

ST ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

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Chapter II.

ST ISIDORE AND THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

I. Textual classification of St Isidore's New Testament passages.

Would an attempt at textual classification of the N.T. passages of the writings of a Father benefit the criticism of the Biblical text? We are convinced that it would, since it is true that the quotations from the Fathers are an indirect evidence for the text of the N.T.¹, although in many cases they «are of crucial importance in fixing both the date and place of various types of text»². The antiquity itself of the MSS of the works of a Father is not³ an undoubted and authentic criterion and therefore we cannot rely only upon it. Thus, although certain Scholars⁴ prefer mostly the period from 175 to 300 A.D. later witnesses are also regarded and examined with special care. Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome⁵, Basil the Great's *Ethica*⁶, the two Gregories and Epiphanius of Salamis⁷ and Chrysostom (fourth century), Augustine, contemporary with

1. B. F. Westcott- F. Hort: The N. Testament in the original Greek, vol. I (the text), London 1909 p. 566.

2. F. G. Kenyon: Recent developments in the textual criticism of the Greek Bible. London 1933, p.38; by the same author: The text of the Greek Bible. Duckworth 1937 p. 149-50; Gregory C. R.: Canon and Text of the N. Testament, Edinburgh 1907, p. 422 and 424-5.

3. Zuntz: The text of the epistles, London 1953 p. 225.

4. Kenyon: Handbook to the textual criticism of the N.T., London 1901 p. 221; Westcott-Hort, loc. cit. p. 576; Gregory, loc. cit. p. 430-2.

5. Kenyon: Our Bible and the ancient MSS. London 1958, p. 166; Gregory, loc. cit. p. 438.

6. Westcott-Hort, loc. cit. vol. II (introduction) London 1881 p. 87; Gregory, loc. cit. p. 434.

7. Gregory, loc. cit. p. 434.

Isidore¹ and even John of Damascus' «parallela Sacra»² (eighth century) give much help to the textual criticism.

Could Isidore's quotations profit the textual purge of the N.T.? The reasons which urge us to get an affirmative decision with regard to this, are: a) Isidore lived and wrote in the fourth and fifth centuries, i.e. his writings are not too ancient but also not too late. The fact that the MSS of his letters are of a later date does not matter too much since MSS of the works of all Fathers are of a later age than they have been written. b) He cites more than three hundred quotations from the N.T., i. e. quite a good number³. c) The fact that he is quite well-known as an Exegete and Theologian as early as the sixth century. Hence, we may say that at least a number of Isidore's quotations might help the criticism of the N.T. text under the difficulties⁴ which are also valid for the quotations of the Fathers generally accepted as profitable for this purpose.

But which quotations from Isidore could help the Biblical criticism? Isidore in many cases, like other Fathers, quotes a N.T. passage from memory and in other cases he quotes only one or two words out of a verse. Therefore and because «longer quotations might well be copied direct from a Bible codex»⁵, we are obliged to limit the number of the quotations which could help us. But even after the limitation of the quotations to those which consist of at least one biblical verse and which are in the main text of the letters and not as their headings (they might belong to the copyists or might be wrong, as e.g. the heading of IV 12, 1060C), there are some basic difficulties. Several of these longer quotations agree in all texts of the representative groups (it is not important if there is a discord in some of the less important witnesses). Such quotations are:

Matt. 4,6—7	John 1,1	Rom. 8,15—8	Colos. 2,9
5,38	10,30	12,18	2,15
6,11	18,23	i Cor. 6,18	Hebr. 2,15 (ac-
13,15	Acts 4,20	9,27	cosrding to Vat.
13,31-2	26,24-5	ii Cor. 5,13	650. See MG 78,
19,7-8	Rom. 1,22	Ephes. 4,27	1229 footnote 64).
22,2-3	2,10		

1. ibid. 435.

2. Westcott-Hort I p. 577.

3. Justin the Martyr for example whose writings are generally accepted as supplying valuable material for criticism, quotes less. See Kenyon: Handbook... p. 224.

4. Kenyon: Handbook. p. 206-8. Westcott-Hort vol. I. p. 506.

5. Kenyon: Our Bible.. p. 166.

Thus our decision cannot rely upon these quotations. Again, there are quotations cited in more than one letters and whereas in one letter one text is used, in other letter a different text of the same verse is quoted. e.g. Matt. 6,1 (in III 34 Isidore seems to follow the Alexandrian or Western type, whereas in III 142 he seems to follow the Byzantine or Caesarean one) and Matt. 7,12 where in two cases (IV 53 and IV 54) he uses ἐὰν and once (IV 91) he uses ἂν. So we cannot say with certainty in these cases what text Isidore was using. Also there are cases where Isidore's text disagrees with all other known texts. Apart from these reasons we are not very sure whether Isidore's N.T. quotations extant in his printed letters are exactly as he at first wrote them. This is also valid for the quotations from all other Fathers and that is why «we cannot properly that is to say, with definite and final certainty, apply their testimony to the criticism of the text until we have accurate scientific editions of them. Yet it is impossible to stand and wait until that great task is done. The New Testament must be furthered as well as the present circumstances admit»¹. Finally he scarcely ever names the book of the Scriptures from which he quotes and hence in some cases we are not very sure whether he was using this or that sacred book: e.g. Matt. 24,45 and Lk 12, 42. In spite of these difficulties, using the critical apparatus of Al. Souter's Novum Testamentum Graece, Oxford 1956, along with the British and Foreign Bible Society's N. Testament, second edition with revised critical apparatus, London 1960, we give as a result the two following lists:

a) Doubtful quotations

either because they are quoted from memory, or because they belong to a 'Neutral' text, or because witnesses for these texts are too complicated or because there are no witnesses at all.

Matt. 4,4: Οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ ζήσεται ἀνθρωπος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ρήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος Θεοῦ.

(Most probably not Western)

Matt. 5,16: Λαμπάτω τὸ φῶς μῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα, καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν Πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

1. Gregory. loc. cit. p. 424-5.

Matt. 5,38-9: Ἐρρέθη τοῖς ἀρχαίοις· ὁφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὁφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὁδόντα ἀντὶ ὁδόντος. Ἔγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ. Ἐὰν τις σε ῥαπίσῃ εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν σιαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην.

(Most probably not Western).

Matt. 7,6: Μὴ δῶτε τὰ ἅγια τοῖς κυσί, μηδὲ ρίψητε τοὺς μαργαρίτας ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν χοίρων, μήποτε καταπατήσωσιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ στραφέντες ρήξωσιν ὑμᾶς.

Matt. 12,32: "Ος ἀν εἴποι, λόγον κατὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁφεθήσεται αὐτῷ· δες δ' ἀν εἴπη κατὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου, οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ, οὕτε ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, οὕτε ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.

(Most probably not Byzantine)

Matt. 15,8-9: 'Ο λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χείλεσί με τιμᾷ, ή δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· μάτην δὲ σέβονταί με.

Matt. 25,27: "Εδει σε καταβαλεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον μου ἐπὶ τοὺς τραπεζίτας, καὶ γὰρ ἐλθῶν ἀπήτησα ἀν αὐτὸ σὺν τόκῳ.

Matt. 26,53: Δοκεῖτε ὅτι οὐ δύναμαι παρακαλέσαι τὸν Πατέρα μου, καὶ δώσει μοι δώδεκα λεγεῶνας ἀγγέλων;

Luke 6,41: Τί βλέπεις τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὁφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ σῷ ὁφθαλμῷ δοκόν οὐ κατανοεῖς;

Luke 10,29: 'Ο δὲ θέλων ἔκυτὸν δεκαιῶσαι εἴπε· καὶ τίς ἐστί μου πλησίον;

(Most probably not Byzantine)

Luke 12,42: Τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν ὁ πιστὸς δοῦλος καὶ φρόνιμος, δὸν καταστήσει ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, τοῦ διδόναι αὐτοῖς τὸ σιτομέτριον; (III 170, 864B: τὴν τροφὴν ἐν καιρῷ)

(Most probably Byzantine)

John 7,25-6: Οὐ τοῦτον ἐζήτουν οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἀποκτεῖναι; Ἰδού παρρησίᾳ λαλεῖ, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ λέγουσι· μήποτε ἀληθῶς ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός;

(Not Byzantine)

Rom. 11,8: Δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως, ὁφθαλμούς τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ ὡτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκούειν, ἔως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.

i Cor. 2,2: Οὐκ ἔκρινά τι εἰδέναι ἐν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τοῦτον ἐσταυρωμένον.

(Most probably not Byzantine)

i Cor. 9,5-6: Μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἔξουσίαν ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα περιάγειν, ὡς καὶ

οι λοιποί ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Κηφᾶς;
"Ἡ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρνάβας οὐκ ἔχομεν ἔξουσίαν μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι;

(Most probably not Byzantine)

- i Cot. 11,7: Ἐνήρι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὁφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλήν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ δόξα ἀνδρός ἐστι.

(Most probably not Byzantine)

- i Cor. 12,27: Ὑμεῖς ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους,

(Not Western)

- ii Cor. 4,7: Ἔχομεν τοίνυν τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσι, ἵνα ἡ ὑπερβολὴ τῆς δυνάμεως ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ μὴ ἐξ ἡμῶν.

- ii Cor.13,7-8: Εὐχόμεθα δὲ τῷ Θεῷ, μὴ ποιῆσαι οὐδὲ μηδὲν κακόν, οὐχ ἵνα ἡμεῖς δόκιμοι φανῶμεν, ἀλλ' οὐδεῖς τὸ καλὸν ποιεῖτε, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς ἀδόκιμοι ὔμεν. Οὐ γὰρ δυνάμεθά τι κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας.

(Not Byzantine)

- Gal. 1,8: Κανὸν ἡμεῖς ἢ ἄγγελος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εὐαγγελίσηται ὑμῖν παρ' ὁ εὐηγγελισάμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀνάθεμα ἐστω.

(Most probably not Byzantine)

- Phil. 1,29: Ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσατο ὁ Θεός, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν.

- Phil. 2,3-7: Ἀλλήλους ἡγούμενοι ὑπερέχοντας ἔσυτῶν... Τοῦτο φρονεῖσθε (IV 22: φρονεῖσθω) ἐν ὑμῖν, ὁ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἰναὶ ἵσα Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἔσυτὸν ἐκένωσε μορφὴν δούλου λαβών.

- i Tim. 3,1-6: Εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς δρέγεται, καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ. Δεῖ οὖν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνεπίληπτον εἶναι, νηφάλιον, σώφρονα, κόσμιον, φιλόξενον, διδακτικόν, ἀνεξίκακον, μὴ πάροινον, μὴ πλήγτην, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῆ, ἀμαχον, ἀφιλάργυρον, τοῦ ἴδιου οἴκου καλῶς προϊστάμενον, τέκνα ἔχοντα ἐν ὑποταγῇ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος (εἰ δέ τις τοῦ ἴδιου οἴκου προστῆναι οὐκ οἴδε, πῶς Ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ ἐπιμελήσεται;), μὴ νεόφυτον, ἵνα μὴ τυφωθεῖς εἰς κρῦμα ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ διαβόλου.

(Most probably quoted from memory)

- ii Tim. 2,24-5: Δοῦλον δὲ Κυρίου οὐ δεῖ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἡπιον εἶναι πρὸς πάντας, διδακτικόν, ἀνεξίκακον, ἐν πραότητι παιδεύοντα τοὺς ἀντιδοταθεμένους, μήποτε δήρη μίτοις ἢ θεῖς ἐπίγνωσιν εἰς σωτηρίαν.

- Hebr. 4,7-9: Εἰ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος κατέπαυσεν, οὐκ ἀν ὁ Δαβὶδ μετὰ

πολλάς γενεάς περὶ καταπαύσεως διαλεγόμενος ἔλεγε· σήμερον ἐδὲ τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε, μὴ σκληρύνητε τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν, ὃς ἐν τῷ παραπικρασμῷ. Οὐκοῦν, ἡ ἀληθινὴ ἀνάπτασις τῷ λαῷ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

- Hebr. 9,17: See below, 'Textual criticism'
 James 3,6: 'Ἡ γλῶσσα πῦρ, ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας. Ἡ γλῶσσα καθίσταται ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν φλογίζουσα ὅλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ σπιλοῦσα τὸν τροχὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν καὶ φλογίζομένη ὑπὸ τῆς γεέννης.'

b) Quotations of which the classification is rather sure:

- Matt. 5,20: 'Ἐὰν μὴ περισσεύσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη πλέον τῶν Γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (IV 204-IV 216).
 Οὐ δύνησθε εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (I 79)
 (Rather Alexandrian)
- Matt. 5,28: Πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἥδη ἐμοίχευσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.
 (Rather Alexandrian)
- Matt. 5,44: 'Αγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ὑμῶν· καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς· προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων.
 (Equally Byzantine, Caesarean, Western)
- Matt. 6,10: 'Ελθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
 (Equally Byzantine, Caesarean, Western)
- Matt. 6,12: "Αφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλόματα ἡμῶν καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν.
 (Byzantine)
- Matt. 6,13: Μὴ εἰσινέγκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ρῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, διτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ δόξα.
 (Byzantine and Caesarean)
- Matt. 6,15: 'Ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῆτε παραπτώματα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ἀφήσει ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τὰς ἀμαρτίας ὑμῶν.
 (Byzantine and Caesarean)
- Matt. 10,28: Μὴ φοβείθητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι· φοβήθητε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γεέννῃ.
 (Byzantine)

- Matt. 15,24: Οὐκ ἀπεστάλην εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα ὑέκου
 Ἰσραήλ.
 (Equally Alexandrian, Byzantine, Caesarean)
- Matt. 19-11: Οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἀλλ’ οἵς δέδοται.
 (Equally Alexandrian, Byzantine, Caesarean)
- Matt. 23,37-8: Ποσάκις ἡθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐκ ἡθελήσατε!
 Ἰδού, ἀφίεται ὑμῶν δοῦλος ὑμῶν ἔρημος.
 (Equally Alexandrian, Byzantine, Caesarean)
- Matt. 24,16: Οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαϊκῇ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὅρη.
 (Rather Alexandrian)
- Matt. 24,41: "Ἐσονται δύο ἀλήθουσαι ἐν (τῷ) μύλῳ μία παραλαμβά-
 νεται καὶ μία ἀφίεται.
 (Rather Byzantine)
- Mark. 9,40: 'Ο μὴ ὁν καθ' ὑμῶν, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν.
 (Alexandrian, Byzantine, Western)
- Luke 24,39: Τὸ πνεῦμα σάρκα καὶ ὀστέα οὐκ ἔχει, καθὼς με θεωρεῖτε
 ἔχοντα.
 (Byzantine)
- John 12,32: 'Επειδὴν ὑψωθῶ, πάντας ἐλκύσω πρὸς ἐμαυτόν.
 (Byzantine)
- i Cor. 9,20-1: 'Εγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερ-
 δήσω· τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἀνομος, μὴ ὁν ἀνομος Θεοῦ, ἀλλ’
 ἔννομος Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κερδήσω ἀνόμους.
 (Alexandrian)
- i Cor. 11,30-2: Διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν πολλοὶ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ἀρρωστοὶ καὶ κοι-
 μῶνται ἕκανον· εἰ γάρ ἔαυτοὺς διεκρίνομεν, οὐκ ἀν ἔκρινό-
 μεθα· κρινόμενοι δέ, ὑπὸ Κυρίου παιδευόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ
 κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν.
 (Byzantine)
- Gal. 6,2: 'Αλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζετε καὶ οὕτως ἀν ἀναπληρώσατε
τὸν νόμον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
 (Alexandrian, Byzantine, Western)
- i Tim. 5,8: Εἴ δέ τις τῶν ἰδίων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν οἰκείων οὐ προνοεῖ,
 τὴν πίστιν ἥρνηται, καὶ ἔστιν ἀπίστου χείρων.
 (Byzantine)
- Hebr. 12,4-7: Μή τις πόρνος ἢ βέβηλος ὡς 'Ησαῦ, δεὶς ἀντὶ βρώσεως μιᾶς
 ἀπέδοτο τὰ πρωτοτόκια αὐτοῦ. "Ιεθε γάρ, ὅτι καὶ μετέπει-
 τα_θέλω_κληρονομῆσαι_τὴν_εὐλογίαν_, ἀπεδοκιμάσθη_ μετα-
 νάσις γάρ τόπου οὐκε _εὔρε, καίτερο μετὸ δακρύων ἐκτη-
 σας αὐτήν.
 (Byzantine)

ii John 8: Βλέπετε μὴ ἀπολέσητε & εἰργάσασθαι
 (Alexandrian)

If, after all these, one should expect to hear about what text Isidore was using, we should say that Isidore for half of his quotations was using manuscripts belonging to the family of the Byzantine text; for the third quarter of his quotations he was using manuscripts belonging to the family of the Alexandrian text and for the last quarter he was using manuscripts belonging either to the Caesarean family or to the Western one. Unfortunately this result is not out of question and it is a pity because we are unable to ascertain it more. But concerning the textual criticism of the N.T. we should say with certainty that at least half of the total number of Isidores's quotations could enrich the critical apparatus, which so far scarcely refers to Isidore, and moreover Isidore's attempts for the correction of the text could give much help.

2. Textual criticism of the New Testament.

Among Isidore's various comments and notes in relation to his quotations from the N.T., of outstanding importance are his attempts to correct and to restore the Biblical text. His attempts testify that he knew more writings of the Biblical text than one, that he was doubting some of them, and his selfconfidence that he was able to correct the text. These corrections are also very interesting because of their antiquity and because they are more or less successive. It would be useful indeed, if everyone dealing with criticism and restoration of the Biblical text had these attempts in his mind. Below we cite and examine all these efforts referring to the textual criticism of the N.T. inasmuch they are important and not so many in number.

The first attempt of Isidore's corrections, is a short and simple one. He refers to Acts 23,9 and says that many times a letter having been changed or omitted or added confuses the meaning of the saying, as it has happened in this case. The text now has: 'i f a spirit or an angel hath spoken to him' «but it is wrong because thus the meaning of this verse is changed and becomes opposite to the apostolic sense. The text ought to be not 'i f ($\varepsilon\!l$) a spirit' but 'for ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\varepsilon\!l$) a spirit..」¹. The same is valid For Hebr. 7,11 which is referred together with the above mentioned correction and to the same words. "It is not 'i f ($\varepsilon\!l$) therefore per-

1. IV 112, 1180B-1181A.

fection were by the lävitical priesthood...' but 'ἐπεὶ (since or inasmuch as) therefore perfection were...'¹.

In both cases Isidore's suggestion concerning the change of the word εἰ into ἐπεὶ does not occur in any known manuscript. And whereas it seems to be good in the first case although the εἰ stands well and makes sense, in the second instance Isidore's suggestion is rather wrong. The εἰ stands better and introduces a direct conditional interrogative sentence.

For the same reason, i.e. the change of a letter, Isidore suggests that Philip. 4,3 ought to be 'I intreat thee also Σύζυγε γνησία and not γνήσιε, «because the letter iota is being added or written but is not pronounced»². Neither is the suggestion successful, nor the explanation clear. What does «the letter iota is being added or written but is not pronounced» mean? Or what is the concrete profit of the change into γνησία of the word γνήσιε? If one should agree with the writing σύζυγος γνησία he ought to be ready to reply to us 'who was the other spouse of the γνησία σύζυγος. The word Σύζυγε might well signify a male person residing at that time at Philippi whom Paul considered as Cooperator and called Σύζυγον or might be a name like Εὐοδίαν and Συντύχην which could easily be of masculine gender. For all these reasons and because Isidore's suggestion does not occur in any known text, we judge it as unsuccessful and wrong.

Discussions concerning the true text of the Bible, are not a new discovery. Isidore also informs us that in his time, there were many people who were discussing on the Biblical text and suggesting different writings. Thus, in two of his letters³, Isidore says that some people being unable to understand the true meaning of Rom. I,32 were changing it into: 'οὐ μόνον οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συνευδοκοῦντες τοῖς πράττουσι'. But he says it is wrong «even although they attempted to prove that to do something is bigger than to approve of it. But I say that the apostolic books were not wrong. And whereas I do not attack those who did not understand the meaning (for perhaps in this case they have been deceived but in other cases they excelled and understood something which I did not understand) I shall tell what I have understood and I shall leave the decision to others. Now I say that rea-

1. ibid.

2. ibid. 1181A.

3. IV 60; V 159.

sonably this has been said: 'οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράττουσι' (not only they do the same but have pleasure in those who do them), because to praise those who sin is much worse and claims more punishment than merely to sin¹.

The text suggested by Isidore in this case is that of the 'Textus Receptus' and one might say that we have no correction here. Yes, we have no correction, but we have a refusal of another proposed text which looks like that of Itala, of Sixtina, of Clement of Rome and of Epiphanius. And this is important, because Isidore defends the 'Textus Receptus', explains why this text is correct and leaves no room for a different writing. Isidore's success in this case is evident and sufficient.

An important correction of Isidore's is that referring to Colos. I,15. Although the matter is only one word or more precisely speaking the place of the stress in that word, the suggestion is intelligent and the result very important². We shall follow Isidore.

The text is: "Ος (δὲ Χριστὸς). ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως" i.e. who is the image of the invisible God, the first born of every creature'. Isidore says: «If the word πρωτοτοκος takes the accent on the second syllable from the beginning i.e. πρωτότοκος it means he who was born first; if this word takes the accent on the second syllable from the end, i.e. πρωτοτόκος it means he who first gave birth. In Homér³ for example she who brought forth firstly is called πρωτότοκος. Then it is easy to understand or rather it is necessary to understand that the divine Paul used this word in such a meaning not teaching that Christ had been created as the first of the creatures-do not say it since Paul calls Him 'the brightness of God's glory and the express image of His person' - but that He firstly gave birth to them, i.e. He created the creatures. Thus we will have the word πρωτοτόκος stressed on

1. IV 60. 1117C; IV 159, 1417B.

2. L. Bayer, loc. cit. p. 6. says that the method of grammatical definitions in Exegesis is, according to Isidore, its foundation. For such definitions see III 4;10;92;187;264 etc. cf also P.A. Schmidt: Die Christologie Isidores von Pelusium, in *paradosis* vol. 2 (1948) p. 71.

3. Ilias XVII 5: «Αμφὶ δέ τοι βαῖν' ὡς τις περὶ πόρτακι μήτηρ πρωτότοκος, κινυρή, οὐ πρὶν εἰδὺται τόκοιον». The note of scholiast on this verse is very useful: «Η δὲ τέλιον οὐς ἡ δέξεις ἔστι γάρ δραστικὸν καὶ μὴ ὑποπτῶτον τοῖς τρόποις τοῖς προπαροξύνουσιν. Τὸ δὲ προπαροξύνομενον δῆλοι τὴν πρώτως τεχθεῖσαν». Quoted in L. Bayer, loc. cit. p. 83.

the third syllable from the beginning and then it will mean πρωτογόνος not πρωτογενῆς; πρωτοκτίστης not πρωτόκτιστος¹.

There probably would be an objection inasmuch as the word πρωτοτοκος signifies birth either giving or taking and since Bible does not use the word 'creation' but 'birth'. Isidore, anticipating this objection, replies as follows: «If in this case we have 'birth' instead of 'creation' do not wonder because we find the same in other cases, e.g. in Deaut. 32, 18; Is 1,2; Ps. 81, 6. Inasmuch as when God gave birth He dispassionately gave birth and when He builds He creates dispassionately, divinely and easily, for this reason the Scriptures use these words, not in order to consider the 'birth' as 'creation' and the 'creation' as 'birth' but in order to show us God's facility and dispassionateness»².

The corollary now is clearer. But someone could say that all these are Isidore's opinions and nothing else and hence he could accept or not these opinions. But Isidore fixes more firmly his opinion by referring to the Scriptures and says: «If the Apostle said that all things had been created μετ' αὐτὸν i.e. after him, then he who says that Christ is πρωτότοκος is correct. And if the Apostle said ἐν αὐτῷ i.e. in him, because the creation and administration of all things are found ἐν τῷ κτίστῃ i.e. in the creator, e.g. Acts 17,28, then ours is an undoubted victory. That is, Christ is πρωτότοκος»³.

We also could bring forward Isidore's comments on Colos. 1,17 which are closely related with Christ as πρωτότοκος but we think that all the above mentioned extracts are more than sufficient to prove that Christ is πρωτότοκος and not πρωτότοκος and to certify that Isidore's suggestion in this case is a very successful and intelligent one⁴. Those who stressed the Biblical text needed in this case Isidore's mind to understand Paul's mind.

We are not far from the truth if we say that a noteworthy attempt for restoring the Biblical text is found in what Isidore says referring to i Tim 4,3. The 'Textus Receptus' has: 'Κωλυόντων γαμεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων'. Isidore writes: «Some people say that this verse is a 'lapsus

1. III 31, 749C-52A.

2. III 31, 752A.

3. ibid, 752B.

4. Isidore uses the same method concerning Exod. 28,23 in III 10, 733BC. We venture to think that Didymus the Blind's (*Adversus Eunomium IV* in Gardner's edition of St. Basil's works, vol. I p. 414C-415E) and Chrysostom's (*Ad Colos. III 2-3 MG 62, 318-20*) interpretations of this so important word, are not so successful as is Isidore's interpretation.

calami' of Paul; for he having put the κωλυόντων γαμεῖν i.e. 'forbidding to marry' in continuation with ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων i.e. 'to abstain from meats' said the opposite from what he intended to say; for abstinence from meats is not forbidden. For he ought to say 'forbidding to marry and commanding to abstain from meats'. Now I shall agree with those who have this opinion if there is another 'lapsus calami' of Paul; but there is none. But pay attention lest this mistake took place because of a change concerning a letter or a 'tittle'. The text might be: 'κωλυόντων γαμεῖν, ἀντέχεσθαι βρωμάτων', i. e. forbidding to marry, being absorbed in meats, or, 'κωλυόντων γαμεῖν καὶ ἔχεσθαι βρωμάτων', i. e. forbidding to marry and abstain from meats. But as the Church recognizes marriage as honourable, so she does not abominate meats; but again, she does not command us to be absorbed but shows us the medium way for marriage and meats. For he who can avoid the delight of them, is best; he who enjoys them moderately, is not blamed; but he who slanders them is out of the sacred enclosure¹. As it is evident Isidore in this case is not very sure about what was the true text and he does not declare definitely his opinion. Neither had he a different concrete text other than the Received Text to suggest. Therefore he tries to solve the difficulty rather intellectually. Both Isidore's suggestions are not found in any known text; but his second suggestion seems to be quite good and successful².

Finally we come to the last attempted correction of Isidore. It refers to Hebr. 9,17. The text is: «A testament is of force after men are dead ἐπεὶ μήποτε ἴσχύει while the testator liveth». Isidore says: «I have found in older manuscripts the words μὴ τότε instead of μή ποτε. The change, of μὴ τότε to μή ποτε seemingly happened by addition of a 'tittle' or letter by some illiterate men. The text must be; «Ἐπειδὴ γάρ μὴ τότε ἴσχύει ὅτε ζῆ ὁ διαθέμενος μετὰ θάνατον βεβαιοῦται...»³. Migne's edition in this case is very bad. For the conclusion of the above mentioned line a rich footnote found in relation to it in Migne's edition helped us very much. We can say probably with certainty that what Isidore wrote could be that which we haved cited in Greek. As to the essence of this suggestion we should say first of all it appears as a removal from the Textus Receptus because of the words μετὰ θάνατον βεβαιοῦται which do not occur also in any known MS and because of the order of

1. IV 112, 1117C-1180B.

2. cf. L. Bober. loc. cit. p. 106.

3. IV 113, 1184C.

the words of this line. The suggestion itself is good, although the other of the Received Text is equally good. But again Isidore is not definitely content with his opinion and this is the reason why he says: «If there was written μή ποτε we must not stress the μή but the μήποτε which means never»¹. Apart from the success of the suggestion which is not very important from the point of view of its accurateness, at least Migne's edition does not help us more, Isidore's testimony that he had found a different writing in old copies, is noteworthy.

In closing this chapter it is right and necessary to say that Isidore's suggestions and attempts for purging the Biblical text save Phil. 4,3 which is unsuccessful lie between the simple and the fine and are however noteworthy.

1. ibid. 1185A.

Chapter III

ST ISIDORE AND HIS USE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

I. Passages interpreted by St Isidore.

Although Isidore became famous for his exegesis and in spite of the fact that several MSS and editions of his letters show him to be mainly an interpreter, it is true that Isidore did not deal systematically with the interpretation of the Scriptures. But it is also true that Isidore left quite a good deal of N.T. passages interpreted which now we have to enumerate.

Balanos¹ enumerates and cites some 222 passages from the N.T. interpreted by Isidore. Diamantopoulos², seemingly following Balanos, reports 220 passages without citing them. We have found almost three hundred and fifty passages from the N.T. interpreted by Isidore. Why is there this difference? Most probably because of a different way of calculating and enumerating the passages or because of an incompletely accurate examination of Isidore's letters made by the aforementioned Scholars. L. Bober³ does not give us a complete list of all the N.T. passages interpreted by Isidore, neither does he state their number. He only cites and examines 64 passages from the N.T.

The passages both cited and interpreted are fewer in number. So if we count only these interpretations the number exceeds that of Balanos only by two or three dozen. But to these interpretations we must also add those for which we do not find the citation of the N.T. quotation in Isidore's letters. As Isidore is quite singular in his writings and his manner of interpretation, it is more than certain that he went directly to the interpretation without citing the N.T. passage for which he was asked. Then, why should we not count these interpretations because he does not cite the biblical passages, since our intention in this paragraph is to enumerate his interpreted passages and not N.T. quotations which he cites?

Our enumeration includes both kinds of interpretation and we think this is more correct and accurate. The list below shows the N.T.

1. Ἰσιδώρος δὲ Πηγανιώτης, Ἀθῆναι 1922, p. 173-76.

2. Ἰσιδώρος δὲ Πηγανιώτης, N, Σιάδων (1926) p. 616 note I.

3. loc. cit. p. 44ff.

passages, cited or not and the reference to Isidore's letters where the interpretation of these passages is found.

The sum of this enumeration gives the number 346, that is 124 passages more than what Balanos gave us. For these 346 interpreted passages references are given to about 440 of Isidore's letters. For some passages in this enumeration we do not give references to Isidore's letters but to other passages in this list. This means that references to Isidore's letters are the same for both passages.

Isidore delights more in Matthew (110 passages) and in the Pauline epistles (137 quotations including the pastoral and the epistle to the Hebrews)¹. There are not passages interpreted or even cited from i Thessalonians, Philemon, ii Peter, i and ii John and Revelation². Therefore Du Pin³ is not accurate in saying «Il n' y a presque point de livre tant de l' Ancien que du Nouveau Testament, dont il n' explique plusieurs passages». From fifteen books of the O.T. and from six books of the N.T. Isidore does not interpret even one passage.

The explanation of the cited numbers corresponds as follows: e.g. 'Matt. 1,25 in I 18,192B and in III 31,752C' means: Matthew chap. 1 verse 25 is interpreted in Isidore's book I, letter 18, in the 78th volume of MG, column 192, section of the column B; and in the book III, letter 31, MG 78 column 752 section of the column C. The same way holds good throughout. Citing the references, we tried to note all Isidore's letters referring to a N.T. passage. From this point of view, L. Bober's references are in some cases inadequate; e.g. interpreting Matt. 5, 20 he refers only to the letter I 79 (loc. cit. p. 88); or Matt. 5,28 only to III 254 (p. 88-90); or Matt. 7,5 to I 143 (p. 89-90); or Lk 12, 46 to III 408 (p. 94); or Hebr. 1,3 to III 18 (p. 106).

The N.T. passages interpreted by Isidore but not cited by him are marked in the list with NG (Not Cited). They are 92 in number.

1. L. Bober, loc. cit. p. 25 is evidently wrong when saying: «E libris novi Foederis autor noster prae ceteris amat explanare epistolam b. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos». Even in the Pauline epistles, Isidore delights more in i Corinthians.

2. It is characteristic that many Fathers or Ecclesiastical Writers, among whom Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Photius, Theophilact of Bulgaria and others did not quote the Apocalypse as Scripture. See B. F. Westcott: A general survey of the history of the canon of the N.T. London 1896 p. 450-1 and 458.

3. Nouvelle Bibliotheque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques, Paris 1702, vol. III part II p. 11; cf. Xistus Senensis (MG 78, 415): *in quibus (i.e. letters) omnes divinas utriusque Testamenti Scripturas exposuit*» (i. e. Isidore).

List of N.T. passages interpreted by St Isidore

MATTHEW:

NC	1,1-16	:	in I 7,184C
	1,25	:	" I 18,192B;III 31,752C
	2,9	:	" I 378,396C
	3,2	:	" II 222,961C
NC	3,4	:	" I 132,296C; partly cited in I 74,233B
NC	3,7	:	" I 105,253B
NC	3,10	:	" I 64,224C-225A
NC	3,12	:	" I 65,225A-B
	3,15	:	" I 66,225C
	3,17	:	" I 67,228A
NC	4,3	:	" I 76,236AB
	4,4	:	" III 341,1001A
	4,6-7	:	" IV 164,1253B
NC	5,9	:	" IV 169,1261AB
NC	5,10-1	:	" IV 93,1153C;II 54,497C III 142,837D-840A;VI 159,1244C
	5,16	:	" III 120,824B;III 362,1016C
	5,19	:	" IV 216,1309BC;IV 204,1292D;I 79,237B
	5,20	:	" IV 111, 1176D-77A
	5,22	:	" IV 111, 1177A
NC	5,23-4	:	" IV 111, 1177A
NC	5,26	:	" I 80,237C
	5,28	:	" II 278,709BC;III 11,733 D-36A (cf III 66 773C-76A);III 254,933A;IV 109,1176A;IV 204,1292C;V 65,1364D-65A;III 12,737A and 740C;IV 122,1195C which is exactly the same with V 139
NC	5,29-30	:	" I 83,240C
NC	5,34	:	" I 155,288A;IV 204, 1292C
	5,38-9	:	" II 133,576AB;IV 86,1148B;I 98,249B (cf also II 133,576C); II 169,621A; III 126,828B; III 126,828C (and IV 175,1265C); IV 209, 1304A
	5,44	:	" IV 204,1292C;IV 11,1060B
	6,1-3	:	" IV 41,1092C and 1093A;IV 227,1321BC;I 84,241A; III 142,837D-40A;IV 159,1244C; III 34,756B;IV 159,1245A
	6,8	:	" V 97,1449C
	6,9-13	:	" II 281,712BC;IV 24,1073A and 1076AB
	6,15	:	" I 142,277BC;IV 185,1276D-77A

	6,22	:	in II 112,552D-53A
	6,23	:	" II 112,553B
	6,24	:	" I 332,373C
	7,6	:	" IV 181,1273AB;I 143,280A;II 211,652;II 253, 689C
	7,11	:	" III 117,821B
	7,12	:	" IV 53,1104B; IV 54,1104C-1105A;IV 91, 1152D; V 28,1344C
	7,18	:	" IV 81,1144AB
	7,24	:	" III 141,837BC
NC	8,4	:	" I 146,281A
NC	8,11	:	" I 147,281B
	9,15	:	" III 335,993D
NC	9,17	:	" I 293,353C;I 57,220AB
NC	9,20	:	" III 129,829B
NC	10,5	:	" I 153,285B
	10,15	:	" V 220,1464BC(cf V 221,1465A and III 203, 885A)
	10,16	:	" I 126,268A; II 175,625C-28A
	10,19	:	" IV 218,1312B
	10,28	:	" III 235,916BD; III 295, 969BC,IV 146,1229C IV 125, 1204A
	10,34	:	" III 246, 924D-25A
	10,41	:	" IV 135,1216C-17A
	10,42	:	" IV 118,1193A
	11,11	:	" I 68,228BC
	11,12	:	" IV 136,1217B
	12,5	:	" I 72,232C
	12,28	:	" I 60,221C
	12,32	:	" I 59,221AD;cf also I 60,221BC
NC	12,40	:	" I 114,257D-60A
	13,15	:	" II 270,700BC
	13,19	:	" III 107,813A
	13,23	:	" II 144,589C
NC	13,25	:	" I 194,305D-308A
	13,28-9	:	" I 195,308B
	13,31	:	" II 198,644B;IV 76,1136BC
NC	13,33	:	" I 201,312B
NC	13,45	:	" I 182,301A
NC	13,46	:	" I 182,301B

- 13,48 : in I 205, 313AB
 15,8-9 : « III 158,853B
 15,24 : « I 121, 264A
 16,13 : « I 235,328C
 16,16 : « I 236,328CD
 NC 16,18 : « I 238,329AB
 NC 16,27 : « III 166,860AB
 NC 17,27 : « I 206,313B;I 48,212B
 NC 18,3 : « I 207,313C
 NC 18,27-30 : « III 117,821A
 19,7 : « III 76,784BC
 19,8 : « III 76,784D
 19,11 : « IV 165, 1253C-56A
 19,12 : « III 13,741AB;IV 204,1292C
 20,21-3 : « I 137, 273A;IV 204,1292C
 21,38 : « IV 166,1257B
 22,21 : « I 209,316A
 22,30 : « IV 146,4229C
 23,2-3 : « IV 18,1068B
 23,5 : « II 150,604C
 23,37-8 : « I 380,397A
 24,16 : « I 210,316B
 24,17 : « I 210,316BC
 24,18 : « I 210,316C
 24,19 : « I 210,316CD
 24,28 : « I 282,349A
 NC 24,36 : « I 117,261A
 24,41 : « I 285,349C;I 283,349AB
 NC 25,1f : « I 286,349-52A
 NC 25,14 : « III 398,1036D
 25,20 : « I 287,352B
 25,21-3 : « IV 106,1172-73A
 25,27 : « IV 177,1268B; V 201,1453A; III 398,1036D
 NC 25,33 : « I 228,352 BC
 26,10 : « II 88,532B
 NC 26,34 : « I 357,385C
 NC 26,70-4 : « I 356,385B;I 358,385C;I 359,385D-88A
 26,39 : « I 289,352C
 26,41 : « II 76,517D-20A
 26,46 : « IV 48,1097D-1100A;cf also III 147,840D-41A

	26,53	:	in III 334,992C
	27,24	:	" IV 128,1205D
NC	27,51	:	" I 252,336A;I 253,336B;I 254,336BC
NC	28,2	:	" I 406,409AB

MARK:

	4,39	:	" IV 166,1256C
	6,18	:	" IV 96,4157B-4161A
	9,40	:	" III 3,729A
	10,27	:	" II 117,557D
NC	11,14	:	" I 51,213BC
NC	12,42	:	" IV 118,1193B
NC	13,32	:	" see Matt. 24,36

LUKE:

NC	1,20	:	" I 131,269B;B 257,337AB
	1,43	:	" I 363,388CD
NC	2,5	:	" See Matt. 17,27
	2,23	:	" I 23,196D-97A
	3,30	:	" I 189,1277D-1280A
	6,1	:	" III 110,816BC
	6,22	:	" See Matt. 5,14
	6,31	:	" See Matt. 7,12
	6,41	:	" IV 25,1076CD
	7,19	:	" I 34,204B
NC	7,28	:	" I 33,204A
	9,29-30	:	" I 239,329B
	10,29	:	" IV 123,1197A
	11,20	:	" I 60,221C
	12,35	:	" I 344,377C;IV 245,4309A
	12,42	:	" III 170,861B:IV 145,1228D
	12,46	:	" III 216,901A;III 408,1041C
	13,2	:	" IV 74,1133C
NC	13,6	:	" I 312,364B
	15,24	:	" V 179,1432B
NC	16,20-1	:	" IV 124,1496AB
	16,25	:	" IV 116,1489C;V 221,1465A
NG	16,26	:	" I 172,296AB
NC	18,10-4	:	" III 278,956AB
NC	21,1-4	:	" IV 193,1281C

- NC 23,4 : in IV 128,1205BC
 NC 23,28 : " IV 180,1272BC;cf also II 285;II 166;IV 97,
 1161C
 NC 23,39 : " I 285,336C;cf also I 286
 NC 24,46 : " IV 98,1164A

JOHN:

- 1,1 : " IV 142,1224Af;cf also III 141
 1,10 : " IV 10,4057B
 1,12 : " V 28,1334AB;V 197,1449C
 1,14 : " I 473,441A
 NC 2,1-11 : " I 393,404B
 2,16 : " I 106,253CD
 2,19 : " IV 217,1312A;II 212,653B
 4,22 : " III 334,992A
 5,19 : " III 335,993D-96A;cf also I 353,384BC
 5,41 : " I 374,393D
 NC 6,48 : " I 360,388A
 7,26 : " II 270, 700C;also see Matt. 13,15
 9,2-3 : " II 272,701CD
 10,8 : " III 119,821CD
 10,29 : " III 122,824D-25A
 10,30 : " I 138,273BC
 11,35 : " II 173,624C-25A
 11,48 : " III 128,829A
 NC 13,27 : " III 364,1017B
 13,34 : " III 410,1044B
 NC 13,35 : " V 133, 1216B
 14,14 : " see John 1,12
 14,27 : " III 246,924CD;cf also Matt.10,34
 14,28 : " III 334,992BCD
 14,31 : " V 48,1097D-1100A
 NC 15,1 : " I 168,293A
 15,25 : " V 220,1316B
 16,33 : " II 24,473A;V 316,1520B; I 95,248C
 NC 18,10 : " I 291, 353A
 18,23 : " IV 196,1285A
 NC 19,19 : " I 491,499C
 19,34 : " IV 101,1168A
 20,23 : " II 5,461B;III 260,940D;I 97,249 AB

- NC 21,15-7 : in I 103,253A
 21,25 : " I 259,337C;II 99,541C and 544B

ACTS:

- NC 2,3 : " I 494,252A; IV 66,1224A
 4,16 : " III 182,873A
 4,20 : " III 335,993B
 NC 5,5 : " I 181,300C
 NC 8,38 : " I 447, 428B-29A;I 448,429AB;I 449,429B;
 I 450,429C
 9,15 : " IV 80,1141A; III 271,952A
 12,22-3 : " IV 50,1100D-01A
 NC 13,11 : " I 354,384D
 14,22 : " V 366,1545C
 17,23 : " III 346,1004B;IV 69,1128AB
 19,35 : " IV 206,1300B
 23,9 : " IV 112,1181A
 28,15 : " I 337,376CD

ROMANS:

- 1,16 : " IV 29,1031B
 1,22 : " II 213,656A;III 350,1005B
 1,26,28-
 29 : " IV 101,1165D-68A;IV 59,1117A
 1,32 : " V 159,1417B;IV 60,1117C
 2,6 : " II 160,613D
 2,10 : " IV 61,1120B
 2,21 : " II 208,649A
 3,25 : " IV 73,1132C-33A;IV 100,1165AB
 5,17 : " III 195,880D
 6,12 : " IV 52,1101C
 6,23 : " IV 52,1101C
 7,8 : " IV 62,1120BC
 8,8 : " I 477,441C-44A
 8,9 : " IV 127,1204D-1205A
 8,15-7 : " V 197,1449D-1452A
 8,18 : " V 72,1369A; IV 63,1120D-21A; III 207,889B
 8,28 : " IV 51,1101AB;cf also II 2,457A;V 13,1001B
 NC 9,3 : " II 58,501C-504A
 11,8 : " IV 101,1165C-68A

12,4	:	in III 75,781C	
12,11	:	" see Acts 2,3	
12,16	:	" III 186,876A	
12,18	:	" III 284,960B;III 36,1088C;IV 220,1313AD-16A	
12,20	:	" IV 11,1057D-60AB	
13,1	:	" II 216,657D-60AB	
13,3	:	" IV 102,1169B	
NC	13,7	:	" IV 102,1169B;IV 16,1064C
NC	13,10	:	" IV 15,1064B
NC	13,13	:	" I 456,433B

I CORINTHIANS:

NC	1,20	:	" I 429,420B
	1,24	:	" II 143,585D
	2,2	:	" IV 150,1236B
NC	2,13-5	:	" V 128,1397D-1400A;cf also Rom. 8,9;V 41,1352B; IV 81,1144BC
	3,2	:	" I 445,428B
	3,8	:	" V 83,1376A
	3,17	:	" III 92,797B
	3,18	:	" IV 6,1053CD
	4,5	:	" IV 94,1156C
NC	5,5	:	" V 290,1505B
	6,7	:	" IV 95,1157A
	6,7	:	" IV 95,1157A
	6,10	:	" IV 42,1093B
	6,18	:	" IV 129,1208A-1212A
	7,4	:	" IV 129,1212A
	7,5	:	" IV 119,1193C
NC	7,21	:	" IV 12,1060C-61A
	7,29	:	" I 413,412C
NC	8,2 ⁽¹⁾	:	" IV 132,1213D
	9,5	:	" III 176,868AB
	9,20	:	" II 138,580CD
	9,21	:	" II 138,580D-81B;cf Acts 17,23
	9,27	:	" III 265,945C; cf III 11,736C
	10,12	:	" IV 14,1061C-1064A

	10,27	:	in	IV	68,1128A
	11,1	:	"	IV	46,1097B
	11,7	:	"	III	95,801BC
NC	11,27	:	"	III	364,1017A
	11,30-1	:	"	V	221,1464D
	11,32	:	"	V	96,1381C; cf also V 221,1464C; III 203, 885AB
	12,27	:	"	IV	103,1169CD
	13,11	:	"	I	443, 425C
	13,12	:	"	II	56,500A
	14,20	:	"	I	442,425B
NC	15,8	:	"	III	198,881D
	15,29	:	"	I	221,321B
	15,31	:	"	III	399,1037AB
	15,33	:	"	IV	34,1085D-1088AB
	15,41	:	"	III	351,1009BC
NC	15,44	:	"	III	77,785AB
	15,56	:	"	IV	52,1101D-1104A

II CORINTHIANS:

	4,7	:	"	II	4,460B
NC	4,17	:	"	V	72, 1369A
	5,13	:	"	III	266,948A
NC	12,9	:	"	I	428,420AB; III 182,872C
	13,7	:	"	IV	7,1056B
	13,8	:	"	III	260,941C

CALATIANS:

	1,8	:	"	III	165,857D-60A
NC	3,13	:	"	I	95,248C
NC	3,28	:	"	I	306,360C
	4,4	:	"	III	176,868C; cf also i Cor. 9,5
NC	5,6	:	"	III	403,1037D-40A
	6,2	:	"	III	410,10,1044A

EPHESIANS:

	1,22	:	"	III	195,880D
	2,15	:	"	III	53,768A
	4,8	:	"	I	400,405D
	4,26	:	"	II	189,640A

- 4,27 : in II 189,640B
 5,14 : " V 179,1432C
 NC 6,11 : " III 385,1028BC

PHILIPPIANS:

- 1,29 : " IV 104,1172 AB
 2,3 : " IV 22,1072A
 NC 2,4 : " V 292,1508B;III 410,1044B
 2,6 : " IV 22,1072AB; cf also John 14,28
 2,7 : " I 139, 276A: cf also IV 22,1072AB
 2,15 : " III 4,720B
 3,19-20 : " III 186,876A;cf also Rom. 12,16
 NC 4,3 : " IV 112, 1181A

COLOSSIANS:

- 1,15 : " III 31,749C-52A;II 143,588A
 1,16 : " III 31,752B
 1,17 : " III 31,742C
 2,9 : " IV 166,1256B
 2,15 : " IV 108,1173C
 3,9 : " II 161,616A
 NC 4,6 : " IV 49,1100B

ii THESSALONIANS:

- NC 2,17 : " see Matt. 5,19 and James 2,14

i TIMOTHY:

- 3,1 : " IV 219,1313AB
 3,1-6 : " III 216,896AD-97BC-900AC
 3,16 : " II 192,640C-41A
 4,3 : " IV 112,1177C-80B
 4,13 : " IV 88,1149B
 4,14 : " I 410,412A
 5,8 : " II 124,564B
 5,23 : " I 385,400BC

ii TIMOTHY:

- 2,5 : " IV 122,1159C
 2,13 : " III 335,993C;cf. also John 5,19
 2,22 : " IV 220,1316;cf also Rom. 12,18

- NC 2,25 : in II 270,700C;cf also Matt, 13,15 and John 7,26
 3,7 : " IV 155,1240C
 NC 3,16 : " II 299,725C-28A
 4,1 : " I 222,321CD

TITUS:

- 1,6 : " III 158,853B(cf also Matt. 15,8-9); IV 85
 1148A

HEBREWS:

- NC 1,3 : " III 58,769B;III 355,1012CD:III 18,744CD
 2,15 : " IV 146,1229BC-1232AB
 4,8-9 : " IV 147,1232CD
 NC 4,13 : " IV 77,1097C; I,94,248AB
 6,18 : " III 335,993C; cf also Acts 14,20
 7,11 : " IV 335,1181A
 7,19 : " I 68,228C;cf also II 11
 NC 9,4-5 : " IV 73,1132AC
 9,17 : " IV 113,1184C-85A
 10,1 : " I 444,425D
 10,29 : " IV 168,1260C-61A
 10,34 : " III 225,908D
 12,6 : " II 179,632C
 12,7 : " III 184,837BC
 12,16 : " I 320,368B
 12,17 : " IV 26,1077AB
 13,4 : " IV 192,1280C-81B (The N.T.passage is ci-
 ted in I 234,328B)

JAMES:

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- NC 2,10 : " III 401,1037B
 2,14 : " III 403,1037D-40A
 2,20 : " IV 226,1321AB:V 162,1420C
 NC 2,24 : " IV 65,1121D
 3,1 : " I 93,248A
 3,6 : " IV 10,1057AC;II 158,613AB
 NC 4,6 : " I 164,292B

i PETER:

- 1,13 : " see Lk 12,35
 3,7 : " see i Cor. 7,5

- 3,15 : in see Matt. 10,19
 4,1 : « IV 166,1257A
 4,17 : « II 208,649B
 5,8 : « II 175,628B
 ii JOHN: 8 : « II 300,728B; V 144,1409C
 JUDE: 13 : « IV 58,1109AB

2. Additional N.T. passages cited by St Isidore.

Apart from the 346 N.T. passages interpreted by Isidore, there are scattered in his letters some 49 other N.T. passages. These last passages are cited by him for the purpose of elucidation of a biblical passage or of the strengthening of his ideas. As a matter of fact there are some more passages cited and not interpreted among Isidore's letters, but we collected only these 49 having omitted the others which are only in the headings of the letters or consist of only one or two words or are somewhat inaccurate having been cited from memory.

The purpose of listing these uninterpreted passages is on the one hand to show how many N.T. passages Isidore used altogether, and on the other hand to give an available list to those dealing with the N.T. critical apparatus for enriching their indices.

The total number of the N.T. passages cited by Isidore in his letters is 303. Of these some consist of three or four or more biblical verses. One third of them are very good for critical apparatus. In other words Isidore supplies us with abundant and remarkable material.

List of additional N.T. passages

MATTHEW:

- 5,3 : in I 375,396A
 5,7 : « II 88,532A
 7,5 : « I 82,240B
 8,20 : « I 17,192A
 8,22 : « III 252,932C
 11,3 : « III 257,936A
 12,27 : « I 60,221C
 12,35 : « III 117,821B
 12,39 : « I 417,416A
 12,41 : « I 154,285B
 19,6 : « V 287,1504A
 21,40-41 : « V 375, 1552A

- 22,14 : in V 89,1377C
 23,39 : " III 25⁷,936A
 24,2 : " See Mk 13,2 and Lk 21,6;IV 74,1133C
 25,40 : " II 88,532A
 25,41 : " II 90,533C

LUKE:

- 5,12-3 : " III 335,996C
 24,39 : " I 47⁷,441C

JOHN:

- 3,5 : " II 52,496A
 5,14 : " IV 14,1064A
 8,37 : " II 99,544B
 12,32 : " I 491,449C
 14,26 : " III 106,812B
 19,15 : " I 256,337A
 19,23 : " I 74,233B

ACTS:

- 8,19 : " II 5,461A
 8,20 : " III 394,1033C
 8,30 : " I 61,224A
 20,33-4 : " V 299,1512B
 26,24 : " III 266,948A
 28,4 : " II 179,632B;V 270,1493D

ROMANS:

- 3,23 : " IV 65,1121C
 8,27 : " III 92,796D
 14,6 : " II 138,581A

I CORINTHIANS:

- 2,10 : " III 92,796D
 4,4 : " II 279,712A
 7,45 : " III 284,960C
 7,28 : " III 351,1005C
 10,43 : " II 280,742B
 15,50 : " I 477,441D

GALATIANS:

- 2,20 : in III 11,736C
 4,26 : « III 109,816B

EPHESIANS:

- 5,3 : « V 241,1477D
 5,18 : « I 495, 452B

i TIMOTHY: 1,9 : « II 288,717C

HEBREWS:

- 10,31 : « I 234,328B
 12,14 : « 5,241,1480A

i PETER: 2,22 : « I 416,412C

3. Various material appropriate for an 'Introduction' to the New Testament.

From a certain point of view all the material we find in Isidore's letters could easily be contained under the general title 'Introduction to the Holy Scriptures'. But more precisely speaking we can arrange and classify his material into many categories, especially since the term 'Introduction' has a special meaning. In this paragraph we put all the material which, various in its nature, could be characterized as 'introductory' to the N.T. We put all this material in the order of the books of the N.T. so that it may be more easily found.

Matt. 2,9: Concerning the star of the birth of Jesus Christ Isidore does not say what kind of star that was but only that «the star became evangelist of the divine birth not with the usual route of the stars but with a different and a newer one, showing as a finger the changed way and the holy cave and the venerable crib which was bearing the Lord»¹. He says nothing about the type of the star, because he perhaps knew nothing about astronomy.

Matt. 3,4: On the locusts and the wild honey of John the Prophet Isidore's opinion is wrong in the first case and correct in the second². He says: «The locusts on which John the Prophet was feeding, were not animals but ends of botans or plants. And the wild honey was not

1. I 378, 396C. cf. Chrysostom: in Matthew VII MG 57, 77.

2. See below, chapter IV parag. 3 e.

any grass or herb, but mountain honey, made by wild bees, which was most bitter and hostile to every taste»¹.

Matt. 23,5: What were the 'phylacteries'? Isidore says: «The phylacteries were little books, δέλτια ἦν μικρά, in which the Law was carried and the teachers of the Jews hung them as now women² carry the little Gospels»³.

Mark 6,18: Concerning Herod the Tetrarch. Why is he called 'tetrarch'? I think this is the reason why Herod has been called tetrarch; not only because he was reigning in a quarter of the paternal kingdom, but also because the four general kinds of vice prevailed upon him»⁴, i.e. adultery, injustice, murder and inconsiderable oath. Isidore is correct when saying that Herod has been called tetrarch because he was reigning in a quarter of the paternal kingdom, but his second suggestion that Herod has been called tetrarch because the four general kinds of vice prevailed upon him, is not true although it is clever.

Lk 6,1: On the second Sabbath after the first, see below, chapter IV paragraph 3 e.

Acts 8,38: With regard to who Philip was he who baptized the Eunuch, Isidore has the true conception and certifies it by biblical witnesses. He says: «Philip who baptized the Eunuch was not the Apostle Philip who belonged to the Twelve, but he who had been chosen one of the Seven for the purpose of helping the widows along with Stephen the chief martyr of the good victory»⁵. Biblical witnesses brought forward by Isidore, are: e) «The apostle Philip remained in Jerusalem with the other Apostles. Acts 8,1»⁶. b) «While the Twelve Apostles remained in Jerusalem, the other Disciples were scattered here and there and among them was this Philip who (Acts 8,40) was found at Azotus and came to Caesarea from which he was brought. For he having been troubled because of Stephen's grief and perhaps having been afraid lest he suffer the same, he came back home»⁷. c) Acts 8,14 and 17: «If he

1. I 132, 269C; cf also I 5, 184A.

2. cf Chrysostom: De Statuis XIX & Monit. II 232E «Women and small children instead of a great amulet hang from their necks Gospels and they carry them with them wherever they go».

3. II 150, 604C.

4. IV 96, 1157BC.

5. I 447, 428D-29A.

6. I 448, 429AB.

7. I 449, 429B.

who baptised was one of the Apostles, he had the authority of giving the Spirit. But he baptizes only as a Disciple, whereas the Apostles, to whom this authority has been given sanction the grace¹. Biblical witnesses and Isidore's syllogism are correct. He is right.

Acts 17,22: An interesting display of why the Mars' hill has been called' "Αρειος Πάγος is found in Isidore's II 91 536BC and II 92, 536C-537B

Acts 17,23: Concerning the 'altar to the unknown God'. Why was this altar named 'to the unknown God'? Isidore gives us two answers: a) «When the Persians undertook an expedition against Greece, the Athenians sent Phidipides as messenger to the Lacedaimonians asking for alliance; and when he was on the 'Virginal Mountain' he was met by the ghost of Pan who was accusing the Athenians because they neglected him and adored other gods, and Pan promised to help them. Now, when the Athenians vanguished they built up an altar and put the inscription 'to the unknown God'»². b) «At one time a great plague struck Athens and the Athenians adoring the known gods had benefited nothing. After that they considered that probably there was some other God who sent them the plague and whom they left without any adoration. Therefore they built up an altar and put the inscription 'to the unknown God' and after their sacrifice, they were healed»³. In this case Isidore does not say what is the true story because of which the altar was named 'to the unknown god' but he only thinks it sufficient to report both stories and reasons by saying that «people say that there are two reasons why the altar has been inscribed 'to the unknown god'». The reason is that both legends are probable and neither completely checked. However Isidore's knowledge in this case is remarkable⁴.

Acts 28,15: Concerning 'Apii forum and three taverns'. Isidore says that «these words signify some places⁵ before Rome. The one place had some picture seemingly of Apius which was called 'forum' of him like the pictures of kings till now are called 'fora'. The 'three taverns' signify places in the use of inns or bars as they are so called in

1. I 450, 429C.

2. IV 69, 1128AB.

3. ibid.

4. cf. N. Capo. De S. Isidori Pelusiota epistolarum recensione ac numero quaestio, in Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica, vol. IX (1901) p. 361.

5. Evidently the latin translation which puts 'formam' for τόπους is wrong; they were τόποι, not τόποι.

Latin»¹. Isidore's first opinion concerning the Apii forum seems to be quite strange. For under the word 'forum' we understand the roman market. Apart from the main Roman Forum four additional fora were founded in the imperial period: The forum Julium, Augustum, Transitorium and the forum Trajani. The Apii forum was probably a market at the Apia road². His second explanation with regard to the three taverns is successful, since the latin word 'taberna' really means tavern or inn. Nevertheless Isidore's note that the verse '...they came to meet us as far as Apii forum and the three taverns' «has been said by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles» is important as one more voice in relation to the writer of the Acts. In another case³ referring to Acts 2,4f, Isidore says that «ὁ θεσπέσιος Λουκᾶς ἔγραψε».

Rom. 2,10: The meaning of the word 'Greeks': We know that the word 'Greeks' in the N.T. means either the natives of Greece or the gentiles. But here Isidore says that Paul speaking of the era before Christ's incarnate presence «names here Greeks not gentiles but those who were pious, living according to the innate law and taking care of everything relating to piety without the Jewish hypocritical remonstrances. Such were Melchisedec, Job Cornelius»⁴. Eccentric indeed seems to be this opinion of Isidore's. How could one say that Melchisedec or Job who are mentioned by Paul in his verse were not Jews but they were Greeks? Evidently Isidore must not be proud of his opinion although his explanation seems to be plausible.

Hebr. 4,13: By interpreting this verse Isidore says that «the γυμνὰ and τετραχῆλισμένα had been written ἐκ μεταφορᾶς i.e. metaphorically by the wise Paul of the victims which were being brought for sacrifice, for these animals are naked from every garment after the taking away of their skin»⁵. In other words this quotation mentions the bloody sacrifices before Christ, tells something about the form of them and especially asserts Paul as the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews.

Hebr. 12,7: Finally Isidore says something concerning the way followed by Paul in instructing Christians: «The divine Paul, he says, thinking that demonstration is attempted better and more actively by a question, he does so, omitting very often the declaration of truths, τὸ ἀποκαθεύθων. Because he was saying to those who were in suffering

1. I 337, 376CD.

2. cf N. Capo. loc. cit. p. 359.

3. I 500, 453C.

4. IV 61, 1120B

5. IV 47, 1097C.

and were grieving 'what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? in order that the demonstration might be stronger through the question. So he did elsewhere: 'is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered? in order to show more clearly the wrong of the thing. For many people dare to object to the declarations, τὸς ἀποφάσεις; but questions persuade and muzzle and occasion some gentleness to him who asks»¹.

It is not our intention here to deal with the problems involved in an introduction to the N.T., but just to expose what and how Isidore says in relation to it. Therefore we are obliged to cite here his opinion concerning the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews although none of the Orthodox Scholar refuses to recognize Paul as the writer of this epistle. Isidore indirectly, but very clearly accepts Paul as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. Among the quotations from the epistle to the Hebrews which are cited or interpreted, are also Hebr. 1,3 (in III 58, 769B); 4,6-9 (in IV 147, 1232C or V 91, 1377D which is exactly the same); 4,13 (I 94, 248AB); 9,17 (in IV 113, 1184C); 10,28 (in IV 168, 1260CD); IO,34 (in III 225, 908C); 12,7 (in III 184, 873C) and 12, 17 (in IV 26, 1077A) which are reported directly and so clearly that one could not dispute them, as Paul's sayings. This is another one voice which is added to the orthodox Tradition which unanimously recognizes and teaches Paul as the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.

(Continued)

1. III 184, 873BC,