صعد a, b / صعدا c.

(٢٧٥) فكيف يقول له ابراهيم يا من يقضي على الارض: زائدة b.

(٢٧٦) المقدس: زائدة c.

(٢٧٧) الان a, b / لانه c.

(٢٧٨) لولده a / للولد b, c.

(٢٧٩) في هذا شهادة اخرى a / بشهادة b / في هذه الشهادة الاخرى ان c.

(٢٨٠) حيث a, b / الملك لما c.

(٢٨١) اتون النار a, b / الاتون c.

(٢٨٢) الاتون a, c / النار b.

(٢٨٣) يمشوا a, b / يمشون c.

(٢٨٤) في النار a / في جوف النار b, c.

(٢٨٥) بلا الم: ناقصة b.

(٢٨٦) ان: زائدة b, c.

لمسته لأنه الذي اذا انتهى لم يقدر احد عليه له القدرة في كلما يشا . قال يوحنا في انجيله: ٢٨٧ ليس احد يعرف الابن إلا الاب ولا احد يعرف الاب الا ٢٨٨ الابن أو من يشا الابن ان يظهر له علمت الان ان له ٢٨٩ القدرة في كلما شا عمله من العجايب الذي عملها ومن التواضع والالام الذي احتملها، وبارادته حمل على ٢٩٠ الصليب من اجل ٢٩١ خطايانا وتالم على الصليب ليريح كل المتعوبين، فلما راوه الملائكة حزنوا وارادوا ان يهلكوا الارض وما عليها فلم يشا بذلك ومن شدة (c200r) (a193r) غضبهم شقوا الستر (b150r) الذي على الهيكل من فوق ٢٩٢ الى اسفل عند ذلك رفع عيناه الى السماء وسعته ورحمته ٢٩٣ وقال: يا ابتاه ٢٩٤ لا تواخذهم بما عملوه ٢٩٥ فليس يدروا ما يعملوا، ٢٩٦ وبعد ذلك قبر وقام من ٢٩٧ الموتى في اليوم الثالث ٢٩٨ ونزل ٢٩٩ الى الجحيم وسبا السبي ٣٠٠ ونحن المومنين به ان نامن في كلما وصفته ٣٠١ لك لم يفرق اللاهوت من الناسوت طرفة عين وهو في القبر وهو عند ابيه مع روح القدس فله المجد والقوة الى الابد. ٣٠٢

(٢٢) اجابه الملكي وقال: ٣٠٣ اسلك ان تعرفني (c200v) سر هذا الخبز الذي

- (٢٨٧) المقدس: زائدة c.
 (٢٨٨) الا a / غير b, c.
 (٢٨٩) له: ناقصة b.
 (٢٩٠) عود: زائدة c.
 (٢٩١) من اجل a, b / محتمل c.
 (٢٩٢) فوق a / الراس b, c.
 (٢٩٣) وسعته ورحمته a / بسعة رحمته b, c.
 (٢٩٤) ابتاه a / ابي b, c.
 (٢٩٥) معي: زائدة c.
 (٢٩٦) يدروا ما يعملوا a / يعلموا b, c.
 (٢٩٧) بين: زائدة b.
 (٢٩٨) وصعد الى السما: زائدة c.
 (٢٩٩) ونزل a / وانزل b / ثم نزل c.
 (٣٠٠) وخلص ادم وذريته بوعده الصادق بعد الخمسة أيام الذي خرجت من فم الرب القدوس وجعلت خمسة الف وخمسمائة سنة: زائدة c.
 (٣٠١) ان نامن في كلما وصفته a / ان جميع ما وصفته b / في كل ما وصفه: c.
 (٣٠٢) امين: زائدة b.
 (٣٠٣) اجابه الملكي وقال a / اجاب الملكي b / قال الملكي انا c.

تحميلونه على المذبح كيف ينقلب ويصير جسد المسيح^{٣٠٤} وانتم تقولون (b150v) ان هذا الجسد الذي اخذه من مرتمريم^{٣٠٥} العذرى .

أجاب البطرک: ان الجسد الذي اخذه من مرتمريم^{٣٠٦} العذرى ليس هو ارضي مثل اجسادنا وانما هو جسد لاهوت مقدس وهذا الخبز الذي ناكله وهذا الخمر الذي نشربه اذا حملناهم على المذبح وقرى عليهم القداس تحولوا وصاروا لحمًا ودمًا فمن اكل منهم بامانة^{٣٠٧} وقلب طاهر فليس يموت ابداً لان موت^{٣٠٨} الدنيا ليس هو موت للصالح بل ينتقل^{٣٠٩} من ضيقه الى الفرج ومن غم الى فرح، فان كنت تقول غير هذا^{٣١٠} فانت (c201r) تعبد^{٣١١} الاصنام وقد كنت ايضا أنا اشك في هذا (a193v) حتى ظهر لي^{٣١٢} سيدي يسوع (b151r) المسيح على المذبح وظهر^{٣١٣} ذلك انه جسده ودمه وقال امين اقول لك ان كل من اكل من^{٣١٤} جسدي وشرب من دمي بامانة صحيحة وقلب نقي فليس يذوق الموت ابداً ولا يرى عذاب ابداً^{٣١٥} بل انقله من موت الدنيا وادخله الحياة الى الابد ومن ليس يومن بذلك فليس يرى الحياة ابداً وانا انزع منه ما المعمودية ويكون جسدي ودمي عطب^{٣١٦} عليه الى يوم القيامة^{٣١٧} لأنه افرق بيني وبين ابي وروح القدس الذين لم افترق منهم قط، قال فلما فرغ سيدنا يسوع المسيح من هذا (c201v) الكلام وانا انظر اليه حتى نزل الى الصينية^{٣١٨} التي فيها القربان (b151v) فصار من جملة القربان

٣٠٤) المسيح / a / الله b, c.

٣٠٥) مرتمريم / a / مريم b, c.

٣٠٦) مرتمريم / a / مريم b, c.

٣٠٧) قوية: زائدة c.

٣٠٨) لان موت a, c / لا موت b.

٣٠٩) ينتقل a, b / انتقال c.

٣١٠) الشي: زائدة c.

٣١١) تعبد: ناقصة c.

٣١٢) لي: ناقصة b.

٣١٣) ظهر a / اظهر b / اظهر لي c.

٣١٤) من: ناقصة b.

٣١٥) ولا يرى عذاب أبداً: ناقصة b.

٣١٦) عطب a, b / غضباً c.

٣١٧) يوم القيامة a, b / اليوم الاخير والى يوم القيامة c.

٣١٨) الى الصينية a / الجام b / الخام c.

ولم اراه بعد وهذا الذي رايته قد عرفتك به فطوبا لمن اكل من جسد سيدنا المسيح^{٣١٩} وشرب من دمه بامانة صحيحة^{٣٢٠} وانا اشهد لك انه^{٣٢١} يغفر له جميع خطاياہ وذنوبه.

(٢٣) اجاب الملكي: قد قال بطرس في رسالته ان المسيح تالم بالجسد.

أجاب البطرک: ان المسيح هو الله والجسد الذي قال^{٣٢٢} بطرس هو روح القدس كما هو^{٣٢٣} مكتوب في الانجيل^{٣٢٤} وهو لما اتى^{٣٢٥} جبرائيل^{٣٢٦} الى العذرى مريم قال لها روح القدس تحل عليك وقوة العلي تظلك وايضاً^{٣٢٧} (c202r) قال ليوسف النجار يا يوسف (a194r) لا تجزع ان تاخذ اليك خطيتك^{٣٢٨} لان^{٣٢٩} الذي يولد منها هو من روح القدس فاذا كان روح القدس حل عليها وروح ولدته^{٣٣٠} فذلك روح القدس (b152r) الذي^{٣٣١} تالم، فايش الذي تقول انت هذا؟^{٣٣٢}

(٢٤) فأجاب الملكي: كيف يكون هذا روح القدس متجسد؟^{٣٣٣}

أجاب البطرک: فكيف تجسدوا الملائكة الذي هم ارواح لما تزوجوا بالنسا وولدوا،^{٣٣٤} تفسير ذلك اعني اولاد شيث الذي تشبهوا بالملائكة من اجل طهارتهم

- (٣١٩) المسيح a, b / يسوع المسيح له المجد c.
 (٣٢٠) صحيحة a, b / وطهارة وخشوع c.
 (٣٢١) انه a, c / ان b.
 (٣٢٢) عنه: زائدة c.
 (٣٢٣) كما هو a, c / كما قال وهو b.
 (٣٢٤) المقدس: زائدة b.
 (٣٢٥) اتى a / جا b, c.
 (٣٢٦) الملاك: زائدة b, c.
 (٣٢٧) قال لها روح القدس تحل عليك وقوة العلي تظلك وايضاً: ناقصة b.
 (٣٢٨) مريم: زائدة c.
 (٣٢٩) لان a / فان b, c.
 (٣٣٠) وروح ولدته a, b / وولده c.
 (٣٣١) الذي يولد منها هو من روح القدس فاذا كان روح القدس حل عليها وروح ولدته فذلك روح القدس الذي: مكررة b.
 (٣٣٢) هذا a / في هذا b, c.
 (٣٣٣) متجسد a / يتجسد b, c.
 (٣٣٤) وولدها a / وولدوا b, c.

فلما نزلوا من الجبل واختلطوا باولاد قاين هلكوا مما^{٣٣٥} الطوفان^{٣٣٦} وصار الجبل امامهم حجارة من نار.

(٢٥) اجاب الملكي: نعم حق قلت من امر الملائكة.

اجاب البطرک: قد يكون المطر ينزل من السما (c202v) وهو ما فاذا حصل على الارض صار حجرًا.

قال الملكي: ^{٣٣٧} وانا اسلك ان تعرفني كيف اتجمد الما وصار حجرًا، ^{٣٣٨} (b152v) وكذلك كيف ^{٣٣٩} صارت الملائكة متجسدين؟

(٢٦) قال له البطرک: اسمع ^{٣٤٠} حتى اعرفك أنا ايضًا كيف صار روح القدس جسد، ^{٣٤١} فان الله له القدرة يتشبه ^{٣٤٢} بكلمة يشتهي ^{٣٤٣} وانا امن ^{٣٤٤} ان يسوع ^{٣٤٥} هو الذي تجسد من روح القدس في بطن مريم العذرى وقال ^{٣٤٦} يوحنا في انجيله ^{٣٤٧} ان الكلمة تجسدت، افهم الان ايش الذي تسمع: ^{٣٤٨} الكلمة هي ابن الله وروح القدس ثالث تام ^{٣٤٩} بلا افتراق بل تالم المسيح في الجسد ^{٣٥٠} ولم يفترق من اللاهوت (a194v) كما قال بطرس والامر فهو بين لنا ان الانسان اذا لحقه الم في جسده

(٣٣٥) مما / a : بما : b.

(٣٣٦) فلما . . . الطوفان: ناقصة c.

(٣٣٧) قال الملكي: ناقصة c.

(٣٣٨) قال الملكي وانا اسلك ان تعرفني كيف اتجمد الما وصار حجرًا: ناقصة b.

(٣٣٩) وكذلك كيف c, a, / وكيف b.

(٣٤٠) قال له البطرک اسمع: ناقصة c, b.

(٣٤١) جسد: ناقصة c.

(٣٤٢) ستشبه b, a, / بمشيته c.

(٣٤٣) يشتهي b, a, / يشا c.

(٣٤٤) امن a, / او من c, b.

(٣٤٥) يسوع b, a, / المسيح c.

(٣٤٦) وقال a, / وقد قال c, b.

(٣٤٧) المقدس: زائدة c.

(٣٤٨) تسمع b, a, / سمع c.

(٣٤٩) تام b, a, / تالم c.

(٣٥٠) في الجسد b, a, / بالجسد c.

(c203r) وكذلك نفسه^{٣٥١} لحقها قلق من شدة الالم الذي لحق جسده، ان كنت ايضاً تحب^{٣٥٢} اعرفك انه في الاب والاب فيه، اسمع (b153r) يوحنا يقول في انجيله^{٣٥٣} ان فيلبس احد التلاميذ قال للمسيح: ^{٣٥٤} ارنا الاب ويكفيننا، قال له سيدنا يسوع المسيح: ^{٣٥٥} أنا معك يا فيليبيا ولم تعرفني؟ من راني فقد راي الاب او من بي باني^{٣٥٦} في الاب والاب فيّ وهذا^{٣٥٧} الكلام الذي اكلمك^{٣٥٨} به ليس هو مني وحدي بل هو من ابي الذي ارسلني لاعمل باعماله، ومن اجل هذا^{٣٥٩} ايضاً أنا اعرفك من الانجيل حيث قال لليهود: انكم ان لم تاكلوا من جسد ابن البشر^{٣٦٠} وتشرّبوا^{٣٦١} دمه ليس تورثوا^{٣٦٢} (c203v) الحياة الى الابد، فقالوا له تلاميذه: ان هذا الكلام عظيم ان يسمع، فقال لهم سيدنا: ان هذا الكلام^{٣٦٣} قد صعب عليكم (b153v) فاذا انتم رايتم ابن البشر وهو طالع الى الموضع الذي نزل منه فعند^{٣٦٤} ذلك تومنوا انتم ثم قال لهم ان كلامي الذي اكلمكم به^{٣٦٥} هو الروح والحياة الذي في يسوع المسيح^{٣٦٦} ان طابت نفسك ان الروح والحياة الذي في^{٣٦٧} يسوع المسيح هي روح الحياة^{٣٦٨} كما قال في

(٣٥١) ايضاً: زائدة b / اذا ما: زائدة c.

(٣٥٢) ان: زائدة b, c.

(٣٥٣) المقدس: زائدة c.

(٣٥٤) يا رب: زائدة c.

(٣٥٥) له المجد: زائدة c.

(٣٥٦) الاب او من بي باني a / ابي ومن امن بي باني b / الاب وامن اني c.

(٣٥٧) في الاب والاب في وهذا a / في ابي وفي هذا b / في ابي وابي هو في وهذه c.

(٣٥٨) اكلمك a, c / كلمتكم b.

(٣٥٩) هذا a / الروح b, c.

(٣٦٠) البشر a, b / الله c.

(٣٦١) من: زائدة b, c.

(٣٦٢) ليس تورثوا a / فليس ترزقوا b, c.

(٣٦٣) الكلام: ناقصة b.

(٣٦٤) فعند: ناقصة a.

(٣٦٥) به: ناقصة b.

(٣٦٦) الذي في يسوع المسيح: ناقصة b, c.

(٣٦٧) سيدنا: زائدة c.

(٣٦٨) الحياة a, c / وحياء b.

الانجيل^{٣٦٩} من كان عطشان (a185r) فيجي الي يشرب من ماء الحياة ويقول ايضا مجاري^{٣٧٠} الحياة مني تجري فما مجاري^{٣٧١} الحياة إلا روح القدس فاذا^{٣٧٢} قلت ليس فيه روح القدس^{٣٧٣} فكيف تقرا في الانجيل^{٣٧٤} (c204r) حيث يقول لتلاميذه لما نفخ في وجوههم خذوا اليكم^{٣٧٥} روح القدس؟ فان كنت تقول ان الاب (b154r) وروح القدس ليس هو^{٣٧٦} فيه فقد افرقت بينه وبينهم كذلك يفرقك الله من البنين ويحشرك في الموضوع^{٣٧٧} الذي فيه البكاء وصرير الاسنان.

(٢٧) فأجاب الملكي: اذا كان هو في الاب والاب فيه فلم قال لتلاميذه^{٣٧٨} حيث سالوه^{٣٧٩} نحن نريد ان^{٣٨٠} تعرفنا اخر الزمان فقال لهم ان الولد لا^{٣٨١} يعرف اليوم ولا الساعة إلا الاب وحده الذي يعرف ذلك.

فأجاب البطرک: لأنه قال لتلاميذه^{٣٨٢} كلما تطلبوه^{٣٨٣} فاني^{٣٨٤} اعرفكم فلذلك^{٣٨٥} قالوا له نحن نحب ان (c204v) تعرفنا^{٣٨٦} اخر الزمان^{٣٨٧} فلم

- (٣٦٩) في الانجيل a, b / يوحنا في انجيله المقدس c.
 (٣٧٠) مجاري a, b / بحار c.
 (٣٧١) مجاري a, b / بحار c.
 (٣٧٢) كان: زائدة b.
 (٣٧٣) فاذا... القدس: ناقصة c.
 (٣٧٤) المقدس: زائدة c.
 (٣٧٥) من: زائدة b, c.
 (٣٧٦) ليس هو a / ناقصة b / ليس هم c.
 (٣٧٧) الموضوع a, c / مواضع b.
 (٣٧٨) لتلاميذه a, c / التلاميذ b.
 (٣٧٩) وقالوا له: زائدة c.
 (٣٨٠) ان: ناقصة c.
 (٣٨١) لا a, c / لم b.
 (٣٨٢) لتلاميذه a, c / لتلاميذ b.
 (٣٨٣) تطلبوه a, b / تطلبوا c.
 (٣٨٤) انا: زائدة b / انا اعطيكم و: زائدة c.
 (٣٨٥) فلذلك a / به فكذلك b / به فلذلك c.
 (٣٨٦) ايش: زائدة b, c.
 (٣٨٧) الزمان a / الدنيا b, c.

يشتهي^{٣٨٨} يعرفهم^{٣٨٩} فقال لهم ليس لكم ان تعرفوا الدهور والازمان ولا الملايكة ليس يعرفوا ذلك ولا^{٣٩٠} الابن ولم يقل^{٣٩١} لهم ابن البشر (b154v) ولا ابن الله بل انما قال لهم الابن بلا تفسير، فالدليل على ذلك ان ابراهيم هو ولد اسحق واسحق ولد يعقوب ويعقوب هو ولد جميع الانبياء وجميع الانبياء^{٣٩٢} هم اولاد كما قال داوود النبي مولودين^{٣٩٣} (a195v) من الارض بني البشر يعني بالابن ادم وكل الابرار فانهم دعوا^{٣٩٤} بني الله بالمحبة ويوحنا يقول في انجيله^{٣٩٥} كل شيء منه كان وبغيره لم يكن شيء فاذا كان كلا منه كان وبغيره لم يكن شيء^{٣٩٦} فكيف^{٣٩٧} تقول عنه هذا، حاش لله من^{٣٩٨} ان يكون ذلك بل هو يعلم كل (c205r) شيء ولا يخفى عليه شيء^{٣٩٩} وداوود النبي يقول من الابتداء انت يا رب اسست الارض كلها^{٤٠٠} فمن اسس^{٤٠١} الارض من ابتداها^{٤٠٢} (b155r) كيف لا يقف على متنها اذا كان^{٤٠٣} بشري استاجرته يعمل لك سنة^{٤٠٤} عمل منها ستة اشهر تحقيق^{٤٠٥} اليس يعلم متى يوفي بقية السنة؟ واذا كان الانسان^{٤٠٦} البشري

(٣٨٨) ان: زائدة c.

(٣٨٩) شي: زائدة c.

(٣٩٠) ولا a, b / الا c.

(٣٩١) يقل a / يقول b, c.

(٣٩٢) وجميع الانبياء: ناقصة c.

(٣٩٣) مولودين a, b / مولدين c.

(٣٩٤) دعوا a, b / دعوا c.

(٣٩٥) المقدس: زائدة c.

(٣٩٦) فاذا كان كلا منه كان وبغيره لم يكن شيء: ناقصة b, c.

(٣٩٧) تكذب: زائدة b / تكون و: زائدة c.

(٣٩٨) من: ناقصة b, c.

(٣٩٩) شيء a / خافية b, c.

(٤٠٠) كلها: ناقصة b, c.

(٤٠١) اسس a, b / اتقن c.

(٤٠٢) ابتداها a, b / الابتدا c.

(٤٠٣) انسان: زائدة b, c.

(٤٠٤) لك سنة a, b / عندك لسنة c.

(٤٠٥) ستة اشهر تحقيق a / سنة تحقق b, c.

(٤٠٦) الانسان: ناقصة c.

يقف على ذلك فالذي خلق الارض لا يقف على اخرها ان هذا لعجب .

(٢٨) فأجاب الملكي: اذا كان هو يعلم ذلك فكيف لا يعرف تلاميذه؟

فأجابه البطرك: لأنّه رحيم^{٤٠٧} واسع المغفرة اذ هو رأى انهم^{٤٠٨} قد طغوا وكثرت خطاياهم فعند ذلك يغضب عليهم ويطلب هلاكهم فيجتمعوا الملائكة والصالحين والشهداء ويسالونه^{٤٠٩} بان يصرف عنهم غضبه فعند ذلك لكثرة رحمته يرجع ويغفر لهم ويصبر عليهم فلهذا السبب (b155v) جعل الامر مكتوم عن تلاميذه، هو الذي قال ايضا أنا وابي واحد.

(٢٩) اجابه الملكي: ايش تفسيره قوله لتلاميذه هوذا أنا طالع الى ابي وايكم

والهي والهكم؟^{٤١٠ ٤١١}

أجاب البطرك: حقا قال ذلك لما خلق الله ادم ولم يخلق معه^{٤١٢} امرأة وانما بعد

ذلك^{٤١٣} انزل الله على ادم نوماً عظيماً واخرج من جنبه ضلع^{٤١٤} وخلق منه^{٤١٥} (c205v) الامراة وتركها لادم فلما انتبه ادم وراها قال هذه عظمة من عظمي وعضواً من اعضائي^{٤١٦} ولذلك^{٤١٧} (a196r) سيدنا^{٤١٨} المسيح ان^{٤١٩} هو قال ابي وهو حق الاله لانه^{٤٢٠} مولود من الاب، وان قال الهي فهو حق لان ابوه اله^{٤٢١} وهو منه،

(٤٠٧) رحيم a / رحوم b.

(٤٠٨) انهم a / الناس b.

(٤٠٩) فيجتمعوا الملائكة والصالحين والشهداء ويسالونه: ناقصة a.

(٤١٠) والهكم a / الذي هو الهكم b.

(٤١١) فاجابه البطرك لانه... والهي والهكم: ناقصة c.

(٤١٢) معه a, b / منه c.

(٤١٣) وانما بعد ذلك: ناقصة b.

(٤١٤) ضلع a, b / ضلع c.

(٤١٥) منه: ناقصة b.

(٤١٦) اعضائي a / عظامي b / اعطاي c.

(٤١٧) ولذلك a / وكذلك b, c.

(٤١٨) يسوع: زائدة c.

(٤١٩) ان a / انه b / انه هو c.

(٤٢٠) الاله لانه a / الا انه b / الاله لانه c.

(٤٢١) لان ابوه اله a, b / لانه الاله c.

وكذلك^{٤٢٢} قال لهم اذا صليتوا فقولوا^{٤٢٣} ابانا^{٤٢٤} الذي في السموات فانا (b156r) اضرب لك مثلاً في ذلك انه كان^{٤٢٥} رجل كثير المال والعقار ولم يكن له ولد غير ولدًا واحدًا فقال الرجل لنفسه^{٤٢٦} ان لي مال^{٤٢٧} عظيم وليس لي غير هذا الولد الواحد فانا اطلب لي اولاد كثير ليرثوا مملكتي^{٤٢٨} فعند ذلك جمع له اولاد كثير وسماهم اولاده وقال^{٤٢٩} لولده يا ولدي^{٤٣٠} هولاء^{٤٣١} اخوتك^{٤٣٢} فانا اسلك ان تسميهم اخوتي،^{٤٣٣} (c206r) وكان ايضاً الولد كثير الرحمة مثل والده^{٤٣٤} ففرح بهذا القول واسماهم اخوته^{٤٣٥} وبني ابيه^{٤٣٦} فاذا كان ذلك الرجل ينادي ولده^{٤٣٧} يا ولدي فيحق له ذلك انه^{٤٣٨} ولده حقا وان هو سما اولايك اولادي^{٤٣٩} فهو عضواً منه^{٤٤٠} عظيم وكرامة لهم لان^{٤٤١} ليس هم اولاده ولادة^{٤٤٢} وانما تفضل (b156v) منه وكرامة^{٤٤٣} وكذلك الاب

(٤٢٢) كذلك / a, b, c.

(٤٢٣) صليتوا فقولوا a, b / صليتم تقولوا c.

(٤٢٤) ابانا a, c / ابونا b.

(٤٢٥) كان: ناقصة c.

(٤٢٦) لنفسه a, b / في نفسه c.

(٤٢٧) لي مال a, b / مالي c.

(٤٢٨) مملكتي a, b / مالي c.

(٤٢٩) له: زائدة b.

(٤٣٠) ولدي a, b / اولادي c.

(٤٣١) هولاء a, b / هو اي c.

(٤٣٢) اخوتك a, c / اخواتك b.

(٤٣٣) اخوتي a, c / اخوتك b.

(٤٣٤) والده a, b / ابيه c.

(٤٣٥) واسماهم اخوته a, b / وسماهم اخوتي c.

(٤٣٦) ابيه a, b / ابي c.

(٤٣٧) ولده a, b / ولدي c.

(٤٣٨) انه a / لانه b, c.

(٤٣٩) اولادي a, c / اولاده b.

(٤٤٠) عضواً منه a / غير b / عزا c.

(٤٤١) لان a, b / لانه c.

(٤٤٢) ولادة: ناقصة b, c.

(٤٤٣) لهم: زائدة c.

مع ابنه والتلاميذ حيث قال لهم ابوكم فذلك كرامة منه عليهم لمحبتهم لهم^{٤٤٤} كما قال بولس الرسول ان الله قد احبنا واعطانا كرامة الولادة^{٤٤٥} فليسمونا^{٤٤٦} بني الله.

(٣٠) قال الملكي: فلم^{٤٤٧} قال لهم اذا أنا صعدت الى ابي أنا ارسل اليكم روح القدس فاذا كان إله لم يعطيهم روح القدس قبل^{٤٤٨} (c206v) صعوده الى السما بل^{٤٤٩} انما قال لهم أنا اسأل ابي ان يرسل اليكم روح القدس.

أجاب البطريرك: ان سيدنا المسيح^{٤٥١} قد قال في انجيله^{٤٥٢} اني لم اجي اعطى^{٤٥٣} الناموس بل اتمه فقال^{٤٥٤} عند ذلك تركتهم^{٤٥٥} خمسين (a196v) يوم بعد قيامته من الموتى^{٤٥٦} يجي اليهم في كل حين.

أجابه الملكي: في اي موضع من الكتب (b157r) يذكر فيه انه تركهم خمسين يوما بعد قيامته من الموتى.^{٤٥٧}

فأجابه البطريرك:^{٤٥٨} مكتوب في التوراة ان الله قال لنوح ابني لك سفينة من خشب^{٤٥٩} الابنوس ويكون طولها ثلثماية ذراع وعرضها خمسين^{٤٦٠} ذراعًا وارتفاعها

- (٤٤٤) لمحبتهم لهم / a ناقصة / b لمحبتهم .c.
 (٤٤٥) الولادة / a, b اولاده .c.
 (٤٤٦) فليسمونا / a, b / فليسمينا .c.
 (٤٤٧) فلم / a / فلما b, c.
 (٤٤٨) قبل / a, c / وان b.
 (٤٤٩) بل: ناقصة .c.
 (٤٥٠) ان: ناقصة .c.
 (٤٥١) ان سيدنا المسيح / a كان سيدنا يسوع المسيح / b ام سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد .c.
 (٤٥٢) المقدس: زائدة b, c.
 (٤٥٣) اعطى / a اعطى / b لا اعطى .c.
 (٤٥٤) فقال: ناقصة .c.
 (٤٥٥) تركتهم / a تركهم b, c.
 (٤٥٦) الموتى / a, c / الاموات b.
 (٤٥٧) يجي اليهم في كل حين. اجابه الملكي في اي موضع من الكتب يذكر فيه انه تركهم خمسين يوما بعد قيامته من الموتى: ناقصة a.
 (٤٥٨) نعم: زائدة .c.
 (٤٥٩) الساج و: زائدة .c.
 (٤٦٠) خمسين / a, b / ثلاثون .c.

ذراعًا واحدًا^{٤٦١} واجعل بابها من (c207r) جنبها^{٤٦٢} تفسير ذلك السفينة هي سيدنا يسوع المسيح واقامته^{٤٦٣} ثلاثين سنة على الارض فهذه المثلثة^{٤٦٤} هي الاب والابن والروح القدس والذراع الواحد هو اللاهوت فمن جنب السفينة سلم نوح واولاده من ماء الطوفان ومن جنب سيدنا يسوع المسيح خلصت الدنيا كلها من الخطايا^{٤٦٥} وهي الحربة الذي طعن بها وخرج منها الما والدم فتعمدنا (b157v) بالماء وشربنا من الدم^{٤٦٦} فطهرنا من كل خطية^{٤٦٧} والخمسين ذراعًا هي الخمسين يومًا الذي نزل^{٤٦٨} للتلاميذ^{٤٦٩} منها فرح فان قلت انه قال أنا ارسل اليكم روح القدس فهو مكتوب في الانجيل المقدس اذا جاء لكم^{٤٧٠} (c207v) البارقليط^{٤٧١} الذي ارسله اليكم هو الذي يذكركم كل شيء لانه^{٤٧٢} ياخذ من علمي ويعطيكم لتعلم الان انه مع الاب وروح القدس ثالث بلا افتراق.

(٣١) فأجاب الملكي: يا ابي احب منك^{٤٧٣} تعرفني سبب هذا الما الذي لم

يزل^{٤٧٤} (a197r) يشرب من بعد القربان.

أجابه البطرك: ان كل رسم رسمته الابهاث القديسين لم يعملوا^{٤٧٥} شيا إلا بالهام

(٤٦١) ذراعًا واحدًا / a / ثلاثون ذراع / b / خمسون ذراعًا c.

(٤٦٢) ذراعًا واحدًا: زائدة c.

(٤٦٣) واقامته a / اقام b, c.

(٤٦٤) فهذه المثلثة a / وهذا الثلاثة b, c.

(٤٦٥) الخطايا a / الخطايا b / الخطية c.

(٤٦٦) الطاهر الذكي النقي c.

(٤٦٧) كل خطية a / الخطية b / كل خطية وكل دنس c.

(٤٦٨) نزل a, c / ترك b.

(٤٦٩) للتلاميذ a, b / لتلاميذه c.

(٤٧٠) جاء لكم a / جاكم b / جا اليكم c.

(٤٧١) البارقليط a, b / الفارقليط روح الحق c.

(٤٧٢) لانه a, b / بانه c.

(٤٧٣) ان: زائدة c.

(٤٧٤) لم يزل a / قد ترك b, c.

(٤٧٥) يعملوا a, c / يعلموا b.

الروح^{٤٧٦} القدس أمّا امر^{٤٧٧} لما الذي (b158r) ذكرته فهو عجيب له فضيلة كبيرة وانا اخذتك بما رايت بعيني في^{٤٧٨} وقت كنت شماس، اني كنت اسمع ابي البطرک يقول في كل وقت يا رب نجني من سهام الشيطان فعظم^{٤٧٩} ذلك على قلبي وسالت (c208r) الله ان يكشف لي ذلك^{٤٨٠} رايت في المنام انسان لابس نور عظيم^{٤٨١} اخذ بيدي واخرجني الى موضع واسع ثم اني نظرت قدامي فابصرت رجل اسود جالس على كرسي^{٤٨٢} ويده قوس^{٤٨٣} وسهام وهو يرمي كل من يعبر من الناس فقال ذلك الرجل الملبس بالنور^{٤٨٤} اقترب الى الاسود لتنظر^{٤٨٥} الذي يصنع فقربت منه ثم اني^{٤٨٦} رايت بيده تنين^{٤٨٧} عظيم^{٤٨٨} فاذا تمطط^{٤٨٩} الاسود بالجري^{٤٩٠} كذلك القوس^{٤٩١} خرج من فم ذلك التنين نار عظيمة وتطير شبه^{٤٩٢} السهام وتدخل في قلوب الناس فقلت لذلك الرجل اللابس النور احب ان تعرفني من هذا، فقال لي (c208v) هذا ابليس والتنين هو من جنوده^{٤٩٣} والنار الذي تخرج من فاه هي افكاره يطرحها في قلوب

- .b (٤٧٦) الروح / a, c
 .b, c (٤٧٧) اما امر / a
 .c (٤٧٨) بعيني في / a, b
 .c (٤٧٩) فعظم / a, b / فغطي
 .b, c (٤٨٠) فعند ذلك : زائدة
 .c (٤٨١) ثم : زائدة
 .c (٤٨٢) واسع : زائدة
 .c (٤٨٣) قوس / a, b / قوص
 .c (٤٨٤) لي : زائدة
 .b, c (٤٨٥) الى : مشطوبة / a / ايش : زائدة
 .b, c (٤٨٦) اني : ناقصة
 .b, c (٤٨٧) تنين / a / شيء
 (٤٨٨) وهو شبه قوس (b158v) وسهام وهو يرمي كل من يعبر من الناس فقال ذلك الرجل الملبس بالنور اقترب الى الاسود لتنظر ايش الذي يصنع فقربت منه ثم رايت بيده شيء عظيم وهو يشبه القوس : زائدة / b / وهو شبه قوص : زائدة
 .c (٤٨٩) تمطط / a / تمطا
 .c (٤٩٠) بالجد / a / بالجر / b / بالجري
 .c (٤٩١) كذلك القوس / a / لذلك القوس / b / بذلك القوص
 .c (٤٩٢) شبه / a, b / شبيه
 .c (٤٩٣) جنوده / a, b / جنده

الناس^{٤٩٤} حتى يخطوا الخطايا^{٤٩٥} العظيمة (a197v) فقلت له يا سيدي (b159r) فمن الذي يسلم من هولاء؟ فقال لي انظر فانه^{٤٩٦} يتبين لك الامر على صحته،^{٤٩٧} فنظرت عند ذلك رجلين قد عبروا وهم عراة وقفوا ورماهم ذلك الاسود بالسهام فامتلت^{٤٩٨} اجسادهم من فوق راسهم الى اسفل اقدامهم، فقال لي ذلك الرجل: امضي اليهم واقلع ذلك^{٤٩٩} السهام منهم،^{٥٠٠} فمضيت اليهم ومددت^{٥٠١} يدي اقلعهم فصبت ذلك^{٥٠٢} السهام^{٥٠٣} تجسدت في^{٥٠٤} اجسادهم وليس تقلع^{٥٠٥} فعند ذلك بكيت عليهم وقلت له يا سيدي لم اقدر اقلع السهام^{٥٠٦} لانهم قد ارتشقوا^{٥٠٧} معهم، (c209r) فقال لي تعال حتى اريك كيف ينقلعوا، فمضيت معه ثم ادخلني الى الكنيسة ومعني (b159v) الرجلين واخذ^{٥٠٨} من فوق المذبح^{٥٠٩} كاس واخذ^{٥١٠} معلقة وملاها من الجسد والدم الذي كان في الكاس وادخلها في فم واحدًا منهم^{٥١١} وهو يقول: هذا جسد ودم سيدنا يسوع المسيح ابن الله الحق^{٥١٢} ثم انه^{٥١٣} مضى الى الما فشرب منه ثم ان السهام

- (٤٩٤) الناس: ناقصة a.
 (٤٩٥) الخطايا a / بالخطايا b, c.
 (٤٩٦) فانه a / فانك b, c.
 (٤٩٧) على صحته a, c / صحبته b.
 (٤٩٨) فامتلت: a / حين اقلت: b / حتى امتلت كل c.
 (٤٩٩) ذلك: ناقصة b, c.
 (٥٠٠) منهم: a / عنهم: b, c.
 (٥٠١) ومددت: a, b / ومديت: c.
 (٥٠٢) فصبت ذلك: a / فاصبت تلك: b / فاصبت ذلك c.
 (٥٠٣) عنهم: مشطوبة a، قد: زائدة: b, c.
 (٥٠٤) في: a, b / مع: c.
 (٥٠٥) تقلع: a / تتقلع: b: ينقلع: c.
 (٥٠٦) منهم: زائدة c.
 (٥٠٧) ارتشقوا: a, b / ارتشقوا: c.
 (٥٠٨) واخذ: a, b / فوجدت واحد: c.
 (٥٠٩) ومعه: زائدة c.
 (٥١٠) واخذ: a, b / ثم اخذ: c.
 (٥١١) منهم: a, b / من هولاء الرجلين: c.
 (٥١٢) الحق: a / الحي بحق: b / الحي له المجد الدايم: c.
 (٥١٣) ثم انه: a, c / وانه: b.

تساقطت من جسده الى الارض من غير تكلف^{٥١٤} فقلت له يا سيدي^{٥١٥} أنا اسلك يا سيدي^{٥١٦} ان تلحق رحمتك هذا الرجل الاخر، فقال لي هذا هو ليس نصراني وليس يستحق^{٥١٧} ان ياخذ (a198r) من^{٥١٨} جسد سيدنا المسيح^{٥١٩} ودمه فالان قد بينت لك^{٥٢٠} امر الما الذي يشرب فوق القربان.

(٣٢) اجابه الملكي: أنا اسلك ان (b160r) تعرفني ما هو أول نور خلقه الله^{٥٢١} هي الشمس أو القمر أو النجوم؟^{٥٢٢}

أجاب البطرك: ليس هو واحد من هؤلاء الذين ذكرت بل ذلك النور^{٥٢٣} نور عظيم جليل خطره.

فأجابه الملكي: اني سمعت بانها^{٥٢٤} منارة عظيمة في السماء تنور. فأجابه البطرك: ليس^{٥٢٥} منارة أنا اعرفك ما هو ذلك النور فهو صليب كبير احد الكارويميم وليس هو كارويميم ويشبهه رجل وليس هو رجل له ستة اجنحة اثنين في كل راس يتكلم بلغات^{٥٢٦} لا يقف عليها (c210r) احداً ولا يقدر احداً من الملائكة^{٥٢٧} ينظر اليه من كثرة النور الذي حوله.

(٣٣) فأجاب الملكي: أنا احب ان تعرفني في اي موضع من الكتب شهد بهذا^{٥٢٨} الخبر.

(٥١٤) من غير تكلف: a / بغير كلفة b / بغير تكلف c.

(٥١٥) سيدي: a, c / سيدنا: b.

(٥١٦) يا سيدي: ناقصة c, b.

(٥١٧) يستحق: a, b / مستحقاً c.

(٥١٨) من: ناقصة c.

(٥١٩) المسيح: a / يسوع المسيح: b, c.

(٥٢٠) ما رايت بعيني (c209v) من: زائدة c, b.

(٥٢١) تعالى: زائدة c.

(٥٢٢) السبعة نجوم السائرة التي في يد المسيح: زائدة c.

(٥٢٣) هو: زائدة c, b.

(٥٢٤) بانها: a, b / انها: c.

(٥٢٥) على: زائدة b / هي: زائدة c.

(٥٢٦) بلغات: a / بلغة: b, c.

(٥٢٧) ان: زائدة c.

(٥٢٨) بهذا: a, c / بذلك: b.

أجاب البطرئق: ان سيدنا المسيح يقول في الانجيل^{٥٢٩} يا ابي مجد ابنك^{٥٣٠} بالمجد الذي (b160v) هو له عندك قبل ان^{٥٣١} تكون الدنيا فما ذلك العز الذي قبل ان تكون الدنيا^{٥٣٢} إلا الصليب الذي^{٥٣٣} ذكره مع ابيه من قبل ان تكون الدنيا^{٥٣٤} ان^{٥٣٥} سوف يحمل على الصليب ليخلص بني ادم ترا ان سيدنا يسوع المسيح بلا عز أو انه^{٥٣٦} (a198v) نزل^{٥٣٧} عنه عزه فرجع يطلبه من ابيه حشا لله ان يكون هذا بل ان^{٥٣٨} كان كلامه على عز الصليب انظر الى الكنيسة الى صورة (c210v) سيدنا المسيح^{٥٣٩} ترى الصليب على راسه اكليل كما قال داوود النبي المجد والعز صيرتهم اكليل على راسه، وقال بولس الرسول بحق ترى يسوع من الم الموت على الصليب المجد والعز اكليل^{٥٤٠} على راسه فالان يليق^{٥٤١} ان الصليب هو أول نور خلقه الله^{٥٤٢}.

(٣٤) فأجابه الملكي: (b161r) بحق اني امنت ان المسيح هو الاله الحق^{٥٤٣} وهو ابن الله الازلي الاتي^{٥٤٤} واسلك ان^{٥٤٥} تعرفني اذا كان واحد مع الله^{٥٤٦} كيف مات؟

- ٥٢٩) المقدس: زائدة c.
 ٥٣٠) ابنك a, c / ولدك b.
 ٥٣١) ان: ناقصة b.
 ٥٣٢) فما ذلك العز الذي قبل ان تكون الدنيا: ناقصة c.
 ٥٣٣) قد: زائدة c.
 ٥٣٤) فما ذلك العز الذي قبل ان تكون الدنيا الا ذلك الصليب الذي ذكره مع ابيه من [قبل] ان تكون الدنيا: زائدة b.
 ٥٣٥) ان a, b / انه c.
 ٥٣٦) او انه a / وانه b, c.
 ٥٣٧) نزل a, c / ترك b.
 ٥٣٨) ان a / انما b, c.
 ٥٣٩) المسيح a / يسوع المسيح b, c.
 ٥٤٠) كما قال داوود النبي المجد والعز صيرتهم اكليل على راسه، وقال بولس الرسول بحق ترى يسوع من الم الموت على الصليب المجد والعز اكليل: ناقصة b.
 ٥٤١) يليق a / يكفيك b, c.
 ٥٤٢) تعالى: زائدة c.
 ٥٤٣) الحق: ناقصة b, c.
 ٥٤٤) الازلي الاتي a / الازلي الاتي فقال له الملكي b / الحي الازلي c.
 ٥٤٥) واسلك ان a / اسالك ان b / والان اسالك c.
 ٥٤٦) واحد مع الله a / هو واحد مع ابيه b / هو واحدًا مع ابيه c.

أجاب البطرئك: نعم قد مات وقد كمل^{٥٤٧} كل شيء سوى الخطية قد مات ولكن ليس موت الى الابد داوود النبي يقول: استيقظ الرب مثل النائم. (c211r)

أجابه الملكي: ان الكتب تقول^{٥٤٨} انه قد^{٥٤٩} مات.

أجاب البطرئك: ان كلما عمله بسبب خلاصنا فلما راوه الناس ظنوا انه انسان وهو السر الذي لم يقف عليه احداً ولا التلاميذ ولا الملايكة كما قال بطرس في رسالته ان المسيح تالم بالجسد وهو حي بالروح ولم يقل انه مات بالروح^{٥٥٠} بل قال: (a199r) انه تالم بالجسد وهو حي بالروح وترك الالم^{٥٥١} موقوف لأنه لم يقف على التحقيق ونحن لم نفرقه^{٥٥٢} مثل (b161v) المخالفين بل نحن نومن ان الناسوت واللاهوت لم يفترقوا طرفة عين، الم تسمع في الانجيل^{٥٥٣} ان سيدنا يسوع المسيح قال لتلاميذه ان ابن البشر سوف يحمل على (c211v) الصليب^{٥٥٤} وياخذوه^{٥٥٥} المذنبين والخطاة ويقتلوه، قال بطرس: حاشاك^{٥٥٦} لم يلحقك^{٥٥٧} هذا قاله^{٥٥٨} سيدنا المسيح اذهب عني يا شيطان لانك ليس تفكر بافكار الله بل بافكار الشيطان فعلمت الان ان بطرس لم يقف على صحته ولم يوبخه سيدنا المسيح وليس اني اقول لك^{٥٥٩} هذا اني اوبخ بطرس الرئيس^{٥٦٠} الفاضل بل انما قلت لك ان احد لم يقف على موته غيره وايه والروح القدس وانما كلامي على ما في الكتب داوود (b162r) النبي يقول ان الله قد

(٥٤٧) كمل / a / تكمل / b / تحمل / c.

(٥٤٨) تقول / a, b / تشهد وتقول / c.

(٥٤٩) قد: ناقصة / b.

(٥٥٠) لم يقل انه مات بالروح / a, c / لم يقبل / b.

(٥٥١) الالم / a / الامر / b, c.

(٥٥٢) نعرف / a / نفرقه / b, c.

(٥٥٣) في الانجيل / a / قول الانجيل / b / الانجيل المقدس يقول / c.

(٥٥٤) الصليب: ناقصة / b.

(٥٥٥) على: زائدة / b.

(٥٥٦) يا رب: زائدة / b, c.

(٥٥٧) ان يلحقك / a, b / ان يكون لك / c.

(٥٥٨) قاله / a / فقال له / b / قال له / c.

(٥٥٩) لك: ناقصة / b, c.

(٥٦٠) الرئيس / a, b / الرسول / c.

قام مثل الناييم ومثل القوي السكران من الخمر يوحنا يقول في انجيله^{٥٦١} لما علم سيدنا المسيح ان^{٥٦٢} (c212r) قد^{٥٦٣} تم الامر وهو على عود^{٥٦٤} الصليب ميل^{٥٦٥} راسه وقال يا ابي هوذا اسلم روحي في يدك^{٥٦٦} واغريغوريوس يقول انه اسلم روحه الى ابيه وهو والله^{٥٦٧} واحد ولكن لم يمت بالخطية^{٥٦٨} بل انه رقد كما قال داوود النبي قم يا رب ولماذا تنام، (a199v) فعلمت الان انه ما^{٥٦٩} مات على الصليب بل^{٥٧٠} شبه الراقد قام^{٥٧١} كممثل الناييم لان اغريغوريوس لما ساله باسيلوس اخيه اسقف قيسارية من اجل النوم قال^{٥٧٢} له النوم هو الموت ولكن الموت الذي لا اساة^{٥٧٣} له بعد فانا او من واقول انه ما مات إلا انه^{٥٧٤} (b162v) كالناييم كما^{٥٧٥} يقول في الانجيل^{٥٧٦} لما خرجوا النسوة من المقبرة^{٥٧٧} يطلبونه قال لهم الملاك (c212v) لم تطلبوا حي^{٥٧٨} مع الاموات ليس هو هاهنا قد قام علمت الان انه ما مات موت كموتنا فان^{٥٧٩} الانسان اذا مات واحيي^{٥٨٠}

- ٥٦١ المقدس: زائدة c.
 ٥٦٢ ان a, b / انه c.
 ٥٦٣ قد: ناقصة b.
 ٥٦٤ عود: ناقصة b, c.
 ٥٦٥ ميل a, c / امال b.
 ٥٦٦ يدك a / يدك b, c.
 ٥٦٧ وهو والله a / فهو واياه b, c.
 ٥٦٨ يمت بالخطية a / تمت بالكلية b / يموت بالكلية c.
 ٥٦٩ ما a / لما b, c.
 ٥٧٠ بل: ناقصة b, c.
 ٥٧١ قام a / ناقصة b / وقام c.
 ٥٧٢ قال a / ناقصة b / فقال c.
 ٥٧٣ اساة a, b / انتباه c.
 ٥٧٤ الا انه a / وانما هو b, c.
 ٥٧٥ فما a / كما b, c.
 ٥٧٦ المقدس: زائدة c.
 ٥٧٧ المقبرة a, b / القبر c.
 ٥٧٨ حي a / الحي b, c.
 ٥٧٩ فان a / لان b, c.
 ٥٨٠ واحيي a / وحيي b / ويحيه c.

بعد ذلك فانما يقال عاش فاذا نام وانتبه يقولوا قام^{٥٨١} فهاهنا^{٥٨٢} صح انه مات فانه^{٥٨٣} لو مات لكان قال الملاك للنسوة قد عاش ولكن قال لهم قد قام.

(٣٥) اجاب الملكي: فلم يسمي يوسف النجار ابيه؟

اجاب البطرک: انما^{٥٨٤} يوسف النجار شبه الخادم^{٥٨٥} من اجل انه كان شيخ كبير فسماه^{٥٨٦} عند ذلك ابيه ولذلك^{٥٨٧} يقال^{٥٨٨} ابن داوود وليس هو ابن يوسف ولا ابن داوود^{٥٨٩} ولكنه ابن الله حقا.

(٣٦) فأجاب الملكي: أنا اسلك ان تعرفني (b163r) سبب هذا الناقوس^{٥٩٠} الذي يدق (c213r) في الكنيسة قبل^{٥٩١} القديس ومن الذي رسمه في^{٥٩٢} الأول وايش منفعته؟

اجاب البطرک: ان سيدنا المسيح حيث نزل الى الارض جا بتواضع (a200r) فلم يعلم ابليس به^{٥٩٣} فاذا^{٥٩٤} راه يعمل العجايب الالهية يقول انه إله وان راه^{٥٩٥} ياكل ويشرب يقول انه انسان فلم يتحقق ايش هو ولما قرب الوقت وتمت مشيته وحمل^{٥٩٦}

٥٨١) يقولوا قام / a / قالوا اقوام b / قالوا قام c.

٥٨٢) فقد: زائدة c.

٥٨٣) فانه a / لانه b, c.

٥٨٤) كان: زائدة b, c.

٥٨٥) الخادم a, c / الخام b.

٥٨٦) فسماه a, b / فسماه c.

٥٨٧) ولذلك a / وكذلك b, c.

٥٨٨) انه: زائدة b, c.

٥٨٩) وليس هو ابن يوسف ولا ابن داوود: ناقصة c.

٥٩٠) الناقوس a, b / الناقوس c.

٥٩١) وقت: زائدة c.

٥٩٢) رسمه في a / ارسمه من b, c.

٥٩٣) به: ناقصة c.

٥٩٤) فاذا a, b / فلما c.

٥٩٥) وان راه: ناقصة b.

٥٩٦) وحملوه a, b / وحملوه c.

على الصليب^{٥٩٧} قال ابليس لاوليك الذي هم جنده^{٥٩٨} امضوا الى هذا الانسان الذي يسما^{٥٩٩} يسوع فاني قد اقامت عليه اليهود واخذوه وحملوه على الصليب^{٦٠٠} انظروا ايش هو فيه فاني^{٦٠١} قد خفي عني امره ولا ادري من اين^{٦٠٢} هو فلما مضوا الشياطين الى عند الصليب^{٦٠٣} (c213v) صليب سيدنا المسيح^{٦٠٤} راوه على (b163v) الصليب واليهود يسمروا فيه المسامير فلما سمعوا دق المسامير صار صوتها سهام من^{٦٠٥} نار واحرقتهم فلما انصرفوا هاربين الى^{٦٠٦} ابيهم ابليس وعرفوه بما جرى عليهم فقال لهم انكم^{٦٠٧} ضعفا وليس يجي منكم شيء ولكن أنا امضي^{٦٠٨} بنفسي ابصر ايش الذي يكون^{٦٠٩} فعند ذلك تقدم ابليس الى الصليب لينظر فعند ذلك تناوله سيدنا المسيح^{٦١٠} باصبعه الواحد وبهامه والجمه^{٦١١} وشده تحت^{٦١٢} صليبه فلما قام سيدنا المسيح من الموتى ونزل الى الجحيم^{٦١٣} وسبي السبي انزله^{٦١٤} ووكل به الملاك^{٦١٥} الذي يقال له

- ٥٩٧) المقدس: زائدة c.
 ٥٩٨) جنده a, b / جنوده c.
 ٥٩٩) يسما a, b / هو c.
 ٦٠٠) امضوا: زائدة c.
 ٦٠١) فاني a, b / فانه c.
 ٦٠٢) اين: ناقصة c.
 ٦٠٣) الصليب: ناقصة b.
 ٦٠٤) صليب سيدنا المسيح a, b / الى سيدنا يسوع المسيح له المجد c.
 ٦٠٥) من: ناقصة c.
 ٦٠٦) عند: ناقصة c.
 ٦٠٧) انكم a / انتم b, c.
 ٦٠٨) امضي: ناقصة b.
 ٦٠٩) فيه هذا الانسان: زائدة c.
 ٦١٠) المسيح a / يسوع المسيح b / يسوع المسيح له المجد c.
 ٦١١) الجمه a, c / الجملة b.
 ٦١٢) تحت a / اسفل b, c.
 ٦١٣) ارتفعت له الابواب الدهرية وعلمت انه رب المجد فخرت (c214r) له ساجدة واعطته المجد والوقار: زائدة c.
 ٦١٤) فيه: زائدة b, c.
 ٦١٥) الملاك a, c / الملائكة b.

بلدمس^{٦١٦} يحرسه^{٦١٧} فمن اجل هذا نزل^{٦١٨} الناقوس في الكنايس^{٦١٩} فاي وقت
دقوه^{٦٢٠} تهرب (b164r) الشياطين من ذلك الموضع (a200v) وهذا الخبر قد عرفتك
عنه. ^{٦٢١}

(٣٧) فلما^{٦٢٢} سمع الملكي^{٦٢٣} ذلك^{٦٢٤} صاح بصوت عظيم^{٦٢٥} أنا او من سيدي
يسوع المسيح^{٦٢٦} ابن الله^{٦٢٧} فانه من اجلنا نحن الخطاة تالم^{٦٢٨} وقام من الموتى
وخلصنا من^{٦٢٩} خطايانا يا ابي كما ان ضوء الشمس يغلب ضوء السراج ولا يبين ذلك
كذلك على دين النصرانية وهو دين سيدي يسوع المسيح يغلب^{٦٣٠} كل علم ولا يغلبه
شيء، أنا اسلك يا ابي تقبل اعترافي واكون على اعتقادك. ^{٦٣١}

فقال البطرك له: اصبر قليلا وقوموا بنا نمضي الى الملك. ^{٦٣٢}

٦١٦) بلدمس / a, b, c بكدرس

٦١٧) يحرسه / a, b بحراسته c.

٦١٨) نزل / a, c وضعوا b.

٦١٩) الكنايس / a, b الكنيسة c.

٦٢٠) دقوه / a, b دق الناقوس c.

٦٢١) عنه / a اياه b, c.

٦٢٢) فلما / a, b فعند ذلك لما c.

٦٢٣) الملكي / a, b يعقوب الملكي c.

٦٢٤) ذلك / a, b هذا الكلام c.

٦٢٥) وقال: زائدة b / عالي وقال: زائدة c.

٦٢٦) الاهي: زائدة c.

٦٢٧) الحي له المجد الى ابد الابد: زائدة c.

٦٢٨) ومات: زائدة b / وتانس ومات وقبر: زائدة c.

٦٢٩) جميع: زائدة c.

٦٣٠) ولا يبين ذلك كذلك على دين النصرانية وهو دين سيدي يسوع المسيح يغلب / a, b / ولا

دين غير دين النصرانية وهو ان (c214v) يسوع المسيح يغلب على c.

٦٣١) تقبل اعترافي واكون على اعتقادك / a ان تعمدني ثانية واكون على دينك / b / الصالح

الناطق بنعمة روح القدس يا كون الاكوان وخير الازمان يا نايب المسيح الديان اسالك ان تعمدني

ثانية واكون على دينك الدين الصحيح انا وكل اهل بيتي وجماعتي واقاربي واخوتي واخواتي c.

٦٣٢) نعرفه الذي وقع من الحديث: زائدة c.

[الحوار الختامي للبطيريك انبا يونس مع الملك عبد العزيز]

(٣٨) فلما مضوا الثلاثة الى الملك قال لهم: من فيكم الغالب؟

فأجابه الملكي واليهودي (b164v) وقالوا: ٦٣٣ ان ابينا ٦٣٤ البطرك هو الغالب ونحن نومن (c215r) بامانته. ٦٣٥

فقال البطرك: ٦٣٦ ليس الغلبة لي ولكن الغلبة لسيدي يسوع المسيح. ٦٣٧

فلما سمع الملك ذلك ٦٣٨ تعجب وقال للبطرك: ٦٣٩ أنا اسلك ٦٤٠ عن ٦٤١ شيء ننكره عليكم وذلك انكم تاخذوا ٦٤٢ خبزاً وخمر وتقرؤ عليهم وتقولوا انهم جسد المسيح ٦٤٣ ودمه فاذا كان الله في السماء فكيف تجدون لحمه ودمه تاكلوه؟

أجاب البطرك: نعم ايها الملك اذا اخذ ٦٤٤ هذا الخبز والخمر وحملوه على المذبح وقرئ عليهم القديس ٦٤٥ تحولوا (c215v) وصاروا جسد المسيح ودمه ٦٤٦ وذلك ٦٤٧ انه

(٦٣٣) فاجابه الملكي واليهودي وقالوا a, b / فاجاب الملكي يعقوب وهرون اليهودي وقالوا للملك c.

(٦٣٤) ان ابينا البطرك هو الغالب a / ان ابونا البطيريك هو الغالب b / يا ملك الزمان ابونا البطيريك هو المعلم الغالب ونحن المغلوبين c.

(٦٣٥) الصحيحة: زائدة c.

(٦٣٦) للملك سلطان قلعت الجبل بقاهرة مصر: زائدة c.

(٦٣٧) له المجد الى ابد الابد: زائدة c.

(٦٣٨) ذلك: ناقصة b.

(٦٣٩) تعجب وقال للبطرك a, b / تعجب العجب الكلي وحرك راسه وقال للاب البطيريك يوحنا بطيريك الاسكندرية وقال له c.

(٦٤٠) انا اسلك a / انا اسالك b / يا بطرك انا اسالك c.

(٦٤١) عن a, b / على c.

(٦٤٢) ننكره عليكم وذلك انكم تاخذوا a / ننكره منكم ذلك انكم تاخذوا b / لا تنكره مني وذلك انتم تاخذون c.

(٦٤٣) المسيح a / الله b, c.

(٦٤٤) اخذ a, b / اخذنا c.

(٦٤٥) والفصول والانجيل: زائدة c.

(٦٤٦) جسد المسيح ودمه a, b / جسد ودم سيدنا يسوع المسيح c.

(٦٤٧) وذلك a / كذلك b, c.

علم تلاميذه ان يعملوا ذلك ويعلموا^{٦٤٨} (a201r) التلاميذ ايضًا بذلك ان كنت تشتهي ان تعلم صحة^{٦٤٩} ذلك ادخل الى^{٦٥٠} الكنيسة ترى الملوك والاراكنة والاغنياء والفقراء ياكلوا منه بفرع ورهبة^{٦٥١} (b165r) وابتهاج عظيم ويتزاحمون^{٦٥٢} عليه ويومنون به وليس يعمله احدًا^{٦٥٣} في منزله^{٦٥٤} ولا في دكان ولا في^{٦٥٥} سوق ولا في^{٦٥٦} المواضع كلها غير الكنيسة ولا يقدر احدًا ياخذه بيده غير الكاهن المرسوم^{٦٥٧} بهذا كما هو مكتوب ان سيدنا المسيح^{٦٥٨} اقام ثلاثة وثلاثين سنة على الدنيا^{٦٥٩} لم يعلم تلاميذه ذلك الى^{٦٦٠} اخر ليلة اخذوه^{٦٦١} فيها اليهود ليصلبوه^{٦٦٢} انه اخذ^{٦٦٣} خبزًا وبارك فيه وقسمه واعطا التلاميذ^{٦٦٤} وقال لهم كلوا^{٦٦٥} من هذا فانه هو جسدي الذي اسلمه من اجلكم ومن اجل كثيرين لغفران الخطايا^{٦٦٦} واعملوا هذا لتذكاري حتى اجي يوم ظهوري وكذلك^{٦٦٧} الكاس جعل فيه خميرًا وقال لهم كذلك (b165v)^{٦٦٨} وانما جعل الامر الى اخر ليلة من اجل يهودا الان

- ٦٤٨) يعلموا a / اعلمونا b / وعلمونا c.
 ٦٤٩) صحة: ناقصة b.
 ٦٥٠) الى: ناقصة c.
 ٦٥١) ورهبة a, b / ورغبة c.
 ٦٥٢) ويتزاحمون a, b / ويزدحمون c.
 ٦٥٣) يعمله احدًا a / هم يعملوا هذا b, c.
 ٦٥٤) منزله a / منازلهم b, c.
 ٦٥٥) ولا في: ناقصة c.
 ٦٥٦) موضع من: زائدة b, c.
 ٦٥٧) المرسوم a, c / الموسوم b.
 ٦٥٨) المسيح a, b / يسوع المسيح له المجد: زائدة c.
 ٦٥٩) الدنيا a, b / الارض c.
 ٦٦٠) الى: ناقصة b.
 ٦٦١) اخذوه a, b / الذي مسكوه c.
 ٦٦٢) ليصلبوه a, b / لكي (c216r) يصلبوه c.
 ٦٦٣) بيده: زائدة c.
 ٦٦٤) واعطا التلاميذ a / واعطاه لتلاميذه b, c.
 ٦٦٥) كلوا a, b / خذوا كلوا c.
 ٦٦٦) والذنوب: زائدة c.
 ٦٦٧) يوم ظهوري وكذلك a, b / وايضًا تنظروني في ذلك c.
 ٦٦٨) لهم كذلك a, b / هكذا كذلك c.

هذا بعد^{٦٦٩} انصرفه لأنه^{٦٧٠} ما يستحق ان ياكل من^{٦٧١} جسده ودمه^{٦٧٢} كما انه لما خالفه ادم اخرج^(a201v) من الجنة^{٦٧٣} كذلك ايضًا اخرج يودس^{٦٧٤} من وسط التلاميذ لخبثه^{٦٧٥} ولم يصير عليه ان ياكل من جسده ودمه^{٦٧٦} فلما خاطبهم^(c216v) سيدنا يسوع المسيح بهذا شكوا في قلوبهم عند ذلك غاب عنهم فنظروا الى ذلك الخبز قد صار لحمًا وذلك الخمر قد صار دمًا بعد القداس ففزعوا ووقعوا على وجوههم كالموتى^{٦٧٧} عند ذلك ظهر لهم واقامهم واصرف عنهم الفزع وقال له امتتوا^{٦٧٨} الان ان هذا سرا^{٦٧٩} امين^{٦٨٠} اقول لكم ان كل من امن واكل منه بامانة صحيحة^{٦٨١} فهو يحيى الى الابد ومن اظهرني بين الناس أنا اظهره بين يدي ابي الذي في السموات^(b166r) وقد اخبرتك ايها الملك عنما سالتني عنه .

(٣٩) اجاب الملك: ان في كتابنا^{٦٨٢} مكتوب^{٦٨٣} ان الله لم يتزوج بامرأة ولا يولد له^{٦٨٤} ولد بل هو روح الله^(c217r) وكلمته قال له كن فكان .

أجابه البطرك: اذا كان هو كلمة^{٦٨٥} كيف اكل وشرب وعمل كل شيء مثلنا سوى الخطية؟

- ٦٦٩) بعد a, b / هو c .
- ٦٧٠) علم انه: زائدة b, c .
- ٦٧١) من: ناقصة b .
- ٦٧٢) ودمه a, b / ويشرب من دمه c .
- ٦٧٣) الجنة a, b / الفردوس c .
- ٦٧٤) يودس a, b / يوضاس c .
- ٦٧٥) لخبثه a, b / لخبثته c .
- ٦٧٦) ودمه a, b / ويشرب من دمه c .
- ٦٧٧) كالموتى a, b / كالاموات c .
- ٦٧٨) له امتتوا a / لهم انتم b / لهم انتم c .
- ٦٧٩) سرا a / دمي b, c .
- ٦٨٠) امين a, b / الحق c .
- ٦٨١) وقلب نقي: زائدة c .
- ٦٨٢) كتابنا a / قراننا b, c .
- ٦٨٣) مكتوب: ناقصة c .
- ٦٨٤) ولا يولد له a / لاي يولد b / ولا يولد c .
- ٦٨٥) كلمة a / كلمته b, c .

فأجابه الملك: فاذن هذا انسان؟

أجاب البطرک: ان كان (a202r) انسان^{٦٨٦} فكيف اقام الموتى وصير الما خمراً
وعمل العجايب الذي قد وصفت لك اليسير^{٦٨٧} منها.

فأجابه الملك: انه روح الله وكلمته.

أجاب البطرک: اذا كان هو روح الله وكلمته^{٦٨٨} فمن الذي مسكوه اليهود وعلقوه
على خشبة^{٦٨٩} الصليب؟

فأجابه الملك: لم يمت ولم يصلبوه لكن^{٦٩٠} الله رفعه اليه واعطاهم انسان لص
شبه^{٦٩١} صلبوه. ^{٦٩٢}

فأجابه (b166v) البطرک: فالان صيرت الله (c217v) ظالماً انه اسلم اليهم^{٦٩٣}
بري صلبوه.

أجاب الملك: ان الله ليس يظلم احداً ولكن سبب له انه لص يستحق القتل فبهذا
اعطاهم اياه.

(٤٥) قال البطرک: أنا احب اسلك مسالة ايها الملك ولا تاخذ علي في ذلك.

أنا اسلك^{٦٩٤} تعرفني كم قتلت من اللصوص وصلبتهم؟

أجاب الملك: اني قتلت كثير^{٦٩٥} من الناس وصلبت كثير.

فقال له البطرک: فيكم ابعت الخشب الذي صلبوا عليه اوليك^{٦٩٦}.

(٦٨٦) ان كان انسان: ناقصة c.

(٦٨٧) اليسير a, b / البشرية c.

(٦٨٨) اجاب البطرک اذا كان هو روح الله وكلمته: ناقصة b.

(٦٨٩) وعلقوه على خشبة a / وحملوه على b, c.

(٦٩٠) لكن a / بل ان b, c.

(٦٩١) انسان لص شبه a / انسان لص يشبهه b / لصاً يشبهه c.

(٦٩٢) وعاقبوه: زائدة c.

(٦٩٣) رجلاً: زائدة c.

(٦٩٤) مسالة ايها الملك ولا تاخذ علي في ذلك انا اسلك: ناقصة b, c.

(٦٩٥) كثير a / عدة b, c.

(٦٩٦) عليه اوليك a, c / صلبوا عليهم b.

فأجاب الملك: ^{٦٩٧} ان تلك الاخشاب الذي صلبوا عليهم ^{٦٩٨} لا يصلحوا لشيء
إلا لحريق النار (a202v) .

فأجاب البطرک: فاذا كان الامر على هذا فان القطعة (b167r) الخشب التي
طولها شبرًا (c218r) واحدًا هي من خشبة رجلا لص فلم اخذت مني فيها ثلاثة الف
دينار فاذن قد ظلمتني والحق يحكم بيني وبينك .

(٤١) فلما سمع ^{٦٩٩} ذلك القول من البطرک قال له: بحق اني صرت قدامك
مثل ^{٧٠٠} الاخرس لا اطيق على جوابك وقد ^{٧٠١} خاطبت فلاسفة كثير ^{٧٠٢} ومنجمين ^{٧٠٣}
وغيرهم ولم ارى فيهم ^{٧٠٤} مثلك وبحق ^{٧٠٥} ليس على الدنيا دين غير دين النصرانية فهو
الدين الصحيح .

وامر الملك باكرام البطرک وحفظ جانبه واجلاله وسرحه بسلام .

والتسبيح لله دائماً ابداً ^{٧٠٦} . ^{٧٠٧}

(٦٩٧) نعم: زائدة c .

(٦٩٨) عليهم a / عليها b / عليهم اوليك c .

(٦٩٩) الملك: زائدة b, c .

(٧٠٠) مثل a, b / كمثل c .

(٧٠١) وقد a, b / فاني قد c .

(٧٠٢) وراصدين: زائدة c .

(٧٠٣) وعلماء ومعلمين واهل الخبثة والمتكلمين والقارين والشاحنين: زائدة c .

(٧٠٤) معلماً فصيحاً مثكلم بالحق والعدالة: زائدة c .

(٧٠٥) ان: زائدة b .

(٧٠٦) والتسبيح لله دائماً ابداً a / بيركت الثالث المقدس الاب والابن والروح القدس الان

وكل اوان والى دهر الداهرين امين b .

(٧٠٧) وبحق ليس على الدنيا . . . ابداً a, b / وان الملك السلطان بقلعة الجبل المقطم جبل

قاهرة مصر الملك عبد العزيز وقف على قدمه وخرسًا جدًا على ركبتيه وصرخ قايلاً بحق (c218v) ان

ليس على الدنيا من مبتدائها الى انتهائها دين صحيح غير دين النصرانية دين سيدنا يسوع المسيح له

المجد الى الابد الابدين علمت ان دين المسيح فهو الدين الصحيح هو الاب والابن والروح القدس

الهاً واحد وانا امنتم بالمسيح الحي الى الابد فعند ذلك قام الاب البطريرك والملك والملكي

واليهودي وعمدهم هم وكل اهل بيتهم وهم فرحين وصار قولهم واحد في المسيح وامر الملك

باكرام البطريرك وحفظ جاهه وامر ان يحمل من خزانة الملك ستين قنطار من الذهب فوق ظهور

الابقال وعلها ستاير من الحرير احضرها الى قلايته وامر الملك (c219r) بقطعه المظالم والمكوساة وما يشبه ذلك عن جميع النصارى اليعاقبة وصاروا فرحين مسرورين شاكرين لله في ايامه والى ما اشأ الله تعالى والمجد للاب والابن والروح القدس الحي المحيي المساوي الان وكل اوان والى دهر داهرين وابد الابدن امين تم وكمل مجادلة البطريك مع اليهودي والملكي والملك سلام من الرب امين والشكر لله دايمًا ابديا امين c.

Translation

In the Name of God the Creator, the Living One, the Intelligent One: the Holy Trinity.¹

[The Discovery of a Piece of the Cross]

1) Let us begin by the help of God, may he be praised, to explain the disputation² of our father the Patriarch Anba John, Patriarch of Alexandria, with the Jew and the Melkite³ in the days of the king 'Abd al-'Azīz in Egypt, he who built the Nilometer at Hulwān.⁴ In the peace of God, amen.⁵

2) He said: At that time, the Patriarch⁶ went to greet the aforementioned 'Abd al-'Azīz⁷ and while he was sitting with him, a messenger came to the king and informed him that a Jewish person had died without an heir. The king ordered that everything that the dead man possessed be carried to the royal treasury and while they were carrying the possessions of that dead man, they came across a silver chest⁸ locked with a golden lock. They were amazed by this

1) b, c. In the Name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the One God.

2) b. the counsel of the path / c. to copy the story of the miracle of the piece the glorious cross which happened by the hand of

3) c. and the return of the king, the Jew, and the Melkite to the Jacobite Coptic faith in peace from the Lord

4) b. who built Hulwān

5) b. of the sons of Ishmael, the son of Abraham, the friend [of God]

6) b. John, Patriarch of the see of Alexandria

7) b. to greet him in the mosque

8) c. a chest of gold inlaid with simple jewels and sapphire and precious gems. The chest was covered in gold and was locked with a [?] golden lock. On top of that lock was a net of pearls and on top of the net a veil of fine silk. The chest was locked with seven [gates?] and upon each gate were seven locks. They quickly returned to the king and reported to him about the chest they had seen. The king commanded that they bring him the chest and that it be opened in his presence. The patriarch Anba John was present for this. They brought the chest and placed it before him. When the king saw it he was amazed by it and said, «Oh God what a marvel! O patriarch, what is this great care in guarding this chest?» The patriarch said to the king, «O king of the age, with permission command me to open it.» So the king commanded the patriarch to open the chest. He opened it and found in it seven wrappings of purple silk. Upon each wrapping was a lock of red gold inlaid with [?].

and carried it to the king. He ordered that the chest be opened and in it they found a piece of wood one span long. The king marveled at this and said, «Of what use is this, that it be preserved in such a grand way?»

When the Patriarch saw this, he became sure in himself that it was from the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, glory be to him. He said to the king, «The forefathers of this Jew crucified Christ and this is a piece from the cross of Christ. The king said, «Demonstrate this to me.» The Patriarch said, «Order that fire and wood be brought.» When they brought this and lit the fire until it burned strongly, they cast the piece of wood into the fire. When it touched the fire, the fire went out and became ash. He did this three times and the wood did not burn, but rather the fire went out. After that, the king said to the Patriarch, «Buy this piece of wood from me.» The Patriarch said, «Yes, how much is it?» The king said to him, «Three thousand dinars.» Then the Patriarch brought the money with two other Christian men and they took it.

3) After that, he said to him, «I desire to know which of the religions is the truth,» and he ordered that one of the most prominent of the Jews, a man named Aaron, be brought forward and also a Melkite.⁹ He said to them, «I would like you to inform me as to which is the true religion.» Each of them began to praise his own religion, so the king said «How do we know that?» They all said, «Grant us three days to dispute, and we will defer to the doctrine of whoever has the truth.»

[Patriarch John's Dispute with a Jew Named Aaron]

4) On that day, when the three gathered together, the Patriarch, the Melkite and the Jew,¹⁰ the Jew said, «I shall be the first to speak because I am the first one to whom God gave the Law.»

The Patriarch said to him, «Speak.»

The Jew replied, saying, «To start with, I am a child of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob.»

The patriarch opened the seven golden locks and found a piece of wood one span long. From it they smelled an aroma stronger than musk. At this, the patriarch stopped in his tracks and prostrated himself to the peace of wood. He then sat in his place and put it between the king and himself. The king took it in his hand, [and kissed?] it. After his amazement with it and the patriarch's getting up and prostrating himself to it, he said to the Patriarch, «O Patriarch, what use is this piece of wood, that it be preserved in such a grand way?»

9) c. named Jacob

10) c. and the fourth, the king 'Abd al-'Aziz, listened to their discussion

The Patriarch replied, saying, «I am a child of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.»

The Jew replied, «I am a son of Levi, one of the twelve children of Jacob.»

The Patriarch replied, «I am a son of Mark, son of Peter, one of the twelve disciples of Our Lord Jesus Christ.»

The Jew replied, «The Virgin Mary came from my race.»

The Patriarch replied, «The Prophet David says, ‘O daughter, leave and forget your people and your father’s house because the king desired you’ (Ps 45:10 [44:11 LXX])»

The Jew replied, «The Christ, who is Jesus, came from my stock.»

The Patriarch replied, «The rose bush is all thorns, but from it comes the sweet rose with its pleasant smell and beautiful appearance, and it is given to kings. Likewise you, O Jews, you are the thorns and from you came the rose, that is, the pure Virgin Mary and [from you] sprouted her king Jesus Christ. You know all the repugnant things your fathers did in the matter of Christ and after everything they took him and crucified Him. We Christians took him from you that we might live through him. We laid out thorns for you that through them you might die, and they are your wicked deeds and your lack of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

5) The Jew replied, «God said by the tongue of the Prophet David, ‘I have forgotten you, O Jerusalem. My right hand I have forgotten’ (cf. Ps 137:5 [136: 5 LXX])»

The Patriarch replied, «O fool, God did not say this because of the Jerusalem built with brick and mortar, but rather he said this about the heavenly Jerusalem, abode of the saints and the righteous. The one about which God said ‘I forgot’ is the Jerusalem of this world, which is your mother. I will tell you about it: God said, ‘Jerusalem, Jerusalem, she who killed the prophets and those who were sent to her, with stones’ (Matt 23:37; Luke 13:34). And of all the prophets, the Children of Israel did not kill any of them in Jerusalem until the Lord of all the prophets, that is, our Lord Christ. He gave the lineage of the heavenly Jerusalem when he said that she is freeborn; but the lineage of the earthly Jerusalem is that she is a slave, as it is in the scriptures: ‘He sent away the slave woman and her child so that her child will not inherit with my child’ (cf. Gal 4:30). You are the son of the slave woman, and we are the children of the freeborn.»

6) The Jew replied, «God spoke to Moses so that he would build for him the tabernacle and he spoke to Noah so that he would make for him the ship and he

spoke to Solomon so that he would build for him the house. To whom among your fathers did God speak and say to them, 'Build me a church'?»

The Patriarch replied, «God has spoken by the tongue of the Prophet David, saying, 'You love the gates of Zion more than all the abodes of Jacob' (Ps 87:2 [86:2 LXX]).»

7) The Jew replied, «God promised our fathers good things and brought them out into the desert and gave them manna to eat for forty years.»

The Patriarch said, «By my life, God gave them manna for forty years, and when Moses was absent from them for forty days, they forgot their Lord who wrought good things with them for forty years. They made their gods idols and also made the calf and worshiped it, and they said to Aaron, 'O Israel, these are your gods, who brought you out of the Egypt' (Ex 32:4). As for us Christians, God gave us his body and his blood to eat for a thousand years, and we still eat it until now. We keep his law and have not denied him as you denied him, and we have not forgotten him.»

8) The Jew replied, «You say that Christians do not die, but why do they not die?»

The Patriarch replied, «Truly I have said to you that the death of the world is not death but is rather a moving from this world to the next. As for the one who is sent down to hell when he dies, that is certainly eternal death.»

9) The Jew replied, «I would like for you to demonstrate to me whether it is written in my Law that one of our fathers went to hell.»

The Patriarch replied, «Yes. It is written in the Torah where it said that Jacob, when they brought him his son Joseph's shirt and he saw it, tore his clothing and wept and was sad and regretful, saying, 'The beast that ate my son Joseph is the most evil of the beasts.' All his family and his neighbors gathered by him to console him and lessen his sadness. He said to them, 'I am sent down to hell and I mourn my son Joseph' (Gen 37:35). Also, when his brothers went over to Egypt to buy wheat, Joseph took one of them, Simeon, and detained him with him so that they would bring their youngest brother. When they came to Jacob and informed him of that, he wept and grieved and said to them, 'Joseph is dead and Simeon is no more. And now you want to take Benjamin and send my pride to hell while I am mourning?' (cf. Gen 42:36-38). Now I have shown you from your Law two times that your fathers descended to hell.

10) The Jew replied, «The Prophet Daniel was cast into the lions' pit. He prayed and God sent him his angel and rescued him from the mouth of the lions.

The angel of God went down to Habakkuk and seized the hair of his head and carried him from Syria to Babylon until He sent him down to the lions' pit, to the prophet Daniel with food. Then he returned him to his country in the blink of an eye.¹¹ Now tell me with whom among your fathers did God do that.»

The Patriarch replied, «Yes, God did something like this with many of my fathers among the saints, namely, Abū Macarius, Abū Anthony, Abū Shenoute, who was carried on a cloud, and Abū Pachomius, Abū Onnophris, and all the saints who, if I began [to list] their names the telling would take a long time. These ones prayed to God and he granted them power over the desire of their bellies and patience against hunger and thirst which is greater than the lions, and God sent His angel to them to strengthen them at all times with His body and His gracious blood.»

11) The Jew replied, «I would like you to explain to me from the Law, how this sacrifice which you eat is God's body and blood.»

The Patriarch replied, «I will demonstrate this to you from the Law. Is it not written where the Prophet Isaiah said, 'I saw a great altar in heaven and on that altar a coal of fire. Then I saw one of the cherubim and he took the coal of fire from upon that altar and put it into my mouth. He said, «This coal has entered your mouth and it will erase your sins and wash away your transgressions» (Is 6:6-7).' What is the coal of fire that has erased sins and washed away transgressions if not the body of Our Lord Christ and his blood? Also, Jacob said, when he called his son Judah, «Wash your shirt with coals and your tunic in grapes' blood» (cf. Gen 49:11). Now what is the shirt if not the Church and what is the tunic if not the Christians who have washed away their transgressions with the pure blood of the vine which is our Lord Jesus Christ?»

12) The Jew replied, «God said to Moses, 'Take a lamb and sacrifice it in the evening and take its blood and smear it on the threshold of your doors on account of the destroying angel' (cf. Ex 12:22-23). So Moses did this and when the destroying angel came, the one who put the blood on his door was safe from him, and the one who did not have lamb's blood on his door, he destroyed along with all of his house.

The Patriarch replied, «God sent to us Christians our Lord Christ who is the holy lamb. Your fathers killed him and we took his blood and also smeared our doors, which are our lips, with it and so we are safe from the Devil, who is the destroying angel. If the destroying angel comes to you and does not find upon you

11) This version of the story is taken from *Bel and the Dragon* (1:31-39), chapter 14 of the Greek version of Daniel.

the trace of the blood of the pure lamb who is our Lord Christ, he will seize you and throw you in the fire which is never extinguished.»

13) At this the Jew cried out and said, «I believe in my Lord Jesus Christ that he is the Son of the Living God and I ask you, O father, to baptize me at this moment, me and the people of my house.»

When the Patriarch heard this from him he said to him, «Wait until I address this Melkite and return him to the path of life and baptize you both.»

[Patriarch John's Dispute with a Unnamed Melkite]

14) At this, the Melkite came forward and said to the Patriarch, «Address yourself to me, for this Jew does not know anything. If you defeat me I will join your religion; and if I defeat you, you will join my religion.»

The Patriarch said to him, «You also speak, so I may hear what you have to say.»

The Melkite replied, «You say that God suffered and we say that God does not suffer, nor eats nor drinks nor sleeps nor is touched. Instead, we say that he came down to Earth and became incarnate in his body and suffered in the body and ate in the body and drank in the body, and that they seized him and crucified him in the body. The divinity is that which healed the sick and changed the water into wine and blessed the five loaves of bread so that all could eat and be full and through which he walked on the sea. All of his miracles, he performed through his divinity, but the suffering and the crucifixion [he suffered] in the body.»

The Patriarch replied, «Now through this talk you divide him into two natures. One nature suffers and through one nature He heals illnesses.»

The Melkite replied, «Yes. This is my faith and this is my statement forever.»

15) The Patriarch replied, «Did not the evangelist Luke say in his holy gospel that the angel Gabriel, when he came to the Virgin Mary and announced the good news to her, 'The Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you' (Luke 31:35). Also, the pure Matthew said, 'O Joseph, son of David, do not sorrow. Accept Mary your betrothed, for the one to whom she will give birth is from the Holy Spirit' (Matt 131:20). Now, if the Holy Spirit came upon her and if the one to whom she gave birth was from the Holy Spirit, how do you make him into a human?»

The Melkite replied, «Because it is written concerning him that he became incarnate and was made man and came to resemble us in every way except sin.»

16) The Patriarch replied, «I also believe this, for whom do we also resemble?»

The Melkite replied to him, «I do not know. Explain this to me.»

The Patriarch replied to him, «God says in the Torah, 'Let us create humankind in our resemblance and our likeness' (Gen 31:26). And thus he created us in his resemblance and his likeness. Job says, 'You created me like milk and squeezed me like cheese from one press.'»

The Melkite replied to him, «By my life, the cheese and the milk are one.»

The Patriarch replied to him, «Milk, if it is liquid is called 'milk' and if it curdles it becomes cheese. Milk is of cheese and cheese is of milk. Likewise, the Word before becoming incarnate was not seen and was not touched. When he became incarnate they saw him with their eyes and touched him with their hands. The Word is of the body and the body is of the Word. You know now that the Word and the body, like milk and cheese, are one. Beware of saying that he became incarnate in an earthly body like our body. God forbid! Rather, he became incarnate in a holy body without intercourse, without a man being with a woman, without impurity, without sperm. When you say that the body he took is human, you also say that the Holy Spirit is a human. God forbid that this be the case! Rather, it is a pure body, as the Apostle Paul has said, 'There is a body by the soul and there is a body by the Spirit: the first Adam by the soul, and the second Adam by the Spirit' (1 Cor 15:44-45). He also says, 'The first man is of the Earth and the second man is from heaven' (1 Cor 15:47).»

17) The Melkite replied, «So why do you say that he became man?»

The Patriarch replied, «We humans are lowly, tormented, and weak. God, may his praise be exalted, is far from what we have mentioned. So when he wanted to suffer on account of us and was crucified on account of us, he came to the earth, as one humble and fulfilled everything on account of us. The crown of thorns was put on his head and his face was spat upon on account of us and he was pierced in his side on account of us. When the Jews saw this they said, 'This is a man like us.' As for us, we believe that the divinity has not separated from the humanity in all that we mentioned, but according to you it is sufficient for you that Christ is a god and only because of our sins was made to resemble us in order to save us. When the Jews saw this of him, they said, 'He is a man,' and when he said to them, 'My Father and I are one,' they took up stones to stone him. Then he said to them, 'I showed you good works from my father, so for what reason do you stone me?' They replied, 'It is not because of a good work that we stone you, but rather it is because you, a man, make yourself a son of God' (John 10:30-33).

I say to you that each person who says that Christ is a human is simpleminded and is like the Jews.»

18) The Melkite replied to him, «If Christ is a god, then why did he say, 'No one is merciful but God alone' (Luke 18:19; cf. Mark 10:18)?»

The Patriarch replied, «Yes, when the wealthy man came and said, 'O teacher, O merciful one, what should I do to inherit eternal life?' our Lord Jesus Christ said to him, 'No one is merciful but God alone' (Luke 18:19). The explanation of this is that there is no man on the earth pure and without sin except our Lord Jesus Christ who came down to earth as one humble for our sake redeemed us with himself. What mercy is greater than that? He only said, 'No one is merciful except God,' meaning that he and his father are one, with no division between them in essence.»

19) The Melkite replied to him, «So why did Christ our Lord say, 'My soul is sorrowful unto death' (cf. John 12:27)? If he was merciful, why did he say these words?»

The Patriarch replied, «He said this for the sake of sinners. What sorrow is greater than this: that we see all the children of Israel perish in sin and among them is the one who prepared the nails for him and among them the one who honed the spear for them and among them the one who made a crown of thorns for them, so for this reason his soul was saddened for them.»

The Melkite replied and said, «The evangelist John says in his holy gospel, 'No one at all has seen God' (1 John 4:12). So if Christ is God, why did he cause people to see Him?»

20) The Patriarch replied, «The prophet Isaiah says, 'They will see him and will not believe in him' (cf. Is 52:15-53:1). If you did not believe in him, that he is God, then who is the one whom Moses saw in the burning bush, which had fire lit in it and did not burn? If you say to me that he is not God, I will prove you wrong from the scriptures, because it says that the voice of God spoke to Moses from the bush, saying to him, 'I am the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob' (Ex 3:6; cf. Mark 12:26 and Luke 20:37).»

21) The Melkite replied, «That is God the Father, not Christ.»

The Patriarch replied to him, «Now you have denied the scriptures where it says that the bush is the Virgin Mary and the fire is our Lord Jesus Christ who became incarnate in her womb and yet she did not burn from what Moses saw in the bush. Who is the one who came down to Abraham under the tree and spoke to him, saying to him, 'The voice of Sodom has risen up to me, so I have come

down to destroy them.' Then Abraham said to him, 'O Lord, do not destroy the righteous with the sinners. They will be equal if you strike fifty righteous ones there and destroy them. No, O you who judge the earth!' (Gen 18:20-25). If you said now that he is not Christ, then how does Abraham say to him, 'O you who judge the earth!?' For who judges the earth except Christ, as John says in his gospel, 'The Father does not judge anyone. Now he has given judgment and governance to his Son' (John 5:22). Regarding this, I will also inform you about another witness. Nebuchadnezzar, when he cast the three youths into the furnace of fire, looked at them and said to his servants, 'Was it not three men that we cast into the furnace while they were bound? Look, I see four unbound, walking in the fire without pain, and the fourth resembles the son of God' (Dan 3:24-25). You now know that Jesus is yesterday, today, and also forever. John said, 'The one who was in the beginning is the one whom we heard and the one we saw and our hands touched' (1 John 1:1), because if he desired, no one would have power over him. He has power in everything he wishes. John said in his gospel, 'No one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son, or the one to whom the Son wishes to reveal him' (Matt 11:27; Luke 10:22). You now know that he has power to do everything he wishes to do – the miracles he performed, the humility and the pains he bore. By his will he was borne upon the cross for the sake of our sins and he suffered on the cross to give rest to all the weary. When the angels saw him they were saddened and wanted to destroy the earth and what is on it. He did not want this, and from the force of their anger they ripped the veil that was in the temple from top to bottom. At this, he lifted his eyes to heaven with the expanse of his mercy and said, 'O Father, do not blame them for what they did, for they do not know what they are doing' (Luke 23:34). After this, He was buried and rose from the dead on the third day. He descended into hell and took captivity captive.¹² We who believe in him are trustworthy in what I have described to you. The divinity has not separated from the humanity for the blink of an eye, while he was in the tomb and while he is with his Father and the Holy Spirit. To him be the glory and the power forever.»

22) The Melkite replied to him and said, «I ask you to explain to me the mystery of this bread which you bear upon the altar. How does it transform and become the body of Christ, while you say that this is the body that he took from the Virgin Mary?»

The Patriarch replied, «The body which he took from the Virgin Mary is not earthly like our bodies; rather, it is a body of holy divinity. This bread that we eat

12) c. and saved Adam and his seed by his truthful promise after five days which came from the mouth of the Holy Lord and made it five thousand five-hundred years

and this wine that we drink, when we bear them upon the altar and the liturgy is read over them, change and become flesh and blood. Whoever eats of them with faith and a pure heart will never die because the earthly death is not death for the righteous. Rather, he is transported from his distress to freedom from sorrow, and from grief to joy. If you say otherwise, then you worship idols. I too doubted this until my Lord Jesus Christ appeared to me on the altar and it became clear that it is his body and his blood. He said, 'Truly I say to you that everyone who eats of my body and drinks of my blood in true faith and a clean heart will never taste death and will never see torment. Rather, I will transfer him from the earthly death and admit him into eternal life. Whoever does not believe in this will never see life, and I will take baptism away from him and my body and my blood will be perdition for him on the day of resurrection because he differentiated between me and my Father and the Holy Spirit from whom I am never divided.'»

He said, «After our Lord Jesus Christ finished with these words – and I was looking at him until he went down to the plate upon which was the offering – he completely became the offering and I saw him no more. That which I saw I have explained to you, and blessed is he who eats of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ and drinks of his blood with true faith. I testify to you that Christ will forgive all his sins and transgressions.»

23) The Melkite replied, «Peter said in his letter that Christ suffered in the body (1 Pet 4:1).»

The Patriarch replied, «Christ is God and the body of which Peter spoke is the Holy Spirit, as is written in the gospel: 'When Gabriel came to the Virgin Mary he said to her, «The Holy Spirit will come upon you and the power of the Most High will overshadow you.» (Luke 1:35).' He also said to Joseph the Carpenter, 'O Joseph, do not hesitate to receive your betrothed, for the one who will be born of her is from the Holy Spirit' (Matt 1:20), and if the Holy Spirit came upon her and she gave birth to a spirit, then that is the Holy Spirit who suffered. So what do you say about this?»

24) The Melkite replied, «How is this Holy Spirit incarnate?»

The Patriarch replied, «How did the angels, who are spirits, become incarnate when they married women and had children? The explanation of this is that I mean the children of Seth who came to resemble the angels on account of their purity, but when they came down from the mountain and mixed with the children of Cain, they perished from the water of the Flood and the mountain became a stone of fire before them (cf. Gen 6:1-2).»

25) The Melkite replied, «Yes, you spoke the truth about the angels.»

The Patriarch replied, «Rain may fall from the sky as water and become stone when it reaches the ground.»

The Melkite said, «I ask you to explain to me how water hardens and becomes stone and likewise how the angels became incarnate.»

26) The Patriarch said to him, «Listen so that I can explain to you also how the Holy Spirit became a body. For God has the power to resemble everything he desires and I believe that Jesus was the one who became incarnate from the Holy Spirit in the womb of the Virgin Mary. John said in his gospel that the Word became incarnate (John 1:14). Now understand what you will now hear: the Word is the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit, a complete Trinity without division, for Christ suffered in the body and was not separated from the Godhead. As Peter said, the matter is clear to us as for a human being, when pain overtakes his body, so too worry overtakes his soul because of the intensity of the pain that has overtaken his body. If you would like also, I will explain to you that he is in the Father and the Father is in him. Hear John when he says in his gospel that, Philip, one of the disciples, said to Christ, 'Show us the Father and it is enough for us' (John 14:8). Our Lord Jesus Christ said to him, 'I am with you, O Philip, and you did not know me? Whoever has seen me has seen the Father. Believe in me- that I am in the Father and that the Father is in me and that these words that I speak to you are not from me alone, but are from my Father who sent me to do his works' (John 14:9). About this I will also explain to you from the gospel where he said to the Jews, 'If you do not eat of the body of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you will not inherit eternal life' (John 6:53, cf. 6:54). His disciples said to him, 'These words are terrible to hear,' and our Lord said to them, 'These words have become difficult for you, but if you saw the Son of Man rising to the place from which he came down, then you will believe' (John 6:60-62).»

Then the Patriarch said to them, «My words which I speak to you are the Spirit and the life that are in Jesus Christ. If it pleases you, indeed, the Spirit and the life that are in Jesus Christ are the Spirit of Life, as he said in the gospel, 'Whoever is thirsty, let him come to me and drink from the water of life' (cf. John 4:13-14), and he also says, 'Streams of life flow from me' (cf. Rev 21:6). Then what are 'streams of life' if not the Holy Spirit? For if you said, 'The Holy Spirit is not in him,' then how do you read in the gospel where he says to his disciples when he breathed in their faces, 'Receive the Holy Spirit' (John 20:22)? So if you said that the Father and the Holy Spirit are not in him, then you have separated him from them. Likewise, God will separate you from the sons and will force you into the place where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth.»

27) The Melkite replied, «If he is in the Father and the Father in him, then why when his disciples asked him, ‘We want you to explain to us the end of time,’ did he say to them, ‘The Son does not know the day nor the hour. Rather, it is the Father alone who knows this’ (Matt 24:36; cf. Mark 13:31)?»

The Patriarch replied, «Because he said to his disciples, ‘Everything you ask, I will explain to you.’ For this reason they said to him, ‘We would like for you to explain to us the end of time,’ but he did not desire to explain it to them so he said, ‘It is not for you to know the ages and the times. The angels do not even know this, nor does the son’ (Acts 1:7 and Matt 24:36; cf. Mark 13:31). He did not say to them ‘the Son of Man’ or ‘the Son of God.’ Rather, he only said to them ‘the son’ without explanation. The evidence for this is that Abraham begat Isaac and Isaac begat Jacob and Jacob begat all the prophets and all the prophets are sons, as the prophet David said, ‘The sons of men are born of the earth.’ By ‘son’ he means Adam and all the righteous, for they were called ‘the sons of God’ through love. John says in his gospel, ‘All things came into being through him, and without him nothing came into being’ (John 1:3). If everything came into being through him and without him nothing existed, then how do you say this about him? God forbid that this be the case! Rather, he knows everything and nothing is concealed from him. The prophet David says, ‘From the beginning you, O Lord, have established all the earth’ (Ps 119:90 [118:90 LXX]; cf. Ps 74:17 [73:17 LXX]). So how can the one who has established the earth from its beginning not know its end? If a person you hired to work for you for a year worked exactly six months, would he not know when he will fulfill the rest of the year? If a human being knows this, then it would be amazing that the one who created the earth does not know its end.»

28) The Melkite replied, «If he knew this, then how did he not tell his disciples?»

So the Patriarch replied, ‘Because he is merciful and his forgiveness is vast. When he sees that they have gone astray and that their sins have multiplied, he will then become angry with them and seek their destruction. Then the angels and the righteous and the martyrs gather and ask him to turn his anger away from them. When this happens, he will return because of the greatness of his mercy and forgive them and be patient with them. For this reason he caused the matter to be hidden from his disciples. He is the one who also said, ‘My Father and I are one’ (John 10:30).»

29) The Melkite replied to him, «What is his interpretation of his saying to his disciples, ‘Now I am going up to my Father and to your Father, to my God and to your God’ (John 20:17)?»

The patriarch replied, «Truly God said this when he had created Adam without creating a woman with him. Only after that did he send a great sleep down upon Adam and take out a rib from his side, and he created the woman from it and left her for Adam. When Adam awoke and saw her he said, 'This is a bone from my bones, and a member from my members' (Gen 2:23). For this reason if Christ our Lord said 'my Father' while he is truly God, it is because he is begotten of the Father. And if he said 'my God,' it is true because his Father is God and he is from him. Likewise, he said to them, 'When you pray, say, «Our Father who is in heaven (Matt 6:9).»'» Now, I will give you an illustration of this: there was a man with much money and many possessions who had only a single son. The man said to himself, 'I have great wealth but I have only this one son so I will seek for myself many sons to inherit my domain.' Then, he gathered to himself many boys and called them his sons. He said to his son, 'O my son, these are your brothers so I ask you to call them «my brothers.»' The son was also very merciful like his father, so he rejoiced at this statement and called them his brothers and the sons of his father. If that man called his son, 'O my son,' this is right for him, because he is truly his son, and if he names those others, 'my sons,' then it (i.e. this sonship) is a great membership from him, and he is gracious to them because they are not his sons by birth but rather by his kindness and grace. The same is the case for the Father with his Son and the disciples when he says to them 'your Father.' This is an act of his favor to them on account of his love for them. As the apostle Paul says, God loved us and gave us the favor of sonship, so let them call us sons of God.»

30) The Melkite said, «So why did he say to them, 'When I ascend to my Father, I will send to you the Holy Spirit' (cf. John 16:7)? If he was God, he did not give them the Holy Spirit before His ascension to heaven. Rather, he just said to them, 'I will ask my Father to send to you the Holy Spirit' (John 14:16).»

The Patriarch replied, «Our Lord Christ said in his gospel, 'I did not come to void the Law, but rather to fulfill it' (Matt 5:17). Then it said that he left them fifty days after His resurrection from the dead to come to them at all times.»

The Melkite replied to him, «In what place in the scriptures does it mention that he left them fifty days after his resurrection from the dead?»

The Patriarch replied to him, «It is written in the Torah that God said to Noah, 'Build yourself a ship from ebony wood, and let its length be three hundred cubits and its width fifty cubits and its height one cubit and put its door on its side' (cf. Gen 6:14-15). The interpretation of that ship is our Lord Jesus Christ and his sojourn of thirty years on the earth and this three-ness is the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit and the single cubit is the Godhead. From the side of the ship, Noah

and his sons were saved from the water of the flood, and from the side of our Lord Jesus Christ the whole world was saved from sins – I am speaking the spear with which he was pierced, when the water and the blood came out from it since we have been baptized in water and we have drunk of the blood and have been purified of every sin. The fifty cubits are the fifty days from which joy came down to the disciples. If you were to say that he said, ‘I will send to you the Holy Spirit,’ then it is written in the holy gospel, ‘When the Paraclete whom I will send to you comes to you, he is the one who will remind you of everything because he will take from my knowledge and give to you to learn’ (cf. John 14:26 and 15:26) that now he is with the Father and the Holy Spirit, a Trinity without division.»

31) The Melkite replied, «Father, I would like you to explain to me the cause of this water which is still drunk after the Eucharist.»

The Patriarch replied to him, «Every tradition that the holy fathers left, they did not do anything except by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. As for the matter of the water which you mentioned, it is a wonder of great merit. I enjoin you with what I saw with my eye when I was a deacon. I was listening to my father the patriarch say at all times ‘O Lord save me from the arrows of the Devil.’ This became weighty in my heart and I asked God to reveal this to me. I saw in my sleep a person clothed in a great light. He took me by my hand and took me out to a wide space. Then I looked in front of me and I saw a black man sitting on a seat with a bow and arrows in his hand, shooting all the people who passed by. That man dressed in light said, ‘Draw near to the black man to see what he is doing.’ I drew near to him and then I saw a great dragon in his hand. When the black man stretched out to pull that bow, a great fire came out of the mouth of that dragon and it flew like arrows and entered into the hearts of people. I said to that man dressed in light, ‘I would like you to explain to me who this is.’ He said to me, ‘This is Satan and the dragon is from his host. The fire which comes out of his mouth is his thoughts that he casts into the hearts of the people so that they commit great sins. I said to him, ‘Sir, who is safe from these?’ He said to me, ‘Look and the matter will become clear to you in its truth.’ Then I looked and saw two men pass by naked. They stopped, and that black man struck them with the arrows. Their bodies were filled with arrows from the top of their head to the bottom of their feet. That man said to me, ‘Go over to them and pull those arrows out of them.’ So I went over to them and stretched out my hand to remove them from them and I realized that the arrows had gone deep into their bodies and could not be pulled out. At this, I wept over them and said to him, ‘Sir, I could not pull out the arrows because they have become fixed in them. He said to me, ‘Come, so I may show you how they are removed.’ So I went over to him. Then he took me into a church along with the two men. He took from upon the altar a

cup, and he took a spoon and filled it with the body and the blood which was in the cup and put it into the mouth of one of them, saying, 'This is the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the true God.' Then he went over to the water and drank from it, then the arrows fell out of his body to the ground without difficulty. I said to him, 'Sir, I ask you, sir, to have mercy on that other man.' He said to me, 'That one is not a Christian and is not worthy to take of the body of our Lord Jesus Christ and of his blood.' Now, I have shown to you the matter of the water that is drunk after the Eucharist.»

32) The Melkite replied to him, «I ask you to explain to me, what is the first light that God created? Is it the sun, or the moon, or the stars?»

The Patriarch replied, «It is not one of those things that you mentioned. Rather, that light is a great light of sublime importance.»

The Melkite replied to him, «I heard that it is a great candelabrum lighting up heaven.»

The Patriarch replied to him, «It is not a candelabrum. I will explain to you what that light is, for it is a great cross, one of the cherubim, and yet not a cherubim. It resembles a man, and yet it is not a man. He has six wings, two on each head, and he speaks in languages no one understands. None of the angels can look upon him on account of the great amount of light that is around him.»

33) The Melkite replied, «I would like for you to show me in what place in the scriptures it bears witness to this information.»

The Patriarch replied, «Christ our Lord says in the gospel, 'O my Father, glorify your son with the glory which is his in you before the world existed' (John 17:5). So what is that honor that was before the world existed if not the cross that he mentioned with his father before the world existed – that he would be borne upon the cross in order to save the sons of Adam. You claim that our Lord Jesus Christ is without honor, or that his honor fell away from him, so that he returned to seek it from his Father. God forbid that this be the case! Rather, if his words were about the honor of the cross, look at the church, at the image of Christ our Lord. You see that the cross is a crown upon his head, just as the Prophet David said, 'I have made glory and honor a crown upon his head' (cf. Ps 8:5 [8:6 LXX]). The Apostle Paul said, 'Truly you see Jesus in the pain of death upon the cross. Glory and honor are a crown upon his head' (Heb 2:9). Now it is suitable that the Cross is the first light that God created.»

34) The Melkite replied, «Truly I believe that Christ is the true God and he is the eternal Son of God, who is coming. I ask you to explain to me, if he was one with God, how did he die?»

The Patriarch replied, «Yes, he died and was complete in everything except sin, but it was not an eternal death. The Prophet David says, ‘The Lord awoke like one sleeping’ (Ps 78:65 [77:65 LXX]).»

The Melkite replied to him, «The scriptures say that he died.»

The Patriarch replied, «Everything he did was on account of our salvation. When the people saw him, they thought that he was a human, though he is the mystery that no one understands – neither the disciples nor the angels. As Peter said in his letter, ‘Christ suffered in the body while alive in the spirit’ (1 Pet 3:18). He did not say that he died in the spirit. Rather, he said, ‘He suffered in the body while alive in the spirit,’ and he left the suffering aside because he did not comprehend it exactly. We do not divide him like the transgressors. Instead we believe that the human nature and the divine nature were not separated even for the blink of an eye. Have you not heard in the gospel that our Lord Jesus Christ said to his disciples that the Son of Man would be borne on the cross and the guilty and sinners would take him and kill him? Peter said, ‘By no means! This will not happen to you.’ Our Lord Christ said to him, ‘Go away from me, Satan, because you are not thinking the thoughts of God but the thoughts of Satan’ (Matt 16:21-23; cf. Mark 31-33). So now you know that Peter did not comprehend his truth and our Lord Christ did not rebuke him. It is not that I am saying to you, ‘I rebuke Peter, the excellent head [of the church].’ Rather, I only said to you that no one comprehended his death other than him, his Father, and the Holy Spirit, and my words are based on what is in the scriptures. The prophet David says, ‘God arose like one sleeping and like one strongly drunk from wine’ (Ps 78:65 [77:65 LXX]). John says in his gospel that when our Lord Christ knew that his work had been completed, as he was on the wood of the cross he bent his head and said, ‘O my Father, into your hand I now surrender my spirit’ (John 19:30; cf. Luke 23:46). Gregory says, ‘He surrendered his spirit to his Father, even while he and God are one. However, he did not die by sin; but rather he went to sleep, as the Prophet David says, ‘Rise O Lord, why do you sleep?’” So now you know that he did not die on the cross. Rather, he resembled one sleeping. He rose like one sleeping, for Gregory, when his brother Basil, bishop of Caesarea, asked him about sleep, said to him, ‘Sleep is death, but a death in which there is no longer harm.’ So I believe and say that he did not die, except for the fact that he was like one sleeping. As it says in the gospel, when the women went out from the grave to seek him, the angel said to them, ‘Why do you seek one living with the dead? He is not here; He has risen’ (Luke 24:5). You now know that he did not die a death like our death, for when a person dies and is brought back to life after that it is said that ‘he came to life’ and when he sleeps and awakes they say, ‘he arose.’ Here it is proved that he did not die and that if he died, the angel

would have said to the women, 'He has come to life' but he said to them, 'He is risen.'»

35) The Melkite replied, «So why is Joseph the Carpenter called his father?»

The Patriarch replied, «Joseph the Carpenter resembled the servant in that he was very old. On account of this Jesus called him his father, and for this reason Jesus is called 'Son of David,' even though he is neither 'Son of Joseph' nor 'Son of David,' but rather truly Son of God.»

36) The Melkite replied, «I ask you to explain to me the reason for this simandron that is knocked in the church before the liturgy. Who was the first to use it and what is its use?»

The Patriarch replied, «Our Lord Christ, when he came down to the earth, came in humility and Satan did not know him. When he saw him working divine miracles he said, 'He is divine.' And if he saw him eating and drinking he said, 'He is human,' and did not realize what he was. When the time drew near and his will was fulfilled and he was borne upon the cross, Satan said to his host, 'Go over to that person who is called Jesus, for I incited the Jews against him so they took him and bore him upon the cross. Look at what his situation is, because it has been hidden from me and I do not know where he is from.' When the devils went over to the cross, the cross of our Lord Christ, they saw him on the cross as the Jews drove nails into him. When they heard the knocking of the nails the sound became arrows of fire and burned them. When they left fleeing to Satan their father and let him know what happened to them, he said to them, 'You are weak and nothing comes of you, but I will go myself to see what is going on.' At that, Satan went to the cross to look. Then, our Lord Christ touched him with his forefinger and his thumb. He restrained him and bound him under his cross. When our Lord Christ rose from the dead and descended to hell¹³ and took captivity captive, he brought him down and entrusted him to the angel called Baldamus to guard him. For this reason, the simandron came into the churches, and whenever they knock it the devils flee from that place. This is the story that I have explained to you.»

37) When the Melkite heard that, he cried out loudly, «I believe in my Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God. For the sake of us sinners he suffered and rose from the dead and saved us from our sins. O father, just as the light of the sun overwhelms candlelight so that the latter does not shed light, so too the Christian religion, the religion of my Lord Jesus Christ, conquers all knowledge and

13) c. the eternal gates rose up to him and recognized that he is the Lord of Glory (cf. Psalm 24:7-8) and prostrated themselves to him and gave him glory and honor.

nothing conquers it. I ask you, O father, to accept my confession, and I will be according to your belief.»¹⁴

The Patriarch said to him, «Wait a bit and let us get up and go to the king.»

[Patriarch John's Concluding Dialogue with the Muslim Governor]

38) When the three went to the king, he said to them, 'Which of you is the victor?'

The Melkite and the Jew answered him and said, «Our father the Patriarch is the victor and we believe in his faith.» The Patriarch said, «The victory is not mine, but rather it belongs to my Lord Jesus Christ.»

When the king heard this he was amazed,¹⁵ and he said to the Patriarch, «I will ask you about something for which we rebuke you, and that is that you take bread and wine and read over them and say that they are the body of Christ and his blood. For if God is in heaven, how do you find his flesh and his blood to eat?»

The Patriarch replied, «Yes, O king, if the bread and the wine are taken and placed upon the altar and the liturgy is read over them, they change and become the body of Christ and his blood. This is because he taught his disciples to do this and his disciples also teach this. If you desire to learn the truth of this, enter into the church and see the rulers and the archons, the wealthy and the poor eating of it in trepidation and fear and great rejoicing. They crowd together for it and believe in it, and no one does this in his home nor in a shop nor in or the market nor in any place except the church, and no one can take it in his hand except the priest ordained to this. As it is written, our Lord Christ spent thirty-three years on this earth and his disciples did not know this until the end of the night in which the Jews took him to crucify him. 'He took the bread, blessed it, broke it, gave it to the disciples, and said to them, «Eat of this, for it is my body which I surrender for your sake and for the sake of many, for the forgiveness of sins. Do this in remembrance of me until I come on the day of my appearance.» Likewise he put wine in the cup and said to them the same' (Luke 22:19-20). He assigned the matter to the end of the night on account of Judas. Now this took place after

14) b. baptize me again and I will be according to your belief. / c. my father, the good one who speaks by the grace of the Holy Spirit, O being of beings and best one of our time and deputy of Christ, I ask you to baptize me again and I will be according to your religion, the true religion, I all and all the people of my house, my kin, my relatives, my brothers and my sisters.

15) c. he was completely amazed and shook his head. He said to the father Patriarch John, Patriarch of Alexandria

Judas left, because he was not worthy to eat of his body and his blood. Just as when Adam disobeyed him and he expelled him from Paradise, likewise he also expelled Judas from amidst the disciples on account of his wickedness, and thus he did not have the occasion to eat of his body and his blood. When our Lord Jesus Christ spoke to them about this, they doubted in their hearts. Then, he disappeared from them, and they looked at that bread that had become flesh and that wine that had become blood after the liturgy. They became afraid and fell on their faces like dead men. At this, he appeared to them and got them back up and dispelled the fear from them. He said to them, 'You now believe that this is a mystery.¹⁶ Truly I say to you that whoever believes and eats of it in true faith, he will live forever, and whoever proclaims me among the people, I will proclaim him before my Father who is in heaven.' I have informed you, O king, about what you asked me.»

39) The king replied, «In our book it is written that God did not marry a woman nor beget for himself a child. Rather, he is the Spirit of God and his Word (cf. Qur'ān, Sura 4.171). He said to him, 'Be,' and he was.»

The Patriarch replied to him, «If he was a word, how did he eat and drink and do everything like us except sin?»

The king replied, «Then he is a human?»

The Patriarch replied, «If he was a human, then how did he raise the dead and change water into wine and do the miracles, a few of which I have described to you?»

The king replied to him, «Indeed he is the Spirit of God and his Word.»

The Patriarch replied, «If he is the Spirit of God and his Word, then who was it whom the Jews seized and hung on the wood of the cross?»

The king replied to him, «He did not die and they did not crucify him. Rather, God raised him up to himself and gave them a similar person, a thief, to crucify (cf. Qur'ān, Sura 4.157).»

The Patriarch replied to him, «Now you have made God unjust, as he surrendered to them an innocent person to crucify.»

The king replied, «God is not unjust to anyone. Rather, the reason for this is that he was a thief who deserved to be killed. This is why he gave him to them.»

40) The Patriarch said, «I would like to ask you a question, O king, and do not

16) bc. my blood.

hold it against me. I ask you to tell me how many thieves you have killed and crucified?»

The king replied, «I have killed many people, and crucified many.»

The Patriarch said to him, «For how much did you sell the wood upon which they were crucified?»

The king replied, «That wood upon which they were crucified is not good for anything except fire.»

The Patriarch replied, «If the matter is like this, then, and the piece of wood with a length of one span is the wood of a thief, then why did you take three thousand dinars from me for it? Thus you have treated me unjustly and the truth will judge between us.»

41) When he heard these words from the Patriarch, he said to him, «Truly I have become before you like a mute. I am incapable of answering you, though I have addressed many philosophers and astrologers and others. I have not seen among them one like you. Truly, there is no religion on this earth other than the Christian religion, for it is the true religion.» The king ordered that the Patriarch be honored and protected and revered, and he sent him off in peace.

Praise be to God always and forever.¹⁷

17) c. and the king, the sultan in the citadel of al-Jabal al-Muqattam, the mountain of Cairo in Egypt, the king 'Abd al-'Aziz stopped before him speechless on his knees. He cried out [?]: «Truly there is no true religion in the world, from its beginning to its end, other than the Christian religion, the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, glory to him to the ages of ages. I have learned that the religion of Christ is the true religion. He is the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one God. I believe in the Christ who is forever alive.» At that, the father Patriarch arose with the king, the Melkite, and the Jew and baptized them and all the people of their house. They were joyful and their belief became one with regard to Christ. The king ordered that the Patriarch be honored and his status be maintained and he ordered that sixty kantars of gold be carried on the backs of mules upon which were silk drapes and sent them to his cell. The king ordered that injustices, special taxes and the like, cease to apply to Jacobite Christians. They became joyous and glad and gave thanks to God during his days for what God, may he be exalted, had willed. Glory to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, the living and life-giving and consubstantial one now and forever and unto ages of ages amen. The debate of the Patriarch with the Jew, the Melkite, and the king is completed [in] peace from the Lord, amen. Thanks be to God always and unto ages of ages, amen.

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Abbreviations

- ANF *Ante-Nicene Fathers*. Edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1885-97. Repr. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmanns, 1978-81.
- PG *Patrologia Graeca*. Edited by J. P. Migne. Paris: Imprimerie Catholique, 1857-66.

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A Glossary of Arabic Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Terms

The Father	الأب
The Son	الابن
Archons	أراكنة
The Gospel	الإنجيل
Jerusalem	أورشليم
The Paraclete	البارقليط
Patriarch	البطريرك
Torah	التوراة
The Holy Trinity	الثالوث الأقدس
Hell	الجحيم
The Living One	الحيّ
The Creator	الخالق
The Holy Spirit	الروح القدس
The Captivity	السبي
Sodom	سدوم
The burning bush	شجرة العليقة
The Devil	الشیطان
Crucifixion	الصلب
Zion	صهيون
The flood	الطوفان
The calf	العجل

The liturgy	القَدَّاس
Sacrifice/Eucharist	قربان
The Resurrection	القيامة
Caesarea	قيساريّة
Cherubim	كاروويم
The Divinity	اللاهوت
Altar	مذبح
Christ	المسيح
The tabernacle	المظلة
Baptism	المعموديّة
The destroying angel	الملاك المفسد
Melkite	ملكي
Manna	المنّ
The Humanity	الناسوت
The Intelligent One	الناطق
Simandron	ناقوس
The Law	الناموس
Christian	نصرانيّ
Jesus	يسوع

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