

**THE INFANCY GOSPEL OF  
THOMAS IN THE SYRIAC  
TRADITION**

**EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY**

**TONY BURKE**



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents.....	v
Foreword.....	vii
Abbreviations.....	xi
1 History of Scholarship.....	1
2 Descriptions and Classification of the Manuscripts.....	25
1 Recension A.....	25
1.1 Related Tradition: <i>Arabic Infancy Gospel of Thomas</i> .....	51
2 Recension W (West Syrian) .....	52
2.1 Group a.....	54
2.2 Group b.....	67
2.3 Group c.....	73
2.4 Additional <i>Life of Mary</i> Manuscripts.....	80
2.5 Garšūnī Manuscripts.....	83
3 Recension E (East Syrian) .....	87
3.1 East Syriac <i>Hist. Vir.</i> Manuscripts with IGT.....	92
3.2 East Syriac <i>Hist. Vir.</i> Manuscripts without IGT.....	97
3.3 Additional <i>Hist. Vir.</i> Manuscripts.....	109
3.4 Related Texts and Traditions: <i>Arabic Infancy Gospel</i> and <i>Armenian Infancy Gospel</i> .....	111
3 Texts and Translations.....	123
Recension Sa.....	126
Recension Sw.....	170
Recension Se.....	212
<i>Arabic Infancy Gospel of Thomas</i> .....	229
4 Synopsis.....	241
5 Glossary.....	287
Bibliography.....	307
Index.....	325



## FOREWORD

The *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (IGT) is believed to be one of the earliest texts of the Christian apocrypha. Irenaeus and the author of the *Epistula Apostolorum* seem to have known it in the late second century and, unlike many apocryphal texts, which routinely expand and interact with the texts of the canon, it contains few parallels or allusions to the canonical Gospels. Yet IGT is rarely taken seriously as a witness to early Christian understandings of Jesus. Its depiction of Jesus' childhood would seem to have little connection to the historical Jesus, its Christology is difficult to associate with early heretical groups, and its portrayal of the young wonderworker cursing his playmates and teachers is offensive to modern sensibilities. Nevertheless IGT is extremely important for Christian piety—its stories spread throughout both the churches of the West, principally via the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*, and the churches of the East, due largely to the Syriac Life of Mary compendia, and from these texts the stories were transformed into art, iconography, plays, hymns, and other forms of devotion.

IGT was known in Syriac speaking lands by at least the fifth or sixth century—the time of the earliest known manuscript, published over a century and a half ago by William Wright. Scholars interested in reconstructing the original text of the gospel did not immediately see the value of the Syriac tradition; so it took some time before the tradition was given the attention it deserved. A few other witnesses were published sporadically in the decades since Wright's *textus receptus*, but no one, until now, has endeavored to assemble all of the known published and unpublished manuscripts into a formal critical edition.

It is clear from the number of manuscripts that IGT was a very popular text in the Syriac churches. Though it is found as a separate text in only a few manuscripts, it had a much richer life as part of collections of apocryphal texts featuring episodes from the

life of the Virgin Mary. One branch of this tradition, the West Syriac *Life of Mary*, is examined here from 19 Syriac manuscripts and another 13 in Garšūnī. Another effort to collect Mary-related apocrypha is found in the East Syriac *History of the Virgin*, known in 21 manuscripts, though only four of them incorporate IGT. Many of the manuscripts containing the two Life of Mary compendia seem to have been created specifically for use in Marian piety, as they often contain additional Mary-related texts, including hymns and miracle stories. And these books of Mary were copied well into the nineteenth century. For many Syriac Christians then, these texts contained acceptable depictions of Jesus' childhood years; they were neither frivolous nor blasphemous.

In some ways the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas in the Syriac Tradition* functions as a supplement to my earlier edition of the Greek tradition of IGT published in the Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum in 2010. Along with critical editions and translations of the four Greek recensions, that volume contains a comprehensive overview of previous scholarship and a discussion of how the text reflects idealistic views of children in antiquity. The present volume follows a similar model, with a shortened summary of scholarship focusing only on the Syriac tradition followed by a detailed description of the manuscripts, editions and translations of the Syriac manuscripts divided into three recensions, and a synopsis of these recensions for ease of comparison. Rounding out the book is a glossary and an edition and translation of a little-known Arabic translation of the Syriac tradition based on a single manuscript: Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 11 sup.

Additional manuscripts of the three recensions are likely to be made available after the publication of this volume; indeed, the editions have been revised several times over the years as new sources became known. Readers interested in keeping track of new developments can consult the online resource e-Clavis: Christian Apocrypha, which features manuscript listings and other resources for a wide range of apocryphal texts. Look for links to the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, the *Life of Mary (West Syriac)*, and the *History of the Virgin (East Syriac)*.

This project has been almost a decade in the making. I have many people to thank for their help along the way. First, to George Kiraz and Melonie Schmierer-Lee of Gorgias Press for accepting the book for publication, for waiting patiently through years of

delays, and for guiding it through the publication process; to the Small Grants Program at York University for sponsoring a manuscript-gathering trip to Union Theological College, Princeton, and Harvard and to my daughters, Meghan and Sophie, for coming along for the ride; to all of the libraries and librarians for their assistance, including Michelle Chesner (Norman E. Alexander Librarian for Jewish Studies at Columbia University), and Columba Stewart and Adam McCollum at the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library; and to Alain Desreumaux and Charles Naffah for supplying me with copies of manuscripts.

I am grateful to several colleagues who, in sharing their expertise on Syriac texts and traditions, greatly increased the depth of the volume and helped prevent a legion of embarrassing errors. Thank you Charles Naffah, Fr. Louis-Marie Ariño-Durand, and Stephen Shoemaker, my fellow investigators of the Syriac Life of Mary literature; and Stephen J. Davis, Stephen Gero, and Robert Cousland, each of whom have made their own significant contributions to studying IGT; and also F. Stanley Jones, Sebastian Brock, James Coakley, James Walters, Kristian Heal, Adam McCollum, and Thomas A. Carlson for guiding me through the vagaries of Syriac Christianity. Most of all I thank Slavomír Céplö for contributing the edition and translation of the Arabic IGT, for his assistance with the Garšūnī manuscripts, and for his indefatigable patience in answering requests for help too numerous to mention. Slavomír and I began collaborating in 2008, first on an edition of the *Legend of the Thirty Pieces of Silver*, and subsequently more informally assisting each other on our individual projects. At this point, I have benefitted far more from our relationship than he has and this volume would not have been possible without him. Ďakujem ti, môj priateľ.

Finally, I dedicate this volume to my wife, Laura Cudworth. Our relationship began at the start of my work on this project and she has supported me every step of the way to its completion, including the time she came to my defense when a misbehaving scholar sought to hinder my access to the source materials. Thanks for having my back.





## ABBREVIATIONS

### ANCIENT

<i>Acts Pil.</i>	<i>Acts of Pilate</i>
<i>Apamea</i>	<i>Miracle of the Theotokos in the City of Apamea</i>
<i>Apoc. Paul</i>	<i>Apocalypse of Paul</i>
<i>Apocr. Gos. John</i>	<i>Apocryphal Gospel of John</i>
<i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i>	<i>Arabic Infancy Gospel</i>
<i>Arm. Gos. Inf.</i>	<i>Armenian Infancy Gospel</i>
<i>Bk. Bee</i>	Solomon of Basra, <i>Book of the Bee</i>
<i>Death</i>	Jacob of Serug, <i>On the Death and Burial of the Virgin</i>
<i>Departure</i>	Timothy, bishop of Gargar, <i>On the Departure of Mary</i>
<i>Dorm. Vir.</i>	<i>Dormition of the Virgin</i>
<i>Ep. Chr. Heav.</i>	<i>Epistle of Christ from Heaven</i>
<i>Hist. Phil.</i>	<i>History of Philip in the City of Carthage</i>
<i>Hist. Vir.</i>	East Syriac <i>History of the Virgin</i>
IGT	<i>Infancy Gospel of Thomas</i>
Ga	Greek A recension
Gb	Greek B recension
Gd	Greek D recension
Gs	Greek S recension
Eth	Ethiopic version
Geo	Georgian version
Ir	Irish version
LM	The first Latin version preserved in the <i>pars altera</i> of the <i>Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew</i>
LV	The first Latin version preserved in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, lat. 563 (5th cent.)
LT	The second Latin version
Syr	Syriac version
<i>Life Mary</i>	West Syriac <i>Life of Mary</i>

<i>Malice</i>	Pseudo-Ephrem, <i>On the Malice of the Jews against Mary and Joseph</i>
<i>Prot. Jas.</i>	<i>Protevangelium of James</i>
<i>Ps.-Mt.</i>	<i>Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew</i>
<i>Quest. Bart.</i>	<i>Questions of Bartholomew</i>
<i>6 Bks. Dorm.</i>	<i>Syriac Six-Books Dormition of the Virgin</i>
<i>Trans. Vir.</i>	<i>Transitus Virginis</i>
<i>Vis. Theo.</i>	<i>Vision of Theophilus</i>

#### **MODERN**

BHO	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis</i> . Edited by Paul Peeters, <i>Subsidia Hagiographica</i> 10 (Brussels: Société des Bollandists, 1910).
CANT	<i>Clavis apocryphorum Novi Testamenti</i> . Edited by Maurice Geerard, <i>Corpus Christianorum</i> (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992).
CPG	<i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> . Edited by Maurice Geerard, 5 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–1987).

# 1 HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

The history of scholarship on the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* has been told previously, and in much detail.<sup>1</sup> The goal of this introduction is to narrow the focus specifically to work on the Syriac tradition of the text (hereafter, Syr), though with attention paid to how Syr relates to the various other versions. To those who know IGT well, the importance of Syr is unmistakable, but it has not always been so, and there are many readers of IGT even today who are unaware of the relationships between the sources and, by extension, Syr's critical role in determining the text's original form and meaning. Of course, finding this elusive original form is not the only goal of research. IGT has enjoyed a popularity in Syriac Christianity spanning at least 1500 years, but this is scarcely reflected in scholarship where it would appear that the Syriac text was only "rediscovered" in the nineteenth century. Readers should be cautioned, therefore, that scholars' interests are far different from those who read and cherished IGT in manuscript form. Their story, for now, remains largely untold.

## 1. EARLY DISCOVERIES: GREEK, LATIN, ARABIC

The usual telling of the history of IGT scholarship begins with the first published Greek MS: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ancien fonds gr. 239 (15th cent.). Excerpts from the MS appear in the notes to Richard Simon's *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du Nouveau Testament* from 1693;<sup>2</sup> three years later the text was printed in full by Jean Baptiste Cotelier.<sup>3</sup> The Paris MS is not

---

<sup>1</sup> Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 45–126. On Syr in particular see Burke, "Unpublished Syriac Manuscript," 229–38; and Horn and Phenix, "Apocryphal Gospels in Syriac," 537–44.

<sup>2</sup> Simon, *Nouvelles observations*, 5–9.

<sup>3</sup> Cotelier, *SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt*, vol. 1, 345–46.

complete: it features only IGT 1–5 followed by the beginning of the story of Jesus and the Dyer, an episode otherwise unattested in the Greek tradition, but found also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Genequand) 35, *Arm. Gos. Inf.* 21, and several other sources.<sup>4</sup> This *Arab. Gos. Inf.* made its scholarly debut around the same time as the Greek IGT in Heinrich Sike’s 1697 edition and Latin translation of the text from an undated and initially unidentified MS,<sup>5</sup> subsequently revealed to be Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 350.<sup>6</sup> The text repurposes portions of *Prot. Jas.* and expands the story with additional traditions about Jesus’ birth and stories about the Holy Family’s sojourn in Egypt. *Arab. Gos. Inf.* is believed to be a translation from Syriac (specifically, the East Syriac *Hist. Vir.* or one of its sources); Sike’s version is particularly significant as it incorporates a large portion of IGT, again, probably translated from the Syriac. Additional sources for *Arab. Gos. Inf.* have appeared since Sike’s day but they have not been translated into English. For many scholars, then, *Arab. Gos. Inf.* is known in the form published by Sike.<sup>7</sup>

For several centuries, most of the attention paid to IGT—indeed, to all available early apocrypha—focused on the Greek and Latin traditions. Recovery of the Greek text was significantly advanced by Giovanni Luigi Mingarelli’s 1764 publication of Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2702 (15th cent.),<sup>8</sup> the first known witness to the 19-chapter form of the text, which soon became dominant in scholarship. A similar MS, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, A 187 (16th cent.),<sup>9</sup> was used along with the Paris and Bologna MSS by Johann Karl Thilo for the first proper

---

<sup>4</sup> The story is included in certain Ukrainian IGT MSS (see Rosén, *Slavonic Translation*, 44), some MSS of the Latin *Ps.-Mt.*, and was known to Muslim writers (on the latter two sources see James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 66–67).

<sup>5</sup> Sike, *Evangelium Infantiae*. English translation in Walker, *Apocryphal Gospels*, 100–24; and Cowper, *Apocryphal Gospels*, 170–216. Both translations were made from the revised Latin translation of Sike’s edition in Tishendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 181–209.

<sup>6</sup> Genequand, “Vie de Jésus en Arabe,” 209.

<sup>7</sup> For more discussion of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* see below pp. 111–18.

<sup>8</sup> Mingarelli, “Apocrypho Thomae Evangelio.”

<sup>9</sup> Thilo, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. 1, lxxiii–xci (introduction), 277–315 (text with Latin translation and notes).

critical edition of the text in 1832. Thilo drew also on portions of a fourth source—Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *Phil. gr. 162 (144)* (15th cent.)—noted in a 1675 catalog by Peter Lambeck.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the IGT portion of the Vienna MS has since been lost; all that survives now are Lambeck’s extracts from chs. 1 and 2. The same four Greek MSS were then used by Constantin Tischendorf in his influential *Evangelia Apocrypha* collection from 1853. Tischendorf christened Thilo’s 19-chapter version Greek A (Ga)<sup>11</sup> in order to distinguish it from a shorter form of the text, Greek B (Gb), which he published from a single MS found on his famous visit to St. Catherine’s monastery (Sinai gr. 453, 14th/15th cent.).<sup>12</sup> Tischendorf’s collection also includes three Latin versions of the text: an early translation from a fifth-century fragmentary palimpsest (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 563; =LV),<sup>13</sup> a more recent translation that features a short prologue narrating the Holy Family’s activities in Egypt (based on Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica, lat. 4578, 14th cent.; =LT),<sup>14</sup> and two MSS of an expanded version of *Ps.-Mt.* (=LM) that incorporates the Latin translation of IGT witnessed also in the early palimpsest.<sup>15</sup>

The Ga text opens with an attribution to “Thomas the Israelite philosopher,” presumably intended to mean the apostle Thomas, though why Thomas, a figure often associated with unorthodox (some might say gnostic) forms of Christianity, was chosen as the author is somewhat mysterious. Based on this attribution, early scholars of the text identified IGT as the “Gospel of Thomas” often mentioned and sometimes quoted by early Christian authors.<sup>16</sup> The problem with this identification is that the

---

<sup>10</sup> Lambeck, *Commentariorum*, 270–73.

<sup>11</sup> Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 140–57.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 158–63. Gb first saw publication in Tischendorf’s account of his Mt. Sinai expedition, “Rechenschaft über meine handschriftlichen Studien,” 51–53.

<sup>13</sup> Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, xliv–xlvi (published previously in *De evangeliorum apocryphorum*, 214–15).

<sup>14</sup> Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 164–80.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 93–112.

<sup>16</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the early citations to the “Childhood of the Lord” and to the “Gospel of Thomas” see Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 3–44.

passages quoted from the “Gospel of Thomas” do not appear in IGT. This realization led to the creation of an expurgation theory that explained the absences as a result of “orthodox revision” similar to the changes made over time to the apocryphal acts. Early scholarship focused also on IGT’s troubling portrayal of Jesus. Commentators objected to the stories of Jesus maiming and murdering his Galilean neighbours, but they derived some comfort from the apparent progression in the young messiah’s demeanour—the villagers demand that Joseph teach his son to bless and not to curse and, for the most part, their desires are met. After the teacher Zacchaeus’s lament in ch. 7, Jesus restores those he cursed to health, and then performs a number of praiseworthy miracles (chs. 9–18), broken only by the cursing of the second teacher in ch. 14. The stories of chs. 10, 17, and 18 are of particular note because they are structured very much like Synoptic miracle stories; in these tales, the young Jesus seems to be turning into the man familiar to readers of the canonical Gospels.

Tischendorf’s Ga text has been very popular in scholarship; its regular appearance in apocrypha collections, sometimes with Gb and LT, has cemented its status as the *textus receptus* of IGT, a position that has proved difficult to unseat despite subsequent advances in establishing the text’s original form based on other versions.

## 2. SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS AND SYRIAN ORIGINS

The first of these advances arrived in 1865 with William Wright’s publication of a Syriac MS from the British Library. The sixth-century MS—London, British Library, Add. 14484 (=W)<sup>17</sup>—predates the previously published Greek MSS by almost a millennium and contains striking differences from Tischendorf’s Ga text. The introduction with its attribution to Thomas is lacking; thus the title of the text is simply “The Childhood of the Lord Jesus.” The Synoptic-like miracles of chs. 10, 17 and 18 also are absent and in general, the remaining individual chapters are shorter, except for ch. 6, which is considerably expanded with material that at this point in scholarship had been seen also in LT and LM but was largely neglected due to the favoritism showed to Ga.

---

<sup>17</sup> Wright, *Contributions*, ٤٠٤ (Syriac text), 6–11 (English translation).

Wright's MS quickly made an impact on IGT scholarship. Tischendorf, for his part, incorporated its readings into the apparatus of the second edition of *Evangelia Apocrypha*. B. H. Cowper went a step further in his 1867 collection of apocrypha in English translation. Alongside Tischendorf's Ga text, Cowper placed Gb, LT, and his own translation of W,<sup>18</sup> added because of its antiquity and its agreements with the Latin palimpsest LV.<sup>19</sup> Cowper stated also that he believed IGT may have been composed in Syriac.<sup>20</sup> The same opinion was held by Michel Nicolas, though Nicolas, it seems, was unaware of the existence of Wright's MS. In *Études sur les évangiles apocryphes*, published in 1866, Nicolas outlines his belief that all the infancy gospels were written by Syrian Jewish-Christians.<sup>21</sup> IGT's Jewish-Christian features are said to include the text's esteem of James, certain geographical hints (e.g., playing on rooftops as in IGT 9), and affinities between IGT's letter speculation section (ch. 6:4) and similar practices in Kabbalah.<sup>22</sup> Nicolas was the first scholar to present an explicit argument for Syriac composition. He cited the text's attribution to Thomas—an apostle associated with Syriac Christianity via the *Acts of Thomas*<sup>23</sup>—and the low quality of its Greek which, he claimed, owes itself to slavish translation from Syriac.<sup>24</sup> Many of Nicolas's ideas about IGT were revisited by Jean Variot in his comprehensive 1878 study *Les évangiles apocryphes*.<sup>25</sup> A Syrian origin was again postulated, though Variot was able to support his claim with Wright's Syriac text, a text which he felt demonstrated signs of an earlier tradition—it has fewer errors than the Greek and shows a concern for the law (see ch. 6:2b).<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Cowper, *Apocryphal Gospels*, lxxviii–lxxv (introduction), 128–69 (Ga, Gb, LT), 448–56 (Syr).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxv.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 128; cf. lxxii.

<sup>21</sup> Nicolas, *Études sur les évangiles apocryphes*.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 290–94.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 331.

<sup>25</sup> Variot, *Les évangiles apocryphes*.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 46–47.

A second Syriac source for IGT was published in 1899 by E. A. W. Budge.<sup>27</sup> During his travels in Syria, Budge commissioned a copy of a thirteenth/fourteenth-century manuscript from Alqoš featuring the East Syriac *Hist. Vir.*, a compilation of various noncanonical texts that prominently feature stories of Jesus' mother, beginning with *Prof. Jas.* and ending with *Dorm. Vir.* Much of the material in-between, featuring tales of the Holy Family in Egypt, is found also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, indicating that Budge's text is an important witness to an earlier stage in the infancy gospel's development. Budge published his *Hist. Vir.* based on two manuscripts: the version from Alqoš that includes IGT as well as other expansions (=A), and a shorter version from a MS at the Royal Asiatic Library (Syr. 1; =B). Budge's Alqoš MS is widely believed to be missing but that is not the case; it now resides in the library of the University of Leeds (cataloged as Syr. 1). Perhaps this belief has contributed to the severe neglect of *Hist. Vir.* by subsequent scholars.<sup>28</sup>

Syr next appeared in scholarship in Arnold Meyer's contributions to Edgar Hennecke's *Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*.<sup>29</sup> In the 1904 edition, Meyer notes the correspondences between the Latin and Syriac traditions, professes their superiority over the Greek manuscripts, and concludes that the original text, "ohne Zweifel," stood nearer to these translations.<sup>30</sup> Meyer's support of the versions is apparent in his translation, which generally follows Ga but adds the Syriac and Latin translations in parallel columns where Meyer considered Ga

---

<sup>27</sup> Budge, *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, vol. 1, 67–76 (IGT material in Syriac), vol. 2, 71–82 (in English). Budge also reprinted the Syriac text of W for comparison (vol. 1, 217–22).

<sup>28</sup> Aside from works by Paul Peeters, Elena Merschskaja, and Anton Pritula (surveyed below), the most comprehensive study of the text would be Erica C. D. Frank's unpublished 1974 Master's thesis ("History of the Blessed Virgin Mary"), which examines *Hist. Vir.*'s use of other Syriac apocrypha and its possible influence on the Qur'an. A new edition of *Hist. Vir.* is being prepared by Louis-Marie Ariño-Durand for future publication in the Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum

<sup>29</sup> See Meyer, "Erzählung des Thomas" and the more in-depth study in the accompanying *Handbuch* ("Kindheits Erzählung des Thomas" [1904]).

<sup>30</sup> Meyer, "Kindheits Erzählung des Thomas" (1904), 133.



to be deficient (chs. 5–8). For the second edition in 1924, Meyer supplemented his readings from W with another early MS from Göttingen (Universitätsbibliothek, Syr. 10; 6th cent.; =G). Meyer became aware of the manuscript via Hugo Duensing who mentions it in a brief announcement made in 1911.<sup>31</sup> It was then noted by Anton Baumstark in his 1922 survey of Syriac literature. Baumstark mentioned also several other unpublished MSS, all of which have turned out to be witnesses to Budge's *Hist. Vir.*<sup>32</sup> The full extent of the Göttingen MS was not revealed at the time, but readers would have seen from Meyer's 1924 translation that it includes material from Ga 6–8 missing in W. The new MS reaffirmed Meyer's belief that Syr represents an older text form than the Greek recensions.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, it was many years before a full collation of G saw publication.

In the years between Meyer's contributions to the Hennecke collections, Paul Peeters brought new interest to the Syriac traditions in his own Christian apocrypha collection, *Évangiles apocryphes*, co-edited with Charles Michel. The second volume, published in 1914, features an introductory essay by Peeters detailing a comprehensive Syro-Arabian theory of origin for the various infancy gospel traditions.<sup>34</sup> To make his argument, Peeters drew upon a new seventeenth-century MS (Vatican, Bibliotheca apostolica, Syr. 159; dated 1622/1623; =P) featuring *Arab. Gos. Inf.* in Garšūnī (Arabic in Syriac script) with IGT appended in Syriac. According to Peeters's theory, all of the childhood stories found in the infancy gospels derive from a larger collection of legends assembled in Syriac in the fifth century. The IGT material, he claimed, was soon detached from this collection and then translated into Greek and Latin. An intermediate Greek text between the Latin and Syriac texts was considered a possibility by Peeters but not a necessity. Peeters admitted the unlikelihood of such a transmission process, but the greatest weakness in his argument is his failure to offer any proof for his assertion of Syriac composition. He declared only that an inverse relationship from

---

<sup>31</sup> In Meyer's telling ("Kindheits Erzählung des Thomas" [1924], 93–94), the MS came from Sinai and was donated to Göttingen by Duensing who announced the discovery in "Mitteilungen 58."

<sup>32</sup> Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 69 n. 12.

<sup>33</sup> Meyer, "Kindheits Erzählung des Thomas" (1924), 94.

<sup>34</sup> Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, i–lix.

Greek to Syriac would not work.<sup>35</sup> As for his new IGT MS, Peeters produced only an excerpt of chs. 5–8, translated into French with notes on variant readings from W, the Greek and Latin MSS, and an edition of four Slavonic MSS still largely unknown in the West at this time.

Peeters's lasting contribution to the study of IGT is his strong assertion about Syriac composition. The contention is a hallmark of French scholarship on the text, beginning from Variot and Nicolas and continuing up to the 1970s.<sup>36</sup> Non-Francophone scholars also often argue for Eastern (even Syrian) origins for the text, though largely based on the text's attribution to Thomas.<sup>37</sup> As it turns out, both lines of argument have proved to be baseless.

### 3. MORE EARLY VERSIONS

Scholars had to wait decades before another Syriac witness to IGT saw publication. In the meantime a number of other early versions of the text appeared, eventually leading several scholars to conclude that the early versions, Syr among them, preserved the gospel better than the extant Greek traditions.

One of these versions, the Georgian, became known to Western readers through Peeters's essay on the infancy gospels. A fragmentary MS (Tbilisi, Cod. A 95; 10th cent.; =Geo)<sup>38</sup> containing chs. 1–7 came to Peeters's attention via an 1897 summary by Alexander Khakhanov.<sup>39</sup> The text was later published in two independent editions: one in Georgian by Kornelius Kekelidze in 1918 and the other in Russian by Leon Melikset-Bek in a journal article dated 1917–1920.<sup>40</sup> A third, definitive edition was prepared by Akaki Sanidze in 1941,<sup>41</sup> and this formed the basis of a Latin

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, xvii–xx. For an early critique of Peeters's theory see James, review of Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, vol. 2.

<sup>36</sup> See the works cited in Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 72 n. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 72 n. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, xix–xx.

<sup>39</sup> Khakhanov, *Očerki po istorii gruziŋskoi slovenosti*, vol. 2, 319–21.

<sup>40</sup> Kekelidze, *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica*, vol. 1, 115–17; Melikset-Bek, "Fragment grusinskoi."

<sup>41</sup> Sanidze, "A Fragment of the Georgian Version of the Apocryphal 'Gospel of Thomas.'"

translation by Gérard Garitte in 1956.<sup>42</sup> Except for a subsequent translation into Italian by Luigi Moraldi, the text has not been revisited since.<sup>43</sup> Peeters also brought *Arm. Gos. Inf.* to Western readers' attention in a French translation based on the 1898 edition of Esayi Tayec'i,<sup>44</sup> as well as two additional MSS and several fragments.<sup>45</sup> Another translation, the first in English, was made by Abraham Terian in 2008.<sup>46</sup> *Arm. Gos. Inf.* is significant for the study of Syr as it features several episodes from IGT (chs. 6, 9, 13 and the story of Jesus and the Dyer). These same stories are preserved alone, without the other IGT material, in the recension of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* published by Provera in 1973 (from Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, codex orientalis 387 [32]; dated to 1299).<sup>47</sup> This recension is believed to preserve the text in a form earlier than the MS published by Sike. The shared material in *Arm. Gos. Inf.* and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* suggests some relationship between the traditions, perhaps originating in a Syriac milieu.<sup>48</sup>

An Ethiopic version of IGT (=Eth) appeared in 1919 as part of Sylvain Grébaud's efforts to publish the lengthy *Ta'amra 'Iyasus* (*Miracles of Jesus*).<sup>49</sup> Miracle Eight of the collection corresponds to IGT 2–9, 11–16 and 19; ch. 12, however, is inserted, following a story of Jesus on a sunbeam, after ch. 19. This peculiar form of the text captured the attention of Adolf Grohmann, who suggested that ch. 12 may be a late addition to Eth, and that the missing chapters (10, 17, 18) were perhaps not available to the compiler.<sup>50</sup> Of the origin of Eth, Grébaud and Grohman assumed the *Ta'amra 'Iyasus* was translated from Arabic.<sup>51</sup> This source was later identified

<sup>42</sup> Garitte, "Le fragment géorgien," 516–20.

<sup>43</sup> Moraldi, *Apocriji del Nuovo Testamento*, vol. 1, 276–79.

<sup>44</sup> Tayec'i, *Ankanon girke' nor ktakaranac'*, vol. 2, 1–236.

<sup>45</sup> Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, 69–286.

<sup>46</sup> Terian, *Armenian Gospel of the Infancy*.

<sup>47</sup> Provera, *Vangelo arabo dell'infanzia*.

<sup>48</sup> Budge's *Hist. Vir.* is proof that at least a portion of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* was translated from Syriac and Terian considers *Arm. Gos. Inf.* a "sixth-century translation of a now lost Syriac original" (*Armenian Gospel of the Infancy*, xi, cf. xxii–xxvi).

<sup>49</sup> Grébaud, "Les miracles de Jésus," 625–42.

<sup>50</sup> Grohmann, "Reste einer neuen Rezension der Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu," 3–4.

<sup>51</sup> Grébaud, "Aperçu sur les miracles de N. S.," 255; Grohmann, "Reste einer neuen Rezension der Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu," 4.

as the *Apocryphal Gospel of John*,<sup>52</sup> though *Apocr. Gos. John* does not contain the IGT material. Based on this determination and on the various placements of IGT in the *Ta'amra 'Iyasus* MSS, Victor Arras and Lucas Van Rompay concluded in 1975 that IGT was a late addition to the collection.<sup>53</sup>

The next early version of IGT to see publication is a poetic paraphrase of the text in Gaelic (Dublin, National Library of Ireland *MS G 50*; 17th cent.; =Ir). The text appeared first in a preliminary edition by James Carney in 1958 and then in a definitive edition in 1964.<sup>54</sup> Carney dated the translation of the text (from Latin) on philological grounds to around 700.<sup>55</sup> The early date of Ir led Carney to speculate on the origins of the gospel. Noting formal correspondences between Ir and Gb—Ir features chs. 2–9, 11–13 while Gb has chs. 1–11 and 13—he concluded that the two share a common stock of eight episodes, with each eliminating one story.<sup>56</sup> The additional teacher stories and the more benign miracles found in Ga and LT, he claimed, are the product of later additions made in “an effort to improve the character of Jesus as presented in the primitive text.”<sup>57</sup> Subsequent Irish scholars fine-tuned this theory, culminating in David Dumville’s conclusion that Ir represents an early Latin text closer to Syr than

---

<sup>52</sup> The determination was made by Oscar Löfgren in 1942 (“Fakta och dokument angående”) but the text was not published until 1957 by Iohannes Galbiati (as *Iohannis evangelium apocryphorum arabice*). For further discussion of the text, including the publication of additional MSS and its putative Syriac origins, see Horn, “Apocryphal Gospels in Arabic,” 604–606; idem, “Syriac and Arabic Perspectives,” 285–90. Also helpful is Witakowski, “Miracles of Jesus,” 283–84.

<sup>53</sup> Arras and Van Rompay, “Les manuscrits éthiopiens,” 143–44; see also Witakowski, “Miracles of Jesus,” 296–97.

<sup>54</sup> Carney, “Two Old Irish Poems”; idem, *Poems of Blathmac*. Carney’s text has been reprinted a few times since, and was updated by Herbert and McNamara in “Versified Narrative.”

<sup>55</sup> Carney, *Poems of Blathmac*, xviii.

<sup>56</sup> Similar conclusions were reached by Lowe, “IOUDAIOI of the Apocrypha,” 76–78 who wrote, “it seems clear that *SyrW* and *Eth* represent a stage intermediate between *Ir* and *GrB* on the one hand, and *GrA*, *GrC*, *Lat* and *Slav* on the other” (78).

<sup>57</sup> Carney, *Poems of Blathmac*, xvi–xvii.

the Greek recensions and the related LT text.<sup>58</sup> The Latin predecessor of Ir was further clarified when Guy Philippart re-examined the Old Latin palimpsest (LV) in 1972.<sup>59</sup> Philippart stated in his analysis that, contra Tischendorf, LV represents a translation distinct from LT.<sup>60</sup> This determination was developed further by Sever Voicu who demonstrated that LV and Ir are both witnesses to the Latin form of IGT incorporated into *Ps.-Mt.* (LM).<sup>61</sup> *Ps.-Mt.* has thus become a far more important source for the text than anyone had previously believed.

Additional information about the origins of the other Latin translation (LT) came in 1927, when Armand Delatte published a third Greek recension, Greek D (Gd), from a fifteenth-century MS (Athens, Ethnike Bibliothek, gr. 355).<sup>62</sup> This version is attributed to James, not Thomas, and features the same prologue of the Holy Family's journey in Egypt that opens LT. The Athens MS is noteworthy also for featuring, once again, a longer version of ch. 6 that agrees well with the early versions. These features, along with other particular readings, clearly indicate that LT is a translation of the Gd recension.

One of the few scholars to take note of Gd is Aurelio de Santos Otero, who integrated its readings in his work on the Slavonic tradition. For *Das kirchenslavische Evangelium des Thomas* published in 1967, de Santos Otero drew on a number of Slavonic MSS published by Russian scholars and constructed a Greek retroversion of the single source from which the tradition is believed to have been translated. This source is dated to the tenth century, five centuries earlier than the Greek MSS known at the time. De Santos Otero's work was heavily criticized by Slavistics scholars, but it is noteworthy for illustrating just how poorly Ga represents the original text of the gospel.<sup>63</sup> De Santos Otero also responded to Peeters's theory of Syriac composition, arguing that a

---

<sup>58</sup> Dumville, "Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish," 304; see also McNamara, "Notes on the Irish Gospel of Thomas," 43–44; idem, "New Testament Apocrypha," 335–36.

<sup>59</sup> Philippart, "Fragments palimpsestes latins."

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 407.

<sup>61</sup> Voicu, "Notes," 124 and developed further in idem, "Verso il testo primitivo dei Παιδικά," 29–34.

<sup>62</sup> Delatte, "Évangile de l'enfance de Jacques."

<sup>63</sup> See the works summarized in Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 92.

Greek *Vorlage* is observable behind corruptions in Wright's MS W. Unfortunately, the one example he cites as proof—the phrase “living fruit of judgment” (8:1) is said to be derived from the corrupt phrase ἵνα τοὺς κάτω ῥύσωμαι found in Tischendorf's MSS (Ga 8:2)—is rather unconvincing.<sup>64</sup> Given the flaws of de Santos Otero's reconstructed text, few scholars have paid the Slavonic tradition much attention. More recent work by Thomas Rosén in 1997 has increased significantly our knowledge of the tradition, but his edition does not include a translation into a Western language, leaving most scholars of IGT unable to adequately assess it.<sup>65</sup> With the help of T. Allan Smith, I was able to integrate readings from Rosén's Slavonic edition into an edition of Ga prepared for my 2001 doctoral dissertation and to demonstrate that the translation derives from a branch of Ga in existence prior to the tenth century.<sup>66</sup>

By the end of the 1960s, the publication of the versions was beginning to erode scholars' confidence in Tischendorf's popular Ga text. Also, with the publication of the *Gospel of Thomas* found at Nag Hammadi, the belief that IGT was an abbreviation of a longer text had become groundless, leaving open the possibility that it could have begun as a smaller, not longer text. The first effort at integrating these new developments into the study of IGT is Stephen Gero's comprehensive 1971 text-critical study published in *Novum Testamentum*.<sup>67</sup> The article's primary intent, Gero writes, is “to try to correlate the literary versions with the different stages of the oral tradition.”<sup>68</sup> Along with assessments of all the witnesses (except for Ir) to both the full text and to the individual stories, the article features form-critical analyses of key episodes, and a detailed stemma of the text's transmission. Among Gero's conclusions is the determination that Syr should replace Ga as the base text for IGT, especially where it is supported by Geo.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> De Santos Otero, *Kirchenslavische*, 150 n. 8.

<sup>65</sup> Rosén, *Slavonic Translation*.

<sup>66</sup> These conclusions are given in Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 161–62.

<sup>67</sup> Gero, “Infancy Gospel of Thomas.”

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 55–57. Gero's preference for the Syriac tradition is reflected also in his 1988 overview of recent Christian apocrypha research for

Gero's position on the value of the versions is echoed in a seminal article by Lucas Van Rompay from 1980.<sup>70</sup> Comparing readings from IGT 5 and 6 in Ga with their parallels in Eth, Syr (W), Geo, and LV, Van Rompay demonstrates that the four versions derive from a common recension. Eth is shown to be particularly important, with Van Rompay stating that it appears to have been "weinig gewijzigde" ("little changed") in the process of transmission.<sup>71</sup> The absence of IGT in the Arabic predecessor to the *Ta'amra 'Iyasus* had opened up questions about the origins of the Ethiopic IGT. Gero earlier considered the possibility of transmission from Syriac via Coptic.<sup>72</sup> Now Van Rompay suggested that Eth may have been translated directly from Greek, a process that could only have been possible prior to 700 C.E.<sup>73</sup> Gero argued for the same position when he returned to the text in 1988, pointing out specifically the Ethiopic text's use of the names of the Greek letters ("alpha...beta") in the alphabet speculation section in ch. 6.<sup>74</sup>

Van Rompay's work dramatically changed the course of text-critical study of IGT. Tischendorf's late Greek MSS could no longer be relied upon for reconstructions of the text. Fortunately, additional Greek MSS were soon brought into the discussion, allowing scholars to approach nearer the original form of the text in its language of composition, but these new discoveries could not be considered without the awareness that the *textus receptus* was flawed. The expurgation theory had finally lost its footing, demonstrating that the Syriac was not a "much abbreviated" version as M. R. James once wrote.<sup>75</sup> From here on, the collective evidence of the versions was the yardstick against which the Greek MSS were measured. Of course, change did not come overnight. Oscar Cullmann's entry for the 1987 Hennecke-Schneemelcher

---

*ANRW* in which he offers a summary of IGT based not on Ga, but on Syr ("Apocryphal Gospels," 3981–83.)

<sup>70</sup> Van Rompay, "De ethiopische versie."

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 131–32.

<sup>72</sup> Gero, "Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 53 n. 4.

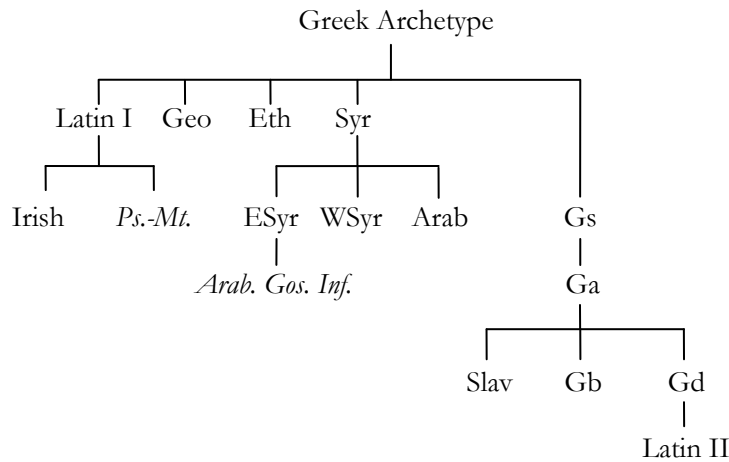
<sup>73</sup> Van Rompay, "De ethiopische versie," 132 n. 47.

<sup>74</sup> Gero, "Ta'amra 'Iyasus," esp. 167. Since Gero, only one other work has appeared devoted solely to the *Ta'amra 'Iyasus*: Witold Witakowski's 1995 survey article, "Miracles of Jesus."

<sup>75</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 49.

collection, for example, again focuses on Ga, incorporates readings from de Santos Otero's much-criticized Slavonic retrotranslation, and pushes Syr W's version of ch. 6 into an appendix.<sup>76</sup> J. K. Elliott's 1993 update of James's *Apocryphal New Testament* includes the standard Ga, Gb, and longer Latin texts. And Ron Hock's 1997 Greek and English edition of IGT, while laudable for providing variant readings from the Slavonic text and for drawing on Gd for the material absent in ch. 6,<sup>77</sup> completely ignores the early versions—they are not mentioned in the introduction and do not appear in the apparatus to his edition.

*Relationships between the Traditions*



<sup>76</sup> Cullmann, "Kindheistevangelien" (1990)—note that the 6th edition of 1990 is a minor update of the 5th edition from 1987. Cullmann's entry for the 1959 Hennecke collection ("Kindheistevangelien" [1959]) also places Syr's ch. 6 in the appendix but at least includes Syr readings in the notes. The Italian collections by Moraldi (*Apocriphi del Nuovo Testamento*, vol. 1, 247–79) and Erbetta (*Gli Apocriphi del Nuovo Testamento*, vol. 1.2, 78–101) appeared just prior to Van Rompay's work. Both feature the typical texts (Ga, Gb, and LT), though, as noted above, Moraldi provides also a translation of Geo.

<sup>77</sup> Hock, *Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas*.



#### 4. RENEWED INTEREST IN THE SYRIAC TRADITION

The past 25 years have been marked by great advances in Christian Apocrypha Studies and cognate disciplines, including Syriac Studies. Associations of Christian apocrypha scholars, such as AELAC (Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne), the Society of Biblical Literature Christian Apocrypha Section, and the recently formed NASSCAL (North American Society for the Study of Christian Apocryphal Literature), have worked to bring attention to neglected branches in the transmission of apocryphal texts, and initiatives such as the Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, e-Ktobe, and the Oxford-BYU Syriac Digital Corpus have enriched our knowledge of Syriac literature in all of its forms. IGT has benefitted greatly from these developments, with scholars re-examining previously published sources for Syr and finding new sources that have contributed significantly to reconstructing the complete text of the Syriac translation.

The period begins with the publication of an Arabic version of IGT translated, apparently, from the Syriac. The text was first mentioned by Stephen Gero in 1988<sup>78</sup> and identified the following year by Luigi Moraldi as Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 11 sup.<sup>79</sup> Sergio Noja presented a French translation of the text in 1990, followed by an Arabic edition in 1991.<sup>80</sup> In form it follows the text of the early versions, but lacks sections of chs. 6 and 7 and the entire chs. 12, 15, and 19. It also includes two additional stories: Jesus and the Dyer (ch. 6; cf. *Arab. Gos. Inf.* [ed. Genequand] 35/*Arm. Gos. Inf.* 21) and a tale similar to Jesus Turns Jewish Children into Goats (ch. 11; *Arab. Gos. Inf.* [ed. Genequand] 39).

More significant for establishing the original text of Syr is the publication, at last, of MS G, known in scholarship since 1911 but finally made available in a 1993 article by Wilhelm Baars and Jan Heldermann.<sup>81</sup> The article focuses only on the IGT section of the

---

<sup>78</sup> Gero, "Apocryphal Gospels," 3982. No MS is listed; Gero mentions only that the text is extant in Arabic and that, at the time, it was unedited.

<sup>79</sup> Moraldi, *Nascita e infanzia di Gesù*, 50; and idem, *Vangelo arabo apocrifo dell'apostolo Giovanni*, 28.

<sup>80</sup> Noja, "L'Évangile arabe apocryphe de Thomas"; idem, "À propos du texte arabe."

<sup>81</sup> Baars and Heldermann, "Neue Materielen," esp. 194–97.

MS, which features also portions of *Prot. Jas.* and *6 Bks. Dorm.*, and presents the text as a collation against Wright's MS W. Additional leaves from the MS, featuring portions of *Prot. Jas.*, were discovered among the new finds at St. Catherine's monastery in 1975, but the association of the leaves to MS G was not made until 2009 in an article by Alain Desreumaux.<sup>82</sup>

Baars' and Heldermann's collation of G is featured along with other Syriac sources in Sever Voicu's multiple publications on IGT. One of the leading voices on IGT, Voicu built on Van Rompay's pioneering work on the versions and combined his conclusions with evidence from a significant new IGT MS in Greek. In his first study of the text from 1991, Voicu repeats Van Rompay's argument that Eth best represents the original form of IGT, adding that therefore, the story of the Miraculous Harvest in ch. 12 (here placed at the end of the gospel) is not original to the text.<sup>83</sup> The same article features the first in-depth discussion of the eleventh-century Greek MS Jerusalem, Bibliothéke tou Patriarcheiou, Saba 259. The MS had been mentioned in 1972 by Jacques Noret in a short note announcing a planned critical edition of the text, an edition that never materialized.<sup>84</sup> Noret passed along his collation of the MS to Voicu, who noted its significant departures from Tischendorf's Ga text: it lacks chs. 17 and 18 but contains 1 and 10, though ch. 10 is placed between 16 and 19.<sup>85</sup> Based on this evidence, Voicu determined that Saba 259 represents a stage in IGT's development between the early versions and the later Greek MSS. The MS was assigned to a new recension: Greek S (Gs). As important as Gs is for the study of IGT, Voicu believed the early versions to be more valuable for establishing the text's original form. This position is evident in his subsequent work on the text: a French translation of IGT for the 1997 collection *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens* based on Eth and Syr,<sup>86</sup> and a sprawling "critical synopsis" in 1998<sup>87</sup> incorporating all of the previously published sources for

---

<sup>82</sup> Desreumaux, "Deux anciens manuscrits syriaques," 117–21. Desreumaux credits the initial identification of the pages to Paul Géhin (*ibid.*, 116).

<sup>83</sup> Voicu, "Notes," 124.

<sup>84</sup> Noret, "Pour une édition de l'Évangile de l'enfance selon Thomas."

<sup>85</sup> Voicu, "Notes," 128–29.

<sup>86</sup> Voicu, "Histoire de l'Enfance de Jésus."

<sup>87</sup> Voicu, "Verso il testo primitivo dei Παιδικά."

the text, though favoring readings from the early versions, including the Syriac witnesses W, P (based on Peeters's partial translation), and a collation of G made for him by Frédéric Rilliet; Budge's edition of *Hist. Vir.*, however, is absent.<sup>88</sup>

Despite Voicu's hesitancy in assigning much value to Saba 259, the MS has been adopted by other scholars as the chief witness to IGT. This determination is based in large part on my work on the text in a 2001 dissertation, updated and expanded for publication in 2010.<sup>89</sup> The dissertation contains four separate editions of IGT: Gs (presented here for the first time), Ga, Gb, and Gd, the latter three incorporating a number of unpublished MSS.<sup>90</sup> In addition, notes to the Gs translation feature readings from the early versions (including Syr), indicating places where Gs agrees with the early versions over the other Greek recensions—particularly the much-discussed material from ch. 6 missing in Tischendorf's MSS. The dissertation also provides details about the previously published Syriac MSS; these details were augmented in the 2010 edition with my own firsthand readings of G and P, examined between 2001 and 2010, and some preliminary observations about the West Syriac *Life of Mary*.<sup>91</sup>

Overlooked in 2001, however, was a significant survey of both West and East Syrian Life of Mary traditions published in 1994 by Simon Mimouni.<sup>92</sup> Mimouni's primary research interest is the Dormition traditions but in the course of his discussion he provides an extensive list of Life of Mary MSS, including those noted previously by Baumstark and Graf, and he divides this evidence, long confused in the literature, into Eastern (Nestorian)

---

<sup>88</sup> Voicu erroneously describes G as containing 15:2–4 (“Verso il testo primitivo dei Παῖδικά,” 89–90), though it is not known whether the error is his or Rilliet's.

<sup>89</sup> Chartrand-Burke, “*Infancy Gospel of Thomas*,” 101–16 and Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 302–37. Gs was published subsequently in van Aarde, “Die Griekse manuskrip” and in Aasgaard, *Childhood of Jesus*, 219–42.

<sup>90</sup> Descriptions of all the Greek IGT MSS can be found in Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 127–44. A survey of these witnesses appeared prior to 2001 in Chartrand-Burke, “Greek Manuscript Tradition.”

<sup>91</sup> Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 162–67.

<sup>92</sup> Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge.”

and Western (Jacobite) traditions.<sup>93</sup> The East Syrian tradition is well-known, represented by Budge's *Hist. Vir.* text; but before Mimouni's article, little had been written about the West Syrian *Life of Mary*, less still on its connection to IGT.

The West Syrian *Life Mary* (CANT 95) is arranged in six books with IGT comprising the fourth book. Books one and two are derived from *Prot. Jas.*, book three details the activities of the Holy Family in Egypt as communicated in the *Vision of Theophilus*,<sup>94</sup> named for the patriarch of Alexandria from 385–412, and books five and six come from *6 Bks. Dorm.* The collection first came to scholars' attention in a summary presentation by François Nau in 1910.<sup>95</sup> Nau focused his discussion on *Vis. Theo.*, drawn here from Vatican, Borg. Syr. 128 (dated 1720); other sections of the *Life Mary* collection are mentioned but not IGT, since, unbeknownst to Nau, his MS was missing many of the pages that comprise the fourth book. The full text of *Vis. Theo.* was published in 1917 by Michelangelo Guidi, in Syriac (from Vatican, Borg. Syr. 128) and in Arabic,<sup>96</sup> and again in 1929 in a Syriac edition and translation by Alphonse Mingana based on Vatican, Borg. Syr. 128 and two MSS in his collection (Syr. 5 and 48).<sup>97</sup> Again, IGT's presence in *Life Mary* was not made apparent; Mingana mentions that one of the texts was entitled "Of the youth and upbringing of our Lord Jesus Messiah" and states that he decided to publish only *Vis. Theo.* because the other sections had already been published.<sup>98</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 239–43.

<sup>94</sup> See CANT 56 and CPG 2628 for references to various versions. See also Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 229–32; Gero, "Apocryphal Gospels," 3983–84; and Horn, "Apocryphal Gospels in Arabic," 601–602. For recent work on the text see Monferrer Sala's edition of one of three Arabic recensions (*Vision of Theophilus*).

<sup>95</sup> Nau, "La version syriaque de la vision de Théophile."

<sup>96</sup> Guidi, "La omelia di Teofilo di Alessandria," 26 (1917) 441–69 and 30 (1921/1922) 217–37 (Arabic text and Italian translation), 26 (1917) 391–440 (Syriac text), 30 (1921/1922), 274–309 (translation). To be clear, the first full publication of the text was not the Syriac nor the Arabic but an Ethiopic translation by Rossini ("Il discorso su Monte Coscam") published in 1912.

<sup>97</sup> Mingana, "Vision of Theophilus." Mingana mentioned also at the time the existence of two Garshûni MSS (Syr. 39 and 114).

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 384.

The combining of traditions about Mary seems to have taken place quite early in the Syriac tradition. This compilation process is described in some detail in a 2008 article by Cornelia Horn. Here she traces the origins of the Life of Mary tradition to the fifth century,<sup>99</sup> the approximate date of the underwriting in a palimpsest containing *Prot. Jas.* and *6 Bks. Dorm.* found at St. Catherine's monastery by Agnes Smith Lewis (Cambridge University Library, Or. 1287).<sup>100</sup> The compilation was soon enlarged with the addition of IGT, an outcome observable in MSS W and G.<sup>101</sup> Stephen Shoemaker describes a similar developmental schema in several studies on the *Life of the Virgin* attributed to Maximus the Confessor. An article from 2009 notes the early collection of Marian apocrypha in the Smith Lewis palimpsest and W and G and suggests that similar compendia were once available in Greek.<sup>102</sup> This is evident from the so-called *Tübingen Theosophy*, composed around 500 CE, which is said to have drawn upon a work identified

---

<sup>99</sup> Horn, "Syriac and Arabic Perspectives," esp. 273–75, 278–81; and revisited in Horn and Phenix, "Apocryphal Gospels in Syriac," 532–33.

<sup>100</sup> Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*. The overwriting of the MS is an eighth-century Arabic Qur'an. Smith used a *Life Mary* MS (Cambridge Mass., Harvard Houghton Library, Syr. 39) to fill in text missing from *6 Bks. Dorm.* For more on this MS see below pp. 77–80. Additional early fragmentary witnesses to *6 Bks. Dorm.* are noted in Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions*, 48.

<sup>101</sup> Smith Lewis's palimpsest, though fragmentary, never contained IGT as it clearly transitions directly from *Prot. Jas.* to *6 Bks. Dorm.* In support of her argument, Horn ("Syriac and Arabic Perspectives," 279) brings in the tenth-century fragment of *Trans. Vir.* printed in Wright, *Contributions*, ٢٠٠ (Syriac), 18–41 (English). The text, currently bundled with W as fol. 9<sup>r</sup>–11<sup>r</sup>, begins with a statement about Jesus' birth and childhood: "the Word of Life, which was with the Father. truly came into the world, and was born of a woman by a great miracle; and went about the streets as a child, to the confirmation of His incarnation; and received the education of growth, after the manner of all the sons of men." Because of the placement of *Trans. Vir.* in W, Horn mistakenly identifies it as *6 Bks. Dorm.* and thus reads in this statement a transition from *Prot. Jas.* and IGT to *6 Bks. Dorm.* While the writer of this later version of *Dorm. Vir.* may have had the infancy gospels in mind, *6 Bks. Dorm.* does not contain such a statement.

<sup>102</sup> Shoemaker, "Virgin Mary's Hidden Past," 12–14. The argument is repeated in idem, *Life of the Virgin*, 17–18.

as “the birth and assumption of our Lady the immaculate Theotokos.” Maximus, for his part, certainly incorporated in his work traditions from both *Prot. Jas.* and *Dorm. Vir.*, but not IGT, which he rejects in a statement after his narration of Luke’s story of Jesus in the Temple: “And all this time, from this moment until the baptism, transpired without the working of any public miracles. For the book that is called the *Infancy of Christ* is not to be received, but is alien to the order of the Church and contrary to what the holy evangelists have said and an adversary of truth that was composed for foolish men and storytellers” (62).<sup>103</sup> Shoemaker takes from this statement that despite his rejection of IGT, Maximus drew upon a Greek Life of Mary compendium that included all three of the texts found in W and G.<sup>104</sup>

Shoemaker and Horn focus only on the early witnesses to Life of Mary compendia; discussion of the later branches in this tradition are taken up by Stephen Davis and Charles Naffah. In his 2008 book *Coptic Christology in Practice*, Davis discusses *Vis. Theo.*, book 4 of the West Syriac *Life Mary*, as representative of a body of literature written in Egypt between the sixth and eighth centuries detailing the route of the Holy Family’s Egyptian sojourn.<sup>105</sup> This determination expands upon earlier assessments of the original language of the text. Guidi believed *Vis. Theo.* was composed in Coptic from which it was translated into Arabic;<sup>106</sup> from Arabic it

---

<sup>103</sup> Translation by Shoemaker in *Life of the Virgin*, 89.

<sup>104</sup> For a response to this particular argument, see Booth, “On the Life of the Virgin,” 198 n. 177, and Shoemaker’s subsequent defense in “(Pseudo?) Maximus,” 117–18. Shoemaker continues to be interested in the early Syriac compendia and plans to publish them in a critical edition for the Corpus Christianorum Series Apocryphorum.

<sup>105</sup> Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice*, 131–48; on *Vis. Theo.* in particular see 135–39 (citing in this regard Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 228 and others). Davis discusses *Vis. Theo.* also in “Ancient Sources for the Coptic Tradition,” 144–51, though this earlier work does not touch on the origins of the *Life Mary* collection.

<sup>106</sup> Guidi, “La omelia di Teofilo di Alessandria,” 385–86; see also Gero, “Apocryphal Gospels,” 3984; and Monferrer Sala, *Vision of Theophilus*, 12. Mingana (“Vision of Theophilus,” 388) said only that the Syriac version was a translation from Arabic. A Coptic version of *Vis. Theo.* is now more than hypothetical; Alin Suci published a fragment of the text from a MS originating from the White Monastery in “Me, This Wretched Sinner.”

was translated into Ethiopic and Syriac, with subsequent translation into Garšūnī.<sup>107</sup> *Vis. Theo.*, therefore, must have been added to the other three Mary-related texts sometime between the sixth century and the date of the earliest *Life Mary* MS (Mingana Syr. 39, in Garšūnī, is dated 1462), at which time the collection would have achieved its six-book organization.

Naffah added his voice to the discussion in a 2009 study that traces the history of the assembly of Marian materials from the earliest Syr MSS and into the six-book *Life Mary* collection on the one hand and the lengthy East Syriac *Hist. Vir.* on the other.<sup>108</sup> Since there is no early evidence for either the Syriac *Prot. Jas.* or Syriac IGT as an independent text, Naffah concludes that the two texts never existed separately from the Life of Mary compilations. Included in Naffah's evidence is a detailed look at the contents of a range of *Life Mary* MSS, though based largely on information from catalog descriptions rather than firsthand examination.<sup>109</sup> Nevertheless, he was able to use that information to establish a relationship between three MSS: Harvard Syr. 39, Vatican Borg. Syr. 128, and Charfeh, Fonds Rahmani 60, the latter mentioned here in scholarship for the first time. Alain Desreumaux echoed Naffah's position on the Life of Mary compilations in an article appearing in the same volume of the journal as Naffah's study. He argues that the compiling of texts observable in G, W, and Smith Lewis's palimpsest indicates that, "*en syriaque ces différent épisodes n'existent jamais à l'état séparé, mais sont toujours des chapitres d'une Histoire suivie de la Vierge, de sa naissance à sa mort.*"<sup>110</sup> However, Peeters's MS P (as well as M, N, and Q, unknown to Desreumaux at the time) would seem to argue against that position.<sup>111</sup> Desreumaux accounts for P as a text that has "broken off" from the Life of Mary tradition. Naffah soon returned to *Life*

---

<sup>107</sup> On translation into Garšūnī see Mingana, "Vision of Theophilus," 388.

<sup>108</sup> Naffah, "Les 'histoires' syriaques de la Vierge," 140–59.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 161–66.

<sup>110</sup> Desreumaux, "Deux anciens manuscrits syriaques," 119.

<sup>111</sup> Naffah concedes elsewhere that P and M contain IGT alone but this admission is made only in a footnote ("*Apocalypse de la Vierge*," 103 n. 5) and without reflection on its implications. Desreumaux mentions M elsewhere ("*Les apocryphes syriaques sur Jésus et sa famille*," 57 n. 26) but characterizes it as "fragmentary."

*Mary* for a second article, this one focusing on book six of the collection.<sup>112</sup> After a brief description of the various Syriac witnesses and their development, Naffah provides a translation of Mary's apocalypse based on Mingana Syr. 560 (erroneously identified as the oldest *Life Mary* MS) with readings from Harvard Syr. 39, based on Smith Lewis's edition, in the notes.

While it is heartening to see such attention finally being paid to the West Syriac compilation, the East Syriac *Hist. Vir.* is still relatively unexplored. In the century since its publication only two articles have appeared on the text. The first of these is Anton Pritula's 2005 study of Giwargis Warda's hymn on the childhood of Christ.<sup>113</sup> Warda is an East Syrian hymnographer of the thirteenth century. His Christmas service hymn, entitled *On the Book of the Childhood of the Lord* (ܩܘܿܬܒܐ ܕܥܘܿܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܿܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܿܠܡܐ), is a poetic reworking of the complex of childhood stories in *Hist. Vir.* not derived directly from IGT (the Animation of the Sparrows, the Children Turned into Goats, Jesus is Made King, Simon the Canaanite and the Snake Bite, the Man and the Serpent, and the Fall of Buza; all contained in stanzas 73–82), demonstrating that Warda, or the author writing in his name, drew upon a version of *Hist. Vir.* that did not contain IGT (such as Budge's MS B and related MSS). The second article is Elena Mescherskaja's brief discussion of the section of the text narrating the Adoration of the Magi.<sup>114</sup> Building on Peeters's theory that *Hist. Vir.* was composed by Nestorian Christians in Iran,<sup>115</sup> Mescherskaja notes a number of elements in the story that situates the text, or at least this particular section, in the final decades of the Sasanian Empire, just prior to the rise of Islam.<sup>116</sup> These elements include the identification of the Magi as Persian kings (reflecting the semi-independent kingdoms of the Sasanid state), references to the kings' elaborate crowns (attested in Persian art of the time), the statement that the kings departed from Persia at the cock-crow (an echo, perhaps, of the rooster's

---

<sup>112</sup> Naffah, "Apocalypse de la Vierge."

<sup>113</sup> Pritula, "Hymn by Givargis Warda." Warda's first name is more commonly written as "Giwargis."

<sup>114</sup> Mescherskaja, "L'Adoration des mages." The story is found on pp. 34–39 of Budge's translation and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Genequand) 5–7. In Sike's MS it is severely shortened (see ch. 5).

<sup>115</sup> Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, xxv.

<sup>116</sup> Mescherskaja, "L'Adoration des mages," 100.



eneration in Iranian mythology), and the burning of the swaddling bands in fire (evoking the practices of Zoroastrianism).<sup>117</sup> If Merscherskaja is correct, this evidence provides a *terminus post quem* for *Hist. Vir.* (or at the very least, for its incorporation of the Adoration of the Magi) in the seventh century.

The entire spectrum of sources for Syr is examined in my 2013 article on Peeters's unpublished Vatican MS.<sup>118</sup> The article features a diplomatic edition of P with readings from W, G, and a new MS (Mingana Syr. 105; =M) similar to P, in the apparatus. I present also a revised list of *Hist. Vir.* and *Life Mary* MSS, with several additions and clarifications. The MSS are separated into three recensions: Sa for the MSS containing IGT as an independent text, Sw for the version of IGT found in *Life Mary*, and Se for the one contained in *Hist. Vir.* Significant readings from the Sw and Se recensions are found in the notes to the translation of P. The edition and translation are preceded by a brief overview of previous scholarship and a detailed discussion of Peeters's off-handed claim that IGT was composed in Syriac. The claim had been dismissed to some extent by Voicu<sup>119</sup> and in a more detailed fashion in my dissertation and edition.<sup>120</sup> But with the full publication of Peeters's MS providing a more complete text than found in W and G (i.e., the addition of the entire chs. 6–8, 14, and 15), it was worthwhile to revisit Peeters's theory. Alas for Peeters, P presents no compelling reason to doubt that IGT was composed in Greek. Elements of the article were reworked into my entry on the Syriac IGT in the new Christian apocrypha collection, *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*.<sup>121</sup> IGT routinely appears in such collections as a translation of Ga, sometimes accompanied by Gb and the Egyptian prologue from Gd/LT. My contribution to the volume features an introduction to the text with, once again, a full enumeration of the MSS known at the time, and a translation based primarily on W and G.

---

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 98–100.

<sup>118</sup> Burke, "Unpublished Syriac Manuscript."

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 53–55.

<sup>120</sup> Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 174–88, a revision of Chartrand-Burke, "Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 247–54.

<sup>121</sup> Burke, "Infancy Gospel of Thomas (Syriac)."

A century and a half have passed since Wright introduced Western scholars to the Syriac tradition of IGT. His MS, though very early in comparison to other witnesses known at the time, suffered from significant lacunae. In the decades since, new MSS have been cataloged, one even contemporary to W, but relatively little attention has been paid to them, and no one until now has sought to establish a new critical edition of the text despite the emerging scholarly consensus about the importance of the Syriac tradition. Reliance on the edition of Wright also obscures the later life of this text, which has been in greater continual use through the centuries than the Greek tradition. Syriac may not be the original language of IGT but it is in the Syriac milieu that this text flourished.

The critical editions in this volume represent a significant step forward in the study of IGT, but there is still much work that remains to be done on the Life of Mary traditions in which the text is embedded. The versions of *Prot. Jas.* and *6 Bks. Dorm.* incorporated into the West Syriac *Life Mary* have not been integrated into text-critical work on those texts; and *Vis. Theo.* is in need of a comprehensive critical edition not only of the Syriac tradition, but also the Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. As for the East Syriac *Hist. Vir.*, the only edition of this text to appear so far relies on two MSS; at least 19 more are known, and many of these represent earlier stages in the text's development than the one selected by Budge as his base text. As with *Life Mary*, *Hist. Vir.* is a witness to the Syriac *Prot. Jas.* and *6 Bks. Dorm.* but, more importantly, it is the source of infancy materials found otherwise only in *Arab Gos. Inf.*, which also has a rich, largely unevaluated MS tradition. *Hist. Vir.* has been sorely neglected as a source for *Arab Gos. Inf.*; a critical edition drawing on the Syriac and Arabic traditions is a *desideratum*, and further study of this text will add considerably to our knowledge of Arabic Christianity. The following chapter, with its descriptions of the various sources for the Syriac IGT, is far from a complete survey of the various paths taken in the transmission of the two Life of Mary collections, but consider it an invitation to continue work on these neglected expressions of Marian devotion.

## 2 DESCRIPTIONS AND CLASSIFICATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

### 1. RECENSION A

Sa is represented by the two earliest known MSS of Syr—W and G—and thus is most valuable for reconstructing the original text of the Syriac tradition. Nevertheless, these two MSS suffer from some significant lacunae. Fortunately, this material is supplied, with some caveats, by four MSS of the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries: Q, P, M, and N. Together, the six Sa MSS present us with a form of IGT considerably earlier than what is found in the extant Greek MSS that have dominated scholarship on the gospel.

**W** London, British Library, Add. 14484; vellum, 10.5 × 8.5 inches, 36 fols., 2 col., 6th cent.: fols. 14<sup>v</sup>–18<sup>v</sup>.<sup>1</sup>

Published by William Wright in 1865,<sup>2</sup> W was scholars' first look at IGT in Syriac. The MS was acquired by the British Library in 1843 from the Deir al-Surian in Egypt, a monastery dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The majority of the early MSS in the British Library's acquisitions were brought to the monastery from Baghdad in 931/932 by Abbot Mushe of Nisibis; W may have been among this

---

<sup>1</sup> Catalog: Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, vol. 1, 98–100. In 1865 Wright (*Contributions*, 6) gave the numbering as 12<sup>v</sup>–16<sup>v</sup>. By 1870, two additional leaves were added to the MS resulting in the present numbering. Some scholarship (e.g., Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge”; Geerard in CANT, 35) retains the old numbering.

<sup>2</sup> Wright, *Contributions*, ١٤٤ (Syriac text), 6–11 (English translation), 55–58 (notes).



- 2.3-4  $\text{scripsi}$  :  $\text{W}$   $\text{PN}$   $\text{M}$   $\text{G}$
- 2.4  $\text{GPMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{W}$
- 2.4  $\text{GPMN}$  :  $\text{W}$
- 2.5  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{WG}$
- 2.8  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{G}$   $\text{W}$
- 2.8-9  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{WG}$
- 2.10  $\text{G}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{PMN}$   $\text{W}$
- 2.10  $\text{GPMN}$  : om.  $\text{W}$  (cf. Sw)
- 2.11  $\text{GPMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{W}$
- 2.11  $\text{GPMN}$  :  $\text{W}$   $\text{Q}$
- 2.12  $\text{G}$  con. Wright (cf. Sw) :  $\text{W}$   $\text{QPN}$  om.  $\text{M}$
- 2.13  $\text{MN}$  (et con. Wright) :  $\text{W}$   $\text{P}$  om.  $\text{GQ}$
- 2.14  $\text{G}$   $\text{WQ}$   $\text{PN}$  om.  $\text{M}$
- 2.15  $\text{G}$  :  $\text{W}$   $\text{MN}$   $\text{QP}$
- 2.15  $\text{QPMN}$  :  $\text{WG}$
- 2.15  $\text{QPMN}$  :  $\text{WG}$
- 3.2  $\text{G}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{W}$  om.  $\text{QPMN}$
- 3.2  $\text{scripsi}$  :  $\text{W}$   $\text{PN}$   $\text{QM}$  om.  $\text{G}$
- 3.3  $\text{G}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{W}$   $\text{PN}$   $\text{M}$   $\text{Q}$  (cf. Sw)
- 3.5  $\text{GPMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{Q}$   $\text{W}$
- 4.1  $\text{QPMN}$  :  $\text{WG}$
- 4.2  $\text{QPMN}$  (cf. Sw Se) :  $\text{WG}$
- 4.3  $\text{QPMN}$  :  $\text{WG}$
- 4.5  $\text{Q}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{WG}$   $\text{PMN}$
- 4.5  $\text{GPMN}$  : om.  $\text{WQ}$  (cf. Sw Se)
- 4.6  $\text{GQPMN}$  (cf. Sw) : om.  $\text{W}$
- 4.6  $\text{GPMN}$  :  $\text{WQ}$
- 4.7  $\text{GQPMN}$  (cf. Sw Se) :  $\text{W}$
- 5.1  $\text{G}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{W}$   $\text{GQ}$





- 9.7–8 ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ QPN (cf. Sw) : ܩܦܢ WG ܩܦܢ M
- 9.8 ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ GQP : ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ MN ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ W
- 9.9 ܩܦܢ QPMN : ܩܦܢ G ܩܦܢ W
- 9.11 ܩܦܢ [ܩܦܢ legit Baars] ܩܦܢ GQ : ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ PMN (cf. Sw) ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ W
- 11.1 ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw Se) : ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ W
- 11.1 ܩܦܢ G (cf. Sw) : om. WQPMN
- 11.5–6 ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ G : ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ MN  
ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ P ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ Q  
ܩܦܢ W
- 12.3 ܩܦܢ GQPN : ܩܦܢ W (lacuna in M)
- 13.1 ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ G : ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ WQ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ  
PMN
- 13.4–5 ܩܦܢ — ܩܦܢ Q (cf. Sw MS O et Se) : ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ  
ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ PM ܩܦܢ  
ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ M om. WG
- 13.6 post ܩܦܢ add. ܩܦܢ W
- 13.6–7 ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ scripsi : ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ  
ܩܦܢ W ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ G ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ  
ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ Q ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ  
P ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ MN (cf. Sw)
- 13.7 ܩܦܢ GQPMN : om. W (cf. Sw Se)
- 13.7 ܩܦܢ GPMN : ܩܦܢ W ܩܦܢ Q (cf. Sw Se)
- 14.5 ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ QMN (cf. Sw Se) : ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ P ܩܦܢ W  
(lacuna in G)
- 15.1 ܩܦܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : ܩܦܢ W (lacuna in G)
- 15.2 ܩܦܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. W (lacuna in G)
- 15.3 ܩܦܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : ܩܦܢ W (lacuna in G)
- 15.4 ܩܦܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. W (lacuna in G)
- 15.4–12 ܩܦܢ — ܩܦܢ QPMN (with variants) : ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ  
ܩܦܢ W (lacuna in G)
- 16.2 ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ GQ : ܩܦܢ ܩܦܢ W ܩܦܢ PM ܩܦܢ N
- 16.3 ܩܦܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. W
- 16.3 ܩܦܢ QPMN : ܩܦܢ WG
- 16.4 ܩܦܢ GPMN : ܩܦܢ WQ
- 16.5 post ܩܦܢ add. ܩܦܢ W
- 16.5 ܩܦܢ GPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. WQ



- 16.5–6 ܩܡܢ — (ܫܫܘܢ M) ܫܫܘܢ ܩܡܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om.  
 WG  
 19.2 ܩܡܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. W  
 19.3 ܩܡܢ ܩܡܢ Q (cf. Sw Se) : ܩܡܢ W ܩܡܢ  
 ܩܡܢ PMN ܩܡܢ ܩܡܢ G  
 19.4 ܩܡܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. W  
 19.5 ܩܡܢ GPN (cf. Sw) : ܩܡܢ ܩܡܢ M ܩܡܢ WQ  
 19.9 ܩܡܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. WG  
 19.13 ܩܡܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw OSLk) : ܩܡܢ W  
 19.16 ܩܡܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw) : om. W  
 19.16 ܩܡܢ G : ܩܡܢ W ܩܡܢ ܩܡܢ QPMN (cf. Sw)  
 19.17 (ܩܡܢ MN) ܩܡܢ ܩܡܢ (ܩܡܢ P) ܩܡܢ GPMN  
 (cf. Sw) : ܩܡܢ ܩܡܢ Q ܩܡܢ W  
 19.20 ܩܡܢ ܩܡܢ Q : ܩܡܢ W (cf. OSLk 2:51) ܩܡܢ  
 ܩܡܢ PMN (cf. Sw) (lacuna in G)  
 19.21 ܩܡܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw) : om. W

**G** Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Syr. 10; parchment, 26.5 × 21.5 cm, 37 fols., 2 col., 6th cent.: fols. 1<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>.<sup>6</sup>

Though of the same antiquity as W, G has had a far smaller impact on the study of IGT. The MS is said to have originated from St. Catherine’s Monastery,<sup>7</sup> the same location as a few Greek witnesses to IGT. This provenance has been confirmed by Alain Desreumaux, who recently demonstrated that several of the newly-discovered fragments from St. Catherine’s (M26N and Sp. 78) belong to this MS, though these do not add anything new to the text of IGT.<sup>8</sup> The Göttingen pages of IGT suffer from some minor damage: in the title; at 2.1, 2.8, and 6.34; and fol. 2<sup>r</sup> has a small hole in the right hand column made before writing. G first appeared in scholarship in a brief note by Hugo Duensing in 1911. This note

<sup>6</sup> MS description given in Baars and Heldermaun, “Neue Materielen,” 192–94. The MS is not listed in the Universitätsbibliothek’s catalogs.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 192 n. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Desreumaux, “Deux anciens manuscrits syriaques.” For a description of Sinai Sp. 78, identified provisionally as “Homily with quotation from Mt 2, 9,” see Brock, *Catalogue of the Syriac Fragments*, 73–74; for Sinai M26N, identified as “a lectionnaire du Nouveau Testament,” see Philothée du Sinäi, *Nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Sinäi*, 362–65.

attracted the attention of Arnold Meyer, who consulted the MS for his translation of IGT in the 1924 edition of Hennecke's *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*. A full collation of the MS was made in 1993 by Wilhelm Baars, though it suffers from a number of errors (signaled in the apparatus at 2.2, 6.9, 6.14, 6.36, 7.19, 9.11, 11.2, 11.4, 12.3, 16.5, and 19.4).<sup>9</sup> G was collated also by Frederic Rilliet for Sever Voicu, who incorporated it into his synopsis of the various IGT sources; unfortunately, Voicu's description of G is problematic as he mistakenly reports that the text contains ch. 15.<sup>10</sup>

G contains the same complex of texts as W (portions of *Prot. Jas.* in M26N + Sp. 78 + G fol. 1–1<sup>v</sup>, IGT fols. 1<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>v</sup>, and 6 *Bks. Dorm.* in G fols. 4<sup>v</sup>–37<sup>v</sup>) and they share two large omissions in IGT (6:3–4 and portions of ch. 7). Otherwise, however, the two MSS differ from one another considerably. G suffers from few of the scribal errors in W noted above (the exceptions are 13.4–5 and 16.5–6) and contains a number of unique readings and omissions (most notably, it lacks 5:2, 6:1, 6:2c–d, and chs. 14 and 15). G also has several smaller omissions, some of which are due to scribal error (2.9, 2.13, 6.5, 6.12–13, 6.40–42, 19.10–12, 19.14–15, and 19.19–20). On numerous occasions G is preferred in the edition to W, particularly where G agrees with Q and/or PMN (as indicated in the list of “Deficiencies in W” above) and, of course, in portions of the text absent in W but present in G (6.29–31 and 7.16–17).

*Significant readings unique to G:*

- 2.7 ܠܘܢܐ W : ܠܘܢܐ G (cf. Sw) om. PMN  
 3.1 ܠܘܢܐ WQPMN (cf. Sw) : om. G  
 3.2 ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ W : ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ G ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ QPMN (cf. Sw)  
 3.2 ܠܘܢܐ G (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐ W om. QPMN  
 3.2 ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ scripsi : ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ W ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ PN ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ  
 ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ QM om. G  
 3.2 ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ WQPMN : om. G  
 4.5 ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ WQPMN (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐܘܢܐ G

<sup>9</sup> Baars and Heldermaun, “Neue Materielen,” 194–97.

<sup>10</sup> See Voicu, “Verso il testo primitivo dei Παιδικά,” 89–90.



“Narrative of Mary the Godbearer,” though in reality it contains IGT sandwiched between the memra *On the Malice of the Jews against Mary and Joseph* by Ps.-Ephrem,<sup>12</sup> which draws heavily on scenes from *Prot. Jas.*, and *6 Bks. Dorm.* The MS has no cover and some folios are missing or in disarray. Quire numbers remain only for qu. 11 (fols. 59<sup>r</sup> and 66<sup>v</sup>) and 12 (fols. 67<sup>r</sup> and 76<sup>v</sup>). The memra is without beginning and ending (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>; it lacks also at least one page in the middle of the text); IGT follows, beginning at 5.1, but a later folio (fol. 26) contains 2.11–5.1; the remainder of the MS contains *6 Bks. Dorm.* (fols. 13<sup>r</sup>–25<sup>v</sup>, 27<sup>r</sup>–78<sup>v</sup>; the title for book 2 is found on fol. 23<sup>v</sup>, book 6 on fol. 29<sup>v</sup>). A partial colophon is found on fol. 78<sup>v</sup>, but it contains no clues about the provenance of the MS. A number of folia are damaged, but IGT suffers from only minor holes affecting 2.12–13 and 4.1–2. Note also that fol. 9 is unnumbered, bringing the total folia to 79 rather than the reported 78.

Though a relatively recent MS, Q is nevertheless an important witness to Sa as it contains readings shared with W and G that are distinct from PMN. Q is particularly valuable when W and G are deficient (6:3–4, 7:1–3, and 15:2), as it may preserve readings closer to the original text than PMN (see below). However, Q must be used with caution as it also contains idiosyncratic readings. Of particular note is its consistent use of “Alpha” and “Beta” in the Teacher stories (see 6.35, 6.43–44, 6.46, and 14.3–5) and the additions and variations in the alphabet speculation section (6.47–52), which nevertheless could point to more primitive readings given that here W and G are not extant.

*Agreements between Q and G against W:*

2.13 **ܘܡܪ ܥܠܡ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ** MN (et coni. Wright) : **ܘܡܪ ܥܠܡ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ** W  
**ܘܡܪ ܥܠܡ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ** P om. GQ  
 5.3 **ܠܡ** GQ (cf. Se) : **ܠܡ** WPMN (cf. Sw)

---

Cassmoussa’s hard-to-find volume see the brief overview in Rassam, “Der Mār Behnam: The Monastery of Saint Behnam.”

<sup>12</sup> Published in Beck, *Nachträge zu Ephrem Syrus*, 24–37 (lines 267–825 of Sermo I) and from a different recension in Brock, *Luqqata d-Memre d-al Ktabay Qudsha*, 57–67; an English translation is available in Brock, *Bride of Light*, 163–75.

- 5.6 መከረ ገጽ W : ጽሑፍ ገጽ GQPMN
- 6.38 ጽሑፍ WPMN : ጽሑፍ GQ
- 7.2 ገጽ ገጽ G : ገጽ ገጽ Q ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ W  
ገጽ P ገጽ MN
- 8.4 መከረ GQ : ጽሑፍ PMN (lacuna in W)
- 9.1–2 ገጽ ገጽ GQ (cf. Sw) : om. WPMN
- 9.2 ገጽ ገጽ WPMN : ገጽ ገጽ GQ
- 9.3 ገጽ ገጽ GQMN : ገጽ W ገጽ P
- 9.5 ገጽ ገጽ GQPMN (cf. Sw) : ገጽ W
- 9.5 መከረ GQPMN (cf. Sw) : መከረ W
- 9.8 ገጽ ገጽ GQP : ገጽ ገጽ MN ገጽ ገጽ W
- 9.11 ገጽ [ገጽ legit Baars] ገጽ GQ : ገጽ ገጽ  
ገጽ PMN (cf. Sw) ገጽ ገጽ W
- 11.5–6 ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ G : ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ MN  
ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ P ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ Q  
ገጽ W
- 13.7 ገጽ GQPMN : om. W (cf. Sw Se)
- 16.3 ገጽ GQPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. W
- 19.2 ገጽ GQPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. W
- 19.7 ገጽ ገጽ WPMN : ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ GQ
- 19.7 ገጽ W : om. GQMN (P homoeotel.)

*Agreements between Q and W against G:*

- 3.2 ገጽ scripsi (cf. lin. 2.4; 3.3 et Sw) : ገጽ ገጽ  
PN ገጽ ገጽ QM om. G
- 3.2 ገጽ WQPMN : om. G
- 4.5 ገጽ ገጽ WQPMN (cf. Sw) : ገጽ G
- 4.5 ገጽ GPMN : om. WQ (cf. Sw Se)
- 6.32 ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ G (cf. Sw) : ገጽ ገጽ ገጽ PMN  
om. WQ
- 6.35 ገጽ ገጽ GPMN : ገጽ WQ (cf. Sw)
- 6.36 pr. ገጽ WQ : om. GPMN
- 6.39 ገጽ ገጽ GPMN (cf. Sw) : om. WQ
- 9.1 ገጽ ገጽ WQPMN (cf. Sw) : ገጽ ገጽ G
- 9.3 ገጽ WQ : ገጽ ገጽ G (cf. Sw) ገጽ ገጽ PMN (pro  
ገጽ)
- 11.1 ገጽ G (cf. Sw) : om. WQPMN





- 19.7 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ WG : ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ PM (cf. Se)  
(ܘܢܘܨܘܢ sup. lin. N) ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ Q
- 19.8 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ W : ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ G ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ M ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ N  
om. Q (lacuna in P)
- 19.9 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ WGPMN : ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ Q
- 19.11 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ — ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ WPMN (with variants) : ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ Q (lacuna in G)
- 19.12 (ܘܠܗܘܢ cod.) ܘܠܗܘܢ — ܘܠܗܘܢ W : ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ (ܘܢܘܨܘܢ N) ܘܢܘܨܘܢ PN ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ M ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ Q (lacuna in G)
- 19.13–14 ܘܠܗܘܢ — ܘܠܗܘܢ G) ܘܠܗܘܢ WG : ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ PN (cf. OSk) ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ M ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ Q ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
19.17 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ (ܘܢܘܨܘܢ MN) ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ P) ܘܠܗܘܢ GPMN  
(cf. Sw) : ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ Q ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ W
- 19.17–18 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ WGPMN : om. Q

At several points, Q alone seems to preserve the best reading:<sup>13</sup>

- 6.45 ܘܠܗܘܢ Q (cf. Sw Se) : om. PMN (lacuna in WG)
- 6.45 ܘܠܗܘܢ Q (cf. Sw Se) : om. PMN (lacuna in WG)
- 6.46 ܘܠܗܘܢ Q (cf. Sw Se) : ܘܠܗܘܢ PN (lacuna in WG and M)
- 7.10 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ Q (cf. Sw Se) : (ܘܢܘܨܘܢ M) ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ PMN (lacuna in WG)
- 7.12 ܘܠܗܘܢ Q (cf. Sw Se) : om. PMN (lacuna in WG)
- 8.5 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ GPMN : ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ Q (lacuna in W)
- 9.7 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ Q (cf. lin. 4) : ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ G (cf. Sw) ܘܠܗܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ W ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ [ܘܢܘܨܘܢ MN] PMN
- 13.4–5 ܘܠܗܘܢ — ܘܠܗܘܢ Q (cf. Sw MS O et Se) : ܘܠܗܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ PM ܘܠܗܘܢ  
ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ ܘܢܘܨܘܢ N om. WG

<sup>13</sup> See also below where Q with PMN are chosen over W and/or G.



- 14.5 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** QMN (cf. Sw Se) : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** P **שָׁמַט** W  
(lacuna in G)
- 15.4 **שָׁמַט** Q (cf. Sw Se) : **שָׁמַט** PMN (lacuna in WG)
- 15.5 **כָּסַף** Q (cf. Se) : **כָּסַף** MN **כָּסַף** P (lacuna in WG)
- 15.5 **כָּסַף** Q (cf. Sw) : **כָּסַף** PMN (lacuna in WG)
- 19.3 **לְהַשְׁמִיטָה** Q (cf. Sw Se) : **לְהַשְׁמִיטָה** W **לְהַשְׁמִיטָה**  
**לְהַשְׁמִיטָה** PMN **לְהַשְׁמִיטָה** G
- 19.20 **לְהַשְׁמִיטָה** Q : **לְהַשְׁמִיטָה** W (cf. OSLk 2:51) **לְהַשְׁמִיטָה**  
**לְהַשְׁמִיטָה** PMN (cf. Sw) (lacuna in G)

And perhaps also:

- 11.2 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** WPMN : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** G **הַשְׁמִיטָה** Q (cf. Sw)
- 11.5 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** WG (cf. Sw Se) : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** PMN  
**הַשְׁמִיטָה** , **הַשְׁמִיטָה** **הַשְׁמִיטָה** Q (cf. Se)
- 13.7 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** GPMN : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** W **הַשְׁמִיטָה** Q (cf. Sw Se)

Noteworthy too are places where Q agrees with PMN against WG:

- 3.2 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** G (cf. Sw) : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** W om. QPMN
- 4.2 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** WG (cf. Se) : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** QPMN (cf. Sw)
- 4.6 ante **הַשְׁמִיטָה** add. **הַשְׁמִיטָה** PQ (et sup. lin. N) (cf. Sw)
- 5.2 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** W : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** G (cf. Sw) **הַשְׁמִיטָה** Q **הַשְׁמִיטָה** PN  
(cf. Se) om. M
- 5.3 post **הַשְׁמִיטָה** add. **הַשְׁמִיטָה** QPMN
- 5.5 alt. **הַשְׁמִיטָה** WGM : om. QPN
- 6.3 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** WG : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** G **הַשְׁמִיטָה** QPMN
- 8.2 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** WGM : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** PN **הַשְׁמִיטָה** Q
- 9.7 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** PMN (cf. Sw) : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** Q om. WG
- 9.7–8 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** QPN (cf. Sw) : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** WG **הַשְׁמִיטָה** M
- 11.4 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** WG : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** PMN (cf. Se) **הַשְׁמִיטָה**  
**הַשְׁמִיטָה** Q (cf. Se)
- 13.2 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** WG : om. QPMN
- 13.4–5 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** — **הַשְׁמִיטָה** Q (cf. Sw MS O et Se) : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** **הַשְׁמִיטָה**  
**הַשְׁמִיטָה** PM **הַשְׁמִיטָה**  
**הַשְׁמִיטָה** N om. WG
- 13.6–7 **הַשְׁמִיטָה** scripsi : **הַשְׁמִיטָה** **הַשְׁמִיטָה**  
**הַשְׁמִיטָה** W **הַשְׁמִיטָה** G **הַשְׁמִיטָה**

- ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܕܥܡܘܨܝܘܢ Q ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܥܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܠܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ  
 P ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܥܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܠܡܘܨܝܘܢ MN (cf. Sw)  
 14.2 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ W : ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QPMN (cf. Sw)  
 15.1 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : ܡܘܨܝܘܢ W (lacuna in G)  
 15.2 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. W (lacuna in G)  
 15.3 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : ܡܘܨܝܘܢ W (lacuna in G)  
 15.4 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. W (lacuna in G)  
 16.2 post ܡܘܨܝܘܢ add. ܡܘܨܝܘܢ PN, add. ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QM  
 16.5–6 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ — (ܡܘܨܝܘܢ M) ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QPM (cf. Sw Se) : om.  
 WG  
 19.9 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. WG  
 19.10 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ W : ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QPMN (cf. Sw) (lacuna in G)  
 19.10 post alt. ܡܘܨܝܘܢ add. ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QPN (cf. Sw)  
 19.16 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ G : ܡܘܨܝܘܢ W ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ QPMN (cf. Sw)  
 19.18 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ WG : om. QPMN  
 19.20 post ܡܘܨܝܘܢ add. ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ ܡܘܨܝܘܢ Q, add. ܡܘܨܝܘܢ  
 ܡܘܨܝܘܢ PN

Q also has some notable lacunae, including the sizeable omission of 6:2b–d and several smaller omissions resulting from orthographic errors (at 5.3–4, 7.8–9, 7.13, 7.16–17, 15.6–8, and 16.4–5); there are also two cases of scribal correction at 4.3 and 11.2.

**P** Vatican, Bibliotheca apostolica, Syr. 159; paper, 31.1 × 21.5 cm, 467 fols., 2 col., 1622/1623<sup>14</sup>; fols. 104<sup>r</sup>–106<sup>v</sup>.<sup>15</sup>

P became known to scholars via Paul Peeters in 1914, though for IGT he presented only a translation of chs. 5–8.<sup>16</sup> The complete text finally appeared, collated against WG and N, in my 2013 edition published in *Hugoye*.<sup>17</sup> The IGT material is found in Syriac appended, without a new title, to a version of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* in

<sup>14</sup> Catalog: Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 307–19. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 69–70 n. 12, following Assemani, dates the MS to 1628/1632. Peeters (*Évangiles apocryphes*, xiv) clarifies that the section of the MS containing the infancy material (fol. 98<sup>v</sup>–106<sup>v</sup>) was transcribed in 1622/1623 (see fol. 231<sup>v</sup>, 275<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>15</sup> The pages are also numbered 237<sup>r</sup>–239<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, 290–311.

<sup>17</sup> Burke, “*Infancy Gospel of Thomas*.”









- 14.1  $\text{W} : \text{Q} \text{ PMN}$  (lacuna in G)
- 15.3  $\text{WQ}$  (cf. 14.2 et Se) :  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw et Se MS A) (lacuna in G)
- 15.5  $\text{Q}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{PMN}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 15.6 post  $\text{add. PMN}$
- 16.1  $\text{WGQ} : \text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw MSS Abs)
- 19.2  $\text{WGQ} : \text{om. PMN}$
- 19.6  $\text{WG} : \text{Q} \text{ PMN}$
- 19.11  $\text{W} : \text{Q} \text{ PMN}$  (cf. Sw) om. Q

*Distinctive readings in PMN adopted in the edition:*

- 2.5  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{WG}$  (lacuna in Q)
- 2.8–9  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{WG}$  (lacuna in Q)
- 6.21  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) : om. W (cf. Se) (lacuna in G and Q)
- 6.25  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) : om. W (lacuna in G and Q)
- 6.26–27  $\text{PMN} : \text{om. W}$  (lacuna in G and Q)
- 6.40–42  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{W om. G}$
- 6.43  $\text{PMN} : \text{Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 6.43  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) : om. Q (lacuna in WG)
- 6.44  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 6.44  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 6.49  $\text{PMN} : \text{Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 6.49  $\text{PMN} : \text{Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 6.50  $\text{PMN} : \text{om. Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 6.51  $\text{PMN} : \text{Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 6.51  $\text{PMN} : \text{Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 7.1  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw Se):  $\text{Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 7.3  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw) :  $\text{Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 7.12  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw Se) :  $\text{Q}$  (lacuna in WG)
- 7.13  $\text{PMN}$  (cf. Sw Se) : om. Q (lacuna in WG)

- 7.14 ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ PMN : ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ Q  
(lacuna in WG)
- 7.15 ܠ MN (cf. Se) : om. Q (cf. Sw) (lacuna in WG and P)
- 15.5 ܠܘܟܢ ܠ PMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. Q (lacuna in WG)
- 15.6 ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ PMN (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ Q (cf. Se)  
(lacuna in WG)
- 15.6–8 ܠܘܟܢ — ܠܘܟܢ PMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. Q (homoeotel.?)  
(lacuna in WG)
- 15.10 ܠܘܟܢ PMN (cf. Sw Se) : ܠܘܟܢ Q (lacuna in WG)

**M** Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 105; paper, 31.5 × 21 cm, 263 fols., 2 col., 1832/1833: fols. 27<sup>v</sup>–29<sup>v</sup>.<sup>19</sup>

M appeared previously in my 2013 edition of P. The MS, copied by the priest John Radwāni (see fols. 34<sup>r</sup>, 172<sup>r</sup>, 208<sup>v</sup>, and 363<sup>v</sup>), features the four gospels in the Harklean version with commentary (fols. 41<sup>r</sup>–208<sup>v</sup>) along with an assortment of treatises, three of which are shared with P (see above). IGT appears here alone—that is, not appended to *Arab. Gos. Inf.* in Garšūnī, as in P and N. It is valuable for supplying readings missing or illegible in P (at 7.15–16 and 19.7–9, both found also in N), but suffers from some errors of its own, including large omissions due, likely, to haplography (2.13–14, 5.2, 6.2, 6.48, 12.3, and 19.5), and a number of smaller omissions, errors, and corruptions (see below). Four corrections have been made, presumably by the copyist, at 2.10, 6.36, 7.5, and 15.9, and there is occasional use of Greek vocalization and abbreviations (principally for the third person singular possessive).

*Deficiencies in M not present in P and N (minor omissions, spelling errors, and corruptions):*

- 2.3 ܠܘܟܢ WGPN : om. M (lacuna in Q)
- 2.12 ܠܘܟܢ G con. Wright (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܟܢ (uide adnot.) W ܠܘܟܢ  
QPN om. M
- 3.5–6 ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ W : ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ G ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ  
ܠܘܟܢ (ܠܘܟܢ M) PMN (cf. Sw) ܠܘܟܢ ܠܘܟܢ Q
- 4.3 ܠܘܟܢ WGPN : ܠܘܟܢ M ܠܘܟܢ Q

<sup>19</sup> Catalog: Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, col. 254–61.









- 4.7 ܠܘܩܡܢ GQPMN : ܠܘܩܡܢ ܠܘܩܡܢ W  
 6.10 ܠܘܩܡܢ GPMN (cf. Se) : om. W (lacuna in Q)  
 6.32 ܠܘܩܡܢ ܠܘܩܡܢ ܠܘܩܡܢ G (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܩܡܢ ܠܘܩܡܢ ܠܘܩܡܢ PMN  
 om. WQ  
 6.39 ܠܘܩܡܢ GPMN (cf. Sw) : om. WQ  
 9.5 ܠܘܩܡܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܩܡܢ W  
 9.5 ܠܘܩܡܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܩܡܢ W  
 9.11 ܠܘܩܡܢ GQPMN : om. W  
 16.3 ܠܘܩܡܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw Se) : om. W  
 19.13 ܠܘܩܡܢ GQPMN : ܠܘܩܡܢ W  
 19.17 ܠܘܩܡܢ PG: ܠܘܩܡܢ MN ܠܘܩܡܢ Q om. W  
 19.21 ܠܘܩܡܢ GQPMN (cf. Sw) : om. W

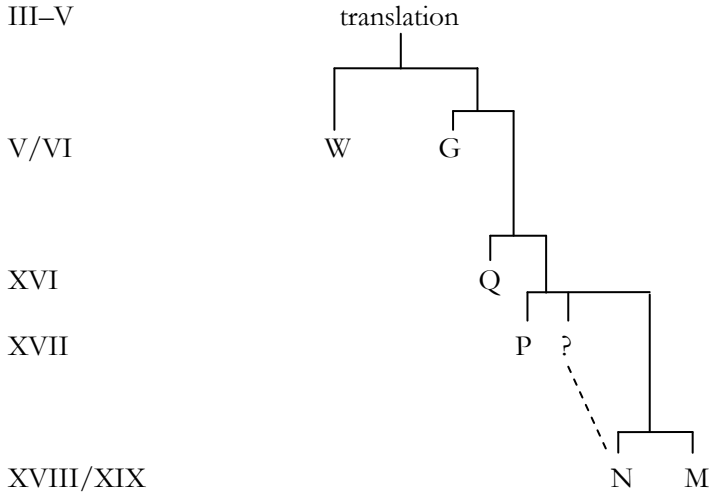
*Agreements between PMN and W against G:*

- 3.5 ܠܘܩܡܢ WPMN (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܩܡܢ G ܠܘܩܡܢ Q  
 4.5 ܠܘܩܡܢ WQPMN (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܩܡܢ G  
 5.3 ܠܘܩܡܢ GQ (cf. Se) : ܠܘܩܡܢ WPMN (cf. Sw)  
 6.40 ܠܘܩܡܢ WQPMN : ܠܘܩܡܢ G  
 9.1 ܠܘܩܡܢ WQPMN (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܩܡܢ G  
 11.2 ܠܘܩܡܢ WQ<sup>ac</sup>PMN (cf. Se) : ܠܘܩܡܢ G (cf. Sw) ܠܘܩܡܢ Q<sup>ac</sup>  
 12.1 ܠܘܩܡܢ WP (cf. Se) : ܠܘܩܡܢ Q ܠܘܩܡܢ M (cf. Sw) ܠܘܩܡܢ  
 N ܠܘܩܡܢ G  
 12.3 ܠܘܩܡܢ WPMN : ܠܘܩܡܢ G

The six MSS of the Sa recension are interrelated but the lack of direct connections indicates that they represent only glimpses at the transmission history of this tradition. Due to their antiquity, W and G are vital sources, not only for the Syriac tradition, but for IGT on the whole. Yet they suffer from several very large lacunae, and even differ from one another in numerous places. Fortunately, the lacunae are supplied by Q and PMN, and in other places these MSS contain what appear to be superior readings to those in W and G. Yet they too must be used with caution: Q frequently differs from the other witnesses, and PMN similarly contain idiosyncratic readings, most notably in their expansion of ch. 9. In addition, all six MSS share two deficiencies that must have originated in a common exemplar, perhaps even in the translation from Greek: 1. 4:2 ends with “unless you teach him to bless,” whereas the other

early versions and the later witnesses continue with “and not to curse”; and 2. the absence of the “even more” Jesus promises to say in 6:2d.

*Sa Transmission Stemma*



**1.1. Related Tradition: Arabic Infancy Gospel of Thomas**

The Arabic translation preserved in Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (G 11 sup, fols. 145<sup>r</sup>–153<sup>v</sup>)<sup>23</sup> was published first in French translation in 1990, then in an Arabic edition in 1991.<sup>24</sup> A second MS may reside in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, but it has yet to be evaluated.<sup>25</sup> The text lacks sections from IGT 6 and 7 and the

<sup>23</sup> For discussion of the text see Horn, “Apocryphal Gospels in Arabic,” 595–96 (drawing on Chartrand-Burke, “*Infancy Gospel of Thomas*,” 89, 128–29); and Davis, *Christ Child*, 168.

<sup>24</sup> Noja, “L’Évangile arabe apocryphe de Thomas”; idem, “À propos du texte arabe.”

<sup>25</sup> Cairo, Coptic Museum, 6539(D) (Macomber CMB-9 4D), fol. 188<sup>r</sup>–188<sup>v</sup> (19th cent.). According to Macomber’s description (*Final Inventory*, pages unnumbered), the MS includes “the stories of the children who were changed into pigs, the broken pitcher, the bed that Joseph had to make from beams of unequal length, the teacher who tried to teach Jesus the alphabet, James bitten by a snake, the yer whose cloths Jesus threw into a

entire chapters 12, 15 and 19, but includes two additional stories: Jesus and the Dyer (cf. *Arab. Gos. Inf.* [ed. Genequand] 35/*Arm. Gos. Inf.* 21) and a tale similar to Jesus Turns Jewish Children into Goats (*Arab. Gos. Inf.* [ed. Genequand] 39). Though the text is a rather free translation, it is noteworthy for being a witness to IGT that stands alone, free of association with any other infancy traditions. Likely it derives directly from Sa, for it contains ch. 2:5, a verse absent from Sw. A new edition and translation of the text by Slavomír Céplö, correcting errors made by Noja, is offered as an appendix to this volume.

## 2. RECENSION W (WEST SYRIAN=CANT 95)

The West Syrian *Life of Mary* is a compilation of four texts divided into six books: 1. On her parents and her annunciation by an angel (ܩܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܢܐܢܐ).<sup>26</sup> 2. The birth of our Lord in the flesh (ܐܘܬܘܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ), 3. The flight and vision revealed to Theophilus (ܘܨܘܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ), 4. The childhood and education of our Lord Jesus Christ (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ), 5. The story of the decease of the Theotokos Mary (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ), and 6. The departure of the Theotokos Mary from this world (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ), with an epilogue entitled The departure of the Theotokos Mary to the life in Paradise (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ). Books one and two are derived from *Prot. Jas.* (book 1=*Prot. Jas.* 1–16; book 2=*Prot. Jas.* 17–26), book three details the activities of the Holy Family in Egypt as communicated in *Vis. Theo.*, and books five and six comprise *6 Bks. Dorm.* (book 5=*6 Bks. Dorm.* books 1–3; book 6 and the epilogue=*6 Bks. Dorm.* 4–6). In two of the Sw MSS (S and T) IGT stands alone, though it retains its title as “book four” of the collection.

---

cauldron of black dye.” This description accords well with the contents of the Arabic version of IGT though it could well be a fragment of a variant form of *Arab. Gos. Inf.*

<sup>26</sup> The titles appear with some variation in the MSS. The titles given here are derived from MS A, except for book 1, which is often missing or truncated in the MSS; this title is taken from V.

Many of the MSS take the form of devotional volumes,<sup>27</sup> with *Life Mary* appearing either alone or bundled with one or more other short texts about Mary, such as the memra *On the Death and Burial of the Theotokos* by Jacob of Serug (=Death; CANT 125; see ACOT, Aleppo 7077, Harvard Syr. 36, and Vatican Borg. Syr. 128),<sup>28</sup> the memra *On the Malice of the Jews against Mary and Joseph* by Ps.-Ephrem (=Malice; see ACGJKLOST, Diyarbakir 130, Aleppo 7077, and Harvard Syr. 36; present also in the Sa MS Q noted above), the memra *On the Departure of Mary* (=Departure; see HKLO and Vatican Borg. Syr. 128) by Timothy, bishop of Gargar,<sup>29</sup> and a *Miracle of the Theotokos in the City of Apamea* (=Apamea; see AC, Diyarbakir 130, Harvard Syr. 36, Vatican Borg. Syr. 128, and Mar Behnam 207), the latter found also in the Se MS A.<sup>30</sup> The colophons, acquisition histories, and current MS locations indicate that the Sw tradition was and continues to be popular in the Diyarbakir-Mardin region.

The text of Sw is not that far removed from that of Sa. New readings have entered into the text, but the vocabulary and syntax are not dramatically different and no stories have been added or taken away from the tradition. Nevertheless, Sw does feature a number of structural idiosyncracies: it lacks ch. 2:5, ends prematurely in 6:2d, lacks “for thus was his name” in 9:3 and sections of 11:2, 13:1, 13:2, and 16:1 (though these latter four sections are extant in MS O, likely due to corruption); also a sentence is missing in 19:1, and part of a sentence in 19:2 (the latter preserved only in STV, but perhaps due to harmonization with Luke). Sw also contains a number of unique readings: “miraculously” (3.2; cf. “channels” in Sa); “and seeing his friends” (3.2); “these shall not see life” (5.5), the addition of “Levite” (6.23), “rather so-and-so made me fall” (9.10–11), and “that is to say, his *sticharion*” (11.5; groups a and b only). Another group of readings

---

<sup>27</sup> In CANT Geerard lists MSS CHO, Vatican Borg. Syr. 128 (which does not contain IGT) and, erroneously, the two East Syriac *Hist. Vir.* MSS P and U.

<sup>28</sup> Text in Bedjan, ed., *S. Martyrii*, 709–19; trans. Hansbury, *On the Mother of God*, 89–100; and Shoemaker, *Ancient Traditions*, 408–14.

<sup>29</sup> The text, sometimes attributed also to John of Birtha (see Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 191), is unpublished. For information on Timothy of Gargar see Barsoum, *Scattered Pearls*, 425.

<sup>30</sup> Budge, *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, vol. 1, 160–67 (English), vol. 2, 146–52 (Syriac) (=BHO 645).

seem to be the result of corruption: “teach him to behave humbly” rather than “to bless” (4.7), ܠܘܬܝܢܐ (“will be completed”) for ܠܝܢܐ (“I shall lay aside,” 6.16); ܐܘܘܪܝܢܐ (“when they understood”) instead of ܐܘܪܝܢܐ (“were comforted,” 6.32), ܕܗܘܥܝܢܐ (“He is killing me”) for “I am in a stupor” (ܕܗܘܥܝܢܐ, 7.8), and the transformation of narration into direct speech in 8:2.

The MSS are divided into three groups: ABCDEFG, which, due to their consistent agreement with Sa, appear to represent the earliest form of the tradition; HIJKLO, which differ slightly from the first group; and STV, which depart significantly from the other two groups, though in a few places share readings from Sa not found in the other Sw MSS.

## 2.1 Group a

**A** Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2001; paper, 13.5 × 9 cm, 173 fols., 1 col., 1481: fols. 57<sup>r</sup>–65<sup>r</sup>.<sup>31</sup>

A has endured some significant damage—specifically, leaves are missing at the beginning and after fols. 3, 11, 19, and 169 (none of these affect IGT); in addition, fols. 2–3 are replacement pages written in an East Syriac hand. All six books are present in the MS as follows: the Infancy of Mary (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–6<sup>v</sup>; though truncated at the start), the Birth of Jesus (6<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>), *Vis. Theo.* (13<sup>v</sup>–56<sup>v</sup>), IGT (57<sup>r</sup>–65<sup>r</sup>), the Death of Mary (65<sup>r</sup>–122<sup>v</sup>), and her Departure (122<sup>v</sup>–142<sup>r</sup>). The remainder of the MS contains Jacob of Serug, *Death* (152<sup>r</sup>–159<sup>v</sup>), *Apamea* (160<sup>r</sup>–163<sup>v</sup>), and Ps.-Ephrem, *Malice* (163<sup>v</sup>–172<sup>r</sup>). The colophon on fol. 172<sup>v</sup> provides the date and reveals that the book was created at Deir al-Surian by Habbībh of Tūr-‘Abhdīn. A second colophon (fol. 173<sup>v</sup>) in Garšūnī from 1697 reveals that a certain ‘Abd al-Ahad bought the book from Isaac, a Nestorian of Mardin, at Alqoš. The MS is part of a cache of MSS collected by Rev. George Perey Badger for SPCK in the course of his mission

---

<sup>31</sup> Catalog: Wright and Cook, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, vol. 1, 487–91. Listed in Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, p. 99 n. 4, Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 239–40 n. 128 and discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66.



through Kurdistan and Mesopotamia and later presented to the Cambridge Library in 1887.<sup>32</sup>

The scribe employs a minimum of vowel pointing and the occasional use of Greek vocalization. The text features a few corrections (6.12; 6.50), one occasion of minor damage (12.1), and a case of homoeoarcton shared with CD (5.5). For the most part, A is favored over other MSS in constructing the edition of Sw, except when it suffers from orthographic errors, omissions (the most significant are found at 7.6, 7.14, 9.9, and 19.16—all of which are shared with B), and several clearly secondary readings:

9.8 ܘܒܝܗ ܕܥܝܢܐ rel. : ܘܒܝܗ AB

15.5 ܘܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ EF (cf. Se) : ܘܗܘܐ CV ܘܗܘܐ ABDG ܘܗܘܐ ܘܗܘܐ  
ST om. b (cf. Sa)

16.1 ܘܗܘܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ rel. (cf. Sa) : ܘܗܘܐ Ab (cf. Sa PMN)

16.2 ܘܗܘܐ rel. : ܘܗܘܐ ABV (cf. Se M) om. ST

Note also that A is closely related to Diyarbakir, Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church, 130; 7/12 (see section 2.1.1 below).

**B** Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 263 (Dolabani 115); paper, 18.5 × 13.5 cm, 240 pp., 1 col., 17th/18th cent.?: pp. 98–110.<sup>33</sup>

B has not been mentioned previously in scholarship on Sw. The MS has been rebound into the covers of a modern French textbook, *A First Year of French for Young Beginners* by J. E. Mansion. This occurred some time after 1905, the publication date of the first edition. The book has two hands: the main scribe and the scribe of recent replacement pages (59–60, 99–102, 115–18, 159–60, 177–78, 201–202, 219–20, and 235–36). Several pages are blank (1–2, 15–16, and 239–40) and pages 3–4 are missing. The MS contains only *Life Mary*, divided as follows: the Infancy of Mary (pp. 5–18; truncated at the start), the Birth of Jesus (18–30), *Vis. Theo.* (31–

<sup>32</sup> Wright and Cook, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, vol. 1, xv.

<sup>33</sup> Catalog: Dolabani and Ibrahim, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Za'faran Monastery*, part 2, 85. An additional MS from Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs 297 (dated 1823), must be distinguished from the other MSS in this study; it contains *6 Bks. Dorm.* (pp. 3–91) not *Life Mary*.

97), IGT (98–110), the Death of Mary (110–97), and her Departure (197–238). The final folio (pp. 237–38) is misplaced and belongs earlier in book six. One case of scribal correction can be observed in IGT at 14.2; Greek vocalization is rare.

The text of IGT in B contains a number of interesting features. While it largely follows the text of the a family, and shares several small omissions with A (mentioned above), B also at times agrees with the b family of MSS (see 5.3; 6.6; 6.7; 6.9; 6.10; 6.21; 6.22; 6.28–29; and 6.32–33). All but the latter two of these agreements are found in the pages added to the MS by a later hand (99–102, containing 2.10 to 6.37), suggesting that this second writer performed his repairs using a MS of the b family.

**C** Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 560; paper, 18 × 13 cm, 152 fols., 1 col., 1491: fols. 60<sup>v</sup>–67<sup>v</sup>.<sup>34</sup>

The MS is dated on fol. 152<sup>r</sup>, where it is revealed that it was written in the monastery of St. George and St. Abel (Mardin?) by an anonymous monk; the same date (ܘܒܫܢܘܬܐ, presumably meaning 1802) is given at the end of IGT (fol. 67<sup>v</sup>). The first ten leaves are missing, rendering the Infancy of Mary incomplete (fols. 2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>), but the remaining five books are intact: the Birth of Jesus (12<sup>v</sup>–20<sup>v</sup>), *Vis. Theo.* (21<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>r</sup>), IGT (60<sup>v</sup>–67<sup>r</sup>), the Death of Mary (67<sup>r</sup>–119<sup>r</sup>), and her Departure (119<sup>v</sup>–142<sup>v</sup>). The remainder of the MS contains Ps.-Ephrem's *Malice* (3<sup>r</sup>–12<sup>v</sup>, inserted between books one and two), Jacob of Serug's *Death* (143<sup>r</sup>–149<sup>r</sup>), and *Apamea* (149<sup>v</sup>–151<sup>v</sup>). The MS is frequently pointed and occasionally employs Greek vocalization. Corrections have been made in several places: illegible words expunged beneath ܘܒܫܢܘܬܐ ܘܒܫܢܘܬܐ (at 2.11), a word added here and there (super linea 2.7; 5.6, 7.17; sub linea 6.9; and in the margin at 4.2 and 12.3), and a transposition is signaled with dots (5.1). But omissions are few: a short sentence in 5.5 (perhaps due to homoeoarcton; shared with A and D) and a single word in 9.10 (an important ܘܢܐܘܪܐ). Notable also is a marginal note at 3.2 (ܘܢܐܘܪܐ ܘܢܐܘܪܐ, fol. 61<sup>r</sup>) providing a synonym for the willow branch used to disturb the pools. There is some water damage obscuring the text at the base

<sup>34</sup> Catalog: Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, vol. 1, 1039–41. Discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66.

of the folia, resulting in the erasure of the final two letters of **ⲁⲟⲩ** in 8.1.

**D** Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 265; paper, 13.5 × 9.5 cm, 280 pp., 1 col., 16th/17th cent.?: pp. 34–53.<sup>35</sup>

*Life Mary* fills this entire MS, though with some peculiarities in the arrangement of the materials: the Infancy of Mary (pp. 1–13, beginning missing) and the Birth of Jesus (13–34) appear as normal, but *Vis. Theo.* is absent, IGT (34–53) is numbered book 3, the Death of Mary (53–206) is numbered book 4 at start but book 5 in the colophon, and the Departure of Mary (207–80) appears as book 6. The MS has suffered some damage, eliminating the first and final quire (parts of books 1 and 6). Two notes in Garšūnī (p. 53 and 206) name a certain Simon as owner of the MS, and the seal of the Deir al-Zafaran appears on p. 35, indicating that the MS was transferred from the Deir al-Zafaran at some point in its history. It is possible that D is the same MS cataloged by Addai Sher as Diyarbakir, Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church, 99 (on which, see section 2.4 below). The MS is liberally pointed and Greek vocalization appears on occasion.

The IGT portion of the MS shares a case of homoeoarcton with MSS A and C (5.5) and contains three major orthographic errors of its own (in 2.10–11, 6.26–27 due to homoeoteleuton, 11.6 due to homoeoarcton). Several corrections have been made (words added sup. lin. 2.9 and 7.3; and corrections at 6.40 and 6.44). D often departs from the text of group a, though the majority of these differences are minor; of more significance are the words added to the text (see 2.3, 6.15, 6.19, and 7.9) and those omitted (see 2.3, 6.43, 6.44, 6.47, 6.48, 8.3, and 9.3).

**E** Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica, syr. 537; paper, 16 × 11 cm, 160 fols., 1 col., 16th cent.: fols. 64<sup>r</sup>–71<sup>r</sup>.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> Written upon the spine of the volume is the number 144 but the contents do not correspond to any of the MSS in Dolabani and Ibrahim's catalog.

<sup>36</sup> Catalog: van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques*, 60–61.

*Life Mary* fills this entire MS, though with sections missing or rearranged. The six books are arranged as: the Infancy of Mary (fols. 2<sup>v</sup>–12<sup>v</sup>), the Birth of Jesus (12<sup>v</sup>–21<sup>r</sup>), *Vis. Theo.* (21<sup>v</sup>–64<sup>r</sup>), IGT (64<sup>r</sup>–71<sup>r</sup>), the Death of Mary (71<sup>v</sup>–130<sup>r</sup>), and her Departure (130<sup>v</sup>–158<sup>v</sup>). A colophon on fol. 158<sup>v</sup> contains a short prayer by the copyist, a certain Saliba of the village of Abu Ghalib (Wank). The only other text in the MS is a mutilated prayer of healing by St. Peter (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>–1<sup>v</sup>); fols. 2<sup>r</sup> and 159<sup>r</sup>–160<sup>v</sup> are blank. The text of IGT is unpointed but features a few examples of Greek vocalization. Some corrections have been made, with words expunged (6.16, 6.24, 6.44), and added or replaced either in the margin (2.8, 7.16, 19.7) or super linea (14.2). Among its many minor departures from other MSS of the a family are words omitted (5.2, 5.7, 6.10, 6.40, 7.12, 9.6, 11.1, 11.5, 13.3, 13.6, 14.7, 15.7, 15.9), misspelled (8.2), and added (6.3, 7.8, 14.7); more significant are two cases of dittography (6.22–23 due to homoeoarcton; and 15.3–4 perhaps due to homoeoteleuton). E shares a number of readings with MS F, though the singular readings in each MS indicate that neither can be a copy of the other. The complete list of shared readings is presented below; note in particular four significant errors: the lengthy omission in 6.28–29, two cases of dittography in 9.8 and 15.11, and a garbled reading in 19.19.

*Agreements in EF against ABCD and G:*

- titulus: post ܩܘܪܒܐ add. ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ EF  
 2.1 ܩܘܪܒܐ ABCDG : om. EF  
 2.2 ܩܘܪܒܐ BD : ܩܘܪܒܐ A ܩܘܪܒܐ CG om. EF  
 2.5 ܩܘܪܒܐ ABCDG : ܩܘܪܒܐ EF  
 2.5 ܩܘܪܒܐ ABCDG : ܩܘܪܒܐ EF  
 5.8 ܩܘܪܒܐ ABCDG : om. EF  
 6.6 ܩܘܪܒܐ ABCDG : ܩܘܪܒܐ E ܩܘܪܒܐ F  
 6.10 ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ABCDG : ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ EF  
 6.13 ܩܘܪܒܐ ABCDG : ܩܘܪܒܐ EF  
 6.14 ܩܘܪܒܐ ABDG : ܩܘܪܒܐ C ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ EF  
 6.17 ܩܘܪܒܐ ABCDG : ܩܘܪܒܐ EF  
 6.18 ܩܘܪܒܐ ABCDG : om. EF  
 6.22 ܩܘܪܒܐ ABCDG : ܩܘܪܒܐ EF  
 6.22 ܩܘܪܒܐ ACDG : ܩܘܪܒܐ B ܩܘܪܒܐ EF



unknown but it currently contains: the Birth of Jesus (fols. 67<sup>r</sup>–70<sup>r</sup>, lacking the beginning), *Vis. Theo.* (70<sup>r</sup>–74<sup>v</sup>, 1<sup>r</sup>–20<sup>r</sup>, incomplete), IGT (20<sup>r</sup>–25<sup>r</sup>), the Death of Mary (27<sup>r</sup>–63<sup>r</sup>), and her Departure (63<sup>r</sup>–66<sup>v</sup>, 76<sup>r</sup>–83<sup>v</sup>, 75, lacking the end). Pss 25–28 appear between IGT and Death of Mary. The scribe employs occasional vowel pointing and sparing use of Greek vowels. In addition to the errors shared with MS E, F includes an additional case of dittography in 6.32 (a word is repeated) and an occurrence of homoeoteleuton in 14.2. Three additional errors have been corrected: a word is erased in 6.52, and three missing words added in the margin in 6.50. Several words appearing in other group a MSS are missing (see 2.5, 2.7, 3.1, 5.9, 6.14, 7.7, 14.1, 15.7, and 19.15), some are added (6.40, 13.1), two are transposed (in 19.11), and a few others are misspelled (see 6.19, 7.16, 14.7).

**G** Charfet, Syrian-Catholic Patriarchate, Fonds Rahmani 42; paper, 18 × 14.5 cm, 142 fols., 1 col., 1495: 56<sup>v</sup>–63<sup>v</sup>.<sup>38</sup>

According to the colophon (fol. 142<sup>r</sup>), the MS was created April 15, 1495 at the time of Ignatius Nuh Shami, patriarch of Mardin, and Ignatius Masud of Zaz, patriarch of Tur Abdin. The copyist is an anonymous monk priest from the Diyarbakir region (the colophon refers to Sophene and al-Hattākh). The MS is quite damaged in places: at least two pages are missing at the start; the bottom half of fol. 2 has been repaired with text in a different hand; a loose leaf has been inserted between fols. 5 and 6 (numbered 5b); and a fragmentary leaf between fols. 107 and 108 is unnumbered. *Life Mary* is represented as: the Birth of Jesus (fols. 2<sup>r</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>; beginning and ending missing), the Infancy of Mary (13<sup>v</sup>–19<sup>v</sup>), *Vis. Theo.* (19<sup>v</sup>–56<sup>v</sup>), IGT (56<sup>v</sup>–63<sup>v</sup>), the Death of Mary (63<sup>v</sup>–111<sup>v</sup>), and her Departure (128<sup>v</sup>–137<sup>v</sup>). The remaining texts in the codex are Ps.-Ephrem, *Malice*, placed between books 1 and 2 (5b<sup>r</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>, beginning

---

<sup>38</sup> Discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66. A catalog of the Fonds Rahmani is currently in press (Binggeli et al., *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et garshuni de Charfet*); in the meantime, details of many of the MSS, including this one, can be found on *e-corpus* (see [http://www.e-corpus.org/eng/ref/83886/Rahmani\\_42/](http://www.e-corpus.org/eng/ref/83886/Rahmani_42/)). For an overview of the recent cataloging and photographing work see Debié, “Cataloguing in Many Ways” (see esp. pp. 134–35 for mention of the Sw MSS).

missing), and *Apamea* (137<sup>v</sup>–142<sup>v</sup>, but skipping fol. 141, which is a decorative page).

The text of IGT has no particular affinities with other group a MSS. Notable are a number of corrections (11.6, 13.2, 14.2, 14.3, 14.4, and 14.6) and singular readings, with words missing (3.3, 5.3, and 8.2) and added (6.1, 6.23–24, 13.3, 19.9, and 19.19). Several words at 6.34 are illegible due to damage. The MS is pointed and Greek vowels appear on rare occasions.

### 2.1.1 Group a Manuscripts Not Included in the Edition

Three Sw MSS came to my attention after the finalization of the critical editions included in this volume. Each of the MSS is related to particular group a MSS described above and thus do not present any new information for establishing the Sw text. Of the three recensions of Syriac IGT, Sw is certainly the most robust; likely additional MSS will come to light, perhaps even before this book appears in print. Rather than delay the project any further, I present below descriptions of the new MSS and a summary of their significant variants.

Diyarbakir, Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church, 130; 7/12, paper, 18.6 × 13.5 cm, 131 fols., 1 col., 15th cent.: 54<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>r</sup>.<sup>39</sup>

This MS has close affinities with A, with which it shares two supplementary texts: *Apamea* (124<sup>r</sup>–127<sup>v</sup>) and Ps.-Ephrem, *Malice* (127<sup>v</sup>–130<sup>v</sup>). Several pages of the MS are blank: fols. 1 and 131, 67<sup>r</sup>, and much of 105 (the verso is blank and the recto contains a colophon in Garšūnī dated to 16th Adar 1917). Some missing pages are replaced with Garšūnī translation (fols. 2, 7–10), some with Syriac text (67<sup>v</sup>, 75–77, 86–87, 96–97). *Life Mary* is here represented as: the Infancy of Mary (1<sup>r</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>); the Birth of Jesus (13<sup>v</sup>–20<sup>r</sup>), *Vis. Theo.* (20<sup>r</sup>–54<sup>r</sup>), IGT (54<sup>r</sup>–60<sup>r</sup>), the Death of Mary

---

<sup>39</sup> The MS is uncataloged; all codicological information is derived from the hastily-made report at HMML. The MS is not foliated, but the photographs are numbered, albeit erroneously, 1 to 133 (fol. 122 is photographed twice and no. 133 is 131<sup>v</sup> and the inside back cover). The date is provided by HMML, though no notice is made of the secondary date of 1917 from fol. 105<sup>r</sup>. The HMML report also neglects to mention the presence in the MS of *Apamea*.





- 6.39 ܡܢܚܐ abc : ܡܢܚܐ  
 6.43 ܐܘܢ A : ܐܘܢܐ (et ܐܘܢܐ rel.)  
 6.45 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ AB (ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ b) : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et rel.; cf. Sa Se)  
 6.47 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ alJLOc (ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ H; om. K) : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ  
 6.52 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ ACDEFGbc : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et B)  
 7.7 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ ABCEG (om. F) : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et Dbc; cf. Sa Se)  
 7.9 ܐܘܢܐ rel. : om.  
 7.11 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ rel. (ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ S<sup>ac</sup>) : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ  
 8.3 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ ACDEFGbc : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et B)  
 12.3 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ AB (ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ CEF GHIJKLc; cf. Sa Se) : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et DO)  
 13.3 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ ACDFGbc : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et BE)  
 14.1 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ ACDEFGbc (ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ B<sup>pc</sup>; ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ B<sup>ac</sup>) : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (ante corr. ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ)  
 15.1 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ ACDG (ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ b) : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et BEFc)  
 15.10 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ Ab (ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ CEF; ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ ST; ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ V) : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et BDG)  
 16.1 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ AEGHIKOST : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et rel.)  
 16.1 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ Ab (cf. Sa PMN) : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et rel.; cf. Sa)  
 19.3 ܐܘܢܐ ac (ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ b) : ܐܘܢܐ  
 19.19 ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ ACDGHIJLObc : ܐܘܢܐܐܘܢܐ (et BEFK)

Aleppo, Syriac-Orthodox Archdiocese, 7077 (olim 117); paper, 18 × 14 cm, 183 fols., 1 col., 1567/1568: fols. 79<sup>r</sup>–87<sup>v</sup>.<sup>40</sup>

This MS has not been mentioned in previous scholarship on *Life Mary*. It was produced by a scribe named Slibana (fol. 87<sup>v</sup>), who has provided the date of composition, but no location. Several pages are missing: three from quire 1, one from 13, one from 14, and the first and last pages of 19. Also, fol. 87 (the final page of IGT) has suffered some damage in the lower left hand (recto) margin. *Life Mary* appears in the MS as follows: the Infancy of Mary (1<sup>v</sup>–11<sup>v</sup>), the Birth of Jesus (23<sup>r</sup>–32<sup>r</sup>), *Vis. Theo.* (32<sup>v</sup>–79<sup>v</sup>), IGT (79<sup>v</sup>–87<sup>v</sup>), the Death of Mary (88<sup>r</sup>–153<sup>v</sup>), and her Departure (154<sup>r</sup>–180<sup>v</sup>). Like MS C, Ps.-Ephrem's *Malice* is inserted between books 1 and 2 (12<sup>r</sup>–22<sup>v</sup>, ending missing); the remainder of the MS contains Jacob of Serug's

<sup>40</sup> The manuscript is uncatalogued. Codicological information available at <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/7077/#institution=syriac-orthodox-archdiocese-of-aleppo>.

*Death* (fols. 181<sup>r</sup>–183<sup>v</sup>, ending missing). The MS is unpointed and has no Greek vocalization.

The text of IGT in the Aleppo MS is closely related to E and F. It contains all of the agreements between E and F listed above except for 2.5 (ܘܚܝܬܝܗ), 6.13, and 15.3. Some readings are shared only with E, including the absence of all the omissions, additions, the transposition, and misspelled words listed for F above, as well as the two dittographical errors in 6.32 and 14.2. In addition, it agrees with E against F in the following locations:

- 6.35 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ F : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 6.39 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ F : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 7.5 ܠܘܬܝܗ F : ܠܘܬܝܗ  
 7.6 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ F : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 7.8 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ F : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 19.15 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ F : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 19.20 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ F : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ

Also plentiful are agreements with F over E, including the list of E's singular omissions (together with the dittographical errors in 6.22–23 and 15:3–4), additions, and misspelled words noted above, as well as the explicit absent in E, and the following:

- 3.3 ܠܘܬܝܗ E : ܠܘܬܝܗ  
 4.5 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 4.7 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 5.6 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 6.12 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 6.13 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 6.15 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 6:27 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 6.41 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 7.1 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 12.1 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 12.3 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ  
 19.2 ܘܚܝܬܝܗ E : ܘܚܝܬܝܗ

The Aleppo MS also features a number of singular readings:

- titulus** post ܠܘܘܫܐ add. ܡܝܚܝܐ ܡܝܚܝܐ  
 3.3 om. ܠܡ  
 4.4 om. ܡܠܚܐ  
 6.22 ܠܫܝܚܝܬܝܐ : ܠܫܝܚܝܬܝܐ D ܠܫܝܚܝܬܝܬܝܐ rel.  
 6.37 ܡܠܚܐ : ܠܚܝܐ rel.  
 6.42 ܠܫܝܚܐ ܠܝܐ : ܠܫܝܚܝܬܝܐ rel.  
 7.1 ܝܚܝܬܝܐ : ܝܚܝܬܝܐ HILST ܝܚܝܬܝܐ rel.  
 7.11 ܝܚܝܬܝܐ : ܝܚܝܬܝܬܝܐ rel.  
 7.13–14 om. ܡܝܚܝܐ ܠܝܐ ܠܠܝܐ ܠܠܝܐ ܝܚܝܐ (homoeotel.)  
 14.2 om. ܝܚܝܐ  
 14.4 om. ܡܝܚܝܐ  
 19.6 ܠܝܐ ܠܝܐ ܠܝܐ : ܠܝܐ ܠܝܐ rel.

And corrections have been made at 4.5 (ܡܠܚܝܬܝܐ), 5.3 (ܡܠܚܝܬܝܐ), 5.4 (ܠܝܐ), 6.12 (ܠܝܐ), 6.16 (ܠܝܐܝܬܝܬܝܐ), 13.2 (ܠܝܐ), 14.1 (post ܠܝܐ add. ܡܝܚܝܐ et exp.), 15.10 (ܠܝܐ), and 19.7 (post ܠܝܐ add. ܡ et eras.).

Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral, 5 (=Scher 80; Macomber 80.5); paper, 13.5 × 9.5 cm, 137 fols., 1 col., 16th cent.?: fols. 20<sup>v</sup>–29<sup>v</sup>.<sup>41</sup>

In 1965 William Macomber visited Mardin to update catalogs of libraries disrupted by wars in the East. He encountered two MSS of the “History of Mart Maryam” that he tried to reconcile with Addai Scher’s earlier listing of Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral, 80. He used Scher’s numbering where possible when cataloging the library, so he designated one MS as 80.2 (on which see Se MS M below) and the other as 80.5.<sup>42</sup> Macomber states in his notes that he added his new designation to the first folio of each MS; and fol. 1 of this MS indeed bears Macomber’s “MS 80.5” as well as Scher’s original “Mardin 80” (also still extant on the spine). Scher gives slightly

<sup>41</sup> Catalog: Scher, “Notice . . . Mardin,” 86. Listed in Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 99 n. 4 (with a mysterious date given of 1728–1731) and repeated in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 241–42 n. 135.

<sup>42</sup> Macomber, “Checklist of the Manuscripts of the Chaldean Patriarchate,” 57.



## 2.2 Group b

HIJKL and O form another group of closely-related MSS. The most noteworthy of their shared readings are the omission of three words from the letter speculation section, several shortened readings, and a number of agreements with Sa not present in group a. The complete list of these shared readings is as follows:

- 2.2–3 ܡܚܠܐ ܠܡܗ ܠܚܐ — ܡܚܠܐ ABDEV (cf. Sa) : ܡܚܠܐ ܠܡܗ ܠܚܐ  
 ST ܡܚܠܐ ܠܚܐ C ܡܚܠܐ ܡܗܐ ܠܚܐ FG ܡܚܠܐ  
 b
- 6.51–52 ܡܚܠܐ ܠܡܗ ܠܚܐ — ܡܚܠܐ ܠܡܗ ܠܚܐ aV : ܡܚܠܐ ܠܡܗ ܠܚܐ  
 ST ܡܚܠܐ ܠܚܐ b
- 8.2 ܡܚܠܐ ac : om. Gb
- 14.3 post alt. ܡܚܠܐ add. ܡܚܠܐ b (cf. Sa), add. [.]ܐ et exp. G
- 15.5 ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ EF (cf. Se) : ܡܚܠܐ CV ܡܚܠܐ ABDG ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ  
 ST om. b (cf. Sa)
- 16.1 ܡܚܠܐ rel. (cf. Sa) : ܡܚܠܐ Ab (cf. Sa PMN)
- 19.3 ܡܚܠܐ ac : ܡܚܠܐ (ܡܚܐ I) ܡܚܐ b (cf. Sa Se)
- 19.18–19 ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ a (cf. Sa PMN) : ܡܚܠܐ  
 ܡܚܠܐ b ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ ܡܚܠܐ c (cf. Sa)

**H** Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 5; paper, 17.7 × 11.8 cm, 116 fols., 1 col., 1479: fols. 18<sup>v</sup>–26<sup>v</sup>.<sup>43</sup>

Mingana used H for his edition of *Vis. Theo.* He believed it to be closely related to MS O, enough to suggest they are copies of the same manuscript;<sup>44</sup> though, as noted below, O (at least for IGT) contains a number of unique and apparently corrupt readings. The MS is very clear and in excellent condition, except for four quires missing at the start, thus eliminating the first two books of the

<sup>43</sup> Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, 1:19–21; idem., “Woodbrook Studies,” 383–84. Listed in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 239–40 n. 128 and discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66. Mimouni and Gerard (CANT, p. 73) erroneously report the date as 1790. H is one of 10 MSS that Mingana reportedly removed from the John Rylands Library and placed in his own collection. See Coakley, “Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts,” 110.

<sup>44</sup> Mingana, “The Vision of Theophilus,” 384.

collection. The remaining contents are: *Vis. Theo.* (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>v</sup>, lacking the beginning and with fols. 5–6 and 7–8 misplaced), IGT (18<sup>v</sup>–26<sup>v</sup>), the Death of Mary (26<sup>v</sup>–77<sup>r</sup>), and her Departure (77<sup>r</sup>–101<sup>r</sup>). The only other text in the MS is Timothy of Gargar’s *Departure* (fols. 101<sup>r</sup>–116<sup>r</sup>), written in a different script. The colophon on fol. 116<sup>v</sup> provides the date, and an Arabic inscription on fol. 115<sup>v</sup> reveals that George, son of Kas Elias, owned the MS in 1850. The scribe employs occasional vowel pointing and sparing use of Greek vowels. H has a number of omissions, one large (7.8–9), the others of only one or two words (6.7, 8.2, 9.9, 11.5, 19.3, 19.19, another omission in 19.13 is shared with MS J). A word is doubled in both 6.38 and 6.48 (due to dittography) and ܡܘܝܪ is added in 16.3 (a reading shared with V). Also noteworthy are two corrections at 6.24 and 7.8, and the inexplicable corrector’s dots placed above ܠܘܘܝ in 13.6.

I Cambridge Mass., Harvard Houghton Library, Syr. 82 (olim SMH 73, access 4010); paper, 13 × 8 cm., 214 fols., 1 col., 17th–18th cent.: fols. 74<sup>v</sup>–84<sup>r</sup>.<sup>45</sup>

This MS has suffered much damage. According to Titterton’s description, “the ms. has 23 quires originally of 10 leaves each; but many leaves have been lost. Ff. 1–6, 9, 189, 190, 192, 194, 195 are in later hands and supplied to fill lacunae. Even so, leaves are missing from quire 2 (after ff. 10 and 18), only 8 leaves remain out of 20 from quires 20 and 21 (between ff. 188 and 197), and the last 3 leaves of quire 23 are lost (after f. 213).”<sup>46</sup> None of this damage affects IGT. *Life Mary* is represented here as follows: the Infancy of Mary (fols. 1<sup>v</sup>–15<sup>r</sup>), the Birth of Jesus (15<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>v</sup>), *Vis. Theo.* (24<sup>r</sup>–74<sup>v</sup>), IGT (74<sup>v</sup>–84<sup>r</sup>, followed immediately by a prayer), the Death of Mary (84<sup>v</sup>–159<sup>v</sup>), and her Departure (159<sup>v</sup>–188<sup>v</sup>, lacking the ending). The MS finishes with one or more untitled memre on Mary and Joseph (189<sup>r</sup>–214<sup>v</sup>, incomplete). The scribe, identified as

---

<sup>45</sup> Catalogs: Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library*, 70; Titterton, “Syriac Manuscripts in the Semitic Museum,” 150–51; and Clemons, “Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts,” no. 117. Listed in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 239–40 n. 128 and discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66.

<sup>46</sup> Titterton, “Syriac Manuscripts in the Semitic Museum,” 150.

Joseph (fol. 15<sup>r</sup>), has preserved a text with few flaws: a word is absent at 7.9–10 (a blank space appears in the MS in its place), and a missing word is added in the margin in 8.3. Some Greek vocalization occurs, but examples are few. The MS has been confused with the *Life Mary* MS used by Agnes Smith Lewis to supply material missing in her palimpsest from Sinai; she identified this source as “Harris 73,” the former shelfmark for Syr. 82, but the MS is actually Harvard Syr. 39 (see below).

**J** Cambridge Mass., Harvard Houghton Library, Syr. 35 (olim SMH 23, access 3961); paper, 18 × 13 cm, 148 fols., 1 col., 16th–17th cent.: fols. 40<sup>v</sup>–48<sup>v</sup>.<sup>47</sup>

Other than Ps.-Ephrem’s *Malice* (fols. 136<sup>v</sup>–141<sup>v</sup>, re-bound out of sequence), J contains only *Life Mary*, but incomplete and with leaves disordered and damaged. The collection is represented as follows: *Vis. Theo.* (fols. 2<sup>v</sup>–40<sup>v</sup>), IGT (40<sup>v</sup>–48<sup>v</sup>), the Death of Mary (48<sup>v</sup>–109<sup>v</sup>), and her Departure (109<sup>v</sup>–136<sup>v</sup>, 142<sup>r</sup>–148<sup>v</sup>). All but book four suffers from lacunae. The MS is unpointed and Greek vowels appear on few occasions. The minor variants in the IGT portion of the text include a missing word at 14.4 (an omission shared with K) and at 19.13 (shared with H), and a corrupt reading at 9.6. The MS also features several corrections (2.10, 3.3, 6.16, 6.46, 7.16, 15.10) and minor damage (2.7, 6.23, 6.25, 8.2).

**K** Mardin, Deir al-Zafaran, 393; paper, pp. viii+253+viii, 1 col., 20th cent.: pp. 78–88.<sup>48</sup>

This modern compendium of Mary-related texts has not been mentioned in previous scholarship on *Life Mary*. It is written on hand-ruled pages in multiple-colored ink by a scribe named Illiyas

---

<sup>47</sup> Catalogs: Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library*, 50; Titterton, “Syriac Manuscripts in the Semitic Museum,” 45–46; and Clemons, “Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts,” no. 68. Listed in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 239–40 n. 128, and discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66. Note that the page numbers have been revised since Titterton’s description.

<sup>48</sup> The manuscript is uncataloged and in need of thorough codicological examination; measurements are not provided in the HMML description.

the Subdeacon. *Life Mary* appears on pp. 1–125 (with p. 120 first copied upside down then marked out and recopied) as follows: the Infancy of Mary (pp. 1–13), the Birth of Jesus (14–23), *Vis. Theo.* (24–77), IGT (78–88), the Death of Mary (89–114), and her Departure (114–25). The remainder of the MS contains a number of memre and miracle stories: Ps.-Ephrem, *Malice* (pp. 126–39), a memra on the Birth of Jesus (140–64), a Miracle by Mary in Homs (164–84; cf. O), a memra on the Assumption of Mary the Theotokos (184–99), a memra *On the Festival of Grain and Praises of Mary the Theotokos* (199–216, cf. T and Vatican, Borg. Syr. 128), *Departure* by Timothy of Gargar (217–36), and another memra on the Assumption of Mary the Theotokos (237–50). Unidentified notes fill pp. i–iii, v, and 251–53; pp. iv, vi–viii and eight end papers are blank. The scribe employs occasional vowel pointing and sparing use of Greek vowels.

The text of IGT contains numerous minor variant readings, included words added (4.6, 6.52, 9.1, 11.3, 13.6, 19.17, 19.20) and words omitted (4.3, 6.30, 6.39, 6.47, 7.7, 7.9–10, 14.4, 15.8). Two particular variants stand out: for “clapped his hands,” K has “clapped with a cheerful expression” (ܟܘܨܩܘܗܘܢ ܕܥܘܒܪܐܢܐ, 2.11) and there is a curious addition to 6:3: “Then, as long as you are hearing and learning in this way, you can teach. Now I question you on this matter” (see 6.46). Corrections are made by expansion (2.4, 6.21, 6.49, 9.10, 14.1, 14.4, 15.2, 15.4, 15.6, 19.15) and by additions made super linea, sub linea, and in the margins (2.4, 3.1, 3.6, 4.1, 4.3, 5.5, 5.7, 6.16, 7.6, 7.8–9, 7.9–10, 19.6)

**L** Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 281 (olim 114); paper, 18.5 × 13.5 cm, 220 fols.,<sup>49</sup> 1 col., 1474/1475: 62<sup>v</sup>–71<sup>v</sup>.<sup>50</sup>

L is the earliest dated MS of the Sw recension (on fol. 170<sup>r</sup> in Syriac and 183<sup>v</sup> in Arabic). However, some pages have been supplied by a more recent scribe: fols. 2–23, 28–30, 130, and a portion of 171. Note also that fol. 121 is torn and fols. 1, 211, 219, and 220<sup>r</sup> are

<sup>49</sup> The first 21 fols. are unnumbered; then fol. 22<sup>r</sup> begins the numbering at page 1. To avoid confusion I refer to the contents using sequential folio numbers beginning at fol. 1.

<sup>50</sup> Catalog: see Dolabani and Ibrahim, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Zaʿfaran Monastery*, part 1, pp. 83–84.











found alone here, but it is clearly excerpted from the larger *Life Mary* collection as the title describes the text as “book four”; the same phenomenon occurs in T. The close relationship between these two MSS is indicated also by their shared contents, summarized in the table below.

	T	S
Isaac of Antioch, memra on the End of the World (attrib. here to Ephrem)	9 (80 <sup>v</sup> –84 <sup>v</sup> )	14 (71 <sup>v</sup> –76 <sup>r</sup> )
Memra on Job, in the metre of Ephrem	10 (84 <sup>v</sup> –86 <sup>r</sup> )	15 (76 <sup>r</sup> –77 <sup>r</sup> )
<i>Apoc. Paul</i>	12 (89 <sup>r</sup> –123 <sup>r</sup> )	20 (117 <sup>r</sup> –159 <sup>r</sup> )
Appearance of the Virgin in the desert of Scete, in the metre of Jacob	13 (123 <sup>r</sup> –133 <sup>r</sup> )	16 (77 <sup>v</sup> –85 <sup>v</sup> )
IGT	15 (145 <sup>r</sup> –154 <sup>v</sup> )	17 (86 <sup>r</sup> –94 <sup>r</sup> )
Ps.-Ephrem, <i>Malice</i>	16 (154 <sup>v</sup> –166 <sup>v</sup> )	18 (94 <sup>v</sup> –105 <sup>r</sup> )
Sogiatha by Abun bar Qiqi in the metre of Ephrem	20 (216 <sup>v</sup> –219 <sup>r</sup> )	23 (209 <sup>r</sup> –211 <sup>r</sup> )
Memra on Philoxenos of Mabbug in the metre of Jacob	21 (219 <sup>r</sup> –241 <sup>v</sup> )	13 (50 <sup>r</sup> –70 <sup>v</sup> )

The colophon (fols. 238<sup>r</sup>–238<sup>v</sup>) provides the date of composition (Tamus 2168) and the identity of the scribe: the deacon Simeon bar Ablhad at the monastery of Mar Abel and Mar Abraham near Midyat (in the province of Mardin). The MS is pointed and also frequently employs Greek vocalization.

The close relationship between S and T is reflected also in their shared readings. These readings are too numerous to list, but the most notable are two significant omissions (3.2 and 5.5–6,

perhaps due to dittography), several additional shortened readings (5.1, 7.9–10, 11.5; isolated words are omitted in 4.3, 6.21, 9.13, 14.1, 15.9, 15.11), and a number of expanded readings (6.18, 9.3, 11.2, 14.5, 15.10, 16.2, 19.18, 19.20). Particularly interesting are three readings that agree with Sa but are not present in V:

2.12 ante ܐܘܪܝܢܐ add. ܘܢܘܚܘܢܐ ST (cf. Sa GPMN)

2.13 ܠܘܠܡܢ ܕܢܘܨܘܢ ACD : ܠܘܠܡܢ ܕܢܘܨܘܢ B ܠܘܠܡܢ ܕܢܘܨܘܢ EFG

ܠܘܠܡܢ ܕܢܘܨܘܢ b ܠܘܠܡܢ ܕܢܘܨܘܢ ST (cf. Sa) ܠܘܠܡܢ ܕܢܘܨܘܢ V

11.2 ܘܢܘܚܘܢܐ rel. : ܘܢܘܚܘܢܐ CGHIJO ܘܢܘܚܘܢܐ ST (cf. Sa)

S has a number of unique readings of its own, including two additions in 6.39, a peculiar marginal annotation related to 6.38 (ܘܢܘܚܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܚܘܢܐ) and five corrections (6.3, 7.8, two in 7.11, and 8.4).

**T** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 377; paper, 16.2 × 10.8 cm, 268 fols., 1 col., 1854/1855: fols. 145<sup>r</sup>–154<sup>v</sup>.<sup>58</sup>

Along with the texts shared with S listed above, T contains also Jacob of Serug, *Death* (fols. 33<sup>v</sup>–42<sup>v</sup>), the memra *On the Festival of Grain and Praises of Mary the Theotokos* (1<sup>r</sup>–15<sup>v</sup>, here attributed to Ephrem; cf. K and Vatican, Borg. Syr. 128), and an anonymous memra on the Praises of Mary (133<sup>r</sup>–145<sup>r</sup>; cf. O and Vatican, Borg. Syr. 128 truncated at start). The name of the copyist is not given but the date of the MS is revealed on fol. 267<sup>r</sup>. Vowel pointing and Greek vocalization occur, but not as frequently as in S. The readings T shares with S are noted above; readings unique to T are few (3.2, 6.5, 6.51, 11.4, and agreements between S and V against T in 9.10, 13.3; note also the word added sub linea 7.9; and the dittographical error in 13.6). Perhaps significant are two errors corrected in S (at 7.11 and 8.4) that are present, uncorrected, in T. Given this pattern of agreements, it appears that S and T are not directly related; likely they were both copied from another source.

<sup>58</sup> Catalog: Briquel-Chatonnet, *Manuscrits syriaques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France*, 62–68. Discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66.

V Cambridge Mass., Harvard Houghton Library, Syr. 39 (olim SMH 27, access 3965); paper, 16 × 11 cm, 237+ii fols., 1 col., 1857: fols. 155<sup>v</sup>–162<sup>v</sup>.<sup>59</sup>

V is the only group c MS that contains all six books of *Life Mary*, represented here as: the Infancy of Mary (fols. 96<sup>r</sup>–107<sup>v</sup>), the Birth of Jesus (107<sup>v</sup>–115<sup>v</sup>), *Vis. Theo.* (115<sup>v</sup>–154<sup>v</sup>), IGT (155<sup>v</sup>–162<sup>v</sup>), the Death of Mary (162<sup>v</sup>–208<sup>r</sup>), and her Departure (208<sup>r</sup>–237<sup>r</sup>). The only other text in the MS is the *Cave of Treasures* (2<sup>v</sup>–95<sup>r</sup>; cf. S). Naffah's study of the titles used in *Life Mary* notes that V shares a variant with Vatican, Borg. Syr. 128 and Charfet, Rahmani 60 (on these MSS, see below): in all three, book five is entitled "How these books of the Theotokos were sought and found" (ܟܝܘܢ ܕܟܬܒܝܢ ܕܗܘܢ ܕܩܘܕܫܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܝܬܪܘܢ ܕܡܝܬܪܘܢ ܕܡܝܬܪܘܢ ܕܡܝܬܪܘܢ ܕܡܝܬܪܘܢ).<sup>60</sup> Neither the Vatican nor the Charfet MS contains IGT, so the precise nature of the relationship between the three sources has yet to be determined. The MS is pointed and Greek vocalization is frequently employed.

V first appeared in scholarship as the MS used by Smith Lewis to fill in portions of *Prot. Jas.* and *6 Bks. Dorm.* missing in her palimpsest from Sinai. At the time she identified the MS as Cod. Harris 73, "brought from Tûr Abdîn in Mesopotamia by my friend Dr. Rendel Harris. This bears, as will be seen, a very late date, A.D. 1857."<sup>61</sup> Her translation of the colophon includes the details that a priest named Belna'al completed the MS "on the second day of the Second Kanûn . . . in the year of the Greeks 2168."<sup>62</sup> This information has led to some confusion in identifying Smith Lewis's MS because Syr. 82 (MS I above) is the new designation for Harris 73, yet Syr. 82's contents do not match with Smith Lewis's "Cod.

<sup>59</sup> Catalogs: Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library*, 52; Titterton, "Syriac Manuscripts in the Semitic Museum," 51–52; and Clemons, "Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts," no. 72. Listed in Mîmouni, "Vies de la Vierge," 239–40 n. 128 and discussed in Naffah, "Les 'histoires' syriaques de la Vierge," 161–66. Goshen-Gottstein provides a date of Teshrin II 2168 (=1856) but the colophon (fol. 237<sup>r</sup>; not mentioned by Goshen-Gottstein) has Kanûn II 2168 (=1857)

<sup>60</sup> Naffah, "Les 'histoires' syriaques de la Vierge," 165. Note, however, that V lacks "sought."

<sup>61</sup> Smith Lewis, *Apocrypha Syriaca*, xii.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 69 (p. ܡܠܘ in Syriac).





- 6.25 [ḡoḡoḡo BHIJKL] ḡoḡoḡo — ḡoḡoḡo rel. : ḡo ḡo ḡo ḡo ḡo  
ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡo V (cf. Sa W)
- 6.31 ḡoḡoḡoḡo rel. : ḡoḡoḡoḡo HJK ḡoḡoḡoḡo  
ḡoḡoḡoḡo A (dittogr.) ḡoḡoḡoḡo V
- 6.32 ḡoḡoḡoḡo rel. : ḡo ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo  
ḡo ḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo V (dittogr.)
- 6.36 ḡoḡo ḡoḡo rel. : ḡoḡo ḡoḡo D ḡoḡo ḡoḡo V
- 6.43 ḡoḡo rel. : ḡoḡoḡo V
- 7.4 ḡoḡo rel. : ḡoḡo V
- 7.5 ḡoḡoḡo rel. : ḡoḡoḡo V
- 9.4 post ḡoḡoḡoḡo add. ḡoḡo ST, add. ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡo V
- 9.7 ḡoḡo ḡoḡo rel. : ḡoḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo V
- 11.5 ḡoḡoḡo ab : ḡoḡoḡoḡo V om. ST
- 11.6 post alt. ḡoḡo add. ḡoḡo V
- 13.2 post ḡoḡoḡo add. ḡoḡoḡoḡo ST, add. ḡoḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡo V
- 13.7 ḡoḡo rel. (cf. Se) : ḡoḡoḡo V (cf. Sa) om. ST
- 15.2 post ḡoḡoḡo add. ḡoḡoḡoḡo V
- 15.6 ḡoḡoḡo rel. : om. V
- 15.11 ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡo rel. (cf. Se) : ḡoḡoḡo ST ḡoḡo V (cf. Sa)
- 16.1 ḡoḡo abST : ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡo V
- 16.2 ḡoḡoḡo — (ḡoḡoḡo AB) ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo rel. : ḡoḡoḡo  
ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo O (cf. Sa)  
ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo  
ḡoḡoḡoḡo ST ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo V
- 16.3 ḡoḡoḡoḡo rel. (cf. Sa) : ḡoḡoḡoḡo L ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo HV
- 16.3–4 ḡoḡo — ḡoḡoḡo rel. : ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo  
ST ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo V
- 19.4 ḡoḡoḡo rel : ḡoḡoḡoḡo IJKLO ḡoḡoḡo V
- 19.6 ḡoḡoḡo rel. : ḡoḡoḡoḡo V
- 19.14 ḡoḡo (ḡoḡo L) ḡoḡo (ḡoḡo G) ḡoḡoḡo rel. (cf. Sa) : ḡoḡoḡo  
ABCD ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo ST ḡoḡoḡo V
- 19.16 ḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo abST : ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo V
- 19.17 post ḡoḡoḡo add. ḡoḡoḡoḡo V
- 19.20–21 ḡoḡoḡo — ḡoḡoḡo rel. : ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo  
ḡoḡoḡoḡo ST ḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo ḡoḡoḡoḡo  
ḡoḡoḡo V

19.22 ܠܗܘܠܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܠܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܠܘܬܐ rel. : ܠܗܘܠܘܬܐ  
ܠܗܘܠܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܠܘܬܐ EF ܠܗܘܠܘܬܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܗܘܠܘܬܐ V

#### 2.4 Additional West Syriac *Life of Mary* Manuscripts

A number of sources for *Life of Mary* are not included in this study either because they are unavailable or because they do not contain IGT.

Cambridge Mass., Houghton Library, Syr. 36 (olim SMH 24, access 3962); paper, 21 × 15 cm, 117 fols., 1 col., 16th–17th cent.<sup>65</sup>

Contains only portions of books 5 and 6 (fols. 10, 12<sup>r</sup>–61<sup>r</sup>, interrupted fol. 11 by lectionary readings of 1 Thess 4:12–18 and John 5:24–29) disordered and with one leaf missing, along with Jacob of Serug, *Death* (fols. 61<sup>v</sup>–69<sup>r</sup>), Ps.-Ephrem's *Malice* (69<sup>r</sup>–78<sup>v</sup>), and *Apamea* (78<sup>v</sup>–81<sup>v</sup>, incomplete).

Charfet, Syrian-Catholic Patriarchate, Fonds Rahmani 60; paper, 22 × 17 cm, 48 fols., 1 col., 19th cent.<sup>66</sup>

The MS contains book five only (fols. 11<sup>r</sup>–48<sup>v</sup>, incomplete at end) along with a *Memra on the Calendar* in the metre of Jacob of Serug by George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–10<sup>r</sup>).

Diyarbakir, Meryem Ana Syriac Orthodox Church, 99; paper, 13 × 9 cm, 140 fols., 15th/16th.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Catalogs: Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library*, 50–51; Titterton, “Syriac Manuscripts in the Semitic Museum,” 46–47; and Clemons, “Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts,” no. 69. Listed in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 239–40 n. 128 and discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66.

<sup>66</sup> Description available at *e-corpus*: [http://www.e-corpus.org/eng/ref/83890/Rahmani\\_60/](http://www.e-corpus.org/eng/ref/83890/Rahmani_60/). Discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66.

<sup>67</sup> Catalog: Scher, “Notice . . . Diarbékir,” 402–403. Listed in Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 99 n. 4 (dated, without explanation to 1728–1731, the same date he ascribes to Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral, 5), and repeated in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 241–42 n. 135.

There is considerable mystery about the identification and whereabouts of this MS. On its origins, Scher writes: “Écrit dans le couvent de Mar Jacques, de Mar Šarbel et de sainte Fébronie (à Médyad), du temps du patriarche Ignace, surnommé Mas‘oud, et de Mar Cyrille, év. de Médyad,” and much of the same is reported of Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral, 5: “Achévé du temps du patriarche . . . (illisible), qui est Mas‘oud, et de Cyrille, év. de Medyad.” Note also that Scher reports, erroneously as it turns out, that the two MSS share the same dimensions for the two MSS share the same dimensions, folio count, and number of lines to a page. Surprisingly the same can be said of MS D, which once resided in Diyarbakir; however, D does not have any scribal notes detailing its origins. If indeed the Diyarbakir and Mardin MSS are identical, it is surprising that Scher would not have known, particularly since the two catalogs were created at roughly the same time (published in 1907 and 1908). It is entirely possible that we have three codices created by (perhaps) the same scribe in roughly the same location and around the same time.

William Macomber’s 1969 report of his activities in the Middle East offers some information about the Mardin and Diyarbakir MSS cataloged by Scher. The Diyarbakir library was moved to a private residence during World War I and later to the episcopal residence at Mardin. Unfortunately, Diyarbakir 99 is listed among those he could not positively identify but he believed the missing MSS could still be in Diyarbakir.<sup>68</sup> In 2009 the combined Diyarbakir and Mardin collection was located at the church of Saint Hormizd in Mardin, from where it was photographed by HMML.<sup>69</sup> According to Grigory Kessel, Scher’s no. 99 (identified by Kessel as our MS D) corresponds to a MS that once belonged to ‘Abd al-Nūr Aslān of Qatarbel whose private collection was cataloged by Afram

---

<sup>68</sup> Macomber, “New Finds,” 479–80. Note that some of the Diyarbakir MSS were transferred to the Chaldean Patriarchate in Mosul (on these see also Vosté, “Notes sur les manuscrits syriaques de Diarbekir,” 348–49), one was given to the Vatican Library, and another to the Peshitta Institute of Leiden.

<sup>69</sup> The project is described in Stewart, “HMML and Syriac Manuscripts,” 54–55.

Barsoum in 1934 and later was transferred to Meryem Ana.<sup>70</sup> However, Kessel states that this MS was of East Syrian provenance and was dated 1508 CE.<sup>71</sup>

Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 184; paper, 15.3 × 11.6 cm, 154 fols., 1637.<sup>72</sup>

A combination of various leaves and short tracts from different MSS in Syriac and Garšūnī; perhaps bound by ‘Abd al-Wāhid of Mosul. Contains only the end of book 6 (fol. 112<sup>r</sup>) in Syriac.

Mosul, Syrian Orthodox Archdiocese of Mosul, 264; paper, 16 × 11.5 cm, 147 fols., 1 col., 17th/18th cent.<sup>73</sup>

This MS features portions of *Life Mary* in Syriac and Garšūnī. The first section (fols. 46<sup>r</sup>–110<sup>v</sup>) is in Garšūnī with Syriac headings and constitutes the Death of Mary (46<sup>r</sup>–88<sup>v</sup>, numbered book 5), the Birth of Jesus (89<sup>r</sup>–95<sup>v</sup>, book 2), and the Departure of Mary (95<sup>v</sup>–110<sup>v</sup>, book 6; ending missing). A similar arrangement of texts is found in Mingana Syr. 114 (see below). The Syriac portion (according to the title, comprised of five, not six, books) includes only the Infancy of Mary (133<sup>r</sup>–147<sup>r</sup>) and the Birth of Jesus (147<sup>r</sup>–148<sup>r</sup>, beginning only). The remainder of the MS is a Prayer for Repentance and Forgiveness (1<sup>r</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>), a memra *On Repentance* by Isaac of Antioch (7<sup>v</sup>–11<sup>v</sup>), Ps.-Ephrem’s memra *On the Structure of the Human Body* (12<sup>r</sup>–17<sup>r</sup>), *Questions and Answers* by Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus (17<sup>r</sup>–46<sup>r</sup>), Jacob of Serug’s memra *On Virginity* (111<sup>r</sup>–122<sup>r</sup>), and a memra *On the Life of Monks* by George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes (122<sup>r</sup>–133<sup>r</sup>).

---

<sup>70</sup> Barsoum, *Sritōtō d-Omid w-Merdō*, 107–108. See also Dolabani and Ibrahim, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Syrian Churches and Monasteries*, 278–84.

<sup>71</sup> Kessel, “Manuscript Collection,” 86–90 and 113.

<sup>72</sup> Catalog: Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, vol. 1, 405–408.

<sup>73</sup> Uncataloged. Brief description available online at HMML, but with some infelicities (e.g., George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes, is misidentified as “George of Ephesus”). Listed in McCollum, “Notes on some manuscripts of the Mar Behnam Monastery.”

Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica, Borgia Syr. 128; paper, 32 × 22 cm, 199 fols., 2 col., 1720.<sup>74</sup>

Discussed by François Nau in his article on *Vis. Theo.*, this MS was scholars' first look at *Life Mary*.<sup>75</sup> On the quality of the MS, Mingana states, "the textual discrepancies are deeper in quality and more numerous in quantity" and "it seems to have been copied from a manuscript that had undergone more changes at the hands of the copyists."<sup>76</sup> The first 9 folia are missing as are fols. 35–39, which contained IGT; the modern renumbering of the pages obscures these absences. *Life Mary* appears as follows: the Infancy of Mary (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–1<sup>v</sup>, ending only; numbered as book 2 but likely the first text in the MS); the Birth of Jesus (1<sup>v</sup>–6<sup>r</sup>; numbered book 3), *Vis. Theo.* (unnumbered; 6<sup>r</sup>–24<sup>v</sup>; no ending), IGT (fol. 25<sup>r</sup>; book 4; explicit only), the Death of Mary (25<sup>r</sup>–53<sup>v</sup>; book 5 titled as in T above), and her Departure (53<sup>v</sup>–67<sup>v</sup>; book 6). The MS contains a number of other texts, many of them about Mary: Jacob of Serug, *Death* (67<sup>v</sup>–71<sup>v</sup>) and his memra *On the Praises of Mary* (71<sup>v</sup>–78<sup>v</sup>); an anonymous memra on Mary (78<sup>v</sup>–99<sup>r</sup>; cf. OT); memra *On the Festival of Grain and Praises of Mary the Theotokos* (99<sup>r</sup>–104<sup>v</sup>; cf. K and T); Timothy, *Death* (104<sup>v</sup>–111<sup>r</sup>); and *Apamea* (111<sup>r</sup>–112<sup>r</sup>). The colophon (fol. 151<sup>v</sup>) provides the date and states that the MS was written in the monastery of Mor Hananyo Bosnâya (Deir al-Zafaran, Mardin).

## 2.5 Garšūnī Manuscripts

Since the Garšūnī MSS of Sw are a stage removed from the Syriac text, they have not been incorporated into the edition. The information below is offered to others interested in pursuing this branch of the *Life Mary* tradition; the reader must be cautioned that much of the information is derived from catalog descriptions rather

---

<sup>74</sup> Catalogs: Orsatti, *Il fondo Borgia della Biblioteca Vaticana*, 115–29; Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques du Musée Borgia," 275–76; and re-examined in Heal, "Vatican Borgia Syriac 128." Listed in Mimouni, "Vies de la Vierge," 239–40 n. 128 and discussed in Naffah, "Les 'histoires' syriaques de la Vierge," 161–66. Originally comprised of 217 fol. numbered in Syriac.

<sup>75</sup> Nau, "La version syriaque de la Vision de Théophile."

<sup>76</sup> Mingana, "Vision of Theophilus," 384.

than direct contact with the MSS. In most cases, information about additional contents of the MSS is not provided.

Charfet, Syrian-Catholic Patriarchate, Fonds Rahmani 48, 52, and 53.

Muriel Debié lists these three MSS in her preliminary report on the Charfet Rahmani collection.<sup>77</sup> Further information will be provided in the forthcoming catalog.

Charfet, Syrian-Catholic Patriarchate, Ancien fonds 11/16; 1693 and 1818.<sup>78</sup>

The MS is said to contain a Life of Mary in six books, and this is followed by *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (presumably also in Garšūnī).

Charfet, Syrian-Catholic Patriarchate, Ancien fonds 11/25; 16th. cent.<sup>79</sup>

Here a Life of Mary begins with, “And Gabriel the angel came to her and revealed herself to her and said to her . . . ,” which occurs in book 5.

Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 39; paper, 21.3 × 14.2 cm, 136 fols., 1 col., 1462: fols. 70<sup>v</sup>–73<sup>r</sup>.<sup>80</sup>

Garšūnī but with Syriac headings. Contents: *Vis. Theo.* (fols. 56<sup>v</sup>–70<sup>v</sup>, book 3), IGT (70<sup>v</sup>–73<sup>r</sup>, book 4), the Death of Mary (73<sup>v</sup>–92<sup>r</sup>, book 5), and her Departure (92<sup>r</sup>–97<sup>v</sup>, book 6). Dated on fol. 4<sup>v</sup>. Dated on fol. 40<sup>v</sup>.

Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 114; paper, 17.8 × 11.5 cm, 169 fols., 1901: fols. 55<sup>r</sup>–65<sup>v</sup>.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> Debié, “Cataloguing in Many Ways,” 134–35.

<sup>78</sup> Armalet, *Catalogue of the Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts*, 218–19. Listed in Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 246.

<sup>79</sup> Armalet, *Catalogue of the Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts*, 224–25. Listed in Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 246.

<sup>80</sup> Catalog: Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, vol. 1, 99–104. Listed in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 239–40 n. 128 and discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66. Listed erroneously in Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 226 as a MS of *Arab. Gos. Inf.*

Garšūnī but with Syriac headings. Many pages are blank. Contents: the Birth of Jesus (fols. 152<sup>r</sup>–167<sup>v</sup>; out of sequence but still numbered book 2), *Vis. Theo.* (1<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>r</sup>, book 3), IGT (55<sup>r</sup>–65<sup>v</sup>, book 4; incomplete at the beginning and ending), and the Death of Mary (67<sup>r</sup>–129<sup>v</sup>, book 5; perhaps incorporating book 6). Dated on fol. 168<sup>v</sup>.

Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 315; paper, 10.7 × 7.3 cm, 103 fols., 14th/15th cent.<sup>82</sup>

At present the MS contains only the Death of Mary (2<sup>r</sup>–70<sup>v</sup>, beginning missing) and her Departure (71<sup>v</sup>–101<sup>v</sup>; title in Syriac; ending missing). Many pages are missing. The MS finishes with an incomplete prayer for exorcism (102–103) in Syriac.

Mosul, Mar Behnam Monastery, MBM 172 (olim 409); paper, 16 × 11 cm, 35 fols., 1 col., 16th cent.<sup>83</sup>

This fragmentary MS without binding contains only the Death of Mary (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–26<sup>v</sup>, beginning missing), and her Departure (26<sup>v</sup>–35<sup>v</sup>, numbered as book 6; ending missing).

Mosul, Mar Behnam Monastery, MBM 207 (olim 14); paper, 21 × 16 cm, 147 fols., 1 col., 17th cent.

It seems the MS once contained the entire *Life Mary* collection but now several sections are missing, though this is not represented in the current numbering of the pages. Contents: the Birth of Jesus (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, numbered book 2; ending only), *Vis. Theo.* (1<sup>r</sup>–11<sup>v</sup>, book 3; ending missing), the Death of Mary (12<sup>r</sup>–31<sup>v</sup>, book 5, beginning missing), and her Departure (31<sup>v</sup>–39<sup>r</sup>; book 6). The MS contains also *Apamea* (39<sup>r</sup>–62<sup>r</sup>) and an assortment of other texts.

---

<sup>81</sup> Catalog: Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, vol. 1, 277–79. Listed in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 239–40 n. 128 and discussed in Naffah, “Les ‘histoires’ syriaques de la Vierge,” 161–66. The page count in the catalog (171 fol.) is incorrect; many pages are missing and misnumbered.

<sup>82</sup> Catalog: Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, vol. 1, 594–95. Listed in Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 246.

<sup>83</sup> Uncataloged. Brief description available online at HMML. Listed in McCollum, “Notes on some manuscripts of the Mar Behnam Monastery.”

Mosul, Syrian Orthodox Archdiocese of Mosul, 264 (see description in 2.3 above).

As noted earlier, this MS contains the Death of Mary (46<sup>r</sup>–88<sup>v</sup>, numbered book 5), the Birth of Jesus (89<sup>r</sup>–95<sup>v</sup>, book 2), and the Departure of Mary (95<sup>v</sup>–110<sup>v</sup>, book 6; ending missing) in Garšūnī.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. donat. 32 (Payne-Smith 149), paper, in quarto, 290 fols., 1 col., 1549: fols. 55<sup>v</sup>–59<sup>v</sup>.<sup>84</sup>

*Life Mary* is included here as the first text among several lives of saints. It is represented as follows: the Infancy of Mary (fols. 22<sup>r</sup>–30<sup>r</sup>), the Birth of Jesus (30<sup>r</sup>–35<sup>r</sup>), *Vis. Theo.* (35<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>v</sup>), IGT (55<sup>v</sup>–59<sup>v</sup>), the Death of Mary (59<sup>v</sup>–85<sup>r</sup>), and her Departure (85<sup>r</sup>–94<sup>v</sup>). Titles are in Syric. The remainder of the MS features Sunday liturgical readings (fol. 10–21, 289–290) and expositiones patrum (222–289). The first 10 fols. are missing. A colophon on fol. 288 provides the date and name of the scribe: the presbyter Abraham, son of Abd'allah, writing in Hasankeyf (southeastern Turkey).

Vatican, Biblioteca apostolica, syr. 561; paper, 21.8 × 16.0 cm, 329 fols., 1683: fol. 33<sup>r</sup>.<sup>85</sup>

Contents: the Infancy of Mary (fols. 1<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>r</sup>), the Birth of Jesus (fols. 8<sup>r</sup>–12<sup>v</sup>), *Vis. Theo.* (12<sup>v</sup>–29<sup>v</sup>, ending missing), IGT (33<sup>r</sup>, portions of ch. 15 only), the Death of Mary (33<sup>v</sup>–56<sup>r</sup>), and her Departure (56<sup>v</sup>–65<sup>v</sup>). Dated on fols. 127<sup>r</sup>, 308<sup>v</sup>, and 329<sup>v</sup>. Several Marian miracle texts and other hagiographa follow.

Cambridge, Trinity College R.13.49, paper, small quarto, 129 fols., 1 col., undated.<sup>86</sup>

This MS is listed last as, though it has been cited as containing Life of Mary traditions, it does not seem to be related to the *Life Mary* compendium. The MS includes two hagiographical texts—the *Story of St. Archelides* (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–13<sup>v</sup>) and the *Story of Paul the*

---

<sup>84</sup> Catalog: Payne-Smith, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, 476–81. Listed in Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 246.

<sup>85</sup> Catalog: van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques*, 84–87.

<sup>86</sup> Catalog: Palmer, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 130–37. Listed in Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 246 as R.13.19.



*Monk* (73<sup>v</sup>–100<sup>r</sup>)—and several apocryphal works: *Apoc. Paul* (14<sup>r</sup>–29<sup>b</sup>), *1 Apocryphal Apocalypse of John* (100<sup>r</sup>–108<sup>r</sup>), a text entitled the “Discourse of our Lord to his disciples on the Mount of Olives before his ascension” (108<sup>v</sup>–118<sup>r</sup>), and an extract from the *Testament of Adam* (118<sup>v</sup>–129<sup>v</sup>). Also featured is a version of *Prot. Jas.* that is missing the first page (30<sup>r</sup>–42<sup>r</sup>), followed by a version of the *Dormition* entitled “The Story of the Falling Asleep of Our Lady Mary” (42<sup>v</sup>–73<sup>v</sup>). Neither of these appear to be excerpted from the *Life Mary* collection—for one, they are not individually numbered,<sup>87</sup> and Palmer identifies the *Dormition* as “differ[ing] slightly” from the Arabic text edited by Maximilian Enger.<sup>88</sup> The MS is undated, and Palmer does not provide an estimate, but two colopha reveal the name of the scribe of at least the first section of the MS (1<sup>r</sup>–29<sup>v</sup>): Yaqúb ibn Dari writing by order of the Holy Father Sergius of Al Yamúna (fol. 13<sup>r</sup> in Syriac letters, 29<sup>v</sup> in Arabic). The modern numbering of the folia, as given here, inadvertently skips 3 and does not take into account pages missing between 13 and 14, 21/22, 29/30, 31/32, 55/56, 64/65, 113/114, and 122/123, all of which are replaced by blank sheets. A marginal note mentions another missing page between 123 and 124 but there is no replacement sheet, and the final three pages are lost.

### 3. RECENSION E (EAST SYRIAN; =CANT 94; BHO 643-644)

The East Syriac *History of the Virgin* (*Hist. Vir.*) has a complicated transmission history that has yet to be untangled. The text was published by E. A. Wallis Budge in 1899<sup>89</sup> based on two MSS, only one of which (MS A from Alqoš) contains portions of IGT. Like many of the sources for Sa and Sw, the text is a compilation of traditions about Mary culled from *Prot. Jas.*, *Dorm. Vir.*, the canonical gospels, and other sources. Among these sources are an account of the Holy Family’s travels in Egypt, during which a

---

<sup>87</sup> To be clear, the text has neither incipit nor explicit, so it is not certain that it was not originally numbered; however, the contents cover both books 1 and 2 of *Life Mary* without a break between. Only comparison with the other Garšūnī MSS will settle the issue.

<sup>88</sup> Enger, *Ioannis Apostoli de Transitu Beatae Mariae Virginis Liber* (Arabic text and Latin translation).

<sup>89</sup> Budge, *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*.

number of miracles are wrought using Jesus' bath water and swaddling bands, and a series of stories, shared with *Arm. Gos. Inf.*, of the young Jesus performing miracles in Nazareth. All of this material is best known to readers via *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, which appears to be an abbreviated translation of *Hist. Vir.* or a direct translation of one of its sources.

Budge's edition of *Hist. Vir.* favors MS A, the longer of the two witnesses. Unfortunately, the edition is not separated into chapters and verses, making a description and the citing of the text awkward. Nevertheless, the basic shape of the text is as follows:<sup>90</sup>

3,1–28,3	<i>Prot. Jas.</i> 1–16
28,4–30,3	<i>Prot. Jas.</i> 17–19/ <i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i> 2–4
30,3–36,15	<i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i> 5–8
36,15–37,9	<i>Prot. Jas.</i> 22/ <i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i> 9
37,9–38,11	<i>Prot. Jas.</i> 23–24
38,12–66,10	<i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i> 9 (cont'd.)–33
66,11–69,25	IGT
70,1–73,9	<i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i> 34, 39–41 <sup>91</sup>
73,9–75,11	Man with the Serpent around His Neck; Young Man on an Ass (no parallels)
75,12–93,3	<i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i> 42–54 <sup>92</sup>
93,3–145,1	<i>Dorm. Vir.</i>
145,1–146,6	Blessings, etc.

The Dormition material in A lacks the usual separation into six books, and the account of finding the text in book 1 of *6 Bks. Dorm.* is completely absent. The remainder of the material is presented out of order relative to Wright's Syriac edition and some

<sup>90</sup> Page and line numbers for *Hist. Vir.* correspond to Budge's Syriac edition. Chapter numbering for *Arab. Gos. Inf.* corresponds to the French translation by Genequand, "Vie de Jésus en Arabe."

<sup>91</sup> Ch. 35 is the Story of the Dyer, 36 corresponds to Sike's ch. 1 (the discovery of the text in a book belonging to Joseph Caiaphas), and 37–38 tell a story of Joseph building a throne for the King of Jerusalem (a doublet of IGT 13).

<sup>92</sup> This section features material about the imprisonment of Joseph of Arimathea paralleled in the Pilate Cycle of texts. Note that the material missing due to lacunae in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Genequand) 43–44, 49 is present in the Syriac text in Budge 77,2–78,1 and 83,12–83,19.



- 111,5–113,12 Yôphanâ Attacks the Bier (*6 Bks. Dorm.* pp. 33–35; *Trans. Vir.* pp. 47–48; Mary is alive in *6 Bks. Dorm.* and *Trans. Vir.* but dead in *Hist. Vir.*)
- 113,13–114,6 Yôphanâ Fights the Jews (cf. *Trans. Vir.* pp. 48–49 where Yôphanâ heals and preaches)
- 114,6–12 Mary Interred in Cave (*6 Bks. Dorm.* pp. 42–43; *Trans. Vir.* p. 49)
- 114,13–116,5 Eulogy by Peter (no parallel)
- 116,6–18 Attack on Tomb by Jews (cf. *6 Bks. Dorm.* p. 35)
- 116,18–118,10 Mary Taken to Paradise (*6 Bks. Dorm.* pp. 36–39; cf. *Trans. Vir.* pp. 49–50)
- 118,10–25 Books on the Virgin Composed and Festivals for Mary Established (*6 Bks. Dorm.* pp. 39–42)
- 118,25–119,10 Apostles Return to Their Homes and Graves (*6 Bks. Dorm.* p. 44)
- 119,11–122,16 Tour of Heaven and Hell (*6 Bks. Dorm.* pp. 44–50; prefaced by prayer in *Hist. Vir.* and account attributed to John)
- 122,16–124,14 Healings from Mary's Garments; Bodies Thrown into Tomb (no parallel)
- 125,1–128,4 Miracles in the Upper Room (*6 Bks. Dorm.* pp. 21–22; with expansions; note disruption of chronology in *Hist. Vir.*)
- 128,4–131,18 Attack on Mary's House (*6 Bks. Dorm.* pp. 23–25)
- 131,18–135,20 Debate between Believers and Unbelievers (*6 Bks. Dorm.* pp. 25–29; *Trans. Vir.* pp. 33–37)
- 135,20–138,5 Unbelievers Reveal Location of Crucifixion Relics (*Trans. Vir.* pp. 37–39)
- 138,5–14 Apostles Write Book of Departure (*6 Bks. Dorm.* pp. 43–44)
- 138,14–145,1 Miracles from Afar (*6 Bks. Dorm.* pp. 32–33; *Trans. Vir.* pp. 46–47); includes an additional tale of the Merchant and the Pearl 139,11–144,1 (no parallel)

Budge's B MS lacks the following material:

37,3–38,9	<i>Prot. Jas.</i> 22:3, 23–24 <sup>94</sup>
66,11–69,25	IGT
99,2–107,20	<i>6 Bks. Dorm.</i> pp. 14–21, 36–39
116,6–122,16	<i>6 Bks. Dorm.</i> pp. 39–50
125,1–138,14	<i>6 Bks. Dorm.</i> pp. 21–29, 43–44
144,7–14	Merchant Who Lost His Money ( <i>6 Bks. Dorm.</i> pp. 33)

The earliest MSS of *Hist. Vir.* hail from the sixteenth century,<sup>95</sup> but the text's origins may go back as early as the fifth or sixth century, when we see the earliest attempts to join the various Mary traditions into one larger work, or to the seventh century, if Elena Mescherskaja is correct in placing the composition of the story of the Magi in that period.<sup>96</sup> Important also in the transmission history of *Hist. Vir.* is its apparent use in a hymn attributed to Giwargis Warda, an East Syrian hymnographer of the thirteenth century.<sup>97</sup>

The MS base for *Hist. Vir.* has expanded considerably since Budge's day, though many of the sources are difficult to obtain, if not entirely lost. Those MSS that are available fall into three categories: Budge's A text with IGT (represented only by Budge's Alqoš MS) and four A MSS without, seven MSS of Budge's shorter B text, and three MSS with IGT in an otherwise mixed text showing signs of development prior to the A and B texts. One of these, Mingana Syr. 122 (which forms the basis of the edition below), improves on the text of the East Syrian IGT tradition with its inclusion of additional sections of IGT absent in Budge's MS A.

*Hist. Vir.* is a lengthy text with a clearly complicated MS base. The present volume is not the place to offer a comprehensive description of the contents of each MS nor to resolve questions about the relationships between all of the witnesses. Its goals are more modest: to present an edition of the East Syrian IGT

---

<sup>94</sup> This section corresponds to the death of Zechariah and the flight of Elizabeth and John, a section lacking also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.*

<sup>95</sup> Budge said that his Alqoš MS was copied from a 13th or 14th century MS (see *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, v) but that claim has been challenged in subsequent scholarship.

<sup>96</sup> See above pp. 22–23.

<sup>97</sup> See above p. 22. For a chart of correspondences between the hymn and *Hist. Vir.*, see Pritula, "Hymn by Givargis Warda," 427–28.

material, which is found in only four of the extant sources. Nevertheless, a summary of the full range of *Hist. Vir.* MSS is offered below as a beginning to the process of creating a complete critical edition of the text.

### 3.1 East Syriac *History of the Virgin* Manuscripts Containing IGT

**A** Leeds, University of Leeds, Syr. 1; paper, 23 × 17 cm, 316 fols., 1890: fols. 2<sup>v</sup>–82<sup>r</sup>.<sup>98</sup>

The colophon of the MS (fol. 81<sup>v</sup>) reveals that it was commissioned by Budge and copied by ʿĪsâ, son of Isaiah, the son of Cyriacus the deacon at Alqoṣ and completed on January 11, 1890.<sup>99</sup> Budge mentions acquiring the MS in his sprawling autobiography, *By Nile and Tigris*.<sup>100</sup> He describes a visit by Mar Yohannan Elias Milos, Metropolitan of the Chaldeans and Vicar of the Chaldean Patriarchs, who helped Budge acquire copies of many MSS. The list of these acquisitions includes “two important apocryphal works”; the accompanying footnote cites Budge’s edition of *Hist. Vir.*<sup>101</sup>

The MS contains also *Apamea* (82<sup>v</sup>–86<sup>v</sup>), a *Treatise on Syriac Grammar* by Elias of Nisibis (87<sup>v</sup>–115<sup>v</sup>), the *Syriac Grammar* of John Bar Zo’bi (116<sup>r</sup>–308<sup>v</sup>), a series of colophons (309<sup>r</sup>–309<sup>v</sup>), a short anonymous tract containing inflexions of verbs of two-letter roots (310<sup>r</sup>–315<sup>v</sup>), and some verses in Syriac headed ܠܘܟܝܢܝܢ ܠܝܕܝܢܝܢ (316<sup>r</sup>). Budge claimed A was copied from a MS of the thirteenth or

---

<sup>98</sup> Catalog: Ebied, “Some Syriac Manuscripts,” 513–15; detailed description in Budge, *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, vol. 1, v–vi. Budge provides the scribe’s numbering (1<sup>v</sup>–85<sup>v</sup>, including *Apamea*) which is given on the verso of the leaves, whereas Ebied gives the modern numbering, which has been entered by a Western hand. Ebied’s method is to be preferred as it reflects better the contents of the volume, since fol. 1 and 2<sup>r</sup> are blank and the subsequent texts follow a new sequence numbered in Syriac.

<sup>99</sup> Budge, *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, vol. 2, 168, n. 1. The note gives the date as 1889 but that is erroneous and contradicts Budge’s earlier statement on p. v.

<sup>100</sup> Budge, *By Nile and Tigris*, vol. 2, 237–38.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 238 n. 5. Budge later mentions visiting Alqoṣ but does not say anything more about the MS in this context (*ibid.*, 239–46).



**M** Mardin, Chaldean Cathedral, 2 (formerly 80.2); paper, 14.5 × 10 cm, 136 fols., 1 col., 1678.<sup>105</sup>

As noted above, William Macomber encountered two “History of Mart Maryam” MSS when he was cataloging the library at Mardin in 1965. This second MS, designated 80.2 by Macomber, appears not to have been known to Scher; according to Macomber, it may have come from Diyarbakir.<sup>106</sup> A scribal note spanning fol. 133<sup>v</sup>–134<sup>r</sup> provides the date and identity of the scribe: Gewargīs b. Ishāq b. Mārogē, of the family of Bēt Judo, writing in the village of Bēt Gawsā. *Hist. Virg.* is the only text in the MS and is complete except for one missing folio (fol. 10), covering Budge 11,6–12,6. The text of M has some curious features. The early portion lacks several sections: Budge 5,7–6,6 (in its place is a short variant reading found also in recension B); 10,5–13; 37,3–38,9; and 63,10–65,6. In the Dormition section fol. 90<sup>r</sup>–105<sup>v</sup> essentially follows the structure of B, with its omissions of 99,2–107,20; 116,6–122,16; 125,1–138,14; and 144,7–14 (the latter two also omitted in EFGH; see below). Some of this material, however, is supplied after the conclusion under two separate headings. The first, entitled “Again another story concerning the departure of my Blessed Lady Mary from this world” (105<sup>v</sup>–124<sup>r</sup>) deals with the entry into Paradise from Budge 116,18–122,16; the second covers Budge 99,2–107,20 under the title “Another story of the coming of the apostles to the blessed Mary” (124<sup>r</sup>–133<sup>v</sup>). Ultimately, then, the only portion of the text absent in B that is absent also in M is Budge 125,1–138,14. Based on this evidence, it is tempting to see in M an intermediary stage in the transmission of *Hist. Virg.*, between the exemplar of the B recension and the expanded text of the A recension. However, such a determination awaits a full collation of the full range of witnesses, particularly M and D.

As for IGT, M contains the same major omissions as A (IGT 4–6:2a and 19), but with some superior readings shared with D (3, 9, 10, 54, 56, 79, 80–81, 83, 93, 95, and 101), an occurrence of

---

<sup>105</sup> The MS is uncataloged, though see the discussion of its possible earlier identification below. Codicological details provided in the HMML description.

<sup>106</sup> Macomber, “Checklist of the Manuscripts of the Chaldean Patriarchate,” 57.



homoeoteleuton (at 4–5), and several other significant omissions and substitutions (see 36, 62, and 65). The IGT portion of the MS also features several scribal corrections (at 75–76, 95; a transposition signaled in the MS at 114–15; and a word added super linea in 31).

**N** Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 502; paper, 21.6 × 15.5 cm, 240 fols., 1 col., 1836: fols. 2<sup>v</sup>–92<sup>r</sup>.<sup>107</sup>

This MS is dated in its most recent colophon (fol. 240<sup>r</sup>), which states also that it was copied in the monastery of Mar Ahā (in modern Cizre, Turkey) by the priest Gabriel. It contains also a life of John the Egyptian (92<sup>v</sup>–158<sup>r</sup>), a life of St. Ahā (159<sup>r</sup>–204<sup>r</sup>), an account of how water came to the monastery of St. Ahā (204<sup>r</sup>–215<sup>v</sup>), and a memra on St. Ahā (216<sup>r</sup>–240<sup>r</sup>). The text of *Hist. Vir.* in N follows that of M very closely; however, N cannot be a copy of M as N's exemplar lacked Budge 12,1–13,2, a portion present in M (though 11,6–12,6 is missing due to the loss of fol. 10). N suffers from some damage of its own: the loss of the final page of the quire between fols. 67 and 68, eliminating Budge 123,1–124,14. As for IGT, N contains the same major omissions mentioned for M above but has two significant unique readings: a case of homoeoteleuton (at 34–35) and an agreement with D against M and A (95).

**D** Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 122; paper, 15.5 × 10.7 cm, 136 fols., 1 col., 1670: fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–112<sup>v</sup>.<sup>108</sup>

According to its colophon (fols. 135<sup>v</sup>–136<sup>r</sup>), D was copied in 1670 by the deacon Maccabee, son of Kaskun, in Amid (Diyarbakir). Along with *Hist. Vir.*, the MS contains only *Hist. Phil.* (112<sup>v</sup>–135<sup>r</sup>; cf. MSS BPS and Urmia 38 below).<sup>109</sup> In the *Hist. Vir.* section of the MS, some pages are placed out of order and several are missing:

---

<sup>107</sup> Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, vol. 1, 924–28. Mentioned by Ebied, “Some Syriac Manuscripts,” 514.

<sup>108</sup> Catalog: Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, vol. 1, 288–89; significantly augmented in its entry on *Ektobe* (<http://www.mss-syriaques.org/>).

<sup>109</sup> First published in Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 1, 73–99 (Syriac), vol. 2, 69–92 (English trans.).

Budge 3,1–4,6 is absent; the first extant page appears to be reversed (1<sup>r</sup> contains 13,2–9 and 1<sup>v</sup> has 12,9–13,2); and fol. 2 begins at 4,6–13 and then skips to 7,1, runs to 12,9 on fol. 7<sup>v</sup>, and resumes after a missing page at 14,6 on fol. 8<sup>r</sup>. Another page is missing between fols. 46 and 47 (eliminating roughly 54,7–56,13), one more between 66 and 67 (79,8–80,11), three between 74 and 75 (91,11–95,3), and five between 76 and 77 (leaping from 97,1 to ca. 131,18).

The rest of the MS is intact but there are some significant transpositions of the material, the precise identification of which requires a thorough collation as the text frequently departs from both the A and B texts. First, after the revealing of the crucifixion relics (ca.138,5), the text skips at fol. 83 to the arrival of the apostles (ca. 99,2–104,12); then at fol. 91 it moves to the miracles in the upper room and the attack on Mary's house (ca. 125,1–131,14), to Yôphanâ attacks the bier (ca. 111,5–113,12) at fols. 98–101, and finishes with Mary taken to Paradise (ca. 116,18–122,16) at fols. 101–12. The text also lacks the usual 37,3–38,9, as well as 60,3–66,1 and 84,4–87,5. Like MN, D appears to be a witness to a stage in the development of the *Hist. Vir.* between the shorter and longer recensions, with material lacking in B placed at the end of the text, though this time with a large section not present in MN (125,1–138,14).

The Se recension benefits greatly from this new MS as it contains a much more complete version of the IGT material with the inclusion of chs. 4–6:2a and 19; however, it does lack a sentence in 7:4 (at lines 103–104), and has a number of inferior readings when compared to MN and A and the other two recensions (Sa and Sw).

*Deficient and idiosyncratic readings in D:*

- 8 ܘܥܘܕܘܢܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ A : ܘܥܘܕܘܢܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ MN ܠܡܘܬܐܢܐ  
 ܡܢ D
- 18 ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ scripsi : ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ D
- 34 ܠܡܘܬܐܢܐ A (cf. Sa Sw) : ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ DMN
- 39 post ܠܡܘܬܐܢܐ add. ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ D
- 49 ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ MNA (cf. Sa) : om. D
- 50 ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ A: ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ D ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ MN
- 52 ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ MNA : ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ D
- 55 ante ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ add. ܡܢ ܕܡܘܬܐܢܐ D

- 60–61 ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ MN : ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ D  
 ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ A
- 61 ܠܘܢ MNA : ܠܘܢ D
- 63 ܠܘܢ MNA (cf. Sa Sw) : ܠܘܢ D
- 64 ܠܘܢ MNA (cf. Sa Sw) : om. D
- 66 ܠܘܢ MNA (cf. Sa Sw) : ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ D (cf. Sa MSS PN)
- 77 alt. ܠܘܢ A : ܠܘܢ MN ܠܘܢ D
- 79 ܠܘܢ MNA : ܠܘܢ D
- 81 ܠܘܢ scripsi (cf. Sw) : ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ MN ܠܘܢ A
- 86 ܠܘܢ MNA (cf. Sa Sw) : ܠܘܢ D (cf. Sa MS Q)
- 88 ܠܘܢ A (cf. Sa Sw) : ܠܘܢ MN ܠܘܢ D
- 92 ܠܘܢ M (cf. Sa) : ܠܘܢ D (cf. Sw) ܠܘܢ A
- 92 ܠܘܢ MNA (cf. Sa Sw) : om. D
- 93 ܠܘܢ MNA : ܠܘܢ D
- 97 ܠܘܢ MNA : ܠܘܢ D
- 103–104 (ܠܘܢ A) ܠܘܢ — ܠܘܢ MNA (cf. Sa Sw) : om. D
- 109 ܠܘܢ A (cf. Sa Sw) : ܠܘܢ D ܠܘܢ M
- 109 ܠܘܢ MNA : ܠܘܢ D (spoonerism)
- 113 ܠܘܢ MNA (cf. Sa Sw) : ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ D
- 114 ܠܘܢ A : ܠܘܢ MN ܠܘܢ D
- 118 ܠܘܢ MNA (cf. Sa Sw) : om. D

### 3.2 East Syriac *History of the Virgin* Manuscripts without IGT

#### 3.2.1 Budge's *A* text without IGT

Four complete A recension MSS lack IGT, though it is undetermined whether that means IGT was added to the A branch to form ADMN or that it was removed to form EFGH. Though lengthy, the IGT portion could have been lost due to dittography, as the first line of the section (ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ) is similar to the first line of the following section (ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ ܠܘܢ). EFG also lack three other sections unattested in

the B recension: Budge 37,3–38,9; 125,1–138,14; 144,7–14; and end, like B, at 144,6. E and G skip 92,4–9 and 92,15–93,1, both of which may be absent also in F, which lacks a page covering 92,4–93,15. Due to H's numerous lacunae, it is unknown whether it originally shared all of EFG's omissions; however, it certainly lacks 37,3–38,9.

**E** Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Add. 2020; paper, 30.5 × 20.5 cm, 190 fols., 1 col., 1697: fols. 153<sup>v</sup>–188<sup>r</sup>.<sup>110</sup>

Aside from *Hist. Vir.*, E contains an assortment of lives of saints and theological texts. A colophon (fols. 188<sup>v</sup>–189<sup>r</sup>) dates the creation of the MS to 1697 in Alqoš by the priest Hōrmizd bar Hadh-bē-shabbā bar Israel.<sup>111</sup> There is some damage to the MS resulting in the loss of some portions of the text: the upper half of fol. 158 seems to have been purposely cut away (eliminating 19,8–20,6 and 21,2–22,7) and there is a leaf missing after fol. 184 (eliminating 119,1–120,20). Also absent is 30,5–11, perhaps due to homoeoteleuton, as well as 92,4–9 and 92,15–93,1. Like G, the text begins after the title at 5,8, eliminating the genealogy of Joachim.

**F** Columbia University, Butler Library X893.4 B47; paper, 17 × 12 cm, 211 pages, 1 col., 1796.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> Catalog: Wright and Cook, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, vol. 1, 583–89. Listed in Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 99 n. 4 and repeated in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 241–42 n. 135.

<sup>111</sup> The entire colophon is reproduced in Wright and Cook, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts*, vol. 1, 587–89.

<sup>112</sup> Catalog: Mendelsohn, *Descriptive Catalogue of Semitic Manuscripts*, vol. 1, 44; and Clemons, “Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts,” no. 258. Listed in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 239–40 n. 128. Both Clemons and Mimouni report the shelf number erroneously as X893.B47, and Mimouni incorrectly identifies it as West Syrian. The date is accurately reported by Clemons (contra Mendelsohn) but Clemons gives the dimensions as 4 ½ × 6 3/8 inches and a folio count of 103. The dimensions provided here are those given by Mendelsohn and were verified through correspondence with Michelle Chesner, Norman E. Alexander Librarian for Jewish Studies at Columbia University.

According to Mendelsohn's catalog, "The original Ms. was finished on the 17th of Nisan in the year 1107 of the Greeks (795 A.D.). Our copy was written by the priest Zelitha bar Gmr [ ܙܠܝܬܗ ܒܪ ܓܡܪ ] in the days of Mar Shemon, the Patriarch of the east, but the date is not given." The discrepancy in the date results from Mendelsohn misreading ܡܪܫܡܢ (=2107; from the colophon on pp. 199–201) and recognizing the recent vintage of the script, surmising that the scribe's dating of his own work refers instead to his exemplar. The scribe also provides a point of origin: ܝܢܩܝܗܐ, Yangjā in the Urmia region. The MS is stamped May 15, 1901 (p. 1), presumably the date of its acquisition by Columbia. It is individually paginated, with the last page numbered 201; however, the first five pages (comprising Budge 3,1–5,6) are unnumbered and were added at a later time (along with two unnumbered pages inserted between 74 and 75, filling in missing material from Budge 54–55 but without 55,2–5), and there are several additional pagination errors (two pages are numbered 3; number 50 is skipped, there are two unnumbered pages between 121 and 122 that should be placed after 123, and one page is unnumbered after 162), bringing the page count to 211. In addition, some pages (132–141) are out of order and should be arranged as: 131/132, 135/136, 133/134, 139/140, 137/138, and 141/142. Along with the absences common to E and G, F lacks 21,13–22,4 (also missing in G and partially absent in E).

**G** Vatican, Bibliotheca apostolica, Syr. 587; paper, 27 × 21 cm, 140 fols., 1 col., 1917: fols. 42<sup>v</sup>–84<sup>v</sup>.<sup>113</sup>

This collection of prayers, letters, and extracts bears the names of several copyists, writing at different times. The colophon following *Hist. Vir.* provides the date of 1917 and the copyist's name as Paul, son of Hōrmīzd, son of Mattā; Paul copied the text in Alqoš based on a MS from Hūr Dafne (Harbiye) dated 1680. Perhaps this exemplar is Baghdad, Library of the Chaldean Monastery, 588 (see below), which also is dated 1680 and was created by Khausabo, priest of Alqoš for the church in Hūr Dafne.

---

<sup>113</sup> Catalog: Van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques*, 113–14.

**H** New York, Union Theological Seminary, Syr. 32; paper, 22 × 16 cm, 32 fols. (incomplete), 1 col., 1779.<sup>114</sup>

Many pages are missing from the MS, but those that remain have been numbered 1–64. The text begins at Budge 24,7; two fols. seem to be missing between pp. 16 and 17 (eliminating 43,9–48,4, another between pp. 22 and 23 (eliminating 70,6–73,8), and another three or four between p. 48 and 49 (eliminating 91,8–98,3). The text ends at Budge 113,11. The UTS Syriac MSS were purchased in Urmia by James E. Rogers and donated to the seminary. Isaac Hall details these acquisitions in an 1885 article and lists a “History of Mary” dated 1779 as item no. 11.<sup>115</sup> Goshen-Gottstein expressed some doubts that Hall’s MS is UTS Syr. 32, stating: “The present item came from [Richard] Gottheil in 1935. Gottheil noted in this copy pages of Budge’s edition.”

Two additional *Hist. Vir.* MSS of the A text are fragmentary and do not contain any portion of IGT, though perhaps they once did. These are:

**I** Vatican, Bibliotheca apostolica, Syr. 597; paper, 32 × 22 cm, 225 fols., 1 col., 17th cent.: fols. 18<sup>r</sup>–23<sup>v</sup>.<sup>116</sup> Contains Budge 100,4–113,5. Other texts in the MS include fragments of the *Acts of Thomas* (1<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>v</sup>), *Apoc. Paul* (44<sup>r</sup>–49<sup>v</sup>), the *Acts of Peter* (50<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>v</sup>), the *Acts of Paul* (67<sup>r</sup>–69<sup>v</sup>), the *Acts of John* (71<sup>r</sup>–71<sup>v</sup>), the *Dialogue between Moses and God* (186<sup>r</sup>–191<sup>v</sup>; cf. S), and the *Acts of Thecla* (203<sup>r</sup>–214<sup>v</sup>).

**J** Edgbaston, University of Birmingham, Mingana Syr. 524; ca. 1550, fols. 2–4.<sup>117</sup> The MS constitutes three leaves combined by Mingana with two other fragmentary texts. The three leaves contain Budge 10,10–12,7 (fol. 2), 13,17–15,9 (fol. 3), and 18,14–20,5 (fol. 4).

---

<sup>114</sup> Catalog: Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library*, 130; Clemons, “Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts,” no. 305.

<sup>115</sup> Hall, “On Some Manuscripts.” See also Coakley, “Manuscripts for sale,” 6.

<sup>116</sup> Catalog: Van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques*, 128–29.

<sup>117</sup> Catalog: Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, vol. 1, 963–64.

3.2.2 *Budge's B text*

This group of MSS are closely related; five of them are traceable to Urmia and are at least partially the fruits of the Oroomiah Mission's efforts to raise money for the mission by selling commissioned copies of MSS to Western libraries. Recension B differs sharply from A in several ways. First, there are the five sections noted above that are extant in A but absent in all B MSS. And second, there are three additional absences represented in various ways:

	Budge 13,7–12 (portion of prayer of Anna on the birth of Mary)	Budge 38,16– 39,11 (portion of <i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i> 10)	Budge 62,5 (no corresponding text missing in A)
B	Half-page gap (128 <sup>v</sup> –129 <sup>r</sup> )	Six-line gap (137 <sup>v</sup> – 138 <sup>r</sup> )	Line and two thirds gap (144 <sup>v</sup> )
P	Missing text inserted (from another MS?), followed by quarter-page gap with scribal note (signed “written by David” in English); Budge 13,12 written twice (214 <sup>r</sup> –214 <sup>v</sup> )	Missing text inserted (from another MS?); portion compressed (perhaps to fill in a gap) (225 <sup>v</sup> –226 <sup>r</sup> )	Line and two thirds gap (235 <sup>r</sup> )
Q	No gap or inserted text	Two and a half line gap (p. 37)	No gap or inserted text
R	No gap or inserted text	Two-line gap (15 <sup>v</sup> )	No gap or inserted text
S	Missing text included as in P but without break	Missing text included, as in P but without break	No gap or inserted text

	Budge 13,7–12 (portion of prayer of Anna on the birth of Mary)	Budge 38,16– 39,11 (portion of <i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i> 10)	Budge 62,5 (no corresponding text missing in A)
T	No gap or inserted text.	Unique reading of 13 lines (38 <sup>r</sup> )	No gap or inserted text
U	No gap or inserted text.	Unique reading of nine lines (30 <sup>r</sup> –30 <sup>v</sup> )	Two lines and a third gap (50 <sup>r</sup> )

The B recension includes the earliest attestation of *Hist. Vir.*—the text of S is said to have been copied from an exemplar of 1243/1244. It is tempting, then, to surmise that recension B is an earlier form of the text than A, and its less-jumbled version of the Dormition material may point in that direction. If so, the IGT material also would be a later addition to a text that would appear to have undergone several expansions over the centuries.

**B** London, Royal Asiatic Society, Syr. 1; paper, 21 × 15 cm, 188 fols., 1 col., 1569: fols. 126<sup>r</sup>–161<sup>v</sup>.<sup>118</sup>

Budge consulted this MS, he says, in 1883 and 1898,<sup>119</sup> though William Wright certainly used it before him (prior to 1871) for several texts published in his *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* volume. The MS has some minor damage and some leaves are missing (after fols. 6, 21, 49, 125, 166, and 172) but none of these omissions affect *Hist. Vir.* The MS is dated to 1569 (see fol. 92<sup>v</sup>) but was bound in 1605 (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>). The scribe's name is Elias and the MS later belonged to a priest named Wardā, the son of the deacon Moses,

<sup>118</sup> Described in detail in Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 1, x–xii and discussed in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 241–42. The MS is given comprehensive treatment on *e-ktobe* (<http://www.mss-syriaques.org>) by Flavia Ruani. I have consulted also Wright's original handwritten notes on the MS, kindly furnished by the Royal Asiatic Library. As the library's only Syriac MS, B is referred to often in scholarship without a number. Goodman (“Jenks Collection of Syriac Manuscripts,” 599 n. 1), for his part, identifies it as Misc. MS 3.

<sup>119</sup> Budge, *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, iv.



Prior of the Monastery of Mār Ezekiel (fol. 187<sup>r</sup>; likely situated in Shemsdīn, though there was a namesake in Daquqa). At one time it belonged also to a certain Mār Yūhannān, according to a note in Arabic (fol. 187<sup>v</sup>). B shares the bulk of its contents with P and the lost Urmia 38, though with a few transpositions in sequence. The dates suggest that P and Urmia 38 used B as a source or a MS very much like it.

B	P	Urmia 38
<i>a. Book of the Pearl</i> , by ‘Ebed-Yēshua‘, metropolitan of Sobā (1 <sup>v</sup> –18 <sup>v</sup> )	1 (3 <sup>v</sup> –37 <sup>r</sup> )	1
<i>b. Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Works</i> , by ‘Ebed-Yēshua‘ (18 <sup>v</sup> –26 <sup>r</sup> )	2 (37 <sup>r</sup> –54 <sup>r</sup> )	2
<i>c. Book of the Bee</i> by Solomon of Basra (26 <sup>r</sup> –92 <sup>v</sup> )	3 (54 <sup>r</sup> –155 <sup>r</sup> )	3
<i>d. History of the Rechabites</i> (CAVT 166) (93 <sup>r</sup> –107 <sup>r</sup> )	4 (155 <sup>r</sup> –176 <sup>r</sup> )	4
<i>e. Hist. Phil.</i> (CANT 253) (107 <sup>r</sup> –117 <sup>r</sup> ) <sup>120</sup>	5 (176 <sup>r</sup> –190 <sup>r</sup> )	5
<i>f. The History of a Repentant Demon</i> (117 <sup>r</sup> –119 <sup>r</sup> )	6 (190 <sup>r</sup> –193 <sup>r</sup> )	6
<i>g. Story of a King and his Son</i> (119 <sup>r</sup> –122 <sup>r</sup> )	7 (193 <sup>r</sup> –196 <sup>v</sup> ) <sup>121</sup>	7 <sup>122</sup>
<i>h. The History of Onesimus and the Ascetics</i> (122 <sup>r</sup> –126 <sup>r</sup> )	8 (196 <sup>v</sup> –204 <sup>v</sup> )	8
<i>i. Hist. Vir.</i> (126 <sup>r</sup> –161 <sup>v</sup> )	10 (210 <sup>r</sup> –258 <sup>v</sup> )	10
<i>j. The History of John bar Malkē</i> (161 <sup>v</sup> –169 <sup>r</sup> )	11 (258 <sup>v</sup> –268 <sup>r</sup> )	11
<i>k. Ep. Chr. Heav.</i> (CANT 311) (169 <sup>r</sup> –173 <sup>r</sup> )	9 (204 <sup>r</sup> –210 <sup>r</sup> )	9

<sup>120</sup> For an examination of *Hist. Phil.* see Ruani and Villey, “Recherches sur la transmission manuscrite syriaque de l’*Histoire de Philippe*”. Missing in this study is Urmia 38. *Hist. Phil.*, the *History of the Rechabites*, and the *History of a Schoolboy Killed by his Teacher* are found also in MS S (see below).

<sup>121</sup> This item is not listed in Margoliouth’s catalog description.

<sup>122</sup> Note, however, that the catalog describes this text as “On the teacher killed by his wolf (or bear).”

B	P	Urmia 38
---	---	----------

---

/ The Martyrdom of Cyriacus and Julietta (173 <sup>r</sup> –188 <sup>r</sup> )	12 (268 <sup>r</sup> –285 <sup>r</sup> )	12
---	--	----

**P** London, British Library, Or. 4526; paper, 22 × 15 cm, 285 fols., 1 col., 1727: fols. 210<sup>r</sup>–258<sup>v</sup>.<sup>123</sup>

The MS contains several pieces of information about its origin. The front leaves (unnumbered) reveal the scribe's name as David of Digala<sup>124</sup>—the same name attached to a note on fol. 214<sup>v</sup>—and two dates are given: 1727 (285<sup>v</sup>) and 1854 (3<sup>r</sup>). The front and end notes state that the MS was “examined by A.G.” and came to the library in Nov. 1891 when it was bought from “Rabbi Baba.” The date, scribe's name, folio count, and contents match the catalog description of Urmia 38, now believed to be lost. Since Urmia 38 was present in the Oroomia College library between 1891 and the compilation of Sarau and Shedd's 1898 catalog, P cannot be Urmia 38; however, earlier lists of the library's holdings reveal that a copy of a “Story of Mart Maryam” MS was sold between 1890 and 1891.<sup>125</sup> Likely, then, P is this copy, and made by the same scribe. The folia have been numbered by page but often out of sequence, indicating that the MS has been rebound. This numbering terminates at fol. 224<sup>v</sup>.

While the version of the text in this MS is the same as B, two of the blank spaces mentioned above have been filled in (seemingly by the same scribe) with text corresponding to what is present in

---

<sup>123</sup> Catalog: Margoliouth, *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni Mss.*, 46–47; significantly augmented in its entry on *e-ktobe* (<http://www.mss-syriaques.org>) by Flavia Ruani. Listed in Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 99 n. 4 and repeated in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 239–40 n. 128 (though Mimouni incorrectly identifies the MS as BL Add. 4526 and both Mimouni and Geerard's CANT place it among the sources for *Life Mary*).

<sup>124</sup> For a list of copyists associated with the American mission in Urmia, see Wilmshurst, *Ecclesiastical Organization of the Church of the East*, 298, 337–39.

<sup>125</sup> See Coakley, “Manuscripts for sale,” esp. 12. My thanks to Prof. Coakley for his assistance in clearing up the origins of this MS through personal correspondence.

MS S. It would appear that P was copied first from B (or a similar MS), along with its spaces, and then these spaces were subsequently filled in from another source.

**Q** Princeton, Speer Library, Cabinet C, Ms. 40 (olim Urmia, Oroomia Mission Library, 43); paper, 21 × 17 cm, 145 pp., 1 col., 1813: pp. 1–127.<sup>126</sup>

Other than *Hist. Vir.*, Q contains only *Ep. Chr. Heav.* (pp. 129–45; shared also with BP and Urmia 38). The scribe's name is given in a lengthy colophon (pp. 127–29) as George the Archdeacon, who created the MS in 1813. The stamp of the Oroomiah Mission Library appears on the inside front cover (and on pp. 6 and 16), along with a Princeton Theological Seminary stamp with the date of January 19, 1932. Two pages are unnumbered between pp. 40 and 41, and there appears to be a missing folio between pp. 15 and 16 (eliminating Budge 17,13–19,12). Q is the exemplar of R (see below).

**R** Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1341; paper, 19.5 × 15 cm, 46 fols., 1 col., 1899.<sup>127</sup>

The colophon (fol. 45<sup>v</sup>) identifies the copyist as Joseph b. Elias at Urmia and mentions that the MS was copied from a MS created by George the Archdeacon in 1813. Goodman identifies this MS as Urmia 43 (Q); however, only *Hist. Vir.* was copied over from Q. The relationship with Q is confirmed by the same representation of

---

<sup>126</sup> Catalog: Sarau and Shedd, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, 11; and Clemons, "Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts," no. 346. Listed in Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 69–70 n. 12, see also p. 70 n. 1, and 99 n. 4 (on p. 70 n. 1, Baumstark speculates that the MS contains only IGT and gives the erroneous date of 1863); and repeated in Mimouni, "Vies de la Vierge," 241–42 n. 135. Mimouni lists Urmia 43, which he correctly calls East Syrian, separately from the Princeton shelf number and classifies the latter as West Syrian (see 239–40 n. 128). The shelf card at the Speer Library records the date erroneously as 1812. On the sale of Urmia 43 to Princeton see Coakley, "Manuscripts for sale," 5 n. 10.

<sup>127</sup> Catalog: Goodman, "Jenks Collection of Syriac Manuscripts," 598–99. Folia are numbered both recto and verso in Syriac, but recto only in modern numerals.

the three lacunae mentioned above, by the absence of Budge 17,13–19,12, and in the copyist's improvements to the text with the original readings from Q placed in an apparatus at the foot of the pages.

**S** Tehran, Chaldean Catholic Archdiocese, Issayi 18 (olim Neesan 8); paper, 17 × 22.5 cm, 234 fols., 1 col., 1741/1742: fols. 1<sup>v</sup>–44<sup>v</sup>.<sup>128</sup>

According to the colophon on fol. 44<sup>v</sup>, Jeremy, son of Thomas, copied some of the material here, including *Hist. Vir.*, from a MS dated 1243/1244. If correct, this date not only indicates that S is the earliest witness to *Hist. Vir.*, but also establishes a terminus ad quem for the text. The MS contains a number of texts shared with BP and Urmia 38: *History of the Rechabites* (57<sup>r</sup>–78<sup>v</sup>), *Hist. Phil.* (79<sup>r</sup>–93<sup>r</sup>), and the Story of a King and his Son (93<sup>r</sup>–96<sup>r</sup>). Also present are several other apocryphal works: the *Acts of Matthew and Andrew* (109<sup>v</sup>–122<sup>v</sup>), the *Dialogue of Moses with God* (123<sup>r</sup>–131<sup>r</sup>), *Apoc. Paul* (135<sup>r</sup>–172<sup>r</sup>), and the *History of Joseph* (182<sup>v</sup>–214<sup>r</sup>).

The Dormition section of the text seems to have been copied out of order from the exemplar of S or an earlier MS in its transmission history. The material is distributed as follows:

B (RAS, Syr. 1)	S
151 <sup>v</sup> l.12 to 151 <sup>v</sup> l.18	40 <sup>r</sup> l.10 to 40 <sup>r</sup> l.19
151 <sup>v</sup> l.18 to 152 <sup>v</sup> l.8	42 <sup>v</sup> l.8 to 43 <sup>v</sup> l.17
152 <sup>v</sup> l.8 to 153 <sup>r</sup> l.4	missing
153 <sup>r</sup> l.4 to 153 <sup>v</sup> l.20	40 <sup>r</sup> l.19 to 42 <sup>v</sup> l.8
153 <sup>v</sup> l.20 to 154 <sup>r</sup> l.24	43 <sup>v</sup> l.17 to 44 <sup>v</sup> l.12 (end of text)
154 <sup>r</sup> l.24 to 156 <sup>r</sup> l.9	37 <sup>v</sup> l. 8 to 40 <sup>r</sup> l.10
156 <sup>r</sup> l.9 to 161 <sup>v</sup> l.21	missing

Missing also is B 130<sup>r</sup> l.12 to 130<sup>v</sup> l.15, fol. 1<sup>r</sup> is blank, a page between fols. 1 and 2 is missing (eliminating B 126<sup>r</sup> l.16 to 126<sup>v</sup> l.18), and fol. 37<sup>v</sup> has a line that is almost entirely blank (only one word is present) but no text appears to be lost.

<sup>128</sup> Manuscript details in Desreumaux, “Un manuscrit syriaque de Téhéran,” esp. 142–44. Noted in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 242 n. 136.

The precise relationship between S and BP and Urmia 38 is difficult to determine. S has the most affinities with P, as the material used by P to fill in the first two B-recension blank spaces is found in S without a break in the text. Given the earlier date of the S exemplar and its numerous deficiencies, S cannot be a copy of P, so it is likely that the material in S corresponding to the two blank spaces is original, and that P has inserted it secondarily into its copying of B (or a similar MS), though it cannot be from S as the material corresponding to Budge 38,16–39,11 contains a case of homoeoteleuton not present in P. Certainly the version of *Hist. Vir.* found in S was not otherwise used in B and P (though Urmia 38 remains a possible source for both), but the four MSS could be interrelated in their use of their other shared texts, with B being the earliest witness within the group to this complex of material. Though S gives no clues to its original provenance, its apparent relationship to BP and Urmia 38 suggest that it too hails from Urmia or its environs.

**T** Cambridge Mass., Harvard Houghton Library, Syr. 168 (olim SMH 535, access 2177); paper, 16 × 10 cm, 112 fols., 1 col., 1779.<sup>129</sup>

The colophon (fols. 112<sup>r</sup>–112<sup>v</sup>) provides the date of composition and gives the scribe's name as Deacon (Šhams) Saliba. James Coakley reveals that T was among 21 MSS from Urmia purchased from the widow of Isaac Hall in 1900.<sup>130</sup> Hall's notes about the MS are pasted inside the front and back covers. There are two illustrations: the Annunciation (fol. 17<sup>v</sup>) and the Magi (fol. 33<sup>v</sup>). The page following (fol. 34<sup>r</sup>) has only a line and a half of unfinished and unpointed text, but the narrative continues without anything missing overleaf; fol. 63<sup>r</sup> is also blank but no text is missing. The text corresponding to Budge 38,16–39,11 (fol. 38<sup>r</sup>) is here represented by 13 lines of narrative (without a break and in a consistent hand) taken from Solomon of Basra's *Bk. Bee* 40 in

---

<sup>129</sup> Catalog: Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library*, 107; Macomber, *Syriac Manuscripts of Houghton Library*, 7; and Clemons, "Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts," no. 34. Listed in Mimouni, "Vies de la Vierge," 239–40 n. 128 (erroneously listed as West Syrian).

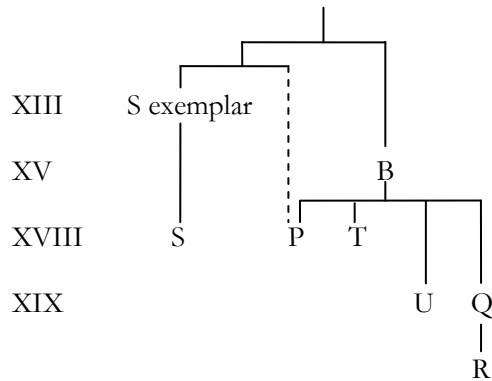
<sup>130</sup> Coakley, "Manuscripts for sale," 8 n. 19.

which a certain Lazarus, pre-eminent among the king's servants,<sup>131</sup> is introduced and identified as the Lazarus from John's Gospel.

U Berlin Royal Library, Or. Oct. 1130; paper, 11.5 × 16 cm, 97 fols., 1 col., 1815.<sup>132</sup>

*Hist. Vir.* fills the entire MS, aside from a colophon (fols. 96<sup>r</sup>–97<sup>r</sup>; 97<sup>v</sup> is blank). The scribe's name is given as Zerwandād bar Sāpar, nephew of Bishop Jōhannān, and whose ancestor Abraham was head of the monastery of Ezekiel of Bānā in Darjān. According to Assfalg, the MS was acquired by Augustin Thomas from Urmia. Of particular note is the text corresponding to Budge 38,16–39,11 (30<sup>r</sup>–30<sup>v</sup>), represented by nine lines of narrative (without a break and in a consistent hand) paraphrasing part of the missing text.

*Hist. Vir. Recension B Transmission Stemma*



<sup>131</sup> A Lazarus is mentioned in *Hist. Vir.* shortly after, when two idols proclaim Jesus “King of kings.” The Pharoah wishes to slay Jesus but “Lazarus became surety for him” (Budge 41,11). This portion of *Hist. Vir.* presumes the account in *Bk. Bee* 40, but the line of text about Lazarus is found only in the A recension and is not present in the parallel in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Genequand) 12.

<sup>132</sup> Catalog: Assfalg, *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, vol. 5, 33–34 (no. 16). Listed in Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 99 n. 4, and Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 239–40 n. 128 (identified by Mimouni and in CANT as West Syrian). Baumstark reports the shelf number as BrlOrfol 1130 and Mimouni/CANT as Berlin Or. 1130.

### 3.3 Additional *History of the Virgin* Manuscripts

The following *Hist. Vir.* MSS are now destroyed, lost, or at least inaccessible to Western scholars. In several cases it is not possible to determine to which group, either A or B, they belong.

Baghdad, Chaldean Patriarchate, 80.7 (olim Mosul, Chaldean Patriarchate, 29); 22 × 16 cm, 1725.<sup>133</sup>

According to Scher's 1907 description (and supported by Macomber), the MS contains only *Hist. Vir.* No folio numbers are provided, but Scher mentions that the MS was copied by a priest named Homo, son of the priest Daniel, in Alqoš. Macomber saw the MS in 1965 and assigned it its current designation based on a system devised by the Patriarch Raphael Bidawid. Unfortunately, it is not currently accessible for study.

Urmia, Oroomia Mission Library, 38; paper, 8°, 573 pages, 1885: no fol. numbers provided,<sup>134</sup> and Urmia, Oroomia Mission Library, 47; paper, 8°, 150 fols., 1885: no fol. numbers provided.<sup>135</sup>

Both Urmia MSS are likely of the B recension, particularly Urmia 38, which shares a number of texts with B and P.

Baghdad, Library of the Chaldean Monastery, 588 (olim Alqoš, Notre-Dame des Semences, Scher 98/Vosté 183); paper, 15 × 10.5 cm, 13 quires, 1680.<sup>136</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup> Scher, "Notice...Patriarcat chaldeen de Mossoul," 236; Macomber, "Checklist of the Manuscripts of the Chaldean Patriarchate," 5.

<sup>134</sup> Catalog: Sarau and Shedd, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, 10. Listed in Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 99 n. 4, and repeated in Mimouni, "Vies de la Vierge," 241–42 n. 135. Save for a few MSS, the Urmia collection was destroyed in 1918–1919. For more information see Coakley, "Manuscripts for Sale," and Macomber, "New Finds of Syriac Manuscripts," 478.

<sup>135</sup> Catalog: Sarau and Shedd, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, 11. Listed in Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 99 n. 4, and repeated in Mimouni, "Vies de la Vierge," 241–42 n. 135.

<sup>136</sup> Catalogs: Haddad and Isaac, *Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts*, 273–74; Scher, "Notice...Notre-Dame-des-Semences," 62 (note Scher gives the

According to the colophon, the MS was completed by Khausabo, priest of Alqoš for the church in Hūr Dafne. The MS contains also a legend of Mary related to the founding of this church. It is not clear when the MS was transferred to Baghdad; it was reported as missing by Macomber in 1969 but Desreumaux in 1989 mentioned that some of the Notre-Dame des Semences MSS had been taken to Baghdad.<sup>137</sup> De Strycker believed this MS to be the source for Budge's Alqoš MS (see above).

Siirt, Chaldean Episcopal Library, 82; paper, 20 × 15 cm, 33 quires, 16th cent.<sup>138</sup>

The MS contains commemorations for various saints, including Mary and John the Baptist; then follows four additional texts including the *History of Zachariah*, and the *Discovery of the Head of John the Baptist*. The MS became associated with *Hist. Vir.* by Baumstark, though he cautioned that its *History of Zachariah* may represent only a portion of *Hist. Vir.*<sup>139</sup> The mystery is not likely to be solved

---

measurements as 20 × 14 cm and states the MS has “11 cahiers de 10 feuillets”); Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne*, 71. Also of interest is MS 589 (Scher 97; Vosté 184; see Haddad and Isaac, p. 274) identified as a portion of *Prot. Jas.* “jusqu’au cah. 10 p. 13,” according to Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne*, 72. Yet it is listed among the *Hist. Vir.* MSS in Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 99 n. 4; and repeated in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 241–42 n. 135. Desreumaux (“Les apocryphes syriaques sur Jésus et sa famille,” 56) suggests Scher 97 (perhaps an error for Scher 98) could be the exemplar of Budge's Alqoš MS.

<sup>137</sup> Macomber, “New Finds of Syriac Manuscripts,” 476, and n. 24; Desreumaux, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits syriaques*, 87.

<sup>138</sup> Catalog: Scher, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques*, 62. Listed in Mimouni, “Vies de la Vierge,” 241–42 n. 135. The first portion of the MS (the commemorations of the saints) was copied in 1866 as Notre-Dame des Semences, Vosté 155, and Scher 38/Vosté 156 is in turn a copy of Vosté 155 (see Vosté, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne*, 57–58; Scher, “Notice...Notre-Dame-des-Semences,” 494–95).

<sup>139</sup> Baumstark, *Geschichte der Syrischen Literatur*, 99 n. 4.



since, except for a handful of MSS now in Paris, the Siirt library is believed to have been destroyed.<sup>140</sup>

### 3.4 Related Texts and Traditions

#### 3.4.1. *Arabic Infancy Gospel* (CANT 58; BHO 619)

Appearing in an edition and Latin translation by Heinrich Sike in 1697, *Arab. Gos. Inf.* is one of the earliest formally-published texts of the Christian apocrypha.<sup>141</sup> The text features an abbreviation of *Prot. Jas.* (chs. 2–9), followed by miracles of the infant Jesus in Egypt (chs. 10–33), and miracles performed during Jesus' childhood in Bethlehem (chs. 34–53). For his edition Sike used a MS acquired by Jacob Golius in Turkey around 1625. According to a letter by Humphrey Wanly that accompanies the MS, Sike bought it in Holland at the sale of Golius's books, and Wanly bought it from Sike.<sup>142</sup> At some point thereafter, it was donated to the Bodleian Library where it resides today as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 350.<sup>143</sup> No one, as yet, has determined its approximate date of origin, though Peeters places it after the twelfth century based on its mention of the sycamore tree in Matariya, a venerated site otherwise unknown before the thirteenth century.<sup>144</sup> Two other

---

<sup>140</sup> Macomber, "New Finds of Syriac Manuscripts," 479; Vosté, "Notes sur les manuscrits syriaques de Diarbékir," 347.

<sup>141</sup> Sike, *Evangelium Infantiae*. Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, iii–iv, provides an overview of the text's early publishing history up to Tischendorf. The most recent English translation is Walker, *Apocryphal Gospels*, 100–24; Spanish translation in Monferrer Sala, *Textos apócrifos árabes cristianos*, 48 and 153–82; Italian in Voicu, *Vangelo arabo dell'infanzia di Gesù*; German in Schneider, *Evangelia Infantiae Apocrypha*, 173–95; and French in Genequand, "Vie de Jésus en Arabe." For recent overviews of the text see Horn, "Apocryphal Gospels in Arabic," 597–602; and Josua and Eißler, "Das arabische Kindheitsevangelium" (with German translation). A more detailed analysis is provided in Davis, *Christ Child*, 161–92.

<sup>142</sup> The letter is reproduced in Moraldi, *Nascita e infanzia di Gesù*, 148; and Provera, *Vangelo arabo dell'infanzia*, 17 n. 17.

<sup>143</sup> The identification was made in 1923 by Paul Peeters (see "A propos de l'Évangile arabe de l'Enfance").

<sup>144</sup> Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, xxvii–xxviii. Only the Oxford MS features this tale, one example of its redaction in an Egyptian milieu. For a

sources for *Arab. Gos. Inf.* have appeared in scholarship since Sike's day: a Garšūnī version from Vatican Syr. 159 noted, but not utilized, by Paul Peeters and translated into Italian by Erbetta,<sup>145</sup> and Biblioteca Laurenziana, codex orientalis 387 [32] (created in Mardin in 1299) published by Mario Provera in 1973.<sup>146</sup> Provera's edition includes variant readings from Oxford Or. 350 and Vatican Syr. 159 in the critical apparatus. Additional manuscripts of the text are listed by Graf:<sup>147</sup>

Arabic:

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Or. 140, fols. 94<sup>r</sup>–99<sup>v</sup>, 111<sup>r</sup>–126<sup>r</sup> (no date)

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, or. 21 (1650)

Cairo, Coptic Patriarchate (?), Graf 457, fols. 152<sup>v</sup>–172<sup>r</sup> (17th/18th cent.)<sup>148</sup>

Cairo, Coptic Museum, 702 (Graf 729; Macomber CMB-12 8), fols. 1<sup>r</sup>–49<sup>v</sup> (18th cent.)<sup>149</sup>

Vatican, Bibliotheca apostolica, Sbath 391, pp. 496–538 (1604)

---

discussion of medieval references to the site see Davis, "Ancient Sources for the Coptic Tradition," 151–53.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., xiii–xiv. Erbetta, *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, vol. 1.2, 102–23. Peeters's own translation of *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, based on Sike's MS, is provided in *Évangiles apocryphes*, 1–65.

<sup>146</sup> Provera, *Vangelo arabo dell'infanzia*; see also Baumstark, "Ein apokryphes Herrenleben." Peeters (*Évangiles apocryphes*, viii–xii) was aware of the MS and describes its contents in some detail. The Florence MS contains 54 miniatures of scenes from the text, some of them in color. Provera provides images of 16 of the illustrations; a more complete study was planned for 2012 by Massimo Bernabò but it has not yet appeared. According to Merscherskaja ("L'Adoration des mages", 97 n. 4; see also Horn, "Apocryphal Gospels in Arabic," 598 n. 66), some of the miniatures appear also in a Russian essay by M. E. K. Redin from 1895.

<sup>147</sup> Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 226.

<sup>148</sup> Graf's references to Cairo MSS are imprecise; it is unclear whether they reside in the Coptic Patriarchate or the Coptic Museum. Since Graf 457 is not listed in Macomber's microfilm inventory of the Coptic Museum (*Final Inventory*), presumably it is among the holdings of the Coptic Patriarchate.

<sup>149</sup> Macomber's concordances (*Final Inventory*, vol. 1, 19) identifies Graf 729 with CMB-12 8 but the page containing the full MS description is missing from his report.

Mount Sinai, St. Catharine's Monastery, ar. 441 (Kamil 406)  
(1196)<sup>150</sup>

Mount Sinai, St. Catharine's Monastery, ar. 531 (Kamil 542)  
(1232)<sup>151</sup>

Listed by Graf as "ohne nähere Bestimmung":

Sin. Porph. ar. 108-1 (contains "Book of Christ's Birth")

Sin. Porph. ar. 109 (contains "Book of Christ's miracles")

The handlist featuring the two MSS was drawn up for Porphyrius Uspensky by a team that visited Sinai in 1850.<sup>152</sup> Likely they can be matched up with two of Gibson's MSS, though it is uncertain which ones.

And under *Marienlegenden*, Graf lists Sinai ar. 585 (Kamil 437) (1183) as a MS of the West Syriac *Life Mary*, but Gibson calls it *Ἰστορία τῆς Κυρίας*.<sup>153</sup> Kamil has a more expansive list of the contents, but the only text that seems remotely close to a *Life of Mary* is one titled "Story of the Incarnate Icon of Our Lady in the Monastery of Saidanaya."<sup>154</sup>

---

<sup>150</sup> More likely the text is an Arabic translation of *Prot. Jas.* Gibson (*Catalogue of the Arabic MSS*, 84) calls it the "Protevangeliion," and Kamil (*Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine*, 31–32) calls it the "Story of the Nativity of Our Lady by the Apostle Jacob." Several other Arabic Sinai MSS may contain *Arab. Gos. Inf.*: ar. 153 (Kamil 569) and ar. 556 (Kamil 433) have the "Nativity of Our Lady;" ar. 523 (Kamil 537) and ar. 535 (Kamil 544) have the same title but also credit the text to James. Another MS, ar. 508 (Kamil 532), contains "Stories from the Life of Jesus."

<sup>151</sup> Gibson, *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS*, 107–108 lists the (partial) contents as: 5. Miracles of our Lord Jesus, 6. Exodus of Jesus in Egypt, 7. Miracle of the robber in Tarphania. Kamil (*Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine*, 46) subsumes all three items under the title "Miracles of the Lord."

<sup>152</sup> Syrku, "Opisanie bumag episkopa Porfirija Uspenskago," 332.

<sup>153</sup> Catalog: Gibson, *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS*, 124. Listed in Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, 246.

<sup>154</sup> Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine*, 35.

Garšūnī:<sup>155</sup>

Charfet, Syrian-Catholic Patriarchate, syr. 11/10-2

Charfet, Syrian-Catholic Patriarchate, syr. 11/16-2

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 238, fols. 100<sup>v</sup>–115<sup>r</sup> (1474) (Arabic and Garšūnī)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 273, fols. 47<sup>v</sup>–67<sup>r</sup> (16th cent.)

To Graf's list can be added:

Arabic:

Cairo, Coptic Museum, 6421(I) (Macomber CMB-8 5-1), fol. 96<sup>r</sup>–97<sup>v</sup> (15th/16th cent.)<sup>156</sup>

Cairo, Coptic Museum, 6539(D) (Macomber CMB-9 4D), fol. 188<sup>r</sup>–188<sup>v</sup> (19th cent.)<sup>157</sup>

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arabe 300, fols. 356<sup>r</sup>–379<sup>v</sup> (no date provided)<sup>158</sup>

Garšūnī:

Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 101 (Dolabani 54), pp. 143–150 (15th/16th cent. and 19th/20th cent.)

Mosul, Mar Behnam Monastery, MBM 386 (olim 214), fols. 33<sup>v</sup>–55<sup>r</sup> (1636)

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, syr. 232, fols. 304–324 (17th cent.)<sup>159</sup>

It has generally been assumed that *Arab. Gos. Inf.* is a translation of *Hist. Vir.*, and certainly the parallels in content suggest that this is indeed the case (see the chart of correspondences below). Note

---

<sup>155</sup> Graf also lists Mingana Syr. 39 but this is a witness to the West Syriac *Life Mary*.

<sup>156</sup> Macomber reports that the fragment contains “the stories of the child who fell from the roof and was killed and the dyer,” episodes not contiguous in the text (Genequand 35 and 42).

<sup>157</sup> As noted above, this MS could be a second witness to the Arabic IGT or a fragment of a version of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* similar to Sike's MS.

<sup>158</sup> Mentioned by Troupeau, “Notes sur quelques apocryphes,” 201.

<sup>159</sup> Zotenberg, *Manuscripts orientaux*, 180 identifies the text as *Prot. Jas.* but in a unique recension that continues after the death of Zechariah with miracles of the infancy of Jesus and the death of Joseph.

also that the explicit in the Florence MS features the title “Infancy of Our Savior” in Syriac, and several other words (such as “apostle” in chs. 41 and 52) appear in Syriac. Of the two published MSS, the one from Florence is believed to be most representative of its Syriac ancestor.<sup>160</sup> For example, Laurentianus continues after the Fall of Buza (ch. 42) with a recap of the adult career of Jesus (chs. 43–53) found also in *Hist. Vir.* but not in the Bodleian MS, which here features a significant portion of IGT.<sup>161</sup> The Bodleian MS also contains two unique chapters (24 and 25) on sites in Egypt of interest to the Coptic church.<sup>162</sup> The Florence MS has some unique features of its own, including an introduction that relates the text to a prophecy of Zoroaster, occasional Islamic coloring (e.g., the priest of ch. 10 is referred to as an “imam”), and lacunae in chs. 43 and 44, and another eliminating the raising of Jairus’s daughter (Budge 89,1–89,6). Based on the distinctive language of the text, Provera dates the translation from Syriac to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>163</sup>

Much work remains to be done on *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, particularly in determining which of the unexamined MSS contain IGT. Until then, some preliminary conclusions can be reached about the development of the text. It would appear that in the various forms of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* and *Hist. Vir.* evaluated so far, we have three distinct efforts to combine IGT with tales of Mary: four MSS of *Hist. Vir.* insert IGT between tales of Jesus in Bethlehem at the age of three and the age of seven, the Bodleian *Arab. Gos. Inf.* MS inserts IGT in the place of stories of Jesus as an adult; and Vatican

---

<sup>160</sup> See Provera, *Vangelo arabo dell’infanzia*, 19–21, 35–36; and Genequand, “Vie de Jésus en Arabe,” 208 and *inter alia*, for examples of Syriacisms and Islamic coloring.

<sup>161</sup> Davis (*Christ Child*, 169) disagrees with Provera and instead believes Sike’s MS, with its IGT stories, is more representative of the tradition. He characterizes Provera’s MS as “fragmentary,” yet the only lacunae observable in the MS occur after the IGT material. Davis provides a new translation of the IGT stories (Sike 36–53) in an appendix to his monograph (pp. 205–10).

<sup>162</sup> Davis finds Provera’s theory of Egyptian interpolation in Sike’s MS to be “insufficiently supported” (*Christ Child*, 170 n.61).

<sup>163</sup> Provera, *Vangelo arabo dell’infanzia*, 31.

Syr. 159 (as well as Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 101) appends IGT to a translation of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* in Garšūnī.<sup>164</sup>

If indeed IGT is a late addition to both *Hist. Vir.* and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* then only two IGT-related stories remain in the original text: a story similar to the Animation of the Sparrows (Budge 76,7–76,25), in which Jesus gives life not only to sparrows but also asses and other creatures, and another similar to the Fall of Zeno (81,3–82,19), though here the boy is named Buza and Jesus is brought before a judge for the child’s death. To these stories were added two others, either before or shortly after the translation of *Hist. Vir.* into Arabic: the Story of the Dyer (Bodl. 37/Laur. 35), which appears in some versions of IGT (including the Greek MS Bibliothèque nationale, ancien fonds gr. 239), but not the Syriac, and a story similar to Jesus Stretches a Beam (Bodl. 38–39/Laur. 37–38) in which Jesus helps Joseph build a throne for a king. It is noteworthy also that some IGT tales appear in Islamic literature, either directly from Syriac traditions or an Arabic intermediary, if not simply via oral transmission. The Animation of the Sparrows is mentioned in Qur’an Sura 3:49 and 5:110 and the story of Jesus and the Teacher is cited in Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī’s *Explaining the Meaning of the Letters* (chs. 6 and 27) and transformed into an anecdote of the imam Bāqir in *Umm al-kitāb*.<sup>165</sup>

---

<sup>164</sup> See the similar assessment in Provera, *Vangelo arabo dell’infanzia*, 21–22.

<sup>165</sup> On the Qur’an see Davis, *Christ Child*, 162–67; Horn, “Apocryphal Gospels in Arabic,” 594; and idem, “Syriac and Arabic Perspectives,” 282–85. On *Umm al-kitāb* see Horn, “Jesus at School,” 123–31. Interesting also is Davis’s discussion of connections between *Arab. Gos. Inf.*’s expanded version of Jesus in the Temple and terminology used in eighth to tenth-century Arabic scientific discourse (*Christ Child*, 172–84).

*Correspondences between Hist. Vir. and Arab. Gos. Inf.*<sup>166</sup>

<i>Hist. Vir.</i> <sup>167</sup>	Bodleian, Or. 350 <sup>168</sup>	Laurenziana, or. 387
	ch. 1: attribution to Joseph Caiaphas	ch. 1: attribution to prophecy of Zoroaster
3,1–31,18 ( <i>Prot. Jas.</i> 1–16)		
31,19–32,19 ( <i>Prot. Jas.</i> 17)	ch. 2	ch. 2
32,20–32,24 ( <i>Prot. Jas.</i> 18)	chs. 3–4	chs. 3–4
32,25–34,9 ( <i>Prot. Jas.</i> 19)	chs. 7–8	chs. 5–6
34,10–39,19	chs. 5–6	ch. 7–8
39,20–41,17	ch. 9 (brief)	ch. 9 (brief)
41,18–44,8 ( <i>Prot. Jas.</i> 22–24)		
44,8–48,18	chs. 10–12	chs. 10–12
48,19–49,12	ch. 13	ch. 13
49,13–50,15	ch. 14	ch. 14
50,16–51,11	ch. 15	ch. 15
51,12–54,27	chs. 16–18	chs. 16–18
54,28–59,7	chs. 19–22	chs. 19–22
59,8–60,2	ch. 23	ch. 23
	chs. 24–25 (Egypt)	
60,3–60,10	ch. 26	ch. 24
60,10–61,11	ch. 27	ch. 25
61,12–62,6	ch. 28	ch. 26
62,7–64,13	ch. 29	ch. 27
64,14–65,13	ch. 30	ch. 28
65,14–65,27	ch. 31	ch. 29
66,1–67,16	ch. 32	ch. 30
67,17–69,15	ch. 33	ch. 31
69,16–70,13	ch. 34	ch. 32

<sup>166</sup> See also Provera's table of contents (*Vangelo arabo dell'infanzia*, 37–39), which indicates each story's presence in *Hist. Vir.* and the three *Arab. Gos. Inf.* MSS.

<sup>167</sup> For ease of comparison, here page numbering corresponds to Budge's English translation.

<sup>168</sup> According to Provera's chart, Vatican Syr. 159 follows the basic structure of the Bodleian MS with the exception of chs. 24–25 (ed. Sike) and the text ends mid-sentence in ch. 41.

<i>Hist. Vir.</i>	Bodleian, Or. 350	Laurenziana, or. 387
70,14–71,7	ch. 35	ch. 33
71,8–76,6 (IGT)		
76,7–76,25 (Sparrows)	ch. 36 ch. 37 (Dyer)	ch. 34 ch. 35 ch. 36 (=Bodl. ch. 1)
	chs. 38–39 (Throne)	ch. 37–38
76,26–78,10	ch. 40	ch. 39
78,11–78,23	ch. 41	ch. 40
78,24–79,21	ch. 42	ch. 41
79,22–81,2 (Healing of boy)		
81,3–82,19 (Fall of Buza)	ch. 43 (IGT 16) ch. 44 ch. 45 (IGT 12) ch. 46 (IGT 2–3) ch. 47 (IGT 4) ch. 48 (IGT 6–7) ch. 49 (IGT 14) ch. 50–53 (IGT 19)	ch. 42
82,26–83,11		ch. 43 (lacuna)
83,12–85,10		ch. 44 (lacuna)
85,11–85,22		ch. 45
85,23–86,21	ch. 54 (brief)	ch. 46
86,22–88,30		chs. 47–48
89,1–89,6		(lacuna)
89,7–97,2		chs. 49–53
	ch. 55 (Ending)	ch. 55

#### 3.4.2. *Armenian Infancy Gospel* (BHO 617–618; CANT 59)

*Arm. Gos. Inf.* has drawn little attention from Christian apocrypha scholars. This neglect is due in large part to the lack of availability of modern translations of the text and, of course, the paucity of



scholars with capability in Armenian.<sup>169</sup> Stories from *Arm. Gos. Inf.* first appeared in print in Jean Chardin's *Voyages en Perse*. The multi-volume work, published between 1686 and 1711, excerpts three tales of Jesus (similar to IGT 6, 9, and 13) told to Chardin by Armenian Christians.<sup>170</sup> A full critical edition appeared in 1898 by Esayi Tayec'i, who presented two versions of the text: the longer Copy A (comprising chs. 1–37) and the shorter Copy B (chs. 1–28 only).<sup>171</sup> Unfortunately, Tayec'i did not identify his sources. Copy A was translated into French by Paul Peeters in 1914 and Italian and Spanish translations followed but English readers had to content themselves with a summary provided by M. R. James.<sup>172</sup> A full English translation was prepared by Abraham Terian in 2008.<sup>173</sup> He notes in his introduction that there are now over 40 available MSS of the text dating from the early thirteenth to the late nineteenth centuries.<sup>174</sup> Terian divides these MSS into four recensions, and uses the earliest MS of his recension A—Yerevan, Matenadaran M7574 (dated 1239)—as the basis of his translation.

The earliest evidence for *Arm. Gos. Inf.* is found in works by several Armenian writers, including Samuel of Ani in the twelfth century, who mention Nestorian missionaries from Syria who brought certain apocryphal writings to Armenia in 590. Among these writings was a text called the *Infancy of the Lord*.<sup>175</sup> It is by no means certain that this text is identical to *Arm. Gos. Inf.*, but the gospel does show signs of Syrian origin—Terian identifies Semitic syntax and parallels in content with the Syriac *Testament of Adam* (ch. 11) and with Ehprem's *Panegyric Recited on the Birth of Christ*, which is extant now only in Armenian.<sup>176</sup> To this list, Cornelia Horn adds similarities to Syriac dialogue poetry and the use of “alaph” and “beth” for the names of the letters in the story of Jesus

---

<sup>169</sup> Horn's “Jesus at School” is a notable exception. Here she examines the developments of the story of Jesus and the Teacher in *Arm. Gos. Inf.* as well as other texts.

<sup>170</sup> Excerpted in Hofmann, *Leben Jesu*, 219 and 249.

<sup>171</sup> Tayec'i, *Ankanon girke' nor ktakaranac'*, vol. 2, 1–126 (Copy A), vol. 2, 127–236 (Copy B).

<sup>172</sup> James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 83–84.

<sup>173</sup> Terian, *Armenian Gospel of the Infancy*.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvi n. 51.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, xix.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, xxii–xxv.

and the Teacher.<sup>177</sup> Terian places the translation of the text into Armenian in the late sixth-century, presumably because of the testimony of Samuel of Ani and others, but he states explicitly also that the text's silence on the Egyptian cycle of stories from *Hist. Vir.* places its origin between the Syriac versions of the early infancy gospels and *Hist. Vir.*, which he dates to the eighth century.<sup>178</sup>

The overlap in content between *Arm. Gos. Inf.* and IGT is somewhat minor. After a retelling of *Prot. Jas.* (chs. 1–14), the narrative shifts briefly to Egypt (ch. 15), where Jesus rides a sunbeam (a story that is found in the Ethiopic and Slavonic versions of IGT and some MSS of *Ps.-Mt.*), destroys idols and a temple of Apollo, and then the family meets a Hebrew prince named Eleazar, who is father to Lazarus, Mary, and Martha. The destruction of idols and the meeting of characters from Jesus' adulthood are common elements in *Hist. Vir.*, but there are no explicit parallels in *Hist. Vir.* to these stories. In ch. 16, however, we find a story very similar to the Fall of Zeno from IGT 9, though with great expansions, and additional versions of the same story (the death of a playmate and his re-animation) are found in chs. 17 and 22. The Animation of the Sparrows from IGT 2 appears in ch. 18 and the teacher Gamaliel's efforts to teach the six-year-old Jesus letters in ch. 20:1–6 recalls the stories of Jesus in school (IGT 6, 14, and 15). The chapter continues with Jesus Stretches a Beam (IGT 13), expanded to include a sequel in which Joseph is asked to build a palace for a king, and once again Jesus helps him stretch a short beam to fit (20:7–15). And finally, ch. 21 features the story of Jesus and the Dyer, which, as noted above, appears in one Greek MS of IGT and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Genequand) 35.

In total, then, *Arm. Gos. Inf.* features parallels with only IGT 2, 6/14/15, 9, and 13. This selective overlap of childhood traditions is similar to the few stories that appear in the Laurentian MS of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* And mention can be made also of a small group of stories (similar to IGT 2 and a combination of IGT 6 and the Story of the Dyer) that appear in some Ethiopic MSS of the *Miracles of Jesus*, perhaps deriving from contact between its Arabic ancestor and

---

<sup>177</sup> Horn, "Jesus at School," 114.

<sup>178</sup> Terian, *Armenian Gospel of the Infancy*, xxiv.

*Arab. Gos. Inf.*<sup>179</sup> All that we can say here then is that a smaller complex of childhood tales circulated in the Syriac milieu and these were drawn into the Armenian tradition and the Arabic tradition. These sources all testify to the popularity of childhood stories of Jesus and their dissemination and elaboration in the East but their expanded forms are of little use for understanding and elucidating the stories in their Syriac forms.

---

<sup>179</sup> Examined from a Vienna MS in Grohmann, "Reste einer neuen Rezension der Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu." Additional MSS are listed in Arras and Van Rompay, "Les manuscrits éthiopiens," 142–43.



### 3 TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

The critical editions that follow divide the MS witnesses to the Syriac tradition of IGT into three recensions.

**1. Sa.** The Sa recension is based on the earliest MSS and likely lies close to the text's original form—a translation from the Greek made sometime between the late second and the sixth centuries. Wright's MS W of the sixth century is used as the basis for the edition, though as noted above, there are numerous places where it appears to be deficient when compared to its contemporary witness, G. Readings from G are chosen where G agrees with the majority readings in the other recensions (Sw and Se), and/or with the early non-Syriac versions. The reasoning behind these decisions are explained in the notes to the English translation. W also is problematic where it lacks entire verses of chapters (6:3-4, 7:2-3, 15:3-4), much of which is lacking also in G. In these sections appeal is made to the later MSS Q and/or PMN; readings in these sections favor PMN, particularly where they agree with Sw and/or Se. Punctuation in the MSS varies considerably and is not retained in the edition, except for ✦ marking the end of chapters. Vocalization also is not indicated nor diacritic points except for where they affect translation. Parallels in other early Christian literature are provided in the notes to the English translation of Sa only. Verse numbering and divisions agree with those created by Tischendorf for Ga, with additional versification introduced for the material from ch. 6 missing in Tischendorf's MSS.

**2. Sw.** The second edition is based on 16 MSS of the West Syriac *Life of Mary* compilation. Readers will note that the text differs little substantially from Sa; the most dramatic differences are the loss of ch. 2:5 and portions of chs. 13 and 16. The base MS for this edition is A, which is one of the earliest Sw MS and is part of a group

(group a) of MSS that most closely reflect the text of Sa. Because of the large number of MSS used in the edition, readings found in the majority of the witnesses MSS are represented by “rel.” (an abbreviation of *reliqui*, “the rest”). Notes in the English translation focus on variant readings within the Sw branch of the traditions. As with Sa, punctuation and vocalization are not indicated, and diacritic points are kept to a minimum.

**3. Se.** The third edition excerpts the IGT material found in four MSS of the East Syriac *Hist. Virg.* The base MS is D, which is the most complete of the witnesses—the other three lack chs. 4:2, 5, 6:1, and 19:1–2. Again, the vocabulary and syntax do not differ significantly from Sa; the most dramatic difference from the other two recensions is Se’s transposition of material. Since Budge never divided his edition of *Hist. Vir.* into chapters and verses, the line numbering in Se begins at line 1 and runs continually to the end of the section. Notes to the English translation focus on variant readings in the Se MSS. As with Sa and Sw, punctuation and vocalization are not indicated, and diacritic points are kept to a minimum.

All three editions are presented in a synopsis for ease of comparison. The material from Se is presented in the order in which it is found in Sa and Sw.

The synopsis is followed by an appendix featuring Slavomír Čéplö’s new edition and translation of the Arabic version of IGT from Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, G 11 sup.

### **Sigla, Abbreviations, and Textual Signs**

Manuscript sigla are provided in the previous chapter. The editions also signal editorial decisions, readings, and proposed emendations by previous editors (Baars, Budge, Peeters, and Wright). In Sa, readings are provided from Old Syriac Luke (indicated by the siglum “OSLk”) based on the edition of Agnes Smith Lewis (*Old Syriac Gospels*).

< >            indicate a word, words or letters added to the base MS  
by the editor.

[ ]	indicate a word, words or letters which have been restored from a lacuna.
[...]	indicate a lacuna in the MS that cannot be satisfactorily restored. Numbers within the brackets—e.g., [-15-]—indicate an approximation of the number of words missing due to the damage.
ac	ante correctam
om.	indicates the absence in a MS of a word or words present in the edition.
pc	post correctam
eras.	indicates a scribe's erasure of a word or words.
exp.	indicates a scribe's expunction of a word or words (either by crossing the material out or by placing dots above).
uide adnot.	refers the reader to a feature of the MS discussed in the notes to the English translation and/or the description of the MS in ch. 2.

### The Childhood of Our Lord Jesus<sup>1</sup>

**2**<sup>2</sup> **1** Now when the boy Jesus Christ was five years old, he was playing at the ford of streams of water. And he was catching and confining<sup>3</sup> the waters and directing them in channels and making them enter into pools.<sup>4</sup> He was making the waters become clear and bright.<sup>5</sup>

**2** He took soft clay from the wet ground and molded twelve birds. It was the Sabbath and many children were with him.

**3** But one of the Jews saw him with the children<sup>6</sup> making these things. He went to<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The title is supplied from W. G, having suffered some damage here, appears to add “Christ” (cf. the explicit). In P, the title precedes the Garshûni infancy material but it appears directly before the IGT text in M. P and M read: “A story about the childhood and upbringing of (P adds: the Lord) Jesus Christ and about the wonders which he performed in his time.” There are some similarities here with the title from Sw: “Again, the fourth book concerning the childhood and upbringing of our Lord Jesus Christ.” The simpler title from W and G is likely more original as it is shared in the other early versions. N and Q begin *in media res*, but note the explicit in Q (“Here ends the book of the upbringing of our Lord Jesus Christ”) and Garshûni marginal note in N (“completed is the gospel of the infancy”).

<sup>2</sup> This story (i.e., chs. 2–3) is found also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 46, with a doublet in ch. 36 (= *Hist. Vir.* in Budge 70,1–12) in which Jesus animates several types of creatures (“asses, oxen, birds, and other animals”). Other variations of the Animation of the Sparrows can be found in Arabic IGT 6, *Arm. Gos. Inf.* 18:1–3 and in some MSS of the Ethiopic *Miracles of Jesus* that lack IGT.

<sup>3</sup> PMN lack “and confining” (cf. Sw).

<sup>4</sup> M, perhaps suffering from dittography, has “and directing them in channels and making them enter channels in pools.” P and N have only “directing them in channels into pools.” G and PMN then add “and establishing (G adds: by/in) them.” This reading has not been adopted as it is not reflected in the early versions.

<sup>5</sup> W and G have “clear and virtuous.” Both words share the same root, suggesting perhaps that the second is a corruption. Therefore, the reading from PMN (shared with Sw) has been adopted here.

<sup>6</sup> PMN lack “with the children,” a reading found also in Sw as well as Gs, Geo, Eth, and LV.

<sup>7</sup> W and G have “told.” The adopted reading is found in Sw and is reflected in the early versions.





his father Joseph and incited him against Jesus, and said to him,<sup>8</sup> “On the Sabbath he molded clay and fashioned clay birds,<sup>9</sup> something that is not lawful on the Sabbath.”

4 Joseph came and rebuked him, and said to him,<sup>10</sup> “Why are you making these things on the Sabbath?”<sup>11</sup> Then Jesus clapped his hands<sup>12</sup> and made the birds fly away before these things that he said.<sup>13</sup> And<sup>14</sup> he said, “Go, fly, and be mindful<sup>15</sup> of me, living ones.” And these birds went away,<sup>16</sup> twittering.<sup>17</sup>

5 But when that Pharisee saw (this) he was astounded<sup>18</sup> and went and told his friends.

---

<sup>8</sup> G lacks “and incited him against Jesus, and said to him,” perhaps due to skipping a line in its exemplar.

<sup>9</sup> W has “and made birds.” The verb “fashioned” is reflected in the early versions.

<sup>10</sup> Q begins here with “and said to him.”

<sup>11</sup> P lacks “on the Sabbath.” This challenge to Jesus’ activities on the Sabbath recalls John 5:1–18; 9:14; Mark 2:23–28 par; Luke 13:10–17; 14:1–6.

<sup>12</sup> QPMN add “with a noise.”

<sup>13</sup> Q lacks “before these things that he said.” W has “that they said,” though Wright suspects “that he said” is the correct reading. Sw has “before the entire crowd,” a reading shared by Gs and Geo (“in front of everyone”) and thus may be more original.

<sup>14</sup> G and PMN add “when they were rising.” The reading is found also in the Sw MSS S and T but is not found in the early versions. M lacks the subsequent command to the birds.

<sup>15</sup> Q has “be watchful.”

<sup>16</sup> PMN add “and they flew.”

<sup>17</sup> This story has parallels in *Quest. Bart.* 2:11, the Qur’an 3.48–49; 5.110, and a Yemenite recension of the *Toledot Yesu*.

<sup>18</sup> W adds “greatly.”



**3 1** The son of Hannān the scribe<sup>19</sup> also was with Jesus. He took a willow branch and leaked out and broke down the pools and let the waters escape that Jesus had gathered together,<sup>20</sup> and dried up their pools.

**2** When Jesus saw what he did,<sup>21</sup> he said to him, “Without root shall be your shoot<sup>22</sup> and your fruit shall dry up like a branch<sup>23</sup> that is broken by the wind<sup>24</sup> and is no more.”<sup>25</sup>

**3** Suddenly, that boy withered.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>19</sup> This Hannān (Annas in the Greek recensions) is presumably the same Annas who will become high priest (in Luke 3:2, John 18:13, 24, Acts 4:6, *Acts Pil.* 1; and *Prot. Jas.* 15:1, where he is called a scribe).

<sup>20</sup> W has “destroyed and broke down and let escape the waters,” G has “leaked out and broke down the waters,” and Q and PMN have “broke down the pools and let escape the waters.” “Leaked out” is adopted from G (seen also in Sw) as it reflects best the early versions, which use similar verbs (“emptied out” Geo; “made to flow out” Eth; “let out” LM; “destroyed and drained out” Gs).

<sup>21</sup> For “what he did,” GQPMN have “what had happened,” found also in Sw.

<sup>22</sup> PMN have “without roots shall be your branches.”

<sup>23</sup> W has “thick branch.”

<sup>24</sup> PMN have “cut off by a wind,” found also in Sw; Q has “found in a wind.”

<sup>25</sup> “And is no more,” found also in Sw, is absent in PMN. On the wording of the curse, cf. John 15:6.

<sup>26</sup> The combination of curse (with mention of fruit) and immediate withering is structurally similar to Matthew’s version of the Cursing of the Fig Tree (Matt 21:18–19; cf. Mark 11:12–14).



4 <sup>127</sup> Again Jesus was going with his father,<sup>28</sup> and a boy (was) running<sup>29</sup> and struck him on the shoulder.<sup>30</sup> Jesus said to him, “You shall not go on your way.” And suddenly he<sup>31</sup> fell down and died.<sup>32</sup> Those<sup>33</sup> who saw him cried out and were saying, “Whence was this boy born, that all his words are a deed?”

2 The family of that (boy) who died approached Joseph his father and were blaming him<sup>34</sup> and saying to him, “You have this boy;<sup>35</sup> you cannot dwell with us in the village, unless you teach him to bless.”<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>27</sup> This story is found also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 47.

<sup>28</sup> PMN “his parents”; “his father” is supported by Sw, Se and all other versions of the text.

<sup>29</sup> G and PMN add “and coming.” Q lacks “running.”

<sup>30</sup> Here PMN read “earth” (ܐܪܨܐ), which may be a corruption of “arm” (ܐܪܡܐ). “Shoulder” is supported by Sw, Se and Gs, Geo, and LM (Eth has “chest”).

<sup>31</sup> PMN have “that boy,” which finds support in Se and Sw MS V.

<sup>32</sup> *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 57 ends here. See similarly Se MSS AMN.

<sup>33</sup> W has “all.”

<sup>34</sup> W lacks “and they were blaming him”; of the other witnesses, only Gs states explicitly that the parents were blaming Joseph.

<sup>35</sup> QPN begin with “as long as,” which is found also in Sw.

<sup>36</sup> PMN lack “unless you teach him to bless,” which is supported in Sw, Gs, Geo, Eth, and LM, though these versions (except Sw and Eth) add “and not to curse.” For “to bless,” Q has “to behave humbly,” found also in Sw.



5 1<sup>37</sup> Joseph approached the boy<sup>38</sup> and was lecturing him and saying to him, “Why do you do these things? Why<sup>39</sup> do you say these things?<sup>40</sup> These (people)<sup>41</sup> suffer<sup>42</sup> and hate us.”<sup>43</sup> And Jesus said, “If the words of my father were not wise, he would not know (how) to teach children.”<sup>44</sup> He spoke again, “If these were children of the bedchamber,<sup>45</sup> they would not be receiving a curse.<sup>46</sup> These shall not<sup>47</sup> see their torment.” Immediately, those<sup>48</sup> who were accusing him were blinded.<sup>49</sup>

2 Joseph became angry and took hold of his ear<sup>50</sup> and pulled it hard.<sup>51</sup>

3 Then Jesus answered and said to him, “It is enough for you, that you should be commanding me and finding me;<sup>52</sup> for you have acted ignorantly.”

---

<sup>37</sup> *Arab Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) lacks this chapter. See similarly Se MSS AMN.

<sup>38</sup> PMN begin “Joseph, having heard these things, approached the boy.”

<sup>39</sup> G has “for what reason” (cf. Sw).

<sup>40</sup> M lacks this question, perhaps due to homoeoteleuton; N supplies the missing material in the margin.

<sup>41</sup> PMN explicitly state the subject is “the people.”

<sup>42</sup> Q adds “with you.”

<sup>43</sup> W, PN, and Sw have “you.” The reading “us” from G and Q is retained as it is in agreement with Gs and the early versions.

<sup>44</sup> Q lacks this statement from Jesus, perhaps due to homoeoteleuton.

<sup>45</sup> P has “If these were not children of the sinner”; N has “children of the bedchamber” but adds “sinner” as a correction above the line; and Q simply has “children of the sinner.” “Children of the bedchamber,” found also in Sw, indicates membership in the saved community—i.e., friends admitted to the marriage. For “bedchamber” (ܘܨܚܘܬܐ) Peeters suggests “Gehenna” (ܘܨܚܘܬܐ). Se has “bastards” (ܘܨܚܘܬܐ).

<sup>46</sup> W and Q have “curses.”

<sup>47</sup> QPN lack “not.”

<sup>48</sup> Q has “the eyes of those.”

<sup>49</sup> In G the episode finishes here; the text resumes at 6:2.

<sup>50</sup> For “took hold of his ear” (which is supported in Sw, Gs, Geo, and Eth), PMN (along with Se) have “took hold of him by his hand.”

<sup>51</sup> W lacks “hard,” though the reading is supported by Sw, Gs, Geo, and Eth.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Matt 7:7//Luke 11:9–10; John 7:34.





**6** <sup>153</sup> A teacher, whose name was Zacchaeus, heard him speaking with his father and said, “O wicked boy!”<sup>54</sup>

**2** He said to his father Joseph,<sup>55</sup> “How long will you not wish to hand over this boy so that he may learn to love children his age, to honor old age<sup>56</sup> and to be in awe of elders,<sup>57</sup> in order that the love of children<sup>58</sup> may be with him and, moreover, so that he may instruct them?”

**2a** Joseph answered<sup>59</sup> and said, “Who is able to instruct a boy like this?<sup>60</sup> Do you<sup>61</sup> not think that he is equal to a small cross?”<sup>62</sup>

**2b** Jesus<sup>63</sup> answered and said to him, “Teacher,<sup>64</sup> these words that you have now<sup>65</sup> spoken

---

<sup>53</sup> This story is found also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 48; however, it lacks vv. 2a–2e, 3–4. Arabic IGT lacks 2b–2e, 3–4.

<sup>54</sup> PMN and Q (and Se) have “stubborn boy” and continue with “Why are you saying these things?” “Wicked” is supported by Sw, though MS O adds “stubborn” in the margin. Zacchaeus does not speak here at all in Gs and the early versions. The entire first verse is missing in G (see n. 48).

<sup>55</sup> PMN omit “his father”; Q has “and Zacchaeus said to Joseph. G reads here: “And Zacchaeus the scribe began to say to his father.”

<sup>56</sup> W finishes the sentence at this point. The following elements are supported in Gs and the other early versions.

<sup>57</sup> G lacks this item, likely due to homoeoarcton.

<sup>58</sup> For “the love of children” P has “the love of natural things,” which Peeters suggests emending to “love of men.”

<sup>59</sup> “Answered” is lacking in GQPMN but finds support in Eth.

<sup>60</sup> Q finishes the verse here and resumes at 6:2f.

<sup>61</sup> W has “does he.”

<sup>62</sup> PN modify “equal to” with  to form “deserves to receive.”

<sup>63</sup> PMN have “the child” and W has the erroneous “Joseph.”

<sup>64</sup> It is not clear whether the speech begins with “teacher” (as is suggested by Sw) or that “teacher” is merely the object of “said to” (as in Se). PMN have “to them the teacher,” W has “to him the teacher,” and G lacks all mention of an object.

<sup>65</sup> W lacks “now.”



and these names that you name,<sup>66</sup> I am a stranger to them; for I am from outside of you, yet I dwell among you. Honor of the flesh<sup>67</sup> I have not. You (live) by the law and by that law you remain.<sup>68</sup> For when you were born, I was.<sup>69</sup> But you think that you are my father.<sup>70</sup> You shall learn from me<sup>71</sup> that teaching that no one else knows nor is able<sup>72</sup> to teach. And that cross of which you spoke, the one to whom it belongs shall bear it. For when I am greatly exalted I shall lay aside that which is mixed in your race. For you do not know where<sup>73</sup> you were born<sup>74</sup> nor where you are from;<sup>75</sup> for I alone know you<sup>76</sup> truly—when<sup>77</sup> you were born and how much time<sup>78</sup> you have<sup>79</sup> to remain here.”<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> “These names that you name” from G, accords well with Gs, Geo, and LM. W has only “and these names.” PMN have “and they will be names of renown” (see also Sw).

<sup>67</sup> W has “in the flesh.”

<sup>68</sup> Cf. John 3:10; 7:49. G lacks this sentence. PN have “you search,” whereas M truncates the sentence to read: “You [live] by the law, you search.” Many of the Sw MSS contain both verbs: “You [live] by the law, and by the law you remain, and by the law you search.”

<sup>69</sup> Cf. John 8:58. G lacks this sentence.

<sup>70</sup> For “father” Peeters suggests “master.”

<sup>71</sup> PMN have “from you (sing).”

<sup>72</sup> M has “you are not able.”

<sup>73</sup> Literally “from where”; for “from,” PMN have “not.”

<sup>74</sup> PMN have “where I was born”; the absence of a diacritic point in G allows for either “you” or “I.”

<sup>75</sup> PMN have “where I am,” which accords with Sw and the early versions. The entire sentence in W, shortened due to homoeoarcton, reads “For you do not know where you are from.” Jesus’ words here recall familiar Johannine language, e.g., John 7:27–28; 8:14, 58; 9:29–30; 17:5, 24; 19:9.

<sup>76</sup> PMN have “you all.”

<sup>77</sup> PMN have “where” (ܠܘܟܘܢ).

<sup>78</sup> G adds “again.”

<sup>79</sup> PMN add “and how much.”

<sup>80</sup> G adds “I know.” G breaks off here (perhaps due to homoeoarcton) and continues at the start of 6:2e.



2c When they heard (these words), they were astounded and cried out greatly<sup>81</sup> and said, “O wonderful sight and sound! Words like these we have never heard anyone speak—neither the priests, nor the scribes, nor the Pharisees.<sup>82</sup> Where was he born, who is five years old<sup>83</sup> and speaking such words? No one has ever seen such a thing among us.”<sup>84</sup>

2d Jesus answered and said to them, “You are amazed by me and you do not believe me concerning what I said to you:<sup>85</sup> that<sup>86</sup> I know when you were born. Again I have more to say to you.”<sup>87</sup>

2e When they heard (these words), they were silent and unable to speak.<sup>88</sup> He approached them again and said, laughing, “I laughed at you because you are amazed at trifles and are becoming small in your minds.”

---

<sup>81</sup> W lacks “greatly,” but the word is supported by Sw and the early versions.

<sup>82</sup> PMN interchange scribes and Pharisees. Sw has “neither the priests, nor the Levites, nor the Pharisees.”

<sup>83</sup> PMN add here “and not fully,” a curious feature found also in the Sw MSS STV.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. John 7:46; Mark 1:22 par. PMN (and the majority of the Sw MSS) lack the subject (ܡܢ); “among us,” absent in W, is found also in Sw and the early versions.

<sup>85</sup> W has only: “You are amazed at what I have said to you.” The longer reading is supported in Gs and LM, as well as Sw. The omission may be due to homoeoteleuton. The verse ends here in Sw and Se.

<sup>86</sup> PMN begin with “And I said that.”

<sup>87</sup> This “more” is not extant in the Syriac MSS but is supplied in various ways by Gs, Eth, LM, and Geo.

<sup>88</sup> PMN have “and no one spoke.” The verse ends here in W.



2f When they were comforted a little,<sup>89</sup> Zacchaeus the teacher said to the father of Jesus,<sup>90</sup> “Bring him to me<sup>91</sup> and I will teach him what is fitting for him to learn.” He coaxed him<sup>92</sup> and made him go into the school. Yet, going in, he was silent. But Zacchaeus the scribe was beginning to say to him (starting) from Aleph,<sup>93</sup> and repeating to him many times the whole alphabet.<sup>94</sup> He said to him that he should answer and speak after him, but he was silent. Then the scribe was angry and struck him with his hand upon his head. And Jesus<sup>95</sup> said, “The smiths’ anvil, when struck repeatedly,<sup>96</sup> may be instructed, yet<sup>97</sup> it is unfeeling. I can say

---

<sup>89</sup> “When they were comforted a little,” from G, finds support in Gs, Geo, and Sw. The sentence is missing in W and Q. PMN read: “They were not comforted a little.”

<sup>90</sup> W has only “to Joseph”; Q has “to him.”

<sup>91</sup> W lacks “bring him to me” but the reading is supported in Gs, Geo, and Eth.

<sup>92</sup> W lacks “coaxed him” but it finds support in Gs, Eth, and Geo.

<sup>93</sup> Q has “Alpha.”

<sup>94</sup> For “all of the alphabet” PMN have “and going (through) all of the alphabet.” Peeters translates this puzzling phrase as “listing them one by one” (les énumérant une à une).

<sup>95</sup> G and M have only “he.” PN have “the boy,” and Q has “the stubborn boy.”

<sup>96</sup> W and Q lack “repeatedly.”

<sup>97</sup> Q inserts “when it is struck.”





those things spoken by you<sup>98</sup> like a brass resounding or a cymbal which yields a sound.<sup>99</sup> These do not respond with any sound nor do they have the power of knowledge and understanding.”<sup>100</sup>

3 Then Jesus said all the letters from Aleph to Tau<sup>101</sup> with much wisdom. He answered again and said, “Those who do not know the Aleph,<sup>102</sup> how do they teach the Beth?<sup>103</sup> Hypocrites! First<sup>104</sup> teach what is the Aleph<sup>105</sup> and then<sup>106</sup> I will believe you concerning the Beth.”<sup>107</sup>

4 Then Jesus began to enquire concerning the form of each character.<sup>108</sup> Concerning the first, why it has many angles and characters, pointed, thick<sup>109</sup> and prostrate<sup>110</sup> and projected<sup>111</sup> and extended; their summits gathered together and sharp and ornamented and erect<sup>112</sup> and squared

---

<sup>98</sup> G breaks off here, resuming at 7:1.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 13:1.

<sup>100</sup> This sentence is lacking in Q. W shortens the entire exchange, reading “...which are spoken by you, with knowledge and understanding,” and then terminates, resuming at 7:4. The longer reading in PMN is supported in Sw and the early versions.

<sup>101</sup> Q has “from Alpha.” “Aleph to Tau” (with variations) is supported by the other early versions and Gs.

<sup>102</sup> Q has “Alpha.”

<sup>103</sup> For “Beth,” M and Q have “Beta.” P has the corrupt reading “empty,” leading Peeters to propose the emendation “then do not teach the Beta”; N, also corrupt, has “birth/conception.” “Beth” has been introduced because Jesus is here reciting the Hebrew letters (“from Aleph to Tau”). Note also that Se has Aleph and Beth, as does the doublet in Se 14:1–2. The original reading was likely a question (“how can you teach the Beta/Beth?”), as in Sw and Se, and supported by the early versions.

<sup>104</sup> “First” is found in Q as well as Sw, Se, and the early versions.

<sup>105</sup> QPN have “Alpha.”

<sup>106</sup> M cuts off here and resumes after the following sentence.

<sup>107</sup> P (the only source here) has “Beta.” See above n. 103. For parallels to this exchange, see *Ep. Apost.* 4; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1; *Acts Thom.* 79.

<sup>108</sup> PMN insert “he began with the letters.”

<sup>109</sup> Q has “yielding/completing.”

<sup>110</sup> Q has “sharp.”

<sup>111</sup> Q adds “and harmonious.”

<sup>112</sup> Q lacks “gathered together and sharp” and places “ornamented” after “erect.”



and inverted;<sup>113</sup> and transformed and folded over<sup>114</sup> and bent at their sides, and fixed in a triangle of life.”<sup>115</sup>

7 <sup>116</sup> Then Zacchaeus the scribe, astounded and amazed at all the names and the greatness of his speech,<sup>117</sup> cried out and said, “I have brought this matter<sup>118</sup> on myself.<sup>119</sup>

2 “Take him away from me, I beseech you. It is not right for him to be this (way) on the earth; truly he is worthy of a great cross. He<sup>120</sup> is able even to set fire to fire. I think that he was born before the flood of Noah.<sup>121</sup> What womb carried him? Or what mother

---

<sup>113</sup> Q has “brought low.”

<sup>114</sup> Q has “curving.”

<sup>115</sup> PMN has “crowned and clothed alive” (cf. Sw: “crowned and clothed”).

<sup>116</sup> Much of this chapter is absent in W and G. Aside from a brief introduction to Zacchaeus as the speaker in v. 1, G takes up the episode part way through v. 3, and W (as in Arabic IGT) resumes at v. 4. *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 48 has only: “The master, wondering at this, said: ‘I think this boy was born before Noah.’ And, turning to Joseph, he said: ‘You have brought to me to be taught a boy that is wiser than all teachers.’ To lady Mary also he said: ‘There is no need of instruction for this your son.’”

<sup>117</sup> Q reads: “was astounded and amazed on account of all that he heard from the boy and on account of the names and the forms of these letters.” The reading from PMN is adopted because of partial agreements with G.

<sup>118</sup> “Matter” (ܡܬܪܐ) is either a Greek loanword (from *πράγμα*) or a corruption of the more well-attested ܡܬܪܐܐ. Q has the synonym ܡܬܪܐܐܐܐ. The early versions have “shame” or “affliction.”

<sup>119</sup> Gs, Geo, and Eth begin the sentence with “Woe is me.”

<sup>120</sup> Literally (here and throughout the verse) “this (boy).”

<sup>121</sup> All the early versions agree that Jesus was “born before the flood of Noah”; the Greek MSS, on the other hand, place his birth “before the creation of the world.”



reared him?<sup>122</sup> For I cannot bear him.<sup>123</sup> I am in a great stupor because of him; and I am out of my mind. Wretched am I to think I had acquired a student; and I found that I had acquired a teacher.<sup>124</sup>

3 “O my friends! I cannot endure.<sup>125</sup> I am fleeing from the village; I cannot look upon him.<sup>126</sup> By a little child I, an old man, am defeated. But what can I, who was defeated, say? Behold,<sup>127</sup> even from the beginning, I did not understand a thing he was saying.<sup>128</sup> Have mercy on me!<sup>129</sup> I am clearly dying!<sup>130</sup> My soul is before my eyes because of<sup>131</sup> the order of his voice and the beauty of his words.<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>122</sup> Q inverts the two questions.

<sup>123</sup> Or “it.”

<sup>124</sup> PMN read: “and although I considered him a student, he was my teacher.”

<sup>125</sup> Q adds “him.”

<sup>126</sup> Q lacks “I cannot look upon him.”

<sup>127</sup> M, along with Sw and Se, has “how.” The next two lines (encompassing “I did not understand” to “dying”) are crossed out and illegible in MS P. They are here supplied from QMN.

<sup>128</sup> Q lacks the negative.

<sup>129</sup> G resumes with “Have mercy on me!”

<sup>130</sup> It is unclear whether “clearly” modifies “dying” or “is” in the following sentence. The punctuation in M and N supports the former but Sw supports the latter.

<sup>131</sup> For “because of” G has “and.”

<sup>132</sup> P and M read “his voice and the order (P: example) of his words.”



4 “He is something great—either a god, or an angel; or what I should say I do not<sup>133</sup> know.”

8 <sup>134</sup> Then the boy Jesus laughed and said, “Let those in whom there is no fruit produce fruit; and let the blind<sup>135</sup> see the living fruit of judgement.”<sup>136</sup>

2 Those who had fallen under his curse came alive and rose up. No one was daring to anger him again.<sup>137</sup>

9 <sup>138</sup> Again one time, on the day of the Sabbath,<sup>139</sup> Jesus was playing<sup>140</sup> with children<sup>141</sup> on a roof. One of the children fell and died. When those other children saw (what had happened), they ran away, and Jesus stayed behind alone.<sup>142</sup>

---

<sup>133</sup> M lacks “not.”

<sup>134</sup> This chapter is lacking in Arabic IGT and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike).

<sup>135</sup> Q and PN have “the barren.”

<sup>136</sup> For “of judgement,” supported in Sw, PMN have “O Judge!”

<sup>137</sup> This entire verse is missing in W, thus leaving all of Jesus’ previous victims injured or dead. Q finishes with “No one was daring to be angry concerning him.”

<sup>138</sup> This story is found also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 44. An independent, more elaborate version of the story is found in *Hist. Vir.* (Budge 75,12–77,2) and several parallel versions in *Arm. Gos. Inf.* (16:7–15; 17:3–14; and ch. 22).

<sup>139</sup> Only the Syriac (including Arabic IGT and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* [ed. Sike]) and early Latin (LM and LV) traditions place this event on the Sabbath.

<sup>140</sup> G has “hiding.”

<sup>141</sup> “With children” is missing in W and PMN but it is present in Sw and the early versions (Eth, LV, LM, as well as Gs) and in the Syriac-related texts (Arabic IGT, *Arab Gos. Inf.* [ed. Sike]).

<sup>142</sup> PMN have the synonym ܘܕܘܚܘܢܝܢ, a corruption of ܘܕܘܚܘܢܝܢ. G, along with Sw, has “found alone.” W and Q’s “stayed behind alone” is reflected in the early versions (Eth and LM) as well as Arabic IGT and *Arab Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike).





2 The parents of the one who was dead took hold of him and said<sup>143</sup> to him, “You made the boy fall.”<sup>144</sup> And Jesus said,<sup>145</sup> “I did not make him fall.” They were<sup>146</sup> accusing him.<sup>147</sup>

3 Then he came down to the one who was dead<sup>148</sup> and said in a loud voice,<sup>149</sup> “Zeno, Zeno”<sup>150</sup>—for thus was his name—“did I make you fall?”<sup>151</sup> Immediately, he<sup>152</sup> leaped up and stood and said to him,<sup>153</sup> “No, my Lord.”<sup>154</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> P erroneously has the singular (he said).

<sup>144</sup> PMN add “from the roof and he died.” For both occurrences of “make fall,” W alone has the verb “throw down.”

<sup>145</sup> P lacks the verb here.

<sup>146</sup> PMN add “presumptuously.”

<sup>147</sup> PMN continue with: “The boy Jesus answered and said to them: ‘Leave now, so that I may go down to the dead boy and I will question him, and at once he will declare to us who truly threw him down.’”

<sup>148</sup> PMN have: “Then the boy Jesus came down. He stood above the corpse of the dead boy.”

<sup>149</sup> “In a loud voice” is lacking in W and G but finds support in Eth, Arabic IGT, *Arab Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike), and Gs.

<sup>150</sup> The boy’s name is corrupt in M. W and G have the name only once, but the double reading is supported in Gs.

<sup>151</sup> PMN add “as your family is accusing me.”

<sup>152</sup> PMN begin with “But that dead boy, when he heard his voice.”

<sup>153</sup> PMN have “He said in the sight of everyone.”

<sup>154</sup> Q continues with “you did not make me fall,” a reading shared with Sw.



4 All of them<sup>155</sup> were astounded. Even the boy's parents<sup>156</sup> were praising God for the wonder that had happened.<sup>157</sup>

11 <sup>158</sup> Again, when Jesus was about seven years old,<sup>159</sup> his mother sent him to draw water. And in the press of a great crowd, his pitcher struck (against something)<sup>160</sup> and was broken.

2 Then Jesus spread out the cloak<sup>161</sup> that was covering him and he collected and brought (home) that water.<sup>162</sup> His mother Mary was amazed and kept in her heart all that she was seeing.<sup>163</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup> Q, along with Sw, has "All of those who were there."

<sup>156</sup> PMN add "who were accusing Jesus returned and." Q has "the boys parents came there and."

<sup>157</sup> W simply has "for these wonders."

<sup>158</sup> This story is found also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 45 and Arabic IGT.

<sup>159</sup> W begins "One time, after Jesus was seven years old."

<sup>160</sup> Q alone (in agreement with Sw) has "was struck."

<sup>161</sup> PMN use "hood." The same word occurs in Sw MSS EFO.

<sup>162</sup> PMN finish instead with "collected the water that had scattered from his pitcher and poured it in his hood. And the boy came home." This expanded reading finds some support in Sw (see p. 198 n. 96). Q has "he collected that water and brought it to his mother," which is similar to Se.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Luke 2:18, 52. W has: "His mother Mary was amazed at all that she was seeing." The longer reading, adopted here, is supported by Sw, Se, and the versions Eth and LM.



**12** <sup>164</sup> Once again Jesus was playing.<sup>165</sup> He sowed<sup>166</sup> one measure of wheat.<sup>167</sup>

**2** And he harvested 100 cors<sup>168</sup> and gave them to the people of the village.

**13** <sup>169</sup> Jesus was eight years old. Joseph was a carpenter and was making nothing other than ploughs and yokes. A man<sup>170</sup> had ordered of him<sup>171</sup> a bed of six cubits. One plank did not have the (proper) measure on one side, for it was shorter than the other. Jesus said to Joseph, “You take hold of the end of the short one.”<sup>172</sup>

---

<sup>164</sup> This story is absent in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) and Arabic IGT.

<sup>165</sup> The versions and Gs lack mention of playing.

<sup>166</sup> Q has “he sowed a sowing (or a seed),” found also in Sw.

<sup>167</sup> P and N continue with “and it was a great offering by him.”

<sup>168</sup> M lacks “And he harvested 100 cors.”

<sup>169</sup> This story is found also in Arabic IGT but not in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* Instead, *Arab. Gos. Inf.* contains a variant of the story in which Jesus helps Joseph make a throne (ed. Sike, chs. 38–39).

<sup>170</sup> Q begins the sentence with “And one day a man.”

<sup>171</sup> G has “of his father.”

<sup>172</sup> PMN read: “The boy Jesus said to his father: ‘Take hold of the end of the one shorter than the other (M lacks “than the other”).’” W and G lack this exchange but it is supported by Se and several versions (Gs, LM, and Ir) as well as Sw MS O.



2 Jesus took the measure of the wood<sup>173</sup> and pulled and stretched it<sup>174</sup> and made it equal to its other. Jesus said to his father Joseph, “Do henceforth<sup>175</sup> what you wish.”

14<sup>176</sup> 1 When Joseph saw his intelligence, he wished to teach him writing<sup>177</sup> and brought him to the school.<sup>178</sup> The scribe said to him,<sup>179</sup> “Say Aleph.”<sup>180</sup> And Jesus said <it>.<sup>181</sup> Again, the scribe added that he should say Beth.

2 Jesus said to him, “Tell me first what Aleph is, and then I will tell you concerning the Beth.”<sup>182</sup> The scribe was furious and struck him,<sup>183</sup> and immediately (the scribe) fell down and died.

---

<sup>173</sup> Q has “the top of the other plank.”

<sup>174</sup> Q and PMN, along with Sw, have “the wood.”

<sup>175</sup> W has “all.” Q has “now,” as in Sw and Se.

<sup>176</sup> G lacks ch. 14. The story is found also in Arabic IGT and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 49. For parallels see *Ep. Apoc.* 4; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.20.1; *Acts Thom.* 79.

<sup>177</sup> “Writing” is supported also in Sw, as well as Gs, LV, and LM. PMN have “learning.”

<sup>178</sup> Q and PMN have “to a (QM add: certain) scribe” (cf. Sw). See also 15.2. W literally reads “the house of a scribe.”

<sup>179</sup> PN’s reading is lengthier and somewhat corrupt: “and he answered and also that scribe and said to him.”

<sup>180</sup> Q again uses the Greek letters.

<sup>181</sup> Q and PN complete the thought by adding “Aleph” (Q: Alpha). The same is found in Se and the Sw MS J.

<sup>182</sup> Q has “then you will tell me Beth.” Gs and LV reverse the order of the letters. The exchange is missing in Eth.

<sup>183</sup> W has “took and struck him.” Sw, Se, and the versions (as well as Arabic IGT and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* [ed. Sike]) all note that the teacher first becomes angry.





3 Jesus went back to his family. Joseph called his mother Mary and spoke to her and commanded her not to permit him to go out of the house, so that those who strike him will not die.

15<sup>184</sup> 1 But another<sup>185</sup> scribe said to Joseph,<sup>186</sup> “Hand him over to me. I will teach him by flattery.”<sup>187</sup>

2 Jesus entered the school.<sup>188</sup> He took a scroll and was reading, not what was written, but he opened his mouth and spoke in the spirit,<sup>189</sup> so that that scribe was sitting<sup>190</sup> with him on the ground<sup>191</sup> and was beseeching to learn<sup>192</sup> from him. Great crowds<sup>193</sup> gathered and stood there.<sup>194</sup> Jesus thus opened his mouth and was speaking, so that all who arrived and stood there might be astounded and amazed.

---

<sup>184</sup> This chapter is not found in G, nor in Arabic IGT and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike). This third teacher story is reminiscent of Luke 4:16–22.

<sup>185</sup> W lacks “another” but the word is present in Eth, Gs, Sw, and Se.

<sup>186</sup> M lacks “to Joseph.”

<sup>187</sup> W lacks “by flattery,” but the reading is supported by Gs and is present in Sw and Se.

<sup>188</sup> PMN again have “to the scribe” (cf. Sw; for “school” see Se, Eth, LM, and Gs). W and Q literally have “to the house of a scribe” (cf. 14:1).

<sup>189</sup> W has “not what was written but great miracles” and then moves directly to ch. 16.

<sup>190</sup> For “sat” (cf. Se and Gs; Sw, Eth, and LM have “fell”), P has “wrote”; M has the future form of the verb.

<sup>191</sup> Q lacks “on the ground,” but the reading finds support in Sw and Se.

<sup>192</sup> PMN lack “to learn,” but the reading finds support in Sw.

<sup>193</sup> PMN add “hearing his words.”

<sup>194</sup> Q has only “gathered there” and then ends the verse, possibly as a result of homoeoteleuton.



3 When Joseph heard, he ran and came because he was afraid lest that scribe also would die.<sup>195</sup> The scribe said to Joseph, “You have delivered to me not a student but a master.”

4 Joseph took Jesus and brought him back to his home.<sup>196</sup>

16<sup>197</sup> 1 Again, Joseph had sent his son James to gather sticks<sup>198</sup> and Jesus had gone with him. While they were gathering sticks, a deadly viper<sup>199</sup> bit James on his hand.

2 When Jesus came near to him, he did to him nothing more than straighten out his hand and blow on that bite.<sup>200</sup> And<sup>201</sup> it was healed, the viper died, and James lived.<sup>202</sup>

---

<sup>195</sup> Q has “would perish.”

<sup>196</sup> The later Greek MSS (and related versions) add an epilogue in which Jesus restores the teacher from ch. 14 to life.

<sup>197</sup> This story is found also in Arabic IGT and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 43.

<sup>198</sup> PMN have “to cut down sticks”; the same verb occurs in some Sw MSS.

<sup>199</sup> W lacks “deadly” (ܪܫܘܘܢܐ). It is possible that the adjective originated from a misreading of “wicked” (ܪܫܘܘܢܐ; cf. Gs: “abominable”; see also Sw).

<sup>200</sup> Q has only “When Jesus came near to [him], he blew on that bite.”

<sup>201</sup> G adds “immediately.”

<sup>202</sup> W and G end at “healed,” but the longer reading is supported by Sw, Se as well as Gs, LM, and in part by Eth (“As for the serpent, it died immediately”).



19<sup>203</sup> 1 When Jesus was twelve years old, they had gone to Jerusalem, as it was custom for Joseph and Mary to go<sup>204</sup> to the festival of Passover.<sup>205</sup> When they<sup>206</sup> had completed Passover, they turned back to their home.<sup>207</sup> When they had turned to come <home>,<sup>208</sup> Jesus remained<sup>209</sup> in Jerusalem. Neither Joseph nor his mother Mary knew (it),<sup>210</sup> but they thought that he was with their companions.

2 When they came to the rendezvous<sup>211</sup> of that day, they were seeking him among their kinsfolk and among (those) who knew them. When they did not find Jesus, they turned back to Jerusalem and were seeking him. After three days<sup>212</sup>

<sup>203</sup> This story is greatly expanded in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 50–53.

<sup>204</sup> PMN lack “to go.”

<sup>205</sup> W has simply “to their festival.” Old Syr. Luke 2:42 similarly has only “the festival” but v. 41 refers to it as the “festival of the unleavened bread of the Passover” (ܘܡܫܐ ܕܩܝܘܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܘܡܐ). G, like Old Syr. Luke, uses the Greek rendering ܩܘܡܐ (πάσχα).

<sup>206</sup> Q and PMN have “he.”

<sup>207</sup> Q has “they walked home.”

<sup>208</sup> Q has “When they had gone a day’s journey.”

<sup>209</sup> Q has “stayed behind” (see n. 210).

<sup>210</sup> PN have “His parents did not know that he stayed behind in Jerusalem.” PN’s reading, not found in Sw, Se, nor Gs or Eth, may derive from a misreading of “nor Mary” with the similar looking “in Jerusalem.” The misreading may also have led to the transformation of “his father” (ܘܡܘܬܐ) to the erroneously spelled “his parents” (ܘܡܘܬܐ) rather than (ܘܡܘܬܐ). P’s use of “stay behind” (ܩܘܡܐ) also reflects Old Syr. Luke 2:43 and has a parallel in Sw. M lacks the entire clause, perhaps due to homoeoarcton.

<sup>211</sup> PMN have “inner room.”

<sup>212</sup> P lacks the material beginning at “when they did not find Jesus...” P’s omission is likely due to homoeoteleuton. Q lacks “After three days.”



they found him in the temple,<sup>213</sup> sitting among the teachers, and listening to them<sup>214</sup> and questioning them. All those hearing were amazed,<sup>215</sup> because he was silencing these teachers,<sup>216</sup> for he was expounding to them the parables of the prophets and the mysteries and allegories of the law.<sup>217</sup>

3 His mother said to him, “My son, why have you done this to us so?<sup>218</sup> We were distressed and agitated and searching for you.”<sup>219</sup> Jesus answered and said,<sup>220</sup> “Why were you searching for me? Do you not know that it is fitting for me to be in my Father’s house?”<sup>221</sup>

4 The scribes and the Pharisees answered and said to Mary, “Are you the mother of this boy? The Lord has blessed you in your fruit,<sup>222</sup> for such glory of wisdom<sup>223</sup> we have not seen in children, nor have we heard any man speak.”<sup>224</sup>

---

<sup>213</sup> “Temple” is lacking in W and G but it is present in Sw, Se, as well as Eth, Gs and Old Syr. Luke 2:46. For “found him,” Q has “saw him.”

<sup>214</sup> G finishes the verse here.

<sup>215</sup> QPN add “at him,” a reading shared with Sw.

<sup>216</sup> PMN have “elders and teachers,” a reading supported in Sw. Gs has “elders,” Eth has “priests.” Q reads “amazed at the words coming from his mouth.”

<sup>217</sup> Q lacks “mysteries.” M reads “the parables and allegories of the prophets and mysteries and examples of the law.”

<sup>218</sup> For “so” (found also in Old Syr. Luke), W has “these (things).”

<sup>219</sup> PN read “I and your father, with much anxiety, were searching for you,” which is virtually identical to its parallel in Old Syr. Luke 2:48: “Your father and I with much anxiety were searching for you.” Likely PN have harmonized the episode with the canonical text. Q has “Joseph and I were in much anxiety that you were forgotten.”

<sup>220</sup> PMN add “to her,” Q adds “to them.”

<sup>221</sup> Jesus’ response to his mother is lacking in G, likely due to homoeoarcton.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Luke 1:42; 11:27. W lacks “in your fruit.” The reading is supported by Sw as well as Gs (“Blessed are you because the Lord God has blessed the fruit of your womb”) and Eth (“For you are blessed in your fruit?”). Q has “May the Lord bless your fruit.”

<sup>223</sup> PMN have “glory and wisdom”; Q has simply “wisdom.”

<sup>224</sup> Q and PMN lack “any man speak”; the reading is lacking also in Sw and is not reflected in Eth nor Gs.



9 אַפּטענע, אַפּטענע. צו זיך זענען אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 10 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע. אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 15 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע

---

WGQPMN  
 9 אַפּטענע, אַפּטענע Q WMN : אַפּטענע, אַפּטענע :  
 om. WG אַפּטענע : אַפּטענע MN (cf. Sw) post אַפּטענע add. אַפּטענע  
 Q  
 10 post אַפּטענע add. אַפּטענע QM 10-12 אַפּטענע — אַפּטענע : om.  
 G 10 אַפּטענע W : אַפּטענע אַפּטענע QPMN (cf. Sw) post alt. אַפּטענע add. אַפּטענע  
 QPN (cf. Sw)  
 11 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע Q אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע — אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 W : אַפּטענע אַפּטענע W (cf. Sw) אַפּטענע אַפּטענע PMN (cf. Sw) אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 QPMN אַפּטענע W : אַפּטענע PN om. QM  
 12 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע W : אַפּטענע אַפּטענע — אַפּטענע אַפּטענע (cod. אַפּטענע)  
 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע (אַפּטענע N) PN אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע M אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 13 אַפּטענע WGQ : אַפּטענע PMN אַפּטענע GQPMN (cf. Sw OSLk) :  
 אַפּטענע W 13-14 אַפּטענע — אַפּטענע (G) אַפּטענע WG : אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע PN (cf. OSLk) אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע M אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע Q אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע אַפּטענע  
 14-15 אַפּטענע — אַפּטענע : om. G (homoeoarc.) 14 post אַפּטענע add. אַפּטענע Q  
 post אַפּטענע add. אַפּטענע PMN, add. אַפּטענע Q  
 16 אַפּטענע GQPMN (cf. Sw) : om. W אַפּטענע WGQ : אַפּטענע PMN  
 אַפּטענע WGPMN : אַפּטענע אַפּטענע Q אַפּטענע G : אַפּטענע W אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע QPMN (cf. Sw)  
 17 אַפּטענע GPMN (cf. Sw) אַפּטענע (P אַפּטענע) אַפּטענע (MN אַפּטענע)  
 : אַפּטענע Q אַפּטענע אַפּטענע W אַפּטענע QWP (cf. Sw)  
 : אַפּטענע GM 17-18 אַפּטענע אַפּטענע : om. Q  
 18 אַפּטענע WG : אַפּטענע Q אַפּטענע PMN (cf. Sw) אַפּטענע  
 אַפּטענע WG : om. QPMN

5 He rose, went with his mother,<sup>225</sup> and was obedient to his parents.<sup>226</sup> But his mother was keeping all these words in her heart.<sup>227</sup> Jesus was excelling and growing in wisdom and stature and grace<sup>228</sup> before God and before men, amen.<sup>229</sup>

**(Here) ends the Childhood of our Lord Jesus.**<sup>230</sup>

---

<sup>225</sup> G and PMN have “with them,” which finds support in Old Syr. Luke and Eth (“with his parents”). However, “with his mother” is found also in Gs.

<sup>226</sup> PN expands this section with “and he was subject to them and was obedient to his parents.” Q substitutes “subject” for “obedient.” For “subject to them” see Old Syr. Luke 2:51.

<sup>227</sup> W lacks “in her heart.” The reading is supported by Gs and Eth, but Old Syr. Luke 2:51 agrees with W. The entire sentence is lacking in G. Q and PN follow with “and (Q: after) she was comparing them.”

<sup>228</sup> This sentence is presented in a variety of ways in the MSS. W has “excelling and advancing in wisdom and grace”; GQ have “excelling and growing (Q: growing and advancing) in wisdom and stature and grace”; and PMN have “(PN add: growing and) excelling and advancing in wisdom and stature and grace.” The present reading reflects Eth (“the Lord Jesus grew in stature, wisdom, and grace”) and Gs (“Jesus increased in wisdom and in years and in grace”); compare also Old Syr. Luke 2:52 (“Jesus was growing in stature and increasing in his wisdom and his grace” and Sw (“Jesus was excelling and growing in stature and wisdom and grace”).

<sup>229</sup> PN add the doxology “Glory to him and his mercies on us forever and ever, amen”; M has the shorter “Glory to him, amen”; N has the truncated “my peace, the marvel of the visit of our Lord in the time. . .”; and Q has “glory to him and thanksgiving to his father and his living and holy spirit and his love on us, forever and ever, amen.”

<sup>230</sup> G adds “Christ.” Q has “Here ends the book of the upbringing of our Lord Jesus Christ.” P and M lack the explicit. A Garshûni marginal note in N reads “completed is the gospel of the infancy.”



**The Fourth Book<sup>1</sup>: Concerning the Childhood and  
Upbringing<sup>2</sup> of Our Lord Jesus Christ.<sup>3</sup>**

2 1 Now when Jesus<sup>4</sup> was about five years old, he was playing at the ford of streams<sup>5</sup> of waters. And he was catching them and making the waters enter<sup>6</sup> and directing them miraculously<sup>7</sup> and catching them in pools. He was making the water become clear and bright.

2 He took soft clay from the wet ground and molded twelve birds. It was the Sabbath<sup>8</sup> and many children were with him.

---

<sup>1</sup> IGT is the fourth book in the West Syrian *Life of Mary* collection. Two of the MSS, S and T, feature only IGT, but their titles state that the book is fourth in a series. In D, IGT is the third book.

<sup>2</sup> ST have “upbringing and childhood.”

<sup>3</sup> EF have “our Lord and God Savior Jesus Christ.”

<sup>4</sup> ST add “Christ our Lord”; V has “the Lord Jesus Christ.”

<sup>5</sup> EF lack “of streams.”

<sup>6</sup> “Making enter” (ܘܥܠܘ) is a natural corruption of “confining” (ܘܥܠܘ; cf. Sa).

<sup>7</sup> “Miraculously” (ܘܥܠܘ) is a corruption of “in channels” (ܘܥܠܘ; cf. Sa).

<sup>8</sup> V has “the Sabbath day.”



3 But one of the Jews saw him with the children making these things.<sup>9</sup> He went to his father<sup>10</sup> Joseph and incited him against Jesus, and said to him, “On the Sabbath he made clay and fashioned birds, something that is not lawful to do on the Sabbath.”

4 Joseph came and rebuked him, and said to him, “Why are you making these things<sup>11</sup> on the Sabbath?”<sup>12</sup> Then Jesus clapped his hands<sup>13</sup> and made the birds fly away before the entire crowd<sup>14</sup> and said, “Go, fly, and be mindful of those who live.”<sup>15</sup> And these birds went away, twittering.<sup>16</sup>

3 1 The son of Hannān the scribe also was with Jesus.

---

<sup>9</sup> ST have “passing time” (lit. “making years”). V has “making (i.e., doing) thus.”

<sup>10</sup> STV lack “his father.”

<sup>11</sup> ST have “making (i.e., doing) thus.”

<sup>12</sup> The question is missing in D.

<sup>13</sup> K has “clapped with a cheerful expression.”

<sup>14</sup> aV have “all the people.” ST add “when they were rising” as in Sa MSS GPMN.

<sup>15</sup> ST reflects the reading from Sa (“be mindful of me, living ones”). V has “be mindful of me and those who live on account of you.”

<sup>16</sup> All Sw MSS lack verse 5.



When he saw his delight,<sup>17</sup> he took a willow branch and leaked<sup>18</sup> and broke down the pools.<sup>19</sup> And these waters that Jesus had gathered together were scattered<sup>20</sup> and he dried up their pools.

2 When Jesus saw what had happened,<sup>21</sup> he said to him, “Without root shall be your shoot and your fruit shall dry up like a branch that is cut off by the wind and is no more.”

3 Suddenly, that boy withered.<sup>22</sup>

4 1 Again Jesus was going with Joseph his father, and a boy running struck him on his shoulder. Jesus said to him, “You shall not go on your way.” And at once,<sup>23</sup> suddenly he fell down and died. All those who saw him cried out and said, “Whence was this boy born, that all his words are in a deed?”

---

<sup>17</sup> “When he saw his delight” is unique to Sw. V reads “And seeing the Son of Hannān.” ST omit this clause, perhaps due to haplography or a lacuna in their exemplar.

<sup>18</sup> V lacks “and leaked out.”

<sup>19</sup> ST add “of water” and lack “and these waters” at the start of the following sentence.

<sup>20</sup> “Scattered” is found also in Sa MS Q.

<sup>21</sup> V has “what he had committed.”

<sup>22</sup> V adds “and he died.”

<sup>23</sup> ST lack “at once.”





2 The family of that (boy) who died approached Joseph<sup>24</sup> and were blaming him and saying, “As long as you have this child, you cannot dwell in our village,<sup>25</sup> unless you teach him to behave humbly.”<sup>26</sup>

5 1 Joseph approached the boy and said to him, “Why do you do these things? And for what reason do you say these things? These (people) are suffering on account of you and hate you.” And the boy said, “If the words of my father were not wise,<sup>27</sup> he would not know<sup>28</sup> (how) to instruct children.” He spoke again, “If they were<sup>29</sup> children of the bedchamber, they would not be receiving a curse. These shall not see life.”<sup>30</sup> And those

---

<sup>24</sup> V reads “The family of that one who died spoke to Joseph.”

<sup>25</sup> ST have “amongst us.”

<sup>26</sup> Perhaps a corruption of ܘܒܪܝܢܐ (to bless; cf. Sa Se). ST have “to be calm and humble.”

<sup>27</sup> ACDEF have “if they were known to my father.”

<sup>28</sup> G lacks “not”; ST add a second “not” after “to teach.”

<sup>29</sup> TV add “not,” similar to Sa MSS PN.

<sup>30</sup> Sa and the other early witnesses have “torment,” not “life.” This sentence is lacking in ACD, perhaps due to homoeoarcton.



who were accusing him were blinded.<sup>31</sup>

2 Joseph, becoming angry,<sup>32</sup> took hold of him<sup>33</sup> by his ear and pulled it hard.

3 Jesus answered and said to him, “It is enough for you, that you should be commanding me and finding me; for you have done this ignorantly.”

6 1 A teacher, whose name was Zacchaeus, heard him speaking with his father and said to him, “O wicked<sup>34</sup> boy!”

2 He said to Joseph, “How long will you not wish to hand over<sup>35</sup> this boy so that he may learn letters, to honor your old age and to be in awe of elders, in order that the love of children may be with him, and loving children his age, that he may instruct them?”

2a Joseph said,<sup>36</sup> “Who is able<sup>37</sup> to instruct a boy like this?”

---

<sup>31</sup> This sentence is lacking in ST.

<sup>32</sup> ST add “on account of him.”

<sup>33</sup> A has “when he saw, he became angry and took hold.”

<sup>34</sup> O adds underneath this word “stubborn,” which is found also in Sa MSS QPMN and Se 6.26.

<sup>35</sup> ST have “how long will you (S adds: not) hand over to hand over” (an apparent error).

<sup>36</sup> ST add “to Zacchaeus.”

<sup>37</sup> BIJKLO have “(what) man is able.” H lacks these words entirely.

וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה.  
 2 וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה כִּי  
 3 חָבֵב יִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה לְפָנָיו כִּי חָבֵב  
 \* לְפָנָיו יִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה

16 וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה  
 וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה  
 2 וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה  
 לְפָנָיו יִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה לְפָנָיו יִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה  
 5 וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה  
 וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה  
 2a וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה וְיִצְחָק מֵאֵם אֲחֵרָה

---

a(=ABCDEFGF) b(=HIJKLO) c(=STV)  
 6 וְיִצְחָק rel : וְיִצְחָק F מֵאֵם rel : om. A וְיִצְחָק rel : יִצְחָק F  
 om. V  
 7 וְיִצְחָק rel : וְיִצְחָק F מֵאֵם rel : om. EV וְיִצְחָק (sup. lin. K) מֵאֵם  
 וְיִצְחָק rel : וְיִצְחָק A מֵאֵם וְיִצְחָק rel : וְיִצְחָק EF  
 וְיִצְחָק rel : וְיִצְחָק G מֵאֵם וְיִצְחָק rel : וְיִצְחָק ST  
 וְיִצְחָק V (כִּי F) מֵאֵם וְיִצְחָק rel : וְיִצְחָק V  
 8 מֵאֵם rel : om. EF post וְיִצְחָק add. וְיִצְחָק ST (cf. Se) rel : om. V  
 9 alt. וְיִצְחָק rel : om. F  
 6, 1 ab (cf. Sa) : om. c וְיִצְחָק rel : om. BL post וְיִצְחָק add.  
 וְיִצְחָק G מֵאֵם rel : וְיִצְחָק ST וְיִצְחָק rel : וְיִצְחָק K  
 2 sub וְיִצְחָק add. וְיִצְחָק O (cf. Sa QPMN; Se 6.26)  
 3 post וְיִצְחָק add. מֵאֵם E וְיִצְחָק rel.: מֵאֵם S<sup>ac</sup> וְיִצְחָק rel. (cf. Sa  
 Se) : וְיִצְחָק ST  
 4 וְיִצְחָק rel. : וְיִצְחָק D מֵאֵם rel. : מֵאֵם C<sup>ac</sup> וְיִצְחָק rel. : וְיִצְחָק  
 וְיִצְחָק V מֵאֵם rel. : מֵאֵם ST  
 5 וְיִצְחָק rel. (cf. Sa Se) : וְיִצְחָק ABLO om. ST וְיִצְחָק rel. :  
 וְיִצְחָק T מֵאֵם rel. : מֵאֵם E מֵאֵם rel. : מֵאֵם B  
 6 וְיִצְחָק rel. (cf. Sa) : וְיִצְחָק c וְיִצְחָק E וְיִצְחָק F  
 rel. : וְיִצְחָק D וְיִצְחָק rel. : וְיִצְחָק Bb וְיִצְחָק c (cf. Sa)  
 7 וְיִצְחָק rel. : וְיִצְחָק V post וְיִצְחָק add. וְיִצְחָק ST וְיִצְחָק rel. (cf.  
 Sa Se) : וְיִצְחָק BIJKLO om. H וְיִצְחָק (C) וְיִצְחָק rel.  
 rel. : וְיִצְחָק D מֵאֵם וְיִצְחָק K וְיִצְחָק H  
 וְיִצְחָק V

Do you not think him (to be) a small cross?"

2b He<sup>38</sup> answered and said to him, "These words that you have spoken, O teacher, will be names of renown.<sup>39</sup> I am a stranger to them; for I am from outside of you, yet I dwell among you. Honor of the flesh I have not.<sup>40</sup> You remain by the law and by the law you search.<sup>41</sup> For before you were born, I was. But you think that you are my father. You shall learn<sup>42</sup> from me that teaching that no one else knows nor is able to teach. And that cross of which you spoke, the one to whom it belongs shall bear it. And when I am greatly exalted, that which is mixed in your race will be completed.<sup>43</sup> For you do not know where I am from

---

<sup>38</sup> ST and C specifically identify the speaker as Jesus.

<sup>39</sup> For a similar reading see the Sa MSS PMN. The complete sentence in STV is "these words will be names of renown."

<sup>40</sup> STV read "I have."

<sup>41</sup> STV lack "and by the law you search." "Search" is found also in the Sa MSS PMN.

<sup>42</sup> EF read "Unless you learn."

<sup>43</sup> "Will be completed" (ܕܒܝܪܐ) appears to be a corruption of "I shall lay aside" (ܕܒܝܪܐ, cf. Sa).



nor where I am going; for I alone know you<sup>44</sup> truly—when you were born and how much time you have to remain here.”

2c When they heard (these words), they were astounded and amazed<sup>45</sup> and cried out greatly and said,<sup>46</sup> “O wonderful sight and sound! How this boy speaks, we have not heard anyone speak<sup>47</sup>—neither a priest, nor a Levite, nor a scribe.<sup>48</sup> Where was he born, who is five years old<sup>49</sup> and speaks such words? <No one> has ever seen such a thing among us.”<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> ST add “and where I am from.”

<sup>45</sup> BHIJLO have “astounded and amazed and astonished”; C has astonished and amazed.”

<sup>46</sup> ST lack “cried out”; V lacks “greatly.”

<sup>47</sup> C reads only “How he speaks,” likely due to homoeoarcton.

<sup>48</sup> The various sources, both Syriac and non-Syriac, show some variety in the order and number of these offices; but only Sw features the element “Levite.” G adds a fourth element: “nor a teacher.”

<sup>49</sup> STV add “and not fully,” a reading also found in the Sa MSS PMN.

<sup>50</sup> The subject “no one,” found only in V and the Sa MS W, is rendered necessary by the active verb.





2d Jesus answered and said, “You are amazed by me and you do not believe concerning what I have spoken and said to you.”<sup>51</sup>

2e When they heard (these words), they were silent and unable to speak. He approached them again and said to them, laughing,<sup>52</sup> “I laughed at you because you are amazed at trifles and you are becoming small in your minds.”<sup>53</sup>

2f When they understood<sup>54</sup> a little, Zacchaeus the teacher said to them and also to the parents of Jesus,<sup>55</sup> “Bring him to me<sup>56</sup> and I will teach him what is fitting for him to learn.” He<sup>57</sup> coaxed him and made him go into the school. Yet, going in, he was silent, but Zacchaeus the scribe was beginning to say to him (starting) from Aleph and Beth, and he repeating to him many times the same letter. He said to him

---

<sup>51</sup> Sw finishes the verse here, earlier than Sa.

<sup>52</sup> EF begin the verse at “laughing,” perhaps as a result of homoeoarcton.

<sup>53</sup> V finishes instead with “but you are small among you.”

<sup>54</sup> Likely a corruption of “comforted” (cf. Sa).

<sup>55</sup> There is much variation in the MSS here. In Sa, the audience for Zacchaeus’s words is only “Joseph the father of Jesus.”

<sup>56</sup> ST have “you (masc. pl.) bring him to me.”

<sup>57</sup> ST have “Zacchaeus.”

2d חב דא דאזא .יזאזא יזאזא חב דא דאזא  
 יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא  
 2e יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא  
 יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא  
 30 יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא  
 יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא  
 2f יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא  
 יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא  
 יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא  
 35 יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא  
 יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא

---

a(=ABCDEFG) b(=HIJKLO) c(=STV)  
 26 post יזאזא add. יזאזא CST (cf. Sa) יזאזא יזאזא rel. :  
 יזאזא B 26-27 יזאזא — חב : om. D (homoeotel.) 26-  
 27 יזאזא rel. : יזאזא BK יזאזא V  
 27 יזאזא rel. : יזאזא E יזאזא rel. : יזאזא V  
 28-29 יזאזא — יזאזא : om. EF 28 יזאזא rel. (cf. Sa) : om. c יזאזא rel  
 : יזאזא S יזאזא TV 28-29 יזאזא יזאזא CDGV (cf. Sa) : יזאזא  
 יזאזא A יזאזא Bb יזאזא ST  
 29 יזאזא rel. : om. O יזאזא rel. : יזאזא K  
 30 pr. יזאזא rel. : om. K יזאזא rel. (cf. Sa Se) : יזאזא CDFHL  
 יזאזא V  
 31 יזאזא rel. : יזאזא HJK יזאזא יזאזא  
 A (dittogr.) יזאזא V  
 32 ante יזאזא add. יזאזא F (dittogr.) יזאזא יזאזא rel.  
 : יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא 32-33  
 יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא ADEFG : יזאזא יזאזא C  
 יזאזא יזאזא יזאזא V יזאזא (יזאזא T) יזאזא ST  
 om. Bb  
 33 יזאזא rel. : יזאזא K יזאזא A יזאזא EF  
 יזאזא יזאזא ST יזאזא V יזאזא rel. : יזאזא E  
 34 יזאזא rel. : om. EFV יזאזא rel. : יזאזא D post יזאזא add. יזאזא  
 ST יזאזא rel. : יזאזא GH — יזאזא : illeg. G יזאזא  
 rel. : יזאזא V חב יזאזא rel. : transp. JV  
 35 יזאזא post יזאזא transp. V יזאזא rel. : יזאזא F  
 36 יזאזא rel. : יזאזא V יזאזא rel. : יזאזא D  
 יזאזא V יזאזא יזאזא rel. : יזאזא V יזאזא יזאזא E  
 יזאזא rel. : יזאזא AIK

that he should answer after him, but he was silent. Then the scribe<sup>58</sup> was angry and struck him with his hand upon his head. And he said, “The smiths’ anvil, when struck,<sup>59</sup> may be instructed, yet it is unfeeling.<sup>60</sup> I can say<sup>61</sup> those things spoken by you like a brass resounding or a cymbal which yields a sound. These do not respond with any sound or power of knowledge and understanding.”

3 Then Jesus said all the letters from Aleph to Tau<sup>62</sup> with much wisdom. He answered again and said, “Those who do not know the Aleph, how do they teach the Beth?<sup>63</sup> Hypocrites! First teach what is the Aleph

---

<sup>58</sup> ST have “Zacchaeus.”

<sup>59</sup> STV add “repeatedly,” as in Sa.

<sup>60</sup> S changes the speaker by beginning the next sentence with “Zacchaeus said.”

<sup>61</sup> S has “I cannot say.”

<sup>62</sup> V has “Aleph to the end.”

<sup>63</sup> As in Sa, “Beth” has been introduced because Jesus is here reciting the Hebrew letters (“from Aleph to Tau”). See p. 104 n. 103. All Sw MSS have “Beta.”



and then I will believe you concerning the Beth.”<sup>64</sup>

4 Then Jesus began to speak to the scribe concerning the type of each of these letters. Concerning the first, why (it has)<sup>65</sup> many angles and characters, pointed, thick and collected and projected and extended; their summits gathered together<sup>66</sup> and sharp<sup>67</sup> and ornamented and erect and squared<sup>68</sup> and inverted;<sup>69</sup> and transformed, and folded over and also bent at their sides, and fixed in a triangle, and crowned and clothed.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> All Sw MSS read “Beta.” K lacks “and then...Beth” and has instead “Then, as long as you are hearing and learning in this way, you can teach. Now I question you on this matter.”

<sup>65</sup> “It has” is present in STV and O, perhaps due to contamination from Sa.

<sup>66</sup> For “gathered together” STV have “grown weak.”

<sup>67</sup> STV have “smooth.”

<sup>68</sup> S has “lying down”; T has “compound.”

<sup>69</sup> STV have “pacified.”

<sup>70</sup> O adds in the margin two otherwise unattested words: “and quiet and at peace.”



7 1 Then Zacchaeus the scribe, astounded and amazed<sup>71</sup> at all the names which he named and the greatness of the speech, cried out and said, “You<sup>72</sup> have brought this matter<sup>73</sup> on me.

2 “Take him away from me, I beseech you. It is not right for him to be on the earth; truly he is worthy of a great cross.<sup>74</sup> He is able even to set fire on fire. And I think that he was born before the flood of Noah. What womb bore him? Or what mother reared him? I cannot bear <him>. He is killing me.<sup>75</sup> I am out of

---

<sup>71</sup> ST have “amazed and astounded.”

<sup>72</sup> ST precede “you” with “Oh!” and V with “Behold!”

<sup>73</sup> “Matter” (ܦܘܩܘܢܐ) is either a Greek loanword (from *πράγμα*) or a corruption of the more well-attested ܦܘܩܘܢܐ (as in A).

<sup>74</sup> V has the synonym ܦܘܩܘܢܐ.

<sup>75</sup> “He is killing me” (ܕܗܘܘܢܐ ܕܘܚܘܢܐ) appears to be a corruption of “I am in a stupor” (ܕܗܘܘܢܐ ܕܘܚܘܢܐ, cf. Sa).



17 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת-קוֹל הַבְּתוּלָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה  
 וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה  
 2 וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה  
 5 וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה  
 וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה  
 וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה וְהָיָה אֲנִי לְבָרָה

---

a(=ABCDEFG) b(=HIJKLO) c(=STV)  
 7, 1 אָנֹכִי (אָנֹכִי HIL) אָנֹכִי (אָנֹכִי ABCGL) אָנֹכִי — וְ  
 rel. : אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי (אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי E) אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי EF וְ  
 אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי ST  
 2 אָנֹכִי rel. : אָנֹכִי E אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי rel. : אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי K אָנֹכִי  
 אָנֹכִי V אָנֹכִי J : אָנֹכִי rel. ante אָנֹכִי add. אָנֹכִי ST, add. אָנֹכִי  
 V  
 3 אָנֹכִי : sup. lin. D אָנֹכִי (אָנֹכִי A) אָנֹכִי rel. : אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי O  
 אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי ST אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי V  
 4 אָנֹכִי rel. : אָנֹכִי D אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי ST אָנֹכִי rel. : אָנֹכִי  
 אָנֹכִי V אָנֹכִי rel. : om. H אָנֹכִי rel. (cf. Sa Se) : אָנֹכִי ABE אָנֹכִי rel. (cf.  
 Sa Se) : om. AB 4-5 אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי a (cf. Sa Se) : אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי  
 אָנֹכִי b אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי ST אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי  
 אָנֹכִי V  
 5 pr. אָנֹכִי rel. (cf. Sa Se) : אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי ST om. ABCD אָנֹכִי rel. :  
 אָנֹכִי V אָנֹכִי rel. : אָנֹכִי E  
 6 אָנֹכִי (cf. Sa Se) rel. : אָנֹכִי D om. AB אָנֹכִי : sup. lin. K  
 אָנֹכִי rel. : אָנֹכִי F  
 7 post pr. אָנֹכִי add. אָנֹכִי c post אָנֹכִי add. אָנֹכִי V אָנֹכִי rel. :  
 אָנֹכִי ST אָנֹכִי V אָנֹכִי L אָנֹכִי rel. : om. K אָנֹכִי  
 אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי Db (cf. Sa Se) : אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי ABCEG אָנֹכִי  
 אָנֹכִי F אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי c  
 8 pr. אָנֹכִי rel. : אָנֹכִי B אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי FGJV : אָנֹכִי ABCDHP<sup>c</sup>IKLOS<sup>p</sup>T  
 אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי E אָנֹכִי H<sup>ac</sup> אָנֹכִי S<sup>ac</sup> 8-9 אָנֹכִי — alt. אָנֹכִי  
 : אָנֹכִי (add. אָנֹכִי אָנֹכִי in marg.) K om. H 8 אָנֹכִי  
 rel. : אָנֹכִי F אָנֹכִי rel. : אָנֹכִי E

my mind. I was mistaken;<sup>76</sup> I thought I had acquired a student, and I found that I had acquired a teacher.<sup>77</sup>

3 “O my friends! I cannot endure. I am fleeing from this village; I cannot look upon him. By a little child I, an old man, am defeated. But what can I say? How,<sup>78</sup> even from the beginning, I was understanding what he was saying?<sup>79</sup> Have mercy on me! I am dying! My soul is taken<sup>80</sup> from before my eyes by reason of the order of his voice and the beauty of his words.

4 “He is something great—either a god, or an angel, or what I should say I do not know.”

---

<sup>76</sup> H lacks “I am out of my mind. I was mistaken.”

<sup>77</sup> The entire sentence in ST reads “I was mistaken to think that he was a student; I have acquired a teacher”; V has “I was mistaken to think that I had acquired a student; and I found that I have acquired a teacher.”

<sup>78</sup> CEFG and c have “where?”

<sup>79</sup> HIJLO have “what this child said.” The sentence seems to be lacking the negative (cf. Sa).

<sup>80</sup> “Taken” is likely a corruption of “clearly” (cf. Sa) and perhaps originally modified “dying” in the previous sentence.



**8 1** Then Jesus laughed and said, “Let those in whom there is no fruit produce fruit trees; and let the blind<sup>81</sup> see the living<sup>82</sup> fruit of judgment.

**2** “And let those who had fallen under the curse rise.”<sup>83</sup> No one was daring to anger him.

**9 1** Again one other time, on the day of the Sabbath, Jesus was playing with children on a roof. One of the children fell<sup>84</sup> and died. When those other children saw (what had happened), they ran away,<sup>85</sup> and Jesus was found alone.<sup>86</sup>

**2** The parents of the one who was dead saw him and said to him, “You made the boy fall.” And Jesus said, “I did not make him fall.” They were accusing him.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> H lacks “the blind.”

<sup>82</sup> Gb lack “living.”

<sup>83</sup> In Sw this sentence is part of Jesus’ restoration formula, rather than a description of the formula’s results.

<sup>84</sup> STV add “from the roof.”

<sup>85</sup> ST add “and they hid.”

<sup>86</sup> ST add “there”; V adds “with the one who was dead.”

<sup>87</sup> V adds “and they said: ‘You threw him down.’”



3 Then Jesus came down to the one who was dead<sup>88</sup> and said in a loud voice, “Zeno, Zeno,<sup>89</sup> did I make you fall?” Immediately, the one dead leaped up and stood.<sup>90</sup> He answered and said, “No, my Lord,<sup>91</sup> you did not make me fall, rather so-and-so made me fall.”<sup>92</sup>

4 All of those who were there were astounded. Even the parents of the dead one were praising God for this wonder<sup>93</sup> that had happened.

11 1 Again, when Jesus was about seven years old, his mother sent him to draw water. And in the press of the people,<sup>94</sup> his pitcher was struck and was broken.

2 Then Jesus spread out his cloak<sup>95</sup> and he collected and brought (home)

---

<sup>88</sup> EF appear to suffer from dittography, repeating words from the previous verse: “Then Jesus came down alone and the family of the one who was dead saw him.”

<sup>89</sup> The majority of the MSS have Zeno’s name twice, as in the Sa MSS QPN; only AB follow WG with the single name. Sa, and all other sources for this tale, then add “(for thus was his name).”

<sup>90</sup> ST have “Immediately, the one dead, leaping up, stood.”

<sup>91</sup> SV repeat “No, my Lord.”

<sup>92</sup> For “so-and-so” the MSS read “N. son of N.” A similar reading is found in *Arab Gos. Inf.* (ed. Sike) 44 (“Lord, you did not cast me down; but such a one pushed me off”).

<sup>93</sup> ST omit “wonder.”

<sup>94</sup> ST have the “the press of the crowds of people” (see similarly Sa).

<sup>95</sup> EF use “hood,” the same word occurs in Sa MSS PMN. O adds in the margin “the hood that was covering him,” a reading found also in Sa (though WGQ have “cloak”).



that water in his hood—that is to say, his *sticharion*.<sup>96</sup> When his mother Mary saw, she was amazed<sup>97</sup> and she was keeping in her heart everything she was seeing.<sup>98</sup>

**12 1** Once again, when he was playing, Jesus sowed one measure of wheat.<sup>99</sup>

**2** And he harvested<sup>100</sup> 100 cors and gave them to the people of the village.

**13 1** When Jesus was eight years old, his father<sup>101</sup> Joseph was a carpenter and made nothing other than ploughs and yokes.<sup>102</sup> A man had ordered from him a bed of six cubits.<sup>103</sup> One plank did not have

---

<sup>96</sup> The reading “in his hood—that is to say, in his *sticharion*” is absent in STV, though V has “in his cloak.” The reading is absent also in the Sa MSS WG and Se, but seems to be original to the Sw recension. A *sticharion* is the liturgical vestments in eastern churches. O expands the reading to “...that water that had scattered from his pitcher. He poured it in his cloak—that is to say, in his *sticharion*. And the boy came home.” A similar longer reading is found in Sa MSS PMN. It is not clear how O obtained this reading—does O alone preserve words also added to PMN? or has there been some corruption in O from a MS similar to PMN?

<sup>97</sup> D ends the chapter here, likely due to homoeoarcton.

<sup>98</sup> V adds “that he was doing.”

<sup>99</sup> Group a and V read “sowed a seed (of) one measure of wheat” (cf. Sa MS Q); ST have “he sowed seed, and he sowed a measure of wheat.”

<sup>100</sup> CST add “from it” (cf. Sa QPN).

<sup>101</sup> Several witnesses, like Sa and Se, lack “his father.”

<sup>102</sup> ST (and V, though with corruption) add “and beds.”

<sup>103</sup> G adds “of its length.”



5 לַתְּלַמְּדֵם מִלְּמַדְתֶּם וְעַתָּה מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְתֶּם מִיְּהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
\* הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

112 וְעַתָּה מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְתֶּם מִיְּהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

2 וְעַתָּה מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְתֶּם מִיְּהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

113 וְעַתָּה מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְתֶּם מִיְּהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה  
הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה

---

a(=ABCDEFG) b(=HIJKLO) c(=STV)  
5 מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְתֶּם rel. : מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה אֲשֶׁר לָקַחְתֶּם  
הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה O (cf. Sa  
PMN) הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה V om. ST מְלַמְּדֵם rel. : om. H הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה rel. (cf. Sa) :  
הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה E מְלַמְּדֵם ST  
6 מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה rel. : מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה E pr. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה rel. : om. HIJKL מְלַמְּדֵם  
tert. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה — : om. D (homoeoarc.) הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְכַתּוּב הַזֶּה rel. : exp. G post  
alt. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה add. הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה V.  
12, 1 post מְלַמְּדֵם add. מְלַמְּדֵם ST הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה rel. : om. ABJ מְלַמְּדֵם post הַיּוֹם  
transp. ST הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה b (cf. Sa Se) : מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה aV (cf. Sa Q) מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה  
מְלַמְּדֵם ST מְלַמְּדֵם rel. : מְלַמְּדֵם E מְלַמְּדֵם B מְלַמְּדֵם A מְלַמְּדֵם O  
3 post מְלַמְּדֵם add. מְלַמְּדֵם O, add. מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם ST, add. מְלַמְּדֵם C (cf. Sa  
QPN) מְלַמְּדֵם rel. (add. in marg. C) (cf. Sa Se) : מְלַמְּדֵם DO מְלַמְּדֵם AB  
מְלַמְּדֵם rel. : מְלַמְּדֵם I מְלַמְּדֵם rel. : מְלַמְּדֵם ST מְלַמְּדֵם E.  
13, 1 מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה rel. : מְלַמְּדֵם אֵת הַתּוֹרָה (הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה F) מְלַמְּדֵם  
מְלַמְּדֵם EFST מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם b מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם rel. (cf. Sa) : מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם  
HIL מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם KO מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם D מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם E  
מְלַמְּדֵם rel. : מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם EFH מְלַמְּדֵם c (cf. Sa Se)  
2 מְלַמְּדֵם — מְלַמְּדֵם : exp. non legitur et add. in marg. G post מְלַמְּדֵם  
add. מְלַמְּדֵם V post מְלַמְּדֵם add. מְלַמְּדֵם ST, add. מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם V  
3 מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם rel. : מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם AB מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם C מְלַמְּדֵם K  
מְלַמְּדֵם rel. : transp. JV מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם CGHJ : מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם AIT  
מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם B מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם D מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם E מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם F  
מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם KO מְלַמְּדֵם מְלַמְּדֵם LSV post מְלַמְּדֵם add. מְלַמְּדֵם G  
מְלַמְּדֵם rel. : om. E post alt. מְלַמְּדֵם add. מְלַמְּדֵם V

the (proper) measure of length,<sup>104</sup> for it was shorter than the other.<sup>105</sup>

2 When Jesus took the wood, he made it equal with its other.<sup>106</sup> Jesus said to Joseph, “Do now<sup>107</sup> what you wish.”

**14 1** When Joseph saw his intelligence, he wished to teach him writing and brought him to a scribe. The scribe answered<sup>108</sup> and said to him, “Say Aleph.” And Jesus said <it>.<sup>109</sup> Again, he added that he should say Beta.<sup>110</sup>

2 Jesus said to him, “Tell me first what Aleph<sup>111</sup> is and then

---

<sup>104</sup> O shares the reading in Sa: “[proper] measure on one side.”

<sup>105</sup> O adds here: “And the boy Jesus said to his father: ‘Take hold of the end of the one shorter than the other.’”

<sup>106</sup> O has the longer reading from Sa: “Jesus took the measure of the wood and pulled and stretched the wood and made it equal with its other.”

<sup>107</sup> ST omit “now.” V alone has “henceforth,” found also in Sa.

<sup>108</sup> “Answered and said” is found also in Sa MSS PN. It is absent in F, likely due to homoeoteleuton.

<sup>109</sup> Only J provides an object here (Aleph); Aleph/Alpha is found also in Sa MSS QPN. ST appear corrupt, reading “and he Jesus” (or “and Jesus was”).

<sup>110</sup> The b MSS have “Again, he added and said, ‘Say Beta.’” Unlike Sa, but like Se, the requested letter is now in Greek, not Hebrew.

<sup>111</sup> The majority of the MSS have “Alpha”; “Aleph” is chosen as it is found in Sa and is consistent with 14.2.



I will tell you what Beta is.” The scribe was furious and struck him,<sup>112</sup> and immediately (the scribe) fell down and died.

3 The boy Jesus went back to his family.<sup>113</sup> Joseph called Mary and said to her, “Look, do not permit him to go out, so that those who strike him will not die.”

15 1 But again, another scribe said to Joseph, “Hand him over to me. I will teach him by flattery.”<sup>114</sup>

2 Jesus went to the scribe. He took a scroll and was reading,<sup>115</sup> not what was written on the scroll,<sup>116</sup> but he opened his mouth and spoke in the Holy Spirit,<sup>117</sup> and that scribe had fallen on the ground<sup>118</sup> and was beseeching him

---

<sup>112</sup> ST here read: “When Jesus said this, the scribe became angry and opposed him and struck him.”

<sup>113</sup> V has “to his father.”

<sup>114</sup> V adds “and encouragements.”

<sup>115</sup> E lacks “and was reading” up to “scroll,” likely due to homoeoteleuton.

<sup>116</sup> O adds “before him”; ST have “and he was not reading what was written before him”; V has “for he was not reading what was written.”

<sup>117</sup> The b MSS lack “Holy” (cf. Sa). ST have “spoke thus in the ancient spirit.” The abbreviation in CV makes it difficult to determine what word is intended.

<sup>118</sup> F has “had fallen at his feet (on the) ground.”



to learn from him. Great crowds came and gathered<sup>119</sup> and stood there.<sup>120</sup> Jesus opened his mouth and was speaking, so that all who were listening to him would be astounded and amazed.<sup>121</sup>

3 When Joseph heard, he ran<sup>122</sup> and came<sup>123</sup> and took the boy because he was afraid lest the scribe also would<sup>124</sup> die. The scribe said to Joseph, “You have delivered to me not a student but a master and a teacher.”<sup>125</sup>

4 Joseph took Jesus and brought him back to his home.

16 1 Again, Joseph sent his son James to gather sticks.<sup>126</sup> A deadly viper bit James on the hand.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> V lacks “and gathered.”

<sup>120</sup> ST add “with him.”

<sup>121</sup> ST is somewhat garbled: “and those (people) were astounded at all who were listening to him.”

<sup>122</sup> E lacks “ran.”

<sup>123</sup> ST lack “and came.”

<sup>124</sup> ST add “strike him and”; a similar reading is found in Se.

<sup>125</sup> ST have only “teacher”; V has only “master.”

<sup>126</sup> Ab have “to cut down sticks,” a reading shared with Sa MSS PMN. O then adds “Jesus also went with him,” a reading perhaps taken over from contact with Sa.

<sup>127</sup> This short reading is found in the majority of the a and b groups of MSS, with a slight variation in AB due to the substitution of “wicked” for “deadly” (see also V and the note in Sa). O once again follows Sa with: “While they were gathering sticks, a viper bit James hard on the hand.” ST have: “A viper came out from the sticks and it had bitten James hard on the right hand.” V has: “A wicked viper bit James on the hand.”



2 When he came near to Jesus,<sup>128</sup> he blew on it. And it was healed,<sup>129</sup> the viper died, and James lived.

**19 1** When Jesus was twelve years old, he had gone to Jerusalem, as it was custom for Joseph and Mary to go to the festival of Passover.<sup>130</sup> When they had turned<sup>131</sup> to come <home>, Jesus remained in Jerusalem. Joseph and Mary did not know<sup>132</sup> that he stayed behind there, but they thought that he was with their companions.<sup>133</sup>

2 When they came to the road of the day, they were seeking him among their kinsfolk.<sup>134</sup> They did not find him and they turned back to Jerusalem and were seeking him. Then, after three days, they found him in the temple, sitting among

---

<sup>128</sup> Likely it should read “when Jesus came near to him” as in Sa.

<sup>129</sup> H and V have “and his (V=James’s) hand was healed.”

<sup>130</sup> Sa and Se (as well as Old Syr. Luke and the versions) follow with “When they had made Passover, they returned to their home.”

<sup>131</sup> The b MSS have “returned,” reflecting the verb used in the missing sentence.

<sup>132</sup> STV have “neither Joseph nor Mary knew” (cf. Sa). Sw’s use of “stay behind” (ⲧⲁ) reflects Old Syr. Luke 2:43 and has a parallel in Sa MSS PN.

<sup>133</sup> ST and L have “that he went with their companions.”

<sup>134</sup> STV add “and among those who knew them,” a reading found in Sa, Se, and Old Syr. Lk.



2. חֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה  
\* חֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה

119. חֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה  
חֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה  
: חֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה  
חֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה  
5 חֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה  
2 חֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה  
חֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה  
חֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה וְחֲבֵרָה

---

a(=ABCDEFG) b(=HIJKLO) c(=STV)  
3. חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה F חֲבֵרָה ac : חֲבֵרָה O (cf. Sa)  
חֲבֵרָה IJK חֲבֵרָה HL ab : חֲבֵרָה ST (cf. Sa) חֲבֵרָה V  
חֲבֵרָה rel. (cf. Sa) : חֲבֵרָה L חֲבֵרָה HV 3-4  
חֲבֵרָה — חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה ST  
חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה V.  
19, 1 חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה ABCG חֲבֵרָה V חֲבֵרָה  
rel. : חֲבֵרָה D חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה G חֲבֵרָה HIJKO חֲבֵרָה L חֲבֵרָה  
חֲבֵרָה T חֲבֵרָה SV  
2 חֲבֵרָה post חֲבֵרָה transp. c חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה ST  
חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה ABFGKV  
3 חֲבֵרָה ac : חֲבֵרָה (חֲבֵרָה I) חֲבֵרָה b (cf. Sa Se) חֲבֵרָה rel. : om. H  
4 חֲבֵרָה — חֲבֵרָה ab (cf. OSLk 2:43 et Sa PN) : חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה  
חֲבֵרָה c (cf. Sa) חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה IJKLO חֲבֵרָה V חֲבֵרָה ac (cf.  
Se) : om. b (cf. Sa) חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה J  
5 חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה LST  
6 חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה GV חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה V חֲבֵרָה : in. marg. K  
post חֲבֵרָה add. חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה c (cf. Sa Se)  
7 חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה OST חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה  
CDGHIJKL חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה O חֲבֵרָה E<sup>ac</sup> חֲבֵרָה rel. : om. ST  
חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה HIJKL  
8 חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה, חֲבֵרָה ABL חֲבֵרָה O חֲבֵרָה ST חֲבֵרָה V  
חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה EF חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה D חֲבֵרָה  
חֲבֵרָה HJ חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה L חֲבֵרָה חֲבֵרָה V חֲבֵרָה rel. :  
חֲבֵרָה F חֲבֵרָה rel. : חֲבֵרָה CEGOc (cf. Sa MN) חֲבֵרָה rel. (et add.  
sup. lin. O) (cf. Sa Se) : חֲבֵרָה OST

the teachers, and listening to them and questioning them. All those hearing were amazed at him, because he was silencing the elders and teachers<sup>135</sup> of the people, for he was expounding to them the parables of the prophets and the allegories of the law.

3 His mother said to him, “My son,<sup>136</sup> why have you done this to us so? We were distressed and agitated<sup>137</sup> and we were searching for you.”<sup>138</sup> Jesus answered and said to them,<sup>139</sup> “Why are you searching for me? Do you not know that it is fitting for me to be among these of my father’s house?”<sup>140</sup>

4 The scribes<sup>141</sup> answered and said to Mary, “Are you the mother

---

<sup>135</sup> “Elders and teachers” is found also in Sa MSS PMN. The a MSS and ST have “scribes and elders”; V has “scribes and elders and teachers.”

<sup>136</sup> H and J lack “my son.”

<sup>137</sup> STV have “agitated and distressed.”

<sup>138</sup> V has only “concerning you.”

<sup>139</sup> ST have “to her”; F and V do not provide an object.

<sup>140</sup> V finishes with “to be and also among the things of my father.”

<sup>141</sup> V adds “and teachers.”



of this boy?<sup>142</sup> The Lord has blessed you in your fruit; such glory and wisdom<sup>143</sup> we have neither seen nor heard in children.”<sup>144</sup>

5 He rose, went with them, and was obedient to his parents.<sup>145</sup> But his mother was keeping all these words in her heart. Jesus was excelling and growing in stature and wisdom and grace before God and before men.<sup>146</sup>

**(Here) ends book four.**<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>142</sup> ST have “of this little boy Jesus.”

<sup>143</sup> STV have “such glorious affection”; the b MSS have only “such wisdom.”

<sup>144</sup> H lacks “in children”; EF are somewhat garbled: “in a child he has not seen you nor have we seen.”

<sup>145</sup> ST add “and listened to them.”

<sup>146</sup> V has only “stature and wisdom.”

<sup>147</sup> D has “book three.” Many of the MSS append additional details here (“concerning the childhood of the Lord,” etc.) recalling their respective incipits.



**The History of our Blessed Lady Mary,  
the Mother of Christ.**

**(6 1)**<sup>1</sup> When Jesus was five years old<sup>2</sup> Joseph brought him to the schools to Zacchaeus the teacher.

**(6 2f)** Zacchaeus the scribe began to say to him in Greek,<sup>3</sup> “Alpha, Beta.”<sup>4</sup> Many times he told him. Then he recounted all the characters of the alphabet. And he said to him that he should answer and speak after him, but he was silent. And the scribe was furious and struck the boy. Immediately, the scribe died,<sup>5</sup> and Joseph came and took the boy.

**(4 1)** When he was on the road, a boy (was) running and struck him<sup>6</sup> on his shoulder.<sup>7</sup> Jesus said to him, “You shall not turn back from your way.” And suddenly that boy fell down and died. Those who saw him cried out and said, “Whence<sup>8</sup> was this boy born<sup>9</sup> that all his words are a deed?”

**(4 2)** They came to Joseph and said to him, “Since you have this boy, you cannot dwell with us in the village; or teach him to bless.”

**(5 1)** Joseph approached the boy and was lecturing him and saying, “Why do you do these things? Why do you say these things?”

---

<sup>1</sup> Se casts much of the IGT material in a series of visits to teachers. This leads to the occasional repetition of some verses, including these two from ch. 6.

<sup>2</sup> DMN have seven. He is normally five in IGT at this point (see 2:1). Seven is the age also that is indicated at the start of the story immediately after the IGT material (see Budge, p. 70 [Eng. p. 76]).

<sup>3</sup> A lacks “in Greek.” This curious feature sees a partial parallel in Ga/Gd 14:1: “The master said to Joseph, ‘What letters do you wish that I teach him?’ And Joseph said, ‘First the Greek, then the Hebrew.’”

<sup>4</sup> MN stop here and resume after “alphabet” (Alpha Beta), perhaps due to homoeoteleuton. In place of this material, A has only “That is, Aleph Beth.”

<sup>5</sup> The wording and the contents of these two sentences more closely follows the curse on the second teacher in Sa/Se 14:2.

<sup>6</sup> In D the verb is “to commit adultery,” which may result from corruption of the verb ܐܘܢܝܢ found in MNA.

<sup>7</sup> A reads “with rocks” (ܘܥܘܩܒܐ).

<sup>8</sup> NA have “when.”

<sup>9</sup> N and A end here, resuming at 6:2a.



These (people) harm<sup>10</sup> and hate and are not good to us.”<sup>11</sup> And the boy said, “If the words of my father were not wise, he would not know (how) to instruct children. And if these were not bastards,<sup>12</sup> they would not be receiving curses.”<sup>13</sup>

**(5 2)** Joseph became angry and took hold of him by his hand<sup>14</sup> and pulled it.

**(5 3)** Jesus answered and said to him, “It is enough for you that you should be commanding me. I understand you;<sup>15</sup> but you have done these things ignorantly.”

**(6 1)** A teacher heard Jesus speaking with Joseph <and said>,<sup>16</sup> “O stubborn<sup>17</sup> boy!”

**(6 2)** He said to Joseph, “How long now will you not wish to hand over this boy so that he may learn to delight in children his age, to honor an old man and to be in awe of elders, in order that the children’s love may be with him?”<sup>18</sup>

**(6 2a)** Joseph said to him, “Who is able to instruct a boy like this?”<sup>19</sup>

**(6 2b)** The child answered and said to the teacher, “These words that you have now spoken and the names that you name,<sup>20</sup> I am a stranger<sup>21</sup> to them. For I am from outside of you, yet I am with you and among you.<sup>22</sup> Honor of the flesh I have not.

---

<sup>10</sup> This verb is unique to Se, and may be due to corruption. Sa MS W also suffers from corruption (ܡܢܗܘܢܘܢ).

<sup>11</sup> Sa and Sw have “these (people) suffer and hate you (Sa: us).” Se focuses more on the reaction of the people to Jesus than on the pain inflicted upon them by Jesus.

<sup>12</sup> Sa and Sw have “if these were children of the bedchamber” (see Sa n. 45).

<sup>13</sup> In Sa, Sw, and other versions, Jesus then blinds his accusers.

<sup>14</sup> “Hand” is found in other Sa and Sw MSS, but the original reading appears to be “ear,” as in Gs, Geo, and Eth.

<sup>15</sup> Sa and Sw have “and finding me,” which is consistent with other versions.

<sup>16</sup> The verb is missing in the MS.

<sup>17</sup> “Stubborn” is found also in Sa MSS PMN and Q and Sw MS K.

<sup>18</sup> Sa and Sw add: “and that he may teach them.”

<sup>19</sup> Sa and Sw continue with: “Do you think he is equal to a small cross?”

<sup>20</sup> MNA have “the sound that I heard.”

<sup>21</sup> DMN have “you are a stranger.”

<sup>22</sup> N lacks much of this sentence due to homoeoteleuton.





You (live) by the law and by the law<sup>23</sup> you remain. For before your father<sup>24</sup> was born, I was. But you think that you are my father.<sup>25</sup> For you do not know where you were born nor where you came from. But I alone know you truly—when you were born and how much time you have to remain in this world.”

**(6 2c)** When they heard (these words), they were astounded.<sup>26</sup>

**(14 1)** Again, another scribe said to Joseph, “Hand him over to me and I will teach him.” The scribe began to teach him and said to him, “Alpha.” And Jesus said, “Alpha.” The scribe said, “Beta.”<sup>27</sup>

**(14 2)** Jesus said to him, “Tell me<sup>28</sup> what Alpha is and I will<sup>29</sup> tell you what Beta is.” That scribe was furious and struck him,<sup>30</sup> and immediately (the scribe) fell down and<sup>31</sup> died.

**(14 3)** The boy went back to his family. Joseph called his mother Mary<sup>32</sup> and said to her, “Do not let the boy go out from inside the house, so that those who strike him will not die.”

---

<sup>23</sup> MN lack “by the law.”

<sup>24</sup> Other sources have “you.”

<sup>25</sup> Other sources add: “You shall learn from me that teaching which no-one else knows nor is able to teach. And that cross of which you spoke, he whose it is shall bear it. For when I am greatly exalted I shall lay aside that which is mixed in your race” (as in Sa but with agreement in other sources).

<sup>26</sup> MNA have “astounded and alarmed.” Sa and Sw continue here with words of the witnesses.

<sup>27</sup> The use of the Greek letters here is curious, though it is seen in Se 6:2f (above) but not in 6:3 (below). The Sa and Sw MSS vary in their use of Greek and Hebrew letters.

<sup>28</sup> MNA lack “tell me.”

<sup>29</sup> D has the plural verb.

<sup>30</sup> D has “Jesus.”

<sup>31</sup> MN inserts “the scribe”; A “that scribe.”

<sup>32</sup> D lacks “his mother,” but the reading is supported in Sa.



**(15 1)** But another scribe said<sup>33</sup> to Joseph,<sup>34</sup> “Hand him over to me and I will teach him by flattery.”

**(15 2)** He brought him again to the school.<sup>35</sup> He took a scroll and was reading, not what was written, but he opened his mouth and spoke<sup>36</sup> in the Holy Spirit<sup>37</sup> so that that scribe, when he heard, went down<sup>38</sup> and sat with him on the ground. Astonishment and wonder took hold of him because of what he heard from the boy. Great crowds were gathered there. Jesus thus<sup>39</sup> opened his mouth and was speaking, so that all of them<sup>40</sup> might be astounded and amazed.

**(15 3)** When Joseph heard,<sup>41</sup> he ran and came because he was afraid lest this scribe also would strike Jesus and die. The scribe said<sup>42</sup> to Joseph, “You<sup>43</sup> have delivered<sup>44</sup> to me not a student but a master and a teacher.”<sup>45</sup>

**(15 4)** Joseph took<sup>46</sup> the boy<sup>47</sup> and brought him back to his home.

**(16 1)** Again, Joseph sent the boy and James his son to the vineyard. While they were walking a deadly viper bit James.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> D has the verb in the plural.

<sup>34</sup> MNA lack “to Joseph.”

<sup>35</sup> A has “to a scribe” (cf. Sw).

<sup>36</sup> D adds “harshly.”

<sup>37</sup> A has only “spirit.”

<sup>38</sup> D has the plural verb.

<sup>39</sup> MNA lack “thus.”

<sup>40</sup> MNA have “they.”

<sup>41</sup> “When he heard” is absent in MNA.

<sup>42</sup> D has the plural.

<sup>43</sup> MNA have “I.”

<sup>44</sup> MN have “you brought.”

<sup>45</sup> “Master and a teacher” is found also in Sw.

<sup>46</sup> D has the corrupt **ܡܝܘܢܐ**.

<sup>47</sup> MNA have “him.”

<sup>48</sup> For “deadly,” MN have “wicked” (**ܪܫܝܥܐ**), found in some Sa and Sw MSS.



**(16 2)** Jesus came near and blew on that bite. And it was healed, the viper died, and James lived.<sup>49</sup>

**(19 1)** Again, Joseph and Mary went to Jerusalem, as it was their custom to go to the festival of Passover. When they completed Passover, they turned back to their home, but Jesus remained in Jerusalem. Joseph and Mary did not know (it); they thought to themselves that he was with their companions.

**(19 2)** When they came to the meeting-place for the evening, they were seeking him among their kinsfolk and among those who knew them. They did not find him <and> they turned back to Jerusalem and were seeking him. After three days they found him in the temple, sitting among the teachers.<sup>50</sup>

**(6 3)** And one of them said to him,<sup>51</sup> “Aleph.” And Jesus said,<sup>52</sup> “Aleph.” And the teacher said to him, “Beth.” Jesus says to him: “Tell me<sup>53</sup> the explanation of the Aleph, so that<sup>54</sup> I will tell you the explanation of<sup>55</sup> the Beth.” The teacher says to him, “I do not know.” Jesus answered and said<sup>56</sup> to them, “Those who do not know the Aleph, how do they teach the Beth<sup>57</sup>? Hypocrites! First teach what is Aleph and then I will believe you concerning the Beth.”

---

<sup>49</sup> A reads “was healed and lived.”

<sup>50</sup> D has the singular “teacher” here. MNA resume at this point though with this sentence rewritten to form a transition from ch. 16: “And again on a certain day, Jesus was sitting in the temple in the midst of the doctors.”

<sup>51</sup> MNA have “to Jesus.”

<sup>52</sup> D has the plural “they said.”

<sup>53</sup> MNA lack “tell me.”

<sup>54</sup> A has “and I.”

<sup>55</sup> D lacks “the explanation of.”

<sup>56</sup> A has only “Jesus said.”

<sup>57</sup> A reads “How can those who do not know Aleph Beth (or, the alphabet) teach?”

(2 16) אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ מִי הוּא הַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלִי וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵינוּ.  
 (1 19) הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי  
 אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ.  
 (2 19) הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ.  
 (3 6) הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ.  
 (3 6) הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ.  
 (3 6) הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ  
 וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ. הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע  
 אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ וְיִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

---

DMNA  
 66 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ A (cf. Sa) : DMN אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ (cf. Sw) D (cf. Sa Sw) : om.  
 MNA הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ MNA (cf. Sa Sw) : הַיְהוָה יִשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹלֵנוּ רִשְׁמִי D (cf.  
 Sa MSS PN)  
 67 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ D : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ MN אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ A  
 68-75 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ — אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ D : om. MNA  
 75-76 [אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ cod.] אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ — אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ D : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ M<sup>ac</sup> אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ M<sup>pe</sup>NA  
 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ (A) : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ MN  
 77 post אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ add. אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ MNA alt. אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ A : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ MN  
 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ D  
 78 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ D : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ MNA אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ D (cf. lin. 46) : om. MNA  
 79 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ DMN : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ A אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ MNA : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ D  
 80 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ DA : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ MN אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ — אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ DMN : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ A  
 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ A 80-81 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ — אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ DMN : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ A  
 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ A  
 81 אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ DMN (cf. Sw) : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ A אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ MNA (cf. Sa Sw) : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ  
 D אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ scripsi (cf. Sw) : אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ D אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ MN  
 MN אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ A

**(6 4)** The boy began to question the scribes concerning the form of each of the characters. Concerning the first, why it has angles and sides pointed and projected<sup>58</sup> and extended; their summits gathered<sup>59</sup> together and ornamented and squared and hidden;<sup>60</sup> and their sides erect and transformed and folded over and bent, and fixed in a triangle.

**(7 1)** Then the scribe was astounded and he reeled<sup>61</sup> at the words of the boy, at the names which he named, and at the greatness of the power concealed in his questioning. He<sup>62</sup> cried out and said:

**(7 2)** “Oh oh, it is not right for him to be on this earth. Truly he is able even to set fire on fire. I think<sup>63</sup> that he was born before the flood of Noah. What womb bore<sup>64</sup> him? Or what mother reared him? We cannot bear it.<sup>65</sup> We thought a student had come to us, and he is found (to be) a teacher.”<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> MN transpose “pointed and projected”; A has “joined and pointed.”

<sup>59</sup> MNA transpose “extended” and “gathered together.”

<sup>60</sup> For “squared and hidden,” D has only “curved” (cf. Sa MS Q).

<sup>61</sup> D has “was astonished and shaken.” MN has the plural “scribes” and the attendant plural verbs.

<sup>62</sup> MNA have “they.”

<sup>63</sup> MNA again have the plural: “we think.”

<sup>64</sup> D has the synonym **ܥܘܢܐ**, found also in Sw. A has “received.”

<sup>65</sup> A lacks the object.

<sup>66</sup> For these last two sentences all Se MSS use the plural, though Sa and Sw have the singular.





**(6 2e)** Jesus said to them, “You are amazed at my smallness; and you are smaller than me in your minds.”

**(7 3)** And that scribe<sup>67</sup> said,<sup>68</sup> “He wished<sup>69</sup> <me> to instruct him. O my friends!<sup>70</sup> I cannot bear it. I am fleeing from the village. I cannot look upon him. By a little child I, an old man, am defeated.<sup>71</sup> And what can I who was defeated say?<sup>72</sup> How, even from the beginning, I did not<sup>73</sup> know a thing he was saying? My soul is lost from the order of his voice and from the beauty of his words.

**(7 4)** “He is something great—either a god or an angel, or what I should say of him I do not know.”<sup>74</sup>

**(6 2e)** Then the boy Jesus laughed and said to them, laughing, “I laugh at you.”<sup>75</sup>

**(11 1)** Again, his mother sent Jesus<sup>76</sup> to draw water. On account of the press of many people, his pitcher struck (against something) and was broken.

---

<sup>67</sup> MNA have “that first scribe.”

<sup>68</sup> D erroneously has the plural verb.

<sup>69</sup> MNA have “beseeched.”

<sup>70</sup> “My friends” can also be translated “my bowels” (Budge).

<sup>71</sup> Omissions in MNA transform the two sentences into: “I cannot look upon the little child. I am defeated.”

<sup>72</sup> MNA lack this question.

<sup>73</sup> MNA lack “not” though Budge introduces it in his translation.

<sup>74</sup> D ends the sentence at “angel.”

<sup>75</sup> Though this verse begins similarly to Sa/Sw 8.1, Jesus’ words make it more likely that this section is derived from the second half of 6:2e.

<sup>76</sup> MNA add “to the well.”



**(11 2)** Then Jesus spread out<sup>77</sup> the cloak<sup>78</sup> that was covering<sup>79</sup> him and collected that water. And he carried it to his mother. Mary was amazed at this, and she was keeping <it> in her heart.

**(13 1)** Joseph was a carpenter<sup>80</sup> and he wished to make a bed. One of the planks of the bed was smaller in measure than the other. Jesus took hold by the one end and said to Joseph, “You take that other end.”

**(13 2)** Jesus pulled it and made it equal with the other. He said to Joseph, “Do now what you wish.”

**(12 1)** Once again<sup>81</sup> he was going and he sowed one measure of wheat.

**(12 2)** And it yielded 100 hundred cors of wheat and he gave them to the inhabitants of the village.

---

<sup>77</sup> Budge’s edition misprints the verb as “separate” (ܘܢܝܘܩ), but his English translation correctly has “spread.”

<sup>78</sup> For “cloak,” D has “mandylion.”

<sup>79</sup> D has “which was expected” (due to spoonerism).

<sup>80</sup> Se lacks here any mention of Jesus’ age. Other witnesses indicate that Jesus is eight years old at the time of this story.

<sup>81</sup> D has only “again.”





## APPENDIX: ARABIC INFANCY GOSPEL OF THOMAS

A new critical edition and translation by Slavomír Čéplö

The Arabic version of IGT is found in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, G 11 sup (fols. 145<sup>r</sup>–153<sup>v</sup>). The Arabic text was published by Sergio Noja in 1991, preceded by an English translation 1990. The text is presented here without any corrections, so as to allow those interested in the study of Christian Arabic and its orthography, morphology, syntax, and usage to do so unobstructed by anyone's ideas of what the language should be. The only emendations are provided in the footnotes to the Arabic text for words affected by *tasfihim* and *tarqiq*, which may impede understanding of the text to a larger extent than such common substitutions as *dāl* for *dhāl*. Additionally, in those instances where a word is crossed out and corrected, three hyphens (---) before the final version of the word represent the original crossed-out word.

**In the name of God, the Creator, the Living One,  
the Speaking One, we write here  
the miracles of Jesus in his childhood.**

**1** When Jesus was five, he went out one Saturday to play with other boys. Jesus took some clay and made twelve birds out of it. When people saw this, they said to Joseph, “Look at him, doing things that are not allowed on a Saturday.” Hearing this, Jesus clapped his hands in the direction of the clay and said “Fly, birds!” and they flew. Everyone was amazed and they all praised God together.

**2** Another chapter. After that, Jesus made some pools in the clay and filled them with water. Along came a boy who took a dry olive branch and made a channel to drain them. Jesus said to him, “May you be as dry as this branch you have.” And as the boy heard it, he withered. Jesus got up and left him.

**3** Another chapter. Once, Jesus was walking the road with Joseph when a boy came from behind and hit Jesus on the shoulder. Jesus said to him, “You will not move from your place.” And the boy collapsed on the ground, dead. His parents came and found him dead and they said to Joseph, “This son of yours has a tongue<sup>1</sup> on him, you better leave him in Nazareth.” Joseph hit him and scolded him. Jesus said to him, “Keep in mind you have power over me, but you did this ignorantly.”

**4** Once, a teacher named Zekā examined Jesus and scolded him and said to him, “Listen, you smart<sup>2</sup> boy, this is how you must answer to your father, since you do not respect your elders.” Then he said to Joseph, “Entrust him to my care so that I can teach him manners and to respect his elders.”

---

<sup>1</sup> Noja translates as “has a bad tongue.”

<sup>2</sup> Noja translates as “badly educated.”



باسم الله الخالق الحي الناطق نكتب عجائب  
ايسوع في طفوليته \*

1 فلما بلغ ايسوع خمسة سنين خرج دات يوم وكان سبت مع  
الصبيان وهم يلعبون فجل ايسوع طينا وعمل فيه اثنا عشر  
عصفور فلما راوه الناس قالوا ليوست انضر اليه كيف يعمل  
ما لا يحل في يوم السبت عند ذلك سفق<sup>1</sup> ايسوع نحو الطين  
5 وقال طيرو ايها العصافير وطارت فتعجبت الجماعة مما راو  
سبحوا لله جميعا \*

2 فصل اخر وبعد ذلك عمل اجرنه<sup>2</sup> من طين وملاها ما فجا  
صبي واخذ قضيب زيتون يابس وفجرها فقال له ايسوع لا  
تكون يابس مثل هذه القضيب الذي معك فمن سماعته جف  
الصبي مضي ايسوع وتركه

3 فصل اخر وكان ايسوع يمشي مع يوسف في الطريق  
فجي<sup>3</sup> صبي من خلفه فضربه علي كتفه فقال له ايسوع لا  
تبرح من موضعك فضفط علي الارض ميت واتوا والديه  
فوجدوه ميتا فقالوا ليوست ان ابنك هدا لسنا فدعه في  
5 الناصره فضربه يوسف وانتهره فقال له ايسوع حسب تكون  
تامرني فان ذلك منك بغير معرفه

4 فسمه معلم يقال له زكا فانتهره وقال له يا هدا الصبي العالم  
هكذا يجب ان ترد علي ابيك ولست توقر الشيخ ثم قال  
ليوسف ادفعه الي حتي ادبه اعلم يكون يوقر للشيوخ فجاباه

<sup>1</sup> صفق cod.

<sup>2</sup> Noja's edition has اجرانة which is not an attested plural. Wehr and Lisān give اجران as a plural, so Noja was probably confused here. اجرنة is a possible plural; alternatively, it could be a diminutive -a.

<sup>3</sup> Noja's edition has جاء.

Joseph brought Jesus to Zekā and said to him, “Who can teach this one manners when he can only die by being crucified on a long pole?” Zekā said to Jesus, “Say *alif, bā, tā, ṭā*.” Jesus went silent and did not say a word. Zekā hit him over the head and screamed and yelled for everyone to hear, “This boy, I do not know if he is a god or an angel, but since I hit him, my soul has been struggling with me, about ready to depart from my body!” Then he dropped dead.

**5** Another chapter. One Saturday, Jesus was with other boys and they were playing on the rooftops. One of the boys fell from the roof and died. When the others saw him, they ran and not a single one stayed except for Jesus. The dead boy’s parents came and they found Jesus along next to the boy. They said to him, “You threw the boy (off the roof)!” He said, “Ask him whether it was me who threw him (off the roof)!” They said, “But he’s dead, how do we ask him?” Jesus yelled at the boy, “Hey, did I throw you (off the roof)?” The boy answered, “No, my Lord, it was not you who threw me (off the roof).” Everybody who was there marvelled and some of them said to each other, “Look at this one, he must be the Messiah, performing such miracles while still a child. What will he be when he grows up?”

**6** Another chapter. One winter day, a group of boys were playing in one of the houses and Jesus (was) with them. When lunch time came, everyone went home to eat. Jesus also went to his mother to have lunch. After, the boys went back to play and when Jesus returned, the boys scattered and hid in three of the houses. Jesus entered one house and did not see any of them inside, but there was a group of men sitting and talking. Jesus said to them, “Where are they?” They told him, “They went outside to play.” He proceeded to the (second of the)<sup>3</sup> three houses and he asked, “Is there anything in this house?” They told him, “Just pigs.”

---

<sup>3</sup> The scribe seems to have omitted a word or two while making a correction to the first word on the next line.

يوسف وقال لزكا ومن يقدر يودب --- هذا وهو لا يموت الا  
 5 مصلوب علي عود طويل فقال زكا --- ليسوع قول ا ب ت  
 ث فسكت ايسوع ولم يتكلم فضربه زكا بيده علي راسه حينئذاً  
 صاح زكا صارخاً وقال + الجماعه هذا الصبي اما الاله هو  
 اما مالاك لاني مند لطمته نفسي تنازعني علي للخروج من  
 بدني ثم وقع مات

5 فصل اخر وايضا خرج ايسوع دات يوم سبت مع الصبيان  
 وكان يلعبون علي اسطحة<sup>4</sup> بيوت<sup>5</sup> فسقط<sup>6</sup> بعض الصبيان  
 وماتو فلما راوه الصبيان هربوا ولم بقي منهم هناك غير  
 ايسوع فجوا اهل الصبي فوجدو ايسوع وحده عنده فقال له  
 5 انت طرحت الصبي قال لهم سالوه ان كنت انا طرحته قالوا  
 قد مات كيف نساله فصاح ايسوع بالصبي وقال له يا صبي انا  
 طرحتك قال الصبي لا يا سيدي ما انت طرحتني فتعجب كل  
 من كان --- حاضر وقالوا بغضهم<sup>7</sup> لبعض ترا هاده المسيح  
 يعمل في صغر ع العجايب فكيف يكون في كبره \*

6 فصل اجراً † وايضا كان يوم شتا جماعه من الصبيان  
 يلعبون في بعض الدور قد خل ايسوع --- معهم فلما كان  
 وقت الغدا ذهب كل واحد منهم ليتعدوا وذهب ايضا †  
 ايسوع الي عند امه ليتعدا و بعد ذلك رجعوا الصبيان فلما  
 5 رجع ايسوع افترقوا الصبيان واختفوا في ثلاث بيوت من  
 الدور فدخل الي دار فلم يرا فيها احد منهم بل كان هناك  
 جماعه من الرجال قاعدين يتحدثون فقال لهم ايسوع واين هم  
 فقال له قد خرجوا الي برا † يعلبون فتقدم الي --- الثلاث  
 بيوت وقال لهم اي شيء في هاده البيت فقالوا خنازير قال  
 10 كدالك يكون ثم تقدم الي البيت الثالث وقال لهم اي شيء

<sup>4</sup> اسطحة cod.

<sup>5</sup> Hypercorrection for بيوت.

<sup>6</sup> سقط cod.

<sup>7</sup> بعضهم cod.

He said, "Let it be so." Then he proceeded to the third house and said to them, "Is there anything in this house?" They told him, "Just wolves." He said, "Let it be so." Then he went out and left. And when all trace of intelligence, wisdom and discernment disappeared from those three houses, people said (...). Then they called for the boys—"Come out, Jesus has left!"—but no-one answered. They rushed to open the doors and (saw that the boys) became as (Jesus) had said: pigs, monkeys, and wolves. The people screamed and cried over their children. A multitude of people gathered and they marveled at these miracles.<sup>4</sup>

7 Another chapter. When Jesus turned seven, they sent him to fetch water from a well. The jar broke and he carried the water in his hand all the way to the house until he poured it into another jar without spilling anything.

8 Jesus was sitting at home while Joseph was making a bed seven cubits long. There was a piece of wood in it that was about one cubit short. Joseph went to search the house for a suitable piece of wood, but did not find any. When Jesus saw that (Joseph) was distressed because of this, he said to him, "Don't worry. Grab one side of the piece of wood and I (will grab) the other. Let us stretch it." And suddenly it became as long as he wanted it to be. Joseph was astonished and marveled at this.

9 Another chapter. After that, they sent Jesus to a teacher. When he sat down next to him, he said to him, "Say *alif* and nothing else," Jesus said to him, "Teacher, what is the meaning of *alif* and nothing else?" The teacher became angry at him and hit him. His hand shriveled up and after that, he died. When Joseph learned of this, he said to Mary, "Do not let your son out of the house, because he's already committed great crimes."

---

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "signs."

في --- هاده البيت فقالوا له دياب فقال كذاك يكون ثم خرج  
ومضي فقالوا الجماعه عند ما افرد الثلاث بيوت في دكاوه  
ومعرفه وخاصيه ثم صاحوا بالصبيان وقالو لهم اخرجوا فقد  
ذهب ايسوع فلم يجيبهم احدا فوثبوا وفتحوا الابواب فادا هم قد  
صارو كما قال † خنازير وقرود ودياب فصاحوا الناس 15  
وبكوا علي اولادهم واجتمع --- هناك خلق كثيره وتعجبو من  
هده --- الايهه<sup>8</sup> \*

7 فصل اخر † --- ولما صار ايسوع --- سبعة سنين ا  
اخرجوه ليتقي ما من العين فانكسرت الجره فحمل الما في يده  
حتي جابه الي البيت وصبه في جره اخرا جاملو الجره \*

8 فصل اخر † وكان ايسوع جالساً في البيت ويوسف يعمل  
--- سرير طوله سبعة ادرع وانه - كان فيه عوداً ناقص عن  
الطول نحو دراع فقام يوسف يطلب في البيت عود يصلح فلم  
يجد<sup>9</sup> فلما راه ايسوع مغموماً لذلك قال له ايسوع لا تعتم خد  
طرف العود وانا طرفه الاخر --- فمداه فاداه قد صار طويل  
علي ما يريد فبهت يوسف وتعجب من ذلك \*

9 فصل اخر † وبعد ذلك ذهبو ايسوع الي المعلم فلما جلس  
عنده قال له --- قول الف الاها قال له ايسوع يا معلم ما  
تفسير الف الاها فحرد المعلم عليه فضربه فيبست يده و وبعد  
ذلك مات فلما --- علم يوسف بالخبر قال لمريم لا تدعي ابنك  
يخرج من البيت لانه قد جني جنايات عظيمه † 5

<sup>8</sup> This appears to be a plural of أية which fits the context and the collocation perfectly, but this particular plural is not given by major dictionaries of Arabic.

<sup>9</sup> Noja has يجده correcting an obvious scribal error.

**10** Another chapter. One day, Jacob and Joseph went to the wilderness to gather wood and Jesus went with them.<sup>5</sup> As the two of them were on their way, they happened across a big viper. Joseph approached it to kill it, but it lunged at him and killed him. Jacob gave up his soul, but Jesus approached him and blew on the place (on Jacob's body) where the venom burnt (him). The venom disappeared without a trace. Then he blew on the viper and it died right away. After that, they cut down some wood and returned together.

**11** Another chapter. Once, Jesus was at the market talking to a dyer and as they were talking, Jesus entered a shop and took a fine robe and threw it into a vat of black (dye). The dyer returned and saw this. He began to slap his face and pull his beard and said, "You boy, today you caused me great grief and a loss of much money. Are you telling me you did not do that?"<sup>6</sup> Jesus said to him, "What's wrong?" The dyer said to him, "This robe is for someone who wanted it red, but you made it black." Jesus said to him, "Do not despair, did you not want the robe to be red?" He said, "Yes." Jesus then took it out of the vat of black (dye) and the robe was the most beautiful shade of red. The dyer and everyone who was around marveled at this. The dyer kissed Jesus' head and said to him, "May you be blessed among the children of Israel." Jesus said to him, "Bring me all the robes so that I can dye them for you in better colors (than you can)." The dyer was confused hearing this and Joseph said to him, "Give them to him and do not worry." (The dyer) took out ten robes and said to him, "Dye all of them for me just as you dyed the one you wanted to."<sup>7</sup> The dyer wrote on the robes and threw them to the bottom (of the vat with) red dye. Then he pulled them out one by one and each was dyed in the

---

<sup>5</sup> Lit. "with him."

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "and you did not do that."

<sup>7</sup> Thus the Arabic text. Noja translates as "the one where you intervened."

10 فصل اخر وخرجو يعقوب ويوسف داث يوم الي البريه  
 يجيبو حطب فخرج معه ايسوع فيبينما هما في الطريق واداهم  
 بافعاه عضيمه فجا يعقوب ليقتلها فالتقتت اليه فقتلته فطرح  
 يعقوب نفسه فتقدم اليه ايسوع ونفخ في موضع السم  
 الملسوع<sup>10</sup> فلم يضره شي من السم ثم انه نفخ علي الافعاه  
 فماتت من ساعتها وبعد ذلك قطعوا الحطب ورجعوا جميعاً  
 †

11 --- فصل --- اخر وايضا كان ايسوع في السوق يتحدث  
 هو وانسان صباغ فيبينما هما يتحدثان دخل ايسوع للدكان  
 واخذ توب توباً ربيعاً وطرحه في خابيت السواد --- فالتفت  
 الصباغ فابصره فجعل يلطم وجهه وينتق لحيته وقال يا  
 صبي قد كسبتني اليوم غموماً عضيمه وخصاره<sup>11</sup> دراهم  
 كثيره فلم فعلت هذا قال له ايسوع ما حالك قال له الصباغ  
 هذا التوب هو لفلان اراد احمر جعلته انت اسود فقال له  
 ايسوع لا تغتم<sup>12</sup> --- --- بنفسك اليس احمر تريد التوب قال  
 نعم فأخرجه ايسوع من خابيت السواد فاداه هو احمر اجود  
 ما يكون من الحمره فتعجب الصباغ و كل من كان حاضر  
 من هذا الفعل وان الصباغ قبل راس ايسوع وقال له مبارك  
 انت في بني اسرائيل قال له ايسوع قدم لي التياب كلها حتي  
 اصبغها لك اخير من صبغك فتحير<sup>13</sup> الصباغ من كلامه قال  
 له يوسف ادفعها له ولا تخاف واخرج اليه عشر توبا وقال له  
 اصبغ لي كل واحد مثل --- التوب الذي تريد وكتب الصباغ  
 علي التياب --- وطرحها في سفلى الحمره وجعل يخرج توب

<sup>10</sup> "Burnt, stung." Noja has المسترع which is not found in the manuscript, nor does it make sense.

<sup>11</sup> خساره cod.

<sup>12</sup> Noja's edition has erroneus تغلم which means "do not be overcome by carnal desire."

<sup>13</sup> Noja has متحير mistaking a fa-verb for participle.

color that was written on it. As people witnessed this, they praised God and said, “We have never seen something like this before. What will become of this boy? There has never been one like him among us and there never will be.”

**12** At that time, Jesus was eight years old. He grew up in secret without doing anything else (remarkable) until he reached the age of thirteen, as Adam the first (of humankind) was at the time of creation. Then he came to John the Baptist and was baptized by him to sanctify the waters. Then he assembled twelve disciples. In the same year, Joseph passed away at the age of one hundred and seventeen. He left Jesus and his mother in Nazareth with Jacob and Jūsā and his brother Clopas and his sister Mary as the Gospel says about her, “Meanwhile, standing near the cross of Jesus were his mother, and his mother’s sister.” In fact, Mary did not have a sister, nor a brother. With (...), Jesus set out to travel the rest of the land of Judea and the limits of Jordan and Galilee for three and a half years after his baptism, performing miracles.<sup>8</sup> The divinely-appointed almighty one who was confirmed by the prophets wanted to submit to all the suffering mentioned (previously). He resisted the enemy who subjugated Adam and his descendants. He did so by humbling himself and patiently enduring injustice and humiliation in order to provide the proof of his divinity to the world (burdened) by an old injustice. He saved those who were wronged by (the enemy), casting his justice, his power and his glory on those prepared by merit and their descendants and all who believe in him and perform good works. Then the Holy Spirit illuminated the perfect divinity in him and restored him to the high with the rest of the saints.

Glory and power and dignity to our Lord and our Savior Jesus Christ now and for all time and forever and ever. Amen.

---

<sup>8</sup> Lit. “fulfilling signs.”



توب باللون المكتوب عليه فلما عاينوا الجماعه دالك سبحو  
الله وقالو هدا امر ما راينا مثله وسوف يكون لهادا الصبي بنا  
لم يكون مثله ولا يكون وكان ايسوع †

12 في دالك اليوم الوقت تمان سنين ثم انه خفا امره ولم يعمل  
شي † اخر حتي كمال له ثلاثين سنة<sup>14</sup> في هيته<sup>15</sup> خلقه ادم  
الاول ثم جا الي يوحنا المعمدا واعتمد منه ليقدس الامياه ثم  
جمع الاتنا عشر † --- تلميذاً † وفي تلك السنه توفي يوسف  
وهو ابن مايه وسبعه † عشر سنه وترك ايسوع وامه --- في  
5 الناصره † ويعقوب ويوسا واخيه قليوبا<sup>16</sup> واخته مريم اد قال  
الانجيل من اجلها انه كان عند انصا للصلب امه واخت امه  
بعينها الان مريم لم تكن لها اخت ولا اخ وجعل --- ---  
ايسوع يطوف ف مع في ساير الارض يهودا وتخوم الاردن  
والجليل مدت ثلاثت سنين ونصف بعد المعمديه فاكمل  
10 الايات والقدير الاهوتي الذي ثبتت به الانبيا اراد تمام الالام  
المذكوره وصد العدو والمطغي لادم ودريته واقمت العدل  
عليه وعلي ادم ودريته بالاتضاع والصبر علي الضلم  
والهوان ليتبت حخه الاهوت علي العالم بظلامه قديما وخلص  
المظلوم منه ظاهر بعدله وبقدرته ورفعته الي ما كان اعد له  
15 باستحقاق ولدريته ولكل امن به<sup>17</sup> وعمل الصالحات تم اشرق  
فيه روح القدس للاهوت الكامله واصلح الي العلويات مع  
سار القد سين

فلربنا ومخلصنا ايسوع المسيح المحد والعطمه ولوقار من  
الان وكل اوان والي دهر الداهرين امنن

<sup>14</sup> Noja has سنا.

<sup>15</sup> Noja has حيته ("of his life") which fits the context, but is not supported by the manuscript.

<sup>16</sup> قليوبا cod.

<sup>17</sup> Noja has بالله which does fit the context, but is not what the manuscript says.



## **4 SYNOPSIS**

**The Childhood of Our Lord Jesus.**

**2 1** Now when the boy Jesus Christ was five years old, he was playing at the ford of streams of water. And he was catching and confining the waters and directing them in channels and making them enter into pools. He was making the waters become clear and bright.

**2** He took soft clay from the wet ground and molded twelve birds. It was the Sabbath and many children were with him.

**3** But one of the Jews saw him with the children making these things.

**The Fourth Book Concerning the Childhood and Upbringing of Our Lord Jesus Christ.**

**2 1** Now when Jesus was about five years old, he was playing at the ford of streams of waters. And he was catching them and making the waters enter and directing them miraculously and catching them in pools. He was making the water become clear and bright.

**2** He took soft clay from the wet ground and molded twelve birds. It was the Sabbath and many children were with him.

**3** But one of the Jews saw him with the children making these things.

**The History of our Blessed Lady Mary, the Mother of Christ.**



He went to his father Joseph and incited him against Jesus, and said to him, "On the Sabbath he molded clay and fashioned clay birds, something that is not lawful on the Sabbath."

He went to his father Joseph and incited him against Jesus, and said to him, "On the Sabbath he made clay and fashioned birds, something that is not lawful to do on the Sabbath."

4 Joseph came and rebuked him, and said to him, "Why are you making these things on the Sabbath?" Then Jesus clapped his hands and made the birds fly away before these things that he said. And he said, "Go, fly, and be mindful of me, living ones." And these birds went away, twittering.

4 Joseph came and rebuked him, and said to him, "Why are you making these things on the Sabbath?" Then Jesus clapped his hands and made the birds fly away before the entire crowd and said, "Go, fly, and be mindful of those who live." And these birds went away, twittering.

5 But when that Pharisee saw (this) he was astounded and went and told his friends.



**3 1** The son of Hannān the scribe also was with Jesus. He took a willow branch and leaked out and broke down the pools and let the waters escape that Jesus had gathered together, and dried up their pools.

**2** When Jesus saw what he did, he said to him, “Without root shall be your shoot and your fruit shall dry up like a branch that is broken by the wind and is no more.”

**3** Suddenly, that boy withered.

**4 1** Again Jesus was going with his father, and a boy (was) running and struck him on the shoulder.

**3 1** The son of Hannān the scribe also was with Jesus. When he saw his delight, he took a willow branch and leaked out and broke down the pools. And these waters that Jesus had gathered together were scattered and he dried up their pools.

**2** When Jesus saw what had happened, he said to him, “Without root shall be your shoot and your fruit shall dry up like a branch that is cut down by the wind and is no more.”

**3** Suddenly, that boy withered.

**4 1** Again Jesus was going with Joseph his father, and a boy running struck him on his shoulder.

**(4 1)** When he was on the road, a boy (was) running and struck him on his shoulder.



13 ביה דגה דגל ספיר אר אה  
 ארטה, סהא חר מעד. סעל  
 סעדה חר חנהא ויהוה  
 למקדה סרסום אנה לקנה סלמ  
 דגה סה מעד ולמקדסו ארסו.

13 ביה דגה דגל ספיר ארטה,  
 סהא חר מעד. סה מנה  
 ליתנה דלמ עמל סעדה ויהוה  
 ויהוה סרסום אנה למקדה. סקנה  
 סלמ דגה מעד ארטהו ולמקדסו  
 ארסו.

2 סה מנה מעד חנה ורנה ארנה  
 למ דל חנה ארטה ורנה  
 ספיר נרסו, אנה סעדה  
 דארטהו חר ויהוה סלמ.

2 סה מנה מעד חנה ורנה ארנה  
 למ דל חנה ארטה ורנה  
 ספיר נרסו, אנה סעדה  
 דארטהו חר ויהוה סלמ  
 ארטה.

3 סה מנה מעד חר עלה \*

3 סה מנה מעד חר עלה \*

14 סהא ארטה מעד חר  
 ארטה. ויהוה חר ויהוה  
 חרטה.

14 סה סה ארטה ויהוה חר  
 ארטה, חר חרטה.  
 חרטה, חרטה.

Jesus said to him, "You shall not go on your way." And suddenly he fell down and died. Those who saw him cried out and were saying, "Whence was this boy born, that all his words are a deed?"

2 The family of that (boy) who died approached Joseph his father and were blaming him and saying to him, "You have this boy; you cannot dwell with us in the village, unless you teach him to bless."

5 1 Joseph approached the boy and was lecturing him and saying to him, "Why do you do these things? Why do you say these things? These (people) suffer and hate us." And Jesus said,

Jesus said to him, "You shall not go on your way." And at once, suddenly he fell down and died. All those who saw him cried out and said, "Whence was this boy born, that all his words are in a deed?"

2 The family of that (boy) who died approached Joseph and were blaming him and saying, "As long as you have this child, you cannot dwell in our village, unless you teach him to behave humbly."

5 1 Joseph approached the boy and said to him, "Why do you do these things? And for what reason do you say these things? These (people) are suffering on account of you and hate you." And the boy said,

Jesus said to him, "You shall not turn back from your way." And suddenly that boy fell down and died. Those who saw him cried out and said, "Whence was this boy born that all his words are a deed?"

(4 2) They came to Joseph and said to him, "Since you have this boy, you cannot dwell with us in the village; or teach him to bless."

(5 1) Joseph approached the boy and was lecturing him and saying, "Why do you do these things? Why do you say these things? These (people) harm and hate and are not good to us." And the boy said,



“If the words of my father were not wise, he would not know (how) to instruct children.” He spoke again, “If these were children of the bedchamber, they would not be receiving a curse. These shall not see their torment.” Immediately, those who were accusing him were blinded.

“If the words of my father were not wise, he would not know (how) to instruct children.” He spoke again, “If they were children of the bedchamber, they would not be receiving a curse. These shall not see life.” And those who were accusing him were blinded.

“If the words of my father were not wise, he would not know (how) to instruct children. And if these were not bastards, they would not be receiving curses.”

2 Joseph became angry and took hold of his ear and pulled it hard.

(5 2) Joseph became angry and took hold of him by his hand and pulled it.

3 Then Jesus answered and said to him, “It is enough for you, that you should be commanding me and finding me; for you have acted ignorantly.”

3 Jesus answered and said to him, “It is enough for you, that you should be commanding me and finding me; for you have done this ignorantly.”

(5 3) Jesus answered and said to him, “It is enough for you that you should be commanding me. I understand you; but you have done these things ignorantly.”

אֵלֶּה לֵךְ וְשִׁחַתְךָ שָׁמוֹ, וְחַלְמֵי דְאִבֵּי  
 לֵךְ מִמָּא לְקִנְיָא פִּיבֵּי מִמָּא לְבַזְדִּיא.  
 חֻסְבֵּי אֲרֵיבִי. דְּאֵלֶּה קִלְדֵּי חֲנֻסֵּי מִמָּא  
 מִלְּמֵ לְהַלְבֵּי לֵךְ מְחַבְלֵי מִמָּא. מִלְּמֵ  
 לֵךְ נִסְיֵי הִצְטַמְסֵי. כִּיבֵּי דְחַבְלֵי  
 אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי מִלְּמֵ הִצְטַמְסֵי מִמָּא לֵמֵ.

2 מִסְפָּד זִמְּ זִלְיָ אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי כִּרְזֻנְתֵּי  
 אֲרֵיבֵיבֵיבֵי כִּמֵּי לֵבֵי.

3 מִנְיֵיבֵי חֵבְרָא מִמָּדֵי אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי לֵמֵ.  
 מִמְפָּסֵי לֵי הִצְטַמְסֵי אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי לֵי מְרַבְבֵּי  
 אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי לֵי. אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי לֵיבֵי דְלֵיבֵי מְרַבְבֵּיבֵי  
 חֵבְרָא ❖

דְּאֵלֶּה לֵךְ וְשִׁחַתְךָ שָׁמוֹ, וְחַלְמֵי דְאִבֵּי  
 מִלְּמֵ לְקִנְיָא פִּיבֵּי מִמָּא לְבַזְדִּיא. חֻסְבֵּי  
 אֲרֵיבִי. דְּאֵלֶּה קִלְדֵּי חֲנֻסֵּי מִמָּא לְהַלְבֵּי  
 לֵךְ מְחַבְלֵי מִמָּא. מִלְּמֵ לֵךְ נִסְיֵי  
 חֻסְבֵּי. מִמְלֵי הִצְטַמְסֵי לֵמֵ אֲרֵיבֵיבֵיבֵי.

2 מִסְפָּד זִמְּ פִּיבֵּי זִלְיָ אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי כִּרְזֻנְתֵּי  
 אֲרֵיבֵיבֵיבֵי כִּמֵּי לֵבֵי.

3 חֵבְרָא מִמָּדֵי אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי לֵמֵ מִסְפָּדֵי לֵי  
 הִצְטַמְסֵי אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי לֵי מְרַבְבֵּיבֵי אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי  
 לֵיבֵי דְלֵיבֵי מְרַבְבֵּיבֵיבֵי חֵבְרָא מִנְיֵיבֵי ❖

אֵלֶּה לֵךְ וְשִׁחַתְךָ שָׁמוֹ, וְחַלְמֵי דְאִבֵּי  
 לֵךְ מִמָּא לְקִנְיָא פִּיבֵּי מִמָּא לְבַזְדִּיא.  
 חֻסְבֵּי קִלְדֵּי חֲנֻסֵּי אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי מִמָּא מִלְּמֵ  
 לְהַלְבֵּי לֵךְ מְחַבְלֵי מִמָּא.

(25) מִסְפָּד זִמְּ זִלְיָ אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי כִּרְזֻנְתֵּי  
 אֲרֵיבֵיבֵיבֵי כִּמֵּי.

(35) חֵבְרָא מִמָּדֵי אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי לֵמֵ. מִסְפָּדֵי  
 לֵי הִצְטַמְסֵי אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי לֵי. מְרַבְבֵּיבֵי  
 אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי לֵי. אֲרֵיבֵיבֵי זִמְּ דְלֵיבֵי מְרַבְבֵּיבֵי  
 חֵבְרָא מִנְיֵיבֵי.

Sa 6:1

Sw 6:1

Se 25-26

Se 1-2

**6 1** A teacher, whose name was Zacchaeus, heard him speaking with his father and said, "O wicked boy!"

**6 1** A teacher, whose name was Zacchaeus, heard him speaking with his father and said to him, "O wicked boy!"

**(6 1)** A teacher heard Jesus speaking with Joseph <and said>, "O stubborn boy?"

**(6 1)** When Jesus was five years old Joseph brought him to the schools to Zacchaeus the teacher.

Sa 6:2-2a

Sw 6:2-2a

Se 27-32

**2** He said to his father Joseph, "How long will you not wish to hand over this boy so that he may learn to love children his age, to honor old age and to be in awe of elders, in order that the love of children may be with him and, moreover, so that he may instruct them?"

**2** He said to Joseph, "How long will you not wish to hand over this boy so that he may learn letters, to honor your old age and to be in awe of elders, in order that the love of children may be with him, and loving children his age, that he may instruct them?"

**(6 2)** He said to Joseph, "How long now will you not wish to hand over this boy so that he may learn to delight in children his age, to honor an old man and to be in awe of elders, in order that the children's love may be with him?"

**2a** Joseph answered and said, "Who is able to instruct a boy like this? Do you not think that he is equal to a small cross?"

**2a** Joseph said, "Who is able to instruct a boy like this? Do you not think him (to be) a small cross?"

**(6 2a)** Joseph said to him, "Who is able to instruct a boy like this?"



2b Jesus answered and said to him, “Teacher, these words that you have now spoken and these names that you name, I am a stranger to them; for I am from outside of you, yet I dwell among you. Honor of the flesh I have not. You (live) by the law and by that law you remain. For when you were born, I was. But you think that you are my father. You shall learn from me that teaching that no one else knows nor is able to teach. And that cross of which you spoke, the one to whom it belongs shall bear it. For when I am greatly exalted I shall lay aside that which is mixed in your race. For you do not know where you were born nor where you are from; for I alone know you truly—when you were born and how much time you have to remain here.”

2b He answered and said to him, “These words that you have spoken, O teacher, will be names of renown. I am a stranger to them; for I am from outside of you, yet I dwell among you. Honor of the flesh I have not. You remain by the law and by the law you search. For before you were born, I was. But you think that you are my father. You shall learn from me that teaching that no one else knows nor is able to teach. And that cross of which you spoke, the one to whom it belongs shall bear it. And when I am greatly exalted, that which is mixed in your race will be completed. For you do not know where I am from nor where I am going; for I alone know you truly—when you were born and how much time you have to remain here.”

(6 2b) The child answered and said to the teacher, “These words that you have now spoken and the names that you name, I am a stranger to them. For I am from outside of you, yet I am with you and among you. Honor of the flesh I have not. You (live) by the law and by the law you remain. For before your father was born, I was. But you think that you are my father. For you do not know where you were born nor where you came from. But I alone know you truly—when you were born and how much time you have to remain in this world.”





**2c** When they heard (these words), they were astounded and cried out greatly and said, “O wonderful sight and sound! Words like these we have never heard anyone speak—neither the priests, nor the scribes, nor the Pharisees. Where was he born, who is five years old and speaking such words? No one has ever seen such a thing among us.”

**2d** Jesus answered and said to them, “You are amazed by me and you do not believe me concerning what I said to you: that I know when you were born. Again I have more to say to you.”

**2c** When they heard (these words), they were astounded and amazed and cried out greatly and said, “O wonderful sight and sound! How this boy speaks, we have not heard anyone speak—neither a priest, nor a Levite, nor a scribe. Where was he born, who is five years old and speaks such words? <No one> has ever seen such a thing among us.”

**2d** Jesus answered and said, “You are amazed by me and you do not believe concerning what I have spoken and said to you.”

**(6 2c)** When they heard (these words), they were astounded.



**2e** When they heard (these words), they were silent and unable to speak. He approached them again and said, laughing, "I laughed at you because you are amazed at trifles and are becoming small in your minds."

**2f** When they were comforted a little, Zacchaeus the teacher said to the father of Jesus, "Bring him to me and I will teach him what is fitting for him to learn." He coaxed him and made him go into the school. Yet, going in, he was silent. But Zacchaeus the scribe was beginning to say to him (starting) from Aleph, and repeating to him many times the whole alphabet. He said to him that he should answer and speak after him, but he was silent.

**2e** When they heard (these words), they were silent and unable to speak. He approached them again and said to them, laughing, "I laughed at you because you are amazed at trifles you and are becoming small in your minds."

**2f** When they understood a little, Zacchaeus the teacher said to them and also to the parents of Jesus, "Bring him to me and I will teach him what is fitting for him to learn." He coaxed him and made him go into the school. Yet, going in, he was silent. But Zacchaeus the scribe was beginning to say to him (starting) from Aleph and Beth, and repeating to him many times the same letter. He said to him that he should answer after him, but he was silent.

**(6 2e)** Jesus said to them, "You are amazed at my smallness; and you are smaller than me in your minds."

**(6 2e)** Then the boy Jesus laughed and said to them, laughing, "I laugh at you."

**(6 2f)** Zacchaeus the scribe began to say to him in Greek, "Alpha, Beta." Many times he told him. Then he recounted all the characters of the alphabet. And he said to him that he should answer and speak after him, but he was silent.

2e מִיָּדָה, וְגַם כִּי עֲצַחֵה עֲבֹדָה מִלֵּךְ  
 אֲעֲמִישׁ לְחַמְלָלָהּ. מִיָּדָה אִשָּׁב  
 לְאֹהֲלָהּ, וְאִתְּנֶה לָּהּ, מִחֲבִישִׁי.  
 2f לְחִינֹה חֲרִיפָה, מִיָּדָה וְהַחֲזִיקִנִי  
 אֲנִיחֶה, חַל וְחִתִּיתָהּ: וְחִתִּיתָנִי  
 כְּתֹבְחִיחֶהּ.

2e מִיָּדָה, וְגַם כִּי עֲצַחֵה עֲבֹדָה מִלֵּךְ  
 אֲעֲמִישׁ לְחַמְלָלָהּ. מִיָּדָה אִשָּׁב  
 לְאֹהֲלָהּ, וְאִתְּנֶה לָּהּ, מִחֲבִישִׁי.  
 2f לְחִינֹה חֲרִיפָה, מִיָּדָה וְהַחֲזִיקִנִי  
 אֲנִיחֶה, חַל וְחִתִּיתָהּ: וְחִתִּיתָנִי  
 כְּתֹבְחִיחֶהּ.

(2e 6) אֲנִיחֶה לָּהּ, מִחֲבִישִׁי מִלֵּךְ מִעַד  
 חֲתִיבֹתֶיהָ, כְּחִתִּיתָהּ: וְחִתִּיתָנִי  
 כְּתֹבְחִיחֶהּ.  
 (2e 6) אֲנִיחֶה לָּהּ, מִחֲבִישִׁי מִלֵּךְ מִעַד  
 חֲתִיבֹתֶיהָ.

2f וְגַם אֲחִיבֶהּ מִלֵּךְ אִתְּנֶה, וְגַם  
 מִלְּפָנָי לְכֹהֵנִי, וְגַם כִּי אֲחִיבֶהּ, לִּי  
 מִיָּדָה מִלֵּךְ אִתְּנֶה לְחִינֹה חֲרִיפָה.  
 וְגַם וְגַם כִּי חֲלַל עֲבֹדָה מִמֶּנִּי, וְגַם  
 מִפְּנֵי עֵינֶי, מִמֶּנִּי לְחִינֹה חֲרִיפָה  
 אֲנִיחֶה מִפְּנֵי עֵינֶי, מִמֶּנִּי לְחִינֹה חֲרִיפָה  
 לִּי חַל מִי, חֲתִיבֹתֶיהָ. אֲנִיחֶה לָּהּ  
 וְחִתִּיתָנִי כְּתֹבְחִיחֶהּ. מִיָּדָה עֲבֹדָה  
 מִמֶּנִּי.

2f וְגַם אֲחִיבֶהּ מִלֵּךְ אִתְּנֶה, וְגַם  
 מִלְּפָנָי לְכֹהֵנִי, וְגַם כִּי אֲחִיבֶהּ, לִּי  
 מִיָּדָה מִלֵּךְ אִתְּנֶה לְחִינֹה חֲרִיפָה.  
 וְגַם וְגַם כִּי חֲלַל עֲבֹדָה מִמֶּנִּי, וְגַם  
 מִפְּנֵי עֵינֶי, מִמֶּנִּי לְחִינֹה חֲרִיפָה  
 אֲנִיחֶה מִפְּנֵי עֵינֶי, מִמֶּנִּי לְחִינֹה חֲרִיפָה  
 לִּי חַל מִי, חֲתִיבֹתֶיהָ. אֲנִיחֶה לָּהּ  
 וְחִתִּיתָנִי כְּתֹבְחִיחֶהּ. מִיָּדָה עֲבֹדָה  
 מִמֶּנִּי.

(2f 6) וְגַם וְגַם כִּי חֲלַל עֲבֹדָה מִמֶּנִּי,  
 מִפְּנֵי עֵינֶי, מִמֶּנִּי לְחִינֹה חֲרִיפָה  
 אֲנִיחֶה מִפְּנֵי עֵינֶי, מִמֶּנִּי לְחִינֹה חֲרִיפָה  
 לִּי חַל מִי, חֲתִיבֹתֶיהָ. אֲנִיחֶה לָּהּ  
 וְחִתִּיתָנִי כְּתֹבְחִיחֶהּ. מִיָּדָה עֲבֹדָה  
 מִמֶּנִּי.

Then the scribe was angry and struck him with his hand upon his head. And Jesus said, "The smiths' anvil, when struck repeatedly, may be instructed, yet it is unfeeling. I can say those things spoken by you like a brass resounding or a cymbal which yields a sound. These do not respond with any sound nor do they have the power of knowledge and understanding."

3 Then Jesus said all the letters from Aleph to Tau with much wisdom.

Then the scribe was angry and struck him with his hand upon his head. And he said, "The smiths' anvil, when struck, may be instructed, yet it is unfeeling. I can say those things spoken by you like a brass resounding or a cymbal which yields a sound. These do not respond with any sound or power of knowledge and understanding."

3 Then Jesus said all the letters from Aleph to Tau with much wisdom.

And the scribe was furious and struck the boy. Immediately, the scribe died, and Joseph came and took the boy.

(6 3) One of them said to him, "Aleph." And Jesus said, "Aleph." And the teacher said to him, "Beth." Jesus says to him, "Tell me the explanation of the Aleph, so that I will tell you the explanation of the Beth." The teacher says to him, "I do not know."

סענין זיך ספירן נאכטען, כאנען  
 אל זענען. ארען מעד. סענען  
 וועלן פו זאל טערארע כוירא זורא  
 ארען מעדען ארען  
 לכארהי לעילן וועלן טעקאל  
 ארען נעטען זורען ארען זעלען זענען  
 מלך: סעלן זאלן טעפן פולטען  
 וועלן כוירען ארען סעלן זענען  
 ארען טעקאל.

3 סענין ארען מעד. חלמסן טעקאל  
 נאך אלף זענען לוב טעקאל  
 טעקאל.

סענין זיך ספירן נאכטען, כאנען  
 אל זענען. ארען מעד. סענען  
 וועלן פו זאל טערארע כוירא זורא  
 ארען מעדען ארען לכארהי ארען  
 וועלן טעקאל ארען נעטען זורען  
 ארען זעלען זענען מלך: סעלן לע  
 טעפן פולטען וועלן כוירען מלך  
 סעלן זענען ארען טעקאל.

3 סענין ארען מעד. חלמסן טעקאל  
 נאך אלף זענען לוב טעקאל  
 טעקאל.

ארען טעקאל נאכטען, כאנען  
 ארען טעקאל נאכטען. ארען  
 ארען טעקאל נאכטען.

(36) ארען מעד. ארען מעד. ארען  
 ארען מעד. ארען מעד. ארען  
 ארען מעד. ארען מעד. ארען  
 ארען מעד. ארען מעד. ארען  
 ארען מעד. ארען מעד. ארען

He answered again and said, "Those who do not know the Aleph, how do they teach the Beth? Hypocrites! First teach what is the Aleph and then I will believe you concerning the Beth."

4 Then Jesus began to enquire concerning the form of each character. Concerning the first, why it has many angles and characters, pointed, thick and prostrate and projected and extended; their summits gathered together and sharp and ornamented and erect and squared and inverted; and transformed, and folded over and bent at their sides, and fixed in a triangle of life.

He answered again and said, "Those who do not know the Aleph, how do they teach the Beth? Hypocrites! First teach what is the Aleph and then I will believe you concerning the Beth."

4 Then Jesus began to speak to the scribe concerning the type of each of these letters. Concerning the first, why (it has) many angles and characters, pointed, thick and collected and projected and extended; their summits gathered together and sharp and ornamented and erect and squared and inverted; and transformed, and folded over and also bent at their sides, and fixed in a triangle, and crowned and clothed.

Jesus answered and said to them, "Those who do not know the Aleph, how do they teach the Beth? Hypocrites! First teach what is Aleph and then I will believe you concerning the Beth."

(6 4) The boy began to question the scribes concerning the form of each of the characters. Concerning the first, why it has angles and sides pointed and projected and extended; their summits gathered together and ornamented and squared and hidden; and their sides erect and transformed and folded over and bent, and fixed in a triangle.



חביר וחסד סארני: סלם לך חפס  
 פה חכר וסלר חונר וכל סלר  
 ותיחדס סוססלר ארס לסל  
 ואלו לך עיח חס ארסר חלפס.  
 נמקו כרקר: לסונר ארסו אלו.  
 חלר סו ססונו אסחלפס חל  
 כסו.

4 סונו יז, נסד לחסלו חל  
 אססר וכל עור עור ח  
 ארסרס. חל סונרסר ולרס סר  
 ארס לט חסניסר חקסו ונירפס  
 ורסו סונרסונו סונרפסו  
 סונרסונו: סונרסונו סונרסונו  
 סונרסונו סונרסונו סונרסונו  
 סונרסונו ירסונו: סונרסונו  
 סונרסונו סונרסונו לחסונו  
 סונרסונו כוללסונונו וניר \*

חביר סארני: סלם ולך חפס  
 פה חכר וסלר חונר אר סלר  
 ותיחדס סוססלר ורסל ואלו לך  
 עיח חס ארסר חלפס. נמקו  
 כרקר: לסונר ארסו ואלו חלר סו,  
 ססונו אסחלפס חל כסו.

4 סונו יז, נסד לחסלו חפסר  
 חל אסלפס וכל עור עור ח סלם  
 חסניסר. חל סונרסר ולרס סר  
 חסניסר חקסו ונירפס חכסו  
 סונרסונו סונרסונו: סונרסונו  
 סונרסונו סונרסונו סונרסונו  
 סונרסונו סונרסונו סונרסונו  
 סונרסונו ירסונו: סונרסונו  
 סונרסונו סונרסונו לחסונו  
 כוללסונונו סונרסונו חסלפס \*

חביר וס נסד סארני לסל. ארסל  
 וס ואלו לך עיח חסו חסו ארסר  
 חלפס. נמקו כרקר: לסונר ארסו  
 חלר ארסרסו אלו. ססונו  
 אסחלפס חל כסו.

(46) סונו יז, נסד לחסלו חפסר  
 חל אססרסונו וכל עור עור ח  
 ארסרסר. חל סו, סונרסרסר: ולרס  
 ארס לט חסניסר חקסו ונירפס  
 סונרסונו סונרסונו סונרסונו  
 סונרסונו סונרסונו סונרסונו  
 סונרסונו ירסונו: סונרסונו  
 סונרסונו סונרסונו לחסונו  
 סונרסונו כוללסונונו:

7 1 Then Zacchaeus the scribe, astounded and amazed at all the names and the greatness of his speech, cried out and said, "I have brought this matter on myself.

2 "Take him away from me, I beseech you. It is not right for him to be this (way) on the earth; truly he is worthy of a great cross. He is able even to set fire to fire. I think that he was born before the flood of Noah. What womb carried him? Or what mother reared him? For I cannot bear him. I am in a great stupor because of him; and I am out of my mind. Wretched am I to think I had acquired a student; and I found that I had acquired a teacher.

7 1 Then Zacchaeus the scribe, astounded and amazed at all the names which he named and on account of the greatness of the speech, cried out and said, "You have brought this matter on me.

2 "Take him away from me, I beseech you. It is not right for him to be on the earth; truly he is worthy of a great cross. He is able even to set fire on fire. And I think that he was born before the flood of Noah. What womb bore him? Or what mother reared him? I cannot bear <him>. He is killing me. I am out of my mind. I was mistaken; I thought I had acquired a student; and I found that I had acquired a teacher.

(7 1) Then the scribe was astounded and he reeled at the words of the boy, at the names which he named, and at the greatness of the power concealed in his questioning. He cried out and said:

(7 2) "Oh oh, it is not right for him to be on this earth. Truly he is able even to set fire on fire. I think that he was born before the flood of Noah. What womb bore him? Or what mother reared him? We cannot bear it. We thought a student had come to us, and he is found (to be) a teacher."



**3** “O my friends! I cannot endure. I am fleeing from the village; I cannot look upon him. By a little child I, an old man, am defeated. But what can I, who was defeated, say? Behold, even from the beginning, I did not understand a thing he was saying. Have mercy on me! I am clearly dying! My soul is before my eyes because of the order of his voice and the beauty of his words.

**4** “He is something great—either a god, or an angel; or what I should say I do not know.”

**8 1** Then the boy Jesus laughed and said, “Let those in whom there is no fruit produce fruit; and let the blind see the living fruit of judgement.”

**3** “O my friends! I cannot endure. I am fleeing from this village; I cannot look upon him. By a little child I, an old man, am defeated. But what can I say? How, even from the beginning, I was understanding what he was saying? Have mercy on me! I am dying! My soul is taken from before my eyes by reason of the order of his voice and the beauty of his words.

**4** “He is something great—either a god, or an angel, or what I should say I do not know.”

**8 1** Then Jesus laughed and said, “Let those in whom there is no fruit produce fruit trees; and let the blind see the living fruit of judgment.

**(7 3)** And that scribe said, “He wished <me> to instruct him. O my friends! I cannot bear it. I am fleeing from the village. I cannot look upon him. By a little child I, an old man, am defeated. And what can I who was defeated say? How, even from the beginning, I did not know a thing he was saying? My soul is lost from the order of his voice and from the beauty of his words.

**(7 4)** “He is something great—either a god or an angel, or what I should say of him I do not know.”

3 אר תשור לר כצממ ארר  
 לחממביר. חים ארר לר קר מיררר:  
 לר כצממ ארר דאררר כמ. קר  
 ללל אררר אורררר: ארר דאררר  
 רררר סכר. מלר נר אררר ארר  
 דארררר. סר דאררל רררר נררר  
 דאררר מלר לר כמממל ארר.  
 ארררר חל. מררר ארר חלללל.  
 ארררר נררר מרר חלל. מררל  
 לרררר נררר רכררררר  
 נררר ררררר.

3 אר תשור לר כצממ ארר  
 לחממביר. חים ארר לר קר מיררר  
 מיררר: לר כצממ ארר דאררר כמ.  
 קר ללל אררר אורררר: ארר  
 דאררר, רררר סכר. מלר נר אררר:  
 אררר דאררל רררר נררר דאררר  
 מלר כמממל ארר. ארררר חל.  
 מררר ארר לר. חללללל ארררר  
 נררר נררר קר מרר חלל: כמ.  
 לרררר נררר רכררררר  
 נררר ררררר.

(37) ארררר סר מרררר נררר  
 דלללללל. ארר תשור. לר מררר ארר  
 לררררר. חים ארר לר קר מיררר.  
 לר כצממ ארר דאררר כמ. נרר  
 ללל אררר אורררר ארר דאררר,  
 סכר. מררר ארררר דארררר.  
 אררר דאררל רררר נררר דאררר  
 לר מררר. ארררר לר נרר קר  
 לרררר נררר רכררררר  
 נררר ררררר.

4 מלר מררר סר דרר: אר ארלממ  
 סר אר מלררר סר: אר מלר אררר  
 לר נרר ארר \*

4 מלר מררר סר דרר: אר ארלממ  
 סר אר מלררר סר: אר מלר אררר  
 לר נרר ארר \*

(47) מלר מררר סר דרר: אר ארלממ  
 סר אר מלררר: אר מלר  
 אררררר, לר נרר ארר.

18 מררר רררר ללל מררר ארררר:  
 ררררר רררר ארל מלר מרר  
 כמ. רררר: מררר מרררר  
 רררר נררר.

18 מררר רררר ללל מררר ארררר:  
 ררררר רררר ארל מלר מרר  
 רררר: מררר מרררר רררר  
 נררר.

(47) מלר מררר סר דרר: אר ארלממ  
 סר אר מלררר: אר מלר  
 אררררר, לר נרר ארר.

2 Those who had fallen under his curse came alive and rose up. No one was daring to anger him again.

2 “And let those who had fallen under the curse rise.” No one was daring to anger him.

9 1 Again one time, on the day of the Sabbath, Jesus was playing with children on a roof. One of the children fell and died. When those other children saw (what had happened), they ran away, and Jesus stayed behind alone.

9 1 Again one other time, on the day of the Sabbath, Jesus was playing with children on a roof. One of the children fell and died. When those other children saw (what had happened), they ran away, and Jesus was found alone.

2 The parents of the one who was dead took hold of him and said to him, “You made the boy fall.” And Jesus said, “I did not make him fall.” They were accusing him.

2 The parents of the one who was dead saw him and said to him, “You made the boy fall.” And Jesus said, “I did not make him fall.” They were accusing him.

3 Then he came down to the one who was dead and said in a loud voice,

3 Then Jesus came down to the one who was dead and said in a loud voice,

2 נסו דגמ סמכסו ארמל דגפלה סמסו  
 חשבו ללפלוס. מלכו אנו ארסו סמסו  
 לכו וסוסיסו \*

2 סמסו סמכסו ארמל דגפלה חשבו  
 ללפלוס. מלכו אנו ארסו סמסו  
 לכו וסוסיסו \*

19 חסב דגמ כוכ סמסו דגבסו  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו  
 ארסו. סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.

19 חסב דגמ כוכ ארסו סמסו  
 דגבסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.

2 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.

2 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.

3 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.

3 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו  
 סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו סמסו.

“Zeno, Zeno”—for thus was his name—“did I make you fall?” Immediately, he leaped up and stood and said to him, “No, my Lord.”

“Zeno, Zeno, did I make you fall?” Immediately, the one dead leaped up and stood. He answered and said, “No, my Lord, you did not make me fall, rather so-and-so made me fall.”

4 All of them were astounded. Even the boy’s parents were praising God for the wonder that had happened.

4 All of those who were there were astounded. Even the parents of the dead one were praising God for this wonder that had happened.

11 1 Again, when Jesus was about seven years old, his mother sent him to draw water. And in the press of a great crowd, his pitcher struck (against something) and was broken.

11 1 Again, when Jesus was about seven years old, his mother sent him to draw water. And in the press of the people, his pitcher was struck and was broken.

2 Then Jesus spread out the cloak that was covering him and he collected and brought (home) that water.

2 Then Jesus spread out the cloak that was covering him and collected that water. And he carried it to his mother.

*sticharion.*





His mother Mary was amazed and kept in her heart all that she was seeing.

When his mother Mary saw, she was amazed and she was keeping in her heart everything she was seeing.

**12 1** Once again Jesus was playing. He sowed one measure of wheat.

**(12 1)** Once again he was going and he sowed one measure of wheat.

**2** And he harvested 100 cors and gave them to the people of the village.

**(12 2)** And it yielded 100 hundred cors of wheat and he gave them to the inhabitants of the village.

**13 1** Jesus was eight years old. Joseph was a carpenter and was making nothing other than ploughs and yokes. A man had ordered of him a bed of six cubits. One plank did not have the (proper) measure on one side, for it was shorter than the other. Jesus said to Joseph, "You take hold of the end of the short one."

**13 1** When Jesus was eight years old, his father Joseph was a carpenter and made nothing other than ploughs and yokes. A man had ordered from him a bed of six cubits. One plank did not have the (proper) measure of length, for it was shorter than the other.

**(13 1)** Joseph was a carpenter and he wished to make a bed. One of the planks of the bed was smaller in measure than the other. Jesus took hold by the one end and said to Joseph, "You take that other end."



2 Jesus took the measure of the wood and pulled and stretched it and made it equal to its other. Jesus said to his father Joseph, "Do henceforth what you wish."

**(13 2)** Jesus pulled it and made it equal with the other. He said to Joseph, "Do now what you wish."

**14 1** When Joseph saw his intelligence, he wished to teach him writing and brought him to the school. The scribe said to him, "Say Aleph." And Jesus said <it>. Again, the scribe added that he should say Beth.

**(14 1)** Again, another scribe said to Joseph, "Hand him over to me and I will teach him." The scribe began to teach him and said to him, "Alpha." And Jesus said, "Alpha." The scribe said, "Beta."

2 Jesus said to him, "Tell me first what Aleph is, and then I will tell you concerning the Beth." The scribe was furious and struck him, and immediately (the scribe) fell down and died.

**(14 2)** Jesus said to him, "Tell me what Alpha is and I will tell you what Beta is." That scribe was furious and struck him, and immediately (the scribe) fell down and died.



**3** Jesus went back to his family. Joseph called his mother Mary and spoke to her and commanded her not to permit him to go out of the house, so that those who strike him will not die.

**3** The boy Jesus went back to his family. Joseph called Mary and said to her, “Look, do not permit him to go out, so that those who strike him will not die.”

**(14 3)** The boy went back to his family. Joseph called his mother Mary and said to her, “Do not let the boy go out from inside the house, so that those who strike him will not die.”

**15 1** But another scribe said to Joseph, “Hand him over to me. I will teach him by flattery.”

**15 1** But again, another scribe said to Joseph, “Hand him over to me. I will teach him by flattery.”

**(15 1)** But another scribe said to Joseph, “Hand him over to me and I will teach him by flattery.”

**2** Jesus entered the school. He took a scroll and was reading, not what was written, but he opened his mouth and spoke in the spirit, so that that scribe was sitting with him on the ground and was beseeching to learn from him.

**2** Jesus went to the scribe. He took a scroll and was reading, not what was written on the scroll, but he opened his mouth and spoke in the Holy Spirit, and that scribe had fallen on the ground and was beseeching him to learn from him.

**(15 2)** He brought him again to the school. He took a scroll and was reading, not what was written, but he opened his mouth and spoke in the Holy Spirit so that that scribe, when he heard, went down and sat with him on the ground. Astonishment and wonder took hold of him because of what he heard from the boy.

3 מַעֲבָד אֶרְבָּא לְהַד אֲרִיִּסְתָּא. מִפְּזָר  
 מִסְּמָא לְחַיְיָר אֲרַבְתָּא לְהַד  
 מִפְּזָר. וְלֹא הִיִּסְמִינָא. וְנִפְסָא לְחַיְיָר  
 חֲבֵרָא. וְלֹא נִמְסָפּ מַחֲבֵרָא אֲרִיִּב  
 וְנִחְסָב לְהַד \*

115 מִפְּזָר וְנָם אֲרִיִּבְרָא אֲרִיִּבְרָא  
 אֲרִיִּבְרָתָא. לֹא מִרְרָא חֲלָפּ אֲרִיִּב לְהַד  
 חֲבֵרָרָא.

2 גַּל וְנָם מַעֲבָד לְחַבְרָא מִפְּזָר. מִעֲבַל  
 חֲבֵרָא מִפְּזָר מִסָּא. לְהַד מִסָּא מִלְּמָא  
 וְחֲבֵרָתָא אֲרִיִּב פִּיִּבּוּ פִּסְחָתָא מִגְּלָא  
 חֲבֵרָא אֲרִיִּבְרָא וְנָם מִפְּזָר מִבְּרָא  
 מִסָּא חֲלָ אֲרִיִּבְרָא מִבְּרָא מִסָּא וְנִחְלָתָא  
 כִּרְלָא.

3 מַלְלָא וְנָם מַעֲבָד אֶרְבָּא לְהַד אֲרִיִּסְתָּא.  
 מִפְּזָר מִסְּמָא לְחַיְיָר אֲרִיִּבְרָא לְהַד. מִזִּי  
 לְהַד הִיִּסְמִינָא. וְנִפְסָא. וְלֹא נִמְסָפּ \*  
 מַחֲבֵרָא אֲרִיִּב וְנִחְסָב לְהַד \*

115 וְנָם מִפְּזָר אֲרִיִּבְרָא אֲרִיִּבְרָא  
 לְהַד מִסָּא. אֲרִיִּבְרָתָא. לֹא מִרְרָא חֲלָפּ  
 אֲרִיִּב לְהַד חֲבֵרָרָא.

2 מִרְרָא מַעֲבָד לְהַד מִפְּזָר מִעֲבַל  
 חֲבֵרָא מִפְּזָר מִסָּא. לְהַד מִסָּא לְמִלְּמָא  
 וְחֲבֵרָתָא חֲבֵרָתָא. אֲרִיִּב פִּיִּבּוּ פִּסְחָתָא  
 מִגְּלָא מִסָּא חֲבֵרָא וְנִחְלָתָא מִסָּא  
 מִפְּזָר נִפְלָ מִסָּא חֲלָ אֲרִיִּבְרָא. מִבְּרָא  
 מִסָּא חֲלָתָא וְנִחְלָתָא כִּרְלָא.

(314) מַלְלָא אֶרְבָּא אֶרְבָּא לְהַד אֲרִיִּסְתָּא.  
 מִסָּא מִסְּמָא לְחַיְיָר אֲרַבְתָּא מִרְרָא  
 לְהַד. לְהַד הִיִּסְמִינָא. לְלִילָא וְנִפְסָא לְחַיְיָר  
 חֲבֵרָא. וְלֹא נִמְסָפּ מַחֲבֵרָא אֲרִיִּב  
 וְנִחְסָב לְהַד.

(115) מִפְּזָר וְנָם אֲרִיִּבְרָא אֲרִיִּבְרָא  
 לְהַד מִסָּא. אֲרִיִּבְרָתָא. לֹא מִרְרָא חֲלָפּ  
 אֲרִיִּב לְהַד חֲבֵרָרָא.

(215) מִרְרָא מַעֲבָד לְחַבְרָא מִפְּזָר.  
 מִעֲבַל חֲבֵרָא מִפְּזָר מִסָּא. לְהַד מִסָּא  
 מִלְּמָא וְחֲבֵרָתָא אֲרִיִּב פִּיִּבּוּ פִּסְחָתָא  
 מִגְּלָא חֲבֵרָא וְנִחְלָתָא. אֲרִיִּבְרָא וְנָם  
 מִפְּזָר מִזִּי מַעֲבָד לְחַבְרָא מִבְּרָא לְהַד חֲלָ  
 אֲרִיִּבְרָא. מִרְרָא מִפְּזָר מִזִּי מִפְּזָר. חֲלָ  
 מִזִּי מִעֲבָד מִגְּלָא לְלִילָא.

Great crowds gathered and stood there. Jesus thus opened his mouth and was speaking, so that all who arrived and stood there might be astounded and amazed.

**3** When Joseph heard, he ran and came because he was afraid lest that scribe also would die. The scribe said to Joseph, "You have delivered to me not a student but a master."

**4** Joseph took Jesus and brought him back to his home.

**16 1** Again, Joseph had sent his son James to gather sticks and Jesus had gone with him.

Great crowds came and gathered and stood there. Jesus opened his mouth and was speaking, so that all who were listening to him would be astounded and amazed.

**3** When Joseph heard, he ran and came and took the boy because he was afraid lest the scribe also would die. The scribe said to Joseph, "You have delivered to me not a student but a master and a teacher."

**4** Joseph took Jesus and brought him back to his home.

**16 1** Again, Joseph sent his son James to gather sticks.

Great crowds were gathered there. Jesus thus opened his mouth and was speaking, so that all of them might be astounded and amazed.

**(15 3)** When Joseph heard, he ran and came because he was afraid lest this scribe also would strike Jesus and die. The scribe said to Joseph, "You have delivered to me not a student but a master and a teacher."

**(15 4)** Joseph took the boy and brought him back to his home.

**(16 1)** Again, Joseph sent the boy and James his son to the vineyard.



הַיְהוֹדָה שֶׁלֹּא יִשְׁכַּח אֶת-עֲשֵׂה הַמִּצְוֹת  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַמִּצְוֹת  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה

3 וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַמִּצְוֹת  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַמִּצְוֹת

4 וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
\* לְעֵשֶׂה

116 וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
כִּי יִשְׁכַּח אֶת-עֲשֵׂה הַמִּצְוֹת  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה

הַיְהוֹדָה שֶׁלֹּא יִשְׁכַּח אֶת-עֲשֵׂה הַמִּצְוֹת  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַמִּצְוֹת  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה

3 וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַמִּצְוֹת  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַמִּצְוֹת

4 וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
\* לְעֵשֶׂה

116 וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
כִּי יִשְׁכַּח אֶת-עֲשֵׂה הַמִּצְוֹת

הַיְהוֹדָה שֶׁלֹּא יִשְׁכַּח אֶת-עֲשֵׂה הַמִּצְוֹת  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַמִּצְוֹת  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה

(3 15) וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַמִּצְוֹת  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַמִּצְוֹת

(4 15) וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
\* לְעֵשֶׂה

(116) וְעָשָׂה אֶת-כָּל-דְּבָרֵי הַתּוֹרָה  
כִּי יִשְׁכַּח אֶת-עֲשֵׂה הַמִּצְוֹת

While they were gathering sticks, a deadly viper bit James on his hand.

A deadly viper bit James on the hand.

While they were walking a deadly viper bit James.

**2** When Jesus came near to him, he did to him nothing more than straighten out his hand and blow on that bite. And it was healed, the viper died, and James lived.

**2** When he came near to Jesus, he blew on it. And it was healed, the viper died, and James lived.

**(16 2)** Jesus came near and blew on that bite. And it was healed, the viper died, and James lived.

**19 1** When Jesus was twelve years old, they had gone to Jerusalem, as it was custom for Joseph and Mary to go to the festival of Passover. When they had completed Passover, they turned back to their home. When they had turned to come <home>, Jesus remained in Jerusalem. Neither Joseph nor his mother Mary knew (it), but they thought that he was with their companions.

**19 1** When Jesus was twelve years old, he had gone to Jerusalem, as it was custom for Joseph and Mary to go to the festival of Passover. When they had turned to come <home>, Jesus remained in Jerusalem. Joseph and Mary did not know that he stayed behind there, but they thought that he was with their companions.

**(19 1)** Again, Joseph and Mary went to Jerusalem, as it was their custom to go to the festival of Passover. When they completed Passover, they turned back to their home, but Jesus remained in Jerusalem. Joseph and Mary did not know (it); they thought to themselves that he was with their companions.



2 When they came to the rendezvous of that day, they were seeking him among their kinsfolk and among (those) who knew them. When they did not find Jesus, they turned back to Jerusalem and were seeking him. After three days they found him in the temple, sitting among the teachers, and listening to them and questioning them. All those hearing were amazed, because he was silencing these teachers, for he was expounding to them the parables of the prophets and the mysteries and the allegories of the law.

3 His mother said to him, "My son, why have you done this to us so? We were distressed and agitated and searching for you." Jesus answered and said,

2 When they came to the road of the day, they were seeking him among their kinsfolk. They did not find him and they turned back to Jerusalem and were seeking him. Then, after three days, they found him in the temple, sitting among the teachers, and listening to them and questioning them. All those hearing were amazed at him, because he was silencing the elders and teachers of the people, for he was expounding to them the parables of the prophets and the allegories of the law.

3 His mother said to him, "My son, why have you done this to us so? We were distressed and agitated and we were searching for you." Jesus answered and said to them,

(19 2) When they came to the meeting-place for the evening, they were seeking him among their kinsfolk and among those who knew them. They did not find him <and> they turned back to Jerusalem and were seeking him. After three days they found him in the temple, sitting among the teachers.



“Why were you searching for me? Do you not know that it is fitting for me to be in my Father’s house?”

4 The scribes and the Pharisees answered and said to Mary, “Are you the mother of this boy? The Lord has blessed you in your fruit, for such glory of wisdom we have not seen in children, nor have we heard any man speak.”

5 He rose, went with his mother, and was obedient to his parents. But his mother was keeping all these words in her heart. Jesus was excelling and growing in wisdom and stature and grace before God and before men, amen.

“Why are you searching for me? Do you not know that it is fitting for me to be among these of my Father’s house?”

4 The scribes answered and said to Mary, “Are you the mother of this boy? The Lord has blessed you in your fruit; such glory and wisdom we have neither seen nor heard in children.”

5 He rose, went with them and was obedient to his parents. But his mother was keeping all these words in her heart. Jesus was excelling and growing in stature and wisdom and grace before God and before men.

**(Here) ends the Childhood of our Lord Jesus (Here) ends book four.**

מַלְאָךְ כְּחַם מִשְׁמַחֵם לִי: לֵךְ מִיַּד אֲנִי־  
הַחַד אֲבִי, הֲלֵךְ לִי לְחַמְסִי.

4 חַד הוּא מִשְׁפָּחָא שְׁפִיזָא אֲרִיזָא  
לְחִיזָא. אֲנִי, מִי אֲרִיזָא גִמְלָא בְּלִיא:  
הוּזָא כְּפִיזָא. וְאִי־מִי: וְאִי־מִי מִזָּא  
הַעֲבָדָא וְשִׁמְרָא כְּלָלָא לֵךְ מִי  
הֲלֵךְ עֲמִי וְאִי־מִי מִלָּא.

5 מִי־מִי אֲוִי חַר אֲרִיזָא מִלְּבָבָא מִי  
לְמִי לְרִיזָא. אֲרִיזָא מִי לְרִיזָא מִי  
חִלָּא חִלָּא חִלָּא. מִי־מִי מִלְּבָבָא  
מִי מִי־מִי מִלְּבָבָא מִלְּבָבָא  
מִלְּבָבָא לֵךְ אֲרִיזָא מִלְּבָבָא קִי אֲרִיזָא  
אֲרִיזָא.

❖ מִלְּבָבָא מִלְּבָבָא מִי־מִי ❖

מַלְאָךְ כְּחַם מִשְׁמַחֵם לִי: לֵךְ מִיַּד  
אֲנִי־הַחַד אֲבִי, הַחַד אֲבִי הֲלֵךְ לִי  
לְחַמְסִי.

4 חַד הוּא מִשְׁפָּחָא אֲרִיזָא לְחִיזָא. אֲנִי,  
אֲרִיזָא אֲרִיזָא גִמְלָא בְּלִיא: וְאִי־מִי  
מִזָּא כְּפִיזָא. וְאִי־מִי מִזָּא הַעֲבָדָא  
וְשִׁמְרָא כְּלָלָא לֵךְ מִי עֲמִי.

5 מִי־מִי אֲוִי חַר אֲרִיזָא מִלְּבָבָא מִי  
לְרִיזָא. אֲרִיזָא מִי לְרִיזָא מִי חִלָּא  
חִלָּא חִלָּא. מִי־מִי מִלְּבָבָא מִי  
מִי מִי־מִי מִלְּבָבָא מִלְּבָבָא  
מִלְּבָבָא לֵךְ אֲרִיזָא מִלְּבָבָא קִי אֲרִיזָא  
אֲרִיזָא.

❖ מִלְּבָבָא מִלְּבָבָא מִי־מִי ❖





## 5 GLOSSARY

This glossary contains all words appearing in the editions of the three Syriac recensions of IGT, with the exception of articles, pronouns, demonstratives, the prepositions ܐ, ܢ, and ܕ, the conjunctions ܘ and ܗܘܐ, the negative particle ܘܠ, and the verbs for to be (ܪܥܡܘܢ, ܕܘܪܘܢ) and to say (ܝܘܪܘܢ). Significant variant readings from the critical apparatus are included also, with the added siglum ca (e.g., Sa<sup>ca</sup>). Slight variations in spelling (e.g., ܡܠܟܘܬܐ and ܡܠܟܘܬܐ) are combined in a single entry; glosses for verbs include translations for all of the derived stem forms in which they appear.

ܘܪܐ	father, parent. Sa 2.9, 4.1.5, 5.4, 6.2.3.14.32, 13.7, 19.15; Sw 2.8, 4.1, 5.3, 6.2.14.33, 13.1, 19.16; Se 19, 37, 38.
ܘܪܘܢ	to be lost. Se 101.
ܘܪܘܢ	to break. Sa 11.3; Sw 11.3; Se 108.
ܘܪܘܢ	roof. Sa 9.2; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.8; Sw 9.2; Sw 9.2 <sup>ca</sup> .
ܘܪܘܢ	ear. Sa 5.7; Sw 5.7.
ܘܪܘܢ	O. Sa 6.2.21, 7.12; Sw 6.2.9.22, 7.11; Se 97.
ܘܪܘܢ	or. Sa 6.40, 7.7.18(3x); Sw 6.40.41, 7.7.17(3x); Se 14, 92, 103(3x).
ܘܪܘܢ	oh. Se 90.
ܘܪܘܢ	that is to say. Sw 11.5; Sw <sup>ca</sup> inc.
ܘܪܘܢ	rendez-vous. Sa 19.6.
ܘܪܘܢ	way, road. Sa 4.2; Sw 4.2, 19.6; Se 8, 9.
ܘܪܘܢ	length. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 13.3; Sw 13.4.
ܘܪܘܢ	Jerusalem (also ܡܠܟܘܬܐ). Sa 19.1.4.7; Sw 19.1.3.7; Se 68, 70, 75.
ܘܪܘܢ	to go. Sa 2.8.13.14.15, 4.1.2, 14.7, 16.2, 19.1.2.19; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.10; Sw 2.7.12.13, 4.1.2, 6.18, 14.7, 15.3, 19.1.2.20; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 16.1, 19.5; Se 49, 68, 69, 118.



א	other. Sa 13.2.
בית	school. Sa 6.34; Sw 6.34; Se 2.
בית	form. Sa 6.47; Se 83.
אך	also, even. Sa 3.1, 7.5, 9.10, 15.10; Sw 3.1, 6.32.51, 7.6, 9.12, 15.10; Se 61, 91.
פנים	face (with פנים: hypocrite), expression. Sa 6.45; Sw 6.45; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 2.11; Se 81.
אף	even, nor. Sa 7.15; Sw 7.14; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 19.4; Se 100.
ארבע	four. Sw inc., expl.
שפך	to pour. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.4–5; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 11.5.
אדמה	earth, ground. Sa 7.5, 15.5; Sw 7.5, 15.5; Se 57, 90.
בוא	to come, to arrive (Aphel: to bring, acquire). Sa 2.10, 6.33, 7.2.10, 11.4, 15.8.9, 19.4.6; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.4; Sw 2.10, 6.33, 7.2.9.10, 11.4, 14.2, 15.6.9, 19.3.6; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 11.5; Se 7, 13, 39, 60, 73, 94; Se <sup>ca</sup> 62.
אדם	character. Sa 6.48; Se 4, 84.
יש	to scatter. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 3.3, 11.4–5; Sw 3.3; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 11.5.
אנוח	to comfort. Sa 6.32; Sw 6.32.
על	by reason of. Sw 7.16.
אלף	Beta (אלף בית: alphabet). Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.45.46, 14.3.5; Sw 14.3.5; Se 3, 5, 45, 47; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.45.46.
בין	among. Sa 19.9; Sw 19.8; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 4.7; Se 76.
עו	wicked. Sa 6.2; Sw 6.2; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 16.2; Se <sup>ca</sup> 65.
בית	Beth. Sa 6.45.46, 14.3.5; Sw 6.35.45.46; Se 78, 79, 81, 82; Se <sup>ca</sup> 4–5.
בית	house, home (with בית: school). Sa 14.2.8, 15.3.12, 19.3.15; Sw 15.12, 19.16; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 11.5; Se 50, 54, 63, 70.
איש	alone. Sa 6.18, 9.3; Sw 6.18, 9.4; Se 39.
אך	to be struck. Sa 6.39; Sw 6.38.
בשר	flesh. Sa 6.11; Sw 6.11; Se 35.
אך	to seek, to beseech. Sa 7.4, 15.5, 19.6.8.14(2x); Sw 7.4, 15.5, 19.6.7.14.15; Se 73, 75; Se <sup>ca</sup> 97.
אך	to search. Sw 6.12.
בן	son (pl.: children, people). Sa 3.1, 5.4.5, 6.4.6, 12.3, 16.1, 19.13.22; Sw 3.1, 5.4(2x), 6.5.6, 9.11,

	12.3, 16.1, 19.13; Se 19, 20, 28, 30, 64, 70. To express age: Sa 2.1, 6.24, 11.1, 13.1, 19.1; Sw 2.1, 6.24, 11.1, 13.1, 19.1; Se 1; Se <sup>ca</sup> 107.
ܡܢܪ ܝܘ	man (also ܡܢܪܝܘܢ). Sa 19.22; Sw 19.23.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	bastard. Se 20.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	kinfolk. Sa 19.7–8; Sw 19.6; Se 73–74.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	companion. Sa 19.5; Sw 19.5; Se 72.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	immediately (also ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ and ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘܢ). Sa 5.6, 9.9, 14.5; Sw 9.9, 14.6; Se 6, 47–48.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to bless. Sa 4.8, 19.17; Sw 19.18; Se 15.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to harm. Se 18.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	after. Sa 19.8; Sw 6.37, 19.8; Se 5, 75.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	side. Sa 6.51, 13.4; Sw 6.52; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 13.4; Se 85, 87.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to mold. Sa 2.6.10; Sw 2.5.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	man. Sa 7.14; Sw 7.13; Se 29.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	inside. Se 50.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	cloak. Sa 11.4; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 11.4; Sw 11.4; Se 109.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	angle. Sa 6.48; Sw 6.49; Se 85.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to commit adultery. Se <sup>ca</sup> 8.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	see ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	encouragement. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 15.2.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to laugh. Sa 6.30(2x), Sa 8.1; Sw 6.29(2x), 8.1; Se 105(2x), 106.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	for. Sa 2.7, 5.9, 6.11.13.17.18, 7.8, 9.8, 19.11.17; Sw 5.9, 6.10.12.17, 19.11; Se 34, 37, 38.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	clearly. Sa 7.16.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to take away. Sw 7.15.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	bedchamber. Sa 5.5; Sw 5.4.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	race (see also ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ). Sa 6.17; Sw 6.17.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to leak out. Sa 3.2; Sw 3.2.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to incite. Sa 2.9; Sw 2.8.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to take. Sa 15.2; Sw 15.12; Se 63.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to be wretched. Sa 7.9.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	marvel. Se 57.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	to be afraid. Sa 15.9; Sw 15.10; Se 60.
ܚܘܠܝܘܢ ܝܘ	own. Sa 6.16; Sw 3.2, 6.15, 7.15, 11.4; Se <sup>ca</sup> 97.

דָּם	judgement. Sa 8.3; Sw 8.2.
לֵּד	without. Sa 3.4, 5.9; Sw 3.5, 5.9, 6.41; Se 24, 50.
לֵּלֵךְ	lest, not; why. Sa 6.8.48, 15.9; Sw 6.8.48, 15.10; Se 60.
לֵּלֵךְ	why? Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.48; Se 84.
לֵּלֵךְ	to be amazed (Ethpael). Sa 6.26.31, 7.1, 11.5, 15.7, 19.10; Sw 6.21.26.30, 7.1, 11.6, 15.8, 19.9; Se 59, 95, 110.
לֵּלֵךְ	to be obedient (Ethpeal). Sa 19.19; Sw 19.20.
לֵּלֵךְ	plank. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 13.4; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 13.4; Se 113.
לֵּלֵךְ	side. Sa 13.4; Sw 13.4.
שֶׁ	that is. Se <sup>ca</sup> 4–5.
רָם	O, behold. Sa 7.15; Se 26.
רָם	then. Sa 2.12, 5.8, 6.37.43.46.47, 8.1, 9.7, 14.4, 19.8; Sw 2.11, 6.37.43.46.47, 8.1, 9.8.9, 14.4, 19.8; Se 82, 105.
רָם	temple. Sa 19.9; Sw 19.8; Se 76.
רָם	thus, so. Sa 9.8, 15.6, 19.3; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 2.7.11, 6.46, 15.5; Se 58.
רָם	to walk. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.3; Se 65.
רָם	to turn back, return (Ethpael: to be transformed). Sa 6.51, 19.3.8; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.10; Sw 6.51, 19.7; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 19.3; Se 9, 70, 75, 86.
רָם	here. Sa 6.20; Sw 6.20.
רָם	now. Sa 6.10; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.46, 13.7; Se 33, 117.
רָם	to be fitting, to be right. Sa 6.33, 7.4; 19.15; Sw 6.34, 7.4, 19.16; Se 90.
רָם	meeting place. Se 73.
רָם	time. Sa 6.19.25, 9.1, 12.1; Sw 6.19, 9.1, 12.1; Se 4, 40, 118.
רָם	to be shaken. Se <sup>ca</sup> 88.
רָם	to conquer (Ethpeel: to be defeated). Sa 7.14.15; Sw 7.13; Se 99, 100.
רָם	Zacchaeus. Sa 6.1.32.34, 7.1; Sw 6.1.32.35, 7.1; Se

	3.
ܐܪ	to resound. Sa 6.40; Sw 6.40.
ܙܢܐ	Zeno (also ܙܢܐ). Sa 9.7.8; Sw 9.9(2x).
ܐܘܨܐ	little, small (pl. trifles). Sa 6.8.31(2x), 7.13; Sw 6.8.30(2x), 7.12; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 19.18; Se 96, 99.
ܐܘܨܐܘܨܐ	smallness. Se 95.
ܐܘܨܐ	cross. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 7.5.
ܐܘܨܐ	to sow. Sa 12.1; Sw 12.1; Se 118.
ܐܘܨܐ	to love (Aphel). Sa 6.4; Sw 6.6; Se 30.
ܐܘܨܐ	press. Sa 11.2; Sw 11.2; Se 108.
ܐܘܨܐ	other. Sa 13.4.7; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 13.4–5; Sw 9.3, 13.5.6; Se 116.
ܐܘܨܐ	one, certain. Sa 4.1, 6.1.47(2x), 9.2, 12.1, 13.4(2x), 16.3; Sw 4.1, 6.1.47.48, 9.2, 12.1, 13.4; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.1, 19.6; Se 8, 25, 65, 77,84, 112, 114, 118.
ܐܘܨܐ	to declare. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.6.
ܐܘܨܐ	love. Sa 6.6; Sw 6.5.
ܐܘܨܐ	to look upon. Sa 7.13; Sw 7.12; Se 99.
ܐܘܨܐ	to see. Sa 2.8.15, 3.4, 4.3, 5.6, 6.25, 8.2, 9.2, 11.6, 14.1, 19.18; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 7.10–11, 19.9; Sw 2.7, 3.2.5, 4.3, 5.5, 6.25, 8.2, 9.3.5, 11.5.6, 14.1.8, 19.19; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 5.7; Se 10.
ܐܘܨܐ	sight. Sa 6.21; Sw 6.22.
ܐܘܨܐ	sinner. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 5.5.
ܐܘܨܐ	wheat. Sa 12.2; Sw 12.2; Se 118, 119.
ܐܘܨܐ	to live. Sa 2.14, 6.52, 8.4, 16.6; Sw 2.13, 5.5, 16.4; Se 67.
ܐܘܨܐ	life. Sa 6.53, 8.2; Sw 8.2.
ܐܘܨܐ	power, miracle. Sa 6.41; Sw 2.3; 6.41; Se 89.
ܐܘܨܐ	to be wise. Sa 5.3; Sw 5.3; Se 19.
ܐܘܨܐ	wisdom. Sa 6.44, 19.18.21; Sw 6.44, 19.19.22.
ܐܘܨܐ	to mix. Sa 6.17; Sw 6.17.
ܐܘܨܐ	to be healed (Ethpeel). Sa 16.5; Sw 16.3; Se 66; Se <sup>ca</sup> 67.
ܐܘܨܐ	to gather together. Sa 6.50; Sw 6.50; Se 85.
ܐܘܨܐ	five. Sa 2.1, 6.24; Sw 2.1, 6.24; Se 1.
ܐܘܨܐ	to be furious. Sa 14.5; Sw 14.5; Se 6, 47.

ﻫ	Hannān. Sa 3.1; Sw 3.1.
ﺻﻐﻴﺮ	to be smaller. Se 113.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to hide. Se 86.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to harvest. Sa 12.3; Sw 12.3.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to be sharp, pointed. Sa 6.49; Sw 6.49; Se 85.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to suffer. Sa 5.2; Sw 5.2.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to recount. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 5.2; Se 4.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	greatly, hard. Sa 5.7, 6.21, 7.9; Sw 5.7, 6.21.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	character. Sa 6.49; Sw 6.49.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	order. Sa 7.17; Sw 7.16; Se 101.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	flood. Sa 7.6; Sw 7.6; Se 92.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	allegory. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.12.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	grace. Sa 19.21; Sw 19.22.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	clay. Sa 2.6.10(2x); Sw 2.5.9.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	boy, child. Sa 2.1.6.7, 3.7.13, 4.1.4.6, 5.1, 6.2.4.7, 8.1, 9.2(2x).3.5.10; 19.17.18; Sw 2.6.7, 3.8.12, 4.1.4.6, 5.1.3, 6.2.4.7.23, 9.2(2x).3.6, 14.7, 15.9, 19.18.19; Se 6,7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, 18, 26, 28, 31, 33, 49, 50, 57, 63, 64, 83, 88, 99, 105.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	childhood. Sa inc., expl.; Sw inc., expl. <sup>ca</sup> .
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to be forgotten, to be mistaken. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.13–14; Sw 7.9.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to bear. Sw 7.7; Se <sup>ca</sup> 92.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to strike. Sa 4.2; Sw 4.2; Se 8.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to be agitated (pass. part.). Sa 19.14; Sw 19.14.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to bring, to take. Sa 7.4, 15.12; Sw 7.4, 15.12; Se 1, 63, 110.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to wither, to dry up. Sa 3.5.7; Sw 3.4.6.8; Se 67.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	hand. Sa 2.12, 6.38, 16.3.5; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 5.7; Sw 2.11, 6.38, 16.2; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 16.3; Se 22, 92.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	to know. Sa 5.4, 6.14.17.18.27.45, 7.19, 19.4.7.15; Sw 5.4, 6.14.17.18.44, 7.18, 19.4.15; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 19.6; Se 19, 38, 39, 71, 74, 80, 81, 101, 104.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	knowledge (with ﻛﻮﻧﻰ: ignorance). Sa 5.9, 6.41; Sw 5.9, 6.42; Se 24.
ﻛﻮﻧﻰ	learning. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 14.2.

ܕܐܠܗ	day. Sa 9.1, 19.6.8; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 13.2–3, 19.4; Sw 9.1, 19.6.8; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 2.6; Se 75.
ܕܥܘܠܡܐ	Greek. Se 3.
ܕܝܘܫܘܥ	Joseph. Sa 2.9.11, 4.5, 5.1.7, 6.3.7, 13.1.5.7, 14.1.7, 15.1.9.10.12, 16.1, 19.2.4; Sw 2.8.10, 4.1.5, 5.1.7, 6.3.7, 13.1.7, 14.1.7, 15.1.9.11.12, 16.1, 19.2.4; Se 1, 7, 13, 16, 22, 25, 27, 31, 43, 49, 52, 60, 62, 63, 64, 68, 71, 112, 114, 117.
ܕܡܘܨ	to give, to yield. Sa 6.41, 12.3; Sw 6.40, 12.3; Se 119.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	Jew (also ܕܢܫܘܬܐ). Sa 2.8; Sw 2.7.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	to beget. Sa 4.4, 6.13.18.19.24.28, 7.7; Sw 4.4, 6.13.19.24, 7.7; Se 11, 37, 38, 40, 92.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	mother. Sw expl. <sup>ca</sup> .
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	to learn (Pael: to teach). Sa 4.7, 6.4.15.33(2x).45, 14.1, 15.2.5; Sw 4.7, 6.4.15.33.34.45, 14.1, 15.2.6; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.46(2x). Se 14, 28, 44, 81, 97.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	right. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 16.2.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	to add (Aphel). Sa 14.3; Sw 14.3.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	James. Sa 16.1.3.6; Sw 16.1.2.4; Se 64, 65, 67.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	to set fire (Aphel). Sa 7.6; Sw 7.6; Se 91.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	to honor (Pael). Sa 6.5; Sw 6.4; Se 29.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	Jesus. Sa inc., 2.1.9.12, 3.1.3.4, 4.1.2, 5.3.8, 6.9.26.32.38.43.47, 8.1, 9.1.3.5, 11.1.4, 12.1, 13.1.5.6.7, 14.3.4.7, 15.2.6.12, 16.2.4, 19.1.4.7.14.20, expl.; Sw inc., 2.1.8.11, 3.1.3.5, 4.1.2, 5.8, 6.26.33.43.47, 8.1, 9.2.3.6.8, 11.1.4, 12.1, 13.1.6, 14.3.4.7, 15.3.7.12, 16.3, 19.1.3.14.21, expl. <sup>ca</sup> ; Se 1, 8, 9, 23, 25, 45, 46, 58, 61, 66, 70, 77, 78, 80, 95, 105, 107, 109, 114, 116.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	to advance (Ettaph.). Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.20–21.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	to sit. Sa 15.5, 19.9; Sw 19.8; Se 56, 76.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	more. Sa 6.28, 16.4.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	repeatedly. Sa 6.39.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	to excel (Ethpael). Sa 19.20; Sw 19.21.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	rock. Se <sup>ca</sup> 9.
ܕܢܫܘܬܐ	to rebuke. Sa 2.11; Sw 2.10.



ח	when. Sa 2.1.14.15, 3.4, 4.1, 6.1.12.21.29.32.34.38, 7.1, 9.2, 11.1, 13.1, 15.9, 16.2, 19.1.3(2x).6.7. 9; Sw 2.1.13, 3.2.5, 5.7, 6.1.21.28.32.34.36.38, 7.1, 9.2. 11.1.5, 12.1, 13.1.6, 14.1, 15.9, 16.3, 19.1.3.6. 8; Se 1, 4, 8, 13, 25, 27, 42, 56, 60, 64, 69, 73, 76.
חַוּ	priest. Sa 6.23; Sw 6.23.
חַוּ	cor. Sa 12.3; Sw 12.3; Se 119.
חַוּ	to be in awe (Ethpacl). Sa 6.5; Sw 6.5; Se 29.
ח	now. Se 27.
חַוּ	nature. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 5.4.
חַוּ	all, entire. Sa 4.4, 7.1, 9.10, 11.6, 15.7, 19.10.20; Sw 2.12, 4.4, 6.43.47; 7.1, 9.12, 15.8, 19.10.21; Se 4, 11, 59, 83.
חַוּ	to crown (Pael). Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.52; Sw 6.52.
חַוּ	to confine. Sa 2.2.
חַוּ	everything. Sw 11.6.
חַוּ	everyone. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.9.
חַוּ	how much, as long as. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 4.6; Sa 6.19; Sw 4.6, 6.19; Se 40.
ח	then. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 11.3
חַוּ	to collect, to gather. Sa 3.3, 11.4, 15.6; Sw 3.3, 6.49.11.4, 15.6; Se 58, 109.
חַוּ	crowd. Sa 11.2, 15.6; Sw 2.12, 15.6; Se 58.
חַוּ	to cover, to conceal. Sa 11.4; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 11.4; Se 89, 109.
חַוּ	to curve. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.51; Se <sup>ca</sup> 86.
חַוּ	palm (with ח simply “hand”). Sa 2.12; Sw 2.11.
חַוּ	to be short. Sa 13.4.5; Sw 13.4; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 13.5.
חַוּ	scroll. Sa 15.3; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 15.5; Sw 15.3.4; Se 54.
חַוּ	vineyard. Se 64.
חַוּ	womb. Sa 7.7; Sw 7.7; Se 92.
חַוּ	to write. Sa 15.4; Sw 15.4; Se 55.
חַוּ	alphabet (pl. letters). Sa 6.36.43; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.48; Sw 6.36.43.48.
חַוּ	shoulder. Sa 4.2; Sw 4.2; Se 9.
חַוּ	to remain. Sa 6.20; Sw 6.20; Se 41.
ח	heart. Sa 11.6, 19.20; Sw 11.6, 19.21; Se 111.



כַּל	to speak, to say. Sa 5.2, 6.1.9.23.24.29.40, 15.4.7, 19.18; Sw 5.2, 6.1.9.22.23.25.27.28.40, 15.4.7; Se 17, 25, 33, 55, 59.
כַּלֵּל	word, speech. Sa 4.4, 5.3, 6.9.22.24, 7.2, 19.20; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 15.6, 19.11; Sw 4.4, 5.3, 6.9.25, 7.2, 19.21; Se 11, 19, 33, 88.
כַּלֵּל	to draw (Shaphel: to complete). Sa 11.2; Sw 6.16, 11.2; Se 107.
כַּלְכַּל	angel. Sa 7.18; Sw 7.17; Se 103.
כַּלֵּל	to lecture, teach. Sa 5.1, 6.45; Sw 6.45; Se 16, 44, 53, 81.
כַּלְכַּל	teacher. Sa 6.1.9.32, 7.11, 19.9.11; Sw 6.1.9.32, 7.10, 15.11, 19.9.11; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.23–24, 19.17; Se 2, 25, 33, 62, 76, 78, 79, 94.
כַּלְכַּל	ever, never. Sa 6.22.25; Sw 6.25.
כַּלְכַּל	from, of, to, on account of, at, by, than. Sa 2.6.8, 3.2.5, 6.5.11(2x).14.16.17.18.23.35.40.43.47, 7.4(2x). 12.13, 9.2, 13.4, 14.8, 15.5, 19.9; Sw 2.5, 7, 3.6, 6.5.10.11.14.17.24.35.40.43.48, 7.4(2x). 11.12.15, 9.2, 13.4, 15.6(2x), 19.9; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 9.2, 16.2; Se 9, 29, 34, 38, 39, 50, 57, 77, 84, 88(2x), 89, 96, 98, 99, 101, 107, 113(2x).
כַּלְכַּל	suddenly. Sa 3.7, 4.2–3; Sw 3.8, 4.3; Se 10.
כַּלְכַּל	what, who. Sa 6.7.16, 19.7; Sw 6.7.15, 19.7; Se 31, 78.
כַּלְכַּל	why, how, what. Sa 2.11, 5.2(2x), 6.46, 7.14.19, 14.4, 19.13.14; Sw 2.10, 5.1, 7.13.18, 14.4.5, 19.13.15; Se 17(2x), 46, 47, 81, 100, 103. 6.48; Se 84, 97.
כַּלְכַּל	mandylion. Se <sup>ca</sup> 109.
כַּלְכַּל	ford. Sa 2.2; Sw 2.2
כַּלְכַּל	hood. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 11.4–5; Sw 11.5; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 11.4.
כַּלְכַּל	to be able. Se 97.
כַּלְכַּל	to be in the midst. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 19.8; Se <sup>ca</sup> 75–76.
כַּלְכַּל	Lord; parents (pl.). Sa inc., 9.10, 19.17, expl; Sw inc., 9.5.10, 19.18, expl. <sup>ca</sup> .
כַּלְכַּל	journey. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.4.
כַּלְכַּל	teaching. Sa 6.14; Sw 6.14.

ܘܝܘܢ	to dare. Sa 8.5; Sw 8.3.
ܕܘܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ	presumptuously. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.6.
ܘܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ	Mary. Sa 11.5, 14.7, 19.2.5.16; Sw 14.7, 19.2.4.17; Se 49, 68, 71, 110.
ܠܘܡܥܘܬܐ	measure. Sa 13.3.6; Sw 13.4; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 13.6; Se 113.
ܠܘܡܥܘܬܐ	Christ. Sa 2.1; Sa <sup>ca</sup> expl.; Sw inc., expl. <sup>ca</sup> .
ܘܕܘܠܘܬܐ	to extend, to stretch. Sa 6.49, 13.6; Sw 6.50; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 13.6; Se 85.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	harmonious. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 50.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	parable. Sa 19.12; Sw 19.11.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	prophet. Sa 19.12; Sw 19.12.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	carpenter. Sa 13.1; Sw 13.2; Se 112.
ܝܘܠܘܬܐ	to be bright. Sa 2.5; Sw 2.4.
ܘܠܘܬܐ	Noah. Sa 7.7; Sw 7.6; Se 92.
ܘܠܘܬܐ	to be calm. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 4.7.
ܝܘܠܘܬܐ	stranger. Sa 6.10; Sw 6.10; Se 34.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	bite. Sa 16.5; Se 66.
ܝܘܠܘܬܐ	fire. Sa 7.6; Sw 7.6; Se 91.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	channel. Sa 2.3.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	brass. Sa 6.40; Sw 6.40.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	to go down. Sa 9.7; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.6; Sw 9.8; Se 56.
ܝܘܠܘܬܐ	yoke. Sa 13.2; Sw 13.2.
ܝܘܠܘܬܐ	to keep. Sa 11.5, 19.20; Sw 11.6, 19.21; Se 111.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	to bite. Sa 16.3; Sw 16.2; Se 65.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	law. Sa 6.12(2x), 19.12; Sw 6.12(2x), 19.12; Se 36(2x).
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	to take (with ܠܘܠܘܬܐ: hypocrite). Sa 6.45; Sw 6.45; Se 81, 114.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	to blow. Sa 16.5; Sw 16.3; Se 66.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	to fall. Sa 4.3, 8.4, 9.2, 14.6; Sw 4.3, 8.3, 9.2, 14.6, 15.5; Se 10, 48.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	to go out, to project. Sa 6.49, 14.8; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.11; Sw 6.49, 14.8; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 16.2; Se 50, 85.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	soul. Sa 7.9.16; Sw 7.9.15; Se 101.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	to strike, clap. Sa 2.12; 11.2; Sw 2.11, 11.2; Se 108.
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ	to yield. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 8.1–2.

ᵎᵎᵎᵎ	measure. Sa 12.1; Sw 12.1; Se 118.
ᵎᵎ	old. Sa 7.14; Sw 7.13; Se 29, 99.
ᵎᵎᵎ	to think (Pael: to endure). Sa 6.8.13, 7.6.8.10.12, 19.5; Sw 6.8.13, 7.6.8.9.11, 19.4; Se 37, 71, 91, 93(2x), 98.
ᵎᵎ	many, great. Sa 2.7, 6.36.44.48, 11.2, 15.6; Sw 2.6, 6.36.44.48, 15.6; Se 4, 58, 108.
ᵎᵎᵎ	anvil. Sa 6.38; Sw 6.38.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎ	branch. Sa 3.2.5; Sw 3.2.6.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎ	understanding, intelligence. Sa 6.42, 14.1; Sw 6.42, 14.1.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎ	to perish. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 15.10.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎ	old age. Sa 6.5; Sw 6.4.
ᵎᵎᵎ	to expect. Se <sup>ca</sup> 109.
ᵎᵎᵎ	to understand (Ethpa.). Sa 7.15; Sw 7.14.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎ	to hate. Sa 5.5; Sw 5.2; Se 18.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎ	to commit. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 3.5.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎ	to be enough. Sa 5.8; Sw 5.8; Se 23.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎ	writing, book. Sa 14.1; Sa <sup>ca</sup> expl.; Sw inc., 6.4, 14.1, expl.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎ	scribe. Sa 3.1, 6.23.35.37, 7.1, 14.2(2x).3.5, 15.1.5.10(2x), 19.16; Sw 3.1, 6.24.35.37.47, 7.1, 14.2(2x).5, 15.1.3.5.10(2x), 19.17; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 19.11; Se 3, 6(2x), 43, 44, 45, 47, 52, 54, 56, 61(2x), 83, 88, 97.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎ	festival. Sa 19.3; Sw 19.3; Se 35.
ᵎᵎ	thick. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 3.5.
ᵎᵎᵎ	to thicken. Sa 6.49; Sw 6.49.
ᵎᵎᵎ	to do, to yield, to make, to complete, to act. Sa 2.4.8.11, 3.4; 5.2.9, 8.1, 13.2.7, 16.4, 19.3.13; Sw 2.4.7.8.9.10, 5.1.9, 8.1, 13.2.7, 19.13; Se 17, 24, 69, 112, 117, 119.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎ	deed. Sa 4.4; Sw 4.4; Se 11.
ᵎᵎᵎ	to blame. Sa 4.6; Sw 4.5.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎ	how long, up to. Sa 6.3.43; Sw 6.3.43; Se 27.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎ	festival. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.3.
ᵎᵎᵎᵎ	to recall (part.: be mindful of; with ᵎᵎᵎᵎᵎ: come to a right mind). Sa 2.13, 7.9; Sw 2.12, 7.8.

ܐܘܪܐ	to be distressed. Sa 19.13; Sw 19.14.
ܐܘܪܐ	to blind. Sa 5.6, 8.2; Sw 5.6, 8.2.
ܐܘܪܐ	to be clothed (pass. part.). Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.52; Sw 6.53.
ܐܘܪܐ	eye (also ܥܝܢܐ). Sa 7.17; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 5.6; Sw 7.16.
ܐܘܪܐ	custom (with ܐܘܪܐ: in the sight of). Sa 19.2; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.9; Sw 19.2; Se 69.
ܐܘܪܐ	concerning, on account of, at, on. Sa 2.2.9, 6.15. 26.31.38.46.47.48, 7.1.2(2x).5.16, 9.2.11, 14.5, 15.5; Sw inc., 2.1.8, 5.2, 6.26.30.34.38.46.47.48, 7.1.2.5.15, 9.2.13, 15.5, expl. <sup>ca</sup> ; Se 56, 57, 82, 83, 84, 90.
ܐܘܪܐ	to enter, to go into (Aphel: to bring). Sa 2.3, 6.34(2x), 14.2, 15.3; Sw 2.2, 6.34; Se 54.
ܐܘܪܐ	world. Se 41.
ܐܘܪܐ	for what reason. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.48; Sw 5.2.
ܐܘܪܐ	offering. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 12.2.
ܐܘܪܐ	with, at. Sa 2.7.8, 3.1, 4.1.6, 6.1.30, 9.1, 16.2, 19.5.19; Sw 2.6.7, 3.1, 4.1, 6.1.29, 9.2, 13.6, 19.4.20; Se 14, 25, 35(2x), 71, 106, 116.
ܐܘܪܐ	people. Sw 19.11; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 2.12; Se 108.
ܐܘܪܐ	inhabitant. Se 119.
ܐܘܪܐ	to dwell. Sa 4.7, 6.11; Sw 4.7, 6.11; Se 14.
ܐܘܪܐ	to answer. Sa 5.8, 6.7.9.26.36.44, 19.14.17; Sw 5.8, 6.9.26. 37.44, 9.10, 14.2, 19.14.17; Se 5, 23, 33, 80.
ܐܘܪܐ	willow. Sa 3.2; Sw 3.2.
ܐܘܪܐ	to destroy. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 3.2
ܐܘܪܐ	root; barren. Sa 3.4; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 8.2; Sw 3.5.
ܐܘܪܐ	to fold over. Sa 6.51; Sw 6.51; Se 87.
ܐܘܪܐ	bed. Sa 13.3; Sw 13.3; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 13.2; Se 112, 113.
ܐܘܪܐ	to flee, escape, run away. Sa 3.2, 7.12, 9.3; Sw 7.11, 9.3; Se 98.
ܐܘܪܐ	to accuse. Sa 9.6; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.8.10; Sw 9.7.
ܐܘܪܐ	beauty. Sa 7.17; Sw 7.16; Se 102.
ܐܘܪܐ	fruit. Sa 3.5, 8.1.2(2x), 19.17; Sw 3.6, 8.1.2(2x), 19.18.
ܐܘܪܐ	mouth. Sa 15.4.7; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.11; Sw 15.4.7; Se 55, 59.

פסע	explanation. Se 79(2x).
פסר	to compare. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.20.
פסל	allegory. Sa 19.12; Sw 19.12.
פל	so-and-so. Sw 9.11(2x).
פל	to respond, to turn. Sa 6.41, 19.3; Sw 6.41, 19.3.
פסח	Passover (πάσχα). Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.3(2x).
פסח	to cut off. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 3.5; Sw 3.6.
פסח	Passover. Sa 19.3(2x); Sw 19.3; Se 69, 70.
פסח	cheerful. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 2.11.
פסח	to command. Sa 5.8, 14.8; Sw 5.8; Se 23.
פסח	Savior. Sw <sup>ca</sup> title.
פסח	matter (πράγμα). Sa 7.3; Sw 7.3.
פסח	undertaking. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 7.3.
פסח	Pharisee. Sa 2.15, 6.23, 19.16.
פסח	to fly. Sa 2.12.13; Sw 2.11.12.
פסח	to spread out. Sa 11.4; Sw 11.4; Se 109.
פסח	to separate. Se <sup>ca</sup> 109.
פסח	to remain. Sa 9.3; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.4; Sw 19.4.
פסח	to break off. Sa 3.5.
פסח	to make straight, erect. Sa 6.50, 16.5; Sw 6.50; Se 86.
פסח	to expound (Pael). S. 19.11; Sw 19.11.
פסח	word, matter (with פסח: respond). Sa 6.41, 7.17; Sw 6.41, 7.16; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.46; Se 102.
פסח	to open. Sa 15.4.6; Sw 15.4.7; Se 55, 58.
פסח	to wish. Sa 6.3, 13.8, 14.1; Sw 6.3, 13.7, 14.1; Se 27, 97, 112, 117.
פסח	thing. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 7.2.
פסח	to ornament. Sa 6.50; Sw 6.50; Se 86.
פסח	to twitter. Sa 2.14; Sw 2.13.
פסח	to. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 7.4; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.6.7.
פסח	cross. Sa 6.8.15, 7.5; Sw 6.8.15, 7.5.
פסח	bird. Sa 2.6.10.13.14; Sw 2.5.9.12.13.
פסח	cymbal. Sa 6.40; Sw 6.40.
פסח	pool. Sa 2.4, 3.2.3; Sw 2.4, 3.3(2x).

ܡܒܠ	to receive, to catch. Sa 2.2, 5.5; Sw 2.2.3, 5.5; Se 21; Se <sup>ca</sup> 92.
ܡܒܠܐ	to fix. Sa 6.52; Sw 6.52; Se 87.
ܡܘܢܐ	holy. Sw 15.5; Se 56.
ܡܘܢܐ	before. Sa 2.13, 7.6.16; Sw 2.12, 6.12, 7.6.15; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 15.3–4; Se 36, 91.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	first, ancient. Sa 6.48; Sw 6.48; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 15.5; Se 84; Se <sup>ca</sup> 85.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	to remain. Sa 6.12, 19.4; Sw 6.12, 19.3; Se 36, 70.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	pitcher. Sa 11.3; Sw 11.3; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 11.5; Se 108.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	to rise up, to stand, to establish, to oppose. Sa 8.4, 9.9, 15.6.8, 19.19; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 2.4.13, 9.7; Sw 8.3, 9.10, 15.6, 19.20; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 2.12, 14.5.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	stature. Sa 19.21; Sw 19.22.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	to cut down. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 16.1; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 16.1.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	smith. Sa 6.38; Sw 6.38.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	wood (pl.: sticks). Sa 13.6, 16.1.2; Sw 13.6, 16.2.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	voice, sound, noise. Sa 6.41(2x), 7.17, 9.7; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 2.12, 9.8; Sw 6.40.41, 7.16, 9.8; Se 101.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	little. Sa 6.32; Sw 6.32.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	to cry out. Sa 4.3, 7.2; Sw 4.3, 6.21, 7.2; Se 10, 89.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	to join. Se <sup>ca</sup> 85.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	plough. Sa 13.2; Sw 13.2.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	to call; to read. Sa 14.7, 15.3; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.7; Sw 14.7, 15.3; Se 49, 54.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	to approach, to come near (Pael: to take). Sa 4.5, 5.1, 6.29, 16.4; Sw 4.5, 5.1, 6.28, 13.6, 16.3; Se 16, 66.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	village. Sa 7.13, 12.3; Sw 4.7, 7.12, 12.3; Se 14, 98.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	stubborn, deadly, harshly (adv.). Sa 16.3; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.2; Sw 16.2; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.2; Se 26, 65; Se <sup>ca</sup> 55.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	elder. Sa 6.5; Sw 6.5, 19.11; Se 29.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	great, greatness. Sa 7.2.5.18; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.44; Sw 7.2.5.17; Se 89, 103.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	to rear, to grow. Sa 7.8, 19.21; Sw 7.8, 19.22; Se 62.
ܡܘܢܐܢܐ	master. Sa 15.11; Sw 15.11; Se 62.



רָבִי	fourth. Sw expl.
רָבִי	to be square. Sa 6.50; Sw 6.51; Se 86.
רָבִי	to become angry. Sa 5.7, 6.37, 8.5; Sw 5.9, 6.37, 8.4; Se 22.
רָבִי	foot. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 15.5.
רָבִי	to feel. Sa 6.39; Sw 6.39.
רָבִי	to instruct, advance. Sa 5.4, 6.6.8.14.39(2x); Sa <sup>ca</sup> 19.20–21; Sw 5.4, 6.6.7.14.39(2x); Se 20, 32.
רָבִי	to run. Sa 4.1, 15.9; Sw 4.2, 15.9; Se 8, 60.
רוּחַ	spirit, wind. Sa 3.6, 15.4; Sw 3.7, 15.5; Se 55.
רוּחַ	to be exalted (Ethpeal). Sa 6.16; Sw 6.16.
רוּחַ	greatly. Sa 6.16; Sw 6.16.
רוּחַ	mystery. Sa 19.12.
רוּחַ	to delight in (part.: friend; Ethpeal: to have mercy). Sa 2.15, 7.12.16; Sw 3.2, 7.11.14; Se 28, 97.
רוּחַ	affection. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 18–19.
רוּחַ	to separate (Aphel). Sa <sup>ca</sup> 7.12.
רוּחַ	wet ground. Sa 2.6; Sw 2.5.
רוּחַ	head, top. Sa 6.38; Sw 6.38.
רוּחַ	to be compound (Pass. part.). Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.51.
רוּחַ	soft. Sa 2.6; Sw 2.5.
רוּחַ	to bend. Sa 6.51; Sw 6.52; Se 87.
רוּחַ	loud. Sa 9.7; Sw 9.8
רוּחַ	to make fall (Pael). Sa 9.5(2x).8; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.6.9; Sw 9.6(2x).9.10.11.
רוּחַ	evening. Se 73.
רוּחַ	to reel. Se 88.
רוּחַ	to permit (Pael). Sa 14.8; Sw 14.8.
רוּחַ	end, summit (also רוּחַ). Sa 6.51, 13.5; Sw 6.51; Se 86, 114(2x).
רוּחַ	to accuse. Sa 5.6; Sw 5.6.
רוּחַ	to question, to enquire. Sa 6.47, 19.10; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.6; Sw 19.9; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.46; Se 83, 89.
רוּחַ	to praise (Pael). Sa 9.10; Sw 9.13.
רוּחַ	seven. Sa 11.1; Sw 11.1.
רוּחַ	to go out. Sa 16.1; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.6; Se 50.

ܟܘܫܬܐ	sabbath. Sa 2.7.9.10.12, 9.1; Sw 2.6.8.9.11, 9.1.
ܟܝܬܐ	to throw down. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.5(2x).8.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	sticharion. Sw 11.5.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to coax. Sa 6.34; Sw 6.34.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to send. Sa 11.1; Sw 11.2, 16.1; Se 64, 107.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to be equal, to be worthy of. Sa 6.8, 7.5, 13.6; Sw 7.5, 13.6; Se 116.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	flattery. Sa 15.2; Sw 15.2; Se 53.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	type. Sw 6.47.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	end. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.43.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to leap up. Sa 9.8; Sw 9.10.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	beginning. Sa 7.15; Sw 7.14; Se 100.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to pacify. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.51.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to lie down. Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.51.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to be able, to find, to seek. Sa 4.7, 5.9, 6.7.15.29, 39, 7.6.8.10.12.13, 19.7.9; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.3; Sw 4.6, 5.8, 6.7.15.28.39, 7.5.8.9.11.12, 9.3, 19.7.8; Se 14, 31, 74, 76, 91, 93, 94, 98.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	corpse. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.7.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to be lawful. Sa 2.10; Sw 2.9.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	see ܟܘܫܬܐ
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to lay aside (Pass. part.=quiet). Sa 6.16; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.52.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to hand over, to deliver, to end. Sa 6.4, 15.1.11, expl.; Sw 6.3, 15.1.11, expl.; Se 28, 43, 52, 62.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	name. Sa 6.10, 7.1; Sw 6.10, 7.2; Se 34, 88.
ܟܘܫܬܐ/ܟܘܫܬܐ	to name. Sa 6.1.10, 9.8; Sw 6.1.10, 7.2; Se 34, 89.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	sound. Sa 6.22; Sw 6.22; Se <sup>ca</sup> 34.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to understand, to hear, to listen. Sa 6.1.21.22.29, 15.9, 19.9.10.18; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.8, 15.6; Sw 6.1.21.23.28, 15.8.9, 19.9.10.19; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.46, 19.20; Se 23, 25, 42, 56, 57, 60; Se <sup>ca</sup> 34.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	year (with ܟܘܫܬܐ: of the same age). Sa 2.1, 6.4.24, 11.1, 13.1, 19.1; Sw 2.1, 6.6.24, 11.1, 13.1, 19.1; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 2.7; Se 1, 28.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to be sharp. Sa 6.50; Sw 6.50.
ܟܘܫܬܐ	to smooth. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.50.

ጸላ	to play (Ethpeel). Sa 2.1, 9.1, 11.1; Sw 2.1, 9.1, 12.1.
ጠሐላ/ጸሐላ	see ጸሐላ ነገ.
ላላ	to be inverted (Aphel). Sa 6.51; Sw 6.51.
ጸላ	clear. Sa 2.4; Sw 2.4.
ጸላ	good. Se 18.
ጸላ	to bring low. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.51.
ጸላ	to take, to bear. Sa 2.6, 3.2, 6.15, 7.7, 15.3; Sw 2.5, 3.2, 6.15, 15.3.9; Se 7, 54, 92.
ጸገ	to begin. Sa 6.35.47; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 48; Sw 6.35.47; Se 3, 44, 83.
ጸገ	truth. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.6.
ሐጸገ	truly. Sa 6.19, 7.5; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.8; Sw 6.19, 7.5; Se 40, 91.
ሐገ	six. Sa 13.3; Sw 13.3.
ሐገ	to be silent. Sa 6.29.34.37, 19.11; Sw 6.28.35.37, 19.10; Se 5.
ጸከላጸከላ	wonder, wonderful. Sa 6.22, 9.11; Sw 6.22, 9.13.
ጸከላ	to be astonished (Ethpael). Sw <sup>ca</sup> 6.21; Se <sup>ca</sup> 88.
ጸከላ	astonishment. Se 57.
ጸከ	Tau. Sa 6.43; Sw 6.43.
ጸከ	again, also. Sa 3.6, 4.1, 5.4, 6.6.28.30.44, 8.5, 9.1, 11.1, 12.1, 14.3, 16.1; Sw inc., 3.7, 4.1, 5.4, 6.29, 9.1, 11.1, 12.1, 14.3, 15.1, 16.1; Se 44, 54, 64, 68, 107, 118.
ጸከ	to be alarmed. Se <sup>ca</sup> 42.
ሐጸ	under. Sa 8.4; Sw 8.3; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 5.5.
ጸከ	to pull. Sa 5.7, 13.6; Sw 5.7; Sw <sup>ca</sup> 13.6; Se 22, 116.
ሐጸጸ	triangle. Sa 6.52; Sw 6.52; Se 87.
ጸጸ	student. Sa 7.10; 15.11; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 7.10–11; Sw 7.9, 15.11; Se 62, 94.
ጸጸ	three. Sa 19.8; Sw 19.8; Se 75, expl. <sup>ca</sup> .
ጸጸ	to be astounded, to be in a stupor. Sa 2.15, 6.21, 7.1.9, 9.10, 15.7; Sw 6.21, 7.1, 9.12, 15.7; Se 42, 59.
ጸጸ	there. Sa 15.6.8; Sa <sup>ca</sup> 9.3; Sw 9.12, 15.7, 19.4; Se 58.
ጸጸ	eight. Sa 13.1; Sw 13.1.

ܠܘܗ	to repeat. Sa 6.36; Sw 6.36.
ܠܘܗ	here. Sa <sup>ca</sup> 6.20.
ܠܘܗ	stream. Sa 2.2; Sw 2.2.
ܠܘܗ	to fashion (Pael). Sa 2.10; Sw 2.9.
ܠܘܗܘܝܗ	upbringing. Sa <sup>ca</sup> expl.; Sw inc., expl. <sup>ca</sup> .
ܠܘܗܘܝܗ	to break down. Sa 3.2; Sw 3.2.
ܠܘܗܘܝܗ	mind. Sa 6.31; Sw 6.31; Se 96.
ܠܘܗܘܝܗ	twelve. Sa 2.6, 19.1; Sw 2.5, 19.1.
ܠܘܗܘܝܗ	to direct. Sa 2.3; Sw 2.3.
ܠܘܗܘܝܗܘܝܗ	glory. Sa 19.18; Sw 19.18.
ܠܘܗܘܝܗ	torment. Sa 5.6.
ܠܘܗܘܝܗ	history. Sw expl. <sup>ca</sup> .

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aarde, Andries G. van. “Die Griekse manuskrip van die Kindheidsevangelie van Tomas in Kodeks Sinaitikus (Gr 453) vertaal in Afrikaans,” *Hervormde Teologiese Studies / HTS Theological Studies* 61 (2005), 491–516.
- Aasgaard, Reidar. *The Childhood of Jesus: Decoding the Apocryphal Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2009).
- Abbeloos, Jean-Baptiste. *De vita et scriptis sancti Jacobi, Batnarum Sarugi in Mesopotamia Episcopi* (Leuven: Excudebant Vanlithout Fratres, 1867).
- Arras, Victor and Lucas Van Rompay. “Les manuscrits éthiopiens des ‘Miracles de Jesus,’” *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975), 133–46.
- Armalet, Isaac. *Catalogue of the Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts at the Patriarchal Library of Charfet* (Repr. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006).
- Assemani, Stefano Evodio. *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, t. 3: *Reliquos Codices Chaldaicos sive Syriacos* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1926).
- Assfalg, Julius. *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland / im Einvernehmen mit der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft herausgegeben von Wolfgang Voigt*, bd. 5: *Syrische Handschriften* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1963).
- Awwad, George, “The Libraries of the Monasteries and of Der Mār Behnam,” in Georges Cassmoua (ed.), *The Monastery of the Martyr Behnam: The Book of the Sixteenth Hundred Jubilee* (Baghdad: Diwan Press, 1990), 149–54.
- Baars, Wilhelm and Jan Heldermaann. “Neue Materialien zum Text und zur Interpretation des Kindheitsevangeliums des Pseudo-Thomas,” *Oriens Christianus* 77 (1993), 191–226; 78 (1994), 1–32.

- Barsoum, Ignatius Aphram. *The Scattered Pearls: A History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, trans. Matti Moosa (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sr̄tōtō d-Omīd n-Merdō = Mabūtāt Amid wa-Mārdīn*, vol. 3 (Damascus: n.p., 2008).
- Baumstark, Anton. “Ein apokryphes Herrenleben in mesopotamischen Federzeichnungen vom Jahre 1299,” *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1911), 249–71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Webers Verlag, 1922).
- Beck, Edmund. *Nachträge zu Ephrem Syrus*, 2 vols., Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 363–364, Scriptorum Syri 159–160 (Leuven: Secretariat du CorpusSCO, 1975).
- Bedjan, Paul, ed. *S. Martyrii qui et Sabdona quae supersunt omnia* (Paris & Leipzig: Harassowitz, 1902).
- Bingelli, Andre, François Briquel-Chatonnet, Muriel Debié, Alain Desreumaux, and Gibrail Dib. *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et garshuni de Charfet*, t. 1: *Fonds Rahmani 1 à 125* (Charfet, Presses patriarcales de Charfet, forthcoming).
- Booth, Phil. “On the *Life of the Virgin* Attributed to Maximus the Confessor,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 66 (2015), 149–203.
- Briquel-Chatonnet, Françoise. *Manuscrits syriaques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (nos. 356–435, entrés depuis 1911), de la bibliothèque Méjanes d’Aix-en-Provence, de la bibliothèque municipale de Lyon et de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997).
- Brock, Sebastian P. *Luqqata d-Memre d-al Ktabay Qudsha* (Holland: Bar Hebraeus Verlag, 1993).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Catalogue of the Syriac Fragments (New Finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catharine, Mount Sinai* (Athens: Fondation du Sinäi, 1995).
- \_\_\_\_\_, trans. *Bride of Light: Hymns on Mary from the Syriac Churches*, Moran Etho 6 (Kottayam, 1994; new ed. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010).
- Brock, Sebastian P. and Lucas Van Rompay. *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wadi al-Natrun (Egypt)*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 227 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014).

- Budge, Ernest A. Wallis, ed. and trans. *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ*, 2 vols. (London: Luzac & Co., 1899).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *By Nile and Tigris: A Narrative of Journeys in Egypt and Mesopotamia on Behalf of the British Museum between Years 1886 and 1913*, 2 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1920).
- Burke, Tony. *De infantia Iesu euangelium Thomae graece*, Corpus Christianorum: Series Apocryphorum 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010).
- \_\_\_\_\_. “An Unpublished Syriac Manuscript of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*: Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes,” *Hugoye* 16.2 (2013), 225–99.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “The Infancy Gospel of Thomas (Syriac),” in Tony Burke and Brent Landau (eds.), *New Testament Apocrypha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 52–68.
- Burke, Tony and Slavomír Čéplö. “The Syriac Tradition of the Legend of the Thirty Pieces of Silver,” *Hugoye* 19.1 (2016), 35–121.
- Carney, James. “Two Old Irish Poems,” *Eriu* 18 (1958), 1–43.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Poems of Blathmac, Son of Cu Brettan: Together with the Irish Gospel of Thomas and a Poem on the Virgin Mary* (Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland, 1964).
- Cassmoua, Georges, ed. *The Monastery of the Martyr Behnam: The Book of the Sixteenth Hundred Jubilee* (Baghdad: Diwan Press, 1990).
- Chartrand-Burke, Tony. “The *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*: The Text, its Origins, and its Transmission” (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2001).
- \_\_\_\_\_. “The Greek Manuscript Tradition of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*,” *Apocrypha* 14 (2004), 129–51.
- Clemons, James T. “A Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts in the United States and Canada,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966), 224–51, 478–522.
- Coakley, James Farwell. “A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library,” *BJRL* 75 (1993), 105–207.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Manuscripts for sale: Urmia, 1890–2,” *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 20.2 (2006), 3–17.

- Cotelier, Jean Baptiste. *SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (1672; Antwerp: Huguetanorum sumtibus, 1698).
- Cowper, Benjamin Harris, ed. *The Apocryphal Gospels and Other Documents Relating to the History of Christ*, 4th ed. (1867; reprint, London: Frederic Norgate, 1874).
- Cullmann, Oscar. "Kindheistevangelien," in Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher (eds.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, bd. 1: *Evangelien und Verwandtes* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1959), 272–311. English translation: "Infancy Gospels," in Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher (eds.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 1: *Gospels and Related Writings*, trans. Robert McL. Wilson, 3rd ed. (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), 363–417.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kindheistevangelien," in Wilhelm Schneemelcher (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, bd. 1: *Evangelien und Verwandtes*, 6th ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990), 330–72. English translation: "Infancy Gospels," in Wilhelm Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 1: *Gospels and Related Writings*, trans. Robert McL. Wilson, Rev. ed. (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 414–69.
- Curzon, Robert. "British Museum—MSS. from the Egyptian Monasteries," *Quarterly Review* 77.153 (1845), 39–69.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (London: John Murray, 1849).
- Davis, Stephen J. "Ancient Sources for the Coptic Tradition," in Gawdat Gabra (ed.), *Be Thou There: The Holy Family's Journey in Egypt* (Cairo & New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2001).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Christ Child: Cultural Memories of a Young Jesus*, Synkrisis: Comparative Approaches to Early Christianity in Greco-Roman Culture (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2014).
- Debić, Muriel. "Cataloguing in Many Ways: The Case Study of Charfet and e-ktobe," in Françoise Briquel Chatonnet and Muriel Debić (eds.), *Manuscripta Syriaca: Des sources de première*



- main*, Cahiers d'études syriaques 4 (Paris: Geuthner, 2015), 125–28.
- Delatte, Armand. “Évangile de l'enfance de Jacques: Manuscrit No. 355 de la Bibliothèque Nationale,” in Armand Delatte (ed.), *Anecdota Atheniensia*, t. 1, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1927), 264–71.
- Desreumaux, Alain. “Un manuscrit syriaque de Téhéran contenant des apocryphes,” *Apocrypha* 5 (1994), 137–64.
- . “Les apocryphes syriaques sur Jésus et sa famille,” in Muriel Debié, Alain Desreumaux, Christelle Jullien, and Florence Jullien (eds.), *Les apocryphes syriaques*, Études syriaques 2 (Paris: Geuthner, 2005), 51–69.
- . “Deux anciens manuscrits syriaques d'oeuvres apocryphes dans le nouveau fonds de Sainte-Catharine du Sinâï: La *Vie de la Vierge* et Les *Actes d'André et Mathias*,” *Apocrypha* 20 (2009), 115–36.
- Desreumaux, Alain with Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet. *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits syriaques* (Paris: CNRS, 1991).
- de Strycker, Émil. *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques*, Subsidia Hagiographica 33 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1961).
- Dolabani, Yuhanna and Gregorios Ibrahim. *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Za'faran Monastery*, Dar Mardin: Christian Arabic and Syriac Studies from the Middle East 27 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009).
- . *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Syrian Churches and Monasteries*, Dar Mardin: Christian Arabic and Syriac Studies from the Middle East 28 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010).
- Dumville, David N. “Biblical Apocrypha and the Early Irish: A Preliminary Investigation,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 73C.8 (1973), 299–338.
- Duensing, Hugo. “Mitteilungen 58,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 36 (1911), 637.
- Ebied, Rifaat Y. “Some Syriac Manuscripts from the Collection of Sir E.A. Wallis Budge,” in Ignacio Ortiz de Urbina (ed.), *Symposium Syriacum 1972: célèbre dans les jours 26–31 octobre 1972 à l'Institut Pontifical Oriental de Rome*, *Orientalia christiana*

- analecta 197 (Rome: Pontifical Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1974), 509–39.
- Elliott, James Keith, ed. and trans. *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).
- Enger, Maximilian. *Ioannis Apostoli de Transitu Beatae Mariae Virginis Liber* (Elberfeld: R. L. Friderichs, 1854).
- Erbetta, Mario, ed. and trans. *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, 3 vols. in 4 (Turin: Marietti, 1966–1981).
- Esbroeck, Michel van. “Les textes littéraires sur l’assomption avant le Xe siècle,” in François Bovon (ed.), *Les actes apocryphes des apôtres* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1981), 265–85.
- Frank, Erica C. D. “The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary; Its Apocryphal Basis and the Purpose of the Composition” (PhD diss., University of Melbourne, Australia, 1974).
- Galbiati, Iohannes. *Iohannis evangelium apocryphorum arabice*, 2 vols. (Milan: In aedibus Mondadorianis, 1957).
- Garitte, Gérard. “Le fragment géorgien de l’Évangile de Thomas,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* (1956), 511–20.
- Genequand, Charles. “Vie de Jésus en Arabe,” in François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 1, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442 (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 207–38.
- Gero, Stephen. “The Infancy Gospel of Thomas: A Study of the Textual and Literary Problems,” *Novum Testamentum* 13 (1971), 46–80.
- . “Apocryphal Gospels: A Survey of Textual and Literary Problems,” in Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 25.2.2 (New York: de Gruyter, 1988), 3969–96.
- . “The Ta’amra ’Iyasus: A Study of Textual and Source-Critical Problems,” in Tadesse Beyene (ed.), *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (Addis Ababa: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, 1988), 165–70.
- Gibson, Margaret Dunlop. *Catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai*, Studia Siniatica 3 (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1894).

- Goodman, Alan E. "The Jenks Collection of Syriac Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1939), 581–600.
- Goshen-Gottstein, Mosche H. *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library: A Catalogue*, Harvard Semitic Studies 23 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979).
- Graf, George. *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944–1953).
- Grébaut, Sylvain. "Aperçu sur les miracles de N. S.," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (2ème série) 16 (1911), 255–65, 356–67.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Les miracles de Jésus: Texte éthiopien publié et traduit," *Patrologia Orientalis* 12.4 (1919), 555–652.
- Grohmann, Adolf. "Reste einer neuen Rezension der Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu in der Ta'amra 'Iyasus," in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 28 (1914), 1–15.
- Guidi, Michelangelo. "La omelia di Teofili di Alessandria sul Monte Coscam nelle letterature orientali," *Rendiconti della reale Accademia dei Lincei* 25 (1917), 381–469; 26 (1917), 391–440; 30 (1921/1922), 217–37, 274–309.
- Haddad, Petrus and Jacques Isaac. *Syriac and Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the Chaldean Monastery Baghdad*, part 1: *Syriac Manuscripts* (Baghdad: Iraqi Academy Press, 1988).
- Hall, Isaac H. "On Some Manuscripts recently acquired by the Union Theological Seminary, New York," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 5 (1885), 93–100.
- Hansbury, Mary, trans. Jacob of Serug. *On the Mother of God* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1998).
- Heal, Kristian S. "Vatican Borgia Syriac 128: A New Description," The Center for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts, Brigham Young University (posted 31 March 2014). No pages. Online: <http://cpart.mi.byu.edu/home/vs/catalog/vbs-128/>.
- Henze, Matthias. *The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel: Introduction: Text and Commentary*, Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 11 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).
- Herbert, Máire and Martin McNamara. "A Versified Narrative of the Childhood Deeds of the Lord Jesus," in Martin McNamara et al. (eds.), *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, t. 1: *Evangelia infantiae*, vol. 1, Corpus Christianorum: Series Apocryphorum 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 443–83.

- Hock, Ronald F. *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas*, The Scholars Bible 2 (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge Press, 1995).
- Hofmann, Rudolph A. *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen im Zusammenhang aus den Quellen erzählt und wissenschaftlich untersucht* (Leipzig: Friedrich Voigt, 1851).
- Horn, Cornelia B. "Syriac and Arabic Perspectives on the Structural and Motif Parallels Regarding Jesus' Childhood in Christian Apocrypha and Early Islamic Literature: The 'Book of Mary,' the *Arabic Apocryphal Gospel of John*, and the *Qur'an*," *Apocrypha* 19 (2008), 267–91.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Apocryphal Gospels in Arabic, or Some Complications on the Road to Traditions about Jesus," in Jörg Frey and Jens Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 254 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 583–609.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Arabic Infancy Gospel," in Hans-Josef Klauck et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, 17 vols. to date (Berlin & New York: de Gruyter, 2010–2018), 2: 589–92.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jesus at School among Christians, Jews, and Muslims," in Tony Burke (ed.), *Forbidden Texts on the Western Frontier: The Christian Apocrypha in North American Perspectives* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2015), 111–31.
- Horn, Cornelia B. and Robert R. Phenix. "Apocryphal Gospels in Syriac and Related Texts Offering Traditions about Jesus," in Jörg Frey and Jens Schröter (eds.), *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 254 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 527–55.
- James, Montague Rhodes. *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924; 2nd ed. 1953).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Review of *Évangiles apocryphes*, vol. 2, by Paul Peeters. *Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1915), 268–73.
- Josua, Maria and Friedman Eißler. "Das arabische Kindheitsevangelium," in Christoph Marksches and Jens Schröter (eds.), *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, bd. 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 963–82.
- Kamil, Murad. *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970).

- Kekelidze, Kornelius. *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica, pars prima, Keimena*, t. 1: *Januarium, Februarium, Martium, Aprilem et Majum menses continens* (Sak‘art‘: Rk. Gz. sammart‘velos tipo-lit., 1918).
- Kessel, Grigory. “Manuscript Collection of the Syrian Orthodox Church Meryemana in Diyarbakir: A Preliminary Survey,” in Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet and Muriel Debié (eds.), *Manuscripta Syriaca: Des sources de première main*, 79–123, *Cahiers d’études syriaques* 4 (Paris: Geuthner, 2015).
- Khakhanov, Alexander S. *Očerki po istorii gruziŋskoi slovenosti* (Overview of the History of Georgian Literature), 4 vols. (Moscow: Moscow University Publishing, 1895–1906).
- Lambeck, Peter. *Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber septimus* (Vienna: Typis M. Cosmerovii, 1675).
- Lantschoot, Arnold van. *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques des fonds Vatican (490–631): Barberini orientali e Neofiti* (Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 1965).
- Löfgren, Oscar. “Fakta och dokument angående det apokryfiska Johannesvangeliet,” *Svensk exegetisk årsbok* 7 (1942), 1–31.
- Lowe, Malcolm. “IOUDAIOS of the Apocrypha: A Fresh Approach to the Gospels of James, Pseudo-Thomas, Peter and Nicodemus,” *Novum Testamentum* 23.1 (1981), 56–90.
- Macomber, William F. “Syriac Manuscripts of Houghton Library, Harvard University. A Brief Description of the Manuscripts Not Described by L. H. Titterton,” appendix to Lewis H. Titterton, *The Syriac Manuscripts in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University* (unpublished manuscript, Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1925).
- \_\_\_\_\_. “A Checklist of the Manuscripts of the Chaldean Patriarchate, ca. 1965” (unpublished manuscript, 1966).
- \_\_\_\_\_. “New Finds of Syriac Manuscripts in the Middle East” in Wolfgang Voight (ed.), *XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21. bis 27. Juli 1968 in Würzburg* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1969), 473–82.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Final Inventory of the Microfilmed Manuscripts of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, Egypt*, 4 vols. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1995). Available online: <http://cpart.mi.byu.edu/home/manuscripts/cm/>.

- Margoliouth, George. *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karsbuni Mss. in the British Museum Acquired since 1873* (London: British Museum, 1899).
- McCollum, Adam C. "Notes on some manuscripts of the Mar Behnam Monastery," Hmmlorientalia (posted 14 April 2015). No pages. Online: <https://hmmlorientalia.wordpress.com/2015/04/14/notes-on-some-manuscripts-of-the-mar-behnam-monastery/>.
- McNamara, Martin. "Notes on the Irish Gospel of Thomas." *Irish Theological Quarterly* 38 (1971), 42–66.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "New Testament Apocrypha in the Irish Church," in Elizabeth A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Evangelica*, vol. 6 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973), 333–40.
- Melikset-Bek, Leon. "Fragment grusinskoi versii 'Djetsiva Hrista' (A Fragment of the Georgian Version of the 'Infancy of Christ')." *Hristianskii Vostok* 6.3 (1917–1920), 315–20.
- Mendelsohn, Isaac. *Descriptive Catalogue of Semitic Manuscripts (Mostly Hebrew) in the Libraries of Columbia University*, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University, 1962).
- Merscherskaja, Elena N. "L'Adoration des mages' dan l'apocryphe syriaque *Histoire de la Vierge Marie*," in Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet and Muriel Debié (eds.), *Sur les pas des Araméens chrétiens. Mélanges offerts à Alain Desreumaux*, Cahiers d'études syriaques 1 (Paris: Geuthner, Paris, 2010), 95–100.
- Meyer, Arnold. "Erzählung des Thomas," in Edgar Hennecke (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904), 63–67.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kindheitserzählung des Thomas," in Edgar Hennecke (ed.), *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1904), 132–42.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Kindheitserzählung des Thomas," in Edgar Hennecke (ed.), *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1924), 93–102.
- Mimouni, Simon Claude. "Vies de la Vierge. État de la question," *Apocrypha* 5 (1994), 211–48. Reprinted in Simon Claude Mimouni, *Les traditions anciennes sur la Dormition et l'Assomption de Marie: études littéraires, historiques et doctrinales*, Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 104 (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2011), 75–115.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Dormition et Assomption de Marie. Histoire des traditions anciennes*, Théologie historique 98 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1995).
- Mingana, Alphonse. "The Vision of Theophilus, Or the Book of the Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 13 (1929), 383–474. Reprinted in idem, *Woodbrooke Studies*, fascicle 5 (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd. 1931).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1933–1939).
- Mingarelli, Giovanni Luigi. "De Apocrypho Thomae Evangelio ...epistola," in Angelo Calogiera (ed.), *Nuova Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici*, vol. 12 (Venice: Simone Occhi, 1764), 73–155.
- Monferrer Sala, Juan Pedro. *Textos apócrifos árabes cristianos* (Madrid: Ed. Trotta, 2003).
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. and trans. *The Vision of Theophilus: The Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt*, Texts from Christian Late Antiquity 39 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015).
- Moraldi, Luigi. *Nascita e infanzia di Gesù nei più antichi codici cristiani* (Milan: Jacabook, 1989).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, 2 vols., Classici delle Religioni 24.5 (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1971; 2nd ed. in 3 vols. 1994).
- Naffah, Charles. "Les 'histoires' syriaques de la Vierge: traditions apocryphes anciennes et récentes," *Apocrypha* 20 (2009), 137–88.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "L'Apocalypse de la Vierge dans la tradition syro-occidentale médiévale," in Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet and Muriel Debié (eds.), *Sur les pas des Araméens chrétiens. Mélanges offerts à Alain Desreumaux*, Cahiers d'études syriaques 1 (Paris: Geuthner, Paris, 2010), 101–15.
- Nau, François. "La version syriaque de la vision de Théophile sur le séjour de la Vierge en Egypte," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 15 (1910), 125–32.
- Nicolas, Michel. *Études sur les évangiles apocryphes* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1866).
- Noja, Sergio. "L'Évangile arabe apocryphe de Thomas, de la 'Biblioteca Ambrosiana' de Milan (G 11 sup)," in Angelo

- Vivian (ed.), *Biblische und Judistische Studien: Festschrift für Paolo Sacchi*, *Judentum und Umwelt* 29 (Paris: Peter Lang, 1990), 681–90.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “À propos du texte arabe d’un évangile apocryphe de Thomas de la Ambrosiana de Milan,” in Biancamana Scarcia Amoretti and Lucia Rostagno (eds.), *YAD-NAMA: im memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, vol. 1 (Rome: Bardi Editore, 1991), 335–41.
- Noret, Jacques. “Pour une édition de l’Évangile de l’enfance selon Thomas,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 90 (1972), 412.
- Orsatti, Paola. *Il fondo Borgia della Biblioteca Vaticana e gli studi orientali a Roma tra sette e ottocento*, *Studi e Testi* 376 (Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1996).
- Palmer, Edward Henry. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1870).
- Payne-Smith, Robert. *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Pars sexta: Codices syriacos, carsbunicos, mendaeos, complectens* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1864).
- Peeters, Paul. *Évangiles apocryphes*, vol. 2, series ed. Charles Michel and Paul Peeters, *Textes et documents pour l’étude historique du Christianisme* 18 (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1914).
- \_\_\_\_\_. “A propos de l’Évangile arabe de l’Enfance: Le manuscrit de J. Golius,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923), 132–34.
- Philippart, Guy. “Fragments palimpsestes latins du Vindobonensis 563 (V<sup>e</sup> siècle?): Évangile selon S. Matthieu, Évangile de Nicodème, Évangile de l’Enfance selon Thomas,” in *Analecta Bollandiana* 90 (1972), 391–411.
- Philothée du Sinäi. *Nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Sinäi (Monastère Sainte Catharine, Archevêché du Sinäi, Pharan et Raitho)* (Athens: Fondation du Sinäi, 2008).
- Pritula, Anton. “A Hymn by Givargis Warda on the Childhood of Christ,” in Martin Tamcke and Andreas Heinze (eds.), *Die Suryoye und ihre Umwelt. 4. deutsches Syrologen-Symposium in Trier 2004, Festgabe Wolfgang Hage zum 70. Geburtstag*, *Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte* 36 (Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2005), 423–51.



- Provera, Mario E. *Il Vangelo arabo dell'infanzia secondo il Ms. Laurenziano orientale (n. 387)* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1973).
- Rassam, Suha. "Der Mār Behnam: The Monastery of Saint Behnam," in Erica C. D. Hunter (ed.), *The Christian Heritage of Iraq: Collected Papers from the Christianity of Iraq I-V Seminar Days*, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 81–91.
- Rompay, Lucas Van. "De ethiopische versie van het Kindsheidsevangelie volgens Thomas de Israëliet," in A. Théodoridès, P. Naster, and J. Riesel (eds.), *Enfant dans les civilisations orientales* (Leuven: Peeters, 1980), 119–32.
- Rosén, Thomas. *The Slavonic Translation of the Apocryphal Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Slavica Upsaliensia 39 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1997).
- Rossini, Carlo Conte. "Il discorso su Monte Coscam attribuito a Teofilo d'Alessandria nella versione etiopica," *Rendiconti della reale Accademia dei Lincei* 21 (1912), 401–71.
- Ruani, Flavia and Émilie Villey. "Recherches sur la transmission manuscrite syriaque de l'*Histoire de Philippe*," in Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet and Muriel Debié (eds.), *Manuscripta Syriaca: Des sources de première main*, Cahiers d'études syriaques 4 (Paris: Geuthner, 2015), 385–420.
- Sanidze, Akaki. "A Fragment of the Georgian Version of the Apocryphal 'Gospel of Thomas' and its Incomprehensible Passages" (in Russian), *Stalimis sabelobis T'ibilisis sab. Universitatis Sromebi* 18 (1941), 29–40.
- Santos Otero, Aurelio de. *Das kirchenslavische Evangelium des Thomas*, Patristische Texte und Studien 6 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967).
- Sarau, Oshana and William A. Shedd. *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the Library of the Museum Association of Oroomiah College* (Urmia: Museum Association of Oroomiah College, 1898).
- Schneider, Gerhard. *Evangelia Infantiae Apocrypha: Apocryphe Kindheitsevangelien*, Fontes Christiani 18 (Freiburg: Herder, 1995).
- Scher, Addai. *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et arabes, conservés dans la bibliothèque épiscopale de Séert (Kurdistan) avec notes bibliographiques* (Mosul: Imprimerie des pères dominicains, 1905).

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du couvent des Chaldéens de Notre-Dame-des-Semences,” *Journal Asiatique* 10/7 (1906), 479–512; 10/8 (1906), 55–82.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l’archêveché chaldéen de Diarbékir,” *Journal Asiatique* 10/10 (1907), 331–62; 10/11 (1907), 385–431.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul,” *Revue des Bibliothèques* 17 (1907), 227–60.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques du Musée Borgia, aujourd’hui à la Bibliothèque Vaticane,” *Journal Asiatique* 10/13 (March–April 1909), 249–87.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque de l’évêché chaldéen de Mardin,” *Revue des Bibliothèques* 18 (1908), 64–95.
- Shoemaker, Stephen J. *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary’s Dormition and Assumption*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- \_\_\_\_\_, trans. *The Life of the Virgin. Maximus the Confessor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).
- \_\_\_\_\_. “The (Pseudo?) Maximus *Life of the Virgin* and the Byzantine Marian Tradition,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 67 (2016), 115–42.
- Sike, Heinrich. *Evangelium Infantiae; vel, Liber Apocryphus de Infantia Salvatoris; ex manuscripto edidit, ac Latina versione et notis illustravit Henricus Sike* (Utrecht: Halman, 1697).
- Simon, Richard. *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du Nouveau Testament* (1693; repr. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1973).
- Smith Lewis, Agnes, ed. *The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion Da-Mepharreshé*. London: Williams & Norgate, 1890.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Apocrypha Syriaca. The Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae with Texts from the Septuagint, the Corân, the Peshitta, and from a Syriac Hymn in a Syro-Arabic Palimpsest of the Fifth and Other Centuries*, Studia Sinaitica 11 (London: C. J. Clay, 1902).
- Stewart, Columba. “HMML and Syriac Manuscripts,” in Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet and Muriel Debié (eds.), *Manuscripta Syriaca:*

- Des sources de première main*, Cahiers d'études syriaques 4 (Paris: Geuthner, 2015), 49–63.
- Suciu, Alin. “‘Me, This Wretched Sinner’: A Coptic Fragment from the Vision of Theophilus Concerning the Flight of the Holy Family to Egypt,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 67 (2013), 436–50.
- Syrku, Polikhronii A. “Opisanie bumag episkopa Porfirija Uspenskago pozhertvovannykh im v Imperatorskuiu Akademiju nauk po zavesh’aniju,” *Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk* 64 (1891), 325–52. Translated into Latin as *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum et impressorum monasterii S. Catharinae in Monte Sinai ad fidem codicis Porphyriani N<sup>o</sup> IV B 18/135* (Saint Petersburg, 1891).
- Tayec'i, Esayi. *Ankanon girke' nor ktakaranac'* (Apocryphal Books of the New Testament), 2 vols. (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1898).
- Terian, Abraham. *The Armenian Gospel of the Infancy with Three Early Versions of the Protevangelium of James* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Thilo, Johann Karl. *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, t. 1. (Leipzig: Vogel, 1832).
- Tischendorf, Constantin. *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed. (1863; Leipzig: H. Mendelsohn, 1876).
- . “Rechenschaft über meine handschriftlichen Studien auf meiner wissenschaftlichen Reise von 1840 bis 1844,” in *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 114 (Vienna: Carl Gerold Anzeigeblatt, 1846), 45–58.
- . *De evangeliorum apocryphorum origine et usu* (The Hague: Thierry & Mensing, 1851; repr. in idem, *Synopsis Evangelica* [Lipsiae: Avenarius & Mendelssohn, 1854]).
- Titterton, Lewis H. *The Syriac Manuscripts in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University* (unpublished manuscript, Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1925).
- Troupeau, Gérard. “Notes sur quelques apocryphes conservés dans des manuscrits arabes de Paris,” in Muriel Debié, Alain Desreumaux, Christelle Jullien, and Florence Jullien (eds.), *Les apocryphes syriaques*, Études syriaques 2 (Paris: Geuthner, 2005), 197–204.
- Variot, Jean. *Les Évangiles apocryphes: Histoire littéraire, forme primitive, transformations* (Paris: Berche & Tralin, 1878).
- Voicu, Sever J. “Notes sur l'histoire du texte de l'histoire de l'enfance de Jésus,” *Apocrypha* 2 (1991), 119–32.

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Histoire de l’Enfance de Jésus,” in François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain (eds.), *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, vol. 1, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 442 (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 191–204.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Verso il testo primitivo dei Παιδικά τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ‘Racconti dell’infanzia del Signore Gesù,’” *Apocrypha* 9 (1998), 7–95.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Vangelo arabo dell’infanzia di Gesù* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2002).
- \_\_\_\_\_. “La tradition latine des *Paidika*,” *Bulletin de l’AELAC* 14 (2004), 13–21.
- Vosté, Jacques Marie. *Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne du Couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences près d’Alqosh (Iraq)* (Rome: Bureau de l’Angelicum, 1929). Originally published as “Catalogue de la bibliothèque syro-chaldéenne du Couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences près d’Alqosh (Iraq),” *Angelicum* 5 (1928), 3–36, 161–94, 325–58, 481–98.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Notes sur les manuscrits syriaques de Diarbekir et autres localités d’Orient,” *Le Muséon* 50 (1937), 345–49.
- Walker, Alexander. *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations*, The Ante-Nicene Christian Library 16 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1873).
- Wilmshurst, David. *The Ecclesiastical Organization of the Church of the East, 1318–1913*, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 582, Subsidia 104 (Leuven: Secretariat du CorpusSCO, 2000).
- Witakowski, Witold. “The Miracles of Jesus: An Ethiopian Apocryphal Gospel,” *Apocrypha* 6 (1995), 279–98.
- Wright, William. “The Departure of my Lady Mary from this World,” *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record* 6 (1865), 417–18 and 7 (1865), 108–60.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1865).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838*, 3 vols. (London: British Museum, 1870).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, Edited from Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum and Other Libraries*, 2 vols. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1871).

- Wright, William and Stanley A. Cook. *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901).
- Zotenberg, Hermann. *Manuscrits orientaux: Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaites) de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1874).