The Quotations of Severus of Antioch in the Book of the Confessions of the Fathers

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Abstract

Severus of Antioch is by far the most prolific writer among the non-Chalcedonian — the so-called 'Monophysite Churches'. The book of the Confessions of the Fathers is an anonymous compilation of the eleventh century. It is a compilation of theological texts. This book was used as a manual of theology for the clergy and laymen. This book contains some abstracts from the works of Severus of Antioch. Several theologians and patriarchs quoted him also in their treatises and correspondances. In this article, we will give in full all the texts attributed to Severus of Antioch and we will try to identify them.*

Introduction

Severus of Antioch is by far the most prolific writer among the non-Chalcedonian — the so-called 'Monophysite Churches'. After the imperial

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decree of Justinian, dated 6 august 536 AD, all his Greek writtings were forbidden to be copied *as infested with the venom of the serpent.*¹ Only few fragments survived in Greek, while the majority of this corpus survived through the Syriac translation.

The Copto-Arabic severian corpus did not attract the attention of the scholars, for only few fragments of his works have survived in Coptic. The corpus of the homilies of Severus of Antioch in Coptic is far from complete.² Out of the 125 homilies preserved in Syriac, we know only few fragments of this corpus, namely homily 1, 14, 50, (67?), 77, 103. Many of his Coptic works have, however, survived through an Arabic translation such as the book of the *Philalethes*.³

In this article, we will highlight the importance of the Copto-Arabic translation of the Severian works through the quotations of book of the *Confessions of the Fathers*.

The book of the confessions of the fathers

The book of the Confessions of the Fathers is a late compilation of patristic texts, containing extracts of the works of the great theologians of the Jacobite Church until the Canons of the patriarch Chrisostodulus (+1077AD),⁴ which had been anonymously compiled in the eleventh century.⁵

The importance of this book is reflected by the number of copies that have survived in several collections. In his study, Graf argued that this compilation is a translation from a Coptic original,⁶ and Coquin is of the same opinion.⁷ We believe that Graf and Coquin were right in their judgement. The comparison between the Arabic text of the *Confessions of the Fathers* and the Syriac texts (Letters, homily) shows clearly that the compiler used a more abbreviated version than the Syriac. From our study of the letter of Severus of Antioch to the deaconess Anastasia where the Syriac, Coptic and

- ¹ M. Brière, 1961, p. 14 [518].
- ² For the first homily, Lash 1976, pp. 253–268. For the homily 14, Porcher 1915–1917, pp. 416–423; Lucchesi 1979, pp. 291–293. Coquin 1983, p. 14. For the homily 50, Garitte 1966, pp. 335–386. For the homily 77, Voicu 1992, pp. 385-386. Elanskaya 1994, p. 372–377. Lucchesi 1979a, pp. 197–201.
 - ³ Youssef 2001, pp. 261–266.
- ⁴ Atiya, Abd Al-Masih, and Burmester 1959, pp. 166–168 (text), pp. 250–254 (translation); Burmester 1932, pp. 71–83.
 - ⁵ Graf 1944, p. 418; Graf 1947, pp. 321–323, N° 104.
 - ⁶ Graf 1937, pp. 349–354.
 - ⁷ Coquin 1993, pp. 35–106, especially p. 77.

Arabic survived, we find that the Arabic is a literal translation from the Coptic, and the Coptic text is shorter than the Syriac one.

The works of Severus such as homilies,⁸ letters⁹ and so on, were translated into Coptic. In addition to what we have, the collection of the Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes shows that several books and letters of Severus were translated to Coptic have not survived.¹⁰ As for any translated text, it is hard to determine whether the original text was short and had been augmented by the translators of the Syriac version, or it was long and had been abbreviated by the Coptic translator.

Available copies at the present time are as follows:

Eight copies in the Coptic Patriarchal Library.

One copy in the Coptic Museum.

Two copies in the Monastery of Saint Macarius.

Three in the monastery of al-Muharraq.

One in the monastery of al-Suriani.

One copy in the Franciscan centre in Cairo.

In addition to these, copies exist in the Vatican, Cambridge, Paris libraries. Therefore more than 20 copies are in existence of this important book.

First, we will provide the description of some manuscripts not mentioned in Graf's study. Second, twenty texts are provided accompanying translation and commentary.

The Manuscripts of the Coptic Patriarchal Library

A. Ms 188 Theol. In the first folio recto it is mentioned that this text was translated from Coptic to Arabic. The date of the Manuscript is in fol. 244v "Tuesday 20 Baûnah 1453 AM =26 of Safar 1150 of the Hijra" (=25 June 1737 AD). In folio 245 r, v, the provider is the deacon al-Mu'allim Girgis 'abd-al-Quddûs abû Shinûdah, and the scribe is Mikhaïl ibn Girgis ibn Tâdrus al-Tamawî. It was originally in the collection of the Monastery of Saint Antony on mount Qulzom. 21 lines /page, 33x21 cm.

B. Ms 364 Theol.¹² In folio 299 the provider is al-Mu'allim Ghattâs abû Ibrahîm al-Ghamrawî, and the scribe is Girgis Yûsif. The date of the manu-

⁸ Youssef (forthcoming).

⁹ Van Lanschoot 1946, pp. 469–477. [CPG 7070 (9)]. Garitte 1952, pp. 185–198. [CPG 7070 (13)].

¹⁰ Crum and White 1926, N° 49, 59, 143, 554, 556, Appendix I.

п Simaika, pp. 151–152; Graf, 1934, p. 238.

¹² Not mentioned in Simaika or Graf.

script is "Saturday 9 Barmûdah 1457AM = 28 Muharram 1154 AH" (=15 April 1741AD). 21 lines 31.5x 20.5 cm (text 25x14.5cm). From the collection of the Patriarchal Library folio 307v.

- C. Ms 189¹³ Theol. The date of the Manuscript is in fol. 249r "Wednesday 2 Bâbah 1498 AM /21 Shawâl 1195AH" (=10 October 1781 AD). 24 Lines 31x30 cm. From the collection of the Coptic Patriarchate in the protected Misr and Alexandria.
- D. Ms 133 Theol. 14 The date of the manuscript is in fol. 181 v "Tuesday 5 Baramûdah 1502 AD" (=11 April 1786 AD). Fol. 7v mentioned that it was from the collection of the Monastery of Saint Antony in the desert of Arabah.
- E. Ms 185 Theol. 15 No date is provided; perhaps from the eighteenth century.
- F. Ms 186 Theol. 16 The provider is mentioned in fol 263v "Anba Athanasius, bishop of Abû Tig" The date is in the same folio "Friday 1 Hatûr 1566 AM" (= 9 November 1849 AD). From the Collection of the Patriarchal Residence of Saint Mark in Cairo and Alexandria.
- G. Ms 187 Theol. 18 The scribe is Abd al-Malâk, the priest in the monastery of St Paul (Anba Bûlâ) the first Hermit. The date of the manuscript is "Friday 28 Hatûr 1617 AM" (= 7 December 1901 AD). From the collection of the Patriarchate.
- H. Ms 320 Theol.¹⁹ The date of this manuscript is provided in fol 207r "19 Baûnah 1647 AM" (Friday, 26 June 1931 AD).

To this list Graf added Vat. Ar 101 (14 Century), Cambridge (1750 AD), Paris Ar. 183 (14 Century), Cairo Coptic Museum (1544 AD), St Antony Monastery (1480 AD), two copies in St Macarius (1773AD). The monastery of al-Moharraq possess two dated manuscripts. The first manuscript is dated 18 Baunah 1500 AM (1784AD), the second 20 Baramhat 1511 AM

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<sup>13</sup> Simaika, p. 171; Graf, 1934, p. 238.
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¹⁴ Simaika, p. 129; Graf, 1934, p. 238.

¹⁵ Simaika, p. 134; not in Graf.

¹⁶ Simaika, p. 227; Graf, 1934, p. 208.

¹⁷ Samir 1981, pp. 213–221; 1982, pp. 177–185.

¹⁸ Simaika, p. 244; Graf, p. 238.

¹⁹ Simiaka, p. 250; not in Graf.

²⁰ Troupeau 1972, pp. 157–158 N° 183.

²¹ Zanetti 1986, p. 40 N 2 Theol, N 3 Theol., 23 Theol is the Ethiopian translation of this book.

(1795 AD). The scribe is the deacon Israel Saad-allah, tutor of the children of Bani 'dai. The Franciscan Centre possesses an incomplete copy.²²

1: The faith written by Severus, of Antioch, to the king Anastasius

TEXT

الامانة المستقيمة التي كتبها القديس ساويرس بطريرك مدينة الله العظما انطاكية الي الملك المحب لله انسطاسيوس لما نفى مقدونيوس المنافق واخدها الملك وقبلها وجعلها في خزانة المملكة ناموسا للكنيسة وازال بها عنا كل اقوال المحالفين: نومن ونعترف كموضوعات اباينا القديسين التلتماية وتمانية عشر اسقف الذين اجتمعوا في نقية والروح القدس معهم وفي وسطهم باعلان وهذا ايضا قبله اباينا الذين كانوا قبلنا كمتل ميزان مقدس وما وضعه ايضا المايه وخمسين الذين اجتمعوا قبلنا في مدينة القسطنطينية والذين اجتمعوا بافسس نومن ان الله الاب واحد ونعترف ايضا ان واحد هو ابن الله الذي تجسد لاجلنا وليس هو منقسم ولامفترق وهو هو من قبل ان يتجسد وهو هو من بعد ما تجسد وهو هو هذا الواحد ونومن بالروح القدس المحي تالوت متساويه تلتة اقانيم قايمة كامله تلتة وجوه ليس فيها اختلاف في المجد والضيا طبيعة واحدة جوهر واحد ربوبية واحدة سجدة واحدة تسيحة واحده كما تعترف الناس المومنون ونعترف بالاب في رتبة الابوه وليس هو ابن والابن في رتبة البنوه وليس هو اب والروح القدس في رتبة الانبتاق وليس هو اب ولا ابن بل تلتة اقانيم دايمة متوحدة بلاهوت واحد في الطبيعة والقوة والارادة والمجد وكل اقنوم قايم بوجهه وليس في التالوت المقدس عبودية ولا خضوع ولا واحد اعلا من واحد في رتبة اللاهوتية ولا واحد يامر واحد كانه حارسا لسلطانه بل هم متساويين في الكرامة الواحدة التي اللاهوتية والربوبية وعلو الضياء الذي لضابط الكل ولم يكن الاب قط ولا لمحة عين بلا ابن ولم يكن الاب والابن قط لحمه عين بلا الروح القدس بل التالوت المقدسة دايمه ازليه بلا ابتدآء ولا انتها ويجب لنا ان نومن بالله الكلمة هكدا ان له ميلادين الواحد من الآب مند قط بلا مشاركة فرشة انثى ميلاد غير مدروك والاخر في اخر الازمان من العدري مريم القديسة بلا مباضعة دكر ميلادا لا يحوى ولا يدرك هدا وحده فقط نعرفه ان الكلمة صار جسدا وصار معنا ورايناه باعيينا ولمسناه بايدينا ولم يخلقه الاب مثل واحد من الملايكة ولا كواحد من الكاروبيم والساروفيم بل هو مولود من جوهره وهو اعلا من كل السلاطين وكل الارباب وكل اسم يسمى في هدا الدهر وفي الاتي وهو مساوي لابيه والروح القدس وهو دايم بالاهوتيه واحده ولاجل هدا قال عن الروح القدس انه ياخد

²² Macomber 1984, p. 27, N 119.

من الدى لى ويعطيكم هدا الدى تمثل على الاردن بشبه حمامة ونزل على الابن ولما راى الكلمة ان الخطية قد كترت نزل من السماء وصار في احشا العدري مريم القديسه ويناله منها جسد بسر لا يدرك ولا ينطق به مكث في احشاها تسعة اشهر وهو الذي خلق له جسده منها وليس الاب الذي في كان في احشا العدري ليلا يقول احد ان الاب ينتقل الى البنوة بل هو الابن بارادة ابيه ومسرة الروح القدس لانها مشية واحدة للتالوت المقدسة ليلا يقال ان اخر غيره خلقه له ويصيروه غربياً من اللاهوت بل هو وحده الدي تجسد وصبر لاعراض الجسد التي ليس فيها خطية لم ينزل بالجسد معه من السما بل هو الدي اخده من مريم العدري والدة الالة بلا مباضعة رجل ولكنه اتصل به وصيره واحداً معه بواحدانية لا تضمحل ولا تفترق ولا تمتزج هذه الامانة التي نومن بها لم يولد بمثال شبح بل طبيعي بحق وهو الله والانسان معاً لانه عمنويل ياكل ويشرب ما يتقدم له وانه صعد الى الصليب بارادته ليصعد قربانا مقبولاً لله ابيه عنا سمر على الصليب وطعن بحربة وهو الله والانسان معا وهو واحد لا اتنين هو غير مايت كاللاهوت وهو موات كالجسد والغير مايت والذي يموت ارتبطا جميعاً شخصا واحداً نبع من جنبه دم وماء كتدبير السر وليس الناسوت وحدها فعل بها هذا كانها مفترقه من اللاهوت كلا بل اللاهوت قبل اعراض الجسد بارادته لانهما متحدين بوحدانية في كل شي ولم تفترق الطبيعتين اللتين اشتركتا بوحدانية من بعضهما في كل شي من التدبير الذي لله الكلمة الذي صار جسداً لانهما غير مفترقين لا في القوات اللايقة باللاهوت ولا في اللالام اللايقة بالناسوت وبقى دايما بالاتحاد ليس نضل متل فنطس وسبليوس القايلين ان اللاهوت تباعد وصلبوا الناسوت فقط هذا يقولوه ليجعلوا اللاهوت كانه خاف وجزع ويعيروا الله فاما نحن فلسنا نقول متل هدا التجديف بل نومن ان الغير جسد تجسد والغير متالم تالم والغير دم شارك دم العدري الغير دنسة متل كل الاطفال المولودين جسداني كقول الحكيم بولس الرسول فلاجل هدا يجب له ان يتشبه باخوته في كل شي لكي ينجى الذين هم تحت سلطان الموت هذا الزمان الطويل بموته المخلص كالتدبير ولاتخاف ايها الملك وكل الشعب ادا سمعت ان الله تالم ومات عنا ولا تدع المخالفين يظلوك بقولهم ويقولون بلسانهم الدي يجب ان يقطع كلا نقول ان الله الكلمة مات وقبر قد عرفنا انه غير مايت لما قام من الموتى ووهب لنا القيامة بموته الخلص وقيامته في اليوم التالت لان الدي مات هو قام من الموتا فان كان القادر ان يقوم ليس موجود اد هو رب القوات فالقيامة اذن كدب وان كانت القيامة كدبا فامنننا هبا ونحن اذا شبة اليهود ولو يمت بالجسد كالانسان ما كان كالاله يبطل الدي له عن الموت ويضمحل من الوسط صك القضيه الدى لادم ونومن ايضا ايها الملك بالتالوت لان المخالفين يقولوا بعما قلوبهم ان العدري مريم القديسه لما ولدة الله الكلمة بالجسد صار التالوت رابوعا فاما نحن فلا نقول هذا بل التالوت تالوت والواحد واحد اعنى نور

اللاهوت العظيم الغير مفترق الدي للاهوت والذي يذكر رابوع يضطر ان يضيف زيادة في اللاهوت اتحد بالجسد وصار انساناً باتحاد غير مفترق وانما اللاهوت اتحد بالجسد وصار انساناً من بطن العدري مريم القديسة والدة الاله وصعد الىي السماء باتحاد غير مفترق وجلس عن يمين ابيه وياتي ليدين الاحياء والاموات هذه الامانة الرسولية امانة واحدة امانة تابتة سالمة من تجديف المخالفين ومعمودية واحدة بلا دنس هكدا فالاب والابن والروح القدس لاهوت واحد بلا افتراق وبغيره لم يكن شي طبيعة واحدة جوهر واحد تلته اقانيم غير مختلطة ولا ممتزجة واحد مخفى في واحد بل تلاته اقانيم دايمة فيما لها كل اقنوم بذاته هده امانة وخدمة الكنيسة الجامعة كالقوانين الدي وضعها لنا اباونا الرسل هكدا نومن وهكدا نعلم ولا نشارك مدهب الخالفين الغريب الطمث ولكنا نعترف بالكلمة الذي صار جسداً انه المولود من الاب وصار واحداً مع الجسد الدي اتخده من مريم العدرى وله نفس وعقل نفس ناطقة عاقلة وليس الجسد الدى اخده من العدري موقت ساعه يكون فيه وساعة يفارقه بل مرتبط بلا افتراق ولا نهايه الي الابد ليس للكلمة افتراق من جسده الذي صار معه واحدًا معا ولا له انتها ليزول عنه بل هو متحد به طبيعي بلا افتراق ولا فنا واضمحلال كالاتحاد الطبيعي وهو واحد لا اتنين هو الاه طبيعي روحاني وهو انسان طبيعي جسداني وله هاتين الولادتين واحدة من الاب قبل كل الدهور روحاني بلا مشاركة فرشة انتي وواحدة من العدري مريم القديسه بلا مشاركة فرشة دكر هو هذا الواحد وحده هو هو قبل التجسد وهو هو بعد التجسد ايضا ولم يزيد شي على عدد اقنومه والان فواحد هو سيدنا يسوع المسيح نعترف بان له اقنوم واحد وطبيعة واحدة وله فعل واحد لم ينتقل اللاهوت الناسوت اليه ولا اغتصب الناسوت له اللاهوت كمملكه ولا لاجل طهارة كمتل نبي بل سر الكلمة وتجسد من مريم العدري والدة الاله واوصل الاتنين الى وحدانية انسان كامل يفعل فيه السلامه وليس واحدة من الطبايع خادمة للاخرى كعبدة ولا هي ارغن لها كمتل شبح وخيال بل الطبيعتين تابته بوحدانية لا تضمحل ولا تفترق ولا الطبيعتين مختلطتين ليلا يضمحلا بذواق الموت بل الظافرة بالموت واعراضه متحدة بلا اختلاط مع التي الموت ظافر بها واظهرها طبيعة واحده ظافرة تدوس الموت اقنوم واحد ابن واحد الله سيدنا يسوع المسيح هو كامل وليس فيه نقص ولا تبديل هذا الذي هو حر وبعيد من كل شبح وكل افتراق وكل اختلاط وكل انتقال وليس اللاهوت بلا تمرة في الجسد ولا يضمحل الجسد باللاهوت بل كل واحده من الطبايع تابته بداتها بلا تغيير والطبيعه الغير مايته صارت واحده مع التي تموت بداتها والتي تعول كل الخليقة وتطعم كل جسد صارت واحدة مع التي تجوع وتعطش والغير هالكة بداتها صارت واحدة مع التي تهلك القابلة جراح الاسياط والنصب والتعب من المشى في الطريق وضعف الجسد عن حمل صليبه ونشوفة الحنك من العطش اذ كان معلقا على الصليب وقلق

النفس حتى الموت وطعن الجنب من يد الشرطي ونبع الماء والدم من ينبوع الحياة بعد موته هذه الالام كلها قبلها الكلمة في الجسد الذي ليس هو شبح بل هو معه واحد كالاقنوم والوحدانية الواحدة التي للوجوه ليس بعد الاتحاد افتراق ولا يقال طبيعتين لا اقنومين ولا فعلين من يقول هذا يجحد الاتحاد بالتثنيه كما ان القلق يفسد السر المقدس فلنبعد لان عن الكلمة الذي صار جسدا كل ذكر لاثنوية وكل شبح وكل تغيير وكل افتراق وهذا الذي ذكر الشبح و التغيير هو لجنون اوطيخس الطمث فاما نحن فانا نعترف بالمسيح الواحد واعراضه المقدسة التي ليس فيها خطية وهو الولد الحبيب الذي نعترف بالمسيح الواحد واعراضه المقدسة التي ليس فيها نطية وهو الولد الحبيب الذي الموات فلاجل هذا كلما يليق بالناسوت نقول انه هذا المسيح الواحد وحده الدي قبله بارادته لاجلنا العال العجيب والدون المتال الجميع لهذا الواحد وحده الدي احتمل الالام بجسده وقام من الموتا بلاهوته كما هو مكتوب انك هو انت ايضا هذا الواحد وحده ليس هو اتنين مات لعمري بالجسد ولكنه ظفر بالموت كالاله ووهب لنا الظفر الى الابد وكسر شوكة الموت واعطانا شجرة الحياة التي هي القيامة المقدسة مجداً لسيدنا يسوع المسيح ولابيه لصالح وللروح القدس المحي من الان والى ابد الابدين امين.

TRANSLATION

The straight faith, which Saint Severus, the Patriarch of the great City Antioch, wrote to the God-Loving king Anastasius, when he sent the impious Macedonius to exile. The king received it and put it in the archives of the kingdom being the Law of the Church; that annihilated all the words of the opponents:

We believe and confess, according to our holy fathers the 318 bishops assembled in Nicaea and the Holy Spirit manifested in their midst. Our fathers, who were before us, had also accepted this (faith) as a holy standard. And also it had been established by the one hundred and fifty assembled, before us in the city of Constantinople and those assembled in Ephesus. We believe in one God, the Father and we also confess that the Son of God who had been incarnated for us, is one undivided and not separated He is same before the incarnation and is the same after the incarnation. He is that same one. We believe in the Holy Spirit, the life-giver, consubstantial Trinity, three Existent and Perfect Persons, three figures without any difference in glory or brightness; One Nature one substance, one lordship, worshipping one, praising one, as the faithful people confess. We confess that the Father is in the rank of the Fatherhood. He is not the Son. And the Son is in the rank of the Sonship. And He is not the Father. The Holy Spirit, is in the rank of the procession. He is neither the Father nor the Son but Three permanent united Persons, one Divinity in nature, power, will and glory and each Person stands by his own. There is no slavery or submission in the Holy Trinity and none is divinely superior than the other. No one gives orders as a guardian to his authority. They are all equal in the same honour of the Divinity, the Lordship and the high brightness of the Pantocrator. There was no Father without the Son even for the twinkling of an eye. Nor were there Father and Son without the Holy Spirit even for the twinkling of an eye, but a Holy Trinity, permanent and eternal without beginning or end. We should believe in God the Word as having births one from the Father without sharing the bed of a woman, a birth which cannot be perceived and the other one is in the fullness of the time²³ from the Virgin, saint Mary without a male intercourse,²⁴ unperceived and incomprehensible birth. This is only what we know, that the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us,25 which we have seen with our eyes and which we have touched with our hands.26 The Father did not create Him like one of the angels or one of the Cherubim and Seraphim, but He is born from His essence. He is above all the authorities, all the lords above every name that is named, not only in this age but also in that which is to come.²⁷ He is equal to His Father and the Holy Spirit. He is eternal with one Divinity. For this fact, He said about the Holy Spirit that He will take what is mine and declare it to you. 28 This who came like a dove on the Jordan and descended upon the Son.²⁹ When the Word saw that the sin had multiplied, He descended from heaven and came to the womb of the holy, Virgin, Saint Mary. He took from her a body,30 with an imperceptible and unspeakable mystery. He dwelt in her womb for nine months. He, who created a body for Himself from her. The Father was not in the womb of the Virgin to stop any one from saying that the Father has been transferred to the Sonship, but the Son, by the will of His Father and the consent of the Holy Spirit.³¹ For there is one will to the Holy Trinity and no one could say that He had been created by somebody else and made Him a stranger to the Divinity. But He, Himself was incarnated and endured the sufferings of the body without sin.32 He did not descend from heaven with a body, but He took it from the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, without intercourse of man. He became one with it (the body), with a singleness (unity) that would never dissipate, or separate or be confused. This is the faith, which we believe. He was not born like a ghost but naturally; for He is truly God and man together. For He is Emmanuel, eating and drinking such things offered to Him.³³ He ascended to the cross, by His own Will to offer an acceptable Sacrifice to God His Father³⁴ in our behalf. He had been nailed to the Cross.

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<sup>23</sup> Gal. 4:4.
<sup>24</sup> Cf. the Theotokia of Sunday Youhanna Nessim Youssef 2003, pp. 93–108.
<sup>25</sup> John 1:14.
<sup>26</sup> I John 1:1.
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²⁷ Eph. 1:21.

²⁸ John 16:15.

²⁹ Mt. 3:16, Lk. 3:22, Jn. 1:32.

³⁰ Jn 1:14, Ro. 1:3-4.

³¹ Used in the Theotokia of Tuesday, cf. Youhanna Nessim Youssef 2003, pp. 93–108.

³² Romans 8:3.

³³ Lk. 10:8.

³⁴ Used in the Theotokia of Sunday, cf. Youhanna Nessim Youssef 2003, pp. 93–108.

pierced by the spear; for He is God and Man together. He is one, not two. He is immortal by His Divinity and He is mortal by His the body. The immortal and the mortal had been gathered together in one person. Blood and water came out from His side³⁵ by the economy of the mystery. It is not the humanity who did this, as if it was separated from the Divinity, but the Divinity accepted the sufferings of the body by His own will, for they are united with a singleness in everything; and the two natures had never been separated; but they participated with a singleness together in everything of the economy of God the Word who had been incarnated. For they are not separated neither in the powers due to the Divinity, nor the passions due to the humanity but they remained united. We will not go astray like FANTAS³⁶ and Sabilius who said that the Divinity was separated (from the humanity) and they only crucified the humanity. By saving this, they showed the Divinity as being afraid and fearful and hence they discredit God. But we never say such a blasphemy but we believe that the bodiless had been incarnated³⁷ and the passionless suffered, the bloodless shared the blood of the pure Virgin like all the children born according to the flesh, according to the saying of the wise Paul the Apostle: "Therefore he had to be made like his brethren in every respect,"38 in order to save those who are under the authority of the death of this long generation by the death of the Saviour according to the economy. Do not be afraid, o king and all people upon hearing that God had suffered and died for us. Do not let the opponents mislead you by their sayings. And they say with their tongue, which should be cut. We never say that God the Word died and had been buried, while we know that He is immortal when He rose from the dead and granted us the resurrection by His saving death and His resurrection on the third day. For He, who had died, rose from death.³⁹ So if He who was able to rise, being the Lord of hosts does not exist, then the resurrection is a lie and our faith is in vain and we are like the Jews. So if He did not die, by flesh, as a Man, then He would not have annihilated, as a God what was about the cause of death and abolish the deed of Adam's case. We believe also, o king, in the Trinity, for the opponents said with the blindness of their hearts, that the holy Virgin Mary when she gave birth to God the Word, in the flesh, the Trinity became "Quadrinity". But for us, we do not say this, but the Trinity is a Trinity and the One is one; I mean the great divine light unseparated from the Divinity. Whoever mentions "Quadrinity," has to add (one) to the Divinity united with the body, and became Man, with an inseparable unity. But the Divinity was united with the body and became Man in the womb of the Holy Virgin Mary, Theotokos and He ascended into heaven with an inseparable of the Unity. He sat at the right hand of His Father and He will come to judge the living and the dead.⁴⁰ This is the apos-

[&]quot; Jn. 19:34

³⁶ A polemic against Julian of Halicarnasus, but the translator used it as a proper name. If so we have here anachronism, for Julian like Severus was exiled after the reign of Anastasius.

³⁷ Used in the Theotokia of Wednesday *cf.* Youhanna Nessim Youssef 2003, pp. 93–108.

³⁸ Heb. 2:17.

³⁹ I Cor. 15:4-15.

⁴⁰ Cf. the Creed.

tolic faith; a unique, firm faith, free from the blasphemy of the opponents. (We believe in) one pure baptism as such: The Father the Son and the Holy Spirit, one Divinity without separation, and without Him there would have been nothing. There is one nature, one essence, three Persons without mingling, without confusion. One is hidden in another but three eternal Persons each one has His own. This is the faith and the ministry of the Universal Church, according to the Canons established by our fathers the apostles. Thus we belief and thus we teach, 41 we do not share the strange, impious, doctrine of the dissidents, but we confess the Word who became flesh that He is born from the Father and He became One with the body which He took from the Virgin Mary. He has soul and mind. An utterable rational soul not by the body, which He took of the Virgin temporally, sometimes He is in it and sometimes He leaves it but He is united without separation endless for all eternity. There is no separation of the Word from the body which He became one with it without end to abandon him; it is a natural union without separation or extinction or annihilation as the natural union. He is One and not two. He is the natural Spiritual God, and He is natural corporal man. He has those two births one spiritual from the Father before all ages without sharing the bed of a female; and another one from the Virgin Saint Mary without sharing the bed of a male. He is the same Unique One before the incarnation, and also the same one after the incarnation. [He did not augment anything to His Substance (Hypostasis)]. And now, One is our Lord Jesus Christ.⁴² We believe that He is one Hypostasis and one nature, one act. Neither the Divinity transferred the humanity to him nor the humanity usurped the Divinity for himself as its own. It is not by purity as a prophet, but the secret of the Word was incarnated from the Virgin Mary the God-Bearer and He made the two into one: perfect man acting in peace. And neither of the natures is serving the other as a servant, nor was it attached to it like a phantom or a ghost, but the two natures are firmly united without disappearance or separation; neither the two natures were not confused to disappear by tasting death, but the one overcoming the death and all its sufferings is united without confusion with that which death overcame. He manifested one unique victorious nature, trampling over the death. One Hypostasis, One Son of God, is our Lord Iesus Christ. He is Perfect, without any insufficiency or alteration. He is free and far from being a phantom and any separation or confusion or transfer. The Divinity is not fruitless in the body and the body will not disappear by the Divinity. But each one of the natures is constant and invariable. The immortal nature became One with that which is naturally mortal. And the one who maintains the whole creation and feeds all bodies became One with that who suffers from hunger and thirst. And the intriacally imperishable became one with the perishable, that is subject to the wounds of whips, the fatigue, the exhaustion of walking along the road, the weakness of the body under the weight of Cross and the dryness of the throat from the thirst while he was hanged on the Cross.⁴³ And the sorrow of the soul unto death⁴⁴ and the

⁴¹ Cf. The Syrian prayer of Fraction cf. Abd-al-Masih 1902, pp. 736-741.

⁴² Cf. The Syriac prayer of Fraction. cf. Abd-al-Masih 1902, pp. 736-741.

⁴³ Jn. 19:28.

⁴⁴ Mk. 14:34.

piercing of his side by the soldier and the coming out of the blood and water⁴⁵ from the spring of life after His death. The Word received all these passions in the flesh; which is not a phantom, but He is with Him one Hypostasis, the uniqueness of one figure. There is no separation after the Union. It cannot be stated two natures, or two Hypostases, or two Actions. Whoever says this is denying the Union by that duality. And as the doubt spoils the holy Sacrament, so let us put away from the Word who has been incarnated, all references to duality, phantom alteration, separation; for the mentioning of the ghost and the alteration was by the madness of the impious Eutyches. For us, we confess One Christ with His holy his sufferings, without sin. He is the beloved Son of the Father by the Holy Spirit, Equal Trinity. One nature, the Son suffered according to the mortal nature of the body. For this reason, what is worthy for the Divinity is worthy for the humanity. We say that this is Christ, the Unique One, who accepted by his own will for our sake the marvelous need and inferior condition as a sign for all. For this is the Unique One who endured the passions in His body and rose from death by His Divinity, as it is written that you are also yourself that Unique One and He is not two. He indeed died by the flesh but He overcame death as being God and granted us the victory forever. He broke the thorn of the death⁴⁶ and he gave us the tree of life,⁴⁷ which is the holy Resurrection. Glory be to our Lord Jesus Christ and His Good Father and the Holy Spirit, the life-giver now and to all ages Amen.

COMMENTARY

The introduction of this confession shows clearly that it was delivered after the exile of Macedonius, and in front of the emperor Anastasius. Zacharias the Rhetor, in his life of Severus, narrates this event very briefly.⁴⁸ The life of Severus by John of Beith Aphthonia also mentioned this event in passing.⁴⁹ We may therefore assume that this quotation is from the lost part of the Coptic life of Severus⁵⁰ by Athanasius where we read in the Ethiopian version:

"We believe and confess the true faith, the faith of our 318 fathers who assembled in Nicaea..."51

The homily of George bishop of the Arabs is a compilation of the three previous texts.⁵² This means that the compilor of the *Confession of the Father* at the end of the Eleventh Century had access to a Coptic, or at least an

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<sup>45</sup> Jn. 19:34.
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⁴⁶ I Co. 15:55.

⁴⁷ Gn. 3:24, Apoc 2:7, 22:14.

⁴⁸ Kugener 1971a, pp. 109–110.

⁴⁹ Kugener 1971b, pp. 235–237.

⁵⁰ Youhanna Nessim Youssef (Forthcoming, a).

⁵¹ Cf. Goodspeed 1971, pp. 650–654.

⁵² McVey 1993, lines 345-396.

Arabic, translation of the life of Severus of Antioch by Athanasius before of the actual rewritting of the text by Daniel Ibn al-Khattab in the fourteenth century.⁵³

A part of this confession is quoted in the *History of the Patriarchs*. ⁵⁴ in the section concering the life of Mikhael IV the 68th patriarch. This part of the History of the Patriarch is written *ca*.1130 AD.

As the earliest Manuscript is that of Paris Arabe 183 from the thirteenth century,⁵⁵ so we can say that the Manuscript of the Confession of the Fathers provides a text that is five hundred years earlier text than the Ethiopian one. In the forteenth century, Shams al-Riaysah Abû al-Barakât Ibn Kabar⁵⁶ mentioned in his *Lamp of Darkness for the Explanation of the Holy Service*

"Severus Patriarch of Antioch, A- He wrote several Chapters proving the Orthodox Faith, these are included in his biography. B- Sayings explaining some verses of the Holy Gospels." 57

It is noteworthy to mention that we find other confessions in the Life of Severus by Athanasius. The first one started with "I believe in the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit equal with one divinity, without division and without change;him let us worship..." Another Confession is mentioned later. 59 It seems that the second item refers to the explanations included in the Catena on the Gospels. 60

2. The Letter of Severus of Antioch to Julian of Halicarnasus

TEXT

قال ايضا في رسالته الى يوليانوس الفيرساوس لاجل تجسد الرب الاله نسمع الان المغبوط اغريغوريوس اسقف نيسس اخو باسيليوس في الميمر التالت كتبه قايلا ولما صار

⁵³ Graf 1947, pp. 281–285.

⁵⁴ Youhanna Nessim Youssef (forthcoming b).

⁵⁵ Graf 1937, p. 345.

⁵⁶ Samir Khalil 2000, pp. 619–655.

⁵⁷ Unfortunately there is no critical edition of this book this is taken from the popular edition with the introduction of R. F. Samir Khalil, printed by Al-Karûz bookshop, Cairo 1971, p. 293.

⁵⁸ Goodspeed 1971, p. 628 [60].

⁵⁹ Goodspeed 1971, p. 649 [81].

⁶⁰ Caubet Iturbe 1969; Paul de Lagarde, Osnabrück 1971.

الكلمة جسدا بشبة جسدنا ولم يجعل له تباتا اخر بمتال اخرها بل كعادة الاجساد قوآ جسده بالاكل والشرب واعلم كل احد به انه صار انسانا بالحقيقة ونعت هذا الكلام ايضا في الميمر الرابع من تفسير الطوبات قايلا ان الذي دبر الكل صار متلنا ما خلا الخطية شارك اعراضا اللايقة بطبيعتنا وقبل الجوع لان الجوع ليس فيه خطية تم قبل ايضاً شهوة الطعام لم صام اربعين يوما واربعين ليلة وبعد ذلك جاع في الوقت الذي شآء ان يجعل الطبيعه تطلب ما هو لها خاصة ثم ان القديس ابرقلس الاب اسقف كسكس بمثل هذا هذا الكلام فقط اعلن قوله في الرسالة التي لاهل سمرنا قايلا ان الكلمة صار انسانا بالحقيقة ولم يدع عنه طبيعته بل هو الاه ابدى وصار انسانا من غير تغيير ووفا دين البشر بموته عنهم بانسانيته كالبشر وهادم للموت كالاله يجب علينا ان لا نصدق افكارنا فقط ليلا يتم علينا الكلام النبوي القايل بتبكيت الويل للحكماء عند انفسهم وحدهم بل نتبع اباينا القديسين معلمي الكنيسة لانهم كلهم معترفين بمخلصنا انه قبل جسداً من جوهرنا الواحد معنا وليس هذا فقط بل وقبل الآلام فيه مثلنا وهذا الكلام هكذا مبين في الكتب المقدسة لما قال الرب عن نفسه لاجل نفاق اليهود المستهترين المعيرين له زادوا الاماً على جراحي وبهذا بين الامر انه تجسد بجسد يتالم وهو غير متالم بطبيعته وحده هكذا ايضا كتب يرناوس اسقف لفطن المدينة التي في المغرب وهذا القديس يرناوس كان تلميذ للرسل الشهيد القديس الذي صار اسقفا على سمرنا كتب ايضا في الميمر الثالث الذي قاله لاجل المخالفين هكذا ان كان كقولكم لم يتالم كلمة الله بالجسد ولم يمت بالجسد فكتير هو ان يقال انه ولد من العذرى بالجملة او نال من الطعام اللايق بالارضيين ونعترف هكذا بالاعراض التي صبر لها اللايقة بالجسد التي هي الجوع والعطش والنوم وبقية الاعراض التي قبلها بالحقيقة وليس بخيال وهكذا نومن ايضا انه قبل اعراض النفس التي هي القلق والحزن كالبشرية والذين يقولون ان المسيح لم يتوجع اذكان يضرب على الصليب لما سمر بالمسامير وبقية الالام التي نالته نحن نحرمهم كالمخالفين ونعترف بهذا كله ان الله الكلمة قبله وهو غير متالم بطبيعته ولكنه اخد جسد انسان يقبل هذه الاعراض وصار واحد معه بلا تغيير فكيف مع هذا التعليم الذي لاباينا القديسين لاجل الانترشا التي في الجسد المقدس جسد المسيح الذي هو بلا خطية تقول انت انه لم يتالم الم ولاموت وهو ضعيف متالم كشهادة الكتب الصادقه وكيف هو غير متالم وغير مايت فان قال واحداً كيف نقول عن الجسد الذي صار غير مايت انه مايت والجسد الذي وهب له ان لا يتالم انه توجع بالالام فليعلم هذا انه جحد جملة التدبير الذي فعله الكلمة لاجلنا بالجملة ولم يشتهي ان يعترف ان جسد الرب المقدس تالم ومات وهذا يكون خاليا من الامانة واذا كان الله الكلمة لم يتالم ولم يمت الا بخيال او مثل الحلم فلم يبطل عز الموت الى الان ونحن ايضاً الى الان باقين في خطايانا وليس لنا خلاص واذا كان الله الكلمة

لم يمت بالتحقيق فقيامته اذن كذب ولكن لياتي الان الى الوسط هاهنا الحكيم بولس ليرجز جهل المخالفين اذ يقول هكذا اذا كان الجسد الذي يموت لم ينبعت من الاموات فاين ظفره بالموت واين قول النبي اني اخلصهم من الجحيم وانجيهم من الموت ولكن شهادة الرسول بولس تسد افواههم اذ يقول فالان قد قام المسيح من الاموات وهو بكر من رقد ولينظر ايضا ما قاله الحكيم كيرلس في كتاب الكنوز التاني اذ يقول ان الخوف والجوع وما يشبهما قبلهم المسيح ولكن لم يضبط بهم بل صبر لهم ان ينالهم بالطبيعة الانسانية لكي يبطلهم ويقلعهم الى الانقضاء ولما نالهم هلكت قوتهم لو لم يخف لكان الخوف يدوم على طبيعه البشر لو لم يتالم ما كانت البشرية تنعتق من الالام والحزن لو لم يقلق ما كان القلق يزول عنا لم يحرك المسيح هذه الاعراض لان تعبر عليه بارادته بل بحركتهم هلكوا بقوة الكلمة الذي صار واحدا مع الجسد كما قال القديس اغريغوريوس صانع العجايب وختمه كيرلس الحكيم باتفاق واحد معه هكدا من الذي يجسر ويقول ان جسد المسيح مخلصنا غير متالم وغير مايت وقال الكبير اغريغوريوس يوبخ مرض الغير متاهلين انه لما جربه الشيطان في البريه صبر له لا لانه محتاج لتجربه بل ليبطل قوة المجرب وقال ايضا لم يقاتل العدو بقوة لاهوته بل ظفر به بالجسد الذي يتالم ويموت لكى بهذا الجسد لا تدخل الخطية الى العالم دفعة اخرى لان بالخطية دخل الموت على الكل وبهذا الجسد تمحى رجاسة الخطية ويظفر هذا الجسد بريس الخطية ويقول القديس كيرلس رييس اساقفة الاسكندرية في الحرم الثاني عشر من لم يعترف بان كلمة الله تالم بالجسد وصلب وداق الموت بالجسد وصار بكر من قام من الاموات لانه الحياة ومعطى الحياة فليكن محروما وتفسير ذلك من قوله الكلمة الذي اتى من الاب هو غير متالم وغير مايت لانه اعلا من كل الم لان له العظمة الغير مدروكة وطبيعة الله الكلمة تعطى الحياة للكل وهو يجل عن كل فساد والم لان هذا ليس هو لجوهرة وهو واحد مع الاب اعنى الكلمة الذي اتى من الاب وصار واحداً مع الجسد وصير الجسد واحد معه ليقبل فيه التالم و الموت عنا وتالم حتى يخلصنا كلنا من الموت والفساد ويعطينا حياة الجسد الذي كالاله صار بكر من قام من الموتا ليس هو انسانا فقط خارجا عن الكلمة الذي اتى من الاب الجليل وذاق الموت بل هو رب المجد تالم بالجسد كما هو مكتوب فاما المخالفين المتمدهبين بالباطل فانهم يعوجون الامانة المقدسة الغير دنسة بارادتهم و يقولوا انه انسان صلب عنا فجيدا صار هذا الحرم يبين نفاقهم والورشنوفين يقولوا بنفاق وكفر بجسر ان الله الكلمة تالم بطبيعة اللاهوت فضربهم الله الكلمة واهلكهم ويوليان ايضا يجحد الام المسيح ويقول ان جسد المسيح لم يتالم واخرين متبعين الباطل ويقولوا ان التالوت المقدس تلتة طبايع فهم كادبين واوطيخي يقول ان جسد الرب ليس هو مساوى لنا.

TRANSLATION

He said also in his letter to Julian of Halicarnasus⁶¹ regarding the incarnation of the Lord⁶² God. Let us hear now the blessed Gregory of Nyssa, brother of Basil in his third Mîmar⁶³ which he wrote saying, "So the Word, who was made flesh⁶⁴ like our flesh, he did not set up another standard by a different body, but as it is the norm for the bodies, He fortified His by eating and drinking. Lo, everybody knew that He became a True man, this is also found in the fourth *Mimar* explaining the beatitudes, saying"He who managed everything became like us except for Sin. He shared the same sufferings due to our nature accepting the hunger, for the hunger is not a sin. And He accepted also the desire for food when He fasted forty days and forty nights, and after that He became hungry when He wished that the nature asks what is due to it. Then the father Proclus, bishop of Kukus⁶⁵ said the same in his letter to the Smyrnians⁶⁶ saying "The Word became truly a man, leaving nothing from His nature, but He is the Eternal God, became man without change. He paid the debt that humanity owed by his death for them as a human being like all men and, destroying death as being God."67 So we should not only trust our thoughts, in order not to fulfill the prophetic words reproaching the self-esteemed wise-men, but we should follow our holy Fathers the doctors of the Church, for they all confessed our Saviour as receiving flesh of the same essence of ours, and not only this, but He accepted in it the passions, like us. This is clearly stated in the Holy Scriptures, as the Lord said about Himself noticing the hypocrisy of the irresponsible Jews who reviled him "They pultiplied the pain of my wounds." So He made it clear that He was incarnated with a passible flesh while His own nature impassible. And also the same was written by Ireneaus bishop of Lofton⁶⁸ the city in the West, this saint Irenaeus was the disciple of the Apostles. The martyr and saint who became the Bishop of Smyrne, he wrote also in his third *Mimar* which was delivered against the opponents: "If what you said, is true that the Word of God did not suffer and died in flesh, so it will be excessive to say that He was born of the Virgin, or He received food worthy of the earthly creatures." We confess that He endured the sufferings worthy of the flesh, which are hunger, thirst and slumber and the other sufferings which He accepted in truth and not as a phantom. We⁶⁹ confess also that he accepted the sufferings of the soul, which are anguish and sorrow as experienced by humanity. And those who say that Christ did not suffer⁷⁰ when He was beaten, and nailed by nails to the cross and the other

 ⁶¹ Some of the Mss read الفريساوس (the pharisean).
 62 This part is taken from the Letter of Severus to Julian of Halicarnasus. Cf. Hespel 1964, pp. 90-92 (text); 1964, p. 192 (translation). It seems that the compiler of the Confession of the Fathers did not use the Syriac translation, but an abbreviated one.

⁶³ Syriac "The catechetic speech declares this."

⁶⁴ Jn. 1:14.

⁶⁵ Read Cyzicus.

⁶⁶ Syriac read to the Armenians.

⁶⁷ End of the Syriac Text, cf. Hespel 1964, p. 192.

⁶⁸ Hespel 1964, reads Celtes; cf. p. 193.

⁶⁹ Hespel 1964, p. 194:28.

⁷⁰ Hespel 1964, p. 195:4.

pains which affected Him. We anathematise them as heretics. And we confess all these and (we believe that) the God the Word by his nature accepted them, without pain but He took the body of a man, who accepts the sufferings and became One with him without change. While this is the teaching of our holy fathers for the INTERSHA,⁷¹ which was in the Holy Body, the Body of Christ who was sinless. How can you say that He did not suffer pain or death. While He was weak by the testimony of the true Scriptures how could He be without pain and immortal. So if one says: "How, we say that the immortal body became mortal, the body that was granted not to suffer had suffered the pains. So let him know that he had denied the whole economy, which the Word had undertaken for us in all its entirely. He has not desire to confess that the holy body of the Lord suffered and died, this is void of faithfulness. So if God the Word did not suffer and did not die but it was a fantasy or like a dream, then, He (Jesus) did not vanquish death until now, and we are also till now in our sins, and there is no salvation for us, and if God the Word did not truly die then His resurrection is a lie. So let the wise Paul come here in our midst in order to rebuke the ignorance of the heretics by his saying:"If the mortal body is not risen from the dead, to be no more is His victory over death and to be no more is the saying of the prophet, "I shall deliver them from Hell and I shall save them from death" But the testimony of the Apostle Paul shuts up their mouths when he said "And Christ has been raised from the dead, the first-fruits of those who have fallen asleep."72 And consider also what Cyril said in the second book of the Treasures:73 "trouble, hunger and other similarities Christ received, but He was not seized by them but He endured them by His human nature in order to annihilate them and eradicate them for ever. When He overcame them they became powerless. If He did not fear, then fear would have prevailed on the nature of the Man. If He did not suffer, humanity would never have been released from pain and sadness. If He was not troubled, trouble would have never gone away from us. Christ did not take these sufferings upon Himself by His own will, but by their movement they have been annihilated by the Power of the Word, who became one with the flesh." As it was stated by saint Gregory the *Thaumaturge* and sealed by the wise Cyril, by in perfect agreement thus: "Who dares to say that the body of Christ our Saviour is impassive and immortal." And the Great Gregory⁷⁴ said in rebuke the illness to the unworthy "When the devil tempted Him in the wilderness, He endured, not because He was in need of the temptation, but in order to annihilate the power of the tempter. He also said,75° He did not fight the Enemy by the Power of His Divinity, but He overcame him in the flesh that is subject to sufferings and death in order that by this flesh, sin will not enter again to the world. For by Sin, Death became the master of all. For by this flesh the impurity of Sin will be annihilated and this flesh arrested the chief

⁷¹ In the margin, "this word means incorruptible" حاشية الانترثا تاويله الغبر فاسد.

⁷² I Cor. 15:20.

⁷³ Hespel 1964, p. 200:2.

⁷⁴ Hespel 1964, p. 200:34.

⁷⁵ Hespel 1964, p. 201: 10.

instigator of Sin. "Saint Cyril, the archbishop of Alexandria, says in his 12th anathema⁷⁶"Who do not confess that the Word of God suffered in flesh, He was crucified and tasted death in His flesh and became the First-born of those who have been raised, for He is life and He is the life-giver, let him be anathema"And it is plainly clear from his saying:77"The Word, who came from the Father is impassible and immortal for He is over all passions, for He has the imperceptible Glory, and the Nature of God, the Word, gives life to all and He is far above any corruption and passion for this is not of His nature. He is one with the Father, I mean the Word who came from the Father, and became one with the Flesh and made the flesh one with Him, in order to receive in it sufferings and death for our sake, He suffered in order to deliver us all from the death and corruption and give us the life of the Body, who became as God, the first born of those who have been raised. He was not a mere man separated from the Word, who came from the glorious Father and tasted death, but He is the Lord of Glory, who suffered in the flesh, as it is written. But for the opponents, the vain sectarians, who twist the holy, pure faith, willingly, saying that a man had been crucified for us. So it is good that they are anathematized, which showed their impiety⁷⁸ The Barshonofians dared to say impiously and atheistically, that God the Word suffered by the Nature of the Divinity. So God the word struck them. And Julian rebuked the passions of Christ and said that the body of the Christ did not suffer. And others following the vanity, said that the Holy Trinity is Three Natures; so they are liars. Eutychius said that the Body of Lord is not equal to us.

COMMENTARY

The Arabic text mentioned here differs from parallel text mentioned in the Book of the Philalethes in the Syriac and Arabic⁷⁹. It is noteworthy to mention that the earlier manuscripts of the Syriac tradition date to the sixth Century and the seventh century.⁸⁰ Our text is either an independent development from the lost original Greek, or is an abbreviation from this text.

The fact that the Copto-Arabic tradition is different from the Syriac occurs also in most of the other wirting attributed to Severus of Antioch. We can mention, for example, the letter of Severus of Antioch to the Deaconess Anastasia, known in Coptic,⁸¹ Arabic,⁸² Syriac⁸³ and partly in Greek.⁸⁴

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<sup>76</sup> Hespel 1969, p. 213 (text), p. 184:3 (translation).
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⁷⁷ Hespel 1969, p. 184:13.

⁷⁸ End of Hespel 1969, p. 184:30.

⁷⁹ Youhanna Nessim Youssef 2001, pp. 261–266. The complete text will be published soon.

⁸⁰ Hespel 1964, pp. III-IV.

⁸¹ Chaîne 1913, pp. 32–58.

⁸² Youhanna Nessim Youssef 2001b, pp. 126–136.

⁸³ Brooks 1920, pp. 75-118.

⁸⁴ Mercati 1915, pp. 59–63.

While that Arabic is a close translation of the Coptic, the Syriac is different adding some sentences and omitting others.

3. On his Mimar "My God why has thou forsaken?"

The book of the Confession of the Fathers mentioned also an extract from Homily $XXII^{85}$

TEXT

وقال ايضا في ميمره لاجل المكتوب الهي الهي لماذا تركتني الله الكلمة لما استفرغ داته وحده بارادته وصار انسانا من غير تغيير وشارك ما هو لطبيعتنا ما خلا الخطية صبر هكدا ليدوق الموت المتلسط علينا من اجل خطايانا وامات الخطية معا ولم يمت لاجل خطاياه هو لانه لم يعرف خطية بل وفا الذين الدي علينا لكي يهدم عز الموت ويهشم شوكته كما قال بولس الرسول ومات عمانويل عنا كمتال موتنا وهو مفارقة النفس للجسد فلاجل هذا قال بسلطان كما يليق بلاهوته اني ابدل نفسي عن خرافي ولا يقدر احد ينزعها منى بل انا الذي اضعها من داتى وحدي وايضا ان لى سلطان ان اضع نفسي ولى سلطان ان اخدها وهو الذي قال على الصليب يايتاه في يديك اسلم روحيى ولما قال هذا اسلم الروح فان كان كجنون الهراطقة الكافرين الموت الذي ماته المسيح عنا ليس هو مفارقة النفس للجسد بل هو مفارقة اللاهوت للناسوت كقولهم فانه لم يمت بموتنا نحن فكيف نفتخر بموت مخلصنا عنا ان كان ظفره بابليس بموت غريب ليس هو منسوب الى طبيعتنا بل الفعل بين انه داق الموت عنا كموتنا الدى هو افتراق النفس من الجسد وتترك نفسه في الجحيم و لم يدع جسده يعاين الفساد كما قال النبي ولكن لما فارقه نفسه جسده بارادته دبر الله الكلمة هذا ولم يفارق الجزوين الدين هما النفس والجسد بل هو متحد بهما كالاقنوم لانه الله الكلمة الذي يملا الكل وليس هو محصور في موضوع من المواضع بل باتحاده بالجسد ابطل الفساد واحيا الاجساد التي في القبور واقام كتير من اجساد القديسين الدين رقدوا وباتحاده بالنفس فتح ابواب الفردوس وادخل اللص معه اليه ذاك لما ناداه قال له اليوم تكون معى في الفردوس وبهذا المتال هكدا فان الله الكلمة واحداً مع النفس والجسد فتح باب الفردوس للص ومضى الى موضع الجحيم وقال للمربوطين اخرجوا والدين في الظلمات ابصروا ولما ذاق الموت بطبيعتنا داواها بتمام واعاد ما قد افرقه الى موضع واحد بارادته اعنى النفس والجسد الدي اقامه من الاموات واضا علينا شمس البر بروق قىامته.

⁸⁵ Brière; Graffin 1975, pp. 103–105.

TRANSLATION

He said also in his Mimar on what is written: "My God, My God why has thou forsaken me?" When God the Word, emptied Himself by His own will, and became Man without change; He shared what is in our nature, except Sin. 86 He endured thus and tasted death, which prevailed on us for our sins. He annihilated sin also. He did not die for His sins for He did not know sin, but He paid off our debt in order to abolish the power of death and break its sting as the Apostle Paul said.⁸⁷ So, Emmanuel died for us like our death, which is the separation of the soul from the body. For this, He said, with authority, worthy to His divinity: "I lay down my life for my sheep, and no one would be able to snatch them from me but I lav it down of my own accord by my own self. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again."88 And He said also on the cross: "Father into thy hands I commit my spirit: and having said this, he gave up the spirit."89 If the death, which Christ died for us, according to the madness of the atheist heretics who say it was not the separation of the soul from the body, but the separation of the Divinity from humanity, as they say. Then He did not die by our own death. So how can we be proud of the death of our Saviour for us; if His victory over the Devil was by a strange death, which did not belong to our nature. The act is clear that He tasted death for us, like our death, which is the separation of the soul from the body. "For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine body90 to see corruption,"91 as the prophet said. But when His soul departed from His body, by His own will, it was by God's design, He did not separate the two parts, which are the soul and the body. But he is hypostatically united with them, for God the Word is the fullness of all creation and is not confined to a single place; but by His union with the body, He destroyed corruption and revived the bodies that were in the graves. And many bodies of the Saints who had fallen asleep were raised. 92 By His union with the soul, He opened the gates of paradise and He let the thief enter in his company when He said to him "Today, you will be with me in paradise."93 And thus God, the Word who is one with the soul and body, opened the gate of paradise to the thief and proceeded to the places of Hades and said "to the captives, come forth, and those who are in the darkness: See the light."94 When He tasted the death in our nature, He completely healed it. He united to one place what has been separated, by

⁸⁶ Hebr. 4:15.

⁸⁷ I Cor. 15:56.

⁸⁸ Jn 10:15–18.

⁸⁹ Lk. 23:46.

⁹⁰ In Coptic tradition both Sahidic and Bohairic, this word is πετογααβ/πεθογαβ "holy" Burmester 1973, p. 16. Budge 1898, p. 15. The Septuaguint mentioned δσίον "Sacred." But this word seems to be authentic, for it is also in the Syriac translation. Severus mentioned it as a free quotation for his argumentation.

⁹¹ Ps. 16:8–11.

⁹² Mt. 27:52.

⁹³ Lk. 23:43.

⁹⁴ Is. 49:9.

His own Will, I mean the soul and the resurrected body, and the Sun of Righteousness shone upon us by the twilight of his resurrection.

COMMENTARY

The corresponding Syriac version is different and adds several biblical quotations. As we argued before, the translator from Greek to Coptic used another version than that used by his colleague for the Syriac tradition. This quotation proves once more that the text of the *Confessions of the Fathers* should be translated from Coptic, not from Syriac. It proves also that a Coptic translation of this homily had previously existed.

4. The speech of Severus in front of Justinian

This section is from the *Book of the Confession of the Fathers* entitled "His speech in front of the King". The text is taken from the *Life of Severus* by Athanasius of Antioch, 95 but differs from the latter.

TEXT

قال ايضا في مقالته الذي قالها قدام الملك وظهر الله للانبياء والبطاركة بجسد ما احتمله كل واحد منهم وما كان لابس جسد وظهر لبنى اسراييل في اربعين سنة في البرية بعلامات وعجايب بلا جسد ايضا وبكل هذا الظهور الكثير الانواع الذي لله لم يخلص العالم ولم ترجع الامم اليه بل كانوا دايمين في ترك معرفة الله وبالاكثر الشعب الذي ظهر له واعطاه ناموسه ووصاياه وصنع علامات فيهم وعجايب ولم يتبتوا معه ولم يلوموا على عهده بل عبدوا فاغور ونجوم السما ونسوا الله وكل عجايبه الذي صنعها يدوموا على عهده بل عبدوا فاغور ونجوم السما ونسوا الله وكل عجايبه الذي صنعها الذي نبع من الصخرة الصماء بخلاف طبيعتها ونزول المن من السماء وبقيت الايات الذي نبع من الصخرة الصماء بخلاف طبيعتها ونزول المن من السماء وبقيت الايات يرد العالم اليه ويعرفوه ارسل ابنه الوحيد من السماء اتى الي العالم بلا جسد وتجسد من اسفل بجسد يشبه اجسادنا معجون من دم ولحم وعروق وعظام وهو كامل ثابت بشبه الانسان ويقبل كل الالام والموت الموضوع لطبيعتنا وبهدا المجهول تخلص العالم ومن جهته عرف العالم الله وبطل ابليس وخدمته رايت ايها الملك كم من خير اصابنا نحن البعدا عنه بتالم ابنه عنا بطل الموت وهرب ابليس وقلق الجحيم والقضية بطلت نحن البعدا عنه بتالم ابنه عنا بطل الموت وهرب ابليس وقلق الجحيم والقضية بطلت نحن البعدا عنه بتالم ابنه عنا بطل الموت وهرب ابليس وقلق الجحيم والقضية وصارت

⁹⁵ Goodspeed 1971, pp. 706-707.

السما عالم وصار العالم سما وصار الله انسانا وصار الله اسفل وصير الانسان في العلا والمجد الذي في السماء صار على الارض والذي في حضن ابيه صار في حضن مريم والذي ولدة الله ابوه بسر لا يدرك بلا فرشة انتى ولدته مريم متجسد بسر غير مدرك بلا مباضعة ذكر وخضع لناموس التالم بالطبيعة التي ليس فيها شيطنة وعتقنا من عبودية ابليس النجسة التي سبانا بها خارجا عن طقس الطبيعة وصار الكلمة جسدا واذا كان الكلمة قد صار جسداً كقول يوحنا الانجيلي فقد تالم فيه بحق كتبات الاناجيل الذي لا تجحد هذا الذي جعله الله لنا في كنيسته متل صخرة غير متزعزعة.

TRANSLATION

He said also in his speech, which he pronounced in front of the king: "God appeared in bodily form to the prophets and the patriarchs, but none of them were able to bear that and He was without flesh. He appeared to the children of Israel forty years, in the wilderness, with signs and wonders without flesh. And by all the various appearances of God, the world was not saved and the nations did not return to Him, but they remained in the ignorance of God. Moreover, particularly the people to who He appeared and gave them His laws and commandments and made signs among them and miracles but they did not keep his convention, but they worshipped Phaghor, and the stars of heaven. They forgot God and all the wonders He did to them in the Red Sea and in the wilderness, and the pillar of light by night and the overshadow of clouds by day, and the water came unnaturally out of the solid rock, the coming down of the manna from heaven, and the rest of the signs which He did with them. But the world did not find it beneficial. And when the great goodness of God wished that the world would turn unto Him and know Him, He sent His only Son from heaven. He came to the world without flesh and down below he became flesh like our flesh, which is blood, meat, veins and bones. He was perfect, and stable like man. He was susceptible to all sufferings and the predestined death due to our nature. And by this unknown, the world had been saved and by Him, the world knew God. Satan and his service had been annihilated. Have you seen, O king, the good things that He had been granted to us who were far from Him. By the suffering of His Son, death had been destroyed and the devil fled, the Hades had been disturbed the case was dismissed, the seduction of Satan had been hidden and became invisible. The paradise had been opened and the tree of life appeared. The heaven became earth and earth became heaven. God became man and God came down and made the man in the highest. The glory, which was in heaven came down on earth. The One who is in the bosom of His Father, became in the bosom of Mary. This one who was begotten by God, His Father, by an ineffable mystery, without the bed of a female, Mary gave Him birth, incarnated by an ineffable mystery, without union with a man. He endured the law of suffering, by that nature without sin. He freed us from the bondage of the wicked Satan, who took us captives by removing us from our nature. The Word became flesh, and if the Word became flesh as is said by John the Evangelist, He truly endured suffering in it (the flesh), according to the undeniable truth sayings of the Gospels of whom the Lord made in His Church, as an unremoved rock."

COMMENTARY

The text is slightly different fom the Arabic version of the life of Severus attributed to Athanasius. ⁹⁶ It seems that the actual text of the biography of Severus both in Arabic and Ethiopian was according to the colophons of the manuscripts redone by Daniel Ibn al-Khattab in the fourteenth century, ⁹⁷ while our text is from an earlier translation.

5. Another extract from the speech of Severus in front of the King

TEXT

وقال ايضا فيما كتب به للملك انا اعترف دفعات كثيرة ولا اجحد ابدا ما كتبته ولا يقدر احد يرضي قلبي لكي اجحد امانتي ولو انهم خوفوني بالنفي الى مواضع بعيدة او يرموني في النيران ويطرحوني للسباع او يغرقوني في البحر او يقطعوا اعضاي من مفاصلي او يلقوني في كل انواع العداب فاني لا اجحد امانتي بل انا تابت القلب على قول سيدي المسيح لا تخافوا ممن يقتل اجسادكم فان نفوسكم لا يقدر احد ان يقتلها وايضاً انه يجب ان يقبل من الله اكتر من الناس هكذا علمنا اباونا ان عمانويل غير متالم بطبيعة لاهوته وتالم بالجسد والذي هو غير متالم وغير مايت بطبيعته صار مع الجسد في وحدانية لابنطق بها.

TRANSLATION

"He said also in what he wrote to the King, I confess many times and I will never deny my writings. Nobody can please my heart in order that I might deny my faith; even if they threatened me by exile to a far away place or by casting me into the fire or by throwing me to the lions, or by sinking me into the sea, or by removing my members from my knuckles, or by throwing me into all kinds of tortures, I will never deny my faith, but my heart is firm upon the saying of my Lord Christ: "Fear not those who kill your bodies, but nobody can kill your soul." And also God should be obeyed rather than men." Our fathers taught us thus, that Emmanuel is impassible by the nature of His Divinity and He suffered in flesh, although He is impassible and immortal by His Nature. He became One with the Flesh with in an ineffable uniqueness.

⁹⁶ To be published by us in the collection *Patrologia Orientalis*.

⁹⁷ Graf 1947, pp. 281–285.

⁹⁸ Free quotation of Mt. 10:28; Lk. 12:4.

⁹⁹ Free quotation Act 5:29.

COMMENTARY

I was not able to identify this text. It could be taken from the biography of Severus before the re-writing of Daniel Ibn al-Khattab.

6. Also from the speech of Severus in front of the king

TEXT

وله ايضا فيما كتب به الى الملك والموت صار له بهدا المتال انه لما قبله الجسد بالطبيعة قبله ايضاً الكلمة بارادته اذ صار واحداً معا مع الجسد الذي لا يموت ومات بالجسد وانبعث من الاموات لاجلنا وكان تدبير ولادته من العدرى المقدسة وموته وانبعاته لاجل خلاصنا ورجوعنا اليه الذى هو ربنا ومخلصنا يسوع المسيح.

TRANSLATION

And also from what He wrote to the King, "And death, became in such manner, acceptable to the flesh, by nature, the Word received it, by His own will, for He became one with the flesh. The immortal died in the flesh and has risen from the Dead for us. His birth from the holy Virgin and His death and His resurrection, for our salvation and our return to Him who is our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ."

COMMENTARY

I was not able to identify this text.

7. The Synodical Letter from Severus to John of Alexandria

The following extract is from the Synodical Letter from Severus to John Patriarch of Alexandria.

This Synodical Letter is mentioned in the *History of the Patriarchs*. It is noteworthy that the relations between the two sees was established before Severus of Antioch.¹⁰⁰ Most of the biographical section of Severus, *i.e.* lives 30-42, is attributed to George the Archdeacon of Alexandria:

"And God showed forth in his days a wonderful thing, and raised up royalty and priesthood together for the Church, in the persons of the prince Anastasius, the pure believer, and the excellent patriarch Severus, clothed with spirit, occupant of the see of Antioch, who became a horn of salvation to the orthodox Church, and who sat upon the throne of the great Ignatius.

¹⁰⁰ Fiey 1972–1973, pp. 295–336; and especially pp. 310–323.

And he (Severus) wrote a Synodical Letter to the Father John, the patriarch, concerning the unity of the faith, wherein he announced the agreement between them in the one orthodox creed of the holy fathers... And John, the holy patriarch wrote to the great Severus an answer to his letter in canonical language full of the orthodox faith, which is that of the doctors of the Church, as the blessed Severus¹⁰¹ had written to him."

By the end of the sixth century, Evagrius Scholasticus affirmed also the existence of Synodical Letters between Severus of Antioch and John III, successor of John II, Dioscorus and Timotheus.

"He sent (letters) to all the patriarchs, though they were received only at Alexandria, by John, the successor of the former John, and by Dioscorus and Timotheus: which epistles have come down to our time." The source of Evagrius, for this chapter is not clear." To the source of Evagrius and Timotheus:

We have another letter from Severus to John patriarch of Alexandria:105

TEXT

وقال ايضا في رسالة سنوديقن منه يكتب الي القديس يوحنا بطريرك الاسكندريه اما نحن فانا لا ناتي بامانة جديدة بل نتأرب في كل شي كما قلنا نحفظ الامانة الجليلة التي سلمها الينا اباونا الاطهار ونرفض ما قرره غيرهم في خلقدون ونومن بالاله واحد الاب ضابط الكل ونومن هكذا برب واحد يسوع المسيح المولود من الاب قبل كل الدهور المساوي للاب قبل كل الازمان وفي اخر الايام تجسد من الروح القدس ومن مريم العدرى في كل حين والدة الاله المقدسة وصار انسانا لاجلنا ونومن بالروح القدس الدايم المساوي مع الاب والابن ونعترف ايضاً بابن واحد سيدنا يسوع المسيح من قبل ان يتجسد ومن بعد ايضاً وهذا الغير متغير ولا مستحيل لم يات بالجسد معه من السما ولا من شي اخر كخيال او فنطسة بل صار جسداً اى انه تجسد وصار انسانا من غير استحالة وهو الاله الكلمة الغير جسد قبل جسد من جوهرنا الواحد من مريم والدة الاله العدرى به جبراييل الملاك الذى اوتمن على السر العظيم قايلا لها السلام هذا الذى بشر العدرى به جبراييل الملاك الذى اوتمن على السر العظيم قايلا لها السلام الخطية وصبر للولادة بالجسد ليصير الجسد واحد معه معاً حبل به وولد بالجسد ليزيل الحزن الذي لولادة الابناء ويعتق جنس البشر من اللعنة الاوله ولاجل هذا نقول ان

¹⁰¹ Apparently different than what we have cf. W. Brooks 1903, pp. 98–99.

¹⁰² Evetts 1947, pp. 449–450 [185–186]. Seybold 1962, pp. 86–87.

¹⁰³ Cf. Evagrius 1896, p. 191, Ch. IV. Kugener, 1971b, p. 379.

¹⁰⁴ Allen 1981, pp. 6–11, and especialy p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ *Cf.* Brooks 1903, pp. 98–99.

العذرى المقدسة والدة الاله بالحقيقة لان الله الكلمة تجسد منها وحبلت به وولدته هو شخص واحد من اتنين لاهوت وناسوت كقول الحق ونعترف بعمانويل انه الوحيد رب واحد مسيح واحد الله الكلمة صار جسداً.

TRANSLATION

He also said in his synodical letter written to saint John the Patriarch of Alexandria. "For us, we do not come up with a new faith, but in everything we are conservatives as we have said preserving the holy faith which handed down to us by our holy Fathers, and we refuse what had been established by the others in Chalcedon. We believe in one God, the Father the Almighty. We believe also in one Lord, Jesus Christ, begotten from the Father before all ages, consubstantial with the Father before all ages and in the fullness of time, He was incarnated by the Holy Spirit and from the ever Virgin, Saint Mary, the God-bearer. He became man for our sake. We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Eternal, and consubstantial with the Father and the Son. We also confess One Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, before the incarnation and after the incarnation, the unchangeable and who is beyond impossibility, neither brought the body with Him from Heaven nor being anything else like a ghost or fantasy, but He took flesh, which means He was incarnated and He became man without alteration, for He is the bodiless God the Word, He took a body from our own substance, from the God-bearer, the ever Virgin. He has a rational soul and became One with it in her womb as the hypostasis. This whom Gabriel, the angel, who had been entrusted with the great mystery, announced it to her, saying: "Hail to you, full of grace, The Lord is with you."106 He took flesh with blood, like ours, and became man like us without sin, He endured the birth of the flesh in order that the flesh might become one with Him. He was conceived and born by the flesh to obliterate the grief of the children's birth and free the human race from the first curse¹⁰⁷. For this, we say that the holy Virgin, is truly the God-bearer, for God the Word took flesh from her and she had conceived and brought Him forth. One Person of two: Divinity and Humanity, as the true saying. We confess the Unique Emmanuel as One Lord, One Christ, God the Word became flesh.

COMMENTARY

Although the synodical letter between Severus of Antioch and the Coptic prelats is very well attested, our text seems to be the unique witness of this letter. The letters of Severus did not survive, only the sixth book of his letters came to our knowledge.¹⁰⁸ It seems that a corpus of the letters of Severus had existed in Coptic and had been translated to Arabic.

¹⁰⁶ Lk. 1:28.

¹⁰⁷ Gn. 4:16.

¹⁰⁸ Brooks 1904.

8. Another extract from the Synodical letter of Severus to Theodosius

TEXT

وقال ايضا فيها واحد هو الرب يسوع المسيح الآله الكلمة الذي تجسد وصار انسانا لاجلنا وهو الواحد من الثالوث المقدس بطبيعته المقدسة صلب عنا بالجسد ومات لاجلنا بالجسد وقبر وقام من الموتا وصعد الى السموات وياتى ايضا ليدين الاحيا والاموات هذا هو العلم المخلص الذي قبلناه اولا من اباينا الاطهار هو الذي فعل العجايب اللايقة بالله واحتمل الآلام البشرية هذا الواحد فقط هو الذي قال الاصوات اللايقه باللاهوت وهو ايضا الذي تكلم بتواضع كتدبير الناسوت الذي اتخذ فلاجل هذا لانقسم افعاله الي طبيعتين او شكلين كمن يقسم المسيح الواحد طبيعتين ان كان لم يصير انسانا فما تكلم مثلنا في الناسوتية التي قبلها ولا تالم بالجسد وان كان قد استفرغ ذاته واخذ شكل العبد وشاهدنا استفراغه من كلامه المتواضع وعرفنا علو رفعته وافعاله بتواضعه الذي فعله لاجلنا من ذاته فهذا الأن هو حدود خدمة الله التي انتم قيام فيها وثابتون عليها وتسعوا في طريق الملكة.

TRANSLATION

He also said in it. One is the Lord Jesus Christ, God the Word, who was incarnated and became man for our sake. He is one of the Holy Trinity, by His holy nature. He was crucified for us in the flesh and He died for us in the flesh. He was buried and He rose from the dead. He ascended to heaven. He will also come to judge the living and the dead. This is the saving declaration that we receive first from our pure fathers. He performed the wonders, worthy of God and He endured the human sufferings. He is the Unique One, who also used the language¹⁰⁹ worthy of the Divinity and He also spoke with humility as the economy of the Humanity that He took. For that reason we do not attribute His acts to two natures or two forms, like those dividing the One Christ into two natures. So if He did not become man, He would have neither spoke like us in the humanity, which He took nor had He suffered in the flesh. "If He had emptied of and took the form of a servant,"110 we recognised his emptiness from His humble words and His high superiority and His acts from the humility, He endured for our sake by His own will. For now, this is the limit of the ministry of God, which you are practicing it and are confirmed in it; and you are hastening in the way of the kingdom.

¹⁰⁹ This word, if the text is translated from Coptic should be CMH, which means "voice, sound, language," but it could be used as an adjective: *cf.* Crum 1938, pp. 334b–335a.

¹¹⁰ Phil. 2:7.

COMMENTARY

As we mentioned before, the synodical letters between Severus and Theodosius is well attested. Our text seems to be the unique witness of this text.

9. The Synodical Letter of Severus of Antioch to Theodosius of Alexandria

According to the *Church History* by the Pseudo-Zacharias the Rhetor, Severus wrote to Theodosius a letter which is different from the following. ¹¹¹ Our text is published by Chabot¹¹²

TEXT

وقال ايضا في رسالة سنوديقن منه الى القديس تاودوسيوس بطريرك الاسكندريه جواباً عن رسالة سنوديقن كتبها اليه اما عصاة هرون فانها اورقت وازهرت واخرجت لوزاً عمنويل ابتدا ومثل لنا بهذا المعنى ان العصى تندر مملكته لانه هو اعنى عمنويل ولد اصلا غير ذي زمان ولا ابتدآء اعنى ولادته من الله الاب الذي لم يزل معه والروح القدس وله السلطان على السمايين والارضيين وصار لحما منجلنا وصار انسانا من غير استحاله وظهر من اصل يسا وداوود بالجسد لان منهما كانت العذري مريم والدة الاله الطاهرة وصار رسولا ورييس كهنة خلاصنا بهذا النوع بعينه صار قضيب الكهنوت ليودبنا بان نتيقظ للتعليم الانجيلي واخرج منه للمومنين به لوزاً الذي هو ازهار واثمار الفضيلة والذين فحصوا عن هذه الاشيا يقولوا ان قضيب اللوز بالطبع خرزاً للذين يمسكونه ولهذا قال الله في ارميا النبي للانبيآء الكذبة ما هذا الذي تراه يا ارميا فقال هو قضيب من شجرة اللوز فقال له الرب نعم ما ريت لاني احفظ اقاويلي لكيما افعلها كما ان الذين يحبون ان يكتسبون الفضايل بل يلحقهم اولا التعب والكد اخيرا يتمتعوا بالنور والسرور هكذا اللوز فان قشره الخارج مرغض يلدع وداخله ابيض حلو الطعم فقد وجدت ايها الاخ الحبيب هذا القضيب قد بحث وقطع في كتبك واعطاك حقا بقدر الكهنوت وليس كل احد ينال الكرامة الآ من اوتيبها من الله كما كتب بولس للعبرانيين اوليس هذا بعينه هو هو الذي بشر به اشعيآ وقال ان عصا يخرج من اصل يسآ ويزهر من اصله زهر ويحل عليه روح الله روح الحكمة روح المشورة والقوة روح المعرفة والبقا ويمتلا من روح خشية الله فكلمة الله ذو الاقنوم ثابت وهو من جوهر الاب بعينه الحكمة الخفية للابن الوحيد الذي به كان الكل وهو تام كامل المجد والقوة

III Brooks 1953, Liber IX Ch. XXIII, pp. 105–107.

¹¹² Chabot 1908, pp. 16-22 (text); 1963, pp. 9:11-14:2 (translation).

وكلما يحق للاله بالطبيعة وليس ينقص شيا عن الاب والروح القدس هذا الان تنزل بذاته ولم يتغير عن كمال لاهوتيه لكنه باقى على ما كان عليه غير منتقل عنه واخذ بحسب القول في التدبير كل امر حقير للانسانيه وصار مشاركا لنا في كل شي ما خلا ملابسة الخطية وصار انسانا بالحقيقه وظهر لنا عصا من يسآء لان هذا القضيب يعلمنا بالميلاد الذي كان من البتول الطاهره مريم والدة الاه الحق الذي لم تزل عذرى في كل زمان من غير زرع بشر ولا باجتماع ولا اختلاط نكاح لان القضيب انما يخرج بالطبع من اصل والابن الازلى الله الكلمة قوة الاب هو ظلل العذرى كما علمنا الانجيل الطاهرة وبهبوط الروح القدس الذي لا يدرك وحلوله عليها صير الجسد الناطق المتنفس واحداً معه بقوام الاقنومية بهذا الاتحاد الذي اذكره هو اتحاد اللاهوت بالناسوت فاما كيف كان هذا الاتحاد فليس يمكن احد من البشر ان يصفه بعقله ولا يمكن يقال افي الجسد كان اولا قبل الاتحاد لكنا نعرف ان عمنويل صار واحد من اثنين لاهوت وناسوت وكل واحد من الاثنين كامل بحسب طبيعته وهذا الاسم اعنى عمنويل عظيم جداً لا يمكن تفريقه وهو بالحقيقة سر لثبات الايمان لانه يعلمنا ان الله الكلمة لم يزل قبل الدهور كلها وافي له جميع ما للجسد من غير افتراق وهو الذي جبل به وولد عند تمام زمان الحبل وهذا الاعتراف بصحة الامانة اوضح لنا انه لم يتغير طبيعة اللاهوت لكنها باقيه على حالها واوضح لنا ان والدة الاله مريم البتول في كل حين بميلادها العجيب الذي لايفحص بقية عذرى بعد الولادة وفيه ايضاً ان الروح القدس ذاتي جوهري كالاه ومذ الوقت الذي كان الابن في بطن امه طهر الجسد بالروح القدس وصار واحداً معه في كل ما ما ذكرنا وصح بالتدبير انه غير مفترق وهذا ايضاً قد ظهر في الوقت الذي تعمد في ماء الاردن ليس انه محتاج الى الصبغة لا يكون هذا ولكنه ليظهر ويعطينا اولية الميلاد الثاني وليس هو محتاج الينا نحن البشر وقد كان الروح القدس يرفرف على الماء قبل هذه الاشيا التي هي انما كملت منجلنا بحكمه وتدبير كانه ابتداء ثاني لجبلتنا فلهذا ينبغي ان يقال انه هو اخذ روحه الذاتي اخبر به اشعيا النبي اذ يقول روح الرب على فلذلك مسحنى كانه ينادي منجل هذا قايلا ان الروح الذي هو الذي هو لي طبيعي هو الذي حل على فلماذا الان سميت مسيحاً الآ لما صرت انساناً هذا هو خلاصنا هذا هو شفانا هذا هو تعاهدنا ثم يقول بعد هذا بعينه فلذلك مسحنى وارسلني لابشر المتواضعين واشفى المنكسرة قلوبهم وابشر الماسورين بالخلاص والعميان بالنظر وانماحل عليه الروح القدس بحسب التدبير لاجل الانسانية والا فهو له طبيعي باللاهوت كما ان الله في الله كما يقول ان الاب في الابن والروح القدس الكامل وليس هذا الفعل جرى كما كان لواحد من الانبياء ولا لهذا حل عليه روح الرب كما قال اشعيآ النبي لما اراد ان يعلمنا بكمال فعله عدد هذه سبع مرات وقال انه حل عليه روح الحكمه روح المعرفة روح المشورة روح العلم روح القوة خشية

الله لان عدد السبعة عند العبرانين هو كامل وهذا يوحنا الذي لم تلد النساء اعظم منه يقول هذا بعينه اذ قال لي اني لم اكن اعرفه لكن الذي ارسلني لاعمد بالماء هو قال لى ان الذي ترى الروح يهبط ويحل عليه هو الذي يعمد بالروح القدس الذي حل عليه ليس هو غريب منه بل هو واحد معه في الجوهر ولم يزل معه قبل الدهور فلاجل هذا يصبغ الله الذي يومنوا به بموهبة الروح القدس كما يليق بلاهوته وفعل فيه الايات لانه له طبيعي جوهري ليس انه يستعمل قوة غريبة ليست له مثل الانبياء الذين يفعلون هكذا ولا يقول كما تقول الانبياء اذ فعلوا الايات باسم الرب بل اذ هو الله وله السلطان والملك العلوى فانه قال للابرص قد شيت فانقا وكان موهبة الشفاء بمشيته سابقة لقوله ثم امر امواج البحر ان تسكن ولا تهيج فسكن من ساعته حتى كان العاصف لم يكن قط لانه هو الذي جعل له منذ البدء ابواباً واغلاقاً وهو امره ان يبلغ الى مكان ولا يتجاوزه على هذا المثال بعينه لما اضطربت السفينة التي كان الرسل فيها كثرت الامواج والرياح الى تزعزعها ظهر لهم بغته ماشيا على ذاك الغمق وصارت طبيعة ذاك الماء تحت قدميه كالارض ولم تستطيع كما كانت اولا هكذا ايضا من فعل اللاهوت انه قال للعازر الملفوف في الثياب الميت منذ اربعة ايام يالعازر اخرج فخرج ذاك الميت من القبر لم يستعمل هذا السلطان في هذه العجايب كانه يضع ناموساً على مثال لا يليق به بل كما يليق بجلالة لاهوته كواضع الناموس ويغرس فينا السنن الانجيلية وبهذا يوضح لنا انه الذي مع ابيه والروح القدس الذي وضع الناموس للاولين ويخرجنا من الناموس القديم كالمودب ومجدبنا الى معرفة العقل لتعقل شرف الاناجيل ويقول سمعتم انى قد قيل للاولين لا تقتل فان من قتل يكون مستجوباً الدينونه وانا اقول لكم ان من غضب على اخيه باطلا يكون مستجوباً الدينونة وايضا انا اقول لكم ان من نظر الى امراة واشتهاها فقد فرغ زنا بها وايضا لا تحلف بتة وايضاً حبوا اعداكم وعلى كل حال فهو في جميع ما يقوله كالاله وهو مالك كل الخليقة مع ابيه والروح القدس وواحد من الاقانيم الثلثة الذين يعرف منهم الوجة الواحد واللاهوتية الواحدة الذي على الكل الذي به كان الكل الله الكلمة تجسد وصار انساناً في تواضع التدبير ولم يدع عنه جلالة اللاهوت ولا تغيير عن بنوته التي هي من قبل الدهور ولا استحال عن لاهوتيته الى الجسد ولا استحال الجسد الى جوهر لاهوته لانه غير ممكن ان يستحيل اللاهوت فيصير مخلوق اذكان لم يزل في الطبيعة الغير مستحيلة وكما ان الاشياء التي تكون طبيعتين اذا اجتمعت بعضهما مع بعض صارت واحداً من غير ان يخرج احديهما عن ذاتها اذ كانت اولا اثنتين هكذا تجسد مخلصنا هو يفيدنا ان نعلم واحداً واحداً من الجواهر التي منهما الاتحاد اعني الاله الكلمة والجسد الذي اخذه من مريم البتول الذي هو مساوي لجوهرنا وجعله المخلص متحداً بقوام الاقنوميه انا نعلم بهذا المثال الذي ذكرناه ان هذا الواحد الذي لا يفترق كان من اثنين اجتمع بعضهما مع

بعض باتصال لا يوصف والامر الان واضح ان طبيعة الله الكلمة واحدة تجسدة بلا حدوث تغيير ونرى انها في برسوب واحد وجه واحد وهذا الواحد هو يفعل افعاله كالاله وهو ايضا من غير استحالة وهو الابن لانه الله وهو بن الله الاب الذي لم يزل منذ قط واراد بعظيم رافته ان يصير ابن البشر من زرع داوود وابرهيم وليس يجوز ان يفرق بطبيعتين من بعد الاتحاد كقول نسطور المخالف الذي يقول ان طبيعة اللاهوت هي التي فعلت الايات وطبيعة الناسوت هي التي تالمت ويفرق الطبيعتين بعضهما من بعض كاليهود بل هذا الواحد عمانوييل هو من اثنين ولم يمتزج الذي كان منهما لان طبيعة غير الاخرى ولا هو مفترق الى طبيعتين من بعد الاتحاد الذي لا ينطق به ولكن هذا الواحد من غير افتراق يفعل الايات ويقبل الالام كمشيته اعني الام التدبير التي لا اتم فيها بحسب الانسانيه ولم يخط ولم يوجد في فيه غش بارادته جاع لما صام الاربعين فيها بحسب الانسانيه ولم يخط ولم يوجد في فيه غش بارادته جاع لما صام الاربعين بعد هذا قال ما هو مملو تعويج وخديعة وهذه الخديعة هي التي جعلت ادم عاد الى التراب ولكن المجرب هرب بعيداً لما دنا الى الهى المعطى غذاء لكل ذي جسد.

TRANSLATION

He said also in his Synodical Letter to saint Theodosius the patriarch of Alexandria in reply to the Synodical Letter, which he (Theodosius) wrote to him (Severus) "For the rod of Aaron brought forth leaves, blossomed and gave almonds.113 Emmanuel proceeded, and it represented to us the meaning;114 for the rod represent His kingdom. For He, Emmanuel was originally brought forth, timeless, and without beginning, I mean His birth from God the Father, He is still with Him (the Father) and the Holy Spirit and he has the authority over the heavenly and the earthly beings. He became flesh for our sake and became man without change. He appeared from the root of Jesse¹¹⁵ and David in the flesh. For from them, the pure Virgin Mary, the God-bearer, originated. And He became the Apostle and the great priest of our salvation. By the same manner He became the rod of priesthood to educate us, in order to be alert to the evangelical teaching, from which He brought forth almonds to the faithful, which are the flowers and the fruits of Virtue. For those who examined these things, say that the rod of almonds is surely a punch for those who hold it. For this, God said to Jeremiah the prophet concerning the false prophets "Jeremiah what do you see?" And he said a rod from an almond tree. Then the Lord said to him "You have seen well: for I am watching over my word to perform it. 116 And for those who like to acquire virtues, they will get first toil and labor, but at last they will enjoy the light and happiness. So is the almond, the outside shell is hard?

¹¹³ Num. 17:8.

¹¹⁴ Used in the Theotokia of Sunday cf. Youhanna Nessim Youssef 2003, pp. 93–108.

¹¹⁵ Is. 11:10.

¹¹⁶ Jr. 1:12.

And stingy but the inside is white and sweet." So, my beloved brother, I found that this rod had discussed and dogmatised in your writings and truly gave you the rank of priesthood. "No man take this honour upon himself but he is called by God,"117 as Paul wrote to the Hebrews. Is this not exactly the same? Isaiah announced saying "There shall come forth a rod out of the stump of Jesse and a branch shall grow out of his roots; and the Spirit of God shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of understanding and remaining. He will be filled from the spirit of the fear of God. 118 So the Word of God, has a firm hypostasis, from exactly the same substance of the Father, the hidden wisdom of the Unique Son, by whom All things were made. 119 He is perfect in glory and might, and all that worthy for God by nature. He is not lesser than the Father and the Holy Spirit. Now He demeaned by Himself, and not change from the perfection of His Divinity, but He remained what He was without change, as the saying according to the Economy; He took every humble thing that belongs to humanity and shared with us everything, except sin and He became truly a man and appeared to us. A rod came forth from Jesse, for this rod teaches us, by His birth from the pure Virgin Mary, the true God-bearer, who is ever Virgin, without the human seed, or union or intercourse. For the rod comes naturally forth, from the root. And the Eternal Son of God, the Word, the Power of the Father overshadowed the Virgin, as the holy Gospel informed us¹²⁰ by the inconceivable descending of the Holy Spirit, His coming down upon her, made the rational breathing flesh One with Him by the Hypostasis. The union, I mentioned, is the union of the Divinity and Humanity. But how did this union happen, no human being is able to come up with an intellectual description it by his mind. It is impossible to say that it was in flesh or before the union. But we know that Emmanuel became one from two: Divine and human. And each one of the two is perfect according to his nature. And this name, I mean, Emmanuel is so great, and impossible to divide. He is truly the mystery to confirm the faith. For it informed us that God the Word, being before all ages, fulfilled all that pertains to the flesh without separation. He was conceived and born in the accomplishment of the time of pregnancy. This confession of the straight faith showed us that there was no change in the nature of divinity, but it remained as is and showed us that the God-bearer, the ever virgin, Mary, by her inscrutable marvelous bringing forth, remained Virgin after the giving birth. Also accordingly, the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with God, and since the moment the Son came to the womb of His mother, He purged the flesh by the Holy Spirit and became one with Him in all that we mentioned. And it is true by the economy that He became inseparable. This was also revealed when He was baptised in the water of the Jordan, for He does not need to be baptised, never! But in order to illustrate and give us the priority of the second birth; for He does not need us, the human beings, for before

¹¹⁷ Heb. 5:4.

¹¹⁸ Is. 11:1-2.

¹¹⁹ Jh. 1:3.

¹²⁰ Lk. 1:35.

all these took place the Holy Spirit was moving upon the face of the water. 121 These things had been accomplished for us, with wisdom and economy, as a second beginning to our creation. So, it should be said, that He took from His own Spirit and informed Isaiah the prophet when he said: "The Spirit of the God is upon me, because He has anointed me."122 As if he is calling for this, saying that the Spirit who is naturally mine¹²³ came upon Me, so that is why, I was called from that moment Messiah because I became man. This is our salvation. This is our healing. This is our Testament. After this, he (Isaiah), himself, said "For He has anointed me and sent me to bring good tidings to the humble and heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and give sight to the blinds." For the Holy Spirit came upon Him according to the economy for the sake of Humanity otherwise it was His by the nature of His divinity. As God is in God, as He says the Father is in the Son and the Whole Holy Spirit. And this did not happen as to one of the prophets, nor for this reason, the Spirit of the Lord came upon Him as Isaiah said when He wished to teach us the perfection of His deed repeating this SEVEN times, He said: "It rested upon Him, the Spirit of Wisdom, the spirit of understanding, the spirit of counsel, the spirit of knowledge, and might, the spirit of the fear of God."124 For the Hebrews number seven is perfection. This is John, whom non born of women is greater than him, 125 says exactly the same thing, when he said to me: "I did not know Him, but He who sent me to baptize with water, He said unto me, He on whom you see the Spirit descended, and remain, this is he who baptizes with the Holy Spirit."126 That who came upon Him is not a stranger to Him, but He is one with Him in substance. He remained with Him before ages that is why God baptises those who believe in Him with the gift of the Holy Spirit, according to His divinity. The making of miracles, for Him is natural and substantial for He is not using a strange power, which is His like the prophets who performed the same. He did not say like the prophets used to say when they performed miracles in the name of the Lord, but as He is God, and has the power and the heavenly kingdom, He said to the leper "I will be clean." 127 The gift of healing, by His will, preced His saying. And He commanded to the waves of the sea to cease and to stay calm; and the waves ceased at that minute, so the tempest was as if it had never been;128 for from the beginning He established gates and closures and He commanded it to keep within bounds. In the same manner, when the boat, in which the apostles were in, was disturbed because of rising sea and the strong winds, He suddenly appeared to them walking on the sea. 129 The nature of this water under His

¹²¹ Gen. 1:2.

¹²² Is. 61:1.

¹²³ The Arabic use the Greek word "υλη.

¹²⁴ Is. II:2. In fact the number here is only Six, perhaps something is omitted in the translation.

¹²⁵ Mt. 11:11, Lk. 7:28.

¹²⁶ Jn 1:33.

¹²⁷ Mt. 8:3.

¹²⁸ Mt. 8:24, Mk. 4:37.

¹²⁹ Jn 6:16-23.

feet, became like that of the earth; and it was not able to hold it as it was before. This is also, by the Act of the Divinity, when He said to Lazarus bound with bandages being dead for four days: "Lazarus, come out," 30 so the dead came out of the grave, He did not use the authority in these miracles, as if He was establishing a Law in a manner which does not befit Him, but as it is befitted to the glory of His Divinity as the founder of the Law. He planted in us the Evangelical laws to show us that He with His Father and the Holy Spirit, is the founder of the Law given to the ancestors, and to bring us out of the Ancient Law, as educator, and attracting us to the wisdom of the knowledge realizing the honour of the Gospels. He said "you have heard that it was said to the men of old you shall not kill and who ever kills shall be liable to the judgment. But I say to you, that everyone who is angry with his brother without cause shall be liable to judgment.¹³¹ And also I say unto you, that everyone that looks at a woman lustfully has already committed adultery.¹³² And also swear not at all.¹³³ And also Love your enemies. 134 And in any case, in all that He says as God and the holder of all creation with His Father and the Holy Spirit, and One of the Three Hypostases, who are known only as the Unique face¹³⁵ and the Unique Divinity over the whole (creation). All things small made through.¹³⁶ God the Word was made flesh¹³⁷ and became man in the humility of the economy. He did neither forsake the Glory of the Divinity, nor change His Sonship, which is before ages. He did not alter His Divinity to the flesh nor alter the flesh to the substance of His Divinity. For it is impossible for the Divinity to to be altered and become created, since He is still in the inalterable nature. As the things, which are of two natures, when assembled together to become one thing, without the identity of either one being changed from what it when they were two likewise the incarnation of our Saviour, lead us to know that each one of the substances, of the Union, I mean God the Word and the flesh, which He took from the Virgin Mary, which is consubstantial with ours. The Saviour made Him hypostatically united. We know from the example, which we mentioned, that this inseparable One was two things united, with indescribable connection. So the matter is now clear, that the Nature of God the Word is Unique, He was incarnated without changes. We see that it was in One Person, 138 One face. And This One performs His actions as God and also without alteration. He is the Eternal Son for He is God and the Son of God the Eternal Father. He wished by His great Mercy to become the Son of Man from the seed of David and Abraham. It is not permissible to distinguish between the two natures after the Union as the saying of the opponent Nestorius who says that the Divine Nature per-

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<sup>130</sup> Jn 11:43–44.
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¹³¹ Mt. 5:21-22.

¹³² Mt. 5:28.

¹³³ Mt. 5:34.

¹³⁴ Mt. 5:44.

¹³⁵ Perhaps a translation of the Greek word πρόσωπον.

¹³⁶ In 1:3.

³⁷ In 1:14.

¹³⁸ For the etymology of *Prosopon cf.* Graf 1954, p. 21.

formed the miracles and the human nature did suffered. He divided the two natures from each other as the Jews. But this one Emmanuel is of two; and they did not mingle because each nature is different than the other. He is not divided into two natures after the unspeakable Union. But This one without separation perform the miracles, and accept the sufferings according to His wish, I mean the passions of the economy which are accomplished according to the humanity. He did not sin, nor found evil in His mouth.¹³⁹ By His will, when he became hungry, after fasting forty days for us, He allowed the devil to approach Him. This one who said to Him "command these stones become loaves of bread." And after that, he (the devil) said what is full of perversion and deception. This deception caused Adam to return back to earth, but the tempter fled away when He came close to My God, who gives food to everybody.

10. Quotations of Severus in the works of Benjamin of Alexandria

Within the *Book of the Confession of the Fathers* mentioned under the works of Benjamin¹⁴¹ the patriarch, is a patristic quotation from Severus of Antioch.

TEXT

ورييس الاباء ساويرس يقول في الرسالة التي كتبها الى انيرانيقوس الغيروجوس ان المسيح مات عنا بالجسد وهو حي بالروح لانه لما بشر بالمسيح انه تالم ومات بالجسد عرفنا باعلان انه متالم بالجسد وانه غير متالم بالجملة وغير مايت بلاهوته وليس هو مفترق الى طبيعتين ولا وجهين من بعد الاتحاد الذي لا ينطق به وكنا نشتهى ان نضع لكم شي كثير لاجل هذا والان فهوذا قد ظهر الامر وبهذه الشهادات التي قلناها لكم ان الله الكلمة صار جسدا وتالم بحق وبقى بغير بالجملة وغير مايت بلاهوته ولكن اختلاف الطبايع باقي ثابت في كل حين الذي هو ان ليس ثم اختلاط ولا نعترف بالجملة انه انسان فقط تالم عنا بل هو الاله صار جسدا من العدرى مريم المقدسة وتالم عنا بالجملة انه انسان فقط تالم عنا بل هو الاله صار جسدا من العدرى مريم المقدسة وتالم عنا بالجسد.

TRANSLATION

And the Patriarch Severus said in the letter, which he wrote to Aneranicus the Ghîrûgûs that Christ died for us in flesh but He is living in the Spirit.

¹³⁹ Ps. 32:2

¹⁴⁰ Mt. 4:3.

¹⁴¹ For his life we have only some Coptic fragments *cf.* Amélineau 1888, pp. 361–410. Müller 1956, pp. 313–340. Müller 1959, pp. 323–347. As author *cf.* Müller 1968. Coquin 1975, pp. 112–114.

For when it was preached that Christ suffered and died in flesh, we knew clearly that He suffered in the flesh, and not in his entirety His divinity is immortal. He is not divided into two natures or two Prosopa after the indescribable Union. We were desiring to elaborate more on this subject, but now the matter is clear with all these arguments, which we said to you that God the Word became flesh, He truly suffered but he remained entirely impassible and immortal by His Divinity. But the difference between the natures is always fixed permanently there is no mingling. We do not confess that only a Man had suffered for us but He is God who became flesh from the holy Virgin Mary and suffered for us in flesh.

II. Quotations from Severus in the synodical letter of John of Alexandria to Cyriacus of Antioch

The synodical letter to Cyriacus, patriarch of Antioch, to John the Patriarch of Alexandria¹⁴² (775-799AD) quotes from the letter of Severus to Anastasius, which is also known from the Biography of Severus and the Section relating to Severus in the *Book of the Confessions of the Fathers*

TEXT

كما علم ساويرس القديس الذي لم يزل في كل حياته كلها متقويا دارسا في كتب اباينا الكبار الناطقين بالالهيات وقال في رسالته الى اناسطاسيس اومن باله واحده ونعرفه بواحدانية في ثالوث وثالوث في وحدانية والوحدانية لاجل انها لاهوتيه واحده للثلاثة اقانيم في الكرامة الواحدة والثالوث ايضا لاجل ان وحدانية الهنا هي لثلاثة اقانيم اعني الابن والابن والروح القدس اذ سر اللاهوت يفترق في الاقانيم ولا يفترق في اللاهوتيه لانا قد انذرنا بالسجود للاب والابن والروح القدس كما قلنا اولا لان تمام الصبغة بها يكون الايمان بالاسماء والافعال فهذا ما نقوله ولسنا نقول بثلاثة رياسات لا يكون هذا بل رياسة واحدة اعني الاب والابن معه والروح القدس منذ البدي من غير افتراق زمان لانهما من الاب اعنى الابن والروح القدس وانا كانا لم يكونا من بعده لان الثالوث الطاهر ازلى معا من قبل الدهور وساير الازمان.

TRANSLATION

"And as Saint Severus taught, who in the span of his life studying of the books in our great theologian fathers, he said in his letter to Anastasius: "I believe in one God. We define him as Unity in Trinity and Trinity in Unity. The Unity is One divinity for the three persons, of unique Honour. And the

 142 John IV, (775–799) the 48th patriarch. Evetts 1947, pp. 381–383. Subhi Y. Labib, "John IV, saint" CE 1338–1339.

Trinity also for Unity of our God is in three persons, I mean the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The mystery of the divinity is divided in the persons and not in the Divinity. For He ordered us the worship the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit, as we have previously mentioned, for by it (the Trinity) is the accomplishment of the baptism, believing in the Names and the Acts. That is what we say and we do not proclaim three principalities; never! But one principality, I mean the Father the Son together and the Holy Spirit, from the beginning without separation in time for they are from the Father, I mean the Son and the Holy Spirit. They are not after Him (the Father) for the Holy Trinity is Eternal before ages and all centuries."

COMMENTARY

Cf. N 1.

12. Quotations of Severus from the synodical letter of Cosmas of Alexandria to Basil of Antioch

The synodical letter of Anba Cosmas, Patriarch ¹⁴³of Alexandria, to Basil of Antioch

TEXT

كقول الكنز الغير موصوف ذي الاقاويل الارثوذكسية ساويرس البطريرك اللابس الله اذ قال ان الثالوث القدوس ذو الجوهر الواحد الذي نسجد له هو يحصي بالاقانيم وهو واحد في الجوهر وفي اللاهوتية وهو بري من كل عدد ومن كل افتراق وهو مقترن غير مفترق وهو واحد في اللاهوت متمايز في الاقنومية.

TRANSLATION

According to the undescrible treasure of the Orthodox sayings Severus the Theophore when he said: "The Holy Trinity whom we worship has one substance, but is numbered in persons. He is one in the substance and in the divinity and he is free from numbering and division, he is united without separation. He is one in the Divinity and of different Hypostasis.

13. Quotations from the synodical letter of Basil of Antioch to Cosmas of Alexandria

The synodical letter of Basil of Antioch to Anba Cosmas Patriarch of Alexandria¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Cosmas I, the 44th patriarch (730–731), Subhi Y. Labib "Cosmas I" CE: Vol. 3, p. 636.

¹⁴⁴ Fiey 1972–1973, p. 350, note 266.

TEXT

اما الفايز القديس في المعلمين القيم بمقاله جميعهم ساويرس فانه قال في مقالته على اصحاب الخيلولة والافنيزويا هكذا لا نفرز من ذاك القابل الآلام ولا نقول ان الانسان منفرز منه وان الخلاص والالام لغير الله والا فمن ههنا يكون الخلاص بانسان ثبت عقلك من اجل الله الغير ملوم وقل كلام ولا تفرغ انت المريض اذ تقول ان اللاهوت يتالم فانا نلزم ذلك كانه تألم بشي مما هو خارج عن الطبع ذاك الغير قابل للالام الذي بالجسد احتمل الموت كما ان الحديد اذا حمى بالنار وغاص اللهيب فيه حتى يظن به انه نار ويمتد على السندان اذا ضرب بالمطرقه ولا يتالم طبع النار البته وهي متحدة به غير منفصلة عنه ويضرب ويخضع للتطريق الصعب هكذا افهم الام ربنا المخلص اذ بغمز ما وتشبيه يسير ناخذ القياس فاما هو اعنى كلمة الله المتحد بالجسد القابل لهذه المصايب والالام فانه لما ذاق الموت لثلاثة ايام حله بقيامته الالهيه وبدفن جسده في القبر قمع الغبار الذي في المقابر ونشله من اصله ودليل ذلك ان اجساد كثير من القديسين تيقظوا ونهضوا فاما النفس فكان كله متحد بها وكله متحدا بالجسد مثل التمام الغير منقسم فلما نزل الى الجحيم فك الانفس المحبوسة هناك وقال كقول النبي قايلاً للاسرى اخرجوا للذين في الظلام اظهروا و لما قام صعد الى السماء الذي نزل غير متجسد هو الذي صعد متجسداً. وهو واحد من الثالوث ولم يزد فيها عدد رابعا ولا وجها اخر ولا طبيعة ولا اقنوما وجلس عن يمين الاب لكي تعرف من هذه التسمية وما نفهمه عندنا مساوة الكرامة والملك بالجلوس عن اليمين وللولا هذا ما قيل يمين ولا شمال للاب الذي لا جسم له ولا شكل ولا نهاية.

TRANSLATION

"For the winner, the saint among the masters, the distinguished by their sayings, Severus, said in his treatise on the phantasiatists and the "aphanizoya":

Thus we do not separate from that who is liable to suffering and, we do not say that a man is separated from him; and the salvation and the passions are not for God, if so, the salvation would be from a man. Meditate on the unblameble God and say it without fear. You are sick in the mind when you say that the divinity had suffered. For we make it obligatory that his sufferings were out of the nature; of that who is impassible by flesh, had endured death as the iron when it is red heat by fire. The heat is imbedded in it (the iron) that it is thaught to be the fire. And when it is put on the anvil and stricken with a hammer, the nature of the fire would not suffered though it is united with it (the iron) without separation, it is stricken and submitted to the hard forging. And hence, understand the passions of our Saviour, by sign and a little of comparison,, we make the analogy.

But as for Him, I mean, the Word of God united with the flesh, accepting these pains and sufferings, when He tasted death for three day, He loosened it by His divine resurrection and by burying His body in the grave, He crushed the dust of the graves, and uprooted it, and that is evident from the fact that the bodies of many saints arose and woke up¹⁴⁵. And as for the soul, it was completely united with it, and all was completely united with the body as a whole without separation. And when he descended to Hell and loosened the souls imprisoned there¹⁴⁶ as the prophet says "saying to the prisoners 'Go free and those in darkness: 'Be seen'¹⁴⁷ when He arose He ascended to Heaven who came down unincarnated, ascended incarnated, He is one of the Trinity. He did not add to it a fourth number, or another face, or another nature, or another person. He sat on the right hand of the Father¹⁴⁸ in order to be known by this description, and we understand here, the equility in honour and kingdom, by sitting on the right hand and if not it would not have been said right or left of the Father who does not have a body or form or end."

14. Quotations from the Synodical letter of Macarius of Alexandria to John of Antioch

The synodical letter of the Patriarch Macarius¹⁴⁹ of Alexandria to John patriarch of Antioch mentions a quotation from Severus of Antioch

TEXT

ويشهد لنا بهذا القول الكوكب المنير للارثودكسية ساويرس المذكور في البطاركة في ميمره الثاني الذي وضعه بحد التيسير الى الاغرماطيقوس ذي الاسم السمج وقال فيه نحن نعلم ان اللاهوتية واحدة للثلاثة بعز واحد وان الجوهر معروف لله عام للثلاثة الذي يعلم في الاب والابن والروح القدس وليس في الجوهر تغيير بزيادة ولا نقص فاما الاقانيم فاقنوم الاب غير الابن وغير اقنوم الروح القدس والجوهر لم يزل منذ البدء في كرامة واحدة بلا تغيير والاب موجود بلا ابتداء لانه لم يولد من شي فمن اجل هذا هو اب بالحقيقة فاما الابن فهو مولود من الاب دايم قبل الدهور كلها مثل شعاع الشمس المضي منها من غير افتراق وهو نور غير محسوس من نور غير محسوس والروح القدس موجود من الابن بل منبثق من الاب.

TRANSLATION

And the saying of the bright star of the Orthodoxy, Severus, mentioned among the patriarchs, 150 confirmed this statement in his second *mimar*

¹⁴⁵ Mt. 27:52.

¹⁴⁶ I Peter 3:19.

¹⁴⁷ Is. 49:9.

¹⁴⁸ Mt. 26:64; Heb. 1:3, 8:1, 12:2.

¹⁴⁹ Macarius I, 59th patriarch (932–952). Subhi Y Labib, "Macarius I" *CE*: Vol. 5, p. 1487.

¹⁵⁰ This could be an allusion to the Magma' of the Saints and the absolutions, wherein Severus of Antioch is mentioned among the Coptic Patriarchs.

which he wrote it in order to facilitate to the Grammarian of the odious name wherein he said: "We know that the divinity is the same for the Three with one honour. And the substance is generally known to God common to the Three; who knows in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. There is no change in the substance either by addition or omition. For the Persons, the Person of the Father is different than that Person of the Son and different from the person of the Holy Spirit. The substance is from the beginning in the same honour without change. The Father exists without beginning, for he is without birth and for this he is the true Father. The Son is born from the Father, existing before all the ages like the sunbeam shining from the sun without separation. He is imperceptible light from imperceptible light. The Holy Spirit exists from the Father before all ages, He is not born like the Son but He proceeds from the Father."

COMMENTARY

I was not able to identify this text.

15. Quotations from the synodical letter of Dionysios of Antioch to Mina of Alexandria

TEXT

كما قال العظيم ساويرس بطريرك انطاكية قال قد مات جسد طبيعة المسيح الطبيعة المركبة من اللاهوت والناسوت ونومن ايضا انه مات وانبعث من بين الاموات في اليوم الثالث وجسده غير فاسد وغير متالم وغير مايت على الحال القيامة وصعد الى السماء وجسده متحد به وجلس عن يمين العظمة في العلا وهو ايضا ياتي بمجده في القيامة العامة ليدين الاحيا والاموات ويجازى كل احد بحسب عمله وهذه الاقاويل نحن عليها ثابتون من غير تزعزع.

TRANSLATION

As the great Severus the patriarch of Antioch said: "The body of the nature of Christ died. The nature which is a combination of the Divinity and the Humanity. We believe also that he died and had been risen from dead in the third day. His body is incorruptible and impassible and immortal after the resurrection. United with His Body, He ascended to Heaven and sat on the right of the Glory in the highest. He will also come in glory in the general resurrection to judge the lived and dead and reward each one according to his deeds. We are firm in these sayings without any hesitation.

16. Quotations from the synodical letter of Mina of Alexandria to John of Antioch

The Synodical letter of Mina,¹⁵¹ the patriarch of Alexandria, to John patriarch of Antioch

TEXT

ويشهد لنا بهذا القول الكوكب المنير مار ساويروس المذكور في البطاركة في ميمره الثاني الذي وضعه ضد القيساراني الاغرماطيقس ذي الاسم السمج قال إن لاهوتية واحدة للثلاثة بعز وجوهر واحد لاهوتيه الثالوث لا يلحقها نقص والجوهر يعرف لانه عام للثلاثه التي تعلم في الاب والابن والروح القدس وليس في الجوهر تغيير بزيادة ولا نقصان فاما الاقانيم فاقنوم الاب غير اقنوم الابن وغير اقنوم الروح القدس والجوهر لم يزل منذ البدء في كرامة واحدة بلا تغيير والاب موجود بلا ابتدا لانه لم يولد من شي من اجل انه الاب بالحقيقة واما الابن فمولود من الاب دايم ومن قبل الدهور كلها مثل شعاع الشمس المضي منه من غير افتراق وهو نور غير محسوس من نور غير محسوس وروح القدس موجود من الاب قبل كل الدهور وليس هو مولود مثل الابن محسوس وروح القدس موجود من الاب قبل كل الدهور وليس هو مولود مثل الابن بل منبثقا من الاب.

TRANSLATION

And the saying of the bright star Saint Severus, who is mentioned among the patriarchs, 152 confirmed this statement in his second treatise written against the Grammarian of the odious name wherein he said: "We know that the divinity is the same for the Three with one honour, and one substance. The divinity of the Trinity does not diminish and the substance known being common to the Three, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. There is no change in the substance either by addition or omission. For the Persons, the Person of the Father is different from the Person of the Son and different from person of the Person of the Holy Spirit. The substance is from the beginning in one same honour without change. The Father exists without beginning, because he is without birth and for this he is the true Father. The Son is born from the Father, existing before all the ages like the sunbeam shining from the sun without separation. He is imperceptible light from imperceptible light. The Holy Spirit exists from the Father before all ages, He is not born like the Son but He proceeds from the Father."

¹⁵¹ Mina II, 61st patriarch, (956–974) *Cf*: Subhi Y. Labib, "Mina II" *CE*: Vol. 5, pp. 1632–1633.

¹⁵² Cf. supra.

COMMENTARY

Cf N.14.

17. Quotations from the Synodical letter of Philotheus¹⁵³ of Alexandria to Dionysios patriarch of Antioch

TEXT

يقول مار ساويرس البطريرك القديس مات عمانويل من أجلنا كموتنا وموتنا افتراق النفس عن الجسد ومن اجل هذا قال بسلطنة واجبة بلاهوته لاني اضع نفسي لاخذها ايضا وليس احد ياخذها مني بل اضعها انا من ذاتي لي سلطان ان اضعها ولى سلطان ان اخذها ايضا وهو ايضا قال على الصليب يا ابتاه في يديك استودع روحي ولما قال هذا اسلم الروح.

TRANSLATION

Saint Severus the holy patriarch said: "Emmanuel had died for us like our death. Our death is the separation of the soul from the body. For this he said with the authority of His divinity: I lay down my life that I may take it again. No one takes it from me, but I lay it down of my own accord and I have the power to lay it down and I have power to take it again" and He also said on the Cross: "My Father, into your hands I commit my spirit', and when he said this breathed his last." 155

وايضا ساويرس البطريرك يقول في الرسالة التي كتبها الى اقانيوس الاسخلسطيقوس هذا الذي اتى من بعد الناموس وموسى وصبر للصليب المنجي هذا بارادته وحده افرق نفسه من جسده المتحدين معه بالاقنوم الكلمة التامة الواحد الغير مفترق معطل فساد القبور بجسده الذي ظهر في اماكن الجحيم بنفسه التي هي متحدة معه الذي قطع الرباط الذي يكون في تلك الاماكن.

TRANSLATION

And also Severus the Patriarch said in the letter, which he wrote to Euphanius the Scholasticus: "He who came after the Law and Moses, and endured the salvific cross alone by His own will. He separated his soul from His body, both united, with the one perfect Hypostasis of the Word without separation. He put out of action the corruption of the graves by his body who appeared in the regions of Hell by his soul, which is united to him. He cut off the bounds which were in those places."

¹⁵³ Philotheus, 63rd patriarch (979–1003). *Cf.* Subhi Y. Labib, "Philotheus" *CE*: Vol. 6, pp. 1959–1960.

¹⁵⁴ Jn 10:17-18.

¹⁵⁵ Lk. 23:46.

COMMENTARY

The text is not attested elsewhere.

18. Quotations from Synodical letter of Philotheus of Alexandria to Athanasius of Antioch answering his letter

TEXT

وكما علم القديس ساويرس البطريرك وقال في رسالته الى انسطاسيوس هكذا اومن باله واحد ورب واحد اب وابن وروح قدس ثالوث متوحد وتوحيد في ثالوث والتوحيد الان لانه لاهوت واحد في ثلاثة اقانيم في كرامة واحدة ومجد واحد لان وحدانية الهنا تكون في ثلاثة اقانيم الذي هو الاب والابن والروح القدس وسر الثالوث ينقسم ولا ينقسم ينقسم في الاقانيم وليس يتجزا ولا ينقسم في اللاهوت وكما بشرنا الابا نسجد للاب والابن والروح القدس اذ كمال معموديتنا في الامانة و الانتها والفعل.

TRANSLATION

As Saint Severus the patriarch taught said in his letter to Anastasius: "Thus, I believe in One God, one Lord, Father, and Son and the Holy Spirit, Trinity in One and One in Trinity. The Unity because now there is one the Divinity in three Persons, in one honour, and one glory, for it is the unity of our God will be in three persons the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit. The mystery of the Trinity is divided and cannot be divided. He is divided in the Persons and is not parted and cannot be divided in the divinity, as our fathers announced to us. We worship the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit. The accomplishment of our Baptism is by this faith, the acts and the conclusion."

COMMENTARY

Cf. N.I.

19. Quotations from Synodical letter of Sinuteus¹⁵⁶ the patriarch of Alexandria to Dionysios patriarch of Antioch

TEXT

وكما علمنا القديس ساويرس البطريرك العظيم في رسالته الى انسطاسيوس اومن بكرامة باله واحد اب وابن وروح قدس لانه اله واحد والتثليث لاجل الثلاثة اقانيم بكرامة Shenute II, 65th patriarch (1032–1046). Cf. Subhi Y. Labib, CE: Vol. 7, p. 2135.

واحدة ومجد واحد التى هي الاب والابن والروح القدس سر الثالوث ينقسم ولا ينقسم ينقسم في الاهانة ولا ينقسم في اللاهوت اذ كمال معموديتنا في الامانة والانتها في الفعل كما قال السيد لتلاميذه فاذهبوا وتلمذوا جميع الامم وعمدوهم باسم الاب والابن والروح القدس.

TRANSLATION

As Saint Severus the great patriarch taught and said in his letter to Anastasius: "I believe in One God, Father, and Son and Holy Spirit. He is One God and the Trinity for the three Persons. One honour, one glory is due to the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit. The mystery of the Trinity is divided and cannot be divided. He is divided in the Persons and cannot be divided in the divinity. The accomplishment of our Baptism is by this faith, the perfect deeds, as our Lord said to His disciples: 'Go therefore forth and make disciples of all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'¹⁵⁷."

COMMENTARY

Cf. N 1.

20. Quotations from the Synodical letter of Sinuteus of Alexandria to Dionysios of Antioch answering his letter. 158

TEXT

وكما ثبتنا الاب الكبير ساويرس البطريرك مدينة الله انطاكية بتعاليمه الفاخره هكذا نومن ان الله الاب واحد ونعترف ان ابن الله الكلمة المتجسد لاجلنا واحد ولا ينقسم ولا يفترق هو هو قبل التجسد وهو هو ايضا بعد اتحاده بالجسد واحد هو لا اخر معه ونومن بالروح القدس الحي ثالوث بثلاثة اقانيم قايمة ومتساوية ليس بعضها ناقصا عن بعض في المجد والضيا والجلالة والعلو بل طبيعة واحدة جوهر واحد رب واحد سجدة واحدة مجد واحد هكذا يعترف الناس المومنون بهذا الايمان ونعترف بالاب في رتبة الابوة وانه علة العلل بغير وجوده عن احد وهو موجود غير مولود والابن في رتبة البنوة ليس ابا ولا روحا قدسا بل مولود من الاب قبل الدهور كلها هكذا ايضا الروح القدس ليس والدا ولا مولود بل منبثقا من الاب متصلا بالابن فهذه الثلاثة اقانيم دايمة ليسود كل واحد منها ببرسوبها مرتبطة بعضها ببعض دايمة في اللاهوتية والطبيعة واحد الفعل والقوه ليس في الثالوث القدوس واحد انقص من الاخر ولا تحت طاعة واحد

¹⁵⁷ Mt. 28:19.

¹⁵⁸ Fiey 1972–1973, p. 351, note 269.

وليس ايضاً واحد اعلى من اخر في شرف اللاهوت ولا أخر يأمر واخر مثل خادم وهو تحت سلطانه بل هم متساوون في هذه الكرامة الواحدة من الربوبية واللاهوتية وعلو الضيا والمجد والسبح وضبط الكل لم يكن الاب زمانا ولا طرفة عين يوجد بلا ابنه هكذا ايضا لم يوجد الاب والابن بغير الروح القدس.

TRANSLATION

As it is established by the great father Severus the patriarch of the City of God Antioch with his excellent teachings thus: "We believe that God, the Father is one and we confess that the Son of God who was incarnated for us, is one indivisible and inseparable. He is the same before and after the incarnation. Also He is the same and nobody is with Him after taking a body. We believe in the Holy Spirit, the life-giver. Trinity with Three distinct and Equal, Persons, nothing of them is less than the others in glory or brightness or authority, or high superiority; One Nature one substance, one lordship, same worship, same glory, thus confess the faithful people who approve that belief. We confess that the Father is in the rank of Fatherhood. And He is ultimate cause, without depending on anybody, and He is existing and not born. The Son is in the rank of Sonship. And He is not a Father or a holy Spirit but He is born from the Father before the all ages. And also the Holy Spirit, is not progenerator or born but proceeds from the Father though the Son. Three eternal Persons of perpetual existence, each has his own Prosopon yet they are united together of lasting Divinity, Nature, Action and Authority. There is no one lesser than the other in the Trinity. There is no one under the Authority of another, or one is higher than the other in the Honour of Divinity. There is no one gives orders and an other like a servant under his authority, but They are all equal in the same honour of the Lordship and the divinity and the sublime brightness, glory, worship, almighty. The Father has never been without His Son for a second or even for the twinkling of an eye, and also the Father and the Son had never been without the Holy Spirit.

COMMENTARY

Cf. the faith which Severus wrote on the king's order, Life of Severus by Athanasius fol. 100r- 100v 97)

21. From him also Christodulos from the 23 of his festal letter "ierostica"

TEXT

ويستشهد بما قاله ساويرس في الميمر الذي قاله يرد فيه على الفانابندسيين قال هكذا المصنوع صار واحد مع خالقه جسد متالم متحد مع اللاهوت الغير متالم الذي يقبل الموت اتحد مع الحي الى الابد الغير مايت بطبيعة واحدة واقنوم واحد الذي يقبل الفساد الذي يضمحل بطبيعته ارتبط مع الدايم الى الفساد الذي لا يقبل الفساد الذي يضمحل بطبيعته ارتبط مع الدايم الى 67. Subhi Y. Labib CE Vol. 3, pp. 544-547.

الابد الذي يحوي صار واحد مع الذي لا يحويه مكان الذي يلمس ويمسك ارتبط بالله الكلمة هذا الاقنوم الثاني الباقي.

TRANSLATION

And he quote from Severus' treatise answering the "phanabandiseen": saying: "And thus the creature became one with the creator, suffering flesh united with impassible divinity, the mortal united with the forever immortal, in One nature, and one hypostasis. The corruptible was united with the incorruptible. That who naturally vanishes forever joined the Eternal. The confined became one with the one who cannot be confined in space. The palpable and touched associated with God the Word, the everlasting second hypostasis."

To summarise, we find that the texts quoted from Severus' works and used in the *Confessions of the Fathers* are:

- 1. Benjamin quotations from the letter to Aneranicus the Ghîrûgûs.
- 2. John IV, the 48th, The letter to Anastasius.
- 3. Cosmas III the 58th, not mentioned (The letter to Anastasius?
- 4. Basil of Antioch, Treatise to the Fanatisiast and Aphonyzova.
- 5. Macarius 59th, The second treatise against the Grammaticus.
- 6. Dionysios of Antioch, not mentioned.
- 7. Menas II, the 61th, the second treatise against the Ceaseran Gramaticus cf. 5.
- 8. Philotheus the 63rd, not mentioned, the Epistle to Euphanius the Scholasticus, The letter to Anastasius.
- 9. Shenute II the 65th, The letter to Anastasius, not mentioned (perhaps the confession in front of Anastasius).
- 10. The Festal letter of Christodolus against the Phanabenteen?
- 2, 8, 9 letter to Anastasius
- 1 letter to Aneranicus
- 3,9 letter to Anastasius
- 4 Treatise against the Fantasiast
- 5,7 Against the grammaticus
- 8 letter to Euphanius the Scholasticus

Conclusions

In conclusion, we can say that the main chapter of Severus of Antioch in the *Book of the Confessions of the Fathers* contains nine quotations of this great patriarch:

- (a) Three of them represent quotations from the Arabic life of Severus of Antioch by Athanasius of Antioch in the original recession before the rework of Daniel Ibn al-Khattab in fourtheenth century. It is thus close to the quotation mentioned in the *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church*
- (b) We find also a quotation from Homily 22 that is also different from what is known from the Syriac version, which means that the compiler used a Coptic version of this homily.
- (c) The *Book of the Confession of the Fathers* contains also a quotation from the book of the *Philalithes*.
- (d) This main chapter contains also three letters from Severus to Coptic patriarchs.

It seems that the compiler of the *Book of the Confessions of the Fathers* has chosen from each category of the writings of Severus of Antioch, in order to cover the whole spectrum of the literary activity, namely a dogmatic book (the *Philalethes*), a homily, (the Homily 22), the letters (to John and Theodoius) and a part from his biography. The reader thus has a sample of each category. This reflects the theological knowledge of the compiler. It also proves that a Copto-Arabic corpus of the works of Severus of Antioch had existed in Egypt.

Seven patriarchs of Alexandria quoted from Severus' works while only two from Antioch did. These patriarchs are from the seventh century to the eleventh century. This indicates that the Severus of Antioch works' were studied by the Coptic clergy. The number of manuscripts demonstrates clearly that they had been used, and copied for a long time in Egypt for the theological eduction of the clergy.

Against the general opinion of many scholars, that the corpus of Severus of Antioch is only known through the Syrian tradition, our study proves that a Coptic and Copto-Arabic corpus of the works of Severus had existed. The quotations of the *Book of the Confessions of the Fathers* attest the presence of this Corpus and reflect the importance of the reading of Severus of the theological formation of the Coptic clergy. Moreover, all our knowledge of the Syriac corpus of Severus of Antioch appears to have come from manuscripts that were originally from Egypt (Scetis, monastery of the Syrians, where the Coptic presence had never been interrupted).¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Cf. the recent excavations of Karel Innemée, "Deir al-Surian- New discoveries of 2001–2002" Hugoye *Journal of Syriac Studies* [http://syrcom.cua.edu/syrcom/Hugoye] Vol. 5, No 2 (2002).

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