## THE RABBULA CORPUS

## WRITINGS FROM THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

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# The Rabbula Corpus

Comprising the *Life of Rabbula*, His Correspondence, a Homily Delivered in Constantinople, Canons, and Hymns

> with Texts in Syriac and Latin, English Translations, Notes, and Introduction by

Robert R. Phenix Jr. and Cornelia B. Horn





#### **Atlanta**

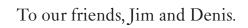
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# Preface

Although we have been assiduous in bringing this project to completion, at times illness, at times vexation, at times the tribulation of others and the commerce of the world have hindered us.

In the thirteen years since this project began, portions of the Rabbula Corpus have appeared in modern translation. We hope that the translations provided here offer at times a different perspective to the Syriac wording and that the notes contained herein are helpful for orienting readers to some of the interesting aspects of this collection.

The introduction is intended as a guide and not as a replacement of more detailed studies. We hope that the bibliography is up-to-date as of the final page proofs, and we apologize to anyone whose work we overlooked.

Throughout the long journey of this project, there have been many individuals who have helped us and a few who have hindered us. We thank all those who, even at the last minute, have assisted us. We thank SBL Press for their patience and Amy M. Donaldson, who copyedited our manuscript and caught many errors.

Cornelia B. Horn and Robert R. Phenix Jr. Berlin-Friedenau, Germany October 11, 2014

# Abbreviations

In order to make the footnotes more compact, in many cases full bibliographical citations for the editions and translations of primary sources have been reserved for the bibliography at the end of this book. Throughout the footnotes, the template for shortened citations of these works is AUTHOR (or EDITOR), SERIES VOLUME:PAGE,LINE. Note that "SERIES," "VOLUME," and "LINE" are used only where applicable or necessary. In the footnotes for the texts and translations, editions and translations may be referred to by last name (and page number) only. These editions and translations are identified at the beginning of each text.

ACO Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Edited by

Eduard Schwartz. 4 vols. in 17. Berlin: de

Gruyter, 1914-.

ACW Ancient Christian Writers

ad loc. ad locum, at the place discussed

Alex. Plutarch, Lives: Alexander

Alex. Akoim. Life of Alexander Akoimētēs

ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt:

Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de

Gruyter, 1972-.

ANTF Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textfor-

schung

Arab. Arabic

Aug Augustinianum

BB Marsh Bodleian Library Marsh Collection

BEFAR Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes

et de Rome

BEHE Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études BEHESR Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études:

Sciences Religieuses

BELS Bibliotheca Ephemerides liturgicae, Subsidia

BHG Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca. Edited by

François Halkin. 3rd ed. 3 vols. Subsidia Hagiographica 8a. Brussels: Société des Bol-

landistes, 1957.

BHO Bibliotheca hagiographica Orientalis. Edited

by Paul Peeters. Subsidia Hagiographica 10.

Brussels: Imprimerie Catholique, 1910.

BJRL Bulletin of the John Rylands University Li-

brary of Manchester

BKV Bibliothek der Kirchenväter

BL British Library

BL Add British Library Additional Manuscript
BL Or British Library Oriental Manuscript
Bod. Or. Bodleian Library Oriental Manuscript

Borg. Borgia

ByzF Byzantinische Forschungen ByzZ Byzantinische Zeitschrift

ca. circa, about

CCSG Corpus Christianorum, series graeca CCSL Corpus Christianorum, series latina

ch. chapter

CH Church History Chron. Ed. Chronicle of Edessa

Chron. Mich. Chronicle of Michael the Syrian

Cod. Theod. Codex Theodosianus

col(s). column(s)

CPA Christian Palestinian Aramaic

CPG Clavis patrum graecorum. Edited by M. Geer-

ard. 5 vols. Brepols: Turnhout, 1974–1987.

CSCO Corpus scriptorum christianorum orienta-

lium

CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Lati-

norum

CSS Cistercian Studies Series

CWS Classics of Western Spirituality

d. died

Dam. Patr. Damascus Patriarchate

ed. editor, edition

e.g. *exempli gratia*, for example

Enn. Plotinus, Enneads

esp. especially

ET English translation
FC Fathers of the Church
FChr Fontes Christiani

fem. feminine fl. flourished fol(s). folio(s)
Fr. French

GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller

der ersten Jahrhunderte

Ger. German Gk. Greek

Greg Gregorianum
Haer. Irenaeus, Haereses

Heb. Hebrew

Hist. eccl. Historia ecclesiastica (Church History)
Hist. rel. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Historia religiosa

HTR Harvard Theological Review

Hug Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies

JA Journal asiatique

JAC Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum

JBLJournal of Biblical LiteratureJECSJournal of Early Christian StudiesJEHJournal of Ecclesiastical History

JJS Journal of Jewish Studies

JR Journal of Religion

JTS Journal of Theological Studies

Lat. Latin

LCL Loeb Classical Library

LEC Library of Early Christianity

Lib. Grad. Liber Graduum

lit. literally

LTK Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche. Edited by

Walter Kasper et al. 3rd ed. 11 vols. Freiburg

im Breisgau: Herder, 1993-2001.

LXX Septuagint

Mard. Orth. Mardin Orthodox Archbishopric

masc. masculine

Med. Laur. Orient. Mediolanum Laurenziana Orientale

Med. Pal. Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana Medicei

Palatini

MS(S) manuscript(s)

Mus Muséon n(n). note(s)

NASB New American Standard Bible

NHS Nag Hammadi Studies NIV New International Version

no(s). number(s)

NPNF A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene

Fathers of the Christian Church. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. 28 vols. in 2 series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978–

1979.

NRSV New Revised Standard Version

n.s. new series

NTS New Testament Studies

OB Julian Joseph Overbeck, ed. S. Ephraemi Syri

Rabulae episcopi Edesseni Balaei aliorumque opera selecta e codicibus syriacis manuscriptis in Museo Britannico et Bibliotheca Bodleiana asservatis primus edidit. Oxford: Clarendon,

1865.

OBC Orientalia biblica et christiana
OCA Orientalia christiana analecta
OCP Orientalia christiana periodica
OECT Oxford Early Christian Texts
OLP Orientalia lovaniensia periodica

OrChr Oriens christianus OrSyr L'orient syrien

OS Ostkirchliche Studien

p(p). page(s)

Pan. Epiphanius, Panarion
ParOr Parole de l'orient

Pet. S. n. s. Petropolitanus (Leningradensis) Siriskaya no-

vaya seriya

PG Patrologia graeca. Edited by Jacques-Paul

Migne. 162 vols. Paris: Migne: 1857-1886.

pl. plural

PL Patrologia latina. Edited by Jacques-Paul

Migne. 217 vols. Paris: Migne: 1844–1864.

Plut. Plutei Manuscript (Biblioteca Medicea Lau-

renziana, Florence)

PO Patrologia orientalis PS Patrologia syriaca

PVTG Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece

Rab. Life of Rabbula

RAC Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.

Edited by T. Klauser et al. Stuttgart: Hierse-

mann, 1950-.

RevScRel Revue de sciences religieuses

RGRW Religions in the Graeco-Roman World

RHR Revue de l'histoire des religions RSO Rivista degli studi orientali RSR Recherches de science religieuse

SBLEJL Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism

and Its Literature

SBLTT Society of Biblical Literature Texts and

Translations

SBLWGRW Society of Biblical Literature Writings from

the Greco-Roman World

SC Sources chrétiennes

SEAug Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum

SecCent The Second Century: A Journal of Early

Christian Studies

sg. singular

SNTSMS Society for New Testament Studies Mono-

graph Series

SO Spiritualité orientale

SOK Studien zur Orientalischen Kirchengeschichte STAC Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christen-

tum

StPatr Studia patristica

Syr. Syriac

TCH The Transformation of the Classical Her-

itage

ThH Théologie historique trans. translation

TRSR Testi e ricerche di Scienze religiose

TTH Translated Texts for Historians TU Texte und Untersuchungen TZTheologische Zeitschrift

Vatican Borgia Syriac Manuscript Vat. Borg. Syr.

Vat. Syr. Vatican Syriac Manuscript

VCVigiliae christianae

VCSup Supplements to Vigiliae christianae

Vit. Ant. Athanasius, Vita Antonii (Life of Anthony) Pontius Diaconus, Vita Cypriani (Life of Vit. Cyp.

Cyprian)

Vit. Malch. Jerome, Vita Malchi monachi (Life

Malchus)

Vit. Mos. Gregory of Nyssa, De vita Moysis (Life of

Moses)

Vit. Paul. Jerome, Vita S. Pauli, primi eremitae (Life of

Paul the Hermit)

John Rufus, Vita Petri Iberi (Life of Peter the Vit. Pet.

*Iberian*)

Iamblichus, De vita Pythagorica (Life of Vit. Pyth.

Pythagoras)

WUNT Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum

Neuen Testament

ZACZeitschrift für Antikes Christentum Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte ZKG

ZNWZeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissen-

schaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche

# 1. Introducing the Rabbula Corpus

The Rabbula Corpus intersects with a wide range of historical, political, and religious aspects of late antiquity. The present introduction provides some analysis of significant scholarship in order to offer perspectives that may illuminate the peculiarities of the texts edited in this corpus. Far from being the last word on matters pertaining to asceticism, church organization, and society in late antique Mesopotamia and Syria, this introduction is an attempt to stimulate ideas for further research. The core issues are the historical Rabbula, his role in the crisis surrounding the Council of Ephesus (431), the hagiographical genre of the *Life of Rabbula*, the relationships between ascetics and church power, the factions within the church in Edessa, and Rabbula's role in shaping the development of doctrine and church organization in the Byzantine Empire.

The corpus presented in this volume comprises texts that span at least one hundred years; the collections in which some of these texts are preserved are more recent than the texts themselves, dating from at least the second half of the sixth century. These texts include the Life of Rabbula, the remains of the correspondence of Bishop Rabbula of Edessa with other bishops, some letters mentioning Rabbula in the context of the Council of Ephesus and the reunion of the church (431-433), a homily Rabbula delivered in Constantinople, a Christian Palestinian Aramaic fragment of the Life of the Man of God that mentions Rabbula, an inscription with his name as bishop in a dating formula, various canonical collections (some of these spurious), a translation of a work of Cyril of Alexandria (which is likely spurious but dates to the first half of the fifth century), and various hymns transmitted under the name of Rabbula. This corpus, most of which can be dated to the early to mid-fifth century, intersects with several aspects of culture, history, literature, and religion in late antique Syria, with two exceptions. The hymns, a collection of short liturgical pieces composed for the Midnight Office, are probably spurious and of uncertain date. The canons attributed to Rabbula date to a period in which monasteries, rather than anchorites, were prominent in Syriac-speaking Christianity, but these canons may draw from earlier material.

At the center of this material is Rabbula, the bishop of Edessa (411-436), which was the metropolis of the Roman province of Osrhoene in northern Mesopotamia. Recent years have seen significant strides toward understanding Rabbula's involvement in the christological controversies surrounding the Council of Ephesus (431) and the personal conflict that arose between himself (a pro-Cyrillian) and the anti-Cyrillians, who were centered around the School of Edessa and included Yehiba (known to the Greeks as Ibas), the school's most powerful spokesperson and Rabbula's episcopal successor. This has made the role of Rabbula's hagiographer clearer and in turn allows for a better interpretation of the stunning silences in the Life of Rabbula concerning events in Rabbula's tenure known from other sources. The present introduction attempts to summarize the results of these recent research efforts and to provide a basis for interpreting the Rabbula Corpus based on the historical currents from which this library of material emerged. This introduction is not intended to replace the only monograph on Rabbula, Georg Günter Blum's Rabbula von Edessa. 1 Such a work would have to contend with the enormous production of secondary literature on Christianity and history since Blum's seminal work. This is no small task, given that Blum wrote before the cultural turn of Peter Brown and his students and the more recent developments in German scholarship that emphasize the need to understand the details of personal relationships among the key figures in Syria, Constantinople, and Armenia in the early fifth century. Instead, this introduction presents areas of interest for future work and points to some of the issues that need to be addressed, while at the same time offering perhaps new perspectives on some of the key issues.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Georg Günter Blum, *Rabbula von Edessa: Der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe* (CSCO 300; Subsidia 34; Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1969).

# I.I. SITUATING THE RABBULA CORPUS IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS IN LATE ANTIQUE SYRIA

It is difficult to summarize the events and developments that took place in the highly complex religious landscape of Edessa and eastern Syria, the regions in which these texts were created and in which Rabbula lived. The social and political dimensions of religion in Edessa (and to a lesser extent in eastern Syria) were as complex as in any modern Western society, relative to their own conditions. The currents of Greco-Roman religion and philosophy (bolstered by centuries of literary tradition, schools, and cultural dominance), Judaism, the indigenous polytheism and religious practices of Syria and Mesopotamia, and Christianity beginning in the second century all interacted to create a highly sophisticated network, one in which the boundaries of religious affiliation and purity were of varying strength and concern. Belonging to a religious group meant one thing to the hierarchy or leaders and something quite different to the individuals who were not so enfranchised. Edessa and its dependent territory, Osrhoene, were part of the larger cultural space of northern Syria and had affinities with the wider world of the eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamia.<sup>2</sup> The position of Edessa with respect to Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Anatolia and its location on an important trade route conditioned the city for its cosmopolitan character from the late Hellenistic period until the end of the Crusades.

Edessa was one of the mother sees of the spread of Christianity throughout the Near East to the north and east of Antioch: Syria, the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia. Christians were not the only missionaries to use this prosperity for their advantage: gnostics, Manichaeans, Jews, and a host of other religious groups and philosophical sects took advantage of the increased commerce between cities to spread their beliefs. By the fifth century these groups, along with Christianity, were religions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For a discussion of archaeological evidence available for the history of this region, see Cornelia B. Horn, Samuel N. C. Lieu, and Robert R. Phenix, "Beyond the Eastern Frontier," in *Early Christianity in Contexts: An Exploration across Cultures and Continents* (ed. William Tabbernee; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2014), 63–94.

in contact: a spectrum of beliefs that overlapped with one another to a greater or lesser extent, the result of centuries of contact and interdependent development.

Along this spectrum of personal belief and practice, religious institutions came into and out of existence. By the time of Rabbula, the religious institutions of Christianity, namely, the church, its hierarchy, and those dedicated to its service—the sons and daughters of the covenant—were becoming closely integrated into political forces and economic activity in the city of Edessa. Rabbula played a decisive role in establishing a strong ascetical basis for religious institutions in his city; this asceticism was linked also to a doctrinal purity defined in the christological debates surrounding the Council of Ephesus (431). Although the Rabbula Corpus reveals little concerning the economic and political forces in the city, we learn that the hagiographer viewed Rabbula as wielding power from within the church over these secular forces. In the light of the struggle between Rabbula and his eventual successor, Yehiba (abbv. Hiba; Gk.: Ibas), there was no question that the equilibrium of church, political power, and economy spread benefits beyond the elites; the distribution of wealth to the impoverished, the restriction of abuse of economic advantage, and a check on political power—to name a few of the collateral effects of this equilibrium—are all stated or implied in the *Life of Rabbula*. Rabbula's ability to wield political and economic power based on his authority as defined within the church institution reflects perhaps the pinnacle of this integration in the history of Edessa to his time. Its legacy is not easily measured, but the importance of the church for shaping the history of the city was firmly established, and there would never again be any religious institution, until the rise of Islam, that would challenge its authority.

Yet, before this integration, which was an echo of a wider transformation occurring throughout the Roman Empire from the mid-third century onward, Christians were not in possession of a strong institution in Edessa. The demise of the monarchy as a political force in the early second century CE removed the basis of the hellenized Parthian political system. Forms of Judaism, Christianities (including the philosophy of Bardaisan, so-called gnostics, and Marcionites), and, in the course of the third century, Manichaeism all competed for attention in the metaphorical marketplace. Edessa may still have had devotees to Marilaha and

Atargatis, or to Orpheus, but without political support the prestige of these indigenous, pre-Christian religious systems waned. It is perhaps to this earlier period, in which there was no clearly established religious institution, that Rabbula's hagiographer alludes when he depicts Edessa as overgrown in the thickets of heretical religions and Rabbula as extirpating all of them from Edessa and converting the Jews. According to his encomiast, Rabbula as the ideal "farmer" cleared the field of Edessa's wild beginnings before the rival claims of Christian orthodoxy that arose within church institutions in the christological controversies of the fifth century—in other words, a time when heretics were heretics.

From its inception, Christianity was heteromorphic and heterophagic, devouring religious practice and belief from its surroundings and setting these into its Christ-centered interpretation of Jewish ethics and biblical monotheism. Throughout the Mediterranean, in the course of the late first and early second century, the "pastoralist" movement, in which the church was to be organized into a hierarchy portrayed as the continuation of the relationship between Jesus and his apostles, was rising to dominance. Whatever its claim on the truth, its success was due in part to the very fact that it saw the need for organizational discipline. When the Roman Empire adopted this model of Christianity in the fourth century, the lines seperating what belonged "inside" and what should be relegated to "outside" the church became, in principle, firm. Yet the reception of this form of Christianity in Edessa, which probably happened during the second century,<sup>3</sup> did not bring to an end the competition with a number of other forms of Christianity, despite injunctions from theologians like Ephraem the Syrian (ca. 306–373) and the threats of physical force against religious nonconformists from the Christian Roman emperors in far-off Constantinople. At the start of the fifth century, Edessa was home to those whose religious views and practices were persecuted in the core areas of the (Christianizing) Roman Empire. To be sure, Syria could boast of a good number of cases in which Christian monks were active in the destruction of non-Christian temples, violent seizure of property, and mob lynching of others, while pre-Christian rituals were still maintained even in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Horn, Lieu, and Phenix, "Beyond the Eastern Frontier," 63–110.

Constantinople in the fifth century. Yet the course of the fifth century marked the acceleration of a shift that tipped the balance of religion in Syria in favor of the religion of the Great Church of the ecumenical councils.

Rabbula played a decisive role in the christological controversies of the early fifth century and shaped the twinned developments of doctrine and church history both in the Roman Empire and for the Armenian Church, which was at the time mostly in Sasanian Persia. The christological controversies became the dominant feature of Christianity in the East. These disputes were conducted primarily under the garb of Greek philosophical terminology. Syriac-speaking Edessa was familiar with Hellenistic ideas, and Christian theologians in the earliest period who were writing in Syriac—that is, Aphrahat and especially Ephraem—used these ideas, which they had absorbed more likely from the religious milieu they attacked rather than from formal education. Syriac writers who were part of the Great Church more rapidly assimilated Hellenistic ideas from their opponents, particularly gnostics and Manichaeans, in order to reuse them as ammunition against the same, a strategy that the works of Ephraem the Syrian show quite amply. In Edessa, the arrival of the christological debates between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius of Constantinople and their supporters posed a challenge to the assimilation of the Greek terminology and philosophical concepts in which that debate was framed. This is not to say that Hellenistic thought was introduced at Edessa in this period, only that the pace of assimilation greatly increased. In the fifth century, Edessa no longer had a figure of the caliber of Ephraem the Syrian, who had been able to set the parameters of the theological debates of the fourth century, primarily those focusing on the Arian controversy, by developing his language of a symbolic theology that came to shape a good part of the thought of the church of Edessa. As a result, one could observe more clearly the wholesale borrowing of Greek ideas, as well as the words that clothed them, into Syriac, a move that laid the groundwork for the profound and lasting effects of Greek Christian theology on Syriac theology after Chalcedon.

#### I.2. THE STUDY OF RABBULA OF EDESSA

Until the late 1960s, interest in Rabbula was localized primarily in the discipline of historical theology, focused specifically on his role in the christological controversies, his theology, his uncertain participation in the Council of Ephesus in 431, his legacy that was still felt in the condemnation of the Three Chapters at the Council of Constantinople in 553, and to a lesser extent on his role in the development of the Armenian Church. As interest in Christian Syria has shifted to the examination of the cultural aspects of religion, the Rabbula Corpus, particularly the Life of Rabbula, has found its place as an important source of information concerning religion and culture in Edessa. One area of investigation is Rabbula's motives in bringing to Cyril of Alexandria's attention the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia as the "root" of Nestorian thought. This has called attention to his connections with other important Syrian monk-bishops, such as Acacius of Beroea. Recent work also has attempted to clarify why Rabbula, who was not from Edessa, was elected to be bishop there; explanations have centered on his role in helping to end the Meletian schism in Syria, a by-product of the Arian controversies of the fourth century. In the study of hagiography and religious culture, the Life of Rabbula has received attention for its rhetorical style, the role of relics, and the integration of spiritual and secular authority.<sup>5</sup> All these approaches have availed themselves of the Rabbula Corpus in their lines of investigation. Despite the significance of Rabbula and his corpus, the predominant scholarly paradigm has been to mine the Rabbula Corpus for information about life in Edessa during Rabbula's lifetime or to provide evidence for the continuation or termination of certain religious practices in the city. Yet, in the end, all these approaches are limited, because no comprehensive study of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> On the Meletian schism, see now Thomas R. Karmann, *Meletius von Antiochien: Studien zur Geschichte des trinitätstheologischen Streits in den Jahren 360–364 n. Chr.* (Regensburger Studien zur Theologie 68; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See, for example, Han J. W. Drijvers, "Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa: Spiritual Authority and Secular Power," in *Portraits of Spiritual Authority: Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium and the Christian Orient* (ed. Jan Willem Drijvers and John W. Watt; RGRW 137; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 139–54.

history of religion in Syria in late antiquity has been offered that assembles the disparate approaches and provides a unified narrative. Until that narrative is written, situating the Rabbula Corpus into its proper context is a difficult, perhaps even impossible, task. Nevertheless, it has to be addressed, and the following discussion attempts to make progress with regard to that task.

### 1.2.1. Modern Scholarship on Rabbula

The most comprehensive work on Rabbula of Edessa is Georg Günter Blum's 1969 monograph Rabbula von Edessa: Der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe.<sup>6</sup> Blum has been the only scholar who has approached the question of the "historical Rabbula." His work has not been superseded, and the present discussion does not render his study obsolete. However, the repositioning of assumptions about many fundamental questions that has occurred in the meantime necessitates an aggiornamento of Blum's study. Blum had offered a basis for the assessment of Rabbula's role in the christological controversies, for his relationship to Jews and other religious groups in Edessa, and for the value of the Life of Rabbula for historians. His evaluation of monasticism in Edessa and Syria is perhaps the part of his study that is most in need of updating, primarily because it is based on the perspectives advanced by Arthur Vööbus, whose pioneering work now has been superseded. 8 A number of topics not taken up by Blum are treated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See above, note 1. Blum's work was originally a doctoral thesis directed by Peter Kawerau. For other short synopses of Rabbula's life, activity, and works, see François Graffin, "Rabboula," in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (ed. A. Rayez et al.; Paris: Beauchesne, 1988), 13:12–14 (with references to some earlier encyclopedias); Georg Günther Blum, "Rabbūlā von Edessa," *LTK* 8:789; I. Ziadé, "Rabboula," in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (ed. A. Vacant et al.; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1937), 13.2:1620–26; and E. Nestle, "Rabulas," in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (ed. A. Hauck; 3rd ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905), 16:394.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For a collection of essays that address the question of the historical value of hagiography, see Mark J. Edwards and Simon Swain, eds., *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Arthur Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East* (3 vols.; CSCO 184, 197, 500; Subsidia 14, 17, 81; Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO and E. Peeters, 1958–1988).

in this introduction, including historical connections among relevant personalities in Syria in the fifth century, the development of Christianity in the region, and the connections between Syriac Christianity and hagiography, church politics, and Greek and Latin Christian literature. In addition, Blum did not analyze the material that belongs to the hymnography attributed to Rabbula. These are all elements that ought to be a part of a new monographlength study of the Rabbula Corpus. The present introduction takes into account the studies on the Rabbula Corpus since Blum and provides an outline of the problems that these studies have raised. In pursuing such a modest goal, one may still hope that the discussion of some of these more recent studies may foster research pertaining to the place of the Rabbula Corpus in the history of Syria and in Christian literature more generally.

Not presented in this introduction is a separate, fully developed study of Rabbula's theology. To date the most extensive discussion of Rabbula's Christology is available in Blum's study. One important area not addressed by Blum is the sources of Rabbula's Christology. Rabbula understood the discussion concerning the natures of Christ as a question of the relationship of the incarnate Logos to the divinity of God the Father. Blum notes the similarity between Rabbula's theology of the incarnation and Athanasius of Alexandria's anti-Arian thought. He leaves the reconstruction of Rabbula's sources as a task to be taken up by further research. Within the framework of an introduction to an edition and translation of texts, a detailed, full examination of Rabbula's impact on the transmission of the works of Cyril of Alexandria into Syriac remains a *desideratum*. <sup>10</sup>

Following Blum, the search for sources as a distinct line of research into the Rabbula Corpus has not been resumed until relatively recently. Michael Kohlbacher's treatment of the material associated with the name of Rabbula presents the bishop of Edessa as a member of the Old Nicene party in Antioch who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 139–52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Rabbula's role has received some attention in Daniel King, *The Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril of Alexandria: A Study in Translation Technique* (CSCO 626; Subsidia 123; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 19–20, 38, and 67. For further consideration, see below, cxxxiv–cxxxviii.

was actively engaged in the latter stage of the Meletian schism. 11 While previous discussions of Rabbula have centered on his character, his role in the transmission of key texts and the shaping of the doctrine and history of the church in Armenia have received less attention. Kohlbacher has been the first to provide a historical reconstruction of the transmission of the works of Athanasius and the pseudo-Athanasian corpus into Armenian. Such a line of inquiry raises the more general question of Rabbula's network of ecclesiastical connections, especially during the poorly documented period before his election to the see of Edessa. This information is a prerequisite for understanding the source(s) of Rabbula's Christology. The present sketch of Rabbula's life and career is in part dedicated to a reconstruction of the historical circumstances, including Rabbula's connections with influential bishops in the diocese of the Orient. It is hoped that such a sketch may serve as a basis for further research that can situate a discussion of Rabbula's Christology within the history of religion in Syria.

Claudia Rammelt's study of Hiba has provided an important framework for understanding Rabbula and his depiction in the *Life of Rabbula*. <sup>12</sup> Her work reconstructs the sources and character of the conflict between Rabbula and Hiba. It sheds light on the political basis of Rabbula's support and his motives for supporting a pro-Cyrillian position in Edessa. From this basis one is offered a good starting point for explaining the glaring omissions in the *Life of Rabbula*.

Two other studies and translations of material pertaining to Rabbula have provided significant contributions to research. The first is Daniel Caner's Wandering, Begging Monks, which supplies a translation with notes of the Life of Alexander Akoimētēs, a text that presents an alternative account of the conversion of Rabbula of Edessa in order to canonize the connections between

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Michael Kohlbacher, "Rabbula *in* Edessa: Das Weiterwirken eines Schismas in der armenischen Bekenntnistradition," in *Blicke gen Osten:* Festschrift für Friedrich Heyer zum 95. Geburtstag (ed. Martin Tamcke; SOK 30; Münster: LIT, 2004), 233–74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Claudia Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa: Rekonstruktion einer Biographie und dogmatischen Position zwischen den Fronten* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 106; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008). See Cornelia B. Horn, review of Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, *JECS* 17.3 (2009): 489–90.

Constantinople and Edessa forged by Rabbula. <sup>13</sup> The other work is Robert Doran's translation of the *Life of Rabbula*, with an introduction and notes. <sup>14</sup> Doran provides a brief introduction to Rabbula and his role in the controversies of his time, as well as his struggle with Hiba of Edessa. Doran also offers helpful introductions and translations of the Greek and Syriac recensions of the Man of God legend, as well as of the acts of the Council of Ephesus (449), which placed at center stage the personal conflict between Hiba and Rabbula. <sup>15</sup>

### 1.3. THE GENRE OF THE LIFE OF RABBULA

The *Life of Rabbula* is a significant source of information concerning life in Edessa at the start of the fifth century. In using this material, the first question that has to be addressed is one of historicity; that is to say, one needs to decide how to sort out the reconstruction of the author's valuation of his world and the reconstruction of connections that existed between the agents, places, and events the author mentions. Understanding the genre and sources of the *Life of Rabbula* is one important aspect of this task.

The Life of Rabbula reflects the complex status of Christian biography leading up to the fifth century, a status in which the contributions of the Greco-Roman bios and encomium are most important. Bios and encomium had their own conventions for the arrangement of biographical material. The differences between them reflect varying approaches and influences. From the

<sup>13</sup> Daniel Caner, Wandering, Begging Monks: Spiritual Authority and the Promotion of Monasticism in Late Antiquity (TCH 33; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 249–80. A French translation of the Life of Alexander Akoimētēs with introduction appears in Jean-Marie Baguenard, trans., Les moines Acémètes: Vies des saints Alexandre, Marcel et Jean Calybite (SO 47; Bégrolles-en-Mauges [Maine-et-Loire]: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1988), 79–120. See also Arthur Vööbus, La Vie d'Alexandre en grec: Un témoin d'une biographie inconnue de Rabbula écrite en syriaque (Contributions of the Baltic University 62; Pinneberg: Baltische Universität, 1948).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Robert Doran, Stewards of the Poor: The Man of God, Rabbula, and Hiba in Fifth-Century Edessa (CSS 208; Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 2006).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> For the use of Doran's translation of the *Life of Rabbula* in the preparation of the translation presented in this volume, see below, ccxx–ccxxi.

perspective of rhetoric, they were conditioned by different perceptions of their purposes (philosophical, political, and literary) and by their incorporation into different literary forms (such as speeches inserted into historiography, romances, religious literature including the Christian gospels, and so forth). The *Life of Rabbula* reveals that its author was part of a broader literary tradition and that he was well aware of Greco-Roman *bios* and *encomium*.

Despite scholarly claims that at the start of the imperial era biography was an established literary genre, <sup>16</sup> there is no agreement on the relationship between *bios*, Christian biography, hagiography, and genres of rhetoric, except perhaps that their relationship to one another was a complex one. The position of the *Life of Rabbula* in this multifaceted development deserves close investigation. An introduction only to some important features of the genre of the *Life of Rabbula* can be provided here.

In its arrangement, the *Life of Rabbula* resembles some of the lives of classical philosophers and Christian ascetical saints. This is particularly clear in the rhetorical categories of arrangement and invention. The Arrangement (Gk.: taxis) is the aspect of rhetoric that covers the order of elements in a speech. The ordering of elements in a bios was influenced by ideas of classical rhetoric, in which speeches were constructed according to a general framework. Most speeches contained a prooimion, followed by a narrative ( $di\bar{e}g\bar{e}sis$ ) that explained the background of the topic of the speech. Then the argument of the speech (pistis) followed and, finally, an epilogos, in which the audience was exhorted to adopt the course of action presented in the main argument. Although there is no single formula that related the parts of a bios to the parts of an oration, this general structure was highly influential.

By the time of the imperial period, two different types of arrangement in composing biographies were common. One organized the presentation of the subject chronologically. Tacitus's

Patricia Cox, Biography in Late Antiquity: A Quest for the Holy Man (TCH 5; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> For the rhetorical concepts and examples presented in this section, see Richard A. Burridge, "Biography," in *A Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period* 330 B.C.-A.D. 400 (ed. Stanley E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 371–92.

Agricola is an example of this type of arrangement. The schema of a subject's life followed sequentially from birth to death was typical for soldiers and politicians. Another type of arrangement was topical, that is, aspects of the subject's life were discussed in different sections, while an account of the subject's origin and demise would form a bare chronological framework. Satyrus's Euripides may serve as an example of one such bios; the Lives Suetonius presented could be considered as further examples. In general, bioi were loosely chronological, and the events were tailored to fit the objective, which was to present to the audience the subject's character. Thus, certain important events might be omitted and other smaller ones given greater scope. Or the actions of the character in a critical event might be the main source of the author's characterization of the hero. <sup>18</sup>

In Greco-Roman bioi the chronological arrangement became the framework for expressing the subject's character. At each stage of life, the character ought to be true to form; for instance, the death of the subject should in some way be defined by his way of life. <sup>19</sup> The importance of speeches was another typical feature. <sup>20</sup> Speech writing was an act of verisimilitude, or of capturing the subject's skills and virtues through an appropriate oration associated with a key point in the subject's life. Here again, Tacitus's *Agricola* could provide many examples. However, the most germane example of this is the *Life of Anthony*, a text in which the Christian monk is shown delivering several speeches in the course of his *vita*. These speeches served as vehicles for the strong anti-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ibid., 379–80. For a discussion that sees the *Life of Rabbula* as a work that aims at promoting Rabbula's "beautiful deeds," see François Nau, "Les 'Belles Actions' de Mar Rabboula évêque d'Édesse de 412 au 7 août 435 (ou 436)," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 103 (1931): 97–135 (esp. 99).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Burridge, "Biography," 382.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> See Elena Giannarelli, "Il biografo e il peso della tradizione," in *La tradizione: Forme e Modi; XVIII Incontro di studiosi dell'antichità cristiana, Roma 7–9 maggio 1989* (SEAug 31; Rome: Institutum Patristicum "Augustinianum," 1990), 375 n. 27. Gregory of Nyssa's hagiographical works also include speeches, e.g., his *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgos* (PG 46:819A-850D). So do other hagiographical works ascribed to him, e.g., the *Life of Ephraem* (PG 46:893A-958D).

Arian position of the author, who was probably Athanasius of Alexandria.<sup>21</sup>

The arrangement of the *Life of Rabbula* is typical for the Hellenistic *bios*. The author offers only a skeletal chronological ordering. In the *prooimion*, after persuading the audience that the story of Rabbula is worth retelling, the author moves to the narration  $(di\bar{e}g\bar{e}sis)$  of the events of Rabbula's life. As in all *encomia*, the purpose of the  $di\bar{e}g\bar{e}sis$  is characterization, creating a character whose virtues inspire the audience to emulation. It is in this rhetorical context that one learns about Rabbula's parents and youth, then about his conversion to Christianity, followed by his entrance into ascetic monastic practice, his election to the see of Edessa, and finally his *obitus*. An epilogue concludes the work, in which the author highlights Rabbula's sanctity by commenting on the distribution of benefits from the saint's hallowed gravesite. <sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> For edition and French translation of the *Life of Anthony*, see, for example, G. J. M. Bartelink, ed. and trans., Athanase d'Alexandre: Vie d'Antoine (SC 400; Paris: Cerf, 1994). For an English translation based on the text in PG 26:835-976, see Robert C. Gregg, trans., Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus (CWS; Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1980), 29-99. More recently, the Greek text as edited by Bartelink in the Sources chrétiennes volume was translated into English and printed on facing pages parallel to an English translation of the Coptic version in Tim Vivian and Apostolos N. Athanassakis, with Rowan A. Greer, trans., The Life of Antony by Athanasius of Alexandria: The Greek Life of Antony, the Coptic Life of Antony, and an Encomium on Saint Antony by John of Shmūn, and A Letter to the Disciples of Antony by Serapion of Thmuis (CSS 202; Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 2003), 50-259. Commenting on Averil Cameron's article "Form and Meaning: The Vita Constantini and the Vita Antonii," Edward G. Mathews (review of Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau, eds., Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity, Bryn Mawr Classical Review [2002]) suggests that Athanasius of Alexandria may indeed have been the author of the Life of Anthony, given that this biography stands in a mutually apologetic relationship to the Life of Constantine and given that Athanasius explicitly named Eusebius as one of his enemies. See also Vivian and Athanassakis, Life of Antony. However, the authorship of the Life of Anthony remains an area of active debate. See, for example, Bernadette McNary-Zak, Letters and Asceticism in Fourth-Century Egypt (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 2000), 88-93.

<sup>22</sup> For a detailed study of this *prooimion*, see Robert R. Phenix Jr., "Kunstprosaische Elemente in der *Vita Rabbulae*: Ein Blick auf das Encomium an den Helden," in *Die Suryoye und ihre Umwelt: 4. deutsches Syrologen-Symposium in Trier 2004; Festgabe Wolfgang Hage zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Martin Tamcke and Andreas Heinz; SOK 36; Münster: LIT, 2005), 281–93.

Within this framework, the author presents all of the elements that are deemed necessary for Rabbula's character to shine forth.

Comparison of the main character with other great figures was as important to the arrangement of the genre of bios as the chronological framework. Comparison of two individuals from history or mythology with one another was a standard exercise in the training of orators, a feature called *synkrisis*, and such exercises appear in all the collections of progymnasmata. Plutarch's Parallel Lives is little more than a collection of such exercises, elaborated with great skill.<sup>23</sup> In Christian biography, comparison with biblical characters was important.<sup>24</sup> Rabbula's encomiast frequently uses synkrisis, most prominently with biblical characters, comparing Rabbula with Moses, 25 Solomon, Joshua bar Nun, and a second Josiah. The Spirit of the Lord speaks concerning Rabbula to the synod of bishops preparing to elect a successor to Diogenes of Edessa as though Rabbula were King David; 26 Rabbula's preaching has the power of Jeremiah;<sup>27</sup> and his ordination of men to the clergy is like the acceptable sacrifice of Abel. <sup>28</sup> Despite these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> A. Wardman, trans., *Plutarch's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 234–44; and D. A. Russell, "On Reading Plutarch's *Lives*," *Greece and Rome* n.s. 13 (1966): 150–52.

See Elena Giannarelli, "La biografia cristiana antica: Strutture, problemi," in *Scrivere dei santi: Atti del II Convegno di studio dell'Associazione italiana per lo studio della santità, dei culti e dell'agiographia, Napoli, 22–25 ottobre 1997* (ed. Gennaro Luongo; Rome: Viella, 1998), here 64, although it is not necessary to conclude that Christian hagiography relied solely on "the Bible and the motive of the author." The influence of classical literature is quite evident in Christian hagiography. Ekkehard Mühlenberg ("Les débuts de la biographie chrétienne," *Révue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 122.4 [1990]: 521) invokes the concept of the "intention of the author" as a criterion for determining whether the *Life of Cyprian* belongs to "hagiography" or "biography," even though, like Giannarelli, he also admits the difficulty in distinguishing these two genres.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Alexander Akoimētēs is also called a second Moses, although this is because Alexander led his disciples into the desert. See *Alex. Akoim.* 32 (E. de Stoop, ed. and trans., *Vie d'Alexandre l'Acémète* [PO 6.5; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911], 683; Caner, *Wandering, Begging Monks*, 268; see also Elizabeth Theokritoff, trans., "The Life of Our Holy Father Alexander," *ARAM* 3.1–2 [1991]: 308).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See *Rab.* 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> See *Rab.* 25. See Blum, *Rabbula*, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See *Rab.* 21

comparisons of the hero with figures from the Hebrew Bible, biblical citations from the *Life of Rabbula* reveal that the overwhelming influence on the author's presentation of Rabbula was situated in the Pauline corpus. In the Life of Rabbula alone there are over thirty allusions to, paraphrases of, and citations from the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline literature, including Hebrews. The first step in Rabbula's conversion is presented as a type of the conversion of Saul.<sup>29</sup> Although the Gospels are cited more frequently in the Life of Rabbula, the Pauline material in the New Testament plays a greater role in the characterization of Rabbula. One noteworthy point is Rabbula's growing doubt about the truth of his paganism when he witnesses a miracle being performed by the monk Abraham. Just as Paul persecuted Jesus and then was snatched as it were from Judaism to his truth, so too does God turn Rabbula from his paganism to Christianity. 30 The reader also learns that Rabbula's letters express zeal like that of Paul.

Synkrisis in the Life of Rabbula is a device to show Rabbula's determination against his ideological and political opponents. The author of the Life of Rabbula hints at Rabbula's censure and excommunication by the synod of Antiochene bishops, his "brothers in the flesh," in 431. Alluding to Rom 9:3, the author of the Life of Rabbula writes that "even if [Rabbula] did not pray that he should be excommunicated from Christ on behalf of his brothers and sisters in the flesh like the Apostle, he was anxious to be sacrificed for Jesus, ten thousand times if possible, on behalf of his brothers and sisters in the Spirit."31 The "brothers and sisters in the Spirit" were the opponents of Nestorius in the distant sees of Egypt and the West, and those monastics in and around Edessa who sided with Rabbula against Hiba and the School of Edessa. Finally, Rabbula resembles Paul on account of his concern to collect money for the poor, and especially for the "holy poor," the monks living in the "desert of Jerusalem" (an allusion to Gal 2). Rabbula embodies the virtues of the great heroes of the story of salvation. Rabbula's hagiographer summarizes this defining matrix for his hero's character in the conclusion to his prooimion: "a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Acts 9:1-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> See *Rab.* 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Rab. 47.

stirring model to emulate, like the virtuous fathers and the victorious ones whose names are renowned, these who in the Old and in the New [Testaments] raised up the images of their virtues that the holy Scriptures clothe with the pigments of written words."<sup>32</sup> In this context, *synkrisis* serves to illustrate that Rabbula's care of the poor, doctrinal purity, and zeal for reform are the continuation of biblical salvation history.

## 1.3.1. Persuasion, Encomium, and Biography in the Life of Rabbula

The *Life of Rabbula* incorporates elements of the *encomium*, a form of speech designed to persuade the audience of Rabbula's sincerity and efficacy as a monastic reformer and holy man. 33 The goal of the encomium was to persuade an audience that a given subject was worthy of honor. In late antiquity, encomium and bios had become closely related literary forms. For example, Emporius arranged his encomia chronologically, which is the basic approach Rabbula's encomiast adopted.<sup>34</sup> Within the encomium there developed the strategy of illustrating the unchanging elements of character through the examples of certain important and partly stereotypical milestones. These points constitute the topoi, or topics, of the subject's life that the orator could exploit in order to persuade the audience of his subject's virtues. Although they originated in the *encomium* and thus do not have any inherent chronological aspect, these topoi fit naturally with the loose chronological outline of the bios. In the prooimion to his Epaminondas, Cornelius Nepos lists the topoi contained in his biography, which reflect a combination of encomiastic material with the outline of the bios. 35 The progymnasmata provide lists of typical topics, which included the subject's race and origin, education,

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$  Rah. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Of course, its opposite, the *psogos*, which seeks to hold up a subject's character for censure, was also influential. Yet this form is more difficult to trace in biography. Emporius, *De demonstrativa materia* (Karl Halm, ed., *Rhetores latini minores* [Leipzig: G. B. Teubner, 1863], 567) sets out the arrangement of an *encomium*; see also the treatment in Giannarelli, "Biografia cristiana," 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Giannarelli, "Biografia cristiana," 49. See also Antonio Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (expanded ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Cornelius Nepos, *Liber de excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium* XV (*Epaminondas*), 1.3–4 (Malcovati, 88; Rolfe, 168–73).

citizenship, ancestry, birth and events portending it, childhood, great deeds and achievements, and death. The mechanism an orator or biographer employed to demonstrate the unchanging *ēthos*, or character, of the subject consisted of the expansion of these *topoi* into narrative sections. From this complex relationship between *encomium* and *bios*, Christian biography emerged as a diverse literary phenomenon that ignored any distinctions among classical genres. <sup>36</sup>

In the *Life of Rabbula*, this technique is evident in the periodization of Rabbula's life and in the selection of certain episodes to illustrate his character. The author of the *Life of Rabbula* has divided the presentation of his hero's life into three periods: pre-Christian, monastic, and episcopal. Although this schema reflects a Christian adaptation of Greek biography, the hagiographer still employs the *topos* to illustrate that Rabbula's character is destined for greatness from his birth, and even his zeal as a pagan is a virtue that is only redirected to the Christian God. The influence of the *encomium* may also be seen in the last third of the *Life of Rabbula*, which presents Rabbula's significant achievements as bishop. This material is presented topically, rather than chronologically, in order to emphasize his greatness as a lawgiver, patron, ascetic, and defender of orthodoxy.

The *prooimion* is one of the earliest examples of the use of balanced periods and vivid description, as well as of other elements of classical *Kunstprosa* in fifth-century Syriac prose.<sup>37</sup> These are all elements of the so-called high style of rhetoric and biography. The use of a high style of writing, in which Rabbula is lauded for his ascetic virtues, is in contrast to the simple words he himself is presented as employing in his dialogue with Acacius and Eusebius, as well as in his speeches. A similar distribution of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> René Aigrain, *L'hagiographie: Ses sources, ses méthodes, son histoire* (ed. R. Godding; 2nd ed.; Subsidia hagiographica 80; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 2000), 206–46, attempts to explain the elements of the genre of Christian hagiography, which he terms the "edifying lie" (243).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> See Phenix, "Kunstprosaische Elemente in der *Vita Rabbulae*." Aigrain, *L'hagiographie*, 23–26, offers an overview of Syriac hagiographical literature, beginning with the martyrdom accounts found in BL Add 12150 (411 CE), followed by ascetical lives in the Syrian Orient (pp. 159–60), Christian biography in the Orient (pp. 171–74), and miracle accounts in the Orient (pp. 180–81). The *Life of Rabbula* is not discussed in any detail.

high and low styles may be found in Lucian's *Demonax*. In the introduction, Lucian uses a high style of speech to capture his audience's interest. <sup>38</sup> So too the author of the *Life of Rabbula* depicts the great feats of Rabbula in order to convince his audience that his story is worthy of their attention and his subject a model worthy of imitation. Another work that is dated to the fifth century, *In pulcherrimum Joseph* of Ephraem Graecus, provides an example of a *prooimion* that is similar in style to the one found in the *Life of Rabbula* and that contains standard elements of rhetorical theory: engagement of the audience's interest, description of the subject's virtues, and a summary of the benefits of hearing the account. <sup>39</sup> The rhetorical technique employed in the prologue of the *Life of Rabbula* and in that of *In pulcherrimum Joseph* points to the similarity that existed between Christian hagiographical biography and the classical *bioi* of philosophers.

<sup>38</sup> Lucian, *Demonax* 1–11 (Macleod, 1:46–48; Fowler and Fowler, 3:1–13). See also Hubert Cancik, "Bios und Logos: Formengeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Lukians 'Leben des Demonax,'" in *Markus-Philologie: Historische, literargeschichtliche und stylistische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Evangelium* (WUNT 33; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 115–30.

<sup>39</sup> For Ephraem Graecus's *In pulcherrimum Joseph*, see Giuseppe Simone Assemani, Petrus Benedictus, and Stefano Evodio Assemani, eds., Sancti patris nostri Ephraem Syri: Opera omnia quae exstant graece, syriace, latine (6 vols.; Rome: Ex Typographia Vaticana, Apud J. M. H. Salvioni, 1732-46), 2:21-41. For studies, see Paul-Hubert Poirier, "Le sermon pseudo-éphrémien In pulcherrimum Josephum: Typologie et Midrash," in Figures de l'Ancien Testament chez les Pères (ed. Pierre Maraval; Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 2; Strasbourg: Centre d'analyse et de documentation patristiques, 1989), 107-22; Otto Pächt and Jeanne Pächt, "An Unknown Cycle of Illustrations of the Life of Joseph," Cahiers Archéologiques 7 (1954): 35-49; Otto Pächt, "Ephraimillustration, Haggadah und Wiener Genesis," in Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda zum 28. Januar 1959 (ed. Otto Benesch; Vienna: R. M. Rohrer, 1959), 213-21; Gary Vikan, "Illustrated Manuscripts of Pseudo-Ephraem's Life of Joseph and the Romance of Joseph and Aseneth" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1976); Robert R. Phenix, The Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin: Rhetoric and Interpretation in Fifth-Century Syriac Literature (Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity 50; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 103-5; and idem, "The Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin (Early Fifth Century CE) as a Witness to the Transmission History and Interpretative Development of Joseph Traditions," in Interpretation, Religion and Culture in Midrash and Beyond: Proceedings of the 2006 and 2007 SBL Midrash Sessions (ed. Lieve M. Teugels and Rivka Ulmer; Judaism in Context 6; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2008), 3-24.

A second topos that reveals connections between the Life of Rabbula and non-Christian Greek counterparts is that of Rabbula's education. Rabbula was educated "in the literature [Syr.:  $kt\bar{a}b\hat{e}$ , "books"] of the Greeks," like all of the nobles of the city of Qenneshrin. 40 Christian history knows of other bishops who had been philosophers before their conversion, perhaps the best example being Synesius of Cyrene. Another figure that might be mentioned and who was closer to Rabbula's milieu was Anatolius, the bishop of Laodicea. 41 He was an Aristotelian who in the early 270s had settled in Caesarea Maritima, where a pupil by the name of Iamblichus of Chalcis studied under him. Anatolius was a philosopher who even had his own school. He had become a Christian and eventually was ordained a bishop, although nothing is known about his activities as a philosopher following his ordination. Such examples raise the possibility that classical topoi were adapted into Christian biography on the basis of historical precedents. A caricature of the Christian hagiographer's response to these precedents may have been that Greek philosophy is not a bad beginning for a Christian bishop, and these great men of "pagan darkness" had received an education, so this topos was worth expanding or inventing. In the case of Rabbula, the interaction between future Christian bishops and non-Christians who later would come to establish philosophical schools seems to have lent prestige to the Christian subject. The case of Anatolius mentioned above is interesting, especially given that Iamblichus of Chalcis was his pupil. Further investigation may be able to reveal whether stories such as those of Anatolius were formative for later Christian biography.

A further problem that affects the position of the *Life of Rabbula* is the complex relationship that exists between Christian biography and hagiography.<sup>42</sup> For Albrecht Dihle, one criterion for measuring this relationship was the proportion of the interest in the virtues of the individual to the interest in details of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> See *Rab.* 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> On him, see Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 7.32.9–18 (Schwartz, Mommsen, and Winkelmann, 2.2:720–26; Williamson, 250–53). For a full discussion of the identity of this Anatolius and the dates of his accession, see John Dillon, "Iamblichus of Chalcis," *ANRW* 36.2:866–67.

 $<sup>^{42}</sup>$  Aigrain, *L'hagiographie*, 291–304, provides a rough sketch of the history of hagiography in the patristic period (to the sixth century).

subject's life. 43 Biography must inspire the audience to model in themselves the virtues of great characters; the imitation of their deeds was a secondary concern. For Christians and their view of salvation history, the imitation of the deeds of biblical figures was quite impossible. In the introduction to his *Life of Moses*, Gregory of Nyssa writes, "The life of great men is proposed to their descendants as a model of virtue [εἰς ἀρετῆς ὑπόδειγμα]."44 Moses was admirable, but he was not a model that could be imitated, not because of his unique place in salvation history, but rather since "it is impossible to imitate materially the admirable acts of the saints."45 Biography could be inspiring because the heroic deeds of the subject were inimitable. This idea of the inimitable hero begins with Alexander the Great. Representing the life of Alexander the Great was a turning point in the development of biography, and there is little wonder that this central criterion of inimitability as determining the value of biography is found throughout Aristotle's thought. 46 Aristotle identified three aspects of biography: praxis, ēthos, and pathos. The deeds, or praxeis, of the subject's life must reflect the subject's unique character, or ēthos. 47 The depiction of ēthos was crucial for Aristotle, given that he understood it to be fixed in a person and to be that part of someone that distinguishes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Albrecht Dihle, *Die Entstehung der historischen Biographie* (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 1986, Abhandlung 3; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1987), 11; and idem, *Studien zur griechischen Biographie* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3, Folge Nr. 37; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), 102–3. See also Mühlenberg, "Débuts de la biographie chrétienne," 523.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Vit. Mos.* 2.48 (Daniélou, 134–35). For a discussion of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*, see M.-A. Bardolle, "La *Vie de Moïse* de Grégoire de Nysse: Le temps spirituel vécu à travers l'imaginaire d'un modèle historique," in *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge, 111<sup>e</sup>-X111<sup>e</sup> siècles: Paris 9–12 mars 1981* (ed. Jean-Marie Leroux; Colloques internationaux du centre national de la recherche scientifique 604; Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1984), 255–61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, Vit. Mos. 2.49 (Daniélou, 134–35).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> See Dihle, *Entstehung*, 11, for further discussion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Dihle, Studien, 61.

him or her from all other specimens of the human race.<sup>48</sup> Hagiography, whether Greek or Christian, was supposed to present models of virtue, while subordinating, deforming, or even entirely removing the historical details. *Praxeis* were important only as illustrations of *ēthos*.

In the *Life of Rabbula*, the Edessene bishop's encomiast has diverged from the underlying Aristotelian theory. Although it is clear that not all the readers or hearers can become saintly bishops, the author presents Rabbula's asceticism as a material model for his audience. This is reinforced at many points, such as Rabbula's clergy voluntarily taking up their bishop's punishing asceticism. <sup>49</sup> As will be shown, in the context of the exaggerated accusation of profligacy hurled against Hiba and his clergy from Rabbula, this example demonstrates how the rhetorical presentation of *ēthos* functions to revise the historical account to suit political and spiritual agendas.

The emphasis on the imitation of character as well as deeds is reflected in the terminology used to characterize the *Life of Rabbula*:  $m\bar{e}mr\bar{a}$  and  $nesh\bar{a}n\bar{a}$ . The author designates his hagiography of Rabbula a  $m\bar{e}mr\bar{a}$  ("speech"), which reflects a close dependence on the *encomium* form. For this reason, we have translated the one occurrence of this word in the *Life of Rabbula* as "encomium." The word  $m\bar{e}mr\bar{a}$  also means "sermon" and so also captures the didactic quality of his presentation. The didactic model is expressed in the *prooimion* of the work: Rabbula's life is an "inspiring model" to be placed before the spiritual and perhaps also physical eyes. Mēmrā as "sermon" also entails the function of hagiography as a consolation to the believer that God is present in human history, a function that was first developed in martyrdom accounts. 52 Both

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.2.4 (Freese, 16, 17). See Burridge, "Biography," 385–86, for further examples, such as Plutarch, *Alex*. 1.3 (Perrin, 224, 225), where he speaks of the "slight thing like a phrase or jest" that "often makes a greater revelation of character than battles where thousands fall."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> See *Rab.* 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Rab. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> See also Pontius Diaconus, *Vit. Cyp.* 1.2 (Bastiaensen and Canali, 4; Müller and Deferrari, 6), for a similar use of this *topos*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Mühlenberg, "Débuts de la biographie chrétienne," 521–22, sees the acts of the martyrs as purely *consolatio*, citing the example of the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicity.

elements are present in a robust way in the Life of Rabbula and are summed up in the second term, neshānā. The Syriac title of the Life of Rabbula translates as "The Heroic Deeds [neshānê] of My Lord Rabbula."53 The closely related Syriac word nassīhā ("brilliant, splendid, glorious") designates the fasts of ascetics, as in the Hymns on Faith of Ephraem the Syrian. 54 Ephraem also employs this term when he describes the apostles, martyrs, and prophets who celebrate the resurrection with flowers brought from the garden of delights, 55 who dwell closest to the summit on the mountain in paradise, and who are thus closest to the Shekhina, the dwelling of God, on the top of the mountain. 56 When speaking of James of Nisibis, Theodoret of Cyrrhus calls the ascetic aristeus nikēphoros ("victorious man"),<sup>57</sup> which is perhaps the Greek equivalent of Syriac nassīhā. The reference to "heroic deeds" (neshānê) occurs frequently in the Syriac Life of Anthony (BHO 68), although there is no single word that is equivalent to it in the Greek version from which it was translated. 58 The "virtuous fathers and the victorious ones whose names are renowned," to whom the hagiographer compares Rabbula, 59 is another example of this terminology adapted into Syriac from Greek, as are the "victorious

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> On neshānā, see R. Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1879, 1883; repr., Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1981, 2006), 2:2439–40; and Michael Sokoloff, A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009), 940 (the entry overlooks the technical meaning of this term in Syriac hagiography).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Ephraem the Syrian, *Hymns on Faith* 58.9 (Beck, CSCO 154:181 [Syr.]; CSCO 155:156 [Ger.]). See also Blum, *Rabbula*, 5–6; and Robert Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* (rev. ed; London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 259.

 $<sup>^{55}</sup>$  Ephraem the Syrian, Hymns on the Resurrection 2.10 (Beck, CSCO 248:84 [Syr.]; CSCO 249:67 [Ger.]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Ephraem the Syrian, *Hymns on Paradise* 2.10–13 (Beck, CSCO 174:7–8 [Syr.]; CSCO 175:7–8 [Ger.]). On Ephraem's conception of paradise, see Nicolas Sèd, "Les Hymnes sur le Paradis de Saint Ephrem et les traditions Juives," *Mus* 81 (1968): 455–501.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 1.10, 14 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:182,71–72; 192,10; Price, 18, 20).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Fumihiko F. Takeda, "Monastic Theology of the Syriac Version of the *Life of Antony*," *StPatr* 35 (2001): 153 n. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Rab. 1.

Abraham," whose miracle converted Rabbula; 60 the victorious martyrs Cosmas and Damian, in whose shrine Rabbula calls out to the Trinity for the first time; 61 Edessa, the "victorious city"; 62 and many other instances of naṣṣīḥā and its cognates in the Life of Rabbula. In taking this terminology to translate the idea of nikēphoros, Rabbula's hagiographer has appropriated fasting (which itself has parallels in the hagiography of Neoplatonism and in the Bible), as well as other ascetic practices, into a Christianized framework of Greco-Roman biography. The "heroic deeds" of Rabbula are like the bodily torments that martyrs endure in the body. The author intends these deeds to illustrate Rabbula's character, which the Life of Rabbula presents as an ideal model for all believers, holding up before all ascetic renunciation as the ideal.

Perhaps the most important feature of Aristotle's thought, and the one that had the greatest impact on Christian hagiography, was his third category, *pathos*. For him it described those qualities of the soul that are transient, such as anger and envy, as well as the soul's ability to experience these qualities. It is possible that the author of the *Life of Rabbula* drew upon or was indirectly influenced by the later Stoic model of biography, which sought to minimize or eliminate altogether the *pathos* of the subject, reflecting the model of *apatheia*, <sup>63</sup> which is also a key element of the philosopher in the Neoplatonic biographies of Pythagoras and Iamblichus. As Patricia Cox has explained, a holy philosopher trained himself in order to acquire an unwavering character, <sup>64</sup> a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Rab. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Rab. 6.

<sup>62</sup> Rah 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> This ideal of *apatheia* was of course known to Aristotle. For further discussion, see Dihle, *Studien*, 59–60.

<sup>64</sup> Cox, Biography in Late Antiquity, 25, explains Philostratus's comment that a sage "cannot ever reform evil natures and improve them, unless he has first trained himself never to alter them in his own person." See also Philostratus, Vita Apollonii 6.35 (Jones, 194–95): "'Know yourself' is difficult, but more difficult ... is for a wise man to remain unaltered, since he cannot change evil natures for the better unless he has first trained himself not to change." The importance of apatheia, which was the goal of such training, was a key idea in the peripatetic school, and Aristotle was the first Greek philosopher to use this term. On apatheia in classical and early Christian thought, see the discussion in Herbert Frohnhofen, APATHEIA TOU THEOU: Über die Affektlosigkeit Gottes in der griechischen Antike und bei den griechischsprachigen Kirchenvätern

principle strongly paralleled in depictions of Christian ascetics.

The topos of Rabbula's origins reflects the ēthos of an important person in Greco-Roman antiquity adapted to a Christian context, although the emphasis on the relevance of the origin of a holy man in Christian hagiography is also present in the Life of Anthony, another significant source for the Life of Rabbula. 65 This constant *ēthos* is demonstrated through the arrangement of the Life of Rabbula. Despite the major conversion that Rabbula undergoes, which demarcates his former life from the new life as a Christian and ascetic, the author has taken pains to emphasize the continuity of Rabbula's character from his birth to his death. Rather than showing Rabbula as a person who contains a spark of the divine in the manner of a classical philosopher, the hagiographer depicts Rabbula's priestly father in a way that allows for an alternative connection between Rabbula and the divine, one grounded in the immediate family context of the hero. Rabbula's hagiographer states that his father was present when Emperor Julian sacrificed to the gods en route to his disastrous invasion of Sasanian Mesopotamia. By placing Rabbula as the son of a person who had priestly contact with the gods and the emperor, the author forges a connection between divinity, nobility, and his subject. This may be set in the broader panorama of Greek philosophical biography. Iamblichus's Life of Pythagoras begins with an invocation of the gods, which was appropriate because philosophy was believed to be named after the divine Pythagoras. 66 Moreover, Pythagoras was of divine birth and of noble origin. 67

As odious as classical religion and the "apostate" emperor may have been to Rabbula's Christian encomiast, he mentions

bis zu Gregorios Thaumaturgos (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXIII: Theologie, Bd. 318; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1987), 76–80.

<sup>65</sup> Giannarelli, "Biografo e il peso," 375, contrasts the importance of race and ancestry in classical biography with their absence in Christian biography, although it is clear that the *Life of Rabbula* does not shy away from using the *topoi* of *patria*, *genus*, and *paideia*. These are very common *topoi* in Christian biography. See, for instance, Basil of Caesarea in his *Homilia in Gordium Martyrem* (*Homilia* 18) (PG 31:492). This motif is also present in the several versions of the *Life of Simeon Stylites*. See Robert Doran, trans., *The Lives of Simeon Stylites* (CSS 112; Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1992), 70, 87, 103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Iamblichus, Vit. Pyth. 1 (Dillon and Hershbell, 30–31).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Iamblichus, Vit. Pyth. 5 (Dillon and Hershbell, 34-35).

them, along with Rabbula's Christian mother, as a topos. This adaptation of the classical *topos* of ancestry permits an explanation for the statement that Rabbula's mother and father were obstinate in their respective religious beliefs, and from this clash of wills Rabbula was born. The audience is to understand Rabbula's pugnacious personality against demons and heretics to be a direct result of his feuding parents. 68 The author of the Life of Rabbula would have the reader perceive this domestic battling over religion as the training ground for Rabbula's battle with heresies, Jews, and pagans, activities that occupy much of the later account. The hero's initial stubborn determination to remain a pagan is shown to have been as strong as his asceticism and his battle with all manners of sin after he became a Christian bishop. Rabbula's hagiographer adapts a classical form to fit the postclassical story of an adherent to pre-Christian religion converting to Christianity. <sup>69</sup> The struggle between the "pagan" and the "Christian" within Rabbula may be understood as an image of the conversion of Syria to Christianity. 70 The Christian adaptation of the topos of ancestry may include ancestry in the strictly religious sense; the Life of Cyprian begins with Cyprian's origins "in God," that is, with his conversion to Christianity. 71 Similarly, the Life of Anthony separated Anthony's life into before and after he was a monk: although

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> In light of this, the debate concerning the historical accuracy of this account, which is discussed below, is only etiological, and the historicity of this account would not have burdened the consciences of the hearers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 6–7, takes the opposite view and asserts that this work does not reflect any classical form but is a product of the special conditions of Christianity. Yet he does hold open the possibility that the author was influenced by hagiographical biography (12 n. 49). Christianity had its own effect on classical rhetoric. See, for example, the discussion in A. Spira, "The Impact of Christianity on Ancient Rhetoric," *StPatr* 18.2 (1989): 137–53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> See below, lxxxi.

<sup>71</sup> Pontius Diaconus, *Vit. Cyp.* 1.2 (Bastiaensen and Canali, 4; Müller and Deferrari, 6). Iamblichus's account of Pythagoras's life (*Vit. Pyth.* 1.1; Nauck, 6–7; Dillon and Hershbell, 31) begins with an invocation of the gods, especially since it was believed that "philosophy was named after the divine Pythagoras." Pythagoras was of noble birth (Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 2.2 [Nauck, 8; Dillon and Hershbell, 34]), but he was also the son of Apollo by Pythias (Iamblichus, *Vit. Pyth.* 2.3 [Nauck, 9; Dillon and Hershbell, 35]). Rabbula was of noble birth through his father, and he was as close to "divine" as a Christian was permitted to be, being a second Josiah, a second Moses, and so on.

the *topos* of childhood is exploited to illustrate unchanging virtues in a precocious child, for the purposes of divine judgment the period before his monastic life has been expunged.<sup>72</sup>

Another important element of the hagiography of ascetics is that they died as they lived: giving alms, exhorting their disciples with a final speech, or dying alone in seclusion. These elements of an ascetic's death are also the elements of the ascetic's life. Such invention in the topos of the obitus of the monk or nun provides continuity of character and confirms the strength of their discipline. Although Rabbula does not deliver a farewell discourse to his clergy as does Anthony,<sup>73</sup> he does accelerate his almsgiving, providing his yearly distribution to the poor and the monks early, in anticipation of his death. Almsgiving and concern for the poor are recurring tokens of character in the Life of Rabbula. Beginning with Rabbula's initial conversion at the shrine of Cosmas and Damian, the topos of alms reflects the classical understanding of the unchanging character of great subjects. Similarly, Anthony's quest to be alone with God continues to the end of his life when he dies alone in the remote (lit. "inner") mountains. 74 Rabbula gives alms after his first Trinitarian confession in the martyrion of Cosmas and Damian, after his visit to Jerusalem, and again before he becomes a monk. His continuous dispensation of material blessings, climaxing with his lavish donations prior to his death, is an idealized expression of his constant asceticism even as bishop "in the world." Even after his death, Rabbula continues to distribute

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 65.4 (Bartelink, 304–7; Gregg, 79; Vivian and Athanassakis, 195). For a discussion of the presentation of Anthony's childhood as a model for Christian children, see Cornelia B. Horn and John W. Martens, "Let the Little Children Come to Me": Childhood and Children in Early Christianity (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 323–25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 89, 91 (Bartelink, 362–71; Gregg, 95–97; Vivian and Athanassakis, 247, 251, 253).

Athanasius, Vit. Ant. 91.1 (Bartelink, 366–67; Gregg, 96; Vivian and Athanassakis, 251). For a discussion of the topos of the death of the monk, see Monique Alexandre, "À propos du récit de la mort d'Antoine (Athanase, Vie d'Antoine. PG 26, 968–74, §89–93): L'heure de la mort dans la littérature monastique," in Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'antiquité au moyen âge, III<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Paris 9–12 mars 1981 (ed. Jean-Marie Leroux; Colloques internationaux du centre national de la recherche scientifique 604; Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1984), 263–82, which contains a good bibliography on the subject (274 n. 14).

blessings to the crowds that visit his tomb seeking a miracle from God's "treasurer." <sup>75</sup>

Rabbula's philanthropy may exhibit the perceived role of the holy man in Syrian society and may be part of the "historical Rabbula," but in its context it is first and foremost a literary device to demonstrate the virtues of the ideal bishop and to provide narrative cohesion. 76 In his presentation of ascetics in his Religious History, Theodoret emphasizes the charitable aspects of a given monk's activity, especially in the cases of monks who became bishops. While laymen, they were doctrinally zealous; yet Theodoret highlights their role as caregivers after their ordinations and their work on behalf of the people of their diocese. This trend is most evident in his portrait of Acacius of Beroea: Acacius does not forsake the askētikē politeia, but rather this virtue is tempered with politikē aretē, or a sense of the needs of the bishop's fellow citizens. 77 Theodoret renders his portrait of the rural monk a model of the ideal urban bishop. 78 So too the Life of Rabbula represents the continuation of doctrinal purity and the good stewardship of church resources to alleviate human suffering.

The brief comparison of the *Life of Rabbula* with the principles of Greco-Roman biography offered thus far indicates some of the literary qualities of the genre. An exhaustive comparison

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> For a discussion of miracles in late antiquity with extensive notes, see Lellia Cracco Ruggini, "Miracolo nella cultura del tardo imperio," in *Hagiographie*, cultures et sociétés: IV<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles; Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2–5 mai 1979) (ed. Centre de recherches sur l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Age; Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1981), 161–204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> For comments on aspects of the early Christian reception history of biblical prescriptions of the virtues of the bishop, see Claudia Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (TCH 37; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 35–36.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 5.8 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:340; Price, 61); and Marcella Forlin Patrucco, "Cristianesimo e vita rurale in Siria nel IV-V secolo," *Aug* 21 (1981): 204. On the doctrinal activity of the monk-bishop, see Vööbus, *History of Asceticism*, 2:361–83. Other examples from the *Historia religiosa* are discussed in Forlin Patrucco, "Cristianesimo e vita rurale," 205 n. 78. For more extensive discussion of the role of monk-bishops, see also Andrea Sterk, *Renouncing the World*, *Yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), with consideration of Theodoret and Rabbula on pp. 195–201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Forlin Patrucco, "Cristianesimo e vita rurale," 205.

would yield greater knowledge of the impact of classical biography on this work. The implication of the example discussed here is that the use of the *Life of Rabbula* to reconstruct the historical status of the poor in Edessa, as well as other cultural and religious phenomena, may not be as simple as looking for clues about the poor and then extrapolating from that material as a basis for historical reconstruction. The author's fealty to classical literary convention may be far greater than previously imagined, and if so, this will impact the use of the *Life of Rabbula* for the reconstruction of history in Edessa. This is especially true if as he writes Rabbula's encomiast has in mind abuses, perceived or exaggerated, of the Edessene clergy led by Hiba, who did not welcome the new bishop's concept of reform, and their spirited defense of Rabbula's brash attacks on the students of Theodore of Mopsuestia.

The genre of the Life of Rabbula is indebted not only to the influence of Greek biographies of philosophers but also to the philosophical categories that these bioi expressed. The investigation of the genre of the vita of a Syrian monk-bishop is inextricably connected to the question of the origins of asceticism and monasticism. As Christian ascetics became bishops in the Syrian church, the biographies written for them began to reflect the intentional incorporation of asceticism into hierarchy and church order. This co-opting recognized the political function of the monk, as well as the political power that monasticism could wield against rivals, particularly the adherents, perceived or real, of Manichaeism and Gnosticism. <sup>79</sup> Further study is necessary to place the connection between monk and bishop in Syrian hagiography into its proper historical framework, context, and development. The relationship between the origins of Syrian asceticism and hagiography certainly extends beyond the realm of the ideas of Neoplatonism: consideration of the roles of the interpretation of the Bible, of other Greco-Roman religions and philosophies, and of the competition in Syria between ascetic religions is necessary for a clearer understanding of the place of the Life of Rabbula in its literary setting. That setting includes an examination of the sources of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Han J. W. Drijvers, "Athleten des Geistes: Zur politischen Rolle der syrischen Asketen und Gnostiker," in *Gnosis und Politik* (ed. Jacob Taubes; vol. 2 of *Religionstheorie und politische Theologie*; Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink / Ferdinand Schöningh, 1984), 110–11.

*Life of Rabbula*. The following discussion addresses some of the clear themes that link this work with other important examples of ascetic literature in late antiquity.

# 1.3.2. Literary Influences on the Life of Rabbula and Its Influence on Later Hagiography

When the Life of Rabbula is compared with other Syrian hagiographical and ascetic literature, the work that is closest in time and geography is Theodoret of Cyrrhus's Historia religiosa, or History of the Monks of Syria, a Greek work composed in 444. Theodoret's work circulated also in a Syriac version, for which the manuscript attestation begins already in the fifth century.<sup>80</sup> Work remains to be done on a comparison of the Life of Rabbula with the sentiments and presentation of asceticism, rhetoric, and vocabulary in Theodoret's Historia religiosa. One ought to keep in mind, though, that it is rather unlikely for Theodoret's work to have been an immediate source for or influence on the Life of Rabbula. Theodoret and Rabbula represented opposing sides in the christological disputes in the see of Antioch, and the length of the individual sketches of lives of monks in Theodoret's account contrasts with the significantly more voluminous narrative of the Life of Rabbula. 81 Blum holds open the possibility that the Life of Rabbula was a response to Theodoret's work on the monks of Syria. 82 If that is the case, the response is couched in subtleties,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> For a relatively convenient listing of the manuscripts, which thus far have been identified as preserving at least parts of the Syriac version of the *Historia religiosa* and which range from 586 to the thirteenth century, see Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, 1:61–62, 510. The Syriac version circulated as individual lives. The following are extant in Syriac: the *Prologue*, the *Life of James of Nisibis*, the *Life of Julian Saba*, the *Life of Eusebius of Teleda*, the *Life of Abraham of Cyrrhus*, and the *Life of Simeon Stylites*; the last of these is distinct from the longer Syriac life of the same name.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Stephan Schiwietz, *Das Mönchtum in Syrien und Mesopotamien und das Aszetentum in Persien* (vol. 3 of *Das morgenländische Mönchtum*; Mödling bei Wien: Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, 1938), 349.

<sup>82</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 12. A later, somewhat related and similar case consists of the relationship between John Rufus's late fifth-century Life of Peter the Iberian (Cornelia B. Horn and Robert R. Phenix Jr., eds. and trans., John Rufus: The Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus [SBLWGRW 24; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008]; Richard Raabe, ed. and trans., Petrus der Iberer: Ein Charakterbild zur Kirchen- und

the context of which is no longer discernable. However, the literary forms of the two works do bear some similarities. It seems that they could be explained either through the influence of Greek biography or influential hagiographies such as the *Life of Anthony* or through some extent of direct dependence. Given that early Christian hagiography developed primarily under the influence of Greco-Roman biography, it is most likely that these features were transmitted to the author of the *Life of Rabbula* through Christian sources.

Jerome's *Life of Paul the Hermit* (Paul of Thebes, also known as Paul the Simple, *BHG* 1466–1467) may have exerted influence, even if perhaps only indirectly. Jerome had tasted of the ascetic life when he spent time in the company of the monks of the desert of Chalcis. <sup>83</sup> It probably also was there that he composed his *Life* 

Sittengeschichte des 5. Jahrhunderts; Syrische Übersetzung einer um das Jahr 500 verfassten griechischen Biographie [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895]) and Cyril of Scythopolis's Lives of the Monks of Palestine (Eduard Schwartz, ed., Kyrillos von Skythopolis [TU 49.2; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1939]; R. M. Price and John Binns, trans., Cyril of Scythopolis: The Lives of the Monks of Palestine [CSS 114; Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1991]). There the opposing sides were anti-Chalcedonian and Chalcedonian. Yet in that instance the collection of somewhat shorter ascetic biographies ought to be seen as a reaction, at least in part, to the longer narrative. See also the comments in Cornelia B. Horn, Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 53–55.

<sup>83</sup> Jerome expresses his romantic longing for the desert, for example, in his Letter to Heliodorus. See Jerome, Letter 14.10 (Labourt, 44). According to J. N. D. Kelly, Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 46, 57, Jerome stayed in the desert of Chalcis from either autumn 374 or early 375 to either 376 or 377. For a study of Jerome's experience in the desert, see Paul Antin, Essai sur Saint Jerôme (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1951), 58-67. Yet Jerome's idealism soon wore off, and he returned to Antioch, as also Antoine Guillaumont notes ("La conception du désert chez les moines d'Égypte," RHR 188.1 [1975]: 9). For more recent examinations of his relationship to the desert, see J. H. D. Scourfield, "Jerome, Antioch, and the Desert: A Note on Chronology," JTS 37.1 (1986): 117-21; and Patricia Cox Miller, "Jerome's Centaur: A Hyper-Icon of the Desert," JECS 4.2 (1996): 209-33. A Syriac version of the Life of Paul the Hermit/Paul of Thebes (BHO 913, 914) is found in Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum (ed. Paul Bedjan; 7 vols.; Paris and Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1890–1897; repr., Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009), 5:561-72; see BHO ad loc. for other occurrences in Syriac literature.

of Paul the Hermit. <sup>84</sup> Some parallel details are striking. Paul, the first hermit, lives in an isolated cave that is near a clear stream from which he can quench his thirst; Rabbula lives under similar conditions, with a little stream "dripping enough for one person." A miracle of bread is also shared by both Paul and Rabbula, even though the careful observer notices some differences in detail between the two accounts concerning their adventures. Rabbula and his companions are starving, and, miraculously, bread appears. Yet instead of allowing himself and his followers to satisfy their hunger, Rabbula gives this bread away. <sup>86</sup> A miracle concerning bread also may be found in the *Life of Paul the Hermit*. Every day for sixty years, Paul the Hermit receives from a raven half a loaf of bread. (Jerome clearly intended to cast Paul in parallel to the prophet Elijah.) On the occasion when the great ascetic Anthony comes to visit Paul, that ration is increased to a full loaf. <sup>87</sup>

Other similarities between the *Life of Paul the Hermit* and the *Life of Rabbula* may be due to the influence of the *Life of Anthony* on both. Many elements of the *Life of Rabbula* suggest that the author knew the *Life of Anthony*. Blum conjectures that the *Life of Anthony* was probably translated into Syriac soon after 380. In the text the author of the *Life of Rabbula* implies that he reads Greek, insofar as he promises to translate Rabbula's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Jerome, *Life of Paul the Hermit* (= *Vit. Paul.*; PL 23:17–30; Morales and Leclerc, 143–83; Ewald, 219–38; White, 71–84). Jerome composed his *Life of Paul the Hermit* probably in 374–75, during his first trip to the Orient. See A. A. R. Bastiaensen, "Jérôme l'hagiographe," in *Hagiographies* (ed. Guy Philippart; Corpus Christianorum, Hagiographies 1; Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> See *Rab.* 14; Jerome, *Vit. Paul.* 5 (PL 23:21; Morales and Leclerc, 152–55; Ewald, 228; White, 77).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> See *Rab.* 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Jerome, *Vit. Paul.* 10 (PL 23:25; Morales and Leclerc, 166–67; Ewald, 233; White, 80).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Particularly the elements of miracle accounts and the struggle of Paul with Satan. See Bastiaensen, "Jérôme l'hagiographe," 118–19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 12. For a critical edition of the Syriac text of the *Life of Anthony (BHO 68)*, see René Draguet, ed. and trans., *La vie primitive de saint Antoine, conservée en syriaque* (CSCO 417–418; Scriptores Syri 183–184; Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1980). The Syriac version offered there goes back to the fifth to sixth century. See also Bartelink, *Vie d'Antoine*, 99. See also the earlier work by Friedrich Schulthess, *Probe einer syrischen Version der Vita S. Antonii* (Leipzig: W. Drugulin, 1894).

letters from Greek into Syriac. <sup>90</sup> It is impossible to determine whether the author of the *Life of Rabbula* knew the *Life of Anthony* in Greek or Syriac, but he presumed that his audience knew something about Anthony's life. When Rabbula's hagiographer explicitly refers to Anthony, stating that Rabbula went into the remote desert "just as the blessed Anthony also had done," <sup>91</sup> he may have counted on his audience's memory, which could set the new story about Rabbula into lively parallel with that of Anthony.

Another point of connection with the *Life of Anthony* concerns Rabbula's struggle in the wilderness with the "Eater of the Gut," Satan. This struggle is an imitation of Christ's temptation, which in this context is also expressed as the constant recollection of Jesus. <sup>92</sup> Here the form of this *topos* in the *Life of Rabbula* strongly evokes a similar theme in the *Life of Anthony*. Important elements common to both stories are the wild animals, which are the forms of the Adversary sent to scare the ascetic, and the power of the sign of the cross to dispel them. The remembrance of the cross is also mentioned as the force that turns Rabbula to Christianity. <sup>93</sup> This story constitutes an argument for a specific interpretation of ascetic practice.

An examination of technical terminology for monasticism employed in the *Life of Rabbula* suggests some connection between the Syriac version of the *Life of Anthony* and the *Life of Rabbula*. 94 Rabbula's hagiographer addresses his audience as aḥḥê

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> See *Rab.* 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Rab. 14. The multifaceted significance of the desert is treated in several works; for a bibliography, see Guillaumont, "Conception du désert," 4. See also the considerations offered in James E. Goehring, Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Egyptian Monasticism (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Harrisburg, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1999).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> See Matt 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; and Luke 4:1–13. See also *Rab.* 5, 33; for the recollection of Jesus, see below, civ–cvi.

<sup>93</sup> See Rab. 3. Anthony reassures the monks that the demons are cowards who are terrified of the sign of the cross. See Athanasius, Vit. Ant. 35.3 (Bartelink, 230–31; Gregg, 57; Vivian and Athanassakis, 135): δειλοὶ γάρ εἰσι, καὶ πάνυ φοβοῦνται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ κυριακοῦ σταυροῦ. See also Blum, Rabbula, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Takeda, "Monastic Theology." For a broader discussion, see Fumihiko F. Takeda, "The Syriac Version of the *Life of Antony*: A Meeting Point of Egyptian Monasticism with Syriac Native Asceticism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1998); and idem, "The Syriac Version of the *Life of Antony*:

("brothers"), which is one of the terms used to translate *monachos* in the Syriac Life of Anthony; the rest of the occurrences are translated as  $\bar{\imath}h\bar{\imath}d\bar{a}v\bar{a}$ . This  $\bar{\imath}h\bar{\imath}d\bar{a}v\bar{a}$  terminology expresses a concept that is foreign to Egyptian monasticism and instead reflects the Syrian ascetic ideal of the "flight to the alone," not in a physical sense, but rather in a spiritual one. 96 Another important feature of the Syriac Life of Anthony is the rejection of the Greek term askēsis, which, as Fumihiko Takeda has argued, occurred on account of the word's pagan connotations. 97 In addition to picturing the training of the body to endure pain and to reach a state of apatheia in the lives of philosophers, this term originally designated the physical training of athletes. The Syriac translator of the Life of Anthony substituted a number of Syriac words for the Greek term askēsis, all of which figure prominently in the Life of Rabbula. In both of these works neshānê describes the victories of ascetic heroism that Anthony and Rabbula score over temptations and demons. The occurrence of these terms does not prove a direct dependence between these two texts, as they may reflect the common ascetic milieu of Syria. Sidney Griffith has maintained that the importance of Anthony for Syriac monastic hagiography began in the sixth century, 98 and indeed there is no Syriac manuscript of the Life of Anthony that can be dated before the sixth century. 99 Given that Rabbula's hagiographer explicitly mentions Anthony

A Meeting Point of Egyptian Monasticism with Syriac Native Asceticism," in Symposium Syriacum VII: Uppsala University, Department of Asian and African Languages, 11–14 August, 1996 (ed. René Lavenant; OCA 256; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1998), 185–94.

- <sup>95</sup> Takeda, "Monastic Theology," 149, 154–55.
- 96 Ibid., 150. For recent study of the roots of the concept of  $i\hbar i day \bar{a}$ , see D. F. Bumazhnov, "Einige Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Begriffs μοναχός (Mönch)," StPatr 39 (2006): 293–99; and idem, "Zur Bedeutung der Targume bei der Herausbildung des μοναχός-Konzeptes in den Nag Hammadi-Texten," ZAC 10 (2006): 252–59.
- <sup>97</sup> Takeda, "Monastic Theology," 152, with a table of translation equivalents on pp. 156-57.
- <sup>98</sup> Sidney H. Griffith, "Julian Saba, 'Father of the Monks' of Syria," *JECS* 2 (1994): 186. He also presented research on connections between the hagiography of Anthony and the Syriac tradition at Princeton in a paper entitled "Antony of Egypt and the Classics of Egyptian Monasticism in Syriac: Reflections on a Tradition in Translation" that did not find its way into print.
  - <sup>99</sup> Draguet, La vie primitive de saint Antoine, CSCO 418:27.

as a model for his hero, the author of the Life of Rabbula either consciously employed the ascetic vocabulary of the Syriac Life of Anthony to describe the ascetical bishop of Edessa, because this was the language of his monastic audience, or the author had access to a copy of the Greek text of the *Life of Anthony*. In this case, the ascetic terminology in the Life of Rabbula may have been used to render the *Life of Anthony* into Syriac. Yet again, perhaps these terms were part of the monastic culture of Syria and so reflect a shared tradition between the author of the Life of Rabbula and a later sixth-century translator of the *Life of Anthony*. It is also possible that Rabbula himself knew of the Life of Anthony from his contacts in Antioch (the Latin translation of the Life of Anthony was produced there in the 370s)<sup>100</sup> and that a Syriac translation appeared about the same time. Given that the story of Anthony was widely known, it is also possible that it was from oral transmission, rather than from a written Vorlage, that the author of the Life of Rabbula borrowed elements of the description of Anthony's life. Nevertheless, without further evidence, the precise connection between these two hagiographies on the level of their technical terminology remains unresolved.

Another ascetic work that has received little attention in the investigation of the *Life of Rabbula* is the mid-fourth-century Syriac *Liber Graduum*. <sup>101</sup> The author of this work addresses a (real or perceived) decadence in ascetic practice, exhorting a return to the rigor of earlier generations of monks. <sup>102</sup> The work also is a

100 For a partial edition and discussion of the Latin version of Athanasius's *Life of Anthony*, see Gérard Garitte, *Un témoin important du texte de la Vie de S. Antoine par S. Athanase: La version latine inédite des Archives du Chapitre de Saint-Pierre à Rome* (Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Anciennes publiées par l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome 3; Rome: PUB, 1939).

<sup>101</sup> See Michael Kmosko, ed. and trans., *Liber Graduum* (PS 3; Paris: Firmin-Didot et Socii, 1926), cols. 1–932. See now also Robert A. Kitchen and F. G. Parmentier, trans., *The Book of Steps: The Syriac* Liber Graduum (CSS 196; Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 2004). An increase in scholarly attention to this work has been triggered by the publication of Kitchen and Parmentier's translation. See, for example, the work collected in Kristian S. Heal and Robert A. Kitchen, eds., *Breaking the Mind: New Studies in the Syriac Book of Steps* (CUA Studies in Early Christianity; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2013).

<sup>102</sup> Kitchen and Parmentier, Book of Steps, lvi-lvii.

defense of the visible universal church and its hierarchy. Rabbula's encomiast demonstrates, broadly speaking, a concern with the union of spirituality and canonical discipline, embodied in the monk/ascetic-bishop of Edessa. Ascetic strength serves to defend the person and the community against heresy under all its names. Rabbula calls his clergy to a life of true renunciation; this is echoed in several passages in the *Liber Graduum*. <sup>104</sup>

There are phrases in the Life of Rabbula that are parallel to the Liber Graduum. For example, both texts say that the self must be emptied. This is the counsel Rabbula receives from Eusebius of Chalcis: "[Jesus] is the truth your soul makes known to you if you would be emptied of your knowledge and would acquire a need for his knowledge."105 When Rabbula has given away everything he owns, his encomiast remarks, "Thus he was emptied [Syr.: estreq, lit. "was combed"] of all he possessed, so that the Lord of all possessions might possess him." 106 In the Liber Graduum, the Lord and the apostles "empty" themselves in order to fast completely. 107 This terminological parallel is not exact, but it does reflect a shared terminology of ascetic renunciation. The reader comparing the two accounts may find further parallels. However, there are also points of divergence. The Liber Graduum states that "the Lord Jesus does not need anyone today to become a zealot and chastise anyone who acts wickedly, because the Lord himself chastises today whoever transgresses against him." 108 Such advice is certainly not adopted in the portrait of Rabbula's struggle against the abuses of the clergy and his engagement of religious groups in Edessa. Comparison of the two works is complicated by common Christian ascetic elements that were widespread when the Life of Rabbula was composed. The Liber Graduum was composed when institutional asceticism in Syria was in its early stages. 109 The

<sup>103</sup> Kitchen and Parmentier, Book of Steps, lvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> See *Lib. Grad.* 11 (Kmosko, cols. 272–84; Kitchen and Parmentier, 113–17, and comments on lvii-lviii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Rab. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> *Rab.* 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Lib. Grad. 10.10 (Kmosko, cols. 267–70; Kitchen and Parmentier, 111).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Lib. Grad. 9.15; Kitchen and Parmentier, 99 (cf. Kmosko, cols. 235–38).

<sup>109</sup> Kitchen and Parmentier, Book of Steps, xlix.

Life of Rabbula represents a more mature stage in this process; Rabbula's encomiast may also have been influenced by Egyptian monastic ideals, given the affinity between Rabbula and Cyril. More work needs to be done on tracing the sources of the Life of Rabbula, and the Liber Graduum represents an important area of investigation. Yet this investigation is made all the harder by the lack of a comprehensive study of the ascetic ideas in the Liber Graduum itself. <sup>110</sup>

The influence of the *Life of Rabbula* on later hagiography has not yet received much scholarly attention. The best-known case may be the panegyric or life of Basil the Great by (Pseudo-)Amphilochius of Iconium. <sup>111</sup> Subsequent to Arthur Vööbus's discussion of the relationship between these two texts, Alexei Muraviev has demonstrated that the Syriac *Julian Romance* was a source for the *Life of Basil* by Pseudo-Amphilochius. <sup>112</sup> It is therefore likely that the relationship between the *Life of Rabbula* and the panegyrical *Life of Basil* is more complex than merely being one of simple dependence.

- <sup>110</sup> For studies that begin to approach this task, see, for example, Diana Juhl, *Die Askese im Liber Graduum und bei Afrahat: Eine vergleichende Studie zur frühsyrischen Frömmigkeit* (OBC 9; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996); Renato Roux, "The Doctrine of the Imitation of Christ in the *Liber Graduum*: Between Exegetical Theory and Soteriology," *StPatr* 30 (1997): 259–64; and Kyle Smith, "A Last Disciple of the Apostles: The 'Editor's' Preface, Rabbula's *Rules*, and the Date of the *Book of Steps*," in Heal and Kitchen, *Breaking the Mind*, 72–96.
- 111 See Arthur Vööbus, "Das literarische Verhältnis zwischen der Biographie des Rabbula und dem Pseudo-Amphilochianischen Panegyrikus über Basilius," OrChr 44 (1960): 40–45; and Blum, Rabbula, 13. This panegyric was first edited by K. V. Zetterstéen ("Eine Homilie des Amphilochius von Iconium über Basilius von Caesarea," in Festschrift Eduard Sachau, zum siebzigsten Geburtstage gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern [ed. Gotthold Weil; Berlin: Reimer, 1915], 223–47). Paul Bedjan published another edition of this Syriac text: "The Homily of St Amphilochius Bishop of Iconium Composed concerning Basil the Great [in Syriac]," in Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum (ed. Paul Bedjan; 7 vols.; Paris: Harrassowitz, 1890–1897; repr., Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2009), 6:297–335. For a German translation of the work, see Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen, "Eine Homilie des Amphilochius von Iconium über Basilius von Cäsarea," OrChr 31 (1934): 67–98.
- $^{112}\,$  Alexei Muraviev, "The Syriac Julian Romance as a Source of the Life of St. Basil the Great," StPatr 37 (2001): 240–49.

#### 1.3.3. Rabbula and the Doctrina Addai

One work that modern scholarly discussion has associated with Rabbula's episcopacy is the *Doctrina Addai*, a text that was composed in the third century and revised in the earlier part of the fifth century. <sup>113</sup> Jan Willem Drijvers claims that Rabbula was responsible for the insertion of the *Protonike Legend* into the *Doctrina Addai*. <sup>114</sup> The basis of his argument rests, on the one hand, with Rabbula's trip to the holy places and especially his visit to Golgotha, and on the other, with his composition of a hymn on the cross. <sup>115</sup> Drijvers concludes that Rabbula must have heard about

<sup>113</sup> Han J. W. Drijvers, "Apocryphal Literature in the Cultural Milieu of Osrhoëne," Apocrypha 1 (1990): 231-47; Alain Desreumaux, "La Doctrina Addaï: Le chroniqueur et ses documents," Apocrypha 1 (1990): 249-62; Jan Willem Drijvers, "The Protonike Legend, the Doctrina Addai and Bishop Rabbula of Edessa," VC 51.3 (1997): 298-315; and Sidney H. Griffith, "The Doctrina Addai as a Paradigm of Christian Thought in Edessa in the Fifth Century," Hug 6.2 (July 2003): 269-92, http://www .bethmardutho.org/index.php/hugoye/volume-index/152.html. The first edition of the Doctrina Addai from MS Pet. S. n.s. 4 (late fifth century; N. V. Pigulevskaya, "Katalog siriyskikh rukopisey Leningrada," Palestinskiy Sbornik 6 (69), Moscow-Leningrad, 1960, number XLVIII; ET: Grigory Kessel, "Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in Leningrad," accessed http://www.academia.edu/749639/N.V.\_Pigulevskaya\_Catalogue\_of\_the\_ Syriac\_manuscripts\_in\_Leningrad\_.\_Moscow-Leningrad\_1960) sented by George Phillips, ed., The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle: Now First Edited in a Complete Form in the Original Syriac (London: Trübner and Co., 1876). Michel van Esbroeck, "Le manuscrit syriaque nouvelle série 4 de Leningrad (ve siècle)," in Mélanges Antoine Guillaumont: Contributions à l'étude des christianismes orientaux (ed. A. Guillaumont; Geneva: P. Cramer, 1988), 211-19, offered a description of this manuscript. For an accessible English translation, see George Howard, ed. and trans., The Teaching of Addai (SBLTT 16; Early Christian Literature Series 4; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1981). Ilaria Ramelli, "Possible Historical Traces in the Doctrina Addai," Hug 9.1 (January 2006): 57, has argued that at least some of the material presented in the Doctrina Addai may reflect earlier historical encounters between Christians who accepted writings such as Titus and 1-2 Timothy and Manichaeans and other groups.

<sup>114</sup> Jan Willem Drijvers, "The Protonike Legend and the *Doctrina Addai*," StPatr 33 (1996): 522.

<sup>115</sup> For the hymn in question, see below, 312–13. A German translation of that hymn is available in Gustav Bickell, *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Kirchenväter: Aphraates, Rabulas und Isaak v. Ninive* (BKV 38; Kempten: Kösel, 1875), 271.

the finding of the true cross while in Jerusalem. According to Drijvers's theory, Rabbula took advantage of the anti-Judaism of the *Protonike Legend* and of the *Doctrina Addai* in general to promote his coercion of Jews to convert to Christianity. Moreover, as a "monophysite," Rabbula would have found the *Protonike Legend* attractive and employed it in the christological controversies.

This theory rests on several assumptions. The claim that Rabbula was a "monophysite" is perhaps anachronistic but would still be reasonable if only there was evidence that Rabbula grasped the gist of the christological arguments between Cyril and Nestorius's supporters. Rabbula's strong emphasis on the true divinity of Christ as one of the Trinity and his apparent misunderstanding of the problem of Christ's humanity after the incarnation seem to indicate that Rabbula simply saw the threat posed by Nestorius as a Trinitarian one, not a christological one. The problems of the testimony of the Life of Rabbula concerning the bishop's relationship with the Jews of Edessa are examined below. 116 While it may be true that Rabbula traveled to Jerusalem, the account of this pilgrimage journey also may have been inserted as a hagiographical topos. Furthermore, the authenticity of the hymns attributed to Rabbula is not at all certain, and for any given hymn there are no reliable criteria on which to establish that Rabbula is its author.

More recently, new hypotheses concerning the relationship between Rabbula and the *Doctrina Addai* have emerged. In the *Doctrina Addai*, the key element for this argument is the succession of bishops of Edessa it preserves. In this account, Addai appoints Aggai to be his successor. Aggai dies before he can consecrate his chosen successor, Palut. Palut then travels to Antioch to receive consecration from Serapion (ca. 199-ca. 211), who according to the *Doctrina Addai* was consecrated by Zepherinus of Rome (ca. 198/199-217), himself a successor of Peter. 117 An alternative line of succession, found in several lists of the bishops of Edessa, states that Palut was consecrated by Addai, and the name of Aggai is omitted; this is the line of succession assumed by Ephraem the Syrian. 118 This suggests that the *Doctrina Addai* has altered

<sup>116</sup> See below, cxlix-cliii.

<sup>117</sup> Howard, Teaching of Addai, 104-5.

 $<sup>^{118}</sup>$  Ephraem the Syrian, Hymns against Heresies 22.6 (Beck, CSCO 169:80 [Syr.]; CSCO 170:78–79 [Ger.]).

the traditional line of succession. Sidney Griffith's hypothesis for this alteration is that the line of succession of Edessa was tied to Rome in order to solidify the allegiance of Edessa to Theodosius II (408–450). 119 Furthermore, the Doctrina Addai preserves the account that Christianity was first brought to Edessa by Addai (Gk.: Thaddaeus), whom it identifies as one of the twelve apostles. In his account in the Church History, Eusebius of Caesarea calls Thaddaeus "one of the seventy." 120 Yet, there is further evidence to suggest another, more localized apologia. The Doctrina Addai is concerned with defending particular practices in Edessa. Notable among these is the "reading from the Old Covenant and the New in the Diatessaron in the churches" that it attributes to Addai. 121 The Life of Rabbula mentions that Rabbula's first act as bishop was to have the New Testament translated from Greek into Syriac "on account of its many variations, as it actually was" (Rab. 1). The Syriac Doctrina Addai also contains a statement concerning forced conversion: "But neither King Abgar nor the Apostle Addai forced anyone by constraint to believe in the Messiah, because without human compulsion, the compulsion of signs compelled many to believe in him." 122 This statement may have been directed against Rabbula, whose activities against the various religious groups in his city earned him the reputation of being a second Joshua bar Nun and a second Josiah. 123

Michael Kohlbacher has formulated an alternative hypothesis. He argues that the *Doctrina Addai* was an "expression of local patriotism in Edessa and propagated, among other things, the long standing privilege of some of Edessa's noble houses." <sup>124</sup> If the *Life of Rabbula* is reliable, Rabbula was not part of the nobility in Edessa and seems to have changed many of the long-standing traditions in the balance of power between the bishop and the nobility. The assertion of the privileges and tradition of the church

 $<sup>^{119}\,</sup>$  Griffith, "Doctrina Addai as a Paradigm of Christian Thought," 281–84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 1.13.10 (Schwartz, Mommsen, and Winkelmann, 2.1:88; Williamson, 30); cf. Luke 10:1–12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Howard, Teaching of Addai, 72–73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Ibid., 68–71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Rab. 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Kohlbacher, "Rabbula in Edessa," 237.

of Edessa seems to be a defense addressed to one who threatened their existence.

There is much in the Life of Rabbula that supports Kohlbacher's thesis. Rabbula's hagiographer portrays him as a prophet who comes to Edessa from the wilderness and who continues his eremitic asceticism in the context of an urban church, oblivious to tradition and to any element of favoritism or concern for those who hold positions of power and influence. Rabbula's concern for the disadvantaged social classes is emphasized to show that he, and not the wealthy, is the benefactor of the city's important inhabitants: the poor and especially the monks. Rabbula disdains erecting buildings other than those for the poor; this is perhaps to show his independence from the system of patronage by which the wealthy controlled the church. The mention of such a detail suggests that other bishops built more aggressively and sought donations for this purpose. Bishop Nonnus of Edessa (consecrated in the period 449-451 and remained bishop until 471) erected many buildings, including the magnificent red-marble columns of his Church of St. John the Baptist and a tower for the benefit of his city. 125 To be sure, the author of the Life of Rabbula may have drawn from the Liber Graduum: "When our Lord and the apostles emptied themselves, they emptied themselves completely. . .. [They did not say], 'We build as if we do not build.' "126 Rabbula's concern to send deacons, before his death, for giving alms to "the holy poor ones who sojourned in the desert of Jerusalem, as it is written also of the blessed Paul,"127 which could benefit no one in Edessa materially, is part of the hagiographer's depiction of him as an imitator of the Apostle Paul and as an heir to Paul's apostolic authority. 128 In contrast, the conclusion would be that the *Doctrina Addai* uses the Abgar legend in order to demonstrate that Rabbula was an innovator, a rogue bishop who had nullified the tradition established

<sup>125</sup> For a discussion of the two sources used to reconstruct the episcopate of Nonnus and the significance of his election, see Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 219, 237–39; see also Judah B. Segal, *Edessa: "The Blessed City"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960; repr. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2003), 129.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> Lib. Grad. 10.10 (Kmosko, col. 268:3–13; Kitchen and Parmentier, 111–12, and comments on p. lxxiii).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Rab. 54.

 $<sup>^{128}\,</sup>$  See below, xcviii and cxv–cxvii, for the connection to almsgiving as a means of propaganda.

with Edessa's first Christian king, a king moreover who had been in direct correspondence with Jesus himself and who received an icon touched by Christ's body, thus trumping any line of authority leading through an apostolic succession.

## I . 4. TWO WITNESSES TO RABBULA: THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER $AKOIM\bar{E}T\bar{E}S \text{ AND THE } LIFE \text{ OF } THE \text{ } MAN \text{ OF } GOD$

Two hagiographical texts represent the only other significant literary witnesses to Rabbula: the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* and the *Life of the Man of God*. Each of these hagiographical works was composed well after the *Life of Rabbula* had been written. A sixth-century redactor of the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* incorporated an adaptation of Rabbula's conversion into the text. The purpose of this episode was to demonstrate that a monastery in Constantinople, the monks of which traced their origins to Alexander, was free from any accusations of heterodoxy. The *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* is of little value in assessing the biographical certainty of the *Life of Rabbula*, except concerning Rabbula's leadership in the city of Chalcis prior to his conversion. The rest of the story is almost certainly a derivative of the *Life of Rabbula*, with the possible exception of the destruction of the temple in Chalcis, which is examined below.

Like Rabbula at Heliopolis, Alexander also comes to Chalcis to destroy a temple. Having burned that temple down to the ground, Rabbula, who in this story is featured as a prefect of Chalcis, confronts Alexander and in front of the city's residents engages him in a debate over the true religion. Rabbula's hagiographer vaguely mentions that Rabbula holds some official office in Chalcis. With regard to this reference, the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* provides an important corroboration of a detail in the *Life of Rabbula*.

The climax of the debate occurs when Rabbula demands a sign from Alexander that his religion is the true one. In response,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Alex. Akoim. 11–22 (de Stoop, 664–74; Caner, 256–63; tr. Theo-kritoff, 299–304).

<sup>130</sup> See *Rab.* 2. For a discussion of the nature of that office see xli, lvii, and lxxxi-lxxxii.

Alexander performs a miracle with fire that recalls the episode of Elijah and the priests of Baal. <sup>131</sup> Yet Alexander also exacts as a promise from Rabbula that he will not tell anyone about this miracle as long as Alexander is alive. After a second miracle, Rabbula is convinced and ready to receive baptism. To this point, the pattern of miracle-debate-second miracle bears a loose resemblance to the account of Rabbula's conversion in the *Life of Rabbula*. There, Abraham's miracle is followed by a debate with Eusebius and Acacius, and then after the second miracle that takes place in the *martyrion* of Cosmas and Damian, Rabbula is convinced and willing to receive baptism. <sup>132</sup>

In the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs*, Rabbula is baptized in an unnamed *martyrion* near the city. This detail echoes, albeit imperfectly, the miracle in the shrine of Cosmas and Damian that brings Rabbula to the threshold of baptism. Compared with the *Life of Rabbula*, the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* also records a similar miracle of Rabbula's baptismal garment. Moreover, Rabbula's complete rejection of the world and his entrance into the monastic life are nearly the same in both accounts. The *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* has an additional, third miracle that occurs in order to assure Rabbula that he need not worry about the material disposition of his family after he has assumed the monastic life. <sup>133</sup>

In the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* Rabbula is then elected bishop of Edessa. His chief concern is for "the schools of the Syriac language" in his city. Blum argues that this refers not to any so-called theological school but rather merely to some kind of local grammar school. <sup>134</sup> Given the importance of the theological

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> 1 Kgs 18:38.

<sup>132</sup> Setting up *martyria* also seems to have been an important symbol of the episcopate in northern Mesopotamia, at least in the sixth century. A text from Midyat in the Tur Abdin recounts that the first act of a newly consecrated bishop was to enter the *beth sahde*, or *martyrion*. This passage is discussed in Philippe Escolan, *Monachisme et Église: Le monachisme syrien du Ive au VIIe siècle; Un monachisme charismatique* (ThH 109; Paris: Beauchesne, 1999), 332–33, based on a text examined in G. Khouri-Sarkis, "La réception d'un évêque syrien au VIe siècle," *OrSyr* 2 (1957): 137–64.

Alexander is said to have led Rabbula's family one day's journey into the desert, and they were supplied with fresh, warm loaves of bread. See *Alex. Akoim.* 18–19 (de Stoop, 671–72; Caner, 260–61; Theokritoff, 302–3).

<sup>134</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 38.

school of Edessa in the city, the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* almost certainly refers to precisely such a school with a double function of basic and more advanced theological training. The absence of a similar statement in the *Life of Rabbula* may reflect the fact that Hiba was running the school of Edessa during the period in which Rabbula was bishop. Consequently, Rabbula's hagiographer may have sought to minimize any connections between his hero and the school of Edessa.

Blum does not consider the information concerning Rabbula that is contained in the account of the Life of Alexander Akoimētēs to be accurate. He attempts to explain similarities between the two accounts as the result of a single source on which both the author of the Life of Alexander Akoimētēs and the author of the Life of Rabbula relied. Without further explanation, he accepts the accuracy of the Life of Rabbula and rejects that of the Life of Alexander Akoimētēs. 135 Blum does provide evidence that the Life of Alexander Akoimētēs had as its motive the rehabilitation of Alexander Akoimētēs from any taint of Messalianism. 136 Blum also thinks that "the Vorlage which originated in an unknown Syriac biographical text about Rabbula, which the biographer of Alexander used in his work, was used by him for his own intentions in so radical a way, that its original form can no longer be reconstructed."137 Although this statement may accurately capture the situation, the author of the *Life of Rabbula* also took many liberties with his sources in order to present his own agenda; for instance, scant details of Rabbula's childhood are carefully crafted to present Rabbula as a heroic, not a historical, person. The introduction to the Life of Rabbula makes this clear. Its author paints for the members of his audience "an inspiring model" that they should emulate for the virtuous deeds it contains. 138

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. According to Blum, "no further argumentation is necessary to show that priority must be given to the presentation of the development of Rabbula up to his conversion and baptism, as it is offered by his hagiographer" (our translation).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 39 (our translation).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> See *Rab*. 1.

#### 1.4.1. The Temple of Baalbek

One of the consistencies between the two narratives concerns the destruction of the temple of Chalcis by Alexander and Rabbula's assault on the temple in Baalbek. The account of the assault on the temple in Baalbek narrated in the Life of Rabbula may be historical, but if so, the continued existence of the temple in the late fourth to early fifth century would be further evidence that the story of Theodosius I and his construction of a church on the site is not accurate. To be sure, the author of the Life of Rabbula may have drawn on information from earlier accounts of Christian martyrs and confessors at Baalbek and applied them to his presentation of Rabbula. The report that Emperor Theodosius I destroyed the temple and replaced it with a church 139 is inconsistent also with the archaeological evidence, which dates the basilica no earlier than the fifth to sixth century. 140 This anachronism derives perhaps from the hagiographical portrait of Theodosius, in part based on legislation to restrict the practice of non-Christian religion. Although official laws in the fifth century protected Christians and increasingly deprived the adherents of other religions of their temples and freedom of assembly, in the early fifth century Syria remained the home of non-Christians. In 392, the classical religions of the Roman Empire were outlawed, and in 399 Theodosius ordered the destruction of all temples located outside the walls of the cities. 141 Despite these prohibitions, the inhabitants of Baalbek were still offering their sacrifices at the temple in the sixth century. 142

<sup>139</sup> See John Malalas, Chonographia 13.37 (Thurn, 266, 62–63): κατέλυσε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιουπόλεως; Chronicon Paschale (year 379) (Whitby and Whitby, 50); and F. W. Deichmann, "Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern," Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts 54 (1939): 115–16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, ed., *Baalbek et Beqa<sup>c</sup>* (vol. 6 of *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*; Paris: P. Geuthner, 1967), 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Cod. Theod. 16.10.12, 16–19 (Krueger and Mommsen, 900, 902–3; Pharr, 473–74; Magnou-Nortier, 378–81, 386–91).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> According to the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah* 8.4 (Brooks, 74–77; Hamilton and Brooks, 204–5; and Greatrex, Phenix, and Horn, *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor*, 295–96), Justinian tried to Christianize the city. The Christian *Oracle of Baalbek*, which dates to the sixth century, may represent the earliest evidence of the successful Christianization of this site. See Paul J.

Baalbek was an important religious center in Syria, and one that held out against Christianization well into the sixth century. The site was well known in Syria, and it is probable that at least some members of the hagiographer's Edessene audience knew of it. Theodoret describes in gory detail a persecution of Christians in Baalbek under Julian. He also has preserved a letter from Peter II of Alexandria, an anti-Arian successor

Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek: The Tiburtine Sibyll in Greek Dress* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 10; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), 42, who dated this work to the years in between 502 and 506 with a preference for 503–4. Eventually thirteen of the inscriptions from the temple of Baalbek were purposely incorporated into a church there. See Rey-Coquais, *Baalbek et Beqa<sup>c</sup>* (on the Christianization of Baalbek, see 38–39).

143 On Baalbek, see World Heritage: Archaeological Sites and Urban Centers (Paris: Unesco; Milan: Skira; New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 202–7; Margarete van Ess and Thomas Weber, ed., Baalbek im Bann römischer Monumentalarchitektur (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1999); Friedrich Ragette, Baalbek (with an introduction by Sir Mortimer Wheeler; Park Ridge, N.J.: Noyes, 1980); Lamia Doumato, The Temple Ruins of Baalbek (Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies, 1979); Paul Collart and Pierre Coupel, Le petit autel de Baalbek (with the collaboration of H. Kalayan; Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 98; Paris: P. Geuthner, 1977); Youssef Hajjar, La triade d'Héliopolis-Baalbeck: Son culte et sa diffusion à travers les textes littéraires et les documents iconographiques (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 59; Leiden: Brill, 1977); Nina Jidejian, Baalbek: Heliopolis, "City of the Sun" (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1975); Albert Champdor, L'Acropole de Baalbek (Collection Hauts lieux de l'histoire 12; Paris: A. Guillot, 1959); David M. Robinson and George Hoyningen-Huene, Baalbek, Palmyra (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1946); and Theodor Wiegand, ed., Baalbek: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905 (Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1921–1925). For the study of Baalbek (Heliopolis), see also Alexander, Oracle of Baalbek (for the temples on the site, see 41-47); Walter Kaegi, "The Fifth-Century Twilight of Byzantine Paganism," Classica et Medievalia 27 (1969): 258-65; Damascius, Life of Isidore 92 (PG 103:1273; Henry, 28; Zintzen, 132-34; Athanassiadi, 70, pp. 182-83); and John of Ephesus, Hist. eccl., 3.27 (Brooks, CSCO 105:154-55 [Syr.]; CSCO 106:114-15 [Lat.]). A description of the site is given in Philip K. Hitti, History of Syria, Including Lebanon and Palestine (2nd ed.; London: Macmillan, 1951), 310-16 and plate II.S.

<sup>144</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. eccl.* 3.7.2–5 (Parmentier and Hansen, 182–83; Jackson, 97).

to Athanasius (373–380, including exile), that describes the inhabitants of Heliopolis in the harshest terms. <sup>145</sup> If that letter is authentic, then it reflects a period shortly before Rabbula's conversion and may well reveal contemporary attitudes of Christians toward this city. These sources are consistent with the reception of the temple in Baalbek in the *Life of Rabbula* as a symbol of the tenacity and insolence of pagan error.

### 1.4.2. Baalbek and Ascetic Imitation

In addition to suggesting that the monk was an agent of transformation in the Syrian countryside, Rabbula's hagiographer situates his assault on the temple of Baalbek within the imitation of biblical heroes and the creation of asceticism as a new form of martyrdom. 146 One of the intentions of the hagiographer's treatment of this episode was to demonstrate Rabbula's spiritual character. 147 Blum maintains the basic authenticity of this event and argues that Rabbula's own intention was to attain the "wounds of the Lord" and to imitate Christ's suffering and death through martyrdom. 148 Although Rabbula and Eusebius are physically mistreated until they are "like corpses," the hagiographer ascribes their survival to divine providence: God has preserved for them a greater crown, namely, that of the office of bishop. 149 In this episode, Rabbula and his companion Eusebius, later the bishop of Tella, are thrown down the stairs of the temple. The temple complex at Baalbek, which contained a main temple as well as other temples, notably to Bacchus, was known for its long stone stairway; on coins depicting the temple of Baalbek, this architectural feature is exaggerated out of proportion to the rest of the temple complex. 150

W. H. C. Frend provides a survey of the role of monks in the destruction of Greco-Roman temples, based largely on

 $<sup>^{145}</sup>$  Theodoret of Cyrrhus,  $\it Hist.~eccl.~4.22.21–36$  (Parmentier and Hansen, 256–60; Jackson, 124).

See Rab. 16. See also Blum, Rabbula, 30–34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Ibid., 30-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> See *Rab.* 16.

Examples may be found in Rey-Coquais, *Baalbek et Beqa<sup>c</sup>*, planche III, 1: "Monnaies 'architecturales' d'Héliopolis," especially nos. 9 and 10.

Theodoret, 151 who remarked that Greco-Roman religious practices continued in Syria in the fourth century and that Emperor Valens (364-378) permitted such practices, including Bacchanalian orgies. 152 Emperor Theodosius I (379–395) took steps against Greco-Roman cult sites in Syria, though he did not destroy the temple in Baalbek, as noted above. 153 With this in mind, it is known that he promoted Maternus Cynegius to praetorian prefect of the East in 384. Cynegius made two trips through the empire, attacking pagans and pagan sites. He had previously been engaged in the destruction of temples in Egypt in 386-387. 154 In 388, being consul for that year, he destroyed a temple in Edessa. <sup>155</sup> None of his activities seem to have been conducted on orders from, or with the approval of, Theodosius. 156 Soon after his arrival in Antioch, monks in Syria began a rampage of plundering temples in the countryside, including attacks on the property of farmers, which the monks declared to be "sacred" land. 157 Instances of attacks of the monks against sacred trees are recounted in the Life of Hypatius. 158 Theodosius's laws against Greco-Roman religion had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> W. H. C. Frend, "Monks and the End of Greco-Roman Paganism in Syria and Egypt," *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 11 (1990): 476–77.

 $<sup>^{152}</sup>$  See, e.g., Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. eccl.* 4.24; 5.21.4 (Parmentier and Hansen, 262–63, 317–18; Jackson, 126, 146).

<sup>153</sup> See lvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> See Frend, "Monks and the End of Greco-Roman Paganism," 476, for primary sources (Libanius, *Oratio* 49, 3 [Foerster, 453]; Zosimus, *Historia Nova* 4.37.3 [Paschoud, 2.2:302–3]). See also Garth Fowden, "Bishops and Temples in the Eastern Roman Empire, 320–435," *JTS* n.s. 29 (1978): 53–78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Libanius, *Oratio pro Templis (Oratio* 30) 44–46 (Norman, 140–43); and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. eccl.* 5.21.6–7 (Parmentier and Hansen, 318; Jackson, 146).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Karl-Ludwig Elvers, "Cynegius," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of the Ancient World: New Pauly* (ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 3:1052.

<sup>157</sup> Libanius, Oratio pro Templis (Oratio 30) 8–9, 11 (Norman, 108–9, 111–12).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> Callinicus, *Vita Hypatii* 30.1 (Festugière, 53; Bartelink, 200–201). On violence exerted by holy men in late antiquity, see also Michael Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* (TCH 39; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 151–250.

limited effect, <sup>159</sup> despite the monks' violent activism, as attested by the survival of such religious practices in the sixth century. Yet the "grass roots" power of the monks must have only increased with their bold attacks on the temples. The less well-organized polytheists fought back against the church, even killing a bishop who attempted to destroy their temples. <sup>160</sup>

This evidence all comes from western Syria, and there is little to connect the work of monks in western Syria with the region of Edessa. One might postulate that Christian monks in Edessa also heeded the call of emperor and bishop and vandalized the cult sites of polytheists, but the lack of corroborating evidence also allows for another interpretation of the *Life of Rabbula* in this regard, namely, that Rabbula, who was born and educated in western Syria, was appointed to Edessa precisely to root out the "pagans and heretics," especially Arians, in the wake of the ending of the Meletian schism.

To be sure, Theodoret himself did not exhort monks to destroy temples. In his view the monk had to be integrated into the structures and discipline of the church and its hierarchy, precisely to prevent the kind of mayhem mentioned above. <sup>161</sup> At least one of the purposes of his *Religious History* was to provide examples of monks whose "symbiosis of the Spirit" made them capable of extraordinary feats but whose power was part of the institutional church. <sup>162</sup> The pacifying of monks in rural areas also was guided by economic and propagandistic factors. Monks and their activities to support the needs of expanding monasteries became an important aspect of the rural economy, and they often worked with local villagers as part of the labor force. <sup>163</sup> The propagandistic dimensions of this material are clear when one considers that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> Cod. Theod. 16.10.10–12 (Krueger and Mommsen, 899–901; Magnou-Nortier, 376–81).

The death of Bishop Marcellus of Apamea while on such a campaign is recorded in Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 7.15.12–14 (Bidez and Hansen, 321–22; Hartranft, 386). For a parallel account that omits Marcellus's death see Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. eccl.* 5.21.5–15 (Parmentier and Hansen, 318–20; Jackson, 146–47).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> Forlin Patrucco, "Cristianesimo e vita rurale," 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Ibid., 203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> Ibid., 205–6.

Manichaean monks used their close economic contacts with the local population to spread their religion. <sup>164</sup> Keeping monks in good order therefore was a matter not only of survival for the monastery but also one of combating the spread of the Great Church's fiercest rival in the fourth and early fifth centuries. The canonical collections attributed to Rabbula contain many rules that strongly limit the activity of monks, especially those outside the monastery, and these may have been motivated in part by Rabbula's firsthand knowledge of the problems of monks behaving inappropriately in the Syrian countryside in the late fourth century. <sup>165</sup>

### 1.4.3. Rabbula in the Life of Alexander Akoimētēs

In a manner similar to Rabbula's activities in Baalbek, in the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* Alexander arrives in Chalcis in order to destroy its temple. <sup>166</sup> Blum maintains the possibility that the account of Rabbula's conversion in the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* was derived from a lost Syriac text. <sup>167</sup> Given the actual disposition of classical religion with respect to the ideal, it is possible that the author (or a later redactor) of the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* appropriated an older story that related the conversion of the pagan temple in Chalcis into a church.

The Life of Alexander Akoimētēs names Rabbula patēr poleōs, "father of the city." This title is not otherwise attested in Syria, but it does appear in Western Syria as late as the seventh century CE. A patēr poleōs was a financial officer of the city, a position similar to that of treasurer. This designation implied that Rabbula was responsible for the treasury of Qenneshrin. This is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Ibid., 202-3.

<sup>165</sup> See Vööbus, History of Asceticism, 2:329–30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Alex. Akoim. 9 (de Stoop, 663; Caner, 255; Theokritoff, 299).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 36–39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Alex. Akoim. 11 (de Stoop, 664, 14; Caner, 256 n. 51, and the secondary literature he provides; Theokritoff, 299–300). Blum, Rabbula, 36, understands this expression to mean "prefect."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> Glen W. Bowersock "The Syriac Life of Rabbula and Syrian Hellenism," in *Greek Biography and Panegyric in Late Antiquity* (ed. Tomas Hägg and Philip Rousseau; TCH 31; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 261.

consistent with the report of the *Life of Rabbula* that the emperor bestowed on Rabbula an important rank in Chalcis. <sup>170</sup> Yet this is the only point of connection between the two accounts. One important difference between them clearly is that the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* wrote Acacius out of the story as an important figure in the conversion of Rabbula and instead replaced Acacius with Alexander himself. <sup>171</sup>

Pierre-Louis Gatier offers a different interpretation of the destruction of the temple in Chalcis that is mentioned in the Life of Alexander Akoimētēs. 172 His point is that whether or not the Life of Alexander Akoimētēs is accurate even in its basic portrait of the cause of the conflagration, it is possible that this temple had already been destroyed by the time the Life of Rabbula was composed, soon after 436. In support of this argument Gatier notes that the author of the Life of Rabbula was not aware of a large pagan temple in Chalcis. When Rabbula and his companion Eusebius, the future bishop of Tella, look for a pagan building to destroy, they decide to go to Baalbek. This choice may be in part motivated by the fact that the pagan temple closer to home in Chalcis had already been destroyed and won for the Christians. If this is not a historically reliable account, the hagiographer may have appropriated an older story that related the conversion of the pagan temple in Chalcis into a church. That there was such a temple in Chalcis is supported by the remark in the Life of Rabbula that Rabbula's father, a pagan priest, sacrificed with Emperor Julian before the latter undertook his ill-fated campaign against the Persians in 363. 173

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> See below, lxxxi-lxxxii. Evidence in the form of Mesopotamian papyri suggests that the Roman emperor conferred on King Abgar of Edessa an honorary title of similar import. See ibid., 263.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> It is probable that a later redactor of the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* placed his subject in such close proximity to Rabbula's conversion in order to stave off charges that the monastery, which Alexander founded in Constantinople, was guilty of "Messalianism." See discussion below, clxii.

<sup>172</sup> Pierre-Louis Gatier, "Un moine sur la frontière, Alexandre l'Acémète en Syrie," in *Frontières terrestres, frontières célestes dans l'antiquité* (ed. Aline Rousselle; Collections Études [Presses universitaires de Perpignan] 20; Paris: De Boccard, 1995), 435–57. See *Alex. Akoim.* 11 (de Stoop, 664–66; Caner, 256–57; Theokritoff, 299–300).

 $<sup>^{173}</sup>$  Rab. 2. It is possible that this sacrifice took place in Beroea, as indicated in Julian's Letter 58, addressed to Libanius the Sophist and Quaestor

Another piece of evidence Gatier discusses is the *madrāšā* of Balai (fl. first half of the fifth century) on the dedication of the church in Qenneshrin. <sup>174</sup> Gatier considers the possibility that this church was built on the ruins of a temple that can be found on the top of Nebi <sup>c</sup>Is, the hill that rises in the northern half of the original settlement of Chalcis. <sup>175</sup> If Gatier is correct, and only further archaeological work in Chalcis can decide this, then the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* may contain a better picture of the "Historical Rabbula" than the one offered by his hagiographer.

Another aspect of the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* calls the historicity of its account into question. During the reign of Emperor Justinian in the sixth century, Alexander's spiritual progeny in Constantinople were accused of being Nestorian heretics. To exonerate their founder and themselves by association, they portrayed Alexander not only as an "orthodox" person but even as the one who implanted orthodox teaching in Rabbula, a celebrated anti-Nestorian figure in Syria. <sup>176</sup> When this information is taken into account, the probability increases that the episode

(Wright, 200, 202): "From Litarbai into Beroea I went forth, and Zeus signified [that] all things [would be] opportune, having shown a visible, divine portent. Remaining there a day, I saw the acropolis and sacrificed imperially to Zeus a white bull" (our translation). One may also note Julian's comments about the reception of his speech to the Senate on the worship of the (Greco-Roman) gods: "Although [the senators of Beroea] all sanctioned my arguments, few at all were persuaded to them, and those [few] were the ones who prior to my arguments had sound opinions" (our translation). The reason for this statement remains unclear; the hesitancy of most of the senators may have been due to the influence of Christianity on the populace of the city. In any case, the presence of a pagan priest in Chalcis is consistent with the presence of some cult site there.

174 For the Syriac text, see Julian Joseph Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri Rabulae episcopi Edesseni Balaei aliorumque opera selecta e codicibus syriacis manuscriptis in Museo Britannico et Bibliotheca Bodleiana asservatis primus edidit (Oxford: Clarendon, 1865), 251–58. A French translation was provided by François Graffin, "Poème de Mar Balaï pour la dédicace de l'église de Qennešrīn," ParOr 10 (1981–1982): 103–21. An English translation of a few sections is to be found in Kathleen McVey, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa in the Context of Other Early Greek and Syriac Hymns for the Consecration of Church Buildings," ARAM 5 (1993): 338–50. For discussion of evidence derived from that hymn in defining the corpus of writings of Balai, see Phenix, Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin, 27–31.

<sup>175</sup> Gatier, "Moine sur la frontière," 446.

<sup>176</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 38–39.

between Alexander and Rabbula portrayed in the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* is a hagiographical and propagandistic invention inserted into the story at a later date, as Gatier has argued. Until further evidence is unearthed, it is most prudent to accept the view that the attacks of Rabbula and Eusebius on the temple at Heliopolis and the attack of Alexander on a temple in Chalcis reflect the brazen triumphalism of fifth-century Christianity in the Roman Empire. <sup>177</sup>

The second work, the Life of the Man of God, which consists of a complex of three different versions, offers a different etiology for Rabbula's philanthropy. 178 Rabbula appears only in the original Syriac version and in a Christian Palestinian Aramaic fragment identified for the first time in this corpus, 179 which demonstrates that Rabbula's charity was not part of his ēthos but was the result of repentance compelled by the story of the poor Man of God. The Life of the Man of God affirms Rabbula's charitable work during his episcopate. Since this work and the Life of Rabbula have contrary biases in their presentation of Rabbula's character, the agreement of both works concerning the activity of the bishop on behalf of the poor suggests that to some degree these hagiographical accounts reflect the actual philanthropic activity of the bishop of Edessa. 180 Rabbula's role in the Life of the Man of God is narrated rather sparsely. Thus, this text does not allow the reader to derive significant further information concerning the historical accuracy of the Life of Rabbula.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> See Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c.* 370–529 (2 vols.; RGRW 115; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 2:163, who discusses the flashpoint in northern Syria. See also Robert Coates-Stephens, "Attitudes to *spolia* in Some Late Antique Texts," in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology* (ed. Luke Lavan and William Bowden; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 341–58.

<sup>178</sup> For a brief introduction and new English translations of three versions of the *Life of the Man of God*, see Doran, *Stewards*, 3–38. Note that Doran has edited only some of the texts pertaining to the story of the Man of God. See also *BHO* 36–42; there are also two different accounts in Armenian (*BHO* 43–44; in which his name is given not as Alexius but as Ephemianus). See Arthur Amiaud, *La légende syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'Homme de Dieu* (BEHE 79; Paris: Vieweg, 1899), 3–14, 29–44 (*BHO* 36–40) and 15–28, 45–55 (*BHO* 41–42). For the Greek Alexius, see *BHG* 51–56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> See below, ccxlii–ccxliii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> For further comments on Rabbula's concern for the poor, see below, cvx–cxvii.

All three works (the *Life of Rabbula*, the Alexius legend, and the Man of God account) center on foreigners who come to Chalcis or Edessa and transform Rabbula, either from a pagan into an ascetic Christian or into a bishop who shows great concern for the poor and for foreigners. Rabbula then becomes a character metaphor for personal transformation through the work of an outsider. This theme of the outsider is also an important *topos* in Christian hagiographical literature and forms a subtype of the "holy man" in late antique Syria. <sup>181</sup>

### I.5. THE LIFE OF RABBULA: SITZ IM LEBEN AND DATE OF COMPOSITION

The *Life of Rabbula* is a didactic piece of writing that instructed and inspired the monastic pro-Cyrillian circles in Edessa under Hiba, Rabbula's successor. The work was thus addressed primarily to a monastic audience. One may discern this from the strong emphasis on monastic discipline, and it is perhaps reflected in the author's term of address to his audience, calling them "brothers" (Syr.: aḥḥê). The *Life of Rabbula* was above all a work designed to inspire the minority group of those who supported Rabbula's reformation of the church in Edessa. The double connotation of the term "brothers" implies such an intimacy that characterized relationships within a smaller group. The author refers to Rabbula throughout as "our Father" and to Edessa as "our city," indicating that he was an Edessene writing for an audience of Edessene clergy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> See Frederick G. McLeod, "The Stranger as a Source of Social Change in Early Syriac Christianity," in *Christianity and the Stranger: Historical Essays* (ed. Francis W. Nichols; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 40–44. With regard to the Alexius legend, McLeod follows the same view as Han J. W. Drijvers, "Die Legende des heiligen Alexius und der Typus des Gottesmannes im syrischen Christentum," in *Typos, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter* (ed. Margot Schmidt and Carl Friedrich Geyer; Regensburg: Pustet, 1982), 187–217.

<sup>182</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> Rab. 47, 49, 56; see also 19, 45, 55. See also Blum, Rabbula, 6 n. 8.

 $<sup>^{184}\,</sup>$  See  $Rab.\,$  r. To be sure, this is the only instance in which "our city" occurs in the Life of Rabbula.

After Rabbula's death, those among his clerics who remained faithful to his cause of an Alexandrian Christology and a strong anti-Nestorian position that challenged the Antiochene theological approach that was at home in Edessa may have felt themselves hemmed in by the accession of Hiba. Although there is no overt criticism of Hiba, the omissions and innuendo are clear enough, once the context is understood. Based on these reflections, one may conclude that the Life of Rabbula likely dates to the first period of the episcopacy of Hiba. That period ended with Hiba's removal from the bishop's throne of Edessa at the "Robber" Synod of Ephesus in 449. 185 The evidence for this dating derives primarily from the fact that the author of the *Life of Rabbula* does not mention the deposition of Hiba. In contrast, Blum argues for an earlier dating of the composition, perhaps to mark the first anniversary of Rabbula's death or sometime soon thereafter. 186 Arthur Vööbus argues that the Life of Rabbula was composed soon after the death of Hiba, around 450. 187 No matter the date, Rabbula's encomiast wished to create an apology for his subject. In this respect, inclusion of certain biographical details may have been occasioned by a perceived need to defend Rabbula's unpopular reforms and his rejection of Edessa's theological traditions. For a similar strategy one might compare, for instance, the *Life* of Cyprian, which may have included certain information in order to appease those who were jealous of Cyprian's rapid rise to fame

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> On Hiba (Syr.:  $H\bar{\imath}b\bar{a}$ , from  $Y^eh\bar{\imath}b\bar{a}$ , "gift"; Gk.: Ibas), see E. R. Hayes, L'École d'Édesse (Paris: Les Presses Modernes, 1930), 191-208; and now especially Rammelt, Ibas von Edessa. Robert Devreesse, Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste (Studi e Testi 141; Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948), 125-52, presents Hiba in the context of Theodoret of Cyrrhus's opposition to Ephesus and Hiba's possible role in translating Theodore of Mopsuestia's works into Syriac. See also Eckhard Halleman, "Ibas," in Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (ed. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz; Hamm: Verlag Traugott Bautz, 1975), 2:1236-37; Wolfgang Schwaigert, "Ibas," LTK 5:381; Peter Bruns, "Ibas," in Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart (ed. Hans Dieter Betz; 3rd ed.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 4:1; idem, "Ibas von Edessa," in Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur (ed. Siegmund Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings; 3rd ed.; Fribourg im Breisgau: Herder, 2002), 386; and Doran, Stewards, 109-32, with a translation of the acts of the "Robber" Synod of Ephesus (449) (133-88).

<sup>186</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Vööbus, "Literarische Verhältnis"; and Graffin, "Rabboula."

and to explain his flight from the Decian persecution. <sup>188</sup> Likewise, the *Life of Rabbula* omitted significant details in order to avoid angering those who controlled the church of Edessa after Rabbula's death and who were hostile to his reforms.

# 1.5.1. Historicity of the Life of Rabbula and the Hagiographer as Source

In the Rabbula Corpus, only two datable events have been preserved for reconstructing Rabbula's life. Rabbula becomes fatally ill "on the new moon of the month of July, at the completion of three months beyond the twenty-fourth year of his life in the episcopate." Secondly, one reads that Rabbula dies "on the seventh day of the month of August." The author does not tell his audience in which year Rabbula has died, but it was almost certainly in 436. This date is based on two remarks offered in the notice in the *Chronicle of Edessa*. There a comment reports that Rabbula became bishop of Edessa on October first in the year 732 of the Seleucid era, which corresponds to 412 CE. The same work also provides a notice of his death, saying that "on the eighth of August of the year 746 Rabbula the bishop of Edessa departed from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> So Mühlenberg, "Débuts de la biographie chrétienne," 527–28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> See *Rab.* 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> See *Rab.* 55.

<sup>191</sup> For an early discussion of the chronology of Rabbula's life, see also Paul Peeters, "La vie de Rabboula, évêque d'Édesse († 7 août 436)," RSR 18 (1928): 170–204, here 197–202. See also Marie-Joseph Lagrange, "Un évêque du v<sup>e</sup> siècle, Rabulas, évêque d'Edesse," *La Science catholique* 1108 (1888): 185–226. For a recent discussion of Rabbula's life, see Karl Pinggéra, "Rabbula von Edessa," in *Syrische Kirchenväter* (ed. Wassilios Klein; Urban-Taschenbücher 587; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2004), 57–70.

<sup>192</sup> Chron. Ed. 51 (Guidi, CSCO 1:6,31–35 [Syr.]; Guidi, CSCO 2:7,2–4 [Lat.]): "In the year 723 [411/412 CE] Rabbula became bishop of Edessa. He built the house of St. Stephen, which had formerly been a House of the Sabbath, a synagogue of the Jews [dayhūdāyyê']; he built this by order of the emperor (Theodosius II)" (our translation). Commenting in a footnote on the "synagogue of the Jews," Ludwig Hallier, Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik mit dem syrischen Text und einer Übersetzung (TU IX, 1; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1892), 106–7, was the first to argue that this text of the Chronicle of Edessa should be emended from "Jews" to "Audians," based on the witness of the Life of Rabbula that Rabbula's actions against this group were harsher than his attempt to convert the Jews of Edessa.

this world." The statement that Rabbula's father sacrificed for Emperor Julian before his invasion of Mesopotamia is difficult to verify. If true, it means his father sacrificed in March 363. The encomiast provides no information as to whether Rabbula was alive at that time, and so this detail offers no help in dating Rabbula's early life.

There is much in the Life of Rabbula that is historical. The framework of the narrative is a construction of epideictic rhetoric. Setting aside the elaborate synkriseis and the verisimilar speeches and dialogues, which no one in the encomiast's late antique audience would have taken as being ipsissima verba, everything nonmiraculous reported about Rabbula is historically possible. 194 The encomiast exaggerated details as part of his elaboration of Rabbula's character, but there is no reason to doubt the biographical material. Much of the hagiographer's information about Rabbula's episcopate may have come from firsthand knowledge. He was aware of forty-six letters that Rabbula had composed in Greek, which he wanted to translate into Syriac as part of his work of preserving the memory of his hero. 195 There are several instances in which the author has written in the first person. Setting aside the *prooimion* and epilogue, in which the first person may be used for emotive effect, all but one of these occurrences appear in the narration of Rabbula's relationships with his clergy. This suggests that the author was a member of Rabbula's monastic clergy and an eyewitness to key elements of his episcopal activity. In one instance, Rabbula's thoughts are prefaced with the author's statement, "as he recounted to us." 196 This could be a fig leaf for verisimilar speech, but in light of the author's participation in other aspects of the story, this statement may also be a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> Chron. Ed. 110.59 (Guidi, CSCO 1:7,10–14 [Syr.]; Guidi, CSCO 2:7,16–18 [Lat.]): "In the year 746, on August 8th, 436 CE, Rabbula, the bishop of Edessa, departed this world, whom the great Hiba succeeded. This one (Hiba) built the new church that today is called the House of the Apostles" (our translation). See also Blum, *Rabbula*, 7 n. 16, for a discussion of the dating of Rabbula's death.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> "Verisimilar speech" is a technical term in rhetoric, meaning a firstperson speech that an author composes for a historical individual as if he or she had actually said it, in order to present the qualities of the individual's character.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> See *Rab.* 47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Rab. 4.

paraphrase or recollection of a story Rabbula himself told to members of his inner circle of ascetics in Edessa. The topoi of Rabbula's childhood and asceticism are found in earlier ascetic hagiography, but here the question arises whether these similarities are due to literary borrowing or to their influence in shaping ascetic behavior, or whether they reflect to some extent ascetic ideals that were actually practiced, or whether it is a combination of these. One can weaken this line of reasoning and state that Rabbula's encomiast used ascetic *topoi* to give the audience an appreciation of Rabbula's ascetic character, without having to know precisely those feats of strength that his hero actually performed. In effect, the details that so closely resemble those of Anthony and other ascetics may be instances of verisimilar action. The author, almost certainly an ascetic himself, extrapolated from Rabbula's rigorous ascetic life back to his days as an ascetic-in-training and imagined what he must have experienced that allowed him to resist the corrupting temptations of high church office. The specific details are possible, as the subsequent discussion will show; but like so much else in ascetic hagiography, these details cannot be proven.

Thus, there is no reason to accept the assessment of Paul Peeters, that the *Life of Rabbula* is entirely fictitious. While conceding that some aspects were literary, <sup>197</sup> Blum does not perceive any ground for denying the veracity of the report of Rabbula's childhood, <sup>198</sup> although the hagiographer's sources for this stage of Rabbula's life, other than reports he may have received from the saint himself, are lost. It is more likely that Rabbula's origins are more liberally embellished than other *topoi* of his life. However, there are elements that do conform to what is known about Chalcis in the late fourth to early fifth century. The *Life of Rabbula* and other sources contain enough information to suggest that the hagiographer had some knowledge of the history of this city.

 $<sup>^{197}</sup>$  Blum's argument is a reply to the skepticism of Paul Peeters, whose study of the  $Life\ of\ Rabbula$  denies the veracity of the account in nearly all of its details

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 15–17.

# 1.5.2. Chalcis and the Life of Rabbula 199

Chalcis (Syr.: Qenneshrin or Qinnishrin; lit. "Nest of the Eagles"200) was the town where Rabbula was born, where he rose to a position of civic authority, where he experienced a conversion to Christianity, and where he practiced asceticism before his election to the metropolitan see of Edessa. From this setting, a portrait of Rabbula's ecclesiastical, ascetic, and cultural milieu emerges. This milieu is not necessarily identical with that experienced by Rabbula's hagiographer. While the city of Edessa was connected with northern Syria through trade routes, and the Christians of that city ultimately looked to Antioch for direction in theological and ecclesiastical affairs, the local context of Edessa differed in important respects from Chalcis and the nearby larger city of Beroea (Syr. and Arab.: Halab, Aleppo). If we accept the story of Rabbula's origins as essentially accurate, these were the two most important cities of Rabbula's years before he became bishop. The bishop of Beroea, Acacius, a significant figure among the monastic bishops of Syria in the fifth century, played an important role in Rabbula's conversion. Whether Rabbula's connections to Acacius are historical or not, it is worthwhile to investigate the historical background of Chalcis and Beroea in greater detail.

The city of Chalcis was known in late antiquity by its full name, Chalcis ad Belum, a designation that distinguished it through reference to the name of the River Belus (Arab.: Nahr ul-Queiq), which flows north to Aleppo and is part of the drainage basin of the Euphrates.<sup>201</sup> Chalcis stood near the western bank of the river, just downstream from where this river emerges from

<sup>199</sup> Some of the material in this section is drawn from Phenix, Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin, 47–71.

J. A. Talbert, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (in collaboration with Roger S. Bagnall et al.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 68 C2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> The Romans called the city Chalcis ad Belum, "Chalcis of [the god] Bel," in order to distinguish it from Chalcis ad Libanum. There is much confusion in ancient sources concerning these two sites. See Victor Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit* (Philologus Supplement Band 19; Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1927; repr. New York: Arno, 1973), 56–57.

the swamp of El-Matkh. <sup>202</sup> The site of Chalcis ad Belum is situated some 25 kilometers south-southwest of Aleppo, 80 kilometers southeast of Antioch, and 100 kilometers southwest of Edessa. <sup>203</sup>

The city was probably an early Hellenistic settlement, but its early history is obscure, reflecting the dearth of evidence for Syria more generally in this period.<sup>204</sup> Appian's claim that

<sup>202</sup> J.-Ch. Balty, "Le Bélus de Chalcis et des fleuves de Ba'al de Syrie-Palestine," in *Archéologie au Levant: Recueil à la mémoire de Roger Saidah* (ed. Roger Saidah; Collection de la Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen 12. Série archéologique 9; Lyon: Maison de l'Orient; Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1982), 287–98. In Arabic this site is called Eski Halab or Hadir Qinnišrīn. See also G. Levenq, "Balai," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de geographie ecclesiastiques* (ed. Alfred Baudrillart; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1932), 6:304.

<sup>203</sup> Erich Kettenhofen, Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients B VI 4: Östlicher Mittelmeerraum und Mesopotamien; Spätrömische Zeit (337–527 n. Chr.) (Tübingen: L. Reichert, 1984), 37° 36°. See also Georges Tate, Les campagnes de la Syrie du nord du 11e au VIIe siècle (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1992), 1:288; and Siegfried Mittmann and Götz Schmitt, Tübinger Bibelatlas (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), BV8. There are only few inscriptions from Chalcis, and these are from the time of Justinian, ca. 550. See W. K. Prentice, Greek and Latin Inscriptions (Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, Part 3; New York: Century, 1908), 243-46; and Henri Pognon, Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie, et de la région de Mossoul (Paris: Gabalda, 1907), which record no Syriac inscriptions from Chalcis but do contain one from Aleppo on the sarcophagus of a child. The child was a Christian, a fact evidenced by the cross engraved before the first letter. Pognon, Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie, 146-47, dates this inscription to the reign of Constantine or shortly thereafter on the basis of the fact that dalath and resh are not distinguished from one another, as they would be at Edessa, and reads the name of the author of the inscription as "Uranius." On inscriptions from Zebed, see Enno Littmann, Semitic Inscriptions (Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, Part 4; New York: Century, 1904), 47-54, and Talbert, Barrington Atlas, 68 E2 (ed. Eduard Sachau, "Eine dreisprachige Inskription von Zébed," Monatsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin [1881]: 169-90, plus two plates; M. A. Kugener, "Nouvelle note sur l'inscription trilingue de Zébed," RSO 1 [1907]: 577-86, plus one plate facing p. 586).

<sup>204</sup> Although Chalcis has been the subject of archaeological surveys, there has never been an excavation of the site. See Glen Bowersock, "Chalcis ad Belum and Anasartha in Byzantine Syria," in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron* (ed. G. Dagron and V. Déroche; Travaux et Mémoires 14; Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2002), 47–55, for a sketch of this history.

Seleucus Nicanor established Chalcis as a colony is questionable. Chalcis was a city of importance in the Roman period, receiving the name Flavia and minting its own coinage with the name Fl.  $Khalkide\bar{o}n$ , "Flavia of the Chalcidonese."  $^{206}$ 

Chalcis was an important city in the areas of agriculture, commerce, and defense. The soil of the surrounding land to the west, north, and east was among the most fertile in Syria, the land directly to the south being the swamp of El-Matkh. The city was also near the edge of the arid steppe that eventually trails off in the south and southeast into the Syrian Desert. Important north-south and east-west roads crossed in Chalcis, as well as minor roads that led to smaller dependent towns and villages. No later than the end of the fourth century, Chalcis was circumvallated by a fortified wall. <sup>207</sup> These walls and the garrison protected the region not only against the Persians but also against the raiding parties of nomads. <sup>208</sup>

The topos of Rabbula's childhood begins in Chalcis. The Life of Rabbula states that Julian sacrificed through the hand of Rabbula's father on his way to battle against the Persians (Rab. 2). Here, the encomiast refers to the large sacrifice that Julian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 57 (White, 212–15), although Appian leaves the reader wondering whether Chalcis ad Libanum is not meant instead; Agapius of Membij, *History* 1.2 (Vasiliev, PO 11.1:109); Bowersock, "Chalcis ad Belum," 49 n. 6; and Tscherikower, *Hellenistischen Städtegründungen*, 112–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> Barclay V. Head, *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (with the assistance of G. F. Hill, George MacDonald, and W. Wroth; 2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1911; repr., New York: S. J. Durst, 1983), 778.

At the gate of the city were protective statues of Christ, the emperor, the praetorian prefects, and the bishops, in order to frighten marauders. For archaeological evidence, see Paul Monceaux and Léonce Brossé, "Chalcis ad Belum: Notes sur l'histoire et les ruines de la ville," *Syria* 6 (1925): 342; this inscription is also published in William H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris: F. Didot, 1870), no. 1832; August Boeckh et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (4 vols.; Berlin: ex Officiae Academicae, vendit G. Reimeri libraria, 1828–1877), 3:26, no. 8712; and Louis Jalabert and René Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929-), 2:436, no. 1832.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> Monceaux and Brossé, "Chalcis ad Belum," 342.

offered before his ill-fated battle with the Persians in 363.<sup>209</sup> Julian performed some type of divination in order to determine the likelihood of success of his campaign to Persia. In thanks for the good omen, he offered a white bull, either to Zeus<sup>210</sup> or to Helios/Mithras, the emperor's patron deity.<sup>211</sup> The historical accuracy of this reference to Julian's sacrifice is beyond doubt, but it remains unclear whether it took place at the acropolis in Chalcis or in Beroea.<sup>212</sup>

If Julian selected Chalcis as the site of his sacrifice, this could reflect more than his personal connection to the city. Whether or not this is a fictive statement, Julian had connections to Chalcis. Julian's teacher and philosophical advisor was Maximus of Ephesus, whom Julian honored with the position of *kathēgemōn*, or chief religious advisor. Maximus was a student of Aedesius, who was a student of Iamblichus of Chalcis (ca. 245-ca. 325 CE). Julian's program of religious revival centered on the mysticism of Iamblichus, including a strong interest in divination. Likely because of Maximus's influence, Julian favored Chalcis by relocating to it the inhabitants of a local village, Anasartha. If Rabbula's father was a participant in Julian's sacrifice, then he too may have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> Franz Cumont, "La marche de l'empereur Julien d'Antioche à l'Euphrate," Études syriennes (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1917), 1–33; M. F. A. Brok, De perzische expeditie van Keizer Julian (Groningen: J. B. Woulters, 1959). See Rab. 2, and notes ad loc. Although the exact date of this sacrifice is unknown, it likely ocurred on March 6 or 7. On March 5, 363 CE, the thirty-one-year-old emperor set out from Antioch with his army and a retinue of citizens. For a description of the sacrifices and festivals that Julian celebrated between Antioch and his death at Maranga on June 25, 363, see John Holland Smith, The Death of Classical Paganism (New York: Scribner's, 1976), 112–14. For a discussion of the theology behind Julian's "mania" for sacrifices, see Nicole Belayche, "'Partager la table des dieux': L'empereur Julien et les sacrifices," RHR 218.4 (2001): 457–86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> Julian, Letter to Libanius 98 (Letter 27), 399B-402B (Bidez, 180–84). See also Glen Bowersock, Julian the Apostate (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> See Polymnia Athanassiadi, "A Contribution to Mithraic Theology: The Emperor Julian's *Hymn to King Helios*," JTS 28.2 (1977): 360–71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Bowersock, "Chalcis ad Belum," 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> Polymnia Athanassiadi, *Julian: An Intellectual Biography* (London: Routledge, 1992), 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Bowersock, "Syriac Life of Rabbula," 261. See also Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum* 24.1.9 (Rolfe, 2:404–5).

shared the Iamblichan belief in the purification of the soul through such rituals, though this is impossible to prove. <sup>215</sup> If Rabbula was the heir to his father's position, as the *Life of Rabbula* may imply (*Rab.* 3), he would have been initiated into such religious practices and have been an adept of the spiritual system of Iamblichus.

There is another aspect of religion at Chalcis that the encomiast may have incorporated into his biographical account. The Latin name of the River El-Queiq, "Belum," is derived from Baal, the deity associated with rain and agriculture. In Syria, the cult of Baal was associated with high places, <sup>216</sup> sometimes under the name of Zeus, reflecting centuries of Hellenistic influence. <sup>217</sup> The sole deity attested at Chalcis is Helioseiros, a form of the sun god. <sup>218</sup> The most famous example of this syncretism in Syria is the presence of the temple at Heliopolis/Baalbek. <sup>219</sup> Baalbek plays an important role in the *Life of Rabbula*: it is the location to which

<sup>215</sup> Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 7.2.6–11 (Boissonade, 475; Giangrande, 44; Wright, 371), preserves an unflattering account of Maximus and his passion for magic by his teacher Eusebius of Myndos. See also Athanassiadi, *Julian*, 33.

<sup>216</sup> To the evidence offered by Gatier, "Moine sur la frontière," 445–46, one may add that at Ugarit, Baal dwelled on a mountain north of the city, perhaps a mountain named Ṣaphōn, whence his title at Ugarit, "Ba'al Ṣaphōn." The temple of Baal at Ugarit was located on one of the highest points of the city. In the Hebrew Bible, the polemic against the worship of Baal also associates his cult with high places. For a summary of the evidence, see Herbert Niehr, *Religionen in Israels Umwelt: Einführung in die nordwestsemitischen Religionen Syrien-Palästinas* (Die Neue Echter Bibel. Ergänzungsband 5 zum Alten Testament; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1998), 31–32, with ample references to Ugaritic source texts.

<sup>217</sup> J. Starcky, "Stèle d'Elahagabal," in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 49 (1975–1976): 501–20; O. Callot and J. Marcillet-Jaubert, "Hauts-lieux de Syrie du nord," in *Temples et sanctuaires: Séminaire de recherche* 1981–1983 (ed. G. Roux; Lyon: GIS-Maison de l'Orient; Paris: Boccard, 1984), 185–202; R. Mouterde and A. Poidebard, *Le limes de Chalcis: Organization de la steppe en Haute Syrie romaine* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1945), 7–9; and Gatier, "Moine sur la frontière," 446.

<sup>218</sup> Henri Seyrig, "Le grand prêtre de Dionysos à Byblos: Ères pompéiennes des villes de Phénicie; Questions héliopolitaines," *Syria* 31.1–2 (1954): 94–95.

<sup>219</sup> Sabine Fick, "Emesa, Heliopolis und Hierapolis," in *Religions-geschichte Syriens: Von der Frühzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (ed. Peter W. Haider, Manfred Hutter, and Siegfried Kreuzer; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1996), 199–200.

Rabbula travels to vandalize the statues of the deity, in order to receive martyrdom. Prom the *Life of Rabbula* itself, one does not gain any clue as to why Rabbula and Eusebius chose to attack this temple; Chalcis had a temple, and there were certainly other shrines to Syrian or Hellenic deities. Baalbek's temple was famous; this and the fact that both Chalcis and Baalbek were centers of worship of Baal under the form of the sun deity may have confused Rabbula's encomiast. Of course, the story as reported may also be true. <sup>221</sup>

The *Life of Rabbula* informs its reader that Rabbula's mother was a Christian, who "was constantly making war with her husband that he be converted to the fear of Christ." The Christian mother and pagan father may reflect a hagiographic *topos* in the lives of early Christian saints. The author may have taken license with this detail in order to create a cause in Rabbula's character that explains the reason for his conversion to Christianity. This familial struggle may also be a metaphor for the wider

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> See *Rab*. 16. Rabbula and Eusebius attempt to find martyrdom by attacking the statues of the temple there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> See below, cxxiv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> See *Rab.* 2.

<sup>223</sup> Certainly well known are Augustine's Christian mother Monica and his less than properly converted father. For a recent exploration of the portrayal of Monica as a Christian mother, see Carole Monica C. Burnett, "Mother-Child Bonding in the Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church," in *Children in Late Ancient Christianity* (ed. Cornelia B. Horn and Robert R. Phenix; Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 58; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 92–95. The topic of potential conflict between a Christian wife and her non-Christian husband within hagiography continues earlier concerns of Christian authors who addressed the situations of women who were married to non-Christian men. See the discussion in Margaret Y. MacDonald, "Early Christian Women Married to Unbelievers," *Studies in Religion | Sciences religieuses* 19 (1990): 221–34. For a quite detailed discussion of possible parallels between the lives of Rabbula and Augustine, see Adrianus van Selms, "Rabbula van Edessa, 'Siriese Parallel van Augustinus'," *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 4 (1947–1948), 95–118. We are grateful to Herrie van Rooy for obtaining a copy of this article for us.

transformation of late antiquity in Syria. 224 Still, there is reason to accept that the hagiographer provides accurate information concerning Rabbula's parents. Evidence of Christian settlement in Chalcis from the third century is preserved. 225 By the fourth century, both polytheism and Christianity were sufficiently well established in the city that Rabbula could have been from a mixed marriage. In the portrait of Rabbula's parents one is tempted to see both a scale model of the contact and conflict between Christianity and local religion in Syria and a metaphor for the slow process of Christianization that would never completely eliminate the worship of the ancient gods and goddesses until well into the Islamic period. 226 It is also possible that the hagiographer chose to talk about the different religious affiliations of his hero's parents as a foreshadowing of Rabbula's victorious struggle with heretics, Jews, Manichaeans, and others in Edessa. 227 This hypothesis is supported by the encomiast's statement, "From them was born the most heroic Rabbula, a zealot, a second Josiah, if this likeness by which we paint the honor of the saint is adequate." 228 Historical metaphor and literary foreshadowing are not mutually exclusive; the author may have attempted to combine both perspectives in a single literary device.

The reader learns that Rabbula's stubborn refusal to convert to Christianity was due to the high position that he held and that had been granted to him by the emperor, although it is not clear which emperor this may have been or whether this was an indication that Rabbula inherited his father's priestly function. The *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* indicates that Rabbula's status derived from his wealth and that he was from a noble

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Joel Thomas Walker, *The Legend of Mar Qardagh: Narrative and Christian Heroism in Late Antique Iran* (TCH 40; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 206–45, explores the familial struggles between the Christian hero and his non-Christian family members in Syriac hagiography as accessible in the *Acts of the Persian Martyrs*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> See below, lxxxii–lxxxiii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 15, presents the relationship between Rabbula's parents as an image of an "active tolerance" between Christianity and the previous local religion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> For a discussion of pagans in Edessa, see below, cxlii–cxlvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Rab. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Rab. 2.

family. 230 The hagiographer's emphasis on Rabbula's elevated social status may point to a further parallel between Rabbula and Iamblichus. Eunapius's Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists reveals that Iamblichus was also born to noble parents: "he was of illustrious birth, and belonged to the well-to-do and fortunate classes."231 Whether or not the details are true, Rabbula's hagiographer took care to indicate that Rabbula was from a noble family. In the organization of this story about a man who has rejected the world, this element, mentioned only in the context of Rabbula's education and youth, reflects the importance of pedigree on the character of the individual: those fated to noble families were destined to be great souls. It also suggests that Christian biographers of great men had barely Christianized the narratives of Greek philosophical biography. Further work in the areas of Syriac hagiography, Neoplatonist biography, and their intersections may offer stronger confirmation for this line of thought.

Christianity in Chalcis in this period is difficult to describe. The dearth of archaeological and epigraphical data make it impossible to reconstruct the history of Christianity in Qenneshrin/Chalcis before the mid-fourth century in any significant detail. Some facts may be pieced together from later written sources. Syriac tradition associates Chalcis, as well as a number of other cities in northern Syria, with the preaching of the apostle Simon the Zealot, a tradition that has been handed down by Solomon of Bosra. Subsequent to the timeframe associated with Simon the Zealot, no further tradition or document witnesses to Christianity in the city until the fourth century, when

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> Alex. Akoim. 11 (de Stoop, 664; Caner, 256; Theokritoff, 299–300).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> Eunapius, *Lives of the Philosophers* 5.1.1 (Boissonade, 457; Giangrande, 10; Wright, 362–73; see also Dillon, "Iamblichus of Chalcis," 864): δς η̈ν καὶ κατὰ γένος μὲν ἐπιφανης καὶ τῶν ἀβρῶν καὶ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> For a general discussion of the characteristics of earliest Syriac Christianity, see Robert Murray, "The Characteristics of the Earliest Syriac Christianity," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (ed. Nina Garsoïan, Thomas F. Matthews, and Robert W. Thomson; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 3–16. Whether these characteristics also were those of early Christianity in Chalcis remains an open question.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Ernest A. Wallis Budge, ed., *The Book of the Bee: The Syriac Text Edited from the Manuscripts in London, Oxford, and Munich* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1887), 106. The text states that after a tour of Qenneshrin, Zeugma, Aleppo, and Samosata, Simon was buried in Cyrrhus.

Chalcis emerges as a point of reference in synodal acts. It is certainly possible that Christianity may have reached Chalcis from Antioch already in the second century. Jews traveling up from Jerusalem and coming to the Jewish communities in Nisibis and Edessa would have followed the system of roads that led first north to Antioch and then eastward across the Euphrates to Edessa. The earliest attested bishop of Chalcis was a semi-Arian bishop, Thelaphius (ca. 342/343), and the first attested bishop from the Great Church was a certain Magnus (from before 363; the year of his death is unknown), whose name appears among the bishops participating in the Synod of Antioch in 363.

Subsequent to Magnus, no bishop of Chalcis is known until Eusebius (from 378 or 379, date of death unknown), who played a decisive role in Rabbula's conversion. The fifth-century poet Balai of Qenneshrin may refer to Eusebius as the bishop in his *Hymn on the Dedication of the Church in Qenneshrin* when he prays, "Long shall live the priest, who built [the Church at

<sup>235</sup> Giorgio Fedalto, *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus*, *Antiochenus*, *Hierosolymitanus* (vol. 2 of *Hierarchia ecclesiastica orientalis*; Padova: Edizioni Messaggero, 1988), 701.

<sup>236</sup> Robert Devreesse, Le patriarcat d'Antioche depuis la paix de l'église jusqu'à la conquête arabe (Études Palestiniennes et Orientales; Paris: Librarie Lecoffre, 1945), 164. For the Council of Antioch in 363, see Johannes Zachhuber, "The Antiochene Synod of AD 363 and the Beginnings of Neo-Nicenism," ZAC 4.1 (2000): 83–101. Fedalto, Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus, 700, also notes a certain Tranquillus from the third century, based on Praedestinatus sive Praedestinatorum haereses 36 (PL 53:598).

<sup>237</sup> Fedalto, Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus, 700.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> This is the reconstruction offered in Han J. W. Drijvers, "Syrian Christianity and Judaism," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (ed. Judith Lieu, J. North, and Tessa Rajak; London: Routledge, 1992), 124–46. However, it may not be as Drijvers has supposed, given that Antioch seems to have had a Christian community that was independent of Jerusalem, if the Antiochene provenance of the Gospel of Matthew is correct. Also, with respect to the system of roads on which people may have traveled, another route from Palestine to Edessa was possible, one that followed the Coastal Highway to Damascus, then north to Emesa, and then on to Beroea, where the north-south road crossed the route connecting Antioch with Zeugma and beyond the Euphrates. See Mouterde and Poidebard, *Limes de Chalcis*, 136–80 and the accompanying photographs in the atlas, lxxiv-cxvi.

Qenneshrin]."<sup>238</sup> Eusebius and Acacius of Beroea were ordained bishops by Meletius of Antioch and Eusebius of Samosata.<sup>239</sup> Eusebius attended the Council of Constantinople in 381,<sup>240</sup> and Theodoret mentions him in his *Historia religiosa*.<sup>241</sup> One is led to conclude that Eusebius died sometime before the Council of Ephesus, since Apringius (dates of accession and death unknown) was the bishop of Chalcis who took part in the Synod of the Orientals that met in Ephesus on June 26–27, 431.<sup>242</sup> For the time prior to Chalcedon the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian* mentions among the bishops of *Syria prima* a certain Domalos (probably Romulos), "bishop of Qenneshrin."<sup>243</sup> Since the year of Apringius's death is not known, the reign of Domalos/Romulos ought to be dated to sometime between the second half of the year 431 and 451.

Although the evidence is rather limited, one is still able to conclude that for decades religious life in the city of Chalcis consisted of a mixture of Christian and indigenous religious traditions. The struggle between Rabbula's parents may be emblematic of an uneasy coexistence between these two groups, or its depiction may point to the usage of a more literary *topos* that reflects the broader conflict between Christianity and pre-Christian Greco-Roman religion in the fourth and fifth centuries. Only new archaeological evidence from Chalcis will be able to provide further clues that could help flesh out this picture of the city's religious diversity.

# 1.5.3. Syriac and Greek, Hellenism, and Education in Chalcis

The fifth century was a watershed for the development of Syriac literature. The use of metaphors and symbols to present ideas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> See Balai, Hymn on the Dedication of the Church in Qenneshrin 24 (Overbeck, 253, 21–22; Graffin, 110).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 17; Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. eccl.* 5.4.5 (Parmentier and Hansen, 283, 1–5; Jackson, 134); see also Devreesse, *Patriarcat d'Antioche*, 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Devreesse, Patriarcat d'Antioche, 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 3.11 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:266–67; Price, 42). For the relationship between Rabbula and Eusebius, see below, cxxxiii–cxxxiv.

 $<sup>^{242}</sup>$  Fedalto, Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hierosolymitanus, 700; see also ACO 4.3.2:47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Michael the Syrian, Chron. Mich. (Chabot, 2:60).

about God, Christ, salvation, and morality, evident in Aphrahat and Ephraem, was merged with Western theological vocabulary and the use of classical philosophical categories, above all from Greek Christian sources. The impact of the christological controversies undoubtedly supplied the impetus for the adoption of Greek theology and philosophy in Syriac theological discourse and writing. The first stage began with the deposition of Nestorius. Rabbula's adoption of Cyril of Alexandria's position placed him at the vanguard of the introduction of Cyril's theology in Edessa. The second phase consisted of the aftermath of the Council of Chalcedon (451). The struggle for theological identity in the Syrian church was based on the philosophical categories of the christological debates taking place at that time. These debates were dominated by thinkers who expressed themselves in Greek, such as Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Greek also was the language of the councils, where debate raged and decisions were made. Sebastian Brock has identified Philoxenus (Aksenaya) of Mabbugh (ca. 440–523) as a bellwether whose writings reflect the first extensive use of a philosophically oriented Syriac theology. 244 Scholars thought that prior to Philoxenus, the hostility to Greek learning prevented any significant assimilation of Greek philosophical concepts. Yet this portrait carries with it some problems, and a careful study of the influence of Greek ideas and literary forms on Syriac literature from the earliest periods to the rise of Islam remains a desideratum. Nevertheless, progress has been made in more recent studies.

The influence of Greek philosophical ideas in the writings of Ephraem the Syrian has been demonstrated. For the fifth century, Balai of Qenneshrin (fl. 400–450 CE) is perhaps an earlier transitional figure in Syriac literature than Philoxenus. Balai's poetic works are examples of the Syriac symbolic expression of Christian theology. His *Sermons on Joseph* contain many types of metaphors and display a poetic skill that can be mistaken for that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> Sebastian Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (ed. Nina G. Garsoïan, Thomas F. Matthews, and Robert W. Thomson; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> Ute Possekel, Evidence of Greek Philosophical Concepts in the Writings of Ephrem the Syrian (CSCO 580; Subsidia 102; Leuven: Peeters, 1999).

of Ephraem, as the long-standing but wrongful attribution of the *Sermons on Joseph* to Ephraem illustrates. <sup>246</sup> They are strongly influenced by Hellenistic rhetoric and literary motifs.

To sources from the early fifth century one may also add the evidence derived from the Rabbula Corpus. Like all of his affluent peers, Rabbula was educated in the "literature of the Greeks," a comment his hagiographer formulated without any criticism. 247 In the dialogue with Acacius and Eusebius, faith of the heart is more certain than syllogistic reasoning, but one does not find any explicit condemnation of Greek learning even here. 248 Finally, one might consider the person of Rabbula himself, who was potentially an important link in the transmission of Cyril's theology of the incarnation to Edessa and to the Armenian Church. 249 Despite Rabbula's clear connection with Greek theology, the later Syriac tradition did not see any contradiction in attributing to Rabbula hymns that express mysteries of the incarnation in symbolic language. Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that Rabbula in fact composed some of these hymns. It would be a worthwhile task to engage in a careful examination of the literary qualities of the Life of Rabbula and of Rabbula's letters in order to provide further insights into the mixing of Greek and Syriac expression in this time and place. 250

It is possible to gather considerable evidence for the cosmopolitan character of Chalcis. The ethnography of the *Life of Rabbula* encompasses Greeks, Syrians, and Arabs, although references to these three groups are found only in Rabbula's early years in Chalcis. However, these groups were also present in Edessa, and the question arises as to the extent to which the author of the *Life of Rabbula* projected the Edessene context onto his narration of Rabbula's period in Chalcis. The dearth of epigraphical information for Chalcis is balanced out minimally by passing mention

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> For fuller discussion see Phenix, Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin, 14–31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Rab. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> See below, xcii–xciii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> See below, xc and cxxxiv-cxxxv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> For the presence of Greek and Syriac in Edessa, see, for instance, Fergus Millar, "Greek and Syriac in Edessa: From Ephrem to Rabbula (CE 363–435)," *Semitica et Classica* 4 (2011): 99–114.

of the area in the writings of visitors such as Jerome. No direct paleographical evidence survives that could show that in the late fourth century the population around Qenneshrin would have spoken Syriac. The only clear reference to Rabbula's language occurs in the sermon that he delivered in Constantinople. Rabbula states that he is a village man living among villagers who speak Syriac. This self-deprecating rhetorical formulation reveals little concerning the positions of Greek and Syriac among the Christians in Chalcis in the late fourth century. From the context of this reference, it seems that Rabbula refers to Edessa, not Chalcis, because when he addresses the church in Constantinople he speaks as the bishop of Edessa.

The only clear indication that a significant percentage of the Christian population in Chalcis was Syriac-speaking comes from the early fifth century. Although Balai's *madrāšā* on the dedication of the church in Qenneshrin in Syriac dates to this period, <sup>253</sup> it is not clear whether Syriac-speaking communities of any significant size existed west of the Euphrates before the early fifth century. In this region at this time, Syriac is not attested in inscriptions. <sup>254</sup> Granted, there are some scattered hints that speakers of Syriac were present in Antioch, a city that was home to bilingual communities of Greek and Syriac monks. Theodoret of Cyrrhus also recorded the arrival in Alexandria of Macedonius, a Syriac-speaking monk who was summoned to speak with the soldiers there in Syriac. <sup>255</sup> All other important secondary sources

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between Syriac-speaking people, Greeks, and Jews in the Roman period, see Fergus G. B. Millar, "Empire, Community, and Culture in the Roman Near East: Greeks, Syrians, Jews, and Arabs," *JFS* 38.2 (1987): 143–64.

 $<sup>^{252}\,</sup>$  See below, Rabbula of Edessa, Homily~in~Constant in ople~5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> See above, n. 174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Fergus G. B. Millar, "Il ruole delle lingue semitiche nel vicino oriente tardo-romano (V-VI secolo)," *Mediterraneo Antico* 1 (1998): 81.

Molinghen, 1:486–91; Price, History of the Monks of Syria, 102–3), the year was 387. For other instances of bilingualism, see André-Jean Festugière, Antioche païenne et chrétienne: Libanius, Chrysostome, et les moines de Syrie (BEFAR 194; Paris: E. de Boccard, 1959), 291–92; Paul Peeters, Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine (Subsidia Hagiographica 26; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1950), 49–70, 150–51; and Forlin Patrucco, "Cristianesimo e vita rurale," 200–201.

witnessing to the use of Aramaic are written in Greek. The Greek term Syriakos refers to the Semitic language of Syria, specifically Aramaic, and especially to the use of the language in rural areas. For instance, Theodoret availed himself of the Greek word Syriakos to denote the language of some of the monks in the province of Euphratensis. Or he might use the expression "the language of Syria" (ἡ τοῦ σύρου φωνή) to designate the language that was spoken in regional dialects. 256 When writers such as Egeria in the fourth century or Theodoret in the fifth century employed the word "Syrian," they may have been referring either to "Syriac" or to another Aramaic dialect. As Aramaic was spoken in several local dialects, <sup>257</sup> Syriac was the Aramaic dialect of Edessa and its environs. This dialect spread throughout Syria and Mesopotamia because it was the language of Christian missionaries from Edessa. The city of Edessa was a very important source for the expansion of Christianity in northern Syria. Since the local population outside the cities spoke Aramaic, Syriac would have been a natural vehicle for the exchange of information on Christianity with this population. It is reasonable to assume that as the countryside became Christianized, Syriac was the Aramaic dialect with greatest prestige, and thus it made inroads into areas where it was not indigenous west of the Euphrates. Among Christians it may well have been preferable to the local Aramaic dialects for this reason. It can be deduced that Syriac-Greek diglossia existed on a scale of competency between monolingual Greek speakers and monolingual Syriac speakers, and the competency of individuals in these

<sup>257</sup> Fergus G. B. Millar, "Ethnic Identity in the Roman Near East, 325–450: Language, Religion, and Culture," *Mediterranean Archaeology* 11 (1998): 163–65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Quaestiones in Judices* 19 (Fernández Marcos and Sáenz-Badillos, 302–3; Petruccione and Hill, 342–43). See also Sebastian Brock, "Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria," in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (ed. Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 149–52. When Theresa Urbainczyk, *Theodoret of Cyrrhus. The Bishop and the Holy Man* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 16, states that Syriac was despised east of the Euphrates but was a literary language west of the same, this comment is best regarded as a slip. Syriac is indigenous to the region east of the Euphrates, and the Greeks of Antioch and the more hellenized cities west of the river looked upon Syriac as a foreign language, a point Urbainczyk herself has just made on the preceding page (15).

two languages ranged between these two poles. <sup>258</sup> Yet, little can be said about the more general Aramaic-Greek competency in northern Syria in this same period. This may be, in part, because for most writers "Syriac" meant "Aramaic." This problem is confounded by the fact that virtually no information is available on the survival of other dialects of Aramaic in northern Syria during this period. Some monasteries, such as Tell 'Ada (Teleda) near Antioch, were bilingual, and monks like Rabbula's hagiographer were important in transmitting Greek literature into Syriac. Syriac was certainly a language of the countryside, but it was not necessarily a language without a literary tradition west of the Euphrates by the late fourth century. <sup>259</sup> However, the geographical distribution of Syriac speakers in towns in this period is unclear.

That Rabbula wrote in Syriac seems plausible, but the evidence is not clear. Like Brock, Blum also takes it for granted that Rabbula was the originator of the Syriac terminology that translated key theological concepts from the works of Cyril of Alexandria. In a letter addressed to Rabbula, Cyril mentions a tract that he has included with the letter for Rabbula to translate into Syriac. This tract probably was Cyril's *On the Orthodox Faith*. However, Rabbula also could have had one of his clergy translate this tract. <sup>262</sup>

Besides the *Life of Rabbula*, the only parts of the Rabbula Corpus that unambiguously were composed originally in Syriac are the hymns and the canons, but the attribution of both, especially the hymns, remains unresolved.<sup>263</sup> The letters of Rabbula

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> See Sebastian Brock, "Syriac and Greek Culture, 337–425," in *The Late Empire*, A.D. 337–425 (ed. Averil Cameron and Peter Garnsey; vol. 13 of *Cambridge Ancient History*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 708–19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> See Theresa Urbainczyk, "'The Devil Spoke Syriac to Me': Theodoret in Syria," in *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* (ed. Stephen Mitchell and Geoffrey Greatrex; London: Duckworth and the Classical Press of Wales, 2000), 253–65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 152–54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> See below, ccxl-ccxlii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> See below, cxxxiv-cxxxv, for further comments on the likelihood of Rabbula's involvement in translating Cyril's works.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> See Brock, "Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria," 155.

were translated from Greek. This also holds true for the letter addressed to Gemellina of Perrhe, <sup>264</sup> the only addressee in the extant collection of letters who may have understood Syriac. The matter is complicated also because Syriac existed in a state of *diglossia* with Greek. Rabbula's encomiast states that his subject received a Greek education; Balai's education in Greek letters can be inferred from his work. <sup>265</sup> Their training influenced the way they wrote, making some authentically Syriac texts appear to be "Graecizing." The rhetorical analysis presented above supplies evidence that the *Life of Rabbula* is itself one example of this phenomenon.

Further evidence for Rabbula's competency in Syriac is interwoven with the matter of the translation of Syriac texts into Armenian in Edessa. Armenian scholars whom Mesrop and Sahak had sent to Edessa in order to translate important books may have arrived during Rabbula's episcopacy. 266 Some of the earliest Armenian translation works are hymns of Ephraem the Syrian, the Syriac originals of which have been lost. 267 Rabbula clearly was in contact with the Armenian Church. He sent warnings to the Armenian bishops in Persia of the dangers of Theodore of Mopsuestia's writings that had begun circulating in Armenian translation at this time. These Armenian translations almost certainly had been produced by members of the school of Edessa, under the direction of Rabbula's chief opponent, Hiba. Rabbula could not have entrusted the responsibility to provide the Armenians with texts to just anyone, who might have given them Syriac material that contained a "tainted" theology. Although the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Talbert, Barrington Atlas, 67 G1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Rab. 2; and Phenix, Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin, 153–218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> See for example Koriwn, *Life of Mesrop Maštots* '(Manuk Abeghian and Bedros Norehad, ed. and trans., *The Life of Mashtots* [New York: Armenian General Benevolent Union of America, 1964]; Gabriele Winkler, trans., *Koriwns Biographie des Mesrop Maštoc': Übersetzung und Kommentar* [OCA 245; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1994]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> For an edition of extant Armenian hymns of Ephraem the Syrian accompanied by a Latin translation, see Louis Mariès and Charles Mercier, eds. and trans., *Hymnes de Saint Éphrem conservées en version arménienne: Texte arménien, traduction latine et notes explicatives* (PO 30.1; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1961). An English translation of these hymns is in preparation.

evidence for Rabbula's Syriac competency is indirect, the best position, following Brock, is that Rabbula had enough proficiency in the language to express key matters in the christological controversies in which he was embroiled. He also was able to recognize and read the works of Ephraem the Syrian and Greek authors in translation. Yet his ability to write in Syriac effectively remains unknown.

Whatever the role of Syriac among the inhabitants of Chalcis, many of them understood and spoke Greek. Indirect evidence for this comes from the work of the chorbishop Balai, a contemporary of Rabbula. In addition to his madrāšā on the dedication of the church in Qenneshrin, Balai composed the Sermons on Joseph, five mēmrê on Acacius bishop of Beroea (modern Aleppo; d. after 433), a collection of penitential hymns (hā'en lehaṭṭāyê), and several mēmrê, of which further information is available only for those on the Burial of Aaron and on Faustinus and Metrodora and her three sons. From the Sermons on Joseph it is clear that Balai was a Syriac speaker who had a classical education. This work is the earliest example of a Syriac poetic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> Brock, "Syriac and Greek Culture," 714, 716.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>269</sup> For details on editions and translations, see above, n. 174.

<sup>270</sup> See also Phenix, Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Oenneshrin, 14-16. The two editions of Balai's Sermons on Joseph are by Paul Bedjan (Histoire complète de Joseph par Saint Ephrem, poème en douze livres [Paris: Harrassowitz, [1891]) and Thomas Joseph Lamy (Sancti Ephraemi Syri Hymni et Sermones [Mechelen: H. Dessain, Summi Pontificis, S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide et Archiepiscopatus Mechliniensis typographus, 1889–1902], 3:250–640 [sermons 1-9 and the first half of sermon 10]; 4:791-844 [second half of sermon 10 and sermons 11-12]). A new critical edition and English translation is in preparation by the present authors. The mēmrê on Acacius of Beroea were edited in Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 259-69. The penitential hymns were edited, accompanied with a German translation, by K. V. Zetterstéen, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der religiösen Dichtung Balai's: Nach den syrischen Handschriften des Britischen Museums, der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris und der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902). For the Hymn on the Burial of Aaron (frag.), see Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 336 (from MS Bod. Or. 19, fol. 30). For the Hymn on Faustinus and Metrodora, see Gustav Bickell, "Die Gedichte des Cyrillonas nebst einigen anderen syrischen Ineditis," Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft 27 (1873): 599-600. For a discussion concerning the relationship between this poem and texts related to the Pseudo-Clementines, see F. Stanley Jones, The Syriac Pseudo-Clementines (Corpus Christianorum Series Apocrypha; forthcoming).

composition that extensively employed the categories of rhetoric and strategies of oratory taught in the schools of late antiquity. 271 If Balai acquired his rhetorical training in Chalcis, it is possible that Rabbula may have received an education in the Hellenistic school of Chalcis as well. Chalcis probably possessed a local school, as it was the most important city in northern Syria between Antioch and the Euphrates. However, any history of such an institution is unknown. Rabbula's hagiographer mentions that Rabbula received an education in the "literature [lit. "the books"] of the Greeks" and implies that a hellenized education was typical for all the sons of the ruling class in Chalcis. 272 If there was no school in their own city, these young students in Chalcis, such as Rabbula, may have studied in Apamea or in Antioch. Antioch boasted a school that received imperial patronage, and Apamea was the home of a school that Iamblichus had founded by the 320s. 273 Moreover, boarding of students was common in late antiquity for the sons of well-off families. The hagiographer's brief summary of Rabbula's education was typical for Greek biography and stands in measured proportion to the greater emphasis on Rabbula's ascetic training. Thus, it may be the case that the hagiographer has provided details concerning his subject that reflect a broader phenomenon in late antiquity and that may not be strictly biographical.

The balance between classical education and Christian faith in Rabbula's character is most clearly presented in Rabbula's conversation with Acacius of Beroea and Eusebius of Chalcis, which is an example of verisimilar speech. This dialogue may also be understood as reflecting the general position of Christian faith with regard to classical philosophy. Eusebius, the bishop of Qenneshrin, represents a Christianity that had taken over many elements of classical education and philosophy. In this dialogue between the three participants, Eusebius is portrayed as trying

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> Phenix, Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin, 153–229.

<sup>272</sup> See Rab. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> For a reconstruction of this chronology and references to original sources, see Dillon, "Iamblichus of Chalcis," 869. Dillon also offers a reconstruction of the content of the education in Iamblichus's school (p. 872). There is some doubt that Iamblichus established a school in Chalcis, as Bowersock, "Syriac Life of Rabbula," 261, has claimed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> See *Rab.* 5. Blum, *Rabbula*, 18, comes to a similar conclusion.

to explain to Rabbula the epistemology of the Christian faith: it is possible to believe in a truth, even if one does not know the entire truth. Eusebius claims that knowing the truth means knowing that one did not previously know. Rabbula persists, stating that knowledge of the truth is not the same as knowing that one's assumptions are wrong. The deadlock continues until Acacius interrupts them and tells Rabbula to believe in Jesus Christ and through this act he will know the truth. Acacius also predicts that when Rabbula is baptized, all of the doubt in his mind will disappear and his sins will be burned away.<sup>275</sup> In the scheme of this verisimilar conversation, Acacius represents a less hellenized Christianity, one based solely on the act of faith and on the reception of baptism as the sources of initial illumination. It is his words that have an effect on Rabbula, and Rabbula agrees to go and pray at the shrine of Cosmas and Damian. In the presentation of this dialogue the juxtaposition of "hellenized" versus "unhellenized" Christianity and the superiority of the latter may reflect the hagiographer's milieu. Blum seems to have accepted that a historical event was at the root of this dialogue. 276 It should be noted that a similar expression of the relationship between knowledge and faith is also present in the *Homily in Constantinople*. On the one hand, it is certainly possible that the respective section of Rabbula's *Homily in Constantinople* inspired the hagiographer to include such a dialogue in his account of Rabbula's conversion in the first place. However, it is more likely that both instances reflect a wider topos in Christian literature in Syria. In Syriacspeaking Syria in the fifth century, the necessity and superiority of faith over knowledge constituted a theme also found in Balai of Oenneshrin's Hymn on the Dedication of the Church in Oenneshrin as well as in Ephraem the Syrian's poetry. This juxtaposition also emerges clearly from the Life of Anthony. In the dialogue between the saint and two philosophers (sections 72-80) Anthony states, "Our faith is effective," and he provides as evidence the miracles that Christ works through the faithful. 277 What the Christians perceive directly by faith, the philosophers attempt to reconstruct

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> See *Rab.* 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 78.2 (Bartelink, 334–35; Gregg, 87; Vivian and Athanassakis, 223: ["our faith works"]).

with arguments. The philosophers are unable to express what they perceive, and Anthony concludes (using a form of syllogistic reasoning!) that "the action through faith is better and more secure" than the syllogisms of the philosophers. However, as has been examined above, the superiority of faith does not entail a rejection of Hellenistic wisdom and reason. In this dialogue and in many other passages, the encomiast seems to express that reason serves faith.

#### 1.5.4. Arabs in Chalcis

In addition to Greeks and Syrians, another group that is mentioned in the Life of Rabbula is the Arabs. According to his hagiographer, Rabbula encountered the  $Tayy\bar{a}y\hat{e}$ , the Arabs of the tribe of the Tayy, while living as an anchorite in his cave in the wilderness of Chalcis. Yet the Tayy did not seem to have moved west of the Euphrates until the sixth century. The Tayy were still an important tribe in the area of Edessa in the mid-fifth century, the period during which the Life of Rabbula probably was composed. According to the second letter that Barṣauma of Nisibis wrote to Acacius of Nisibis, dated to 485, the Arab foederati of the Sasanid Empire who made a raid on the Roman territory across from Nisibis were in Syriac known as the  $Tu^{\zeta}\bar{a}y\hat{e}$ . Irfan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 77.5–6 (Bartelink, 332–33; Gregg, 87; Vivian and Athanassakis, 221, 223). See the presentation and discussion of this passage in Jan den Boeft, "Miracles Recalling the Apostolic Age," in *The Apostolic Age in Patristic Thought* (ed. A. Hilhorst; VCSup 70; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 59, where den Boeft remarks that Anthony's argument that the truth of Christ is evident from his activity in his believers is an echo of the *sēmeia tois pisteusasin*, "signs in those who believe," in the longer ending of Mark's Gospel (Mark 16:17–18). On this text, see more recently also James A. Kelhoffer, *Miracle and Mission: The Authentication of Missionaries and Their Mission in the Longer Ending of Mark* (WUNT 2/112; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> See xxii and xc-xciii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> See *Rab.* 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Irfan Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), 383. Of the list of tribes that appear in the *provincia Oriens* in the seventh century, only the Lakhm and Tanūkh Arabs can be described with any certainty to be *foederati* of the Romans in the fourth century. See ibid., 383–87.

The letter is found in the *Synodicon of the Church of the East* (Chabot, 526–27 [Syr.]; 532–34 [Fr.]; 537 n. 4 [chronology]).

Shahîd interprets this designation as a reference to the tribe of the Tayy, whereas Jan Retsö argues that the two were not identical with one another. <sup>283</sup>

Arabs of other tribes played a significant part in the life of towns in northern Syria. Dominating Aleppo's trade in the fifth century were the Tanūkh Arabs, who lived in a separate suburb southeast of the city. 284 Barsauma implied that at least some of the Tayy were not Christian; 285 they were converted only in the sixth century. 286 This is consistent with the report in the Life of Rabbula that "Arabs" plundered the Christian hermit Rabbula in his cave and left him for dead. When one considers the two tribes that were present in the region of Chalcis as *foederati* of the Roman state, the Lakhmids and the Tanūkhids, the evidence suggests that the Tanūkhids, or a significant number of them, had already converted to the Christian faith by the time of the Council of Nicaea (325); Pamphilus "of the  $Ta\bar{e}n\bar{o}n$ " appears on one of the lists of the participants at this council. 287 It seems implausible that a Christian Arab tribe would have knowingly treated a monk in such a fashion, if one takes the account in the *Life of Rabbula* at face value. Finally, the use of the word  $Tayy\bar{a}y\hat{e}$  reflects the Edessene milieu of the author, for whom  $Tayy\bar{a}y\bar{a}$  simply meant "Arab." <sup>288</sup> Whether

Irfan Shahîd, Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989), 115–17. See also Shahîd, Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century, 421. Jan Retsö, The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads (London and New York: Routledge-Curzon, 2003), 520. Theresia Hainthaler, Christliche Araber vor dem Islam: Verbreitung und konfessionelle Zugehörigkeit; Eine Hinführung (Eastern Christian Studies 7; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 22–23, has assembled the data that demonstrates an anti-Chalcedonian usage for Tuʿāyê as a designation of a tribe of Christian Arabs from the middle of the sixth to at least the eighth century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> See Stephen Gero, *Barṣauma of Nisibis and Persian Christianity in the Fifth Century* (CSCO 426; Subsidia 63; Leuven: Peeters, 1981), 89–93, 120–22; and Thomas Leisten, "Beroea [3]," in *Der Neue Pauly; Enzyklopädie der Antike; Altertum* (ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider; Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1996), 2:579.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> Synodicon of the Church of the East (Chabot, 526–27 [Syr.]; 582–83 [Fr.]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Shahîd, Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century, 117.

Shahîd, Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fourth Century, 330; for the argument that the taēnoi were the Tanūkhids, see ibid., 331-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 1:1460.

the nomads of Chalcis were Tayy Arabs, or Arabs of any other tribe, is difficult to ascertain. 289

Some Arab nomadic tribes did live off of brigandage, and the defenses of the cities in the Roman *limes* of northern Syria were in place by the fourth century in part to discourage such activity. <sup>290</sup> These defenses did not free the road from Beroea to Barbalissos, the village at the crossing of the Euphrates, from this troublesome activity. John Chrysostom implied that the local Syrians did not often travel this route farther east than the Euphrates. <sup>291</sup> The reason for their avoidance was that travel was dangerous, even along the road from Beroea to Barbalissos, where the route to Edessa crossed the river, because Arab marauders plundered travelers and carried them off as slaves. <sup>292</sup> Jerome imagined one such incident that occurred to Malchus, a monk in the desert of Chalcis. <sup>293</sup>

<sup>289</sup> R. Dussaud, La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam (Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth; Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 59; Paris: P. Geuthner, 1955), 85–92; Caspar Detlev Gustav Müller, Kirche und Mission unter den Arabern in vorislamischer Zeit (Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte 249; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1967); and Hainthaler, Christliche Araber vor dem Islam.

For instance, the city of Resafa was a strategic point of observation of nomads who attacked caravans along the lateral route of the Euphrates between Barbalissos and Circesium. See Mouterde and Poidebard, *Limes de Chalcis*, 134, with atlas on p. lxxiv. Many other fortified sites are mentioned by Mouterde and Poidebard as having the same or a similar function. Jerome, *Vit. Malch.* 10 (PL 23:60; Morales, Leclerc, and de Vogüé, 208–9; Ewald, 297; White, 128) concludes with the monk reaching a "Roman camp" at the edge of the desert, which probably was set up in order to protect the region from Arab mercenaries.

<sup>291</sup> This route is described in John Chrysostom, *Ad Stagirium a daemone* vexatum 2.6 (PG 47:458).

For a discussion of the relationship between the Arabs of Syria and the Arabian Peninsula, see Judah B. Segal, *Mesopotamian Communities from Julian to the Rise of Islam* (London: n.p., 1956), 119–20.

<sup>293</sup> Jerome, *Vit. Malch.* 4 (*BHG* 1015–17; PL 23:55; Morales, Leclerc, and de Vogüé, 192–95; Ewald, 290; White, 123); cf. E. S. Boucher, *Syria as a Roman Province* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1916), 171; Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne*, 415–18. The *Life of Malchus* was probably composed in Jerusalem about 390 (Bastiaensen, "Jérôme l'hagiographe," 106 n. 33, 108). Bastiaensen (112, 114) also discusses whether "Malchus" even existed. The versification of the *vita* that Réginald de Canterbury produced in 1136 speaks in favor of the great popularity of this short life. See Aigrain, *L'hagiographie*, 166. Jerome's infamous dislike of the "barbarous Saracens" is discussed in Shahîd, *Byzantium* 

Even if Jerome's account is hagiographical fiction, by the midfourth century the records point to the existence of bishops who had been consecrated specifically for Arab Christians, and there is evidence that the Arabs in northern Syria and Osrhoene had their own episcopal representation at the Council of Chalcedon in 451. <sup>294</sup>

## 1.5.5. Elements of Asceticism in the Life of Rabbula

It is beyond the scope of the present introduction to lay out in detail the development of asceticism in Syria and Mesopotamia and Rabbula's role in the development of ascetic communities, but core elements can be highlighted. Rabbula was a significant force in the development of institutional asceticism and monasticism in Edessa. <sup>295</sup> Asceticism was the organizing principle of all aspects of church organization. Rabbula understood the power of ascetic

and the Arabs in the Fourth Century, 293–95. For further literature on the Life of Malchus, one may consult more recently, for instance, Susan Weingarten, The Saint's Saints: Hagiography and Geography in Jerome (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 58; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), ch. 3. The Syriac version (BHO 585–86) was edited by Bedjan, Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, 7:236–51; other witnesses to the Syriac exist (see BHO ad loc. for bibliography).

<sup>294</sup> Bishop Kaioumas of Marciopolis, a suffragan see of Osrhoene. See Shahîd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, 226; see also Devreesse, *Patriarcat d'Antioche*, 215. René Aigrain, "Arabie," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (ed. Alfred Baudrillart; Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1924), 3:1175–81; and P. Charles, *Le Christianisme des Arabes nomades sur les Limes et dans le désert syromesopotamien aux alentours de l'Hegire* (BEHESR 52; Paris: Ernst Leroux, 1936), 43, 44, 46.

<sup>295</sup> Some consideration of Rabbula's influence on the development of monasticism in the East is offered in Olaf Hendricks, "La vie quotidienne du moine syrien oriental," *OrSyr* 5 (1960), 293–330 and 401–32; Ludwig Köhler, "Zu den Kanones des Rabbula, Bischofs von Edessa," *Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift* 25 (1908): 210–13; Ludwig Köhler, "Nochmals die Kanones des Rabbula, Bischofs von Edessa," *Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift* 26 (1909), 133–34; and idem, "Syrische Literatur- und Kulturstudien. I. Das Leben und die kirchliche Wirksamkeit des Bischofs Rabbula von Edessa nach syrischen Quellen," *Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift* 25 (1908): 213–24 and 273–82. For a discussion of the possible influence of Rabbula's monastic legislation on the development of asceticism in the West, see Dale A. Johnson, "Did Saint Benedict Know of the Rule of Rabbula?" *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 37 (2002): 273–77.

discipline and harnessed this as a management model, which cultivated obedience and instilled a commitment to doctrinal purity. It was an insistence on ascetic rigor that at the same time both alienated many of the clergy in Edessa and allowed Rabbula to develop a strong base of support for his pro-Cyrillian positions. That base included developing a policy of conservative financial management, in which money saved through curtailing building projects and the purchase of liturgical vessels and garments was distributed to ascetics and the indigent. Characteristic of Christian piety and holiness, giving alms to the poor included the "holy poor," those ascetics who lived by "the grace of God." 296 This reference to communities of prayer reflects an older form of community organization, in which groups of ascetics—perhaps living in what would be identified as monasteries—lacked a sophisticated microeconomic system based on growing food for their own needs. By including the "holy poor" among the worthy recipients of the church's holdings, Rabbula was able to develop a pattern of support, which contributed substantially to the eventual success of the unpopular (in his time, at any rate) pro-Cyrillian position in Edessa following the Council of Chalcedon (451).

The institutionalization of asceticism in Edessa was underway before Rabbula; his work was to make its application uniform throughout all areas of church organization. Rabbula was a monk who converted to an ascetic Christianity and then immediately entered a community of monks. Once his stability in this profession was demonstrated to his superiors, he was permitted to become a hermit. The hagiographical portrait of Rabbula reflects an ideal, in which the hermit is very much joined to the rest of the church through a common discipline of scheduled daily prayer and other practices.

Although it is clear that Rabbula brought changes to all aspects of the church in Edessa, his encomiast is careful not to deny the well-established tradition in the early church of married presbyters and deacons. The *Life of Rabbula* presents the clergy as engaged in harsh asceticism. Since not all celibate clergy were ascetics, and certainly married clergy were not, the blanket statement that all clergy were engaged in fasting implies a commitment

to an ascetic church and a regimen which may have posed considerable challenges to married priests and deacons. The *Life of Rabbula* mentions requirements for the sons and daughters of the covenant and for the clergy. While there is consistency between the *Life of Rabbula* and the canonical collections in many respects, the role of married clergy in the *Life* is almost completely omitted.

The characteristics of Syrian asceticism in the *Life of Rab-bula* and its canons involve the unification of the individual with Jesus through constant recollection and also with the wider church. This wider church is conceived of as consisting most importantly of the hierarchy and the other ascetics, with whom union is established through observing the "universal" and accepted practices of ascetics everywhere. This union is also expressed as a union with the departed ascetics, on whose spiritual encouragement and intercession the struggling athlete of Christ must rely.

The hagiographer presents Rabbula's asceticism as reflecting a universal standard, with the implication that this standard was not yet well established in Edessa. While it is difficult to ascertain the truth of this claim, Rabbula is depicted as having an ascetic principle of church organization, one that was cultivated in the environment of central Syria, notably Chalcis and the nearby city of Aleppo. It is in this region that Rabbula's hagiographer presents his hero's formative contacts with monk-bishops and ascetic holy men, which the reader is to understand as an etiology of Rabbula's ascetic discipline in Edessa. This etiology makes sense only in the context of what little is known about Christianity and asceticism in central Syria around the turn of the fifth century.

### 1.5.6. Chalcis and Monasticism

Chalcis was a center of nascent Christian monasticism in Syria. <sup>297</sup> The earliest indications of its significance can be found in the works of Jerome (340/2–420), who visited Chalcis in 375 and sojourned there among the anchorites. His memoirs of this event are scattered throughout his letters as well as in the curious and almost certainly fictitious tale of the ascetic Malchus. <sup>298</sup> All of what otherwise is known about ascetics in Chalcis comes from Theodoret

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> Festugière, Antioche païenne et chrétienne, 415–18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> Jerome, *Vit. Malch.* 3 (PL 23:53–54; Morales, Leclerc, and de Vogüé, 188–93; White, 122); Jerome, *Epistula ad Florentinum* 5.1 (Hilberg, 22).

of Cyrrhus. A prominent local ascetic from the late fourth to early fifth century was Marcianus, to whom Theodoret devoted an entire chapter in his *Historia religiosa*. <sup>299</sup> Marcianus was so popular that the wealthy pious of the city erected shrines in his name even before his death, <sup>300</sup> perhaps in the hope of attracting him to live on their estates and thus deriving benefit from the blessing of his presence. <sup>301</sup> Among Marcianus's would-be benefactors was Zenobiana, a wealthy woman from Chalcis. Given the saint's popularity, he demanded to be buried in secret and that his resting place should remain hidden for fifty years. When his body was discovered, it was deposited in Chalcis, attesting to the importance of this monk for the local Christian church. <sup>302</sup> In comparison, Rabbula also was accorded status as a living saint: parents gave their children his name to ward off evil, <sup>303</sup> and while he was still alive the faithful sought to tear off a piece of his garment as a relic. <sup>304</sup>

The popularity of the wilderness of Chalcis as a home for anchorites was connected to its topography. This wilderness is the arid steppe region, Arabic *badayya*, to which Syriac and Greek documents referred as the "desert of Chalcis." This region

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 3 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:246–89; Price, 37–48).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 3.18 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:280–83; Price, 45).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> Although composed in the late fifth century in Palestine, the *Life of Peter the Iberian* mentions that on the flight of Peter and John from Constantinople to Jerusalem, along the way while the two were traveling through Asia Minor, a wealthy landowner and tax-collector tried to entice Peter and his travel companion John the Eunuch to stay with him on his land and promised to build them a monastery. See John Rufus, *Vit. Pet.* 36 (Horn and Phenix, 48–49; Raabe, 25).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> See, for this story, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 3.18 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:280–81; Price, 45).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>303</sup> Even daughters received his name "as a blessing." See *Rab.* 35. On the practice of naming children after a holy person, see also Michael Gärtner, *Die Familienerziehung in der Alten Kirche: Eine Untersuchung über die ersten vier Jahrhunderte des Christentums mit einer Übersetzung und einem Kommentar zu der Schrift des Johannes Chrysostomus über die Geltungssucht und Kindererziehung (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1985), 97–98.* 

<sup>304</sup> See *Rab.* 35.

 $<sup>^{305}</sup>$  See, for example,  $Rab.\,$  3 and Jerome,  $Vit.\,$   $Malch.\,$  3 (PL 23:53; Morales, Leclerc, and de Vogüé, 188–93; White, 122).

was a transition zone that separated the more inhospitable Syrian Desert from the lush agricultural land upon which Chalcis depended for its prosperity. 306 This location was suitable for anchorites because the arid zone began not far from the city. Another monk associated with Chalcis, Alexander Akoimētēs, established a monastery in the vicinity of this city, although the Life of Rabbula (as discussed above) probably exerted influence on Alexander's hagiographer with respect to this and other details of his story. 307 P.-L. Gatier conjectures that Alexander would have established his monastery in the badayya, far enough from civilization for seclusion but close enough to receive or obtain supplies. 308 More advanced monks may have struck out for the desert proper. Rabbula fled from the crowds who had gathered around him in the monastery of Abraham to seek solitude as an anchorite in the "inner desert [Syr.: madbrā gawwāyā] just as the blessed Anthony also had done."309

The *Life of Rabbula* reports that Rabbula's first pangs of doubt about his paganism began with a visit to a hermit named Abraham. Along with some of his disciples, Abraham dwelt on the outskirts of Rabbula's estate. <sup>310</sup> Little else is known about this early ascetic of Chalcis. He was an older contemporary of Marcianus. <sup>311</sup> Theodoret reports that Abraham continued to observe

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> In *Rab.* 3, Rabbula goes out to the desert on the border of one of his "lands," or agricultural estates. There is no arable land that directly abuts the desert in Qenneshrin (Monceaux and Brossé, "Chalcis ad Belum," 339). See also Bowersock, "Syriac Life of Rabbula," 266–67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> See above, lxviii–lxix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> Gatier, "Moine sur la frontière," 442. Gatier (443) also provides an isohydric map of northern Syria that demonstrates the zones of dry and irrigation farming.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> Rab. 14. The reference here is to Athanasius, Vit. Ant. 49.1 (Bartelink, 266–67; Gregg, 67; Vivian and Athanassakis, 163): Anthony went into the remote mountains in order to escape the crowds because "he saw that he was disturbed by many people and was not allowed to retire as he wished." This may be a hagiographical trope, or an attempt to show that Rabbula's asceticism was as acceptable as that of the greatest figure of Christian asceticism. For comments on the influence of the Life of Anthony on Rabbula's hagiographer, see also xlix–li, lxxiv, and cx.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> Rab. 3. See also Blum, Rabbula, 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>311</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 3 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:246–89; Price, 37–48). Abraham is also mentioned in Theodoret of Cyrrhus,

the date of Easter according to the "old date" (probably on the night of the fourteenth of Nisan/April). Marcianus excommunicated Abraham after not being able to persuade him to observe the new date of Easter, yet it seems that eventually Abraham embraced the new practice. Abraham and his disciples may have organized a community living in the caves of Chalcis or in the nearby desert before Rabbula took the monastic habit. 314

In later years, Abraham moved into the monastery that Marcianus had founded. 315 This monastery turned out to be an important turning point for Rabbula's conversion and ascetic life before his episcopal ordination. Both the Life of Rabbula and Theodoret of Cyrrhus's Historia religiosa witness to the presence of Eusebius of Chalcis and Acacius of Beroea at that monastery; the Life of Rabbula describes Eusebius and Acacius as "brothers in Christ" who "had been instructed together in the honorable way of life of the monastery."316 This suggests that the later Eusebius of Chalcis had been a fellow monk of Acacius at Marcianus's monastery. Theodoret reports of a visit to Marcianus from Acacius and Eusebius of Chalcis. 317 According to the Life of Rabbula, Eusebius of Chalcis and Acacius of Beroea took Rabbula to this monastery, where they convinced him not only to become a Christian but also to remain there as a monk. 318 The hagiographer emphasizes that Rabbula was content to take a cell next to Abraham, who probably became his spiritual master. Rabbula remained at the place and obediently followed his master's way of life. 319

Hist. eccl. 4.28.1 (Parmentier and Hansen, 268; Jackson, 128 [here numbered Hist. eccl. 4.25]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 3.17 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:278; Price, 44).

 $<sup>^{313}</sup>$  Theodoret of Cyrrhus,  $\it Hist.~rel.~3.17$  (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:280; Price, 45).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> See *Rab.* 3. Abraham and his disciples were living on the edge of Rabbula's estates. See Blum, *Rabbula*, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> See *Rab.* 7.

<sup>316</sup> See Rah. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 3.17 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:280; Price, 45).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>318</sup> See *Rab.* 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> See *Rab*. 11.

Rabbula was confined to this monastery with another Eusebius, whom Rabbula made the bishop of Tellā de Manzelat (also named Antiocheia Arabis, Antoninopolis, Constantina, Maximianopolis), a suffragan see of Edessa. This Eusebius appears in the *Life of Rabbula* only in connection with their joined excursion to Baalbek, to destroy the temple there and win martyrdom. There is also evidence of Rabbula's stay at the monastery of Mor Gabriel in Tur Abdin in 411 or 412.

### 1.5.7. The Vocabulary of Asceticism

The importance of imitation in the asceticism of the Life of Rabbula can be seen in its terminology. The Syriac word tupsā, rendering the Greek typos, presents Rabbula's actions and qualities as a mirror to those of Christ. Depending on its context, the word *tupsā* may be translated as "model," "example," "mark," or "quality." In the Life of Rabbula, Rabbula becomes a tupsā of Christ in such a way that Christ's qualities replace or cover over Rabbula's own persona. Following Rabbula's conversion, we learn that he desires "to be baptized in the Jordan just like the Messiah was baptized as a model for us."323 At the end of his life, the "marks" of Christ's merciful nature are visible on Rabbula, outwardly manifested through his abundant distribution of wealth up to "the limit of his jurisdiction," as a result of his ascetic life. 324 This use of the term  $tups\bar{a}$  reflects a Syriac understanding that inner mental states and personality traits, such as emotions, intentions, and virtues, are discernable by the traces they reveal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup> Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 89 B<sub>3</sub>. See *Rab*. 12. See also Fedalto, *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus*, *Antiochenus*, *Hierosolymitanus*, 814; and Devreesse, *Patriarcat d'Antioche*, 297.

 $<sup>^{321}</sup>$  See *Rab.* 16.

<sup>322</sup> Vincenzo Ruggieri, "A proposito di sepultura monastica: Bēt Qebūrā, κοιμητήριον," ByzF 21 (1995): 204. The source of this remark is the Life of Mor Simeon 42 (microfiche ed., 1989), found in Andrew Palmer, Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Ţur 'Abdin (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 39; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 58. Moreover, the Life of Simeon recounts that Rabbula also saw a double martyrium and two vaults constructed under Theodosius I in 408–10 (ibid., 58–59).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>323</sup> Rab. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> Rab. 52.

and express in the body. 325 The endpoint of such an expression of Christ through the body is found in the reports of the miracles that God performs through Rabbula at his grave, the ultimate expression of the efficacy of Christ working through the person of Rabbula. Similar to the view of asceticism of the *Liber Graduum*, also here these qualities are acquired through ascetic struggle, not through baptism, and are therefore the marks of one who has been perfected. It is likely that the author has refrained from stating this fact explicitly since it would imply that baptism is not sufficient for Christian initiation but only a necessary step on the way. Any sentiments or suspicions of encratism or that the author denied the efficacy of baptism were to be avoided, and therefore also any explicit formulations of such ideas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup> For a discussion of such metaphors in a fifth-century Syriac text, see Phenix, Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin, 230–69. One important subset of this type of metaphor is that of clothing metaphors, which also have been discussed in Sebastian Brock, "Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition," in Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter (ed. Margot Schmidt in collaboration with Carl Friedrich Geyer; Eichstätter Beiträge; Abteilung Philosophie und Theologie 4; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1982), 11–40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> Guillaumont, "Conception du desért," 16. Guillaumont (4) also refers to some biblical passages that may have provided mystical inspiration to seek God in the desert. See, e.g., Hos 2:16; Jer 2:2–3; Isa 40:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 18–19. For discussion of ascetic terminology in early Syriac literature, see Sidney Griffith, "Asceticism in the Church of

identification of the Syrian ascetic with the  $\bar{\imath}h\bar{\imath}d\bar{a}v\bar{a}$  is characteristic of Syrian monasticism. 328 Blum associates this living memory with the remembrance of the divine dispensation at the eucharistic commemoration, which may also be called *dukrānā*. Thereby the hagiographer has given Rabbula's personal experience of Christ a clearly ecclesiological dimension. 329 Eusebius tells Rabbula that the remembrance of Jesus will drive away the demons just as light dispels darkness. With this comment Eusebius also indicates that the memory of Jesus is part of the monk's spiritual armament against temptation, a set of tools with which Rabbula has to equip himself before he can go into the desert to be tempted as Christ was according to the Synoptic Gospels. 330 Just as Jesus was able to repel the advances of the Accuser, through his constant remembrance of Jesus, Rabbula will be able to repel the demons in the wilderness as well. This spiritual skill is also important in the presentation of Rabbula as an ideal bishop. Solitude (Syr.: *īhīdāyūtā*) is presented as a necessary part of the ascetic regimen, one that incorporates the canonical hours of prayer. Rabbula's encomiast emphasizes that even as a bishop, Rabbula from time to time would spend a week alone in  $\bar{t}h\bar{t}d\bar{a}y\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ . The purpose, from the encomiast's point of view, was so that he could offer a "pure petition" seeking forgiveness for the "sins of the world." 331 Here, the encomiast seems to understand that the chief activity of a bishop is to seek atonement for all sins. There are two essential aspects of this part of the hagiographer's portrait: first, it carries forward the ēthos of the ascetic Rabbula into his episcopacy, and second, it forms another topos of the imitatio Christi.

Syria: The Hermeneutics of Early Syrian Monasticism," in *Asceticism* (ed. Vincent L. Wimbush and Richard Valantasis; New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 220–45. See also Roux, "Doctrine of the Imitation of Christ in the *Liber Graduum*," 259–64; and Shafiq AbouZayd, *Ihidayuta: A Study of the Life of Singleness in the Syrian Orient; From Ignatius of Antioch to Chalcedon* 451 A.D. (Oxford: ARAM, 1993).

<sup>328</sup> See below, cviii.

<sup>329</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 19. See also Georg Günter Blum, Eucharistie, Amt und Opfer in der Alten Kirche: Eine problemgeschichtliche Skizze (Oecumenica: Jahrbuch für ökumenische Forschung; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1966), 9–60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> Mark 1:13; Matt 4:1–11; see also Blum, *Rabbula*, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup> *Rab.* 33; see also *Rab.* 48.

#### 1.5.8. Ascetic Dubārê: Parallels and Origins

Syriac can express the "way of life" of an ascetic with the plural noun dubārê. The hagiographer qualifies Rabbula's dubārê as reflecting not just a personal set of practices and principles followed by the one who walks on the ascetic path. Through specifications implied, for instance, in the use of the term dukrānā ("memory," "recollection," or "remembrance"), the author portrays Rabbula as having gained direct access to Jesus, the founder of the church. Acacius and Eusebius of Chalcis are "instructed together in the honorable way of life  $[dub\bar{a}r\hat{e}]$  of the monastery,"<sup>332</sup> and they teach Rabbula about the constant dukrānā ("recollection") of Jesus. 333 Rabbula observes the canonical times of prayer. Since this is not sufficient, he sequesters himself in a monastery so that "his thought might be vigilant in the recollection of his Lord"; 334 he goes out into the desert in order that "the thought of God should not at all be cut off from his soul"; and he practices all this in the framework of the activities of monasticism "for these are the righteous canons of all proper monasteries and of all who belong to our Lord."335 All of these are part of the *dubārê*. The key features are not the acts themselves but the hagiographer's valuation of a universal standard that all those who have renounced the world must follow: "belonging to the Lord" evokes those who live off of divine grace, but in this context the expression can mean as much a way of life as a canonical status. The hagiographer wishes the audience to see the connection between "inner" spiritual discipline and the "outer" discipline of regulations. They are both necessary components of the *dubārê* of the orthodox ascetic.

Asceticism as a Christian philosophy also represents in part the Christianization of forms of the ascetic life that were *en courant* prior to and outside of Christianity. The concept of the solitary as a person who seeks a one-on-one relationship with and experience of the divine is a Christianized version of an idea

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> Rab. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> Rab. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> Rab. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> Rab. 14.

that first emerged in Platonic philosophy. <sup>336</sup> After Plato, Plotinus was among those who spoke of the soul's desire to communicate one-on-one with divinity as the "flight of the alone to the alone [monos pros monon]." <sup>337</sup> In the thought of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, the solitary one (Gk.: monachos, whence the English "monk") signifies not the withdrawal into isolation from the world but the integration into the One. <sup>338</sup> Reference to this One was a central idea in the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus, whose idea of the city in turn was central for Christians who navigated a new flight into divine intimacy. <sup>339</sup> This correlation between Neoplatonism and Christianity reflects their close proximity, an influence that went in both directions. Under the influence of Christianity, Neoplatonism developed its own theology in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, <sup>340</sup> although Ugo Criscuolo has

336 For a summary of the idea of the "solitary" in classical and Christian literature, see Erik Peterson, "Herkunft und Bedeutung der *Monos pros Monon*-formel bei Plotin," *Philologus* 88.1 (1933): 30–41; Kevin Corrigan, "Some Notes towards a Study of the 'Solitary' and the 'Dark' in Plotinus, Proclus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Pseudo-Dionysius," *StPatr* 37 (2001): 151–57; and idem, "'Solitary' Mysticism in Plotinus, Proclus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Pseudo-Dionysius," *JR* 76.1 (1996): 28–42. One important premise in Corrigan's study is the continuity of the spiritual tradition between Plotinus and Pseudo-Dionysius, a continuity that Andrew Louth has rejected (*The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition from Plotinus to Denys* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981], 176).

<sup>337</sup> Plotinus, *Enn.* 1.6.8 (Henry and Schwyzer, 115; Mackenna and Dillon, 54): "'Let us flee to the beloved Fatherland!' [*Illiad* 2.240]: this is the soundest counsel. But what is this flight?... The Fatherland to us is There whence we have come, and There is The Father." The individual must call on the "internal light," which has been discerned after removing all superfluities of the senses (see Plotinus, *Enn.* 1.6.9 [Henry and Schwyzer, 116–17]). See Corrigan, "Some Notes," 153, for citations from Thessalius of Tralles and Numenius. For a discussion of this concept in Plotinus, see Peterson, "Herkunft und Bedeutung."

<sup>338</sup> Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *Hierarchia ecclesiastica* 532d-533a, 536a-d (Heil and Ritter, 116, 118–19; Luibhéid, 244–45, 247–48); see also Corrigan, "Some Notes," 156; and Guillaumont, "Conception du desért," 16.

<sup>339</sup> See Ugo Criscuolo, "Fra Porfirio e Giamblico: La teologia di Teodoro di Asine (il 'primo' e il 'uno')," in *Lingua e teologia nel Cristianesimo greco* (ed. Claudio Moreschini and Giovanni Menestrina; Trento: Morcellana, 1999), 201–26.

<sup>340</sup> For example, the adoption of Orphic symbols by Christians was also taken over into Neoplatonism. Proclus declared Orpheus to be not a healer but the first and greatest theologian. See H. Dörrie, "Die Religiosität des

cautioned that Christianity did not adopt the strongly theurgic elements of post-Plotinian Neoplatonism and thus is not simply a Christian "mirror" of its non-Christian counterparts. Rather, Christianity seems to have drawn from Platonic ideas that were older, ideas that more closely reflected earlier stages in the transmission of Platonism.<sup>341</sup>

Nevertheless, there are important lines of connection between the practical theology of the Neoplatonists and the development of eremitical monasticism in Syria. For Ephraem the Syrian, the early ascetic of renown Julian Saba became an *īhīdāyā* because he saw the glory of the ihidaya, that is, he saw the glory of the "One." The connection between the single-mindedness of the solitary and the fact that Christ is the Only Begotten has been commented on and is well attested in Ephraem and other authors. 343 Yet one may have to ask again what it is about Christ, who is the One, that the ascetic seeks to imitate. This terminology also seems to point to influence from Neoplatonism. The Neoplatonic sage sought union with the One and took on certain disciplines to strip all distraction from the mind that might interfere with such contemplation. Christian ascetics in Syria took union with Christ in this world to be their goal and then interpreted this using the language of Neoplatonism. Precisely how this interpretation of Christ evolved remains unresolved. 344 The Christian reading of New Testament passages that speak of the renunciation of worldly goods in such a way as to lead to asceticism and monasticism may

Platonismus im 4. und 5. Jahrhundert nach Christus," in *De Jamblique à Proclus: 9 exposés suivis de discussions* (ed. Bent Dalsgaard Larsen; Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique 26; Geneva: Vandoeuvres, 1975), 275–76.

- <sup>341</sup> Criscuolo, "Fra Porfirio e Giamblico," 203–5.
- 342 Ephraem the Syrian, Hymns on Julian Saba 2.13 (Beck, CSCO 322:41 [Syr.]; CSCO 323:46 [Ger.]): wdaḥzā šubḥēh dīḥīdāyā hwā lēh āp īḥīdāyā, "When he saw the glory of the Only-begotten, he too became an 'only-begotten' [i.e., a solitary one]" (our translation).
- <sup>343</sup> See, for example, Griffith, "Asceticism in the Church of Syria," 223–29.
- <sup>344</sup> The standard work on this terminology is AbouZayd, *Ihidayuta*. AbouZayd collects the terminology from important Syriac sources but does not question the idea that this connection between Christ, the  $\bar{\imath}h\bar{\imath}d\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ , and Syrian ascetics who are  $\bar{\imath}h\bar{\imath}d\bar{a}y\bar{e}$  in imitation of Christ may be essentially a hermeneutical principle that cannot be derived either from the Bible or from within the boundaries of early Christian texts.

be based largely on models from classical philosophy, for example, the asceticism offered in philosophical biographies of figures such as Iamblichus and Pythagoras. The question of the extent to which ideals such as the  $tups\bar{a}$  of Christ and the  $dukr\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  reflect actual practice among monks or originated in hagiographical literature, including the Life of Rabbula, has not been answered definitively. Rabbula the historical monk has been subsumed into Rabbula the ideal monk, and with him the possibility of answering the questions of whether Rabbula had been exposed in some way to the currents of Neoplatonism and whether this exposure had any influence on his ascetic reception of the Bible and earlier Christian ascetic practice remains open but also unresolved.

The argument that Christians drew their ascetic practices from the inspiring words of the New Testament does not rule out a Neoplatonic influence in the ascetic reception of the Bible. The debt of the New Testament authors to classical philosophy is documented. The debt of the New Testament authors to classical philosophy is documented. Closer to home in Syria during Rabbula's lifetime, one finds the influence of Neoplatonism and Pythagoreanism. Porphyry practiced a form of asceticism that included a vegetarian diet, as did Iamblichus, who, following Pythagoras, abhorred all killing. Rabbula's monks as well as the sons and daughters of the covenant under his guidance were forbidden to eat meat, and a vegetarian diet had become standard for Christian ascetics elsewhere. The *Life of Rabbula* certainly features a theme of a canonical and regulated balance between coenobitic and eremitic asceticism and monasticism. The monastery that Rabbula enters after his baptism is "like all the monasteries" in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup> See, for example, Abraham J. Malherbe, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989); Will Deming, *Paul on Marriage and Celibacy: The Hellenistic Background of 1 Corinthians* 7 (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); Markus Barth and Helmut Blanke, *The Letter to Philemon: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* (Eerdmans Critical Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), ch. 6; and Bruce W. Winter, *Philo and Paul among the Sophists* (SNTSMS 96; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>346</sup> Mark J. Edwards, "Two Images of Pythagoras: Iamblichus and Porphyry," in *The Divine Iamblichus: Philosopher and Man of Gods* (ed. H. J. Blumenthal and E. G. Clark; London: Bristol Classical Press, 1993), 167. See also Daniel A. Dombrowski, "Porphyry and Vegetarianism: A Contemporary Philosophical Approach," in *ANRW* 36.2:774–91; idem, "Asceticism and Athletic Training in Plotinus," in *ANRW* 36.1:701–12.

that the monks share all things in common.<sup>347</sup> When Rabbula leaves the monastery to live alone, his practice is that of canonical monasticism: constant prayer, the service of the psalms, and the service of reading holy literature. 348 Perhaps this description has been influenced by other Christian ascetical works, such as the Life of Anthony. Yet it may also be a response to Neoplatonic spirituality. For instance, the philosopher Proclus also spent all his time in the singing of hymns (the Orphic Hymns may have been his work), silent contemplation, and prayer. 349 No matter its origin, the description of Rabbula's asceticism does not necessarily imply that Rabbula did not abandon the cycle of coenobitic life, especially the liturgical offices, while he was a hermit, as Blum concludes. Blum also claims that the predominance of coenobitic monasticism in the Life of Rabbula and the need for an eremitism that recognized church authority explain why the hagiographer did not refer to Simeon Stylites as an ascetic model. 350 Many of the regulations for monks in the canonical collections attributed to Rabbula, as well as the hagiographer's emphasis on Rabbula's concern for monastic life and for the sons and daughters of the covenant, are consistent with this depiction of Rabbula as a monk whose practices were always in conformity with the standard usages of the church. <sup>351</sup> Given the opposition in Edessa to Rabbula's reforms, this depiction of Rabbula's monasticism may have served the author's intent to show that Rabbula's changes to church life in Edessa were not innovations but reflected the practice of churches and monasteries throughout the Christian world and were of apostolic origin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> *Rab.* 12. See also Jerome, *Vit. Malch.* 7 (PL 23:53–60; Morales, Leclerc, and de Vogüé, 200–203; Ewald, 294; White, 125–26).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>348</sup> See *Rab.* 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup> For an examination of these categories in Proclus and other Neoplatonists, see H. D. Saffey, "II. From Iamblichus to Proclus and Damascius," in *Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian, Greek, Roman* (ed. A. H. Armstrong; World Spirituality 15; New York: Crossroad, 1986), 250–65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 29, who also speculates that the close association of Simeon with the Antiochene monks and thus with Antiochene theology would have ruled him out as a possible model for the anti-Antiochene Rabbula. This logic also explains further why Anthony, who is associated with Egypt and thus with the theological school represented by Cyril, was more acceptable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup> See ibid., 30.

Even apart from a complete examination of the form of worship to which the encomiast alludes, it is clear that one feature, Rabbula's chanting of psalms, is consistent with a broad spectrum of other early Christian witnesses on psalmody and its efficacy. An important aspect of psalmody in early Christian literature was its spiritual value, a feature known to writers who were influential in monastic circles. 352 Such authors presented the psalms as a means of calming anger, of warding off temptation, and of training the contemplative faculty of the mind. 353 Cassian describes a form of prayer that incorporates psalmody, silent prayer, prostration, and collective prayer led by the cantor. 354 It is possible that a similar regimen, without the cantor, was followed by Rabbula and would have been understood by the immediately intended audience of his vita with the mention of "psalmody" alone. Of greater interest is the assertion that Rabbula's psalmody is the practice of all the monks who observe the rules of the church. Palladius corroborates Cassian's depiction of prayer with the further statement that this practice is that of all the churches everywhere. 355 This concern in the Life of Rabbula for the regulation of prayer and thus the emphasis on a received canon of spiritual practice was perhaps part of the "reform" that Rabbula wished to bring to Edessa, in order to subordinate charismatic monks to the authority of monastic institutions and episcopal discipline. 356 What is implied is that monasticism in Edessa was idiosyncratic and grew from distinct traditions that had not been assimilated with the wider development of managed asceticism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>352</sup> The study of psalmody in the wider context of prayer is treated, for example, in Gabriel Bunge, *Das Geistgebet: Studien zum Traktat* De Oratione *des Evagrios Pontikos* (Schriftenreihe des Zentrums Patristischer Spiritualität Koinonia-Oriens im Erzbistum Köln 25; Köln: Luthe-Verlag, 1987), 13–28. Luke Dysinger, "The Significance of Psalmody in the Mystical Theology of Evagrius of Pontus," *StPatr* 30 (1996): 176–82, examines several aspects of Bunge's theory in connection with monastic spirituality in the Syrian world.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup> Dysinger, "Significance of Psalmody," 179–80.

John Cassian, Institutes II.7 (Petschenig, 23–24; Ramsey, 41–42).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>355</sup> Palladius, *Lausiac History* 22.5–8; 43.2–3 (Meyer, 78–79, 119–20). See also Dysinger, "Significance of Psalmody," 177.

Rabbula's concern for canonical regulation may have lent his name to an unedited tract on prayer. For English translations of Syriac writers on prayer generally, see Sebastian Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (CSS 101; Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1987).

## 1.5.9. Rabbula and the Development of Monasticism

Although writers depicted hermits as living in a state of constant ascetical activity, their practices became increasingly regulated in the course of the late fourth and early fifth centuries. The canonical collections attributed to Rabbula as well as Rabbula's depiction as a lawgiver, a "second Moses," in the *Life of Rabbula* reflect the attempt to incorporate solitary monks into the organization of the church. Blum understands this to be evidence of the incorporation of an older eremitic monasticism into the administration and discipline of the church. This is also the general view of Vööbus in his approach to the development of the canonical collections attributed to Rabbula. It is also possible that the attempt to provide a canonical structure to eremitic monasticism through church regulation reflects its emergence from the already regulated coenobitic monasticism.

The difficulty in assessing the evidence of the Rabbula Corpus for understanding Rabbula's role in this process stems from the relationship between canonical legislation presented in the Life of Rabbula and legislation found in the canons attributed to Rabbula. Material found in the Admonitions for the Monks (in its various recensions) dates this collection to the sixth century. 360 Yet this same material is mentioned in the Life of Rabbula as intended to regulate the sons and daughters of the covenant. 361 The Life of Rabbula was composed soon after Rabbula's death. In particular, the commandment to abstain entirely from contact with women (Admonitions 25) is consistent with requirements for the life of a monk but not with the sons and daughters of the covenant, who formed a part of the clergy and thus had to be in contact with women, even if in a liturgical setting: elsewhere it states that the servants in the church are to be drawn from among the sons of the covenant. It is also implied that the daughters of the covenant are recruited to sing in the liturgical rites of the city churches. There are other examples besides. This poses a problem that touches on the dating and redaction of the Life of Rabbula, the status of

<sup>357</sup> See below, ccvi.

<sup>358</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 30.

<sup>359</sup> See below, ccvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> For a discussion of its contents and dating, see below, ccxxi-ccxxiv.

 $<sup>^{361}</sup>$  Rab. 22–23 and footnotes to parallels in the canonical collections.

the covenant, and the development of monasticism; the status quo needs to be reassessed in a separate study. <sup>362</sup>

### 1.6. RABBULA'S IMITATION OF CHRIST

#### 1.6.1. Imitatio and Conversion

The idea of "conversion" that lies behind the depiction of Rabbula's acceptance of Christianity is subordinate to his *imitatio Christi*. The striving to adapt one's life more and more to the model offered by Christ also constitutes the framework that holds together Rabbula's character before and after his conversion. A summary of the important aspects of this process follows.

The encomiast depicts Rabbula's life as characterized by the growth of the image of Christ within him, a process that begins before his baptism and continues until his death. When talking about the time before Rabbula's baptism, the author employs two topoi in order to illustrate his hero's personal and public growth: Rabbula's witness of the miraculous healing of a paralytic woman by the monk Abraham<sup>363</sup> and his encounter in the martyrion of Cosmas and Damian with the blind man who had been healed. 364 The second event results in a visible transformation of Rabbula's face, a literary device that recalls the transformation of the face of Moses when he descends from Sinai (Exod 34:29–35), one that expresses the idea of the relationship between inward and outward signs and conditions. As the hagiographer shapes the presentation of the second example, Rabbula is made to give a decisive response to what he has witnessed: "the Lord opened his lips and he gave a new praise of glory to God, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit."365 The identification of Rabbula's prayers of praise as "new" indicates an ecstatic, charismatic type of prayer. The hagiographer expresses that this experience also infuses Rabbula with Trinitarian knowledge. Such a confession of the Trinity serves to demonstrate the idea that knowledge (also) comes from

 $<sup>^{362}</sup>$  For an overview of the dating of the canons attributed to Rabbula, see below, ccvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> See *Rab.* 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> See *Rab.* 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> Rab. 6.

belief that may arise spontaneously, rather than deriving (only) from the careful consideration of philosophical and/or theological concepts. <sup>366</sup> In a certain way, the description of this scene and this statement represent the victory of Christianity over polytheism, the end of a process that began already with the struggle between Rabbula's parents. Such a Trinitarian confession may also suggest to the reader that Rabbula's experience is "orthodox," and therefore genuine.

The martyrion of Cosmas and Damian, which offers the setting for Rabbula's Trinitarian confession as well as for the healing of the blind man that takes place there and that completes the process of conversion, was one of the best-known pilgrimage sites in central Syria. The cult of these Syrian saints was centered at their hospital in Phereman (or Phremenna, Phremanna), located near Cyrrhus. 367 It is unclear whether Rabbula traveled to Phereman, or if there also was a church dedicated to the saints in the vicinity of Chalcis. The setting of Rabbula's confession in a shrine dedicated to the two saints may also have had an anti-Nestorian implication. In 435, a synod of bishops that rejected the Council of Ephesus met at the shrine of the "Unmercenary Healers." The version of the vita of Cosmas and Damian that originated in Constantinople in the later fifth century reflects an intentional "cleansing" of the cult of these saints from any anti-Ephesian overtones. A similar (re)appropriation may have been at work in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 19–20. See also Peter Nagel, *Die Motivierung der Askese in der alten Kirche und der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1966), 69–75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup> Alfred Breitenbach and Sebastian Ristow, "Kommagane (Euphratensis)," in *Realenzyklopädie für Antike und Christentum* (ed. Georg Schöllgen et al.; Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2006), 21:264. For the numerous Greek manuscripts transmitting accounts of their life and deeds, see François Halkin, *Actuarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1969), 51–53. See Michel van Esbroeck, "La légende «romaine» des SS Côme et Damien (BHG 373d) et sa métaphrase géorgienne par Jean Xiphilin: 1. Le texte grec," *OCP* 47 (1981): 389–425; and idem, "La légende «romaine» des SS Côme et Damien: 2. Le panégyrique géorgien," *OCP* 48 (1982): 29–64 (*BHG* 372–75, with several variants listed). For the Syriac text of the *Life of Cosmas and Damian* (*BHO* 210), see the edition offered in Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, 6:107–19.

Life of Rabbula in reaction to the pro-Nestorian synod of 435. 368

Rabbula's response to his enlightenment is not only verbal but also accompanied by almsgiving to those who are in the shrine: his almsgiving is an important sign of his renunciation of material goods and of his identification with the poor. Like the remembrance of Christ, this aspect of his imitatio Christi also has an ecclesiological dimension. The hagiographer seems to have been well aware of the power of money to turn those in leadership positions in the church away from their mission. That this danger was real and had to be counteracted is emphasized by references to almsgiving on several occasions in the Life of Rabbula. 369 It is the first act that Rabbula performs after his initial conversion in the shrine of Cosmas and Damian, and Rabbula's hagiographer narrates at some length Rabbula's distribution of alms before his imminent death. In the Life of Rabbula, giving alms is a critique in action of money's impediments to the activity of the clergy. The lessons, whether from Rabbula directly or embellished by his encomiast, are that love of money takes away the freedom of the church to act on the principles of the gospel and that receiving money carries the risk of losing one's honor and freedom. In the Life of Rabbula honor is also referred to as "freedom" or "independence" (Syr.: hêrūtā). Rabbula forbids his clergy to accept money as a "token of honor" (Syr.: 'īqārā): it is the clergy who bestow honor, presumably either through a blessing or through the donation of money. 370 Rabbula also forbids his clergy, who are monastics, to permit female relatives to work as their domestics,

<sup>368</sup> For further discussion and bibliography, see Michel van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende des saints Cosme et Damien," in Hagiographie, cultures et société: IV<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles; Actes du colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2–5 mai 1979) (ed. Centre de recherches sur l'Antiquité tardive et le haut Moyen Age; Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1981), 61–77. Van Esbroeck's hypothesis is that the renewal of the popularity of the cult of Cosmas and Damian, which had become widely diffused in Egypt, may have functioned as an expression of a reaction against the memory of Paul of Samosata, whose bishopric was close to the saints' shrine in Phereman/Phremanna. To be sure, Phereman is a suburb of Cyrrhus. The thoroughly Trinitarian understanding of the Nestorian controversies in Rabbula's Christology may reflect the milieu in which the rediffusion of the legend of Cosmas and Damian from Egypt into the Syrian Orient took place.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> *Rab.* 6, 8, 9, 37, 42, 49, 52, 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>370</sup> See *Rab.* 32.

arguing that "rather your independence should be honored by the brothers, the sons of our [eucharistic] mystery, as is fitting for holy ones."371 The independence and honor at stake are the moral and political freedom that allow the clergy to act in the interests of the church, even when these have to confront temporal power. For this reason, Rabbula hesitates to accept the gifts from the nobility of Constantinople in person. <sup>372</sup> Honor and spiritual independence are real elements of any society, but these themes in the Life of Rabbula also are devices of creating character (ēthopoiēsis). Rabbula's authority rests on his detachment from the things of this world. Through the medium of presenting Rabbula's character, the hagiographer exhorts his clerical audience to safeguard their spiritual authority. This argument in turn most likely served as a sort of ammunition in the struggle between the pro- and anti-Cyrillian factions in Edessa, crystallized around the persons of Rabbula and Hiba. The accusations that Hiba was prodigal with the use of church funds are contrasted with Rabbula's austerity and his clergy's imitation of this ideal.

With this independence comes the influence that money can purchase. As mentioned above, the hagiographer states that Rabbula sent out alms through his deacons to the cardinal points, as far as the desert of Jerusalem. 373 While this is an occasion to connect Rabbula to the Apostle Paul, for reasons of ecclesiastical pedigree, the hagiographer makes no mention as to whether Rabbula used almsgiving to monks to exert pressure through them on the other bishops of Osrhoene and beyond. That this is the case is suggested in a letter of John bishop of Antioch and the other bishops of the East assembled in Ephesus at the so-called synod of the Eastern bishops (CPG 6347). <sup>374</sup> In this short letter addressed to the other bishops of Osrhoene, John states that Rabbula "has disturbed both Edessa and all who live in the surrounding regions, performing [things] quite contrary to the apostolic faith, and has put to flight those who have chosen to understand correctly, and has stirred up many against the orthodox faith." Rabbula would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> Rab. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> Rab. 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>373</sup> *Rab.* 54; see above, lvii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> ACO 1.4:87,7–20; see below, exci n. 703, eexxxviii, and eexl; text and translation below, 179–80.

have had little canonical authority over the bishops in his own see, let alone those in other provinces, but with the receipt of alms, ascetics could be mobilized, whose spiritual authority would hold considerable weight, if not with the bishop, then at least with the laity.

Blum has already observed that Rabbula's vow to reject the world in order to follow Christ was made before he agreed to be baptized. This is a rather striking detail. Rabbula expresses to the bishops Acacius and Eusebius his desire to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and see the "Holy Place," which unless it is a scribal error must refer to the one site of Christ's tomb and the Church of the Resurrection. He also wants to be baptized in the Jordan, like Christ. The *imitatio Christi* overshadows Rabbula's desire to accept baptism, because it presents the monastic life as one that is superior, and as one for which baptism is merely a prerequisite to be executed in the manner that most resembles Christ. At least from the fourth century on, catechumens traveled to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 21; see *Rab*. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> See Rab. 7; Blum, Rabbula, 22, sees no reason to reject the accuracy of this statement. See F.-M. Abel, "Le Saint-Sépulcre avant 614," in Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire (ed. Hugues Vincent and Félix-Marie Abel; Paris: Gabalda, 1926), 2:181-217; G. Stuhlfauth, "Um die Kirchenbauten Konstantin des Großen auf Golgatha," ZKG 60.3.11 (1941): 332-40; on the church called the "Imbomon" on the Mount of Olives commemorating the site of the ascension, see P. Hugues Vincent, "Les sanctuaires primitifs du mont des Oliviers," in Jérusalem Nouvelle (ed. P. Hugues Vincent and F.-M. Abel; vol. 2 of Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire; Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1914), 360-73. On Bethlehem, see F.-M. Abel, Bethléem, la sanctuaire de la nativité (Paris: Gabalda, 1914), 107–18; and Bernhard Kötting, Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der Alten Kirche (2nd ed.; Münster in Westphalia: Stenderhoff, 1980), 89–111. For a detailed study of the travels of another, near-contemporary Holy Land pilgrim and the relevance of the holy places, see Horn, Asceticism and Christological Controversy, 226-331. For a study of controversial perspectives on pilgrimage in early Christianity, see Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity (TCH 38; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>377</sup> This desire to imitate Christ's baptism was not uncommon. Eusebius of Caesarea also reports that Emperor Constantine desired to be baptized in the Jordan. See Eusebius of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine* 4.62.1–2 (Winkelmann, 145–46; Richardson, 555–56).

River Jordan to be baptized there.<sup>378</sup> Aphrahat the Persian Sage refers to baptism as the "actual Jordan." For him, all Christian baptism is equal to the baptism of Christ. 380 Aphrahat's notion is consistent with the more popularized idea that the ideal Christian baptism is to take place in the Jordan. Through his depiction of his hero, Rabbula's hagiographer expresses the motivating desire of Christian pilgrims to "participate" in the salvation history of Christ. The popularity of pilgrimage from Aramaic-speaking parts of Syria might have inspired the author to include this detail in his account. Another pilgrim, Egeria, testified to the great popularity of pilgrimage visits to the Holy Land and the interest people took in the church's life and customs there toward the end of the fourth century. She reports that for the Syrian faithful who came to visit the Holy City, the Greek readings of the Jerusalem liturgy were translated into the language of Syria, probably some dialect of Aramaic (as well as into Egeria's native Latin). 381

Rabbula's promise to lead a life of strict and complete renunciation of the world upon the reception of baptism suggests that the earlier preference of a celibate life as the norm for Christians in the Syrian church was still in place. <sup>382</sup> It was never the case that the church in Syria required celibacy for all baptized Christians; rather, celibacy was an ideal to which Christian writers exhorted the faithful. <sup>383</sup> The dialogue between "the disciple Rabbula" and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> On pilgrimage to sites in modern-day Jordan, see now Burton Mac-Donald, *Pilgrimage in Early Christian Jordan: A Literary and Archaeological Guide* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* 11.11 (Parisot, PS 1.1:501; Pierre, SC 359:565–66) relates that baptism is opposed to circumcision: wagziray blebbhon hayyên wmetgazrin tenyānūt <sup>c</sup>al yordnan dašrārā dšubqānā daḥṭāhê.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> Baby Varghese, Les onctions baptismales dans la tradition syrienne (CSCO 512; Subsidia 82; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> Egeria, *Itinerarium* 47.3–4 (Röwekamp and Thönnes, 302–3; Wilkinson, 163). Interestingly enough, this detail is mentioned in Egeria's description of the Pentecost liturgy in Jerusalem. She remarks that those speaking *siriste*, "in Syriac," are also among the local population in Jerusalem and environs. The context makes it clear, though, that she discusses not just local dialects but the language(s) of pilgrims who have come for the celebration of Pentecost.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 21–22.

<sup>383</sup> See H. Koch, "Taufe und Askese in der alten ostsyrischen Kirche," ZNW 12 (1911): 37–69; Arthur Vööbus, Celibacy, a Requirement for Admission to Baptism in the Early Syrian Church (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society

Alexander Akoimētēs reflects the same two-tiered distinction between the "enlightened" (baptized Christians) and the "perfected" (ascetics). After Rabbula gives away alms to the poor and publicly smashes the idols in his house, he receives baptism, <sup>384</sup> but only to learn that he is not "perfect" until he disposes of all his belongings and takes up a life of voluntary poverty. <sup>385</sup> One important difference between these two accounts offered in the *Life of Rabbula* and the *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* is that in the *Life of Rabbula*, Rabbula agrees to live a life of monastic asceticism, with a promise made in the presence of two ascetic bishops, whereas Alexander convinces Rabbula of the way of perfection only after his baptism. The version of this account in the *Life of Rabbula* highlights as an ideal that the ascetic is bound to the discipline of the monastery and the obedience to the bishop, two important virtues in the hagiographer's presentation of Rabbula's asceticism.

For the hagiographer, the object of Rabbula's ascetic practices and the battles with Satan is that the ascetic might come to live as an angel in the body. <sup>386</sup> So too is the angelic life the ideal for clergy: Rabbula's "concern was such that the priests might resemble in their service the likeness of the angels of heaven as much as it was possible for humans to do so." This is not a new idea in Syriac literature; a precedent for it may be found in Aphrahat. <sup>388</sup> Whether or not Rabbula accepted this ideal in his own teaching, the author's connection of the angelic life with Rabbula's authority seems to be a *plaidoyer* for his own interpretation of Christian asceticism, one that was older and fairly widespread. It may also serve as a critique of "worldly" clergy, and one may see here an

in Exile 1; Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1951); and Robert Murray, "The Exhortation to Candidates for Ascetical Vows at Baptism in the Ancient Syrian Church," *NTS* 21 (1974–1975): 59–80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> Alex. Akoim. 17 (de Stoop, 670; Caner, 260; Theokritoff, 302).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>385</sup> Alex. Akoim. 18 (de Stoop, 671; Caner, 260; Theokritoff, 302–3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> See *Rab.* 16; see also Blum, *Rabbula*, 34–36. For an exploration of the parallels between the ascetic and the angelic life, see Karl Suso Frank, 'Αγγελικὸς βίος: Begriffsanalytische und begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum "engelgleichen Leben" im frühen Mönchtum (Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens 26; Münster in Westphalia: Aschendorff, 1964).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> Rab. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup> Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* 6.1 (Parisot, PS 1.1:248; Pierre, SC 349:366).

indirect critique of Hiba and his tenure as bishop of Edessa. Reference to the angelic life functioned as an indicator of the exalted spiritual status ascetics sought to attain, but in Christian literature of the fourth century it is also closely connected with virginity and encratism. Encratite asceticism, which rejected human procreation as inferior to celibacy, was based on the association of procreation (Gk.: genesis) with corruption (phthora). 389 Virginity was not only seen as a means of obtaining the resurrection at the end of time, a position known as eschatological encratism. Rather, virginity also was regarded as a means to make the resurrection present in this world, a position that Ugo Bianchi calls "protological encratism." <sup>390</sup> Protological encratism surfaces not only in texts that have encratite and/or gnostic associations, such as the Acts of Paul (and Thecla) and the Gospel of the Egyptians, <sup>391</sup> but also in the works of the Cappadocians Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa, writers who themselves did not reject or deprecate marriage and procreation. 392 This protological encratism cannot be easily distinguished from eschatological encratism, nor have criteria been established that allow for a distinction between Greco-Roman encratism and Christian encratism. Christian encratism was not necessarily a reaction to Platonic or Aristotelian thought. Rather, Christians applied the ascetic categories at hand to interpret the New Testament. In this view, depriving the body of food requires the same rather conscious adaptation and assimilation. 393 In the world of Syrian asceticism, this adaptation may have come about in part through contact with gnostic practitioners. 394

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>389</sup> Ugo Bianchi, "Questioni storico-religiose relative al cristianesimo in Siria nei secoli II-IV," *Aug* 19 (1979): 41–52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup> Bianchi, "Questioni storico-religiose," 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> Ton H. C. Van Eijk, "Marriage and Virginity, Death and Immortality," in *Epektasis: Mélanges patristiques offerts à Cardinal Jean Daniélou* (ed. Jacques Fontaine and Charles Kannengiesser; Paris: Beauchesne, 1972), 209–44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup> See Bianchi, "Questioni storico-religiose," 43, for a list of citations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>393</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> By now a classic study of perceptions of the body in ancient Christianity is Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). For intriguing recent work, see, for example, Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (TCH 42; Berkeley:

Rabbula's itinerary among the holy sites includes Golgotha, the Grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. 395 Blum notes that the order and description of these sites is paralleled by another source, De Hierosolyma. 396 Yet these sites were part of a typical pilgrimage route. 397 After visiting the holy places, Rabbula also distributes alms to the needy. Reference to his almsgiving on two occasions before his baptism functions as a means of illustrating his concern for the other, a quality that is essential to the hagiographer's concept of asceticism. 398 This aspect comes to the fore in the effect of Rabbula's final distribution of his property to the poor before his death. The hagiographer asserts that when Rabbula gives away his property after his baptism, this act benefits the people of Edessa. Mentioning this detail at the present location might give rise to a curious thought in the reader, given that the city of Edessa itself is not mentioned in the Life of Rabbula until the episode in which Rabbula's episcopal ordination is being recounted. Chalcis was located about 100 kilometers southwest of Edessa. Thus it is rather unlikely that these two cities were close enough to share a common philanthropic network of services. With such a "slip," the hagiographer reveals his apologetic concern to show Rabbula's connection to Edessa. He seems to have written under a certain urgency to make his case, given that evidence suggests that Rabbula's opponents accused Rabbula of being a foreigner whose reforms violated the traditions of the Edessene church. The background of that conflict is discussed below. 399

The account of Rabbula's baptism provides the reader with glimpses of ancient liturgical practices. Rabbula is anointed before

University of California Press, 2006), 57–98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>395</sup> For a typical pilgrimage route during those years, see also John Rufus, *Vit. Pet.* 134 (Horn and Phenix, 196–97; Raabe, 99), and Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy*, 249–52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>396</sup> Breviarius, *De Hierosolyma* (Geyer, CSEL 39:153–55; Geyer, CCSL 175:109–12); see Blum, *Rabbula*, 22 n. 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> For English translations of source texts, see John Wilkinson, Jerusalem Pilgrims: Before the Crusades (Warminster: Aries & Phillips, 1977).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>398</sup> For a discussion of the spirituality of almsgiving in connection with asceticism, see Blum, *Rabbula*, 26–27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> See below, cxxxv and cxxxvi–cxxxviii.

he is baptized, and there is no mention of a postbaptismal anointing. These details reflect the older Syrian usage, attested in such documents as the *Acts of Judas Thomas*. <sup>400</sup> In the course of the fifth century the postbaptismal anointing displaced the prebaptismal anointing in West Syrian churches, but it was preserved in the East Syrian baptismal rite. <sup>401</sup> This evidence is equivocal with regard to the baptismal practices in Edessa. The author of the *Life of Rabbula* may intend with this presentation of Rabbula's reception into the church to give preference to the older East Syrian rite over the contemporary practice in Edessa. It might also have been the case that the Edessene church had not yet adopted the postbaptismal anointing.

Following his baptism, Rabbula receives the white baptismal robe, "according to the custom of the spiritual bridegrooms of Christ." The image of the bridegroom is one associated with the vigilance of monastic prayer. This image is prevalent in the hymns attributed to Rabbula, specifically in the context of the parable of the wise and foolish virgins in Matthew. Instead of the voice that came from heaven when Jesus came up out of the water (see Matt 3:16–17; Mark 1:10–11), crosses in "the unique pigment of the blood of Christ" appear on Rabbula's clothing as he comes up from the water. The language that the author uses to express this miracle has scriptural parallels. It may be a paraphrase of Mark 15:46; the Peshitta version and this passage in the *Life of Rabbula* have the nouns "robe" (*ktānā*) and "his body" (*pagrēh*) and the verb "wrap" (*krak*) in common. Yet at this instance

<sup>400</sup> Varghese, Onctions baptismales, 32-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> Sebastian Brock, "Die Tauf-Ordines der altsyrischen Kirche, insbesondere die Salbungen der Taufliturgie," *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 28.1 (1978): 11–18; ET: "The Syriac Baptismal Ordines (with Special Attention to the Anointings)," *Studia Liturgica* 12 (1977): 177–83; idem, "The Transition to a Post-Baptismal Anointing in the Antiochene Rite," in *The Sacrifice of Praise: Studies on the Themes of Thanksgiving and Redemption in the Central Prayers of the Eucharist and Baptismal Liturgies in Honour of Arthur Hubert Couratin (ed. Bryan D. Spinks; BELS 19; Rome: C. L. V. Edizioni liturgiche, 1981), 215–22.* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> Rab. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> For the image of the bridegroom in Syriac literature, see, for example, Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, 133–35.

<sup>404</sup> See below, *Hymns* 301, 307, 311, 337, et passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>405</sup> Rab. 8.

the hagiographer may also allude to Rev 19:13: "He was wrapped in a robe dipped in blood and he called his name 'The Word of God.'" This emphasis on the uniqueness of Christ's blood highlights its character as a special remedy. In late antique Palestine, the feast of Christ's baptism was associated with the occurrence of miracles. Here, the "special remedy" of Christ's blood may also be the culmination of the miracles of healing that draw Rabbula closer to Christianity. In addition, the cross is a symbol of martyrdom, which in this context becomes identified with the "death to the world" of the ascetic. Hor Rabbula's hagiographer the acceptance of the cross or "yoke" of Christ is the most profound form of rejection of the world. Hor Thus, the miracle of the crosses that appear on Rabbula's baptismal garment serves as a sign of his chosen character and may be understood as part of his *imitatio Christi*.

Following his baptism, Rabbula convinces his mother, wife, and children to imitate Christ as he has chosen to imitate him, namely, through acceptance of the ascetic life. He also seems to have persuaded some of his slaves to enter the monastery. Abbula furnishes the freed slaves with provisions. While there is no New Testament parallel for this behavior, it may have some of its grounding in the commandment of Deut 15:13–14. This is also a common hagiographical *topos*, found, for instance, in the *Life of Pelagia* and in John of Ephesus.

Rabbula's conversion reflects two important biographical themes: his  $\bar{e}thos$ , which before his conversion is a zeal for the divine, and his *imitatio Christi*. The author of the *Life of Rabbula* connects such a prefiguration with the way in which zealous

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup> For example, at the annual celebration of Theophany at the site at which one commemorated Jesus' baptism the Jordan would stand still. See Antonius Placentinus, *Itinerarium* 11 (Geyer, 135, 6–16).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>407</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 23–24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>408</sup> Ibid., 24–25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>409</sup> See *Rab.* 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> Life of Pelagia 38 (Petitmengin, 1:89, 148, 158, 176, 212, 244, 269, 284, 309, 332, 346, 360; for an English translation of the Syriac version, see Sebastian P. Brock and Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* [TCH 13; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987], 56). See also John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints* 21 (Brooks, PO 17.1:290) and 31 (Brooks, PO 18.4:579–80).

figures from the Old Testament can be understood to be types of Christ, modeling ahead of time what was to be fulfilled in Christ. Rabbula's conversion is one in which this zeal has matured and comes to its fullest expression. In the course of describing Rabbula's conversion, the author presents elements of Rabbula's character that are later on again emphasized in the description of his episcopacy. The climax of this combination of zeal and *imitatio Christi* is his baptism and his distribution of all his property. The miracle of the crosses that manifest themselves on his garment at the time of his baptism functions as a complex symbol drawing together all these aspects of Rabbula's character.

Integral to the depiction of Rabbula's imitatio Christi is his desire for martyrdom. Constantine's reign heralded the end of persecution for Christians. The desire for martyrdom was in part directed to the renunciation of the world through asceticism and monasticism. Rabbula and Eusebius, who later becomes the bishop of Tella, seek to initiate their dying for their faith through vandalism they commit at the temple at Baalbek. 411 This episode reveals that for at least some members of the author's audience martyrdom remained the greatest form of Christian witness in the fifth century. 412 In the course of his story, the author uses this episode to replace martyrdom with a new ideal, that of a bishop who manages the monetary and spiritual affairs of his church with the zeal of an ascetic. This same zeal directed against other religious groups, which include Christians such as Arians, also is expressed as an imitatio of Joshua bar Nun, the general who led the Israelite holy war against the inhabitants of Canaan and their temples.413

Similarly, the hagiographer describes Rabbula's encounter with the Tayy, the Arabs of the desert of Chalcis, as an instance that reveals Rabbula's desire for martyrdom completed to the limit that God will allow, so that his ultimate sacrifice is his twenty-four years as bishop of Edessa. Rabbula's hagiographer employs a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> See *Rab.* 16.

Examples like that of the Phrygian Quintus in *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 4 (Ehrman, 1:372–73) that were meant to show what not to do, at least in this case were not headed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>413</sup> See *Rab.* 40.

theme found in earlier hagiography: the unfulfilled desire for martyrdom in Christian biography can provide justification for bold words and bold action, or for the authority of the saint, as is the case in the Life of Cyprian. Cyprian eventually suffers martyrdom, but it is his desire for martyrdom that is the basis for his spiritual authority.  $^{414}$ 

## 1.6.2. Rabbula's Ascetical Bios

Rabbula's ascetical practices as a bishop are recounted in a lengthy section of the  $Life\ of\ Rabbula$  that interrupts the chronological arrangement of the  $bios.^{415}$  They express the proof of Rabbula's spiritual power. The manuscript features a heading for this section, proposing to recount Rabbula's "excellent deeds" (Syr.:  $^Cb\bar{a}d\hat{e}$   $myatr\bar{a}y\hat{e}$ ).

For the encomiast, the first and most important aspect of ascetic control concerns Rabbula's intake of food. Rabbula does not merely fast, he never satisfies his hunger. He eats only bread and a small portion of vegetables and abstains entirely from oil and wine. All the rich foods that he receives from donors he turns over to the *xenodocheia*, the guesthouses he has established in Edessa. In addition, Rabbula forbids his clergy to eat meat or fowl.

Such practices were common both to Christian asceticism and to the holy philosophers. Porphyry explains that Plotinus's abstinence from meat was to deny the soul a substance that is like the flesh of the body, which was understood to be a prison for the soul, in order that the soul might more easily attain its previous spiritual state before its "fall" into incarnation. This return to initial conditions can be found, with practically no alteration, in the Cappadocians, for whom the restoration of the prelapsarian state of Adam and Eve is identified with the goal of Christian ascetic practice, the attainment of the spiritually superior state in which the catastrophe of the Fall is reversed. 417

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> Pontius Diaconus, *Vit. Cyp.* 1.2 (Bastiaensen and Canali, 4,17–18; Müller and Deferrari, 6): *qui et sine martyrio habuit quae doceret*. See also Mühlenberg, "Débuts de la biographie chrétienne," 522.

<sup>415</sup> See *Rab.* 29–34.

<sup>416</sup> Cox, Biography in Late Antiquity, 29; see Porphyry, De abstinentia 1.30 (Bouffartigue, 1:64–66; Clark, 42).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>417</sup> Bianchi, "Questioni storico-religiose," 52.

Unique to the Christian understanding of fasting and abstinence is the goal of identification with the poor. This goal of ascetic practice can be explained only as an ascetic hermeneutic of the Bible. The diet of the figure who is referred to as the Man of God consists only of bread and vegetables. 418 In contrast to asceticism as a form of training the soul for an encounter with God, one may understand the voluntary poverty of the hero of the Life of the Man of God as a form of identification with the poor, to whom Jesus promised the kingdom of heaven (Matt 5:3). Like the sages, the Man of God does not permit his stomach to enslave him, although the example of one who was so enslaved, Esau, provides a distinct context when compared with that of the classical philosophers. 419 Rabbula's asceticism and his austerity in governing his diocese are directed toward maintaining a condition of voluntary poverty. As examined above, the distribution of alms is designed to impoverish him and his clergy: the wealth of the church in fact belongs to the poor, church land should be set aside for the benefit of the xenodocheia, and so on. This is a "practical" asceticism, similar to the asceticism found in the Liber Graduum. 420 Syrian hagiography seems to argue that there are benefits to the giver in this world. The Man of God gives away to the poor any additional food he receives in the course of the day, and thus while fasting is giving alms himself. 421 Rabbula's lavish distribution of alms to the poor of Edessa upon his conversion is interpreted through the allegory of the merchant who sold everything to purchase a unique pearl. The "pearl" that Rabbula purchases with his alms is the city of Edessa itself, given back to him upon his consecration as bishop. The dividend of ascetic practice is also spiritual: casting off the "fetters of wealth," the word of God he has received grows and vields a hundredfold return. 422

<sup>418</sup> Life of the Man of God (Rösler, 509; Doran, 36).

<sup>419</sup> Gen 25:29-34. This account is in the original Syriac life. See *Life of the Man of God* (Amiaud, 1; Doran, 17).

<sup>420</sup> See above, li-liv, lvii, and civ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>421</sup> According to the Greek version, the Man of God receives twelve obols by begging. Of that amount, he spends on himself ten lepta on bread and two on vegetables per day. There were twenty leptae to an obol; hence, the vast majority of the money he has received from begging he gives to the poor. See *Life of the Man of God* (Rösler, 509; Doran, 36).

<sup>422</sup> Rab. 9.

Philosophical hagiography indicates that another goal of abstinence and fasting is to remove impediments to the intellectual activity of the soul. Iamblichus of Chalcis "taught his disciples abstinence from all animal flesh and also from certain foods, which are a hindrance to pure and alert reasoning." He presents Pythagoras as a figure who ate a vegetarian diet because it was conducive to the intellectual activity of the soul, and because it would not impede the soul's progress.

Rabbula's asceticism has a similar interior motive, namely, to assure that nothing will hinder his imitation of Christ, expressed as the "constant recollection of Jesus" that dwells in Rabbula's soul, also expressed as the indwelling of the "adorable name of Jesus" in Rabbula's heart. <sup>424</sup> A similar expression occurs in the *Life of Anthony* and may be related directly to the choice of phraseology employed by Rabbula's hagiographer. <sup>425</sup>

Next to the model of asceticism offered by Anthony, the author of the *Life of Rabbula* seems to have adhered to the more stringent forms of asceticism found in Eusebius's comments on Origen's life<sup>426</sup> and in Porphyry's *vita* of Plotinus. For Plotinus, the sage is one who desires "nothing of this world, pleasant or painful; his one desire will be to know nothing of the body. If he should meet with pain he will pit against it the powers he holds to meet it," but pleasure means nothing, and brings him no happiness. <sup>427</sup> Cox notes that there are similarities among the presentations of fasting found in Plotinus and Origen, on the one

<sup>423</sup> Iamblichus, Vit. Pyth. 16.68 (Nauck, 48; Dillon and Hershbell, 92–93): πρὸς δὲ τὴν τοῖς ἐμψύχων ἀποχὴν πάντων καὶ ἔτι βρωμάτων τινῶν ἀκολάστων ταῖς εὐαυγείαις τοῦ λογισμοῦ καὶ εἰλικρινείαις ἐμποδιζόντων κατέδειξεν ἐν τοῖς ἑταίροις.

<sup>424</sup> Rab. 5 and 3, respectively. See Irénée Hausherr, The Name of Jesus: The Names of Jesus Used by Early Christians; The Development of the "Jesus Prayer" (trans. Charles Cummings; CSS 44; Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1978), 42–52. On the name of Jesus in Ephraem the Syrian, see Thomas Koonammakkal, "Ephraem on the Name of Jesus," StPatr 33 (1997): 548–52.

 $<sup>^{425}</sup>$  See Athanasius,  $\it{Vit.~Ant.}$  10 (Bartelink, 164–66; Gregg, 39; Vivian and Athanassakis, 83, 85).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>426</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 6.1–4 (Schwartz, Mommsen, and Winkelmann, 518–30; Williamson, 179–84).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>427</sup> Plotinus, *Enn.*, 1.4.14 (Henry and Schwyzer, 95–96; Mackenna and Dillon, 43).

hand, and of Christian desert ascetics, on the other. <sup>428</sup> Rabbula too fasts to the point of starvation and battles against the temptation to satisfy his hunger: "at all times he was exalted and lifted ever higher in his victory over these powerful passions that strike down the mighty ones under the fierce oppression of the need caused by them." <sup>429</sup>

The communal aspect of Rabbula's fasting reflects his position as a bishop, which entails the roles of ascetic guide, spiritual father, and teacher. His meager table and his physical appearance serve as examples to his clergy. Unlike the "divine philosophers," whose imitation of the asceticism of their subjects cannot be ascertained with any certainty, <sup>430</sup> Rabbula's asceticism is presented to inspire the hearer of his *vita*.

The presentation of Rabbula's clergy as eagerly imitating their bishop's brutal self-denial, their faces "anointed as with jaundice," they themselves being people whose meals are as meager as his own, is not just a means of expressing the validity of his way of life by way of admiration or with a claim to public identification as an ascetic. 431 This is a "mark" distinguishing the "true" ascetics, and thus Rabbula's supporters, from those of his opponents, who are never named, but may have been the "academics" of the School of Edessa who supported Hiba. The reference to the emaciated faces of Rabbula's ascetics stands in contrast to descriptions of philosophers and Christian ascetics alike. As a result of his vegetarian diet, Pythagoras never suffered poor health and "his soul always revealed through his appearance the same disposition."432 A similar statement is made of Anthony, who, despite of his intense fasting, never appears too thin but retains the look of good health at all times. 433

<sup>428</sup> See Cox, Biography in Late Antiquity, 29–30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>429</sup> See *Rab.* 29.

<sup>430</sup> Cox, Biography in Late Antiquity, 30.

<sup>431</sup> Rab. 30. This was the case, for example, with Eusebius of Caesarea (Origen) and Philostratus (Apollonius of Tyana). Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity*, 25–28, discusses such public aspects of the functioning of fasting among philosophers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>432</sup> Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae* 34–35 (Sodano and Girgenti, 162; for the translation, see Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity*, 29).

<sup>433</sup> Athanasius, Vit. Ant. 14.3 (Bartelink, 172-73; Vivian and Athanassakis, 93): "his body had maintained its former condition, neither fat from lack

The ascetic basis for Rabbula's character rests in the struggle to subdue the power of nature through the will. Rabbula accepts his election as bishop to the see of Edessa as an act of God's will, a power to which he readily submits. His observance of the commandments of God leads him into the wilderness, and his obedience to divine providence compels him to accept his return to the world he had forsaken when he took on the office of bishop. 434 His obedience to divine precepts is greater than the temptations of his office, which include familiarity and favoritism in his administration of his clergy and the acceptance of what may have appeared to be bribes or tokens of honor from anyone. 435 The hagiographer has made an effort to show that Rabbula embraced the conventional practice of the church. This move turns Rabbula into a countermodel to the prevailing view of monks, who were seen as rejecting everything that was conventional, including church discipline. 436 In light of the conflict with Hiba and his clergy, the hagiographer may have included these topoi as a provocation: a bishop can and indeed must engage in the administration of his office while maintaining himself at a distance, apart from the world.

The reader of the *Life of Rabbula* is led to understand that this power arising from his ascetic life granted Rabbula his secular authority to act as the theocratic ruler of Edessa, illustrated there through examples in a stylistically similar section that follows the presentation of Rabbula's ascetic deeds. Moreover, Rabbula is accepted with great enthusiasm by the people of Edessa, who laud him at his enthronement. This universal acceptance of the bishop may reflect the encomiast's interests in showing that Rabbula had broad support from the people of Edessa. It may also be a *topos* that reflects the ideal of the bishop accepted by the entire community in recognition of his virtues. <sup>437</sup>

of exercise, nor emaciated from fasting and combat with demons" (Gregg, 42).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>434</sup> See *Rab.* 18.

<sup>435</sup> See *Rab.* 32.

<sup>436</sup> Peter Brown, "Town, Village, and Holy Man: The Case of Syria," in Assimilation et résistence à la culture gréco-romain dans le monde ancien (ed. D. M. Pippidi; Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1976), 217–19.

Rapp, Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity, 36 (see n. 51 for the reference to the locus for this position in Origen, Homily on Leviticus, 6.3).

#### 1.7. THE ELECTION OF RABBULA TO THE SEE OF EDESSA

The hierarchy of the early fifth-century Antiochene church into which Rabbula entered as a bishop was in the midst of resolving the Meletian schism that had broken apart allegiances within the church since 360. 438 This schism consisted of a split between the "Old Nicene," or "Eustathian," party and the enfranchised church in Antioch, named after Meletius of Antioch, whose election precipitated the split. 439 Three groups had been reunited just recently when Rabbula was elected: (1) the supporters of the strict Nicene party of Eustathius of Antioch; (2) supporters of John Chrysostom, the exiled bishop of Constantionople; and (3) the enfranchised church that enjoyed imperial support. Moreover, Acacius of Beroea, who played a central role in Rabbula's conversion, and Alexander of Antioch, who was bishop of that city when Rabbula received his see in Edessa, were two of the most important figures in this affair. The new reunion was tenuous, and it required trusted bishops to ensure its durability. It is implausible that Rabbula was plucked out of thin air from the desert simply because of his wonder-working credentials. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that Alexander of Antioch, who still faced pockets of resistance among dissenting groups involved in the Meletian schism, which had affected Antioch for two generations, would have entrusted any of his provinces to an unknown and unvetted hermit. The references to Acacius of Beroea and Alexander of Antioch in the Life of Rabbula

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>438</sup> For a concise discussion of the Meletian schism, see Manlio Simonetti, "Antioch. III. Schism," in *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (ed. Angelo di Berardino; trans. Adrian Walford; 2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 1:49–50.

<sup>439</sup> The only monograph-length study of the Meletian schism is Ferdinand Cavallera, Le schisme d'Antioche (Ive-ve siècles) (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1905). This work must be used with care, as also pointed out by Kelley McCarthy Sproel, "The Schism at Antioch since Callavera," in Arianism after Arius: Essays on the Development of the Fourth Century Trinitarian Conflicts (ed. Michel R. Barnes and Daniel H. Williams; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 101–26. See more recently Franz Dünzl, "Die Absetzung des Bischofs Meletius von Antiochien 361 n.Chr.," JAC 43 (2000): 71–93; and Thomas R. Karmann, Meletius von Antiochien: Studien zur Geschichte des trinitätstheologischen Streites in den Jahren 360–364 n.Chr. (Regensburger Studien zur Theologie 68; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2009).

reveal that Rabbula was indeed connected to influential figures or at least that his hagiographer created this association and thus the impression that Rabbula had strong connections to established and respected figures in the Antiochene church.

Rabbula was elected bishop of Edessa in March or April 412. He succeeded Diogenes (409–411), about whom nothing else is known other than what is reported in the *Chronicle of Edessa* and the announcement in the *Life of Rabbula*. The synod that appointed Rabbula to Edessa took place under the presidency of Bishop Alexander of Antioch. Alexander had successfully integrated the "Old Nicaeans" as well as the Johannites, who had opposed the exile of John Chrysostom during the episcopacy of

440 See *Rab.* 17. *Chron. Ed.* 48 (Guidi, CSCO 1:6,16–18 [Syr.]; Guidi, CSCO 2:6,36–37 [Lat.]): "In the year 720 [408/9 CE] my Lord Diogenes became bishop in Edessa and began to build the House of Mar Barlaha" (our translation). Blum (*Rabbula*, 39 n. 1) ventures that the reason for the paucity of evidence concerning Diogenes may be sought in the identification of Diogenes with a certain Diogenes Digamos. Peeters, "La vie de Rabboula," 150–51, provides further details. Rabbula's election is treated in Blum, *Rabbula*, 39–42. Diogenes of Edessa was ordained by Acacius of Beroea and Alexander of Antioch. Interestingly, Theodoret of Cyrrhus mentions that Diogenes was married twice. See Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Letter* 110 (to Domnus [of Antioch]) (Azéma, SC 111:40–41): "It is thus, in effect, that Alexander of happy and blessed memory who administered the apostolic see (of Antioch), together with the venerable Acacius of Beroea, ordained Diogenes of happy memory, despite his second marriage" (our translation).

441 The authority of Bishop Alexander to conduct an episcopal election for the see of Edessa reflects the traditional oversight of the see of Antioch over the cities of the diocese of the Orient, according to canon 6 of the Council of Nicaea (325), restated in canon 1 of the Council of Constantinople (381). See Friedrich Lauchert, Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien nebst den apostolischen Kanones (Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften, Zwölftes Heft; Freiburg im Breisgau: Mohr, 1896; repr. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1961), 38-39 §6 (for the First Council of Nicaea); 84 §2 (for the First Council of Constantinople). At the time when Rabbula became Edessa's bishop, the limits of the province of Osrhoene, of which Edessa was the metropolis, were still undefined. It is only at the Council of Chalcedon (451) that the definitive boundary of the province, with eleven suffragan bishops, was set. See Jean-Remy Palanque, "Les métropoles ecclésiastiques à la fin du IVe siècle," in L'histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours (ed. Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin; Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1946), 3:449-51; Devreesse, Patriarcat d'Antioche, 290-91; and Wilfried Hagemann,

Porphyrius of Antioch (404–412), into the larger church. 442 Although the schism of the Eustathian party at Antioch continued until around 482, Alexander received most of the Eustathians at this time. 443 Practically nothing is known about Alexander's background. The reference to him in the *Life of Rabbula* conveys the idea that Rabbula's election was canonical. If more were known about Alexander and his role in the reconciliation of the Meletian schism, as well as about his personal connections, the significance of this notice in the *Life of Rabbula* could be clarified. Although there is no reason to doubt that Rabbula was canonically elected to his see, the entire episode in which Rabbula's "divine" election is recounted leaves the impression that it was composed as a defense of Rabbula's election to Edessa.

Considerably more information is available concerning Acacius of Beroea. Prior to his ordination Acacius had acquired his ascetic training under Asterius, a disciple of Julian Saba, at the monastery of Gindaros, near Antioch, which Asterius had founded. Acacius played a central role in bringing the schism

"Die rechtliche Stellung der Patriarchen von Alexandrien und Antiochien: Eine historische Untersuchung ausgehend vom Kanon 6 von Nicäa," *OS* 13 (1964): 180–83.

Cavallera, *Schisme d'Antioche*, 293. The main sources for this information are Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. eccl.* 5.35 (Parmentier and Hansen, 337–38; Jackson, 154–55), as well as Innocent I of Rome, *Letters* 19, 20, 22 (PL 20:540–46).

443 Calendion of Antioch (beginning of 482 until his exile in August 485) obtained from Emperor Zeno permission to bring the relics of Eustathius from Philippopolis to Antioch. For sources, see Cavallera, *Schisme d'Antioche*, 297–98.

444 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 2.9 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:216–17; Price, 28). This information is corroborated by a letter of Basil of Caesarea addressed to the monastery of Tel 'Ada (Teleda). This letter is preserved in Syriac in BL Add 17,144 (sixth century; see William Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* [3 vols.; London: British Museum, 1870–72], 2:653) and was printed with French translation in M. Albert, "Une Lettre de Basile au Monastère de Tell'ada," in *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J. W. Drijvers* (ed. G. J. Reinink and A. C. Klugkist; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oosterese Studies, 1999), 11–22. One of the main sources on the life of the monk Julian Saba is the set of hymns in his praise from Ephraem the Syrian. For edition and German translation of these works see Edmund Beck, ed. and trans., *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen auf Abraham* 

between Antioch and Rome to an end. 445 Acacius's role as a negotiator and peacemaker in the Meletian schism seems to have been on the mind of Emperor Theodosius II after the impasse at the Council of Ephesus in 431, so that he called upon Acacius to mediate a settlement between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch. Acacius appears to have been a supporter of the Meletians, as he owed his episcopal appointment to Beroea to Eusebius of Samosata, who himself was a supporter of Meletius. Acacius's ordination probably took place immediately following Meletius's return from his second exile in 379. In the same year, Eusebius of Samosata, who was one of Meletius's allies, also ordained Eusebius of Chalcis, another important figure in the Life of Rabbula, as well as Eulogius of Edessa. 446 It is possible that Rabbula's hagiographer sought to associate his hero with Acacius and Eusebius right at the start of his conversion in order to demonstrate that Rabbula had a legacy among the Meletians, was orthodox, and

Kidunaya und Julianos Saba (CSCO 322–23; Scriptores Syri 140–41; Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1972). For work on Julian Saba see Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "'Incense in Our Land': Julian Saba and Early Syriac Christianity," in Wilderness: Essays in Honour of Frances Young (ed. R. S. Sugirtharajah; Library of New Testament Studies 295; London: T&T International, 2005), 120–31; and Griffith, "Julian Saba." The second article is especially valuable because Griffith was able to access an unedited mēmrā on Julian Saba by Jacob of Serugh. See also Pierre Canivet, Le monachisme syrien selon Théodoret de Cyr (Théologie historique 42; Paris: Beauchesne, 1977), 113–15. Rey-Coquais (Baalbek et Beqa<sup>c</sup>, 38 n. 7) mentions a Life of Julian Saba attributed to Ephraem. The reference likely is to the Syriac version of the Life of Julian Saba included in Theodoret of Cyrrhus's Historia religiosa and customarily ascribed to Ephraem. See Bedjan, Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, 6:380–404; and Beck, Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen auf Abraham Kidunaya und Julianos Saba, xi.

445 Cavallera, *Schisme d'Antioche*, 287–88; and Gustave Bardy, "Acace de Berée et son role dans la controverse nestorienne," *RevScRel* 18.1 (1938): 20–44. To be sure, the sources are not united on the precise role of Acacius. Since Cavallera there has been no in-depth study on Acacius. Michael Kohlbacher has informed the present authors that he has a monograph in progress on the life of Acacius of Beroea.

446 Cavallera, *Schisme d'Antioche*, 212–13, who adduces as sources Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. eccl.* 5.35 (Parmentier and Hansen, 337–38; Jackson, 155), although this passage does not mention any of those whom Alexander ordained, and *Chron. Ed.* 34 (Guidi, CSCO 1:5 [Syr.]; Guidi, CSCO 2:6 [Lat.]) for Eulogius. See also Palanque, "Métropoles ecclésiastiques," 451–52, who formulates that Eulogius "est à l'origine d'une littérature poétique en langue

was acceptable to the Edessenes, whose city had been Meletian since the start of the schism. This last point is suggested by a list of bishops who supported Meletius that is preserved in Basil of Caesarea's *Letter* 92. 447 Included on this list is Bassos of Edessa, who probably is to be identified with Barses, the anti-Arian bishop who was expelled from his see by Emperor Valens. Thus, even if only in his hagiography, Rabbula was connected with bishops who were active in the Meletian schism and, in the case of Acacius, the *éminence grise*, exerted considerable influence in the Nestorian controversy. Rabbula's connection with the Meletians explains his acceptability, if not his choice, to become a bishop of an important Antiochene see. 448

A recent study of the transmission of part of the pseudo-Athanasian corpus into Armenian has led Michael Kohlbacher to an alternative thesis: Rabbula was instrumental in the transmission of this pseudo-Athanasian corpus to Armenian translators in Edessa; this corpus reflects the Trinitarian position of the Paulinian party, that is, of the archaeo-Nicenes, who recognized Paulinus of Antioch and his descendents as the sole bishop; and

syriaque, illustrée à la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle par plusieurs de ses disciples" (452) and adds, "En particulier son neveu Cyrillonas, Balaios, chorévêque de Berée, Isaac d'Amida" (n. 3), a comment for which unfortunately he does not supply any evidence.

<sup>447</sup> This list is contained in the *Synodicon* sent to the bishops in the West in 372. See Cavallera, *Schisme d'Antioche*, 209. Basil of Caesarea, *Letter* 92 (Courtonne, 198–203) is dated to 372; see also Cavallera, *Schisme d'Antioche*, 187.

448 Kohlbacher, "Rabbula in Edessa," has argued an opposite position, namely, that Rabbula and Acacius were members of the Eustathian party and that Rabbula's adoption of Alexandrian theology was a result of his contact with pro-Eustathian (or better, anti-Meletian) circles in Alexandria and Antioch. Kohlbacher's argument relies on a complex collection of documents and an analysis of the origins of the symbol of faith adopted by the Armenian Church in the early fifth century as well as the source of the Armenian translation of a corpus of pseudo-Athanasian works. This argument is difficult to summarize in a concise fashion. It raises interesting possibilities concerning the contacts between Rabbula and Armenian translators, namely, that Rabbula was the bishop in Edessa who selected Syriac and Greek patristic material for the work of the translators. Yet Kohlbacher's evaluation of the role of Acacius in the Meletian schism requires further explanation, given that it seems to overlook the fact that Acacius owed his episcopal consecration to Meletius and not to the pro-Eustathian (or "Old Nicene") bishop of Antioch, Paulinus III (362–88).

therefore Rabbula's theology was formed by this school. 449 Although in the present context it is not possible to do justice to Kohlbacher's meticulous reconstruction of the manuscript evidence, which is the bedrock of his presentation, it may be pointed out that his thesis is not inconsistent with the idea that Rabbula was eventually elected to the see of Edessa because of his acceptance of the triumph of Alexander and other representatives of the Meletian party in Antioch. If Kohlbacher's thesis holds up to further scrutiny, then the portrait of Rabbula that emerges is that of a "crypto-Paulinian" whose theological convictions came to the fore in the context of the Nestorian controversy. On this view, the question of Nestorius polarized Antioch much along the same lines as the Meletian schism. Further research is necessary to elucidate the connections between these two crises in Antioch. It seems that Rabbula's hagiographer was concerned to demonstrate that Rabbula was from the same group of monks as his predecessor, Diogenes, and therefore was in line with the neo-Nicene party at Antioch. The author of his hagiography retained this detail to show that with regard to Edessa's traditions Rabbula was not a revolutionary outsider. 450

The hagiographer's presentation of the divine intervention that stirs the hearts of the bishops to elect Rabbula expresses his understanding of the authority and the charism of the episcopal office. Blum concludes that Rabbula's election is presented as an analogy not to the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan nor to the

<sup>449</sup> Ibid. It is interesting to note that Paulinus ordained Jerome to the priesthood in 378, following his stay with the monks in Chalcis in 374/75–376/77. Paulinus represented the pro-Nicene camp of anti-Arians at Antioch (that is, the supporters of Eustathius). Damasus of Rome supported Paulinus against Meletius, the anti-Arian and anti-Nicene bishop. This raises the question as to whether Jerome, as an official or unofficial representative of Rome, may have visited monks in the region of Chalcis because they were supporters of Paulinus. This detail would support the hypothesis of Rabbula's affiliation with the "Old Nicene" party and its theology.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>450</sup> In addition, the problem of the relationship between Rabbula and Edessa's traditions and the problem of Rabbula's role in transmitting works of the Athanasian and pseudo-Athanasian corpus to Armenia remain open for further investigation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>451</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 40–41. For a discussion of the monastic dominance of the episcopate in late antiquity, see Escolan, *Monachisme et Église*, 313–46.

anointing of the kings and high priests of Israel. Rather, the intended emphasis is on Christ personally anointing the bishop as well as on the consecration of a bishop to be the means of transmitting the Spirit to the ordained. The second half of Blum's argument is supported by the hagiographer's suggestion that it is the "spirit of Jesus" that has spoken in the hearts of the bishops, telling them to elect Rabbula. However, the author gives Old Testament types for Rabbula's ordination; the direct speech of the "spirit of Jesus" states that the Spirit will rest on Rabbula just as it rested on David. Whether this reflects the encomiast's understanding of every episcopal ordination or whether this is a hagiographical device remains unclear. It is certainly another example of the author's adaptation of Old Testament imagery and figures (e.g., king, high priest) to describe Rabbula's ascetic and spiritual power. However, the intended in the priest of Israel Rabbula's ascetic and spiritual power.

The report of Rabbula's acceptance of the synod's decision shows him as a model of obedience to the divine will. 456 Not so infrequently, hagiographers and biographers presented the office of bishop as a form of martyrdom. 457 Here the author portrays Rabbula's taking office as a deed even greater than that of the physical martyrdom Rabbula sought at Baalbek. Rabbula is shown to have taken on the "yoke" of the episcopate in the same manner as he accepted the commandments of God to separate from his possessions and family. Rabbula's acceptance of his position as bishop means that he has to leave the desert behind. This biographical event may reflect, as a broader current of thought, that the desert was an appropriate stage for the monk or ascetic. In his *De vita sua* Gregory Nazianzen remarks that the desert is incompatible with study and therefore at some point has to be abandoned. 458

<sup>452</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>453</sup> See *Rab.* 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>454</sup> See *Rab.* 17.

<sup>455</sup> Contra Blum, Rabbula, 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>456</sup> See *Rab.* 18; see also Blum, *Rabbula*, 41–42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>457</sup> For a comparison of different hagiographical approaches to episcopal election, see Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 296.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>458</sup> Gregory Nazianzen, *De vita sua* (PG 37:1049–50). This idea also occurs in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*. See Marguérite Harl, "Les trois quarantaines de la vie de Moïse, schéma idéal de la vie du moine-évêque chez

In this context, a question Kohlbacher raises is apt: why was an outsider from the desert of Chalcis and a supporter of the Alexandrian theology that so threatened the bedrock of the Antiochene church's own theological tradition elected to such an important Antiochene see as Edessa? <sup>459</sup> Blum is the first student of Rabbula of Edessa to have provided an explanation for how a supporter of Cyril became bishop of Edessa. His argument rests on the observation that Rabbula's Christology, essentially a *logos-sarx* Christology, was quite similar to that of Athanasius of Alexandria.460 Blum postulates that Athanasian ideas reached Rabbula through the works of Cyril of Alexandria. 461 Moreover, the influence of the anti-Arian polemic of the Life of Anthony, which exerted influence on the hagiographical and ascetical dimensions of the Life of Rabbula (as has been shown in the discussion above), may also have influenced either Rabbula or his hagiographer. 462 Blum posits that Ephraem the Syrian's Christology may have influenced Rabbula as well. 463 Kohlbacher rejects this assertion on the grounds that Rabbula was most likely not familiar with Ephraem's theological influence. For Rabbula, who came from Chalcis, the influence of Greek philosophy and Greek Christian theology was central: he belonged to the circle of adherents and practitioners of a West Syrian Antiochene theology, whose representatives were Acacius of Beroea (who was instrumental in the story of Rabbula's conversion), Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and John Chrysostom. 464 Kohlbacher assumes that Rabbula did not have any contact with Ephraem's theology during his formative period as a monk in Chalcis, or that Rabbula would not have been influenced by the Alexandrian strains of Ephraem's theology in the course of his stay in Edessa. In response to the first assumption, one has to take into account that the presence of Balai, who undoubtedly was influenced by Ephraem and who was a member of the West Syrian circle of

les pères cappadociens," Revue des études grecques 80 (1967): 406–12; and Guillaumont, "Conception du désert," 9.

<sup>459</sup> Kohlbacher, "Rabbula in Edessa," 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>460</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 143–44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>461</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>462</sup> Ibid., 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>463</sup> Ibid., 145-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>464</sup> Kohlbacher, "Rabbula in Edessa," 243–44.

important clerics educated in Hellenistic schools, in that same milieu casts doubt on the strict division between "Syriac Edessa" and "Hellenistic West Syria" that Kohlbacher supposes. 465 The second assumption remains unverifiable, as there is no evidence that Rabbula experienced an awakening to Ephraem's theology in Edessa. Further research is necessary on the Syriac translation and diffusion of Athanasius's anti-Arian texts and their possible influence on Ephraem the Syrian before the hypotheses of Blum and Kohlbacher can be conclusively accepted or rejected.

# i.8. Rabbula and the presence of other religions in edessa $^{465}$

Setting the *Life of Rabbula* into the context of the history of religion in Edessa is a task that is hampered by the fragmentary direct evidence for the city in the first half of the fifth century. The chief sources for this period are all indirect. The two most important ones are the works of Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Maruta of Maipherqat. The information on heresies contained in later works by authors such as Jacob of Edessa, Michael the Syrian, and Abū l-Barakāt with his *Book of the Lamp of Darkness* is generally assumed to rely on sources that are considerably earlier. Han Drijvers's assessment of the heresiologies of Maruta of Maipherqat, Abū l-Barakāt, and another source, Barḥadbešabba of Beth 'Arbaye's *Cause of the Foundation of the Schools*, has led him to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>465</sup> For a detailed discussion of Balai's education and poetry, see Phenix, Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin, 32–57.

<sup>466</sup> For an overview of the religions of Syria in late antiquity, in Religionsgeschichte Syriens: Von der Frühzeit bis zur Gegenwart (ed. Peter W. Haider, Manfred Hutter, and Siegfried Kreuzer; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1996), see Gerhard Langer, "2. Das Judentum in Syrien von den Hasmonäern bis um 700 n. Chr.," 242–60; Peter W. Haider, Sabine Fick, and Wilhelm Pratscher, "1. Synkretismus zwischen griechisch-römischen und orientalischen Gottheiten," 145–241; Manfred Hutter, "3. Die Bedeutung des syrischen Christentums für die gnostische Religion Manis," 261–72; Wilhelm Pratscher, "4.1 Das Christentum in Syrien in den ersten zwei Jahrhunderten," 273–84; Peter W. Haider, "4.2 Eine christliche Hauskirche in Dura Europos," 284–88; and Anneliese Felber, "4.3 Syrisches Christentum und Theologie vom 3.-7. Jahrhundert," 288–304.

the conclusion that these sources go back to an earlier source. 467 Another important source, book eleven of Theodore bar Koni's *Book of Scholia*, may also provide accurate information on the earlier stages of the development of religion in Edessa. 468 Brock has demonstrated that Didymus's short remark on Bardaisan was taken up by Theodore bar Koni, which suggests that he may have used other sources of earlier date as well. 469 However, a caveat is in place with regard to the use of these sources, since they may all be directly or indirectly dependent on an older source from the fourth century. If that is the case, then the transmission of this information by later scholars may reflect a degree of *Gelehrsamkeit* and not the actual situation at the time of Rabbula. These two factors encourage a cautious approach to the use of heresiologists in determining the religious framework of fifth-century Edessa.

The evaluation of the list of religious groups against whom Rabbula waged a kind of holy war is difficult because of the hagiographical nature of the *Life of Rabbula*. Thus far, no comprehensive, monographic treatment of the history of religion in Syria exists that presents a coherent evaluation of the sources and gathers the relevant secondary literature into a single framework. The critical question of Rabbula's impact on the landscape of religion in Edessa therefore must await a definitive answer. What is clear from the sources is that Rabbula did not bring to an end the public religious feasts, such as the May Festival in Edessa. To be sure, the vibrancy of many religious movements in Edessa in the second half of the fifth century is not easily ascertained. It is probable that Rabbula negatively impacted Manichaean, Jewish,

<sup>467</sup> Han J. W. Drijvers, "Quq and the Quqites," Numen 14.2 (1967): 111. Drijvers concludes that Maruta shortened an earlier source and so the later heresiologies are independent. See also Sidney H. Griffith, "Theodore bar Kônî's Scholion: A Nestorian Summa contra Gentiles from the First Abbasid Century," in East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period (ed. Nina Garsoïan, Thomas F. Matthews, and Robert W. Thomson; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 62. On the question of the authorship of the Cause of the Foundation of the Schools, see also John T. Fitzgerald, "Theodore of Mopsuestia on Paul's Letter to Philemon," in Philemon in Perspective. Interpreting a Pauline Letter (ed. Francois Tolimie, assisted by Alfred Friedl; BZNW 169; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 333–63 (338 n. 28 and 343 n. 56).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>468</sup> Drijvers, "Quq and the Quqites," 129.

 $<sup>^{469}</sup>$  Sebastian Brock, "Didymus the Blind on Bardaisan," JTS 22 (1971): 530–31, in reference to Agapius of Membij,  $\it History$  (Vasiliev, PO 7.4:519).

or gnostic communities in his city, but the extent of this is unclear.

Another problem arises with heresiological terminology, both in the *Life of Rabbula* and in other sources. "Jewish," "gnostic," and "Manichaean," for example, may have encompassed a number of different groups. At times these designations also served polemical purposes within the Christian church. Thus, in a given instance one has to evaluate carefully whether a label of "Jew" or "Manichaean," for instance, is to be taken as a reference to an adherent of the respective religious tradition or to a Christian opponent. <sup>470</sup>

To make matters more complicated, the heresiological tradition in Syriac sources, at least in some details, continued to evolve after the fifth century. One example of this evolution concerns the fate of Bardaisan. An early tradition, found in the Commentary on the Psalms by Didymus the Blind, 471 states that Bardaisan was reconciled to the church. 472 The later tendency in the Syriac tradition was to place Bardaisan outside the church at the time of his death, while other aspects of the earlier tradition on Bardaisan—for example, that he died as a priest or a deacon—are not plausible. 473 When comparing writers from the fifth century and later with notices on religious groups in earlier writers such as Ephraem the Syrian, one has to take into account that all the religions of Edessa, including the Christianity of the "Great Church," were not static but changed under mutual influence. Indeed, these features make Edessa a paradise for those engaged in the study of religion. Yet the nature of the sources obfuscates the picture.

<sup>470</sup> See, for example, the discussions offered by Sidney H. Griffith, "Jews and Muslims in Christian Syriac and Arabic Texts of the Ninth Century," Jewish History 3.1 (1988): 65–94, with helpful references in 88–89 n. 4; and Richard Lim, "The Nomen Manichaeorum and Its Uses in Late Antiquity," in Heresy and Identity in Late Antiquity (ed. Eduard Iricinschi and Holger M. Zellentin; Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 119; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 143–67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>471</sup> A. Gesché and M. Gronewald, *Didymos der Blinde Psalmenkommentar (Tura-Papyrus): Teil III* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 8; Bonn: Habelt, 1970), 182–84.

 $<sup>^{472}\,</sup>$  Gesché and Gronewald,  $Didymos\ der\ Blinde\ Psalmenkommentar,\ 181,\ 11.\ 8–9.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>473</sup> Discussion in Brock, "Didymus the Blind on Bardaisan," 531.

The first consideration is the context of the information on religions in Edessa as found in the Life of Rabbula. The encomiast's presentation of Rabbula's triumph over the "heretical" and non-Christian religions of Edessa is intended to demonstrate his unvielding orthodoxy. The tableau of religions and heretical movements in the Life of Rabbula does not seem to have aimed at offering a catalogue of such religious groups and their practices, or even an accurate synopsis. The author presents his hero as an uncompromising opponent of practices that he sees as posing a risk to the purity of his religion. For this reason he calls Rabbula "a second Josiah." The whole passage in which this comment occurs is part of the portrait of Rabbula as the direct successor to biblical figures and their authority. These observations are not offered to say that there were no such movements in Edessa. Yet the account that is provided must be used with caution in any attempt to reconstruct religious life in that city in the early fifth century. Other sources have to be employed as well, but these are scarce and present their own difficulties. 474

Theodoret claimed he had written many works against heresies, and several of them in fact survive. The it is unclear to what extent attacks against heresies in his writings reflect a real and present danger or whether such attacks had become part of Christian theological literacy, a way of demonstrating erudition and a rhetorical device to convince the reader of the author's authority. Another problem is the nature of religious movements in Edessa, where usually these beliefs were to some extent hidden under a thinly veiled guise of Christianity. In his *Hymns against* 

<sup>474</sup> Theodore of Mopsuestia is another significant source. In addition, the fifth-century writer Eznik of Kołb may have used a Syriac source for his Girk' ĕnddimout'eanc', or De Deo. See Lucas van Rompay, "Eznik de Kolb et Théodore de Mopsueste: À propos d'une hypothèse de Louis Mariès," OLP 15 (1984): 159–75. For the critical edition, see Louis Mariès and Charles Mercier, Eznik: De Deo (PO 28.3–4; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1959). A translation has been offered by Monica J. Blanchard and Robin Darling Young, Eznik of Kolb: On God (Eastern Christian Texts in Translation 2; Leuven: Peeters, 1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>475</sup> See, for example, the antiheretical tendencies in Theodoret's *Historia ecclesiastica*, as well as his *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* (PG 83:335–556). On the latter, see Paul B. Clayton, *The Christology of Theodoret of Cyrus: Antiochene Christology from the Council of Ephesus* (431) to the Council of Chalcedon (451) (Oxford Early Christian Studies; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5–6, 278–82. See also below, cxlvii–cxlviii.

Heresies, Ephraem the Syrian wrote about groups that are mentioned in the Life of Rabbula but also about several that do not appear there. It is clear that the threat as Ephraem perceived it was not from "paganism" per se but from groups who had adopted elements of Christian ritual and social organization and who, as he thought, altered the fabric of the church and its doctrine. 476 Outside the city, traditional religion without the mask of urban Christianity continued well into the fifth century. It is uncertain whether Rabbula's hagiographer understood Rabbula's authority as bishop also as penetrating effectively into the countryside. Yet it is probable that within the city Manichaeans, Marcionites, Judaizing Christian groups, and others had adapted themselves to the rise of Christianity as the favored religion of the Roman Empire. One may tentatively state that if considered from a bird's-eye view, the diversity of Christianities and quasi-Christian movements in the church of Edessa in the early- to mid-fifth century had not changed significantly since Ephraem. Thus the identity of the "Jews" whom Rabbula converted remains difficult to ascertain; to identify them one might profitably look for various Jewish-Christian groups who followed an outwardly Christian liturgical practice but also observed the Jewish Sabbath and dietary laws. 477

Another problem with using the *Life of Rabbula* as a source for religion in Edessa in this period resides in the fact that the author may have omitted and conflated information about religious groups in his tableau. For instance, there is no evidence from Ephraem the Syrian or any chronicle that many in Edessa held beliefs identified as Borborian or Barbelian gnosis. Yet Rabbula's hagiographer presents this group as being as significant as Edessa's Jewish population, while at the same time he omits all references to Valentinian Gnosticism, which likely was more widespread. Mention of the "scores of pagans" whom Rabbula has converted omits any reference to the fact that important festivals, such as that of the New Year in the month of Nisan (April)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>476</sup> H. J. W. Drijvers, "The Cult of Azizos and Monimos at Edessa," in *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren* (ed. C. J. Bleeker et al.; Studies in the History of Religions 21; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 1:362.

<sup>477</sup> Reconsiderations of Ephraem's perception of and approach to Judaism include more recently Christine Shepardson, *Anti-Judaism and Christian Orthodoxy: Ephrem's Hymns in Fourth-Century Syria* (Patristic Monograph Series 20; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008).

and the "May Festival," continued with vigor well into the late fifth century. <sup>478</sup> This is not to say that some of these groups were not active in Rabbula's time, or that Rabbula did not take concrete steps against them, only that the *Life of Rabbula* should be used with caution in the attempt to evaluate the religious landscape of Edessa in the early fifth century.

In addition, Christians in Syria and Mesopotamia adopted or continued religious practices of their polytheistic or Jewish fellow citizens, notably, astrology, magic, and divination. Christians in Edessa were as much influenced by non-Christian popular religion as were Christians in Egypt, Rome, or Byzantium in late antiquity. The canonical collections attributed to Rabbula provide several pieces of evidence for popular religious practices that were not sanctioned by the church but that certainly were part of monasticism in Edessa. The remarks of the author and the practices forbidden in the canons can be set in relation to what is known about religion in Edessa in late antiquity. Although the following discussion separates various religious groups in Edessa from one another, this style of presentation is adopted simply to follow the pattern found in the *Life of Rabbula*. These groups, as well as the Christians who identified with Rabbula and his church,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>478</sup> For a discussion of these festivals at Edessa and their connection with the Brytae of Constantinople and the Maiuma Festival of Antioch, see Geoffrey Greatrex and John W. Watt, "One, Two, or Three Feasts? The Brytae, the Maiuma, and the May Festival at Edessa," OrChr 83 (1999): 1-21. Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite mentions that the theater was an important venue for the May Festival in Edessa. Although Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite writes about the festival in the years 496, 498, 499, and 502 (paragraphs 27, 30, 33, 46; Wright, 21-23, 24-26, 27, 42-43; Watt and Trombley, 24-26, 28-29, 32, 47-49), it may be assumed that Edessenes celebrated this festival also in Rabbula's time. See also Greatrex and Watt, "One Two, or Three," 4-7. The Life of Rabbula (26) mentions that Rabbula attempted to close the theater because of the blood sports that were held there, but it makes no mention of any religious festivals. If Rabbula had closed the theater, it must have reopened sometime after his death. Again, observations like these remind the reader that the Life of Rabbula has to be approached with reasonable caution when drawing inferences concerning life in Edessa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>479</sup> For a discussion of the background to these canons, particularly the presence of Syriac translations of Greek canons by the early fifth century, see Olaf Hendricks, "La vie quotidienne du moine syrien oriental," *OrSyr* 5 (1960): 307–8.

were not sociologically separate. Popular practices, including rituals and the healing arts (informally, "magic"), did not respect whatever boundaries the leaders of these groups attempted to impose on their faithful.

For northern Syria, Theodoret also provides evidence for the survival of indigenous polytheism. He discusses polytheism only from a triumphalist perspective: the destruction of the temples is proof of the truth of Christianity. He notes that the temples are becoming transformed into shrines dedicated to Christian saints. Temples that have been destroyed but not converted into *martyria* have undergone a different transformation: they are ideal locations for monks, a kind of "artificial and intellectual desert," because in these abandoned temples demons dwell. The festivals in the new *martyria* take the place of those dedicated to the celebration of the older deities; Theodoret embraces these festivals, as they give rest from the tedium and sadness of daily life. He traces a transition in religious life in rural Syria, albeit an incomplete one. From his presentation it is clear that monks played an important role in this transformation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>480</sup> The data presented here is discussed in Forlin Patrucco, "Cristianesimo e vita rurale," which on p. 192 provides an extensive citation from Theodoret's works referring to "pagans." This material was first collected by Pierre Canivet, *Histoire d'une entreprise apologetique au v<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1957), 3–21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>481</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Cure for Greek Maladies* 8.62, 68–69 (Canivet, 2:333, 335).

Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. rel.* 4.2 (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen, 1:290–92; Price, 49–50), who recounts the construction of the monastery of Tell Ada (Teleda) by Ammianus at the foot of Sheikh Barakat, on which stood a temple that was "a precinct of demons" venerated by locals. See also the discussion in Millar, "Empire, Community, and Culture," 159–62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>483</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Cure for Greek Maladies* 8.69 (Canivet, 2:335). See also Forlin Patrucco, "Cristianesimo e vita rurale," 192 n. 17, for further citations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>484</sup> See Forlin Patrucco, "Cristianesimo e vita rurale," 193, for further discussion. Further information on the polytheists in the Syrian countryside may be found in W. H. C. Frend, "The Winning of the Countryside," *JEH* 18 (1967): 1–14.

# 1.8.1. Christian Followers of Bardaisan, Marcion, and the Religious Landscape of Edessa

Along with an early form of pastoralist Christianity, the doctrines of Bardaisan and Marcion reflect the earliest clearly attested forms of Christianity in Edessa. Bardaisan especially drew heavily on Hellenistic philosophy, on gnostic ideas, and on fatalism tied closely to the practice of astrology. 485 The relative flexibility of these ideas meant that these teachings could endure and be transmitted well after Christianity became the dominant religion in Edessa. The semi-Christianized religious movements of Syria (there is no telling how many there were) may have still existed in places such as Edessa, Baalbek, and Antioch in the late sixth century. 486 Without drawing too sharp a distinction between Edessa and western Syria, one may still say that Christianity in Edessa moved slowly in substituting for the previous religion. The sixth-century Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite mentions another festival of pre-Christian origin celebrated in May. 487 Christianity supplanted the religion of the Edessenes through gradual assimilation. Feasts and processions remained; only their underlying theological orientation changed. 488

Despite the growth of Christianity in eastern Syria and northern Mesopotamia, many examples could be adduced to demonstrate the persistence of indigenous religious practices in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>485</sup> Han J. W. Drijvers, "The Persistence of Pagan Cults and Practices in Christian Syria," in *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (ed. Nina Garsoïan, Thomas F. Matthews, and Robert W. Thomson; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 38. For an introduction to the philosophies of Marcion and Bardaisan, who were opponents, see idem, "Marcionism in Syria: Principles, Problems, Polemics," *SecCent* 6 (1987–1988): 153–72.

<sup>486</sup> Drijvers, "Persistence of Pagan Cults," 38, cites as evidence the *Hist. eccl.* (3.5.15) of John of Ephesus (ca. 579–80) (Brooks, CSCO 105:265–66 [Syr.]; CSCO 106:200–201 [Lat.]).

 $<sup>^{487}\,</sup>$  Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite,  $\it Chronicle~33$  (Wright, 2; Watt and Trombley, 32).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>488</sup> Drijvers, "Persistence of Pagan Cults," 39. Drijvers supplies one example of this phenomenon: the feast of the Apostle Thomas may have been assigned intentionally to the timing of the spring festival in Edessa and Sarugh. See U. Monneret de Villard, "La fierà di Batnae e la traslazione di S. Tomasso a Edessa," *Rendiconti della (Reale) Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 8 ser. 6 (1951): 77–104.

Edessa. Syriac Christian writers called special attention to the practice of predicting the will of Bel through various types of divination, especially astrology. The Doctrina Addai, a work that was redacted in the course of the fifth century, contains admonitions against pagan practices as well as against various kinds of divination. 489 Ephraem the Syrian railed against horoscopy and genethlialogy. 490 In the fifth century, Isaac of Antioch accused even Christian priests of being influenced by such traditional Christians and Jews engaged in various forms of magic. 491 Drijvers observes that Syrian Christian polemic against divination condemned its practices along with purely moral infractions. He concludes that recurring attacks against divination happened because "these practices [we]re exponents of a totally different world-view from that which Christianity cherished and held true." He also thinks that the pervasive attack against divination was the reason why Christian theology in Syria emphasized human free will over fatalism. 492 Yet this is hardly a Christian

489 Howard, Teaching of Addai, 46-49, 70-71. There is no modern critical edition of the Doctrina Addai, a work usually attributed to Labubna bar Sennak and preserved completely in a manuscript kept at St. Petersburg. The text was edited in the nineteenth century by Phillips, Doctrine of Addai, on the basis of this manuscript and two other manuscripts in the British Library: BL Add 14644 (sixth century) and BL Add 14654 (fourth to fifth century). The BL manuscripts were edited by William Cureton, Ancient Syriac Documents (London: Williams and Norgate, 1864; repr. Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967), K- (Syr.) and 1-23 (ET). This text was the one used for the Syriac and English translation offered in Howard, Teaching of Addai. A discussion of the manuscripts for this text may be found in Alain Desreumaux, Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus: Présentation et traduction du texte syriaque integral de La Doctrine d'Addaï (Apocryphes 3; Turnhout: Brepols, 1993), 43-52. See also Amir Harrak, The Acts of Mar Marī the Apostle (SBLWGRW 11; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), xix-xxi; Griffith, "Doctrina Addai as a Paradigm of Christian Thought"; and Ramelli, "Possible Historical Traces."

<sup>490</sup> That is, against determining the fate of an individual based on the time and/or circumstances of his or her birth. See, for example, Ephraem the Syrian, *Hymns against Heresies* 4.8–19 (Beck, CSCO 169:15–18 [Syr.]; CSCO 170:17–19 [Ger.]).

<sup>491</sup> For a helpful collection of articles discussing various aspects of Jewish and Christian attitudes toward and practices of magic in the ancient world, see Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, eds., *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (RGRW 129; Leiden: Brill, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>492</sup> Drijvers, "Persistence of Pagan Cults," 40.

invention. It reflects the condemnations against sorcerers contained in the legal material of the Pentateuch and elsewhere in the Jewish Bible. 493 Christian sensitivity to these practices may have come from the harsh and repeated polemic launched against sorcerers in the Old Testament. Jews in Syria probably also had to struggle with the same practices. It is known that they did so, yet not to complete success, as Jewish incantation bowls in Aramaic from Mesopotamia demonstrate. 494 The strong Christian polemic against divination may have continued the Jewish reaction to the religious environment in Syria. Drijvers also draws the conclusion that heresy, astrology, and magical practices went hand in hand. In this context, he claims that the accusation of heresy and magical practices that caused the deposition of Sophronius of Tellā at the Synod of Ephesus in 449 reflected Christian conviction and was not merely a stock accusation. 495

The witnesses to polytheism, divination, and magic in the Rabbula Corpus must be evaluated against this background. The *Life of Rabbula* provides no clues with respect to the practices of indigenous Syrian religion in Edessa. It speaks of pagans only once in passing and groups them together with Jews and heterodox Christians. The author also mentions no specific action that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>493</sup> Deut 13:1-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>494</sup> See Shaul Shaked, Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>495</sup> Drijvers, "Persistence of Pagan Cults," 40. This is in response to the claim of Erik Peterson, "Die geheimen Praktiken eines syrischen Bischofs," in Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis: Studien und Untersuchungen (Rome: Herder, 1959), 333-45. The continuation of pre-Greco-Roman magical practices in Syria, which are essentially part of the  $Nachla\beta$  of Mesopotamian magic and its influence on Greco-Roman writers, is illustrated in Erica Reiner, "Magic Figurines, Amulets, and Talismans," in Monsters and Demons in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Papers Presented in Honor of Edith Porada (ed. Ann E. Farkas, Prudence O. Harper, and Evelyn B. Harrison; Mainz: von Zabern, 1987), 27-36; and André Grabar, "Amulettes byzantines du moyen âge," in Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech (ed. P. Lévy and E. Wolff; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), 531-41. Some Syriac amulets and magic bowls are also presented in Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987), although the datings and find spots of all of the Syriac materials in this volume are uncertain.

Rabbula took against them. <sup>496</sup> Yet the notion that Edessa was free of pagans after Rabbula's administration is clearly contradicted by the witness of the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite* mentioned above. <sup>497</sup>

The canonical collections attributed to Rabbula mention magic and magicians. At least one collection of canons reflects the association of diviners and heretics found in other Syrian Christian texts: a law prohibiting diviners from monasteries is immediately followed by a similar prohibition concerning heretics. 498 This law against sorcerers reads: "Diviners and charmers, those who write out amulets, and those who anoint men and of women while acting under the guise of medicine: drive them out of every place and take from them [objects as] bail so that they will not come [again] onto our property." A nearly verbatim version of this law occurs in the Commandments and Admonitions for the Priests and the Children of the Covenant. 499 This law is not adjacent to the group of laws concerning heretics in the same collection. 500 However, following this group of laws against heretics one finds two laws concerning persons and places possessed by  $\check{s}\bar{e}d\bar{e}$ , the "demons." The term  $\check{s}\bar{e}d\bar{e}$  means deities, which were thought to be evil spirits, and would include the deities to which Rabbula's father and the emperor Julian sacrificed. <sup>501</sup> It is likely that the word "demons" in these laws also has as referent the deities worshiped in Edessa. The one who is "possessed by demons" in this context is identified with the one who believes in and worships the deities. Christians claimed that the people of Baalbek (Heliopolis) were all "possessed by demons." This statement is likely a tendentious characterization of the indigenous faith of the citizens of Baalbek, who resisted Christianization well into the Byzantine period.

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<sup>496</sup> Rab. 41-42.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>497</sup> See above, cxlv.

<sup>498</sup> Admonitions 25a and 25b; see below, 100–101.

<sup>499</sup> Commandments 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>500</sup> Commandments, 48–51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>501</sup> See *Rab.* 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>502</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. eccl.* 4.22.23 (Parmentier and Hansen, 255; Jackson, 124); the translators have rendered *deisidaimonōn* as "given over to superstition."

Despite the polemical stance of these laws, it is possible to discern in them some elements of religious practice in Edessa. Commandments 52 prohibits the worshipers of the deities from receiving communion. Commandments 53 contains two parts. The first mentions the "tree trunks" in which the demons dwell: these are to be cut down and used for the churches, presumably as building material or firewood. The second part pertains to the ruins of temples: these are to be completely removed, so as to prevent them from becoming a nuisance, which suggests that at least some temples may have been destroyed but not abandoned. If the church, or Rabbula in particular, disbanded these groups from their houses of worship, they did not succeed in eradicating the earlier religion. To note one example, sacrifices to Zeus-Hadad continued in Edessa into the sixth century. 503

## 1.8.2. Jews and Judaism in Chalcis and Edessa

The polemic against the Jews in the *Life of Rabbula* may belong in part to the hagiographical and polemical literature of Syriac Christianity. Jews and Christians almost certainly interacted in Chalcis. Contacts between Jews and Syriac-speaking Christians in the earlier stages of their coexistence are evident through the retranslation of Jesus ben Sira from Syriac into Hebrew, a work that may have been accomplished in Nisibis before 363 CE. Jebula inherited his father's hieratic civil service, or if he was the treasurer of the city, he would have been well aware of the Jewish

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>503</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chron. Mich.* 10.12 (Chabot, 2:318); John of Ephesus, *Hist. eccl.* 3.3.28 (Brooks, CSCO 105:155–57 [Syr.]; CSCO 106:115–16 [Lat.]); see also Segal, *Edessa*, 106–8.

 $<sup>^{504}</sup>$  For an overview of Jews in Syria and northeastern Mesopotamia, see Langer, "Judentum in Syrien," 241–60.

<sup>505</sup> See Michael M. Winter, "Jewish and Christian Collaboration in Ancient Syria," in *Biblical Hebrews, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael Weitzman* (ed. Ada Rapoport-Albert and Gillian Greenberg; JSOT Subsidia Series 333; The Hebrew Bible and Its Versions 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 355–64. Winter was not aware that the vowel points of BL Add 12150 are not as old as the consonantal text itself (411 CE), a detail that F. Stanley Jones has demonstrated ("Early Syriac Pointing in and behind British Museum Additional Manuscript 12.150," in *Symposium Syriacum VII: Uppsala University, Department of Asian and African Languages, 11–14 August 1996* [ed. René Lavenant; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1996], 439–44).

community there. 506 Certainly his tenure as bishop of Edessa afforded him contact with or at least awareness of that city's thriving Jewish presence. Judaism in Edessa does not seem to have been of much concern for Rabbula's hagiographer, who mentions the Jews of the city only three times. Once, they are lumped together with the heretics whom Rabbula has converted by the thousands. 507 The second instance states that Jews mourn for Rabbula outside the church together with the laity. 508 At the third occurrence the hagiographer remarks that Rabbula has given them alms and that his admonitions to them have been sufficiently persuasive to cause many to become Christians. <sup>509</sup> In this respect, the *Life of Rabbula* presents Jews differently from the nonorthodox Christian groups that it mentions. Yet the implications of these references for reconstructing the relationship between the church of Edessa and the Jews during Rabbula's episcopacy remain unclear. No greater clarity is obtained from the only other important witness to Rabbula's activity with regard to the Jews, the Chronicle of Edessa, which seems to indicate that Rabbula built a church dedicated to St. Stephen on the site of the Jewish synagogue, or at least that he had the synagogue converted into a church. 510 Rabbula's hagiographer does not mention this detail. The apparent contradiction between Rabbula's deference toward Edessa's Jewish citizens in the Life of Rabbula and his demolition of the synagogue in Edessa recounted in the Chronicle of Edessa has not gone unnoticed, and two explanations for this contradiction have been suggested. The first solution assumes that the transmission histories of both the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>506</sup> The evidence for the Jewish community in Chalcis and surrounding localities is discussed in Phenix, *Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin*, 61–70.

<sup>507</sup> Rab. 41: "thousands of Jews and myriads of heretics." There is evidence that this may be a literary device. Ephraem the Syrian, Hymns on Faith 44.11 (Beck, CSCO 154:143 [Syr.]; CSCO 155:120 [Ger.]), also mentions Jews and dissident Christian groups together, albeit with some distinction as to the nature of the unorthodoxy of each. The Doctrina Addai lumps Jews and pagans together, because they represented the "traditional value and belief systems well-rooted in the Greco-Roman and Oriental world, whereas the Christians were revolutionary newcomers." See H. J. W. Drijvers, "Jews and Christians at Edessa," JJS 36.1 (1985): 96–97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>508</sup> See *Rab.* 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>509</sup> Rab. 51.

<sup>510</sup> See above, cl-cliii.

Chronicle of Edessa and the Life of Rabbula have misread or miscarried Syriac awdīyanāyê, "Audians," as yehūdāyê, "Jews." The Life of Rabbula mentions that Rabbula opposed the Audian sect vigorously. The Audians may have been an important group in fourth- and early fifth-century Edessa that disappeared from the historical record. If we are to accept the Life of Rabbula at its word, Rabbula chased out the Audians completely. Later copyists of the Chronicle of Edessa may no longer have known who the Audians were and "corrected" their text.

The second explanation, one that Blum has proposed, is that there is no contradiction between the depictions of Rabbula's treatment of the Jews in the *Life of Rabbula* and in the *Chronicle of Edessa*. Blum reads the *Chronicle of Edessa* as indicating that Theodosius ordered that the synagogue in Edessa be destroyed and replaced with a church. Blum argues that Rabbula had no choice but to obey the emperor's order. If so, then there was no reason to record this event for posterity. <sup>513</sup> Moreover, if so many Jews converted to Christianity during Rabbula's episcopate, then the synagogue as their former meeting place may have been abandoned.

As one evaluates these explanations, one realizes that even to Blum neither one of these arguments was convincing. <sup>514</sup> In the end the question remains open. The dedicatory name of the church, St. Stephen, which is attested in the *Chronicle of Edessa*, can be interpreted as symbolizing a view that embraces the triumph of Christianity over Judaism, a physical reference to a literal and historical reading of the story of Stephen and the Jewish crowd in Acts 6–7. Drijvers maintains that the report of the *Chronicle of Edessa* concerning the destruction of the synagogue is accurate but that the report of the baptism of thousands of Jews expresses the anxiety that Christians, or at least those who identified with Rabbula and his church, felt in their daily relationships with Jewish fellow citizens. <sup>515</sup> During the time of Ephraem, Jews

 $<sup>^{511}</sup>$  Hallier, Untersuchungen über die Edessenische Chronik, 106–7; see also above, n. 192. This was also the view of Vööbus, History of Asceticism, 2:385 n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>512</sup> See below, clx and clxi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>513</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 105 n. 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>514</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>515</sup> Drijvers, "Jews and Christians at Edessa," 102.

were more self-confident than the upstart Christians, who were still trying to find their place in Edessa in the fourth century, and the antiquity of Judaism was attractive to many Christians. 516 It is quite reasonable to assume that the "Jews" mentioned in the Life of Rabbula in fact reflect a wider spectrum of groups that were Jewish only to varying degrees. One possible example is the Sabbatāye, or "Sabbataists," 517 whom Ephraem mentioned in his Hymns against Heresies<sup>518</sup> and who may still have been active at the turn of the fifth century, if one gives some credence to the catalogue of heresies transmitted under the name of Maruta of Maiphergat. <sup>519</sup> The *Formgeschichte* of the genre of such catalogues limits drawing the immediate conclusion that Maruta's list clearly reflects the situation of the late fourth to early fifth century. The relationship between these lists and earlier Christian heresiologists, among them Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius, has to be taken into account as well. Thus it remains to be worked out whether Rabbula's hagiographer created his tableau of Rabbula's conquests of rival religious factions by a narrative expansion of such a list.

One might venture another hypothesis that could explain why Rabbula's hagiographer intentionally omitted reference to the destruction of the synagogue in Edessa. The *Life of Rabbula* shows several parallels with the *Doctrina Addai* with regard to the relationship between the apostle to Edessa and its Jewish community. Addai's attitude toward the Jews is generally tolerant, and the Jews are mentioned specifically and uniquely among the non-Christians who mourn the death of the apostle. In the

<sup>516</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>517</sup> They are not to be confused with the followers of Sabbatai Zevi in the seventeenth century. See Gerschom Gerhard Scholem, *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah*, 1626–1676 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>518</sup> Ephraem the Syrian, *Hymns against Heresies* 2.6 (Beck, CSCO 169:7 [Syr.]; CSCO 170:8 [Ger.]). For a recent study of the *Sabbatayye*, see Christelle Jullien and Florence Jullien, "'Aux temps des disciples des apôtres': Les sabbatiens d'Édesse," *RHR* 218.2 (2001): 153–70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>519</sup> See Barḥadbešabba of Beth 'Arbaye, *Church History* 2 (Nau, 187–88). For further references to other editions of the work of Maruta of Maipherqat, see also Jullien and Jullien, "Aux temps des disciples des apôtres," 160 n. 11; 161 n. 12, n. 15. On Maruta of Maipherqat, see Peter Bruns, "Maruta of Maiferqat," in *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature* (ed. Siegmar Döpp and Wilhelm Geerlings; trans. Matthew O'Connell; New York: Crossroad, 2000), 412.

Life of Rabbula, the encomiast takes pains to show that Rabbula treats the Jews of his city peaceably, converting them in large numbers through gentle persuasion. Jews are the only non-Christian group mentioned at the funeral of Rabbula, mourning outside the church. As Han Drijvers indicates, reference to the mourning of Jews over the death of a Christian saint also occurs in the Doctrina Addai and the account of the martyrdom of the deacon Habib. <sup>520</sup> It is possible that the author of the Life of Rabbula relied on the Doctrina Addai—in an earlier recension—for his portrait of Rabbula's relationship with Edessa's Jews. Narration of the destruction of a synagogue would be difficult to harmonize with this portrait. <sup>521</sup>

## 1.8.3. Other Christians in Edessa

The *Life of Rabbula* remains in the realm of generalities when it speaks about Rabbula's struggle with the "heretics" of his city. <sup>522</sup> The use of force against their places of worship may be regarded as exaggerations of the hagiographer licensed by both Roman legal statute and church precedent. <sup>523</sup> The first group of heretics includes followers of Bardaisan. Against them Rabbula's hagiographer sets his hero's fiercest face. The author claims that before Rabbula arrived in Edessa in 412/13, Bardaisan's doctrine enjoyed a large following: "For the evil doctrine of Bardaisan bloomed in Edessa prolifically until it was condemned by him and was conquered." <sup>524</sup> The only references to Bardaisan in fifth-century Syria appear in the letters of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and from them it is clear that Bardaisan's followers had already ceased to be of significance sometime prior. <sup>525</sup> Since there is no independent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>520</sup> Drijvers, "Jews and Christians at Edessa," 95; Howard, *Teaching of Addai*, 97–99; F. C. Burkitt, *Euphemia and the Goth: A Legendary Tale from Edessa*, with the Acts of Martyrdom of the Confessors of Edessa (London: Williams and Norgate, 1913), 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>521</sup> For a discussion of the Jews in Edessa, see Judah B. Segal, "The Jews of North Mesopotamia," in *Sepher Segal* (ed. J. M. Grintz and J. Liver; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1964), 32–63; idem, *Edessa*, 100–104; and Drijvers, "Jews and Christians at Edessa."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>522</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>523</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>524</sup> Rab. 40.

For the heresiarchs in Theodoret's letters, see below, cxlvii–cxlviii.

evidence of followers of Bardaisan in Edessa in the fifth century, the presentation of Rabbula's struggle with Bardaisan may be part of the hagiographical construction of Rabbula as a champion over heresy. <sup>526</sup>

There is a greater probability that the Arian church in Edessa mentioned in the *Life of Rabbula* was still standing in the fifth century, as the hagiographer suggests: "He broke down their house of prayer and brought them to his own [church] and the people who were among them he incorporated into his flock, while together we were giving worthy praise to the one nature and three persons of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." Rabbula may have destroyed this church and incorporated the Arians into his fold. Blum remarks that the *Life of Rabbula* may contain an anti-Arian polemic in the doxology of praise in this passage. 529

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>526</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 96–97.

<sup>527</sup> Rab. 41. On the polemic against the Arians in the fourth century in Edessa, see, for example, Ephraem the Syrian, Hymns against Heresies 22.4 (Beck, CSCO 169:79 [Syr.]; CSCO 170:78 [Ger.]). See also Edmund Beck, Die Theologie des hl. Ephraem in seinen Hymnen über den Glauben (Studia Anselmiana philosophica theologica 21; Vatican City: Libreria Vaticana, 1949), 62–80. See also Peter Bruns, "Arius Hellenizans? Ephräm der Syrer und die neo-arianischen Kontroversen seiner Zeit: Ein Beitrag zur Rezeption des Nizänums im syrischen Sprachraum," ZKG 101 (1990): 21–57; Paul S. Russell, St. Ephraem the Syrian and St. Gregory the Theologian Confront the Arians (Kerala, India: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1994); and idem, "An Anti-Neo-Arian Interpolation in Ephraem of Nisibis' Hymn 46 on Faith," StPatr 33 (1996): 568–72.

<sup>528</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 99.

<sup>529</sup> See *Rab.* 6. Blum, *Rabbula*, 98, sees no connection between the anti-Arian writings of Ephraem and the *Life of Rabbula*: some forty years had passed since 378, the year in which the anti-Arian Christians were restored to their church in Edessa, following their expulsion along with their anti-Arian bishop Barses in 373, when the Arian Emperor Valens had marched through Edessa. The activity of Emperor Valens in Edessa is mentioned in Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Hist. eccl.* 4.17–18 (Parmentier and Hansen, 238–42; Jackson, 117–19). See also Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 6.34 (Bidez and Hansen, 289–91); as well as *Chron. Ed.* 31 (Guidi, CSCO 1:5,8–9 [Syr.]; CSCO 2:5,32–34 [Lat.]): "In the Month of Elūl of the same year [373 CE] the people left the church in Edessa because of the persecution by the Arians" (our translation); and *Chron. Ed.* 33 (Guidi, CSCO 1:5,12–13 [Syr.]; CSCO 2:5,37–6,2 [Lat.]): "On the twenty-seventh day of the month of First Qānūn of the same year [378 CE] the Orthodox entered and received the church of Edessa" (our translation).

Rabbula's hagiographer quickly passes over his subject's struggle with the Marcionites. They were still established in some locations in Syria in the early fifth century, but by then they seem to have become a marginal group in Edessa. The author may mention them in his tableau of heresies because of their importance in the city's history. The oldest mention of Christians in Edessa, occurring in the *Chronicle of Edessa*, indicates that the local Christians were Marcionites. Yet the thesis first proposed by Walter Bauer, that Marcionite Christianity established itself in Edessa before anti-Marcionite Christianity, remains a contentious one. There is evidence for the existence of Marcionite Christianity in the region between Antioch and Edessa in the fourth century, the dessa between the death of Ephraem and the *Life of Rabbula*.

 $^{534}\,$  See Drijvers, "Marcionism in Syria," 152–58, for a summary of previous discussion of Ephraem's witness to Marcion's thought.

535 See Adolph von Harnack, Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott; Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche (2nd ed.; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1924; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960), 356\*-62\* (citations from Ephraem), 362\*-64\* (Maruta of Maipherqat), 369\* (Theodore of Mopsuestia), 369\*-72\* (Theodoret of Cyrrhus). This material was not translated in idem, Marcion: The Gospel of the Alien God (trans. John E. Steely and Lyle E. Bierma; Durham, N.C.: Labyrinth Press, 1990). See also A. F. J. Klijn, Edessa, de stad van de Apostel Thomas: Het

<sup>530</sup> See *Rab.* 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>531</sup> Drijvers, "Marcionism in Syria"; and David Bundy, "Marcion and Marcionites in Early Syriac Apologetics," *Mus* 101 (1988): 21–32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>532</sup> Chron. Ed. 6 (Guidi, CSCO 1:3,21–22 [Syr.]; CSCO 2:4,29 [Lat.]): "In the year 449 [137–38 CE] Marcion went out from the universal church" (our translation).

Tübingen: Mohr, 1934), 20–33; ET: Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity (trans. Robert Kraft and Gerhard Krodel; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1971), 22–32. Blum (Rabbula, 99 n. 23) provides references to views against Bauer, including H. E. W. Turner, The Pattern of Christian Truth: A Study in the Relations between Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Early Church (Brampton Lectures, 1954; London: A. R. Mowbray, 1954.; repr.: New York: AMS Press, 1978), 43–44, whose objections Blum thinks are not overcome by the reply of Georg Strecker in his supplement to the second edition of Bauer's Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei, 293ff.

The same generalizing description summarizes Rabbula's activity against the Manichaeans. <sup>536</sup> Blum concludes that there were probably very few in Edessa already before Rabbula's episcopate. Blum has reached this conclusion based on the vague reference to Manichaeans in the *Life of Rabbula*, as well as the fact that in 372 Emperor Valentinian I ordered the confiscation of the Manichaeans' meeting places. <sup>537</sup> Manichaeism was already well established in Syria by the third century. <sup>538</sup> The earliest Syriac polemic against Mani may be found in Edessa, yet not from one of the "orthodox" writers but from the followers of Bardaisan (d. 222). <sup>539</sup> A number of other writers in Syria followed, culminating with Ephraem the Syrian. However, for the years after Ephraem, there seems to be no further evidence for the presence of Manichaeans in Syria or Edessa. In fact, there is some hint that

oudste Christendom in Syrië (Baarn: Basch & Keuning, 1962), 101–5; and Jean-Maurice Fiey, "Les marcionites dans les textes historiques de l'Église de Perse," *Mus* 83 (1970): 183–88.

<sup>536</sup> See *Rab.* 41.

Nortier, 202–13). See also Blum, Rabbula, 101. For an overview of laws against the Manichaeans, see E. H. Kaden, "Die Edikte gegen die Manichäer von Diokletian bis Justinian," in Festschrift Hans Lewald: Bei Vollendung des vierzigsten Amtsjahres als ordentlicher Professor im Oktober 1953 überreicht von seinen Freunden und Kollegen mit Unterstützung der Basler juristischen Fakultät (ed. Henri Batiffol et al.; Basel: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1953; repr. Vaduz: Topos-Verlag, 1978), 55–68; and Iain Gardner and Samuel N. C. Lieu, Manichaean Texts from the Roman Empire (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 145–49.

538 Han J. W. Drijvers, "Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten syrischen Christentum," in *Symposium Syriacum* 1972, célébré dans les jours 26–31 octobre 1972 à l'Institut pontifical oriental de Rome: Rapports et communications (ed. Ignacio Ortiz de Urbina; OCA 197; Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1974), 291–310. For a discussion of Manichaeism in the third century, see idem, "Addai und Mani: Christentum und Manichäismus im dritten Jahrhundert in Syrien," in *III Symposium Syriacum* (ed. René Lavenant; OCA 221; Roma: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983), 171–85. For the fourth century, see Sidney H. Griffith, "The 'Thorn among the Tares': Mani and Manichaeism in the Works of St. Ephraem the Syrian," *StPatr* 35 (2001): 403–35; and idem, "Christianity in Edessa and the Syriac-Speaking World: Mani, Bar Daysan, and Ephraem; the Struggle for Allegiance on the Aramean Frontier," *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 2 (2002): 5–20.

<sup>539</sup> See Drijvers, "Marcionism in Syria," 153–54.

the Manichaeans, the followers of Bardaisan, and the Marcionites had ceased to dwell in Syria, or at least were of trivial significance.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus mentions these and other groups in a letter to Eusebius of Ancyra. Azéma dates this letter to 449, thirteen years after the death of Rabbula. 540 In the relevant passage, Theodoret accuses his opponents of renewing (Gk. ἀνανεοῦμενος) the heresy of docetism, which for him is the common element of these philosophies. 541 Theodoret seems to suggest that these philosophies had died out, or nearly so, by the middle of the fifth century. Theodoret restates this polemic in a letter to Flavian of Constantinople, 542 claiming that Marcion, Bardaisan, and the Manichaeans (whom he calls "those who carry the name of their error," a play on the Greek word for "maniac")543 all deny the true humanity of Christ. A similar group of heresiarchs occurs in his letter addressed to the magistrates of the city of Zeugma. 544 Theodoret wrote concerning these and other unorthodox movements in his letters, because his Alexandrian opponents were accusing him of precisely these heresies. The lists of heresiarchs in his letters are very similar to one another, and they are not dissimilar to the heresies mentioned in the *Life of Rabbula*. The letters containing these lists were composed well after the death of Rabbula, and it may well be the case that some of these groups still had been active during Rabbula's episcopate. However, Theodoret's lists may have been more than mere apologetics. He composed a Haereticarum fabularum compendium, or Collection of Heretical Fables, in order to demonstrate that he was not guilty of the heresies of which his opponents were accusing him. 545 Although this

 $<sup>^{540}</sup>$  Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Letter* 82 (Azéma, SC 98:198–205; for the date, see 198 n. 3).

<sup>541</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Letter 82 (Azéma, SC 98:198,23–200,1): καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δοκιτῶν αἴρεσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀνανεούμενοι.

Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Letter 104 (Azéma, SC 111:24-31).

Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Letter* 104 (Azéma, SC 111:26–27). A similar play on their name is found at *Rab*. 41: "he also brought the crazed Manichaeans to a stable mind of discerning knowledge."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>544</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Letter* 126 (125) (Azéma, SC 111:98–105, here 100–101).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>545</sup> Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* (PG 83:335–556). For an English translation of book 5 of this work, see Scott Andrew Schade, "A Translation of Portions of Theodoret's *Distinguishing between Lies* 

is a work of self-defense that drew from the work of earlier heresiologists, one cannot rule out that he may have been personally familiar with the situation of unorthodox sects in Syria, or at least in his province of Euphratensis.

In Edessa, the presence of adherents of Borborian Christianity cannot be verified during this time period. The Borborians were actually followers of Barbelian Christianity. 546 The name "Borborian" is from the Greek borboros ("slime, mud, mire,"), a dysphemistic wordplay. 547 Most of what is known concerning the Borborians derives from Epiphanius's Panarion. They were thought to have held that semen and menstrual blood contained "seeds of light"; collection of these substances was necessary to offer the light seeds back to the Father. To this end, according to Epiphanius, the group practiced ritual intercourse, collected semen and menstrual blood, offered them to the Father as the flesh and blood of Christ, and then consumed them. <sup>548</sup> Epiphanius also maintains that the Borborians, like other Barbelian gnostics, actively negated earthly laws and customs concerning sex. 549 Despite his claims to relate eyewitness testimony, it is doubtful that Epiphanius has accurately transmitted the beliefs of the Barbelians. 550 Nevertheless, Pistis Sophia condemned those who eat

and Truths" (M.A.R. thesis, Emmanuel School of Theology, 1988). For a study of Theodoret's method in classifying heresies, see Glenn Melvin Cope, "An Analysis of the Heresiological Method of Theodoret of Cyrus in the *Haereticarum fabularum compendium*" (Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1990).

546 See Stephen Gero, "With Walter Bauer on the Tigris: Encratite Orthodoxy and Libertine Heresy in Syro-Mesopotamian Christianity," in *Nag Hammadi*, *Gnosticism*, & *Early Christianity* (ed. Charles W. Hedrick and Robert Hodgson Jr.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1986), 298. See also Kurt Rudolph, *Die Gnosis: Wesen und Geschichte einer spätantiken Religion* (3rd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 256.

<sup>547</sup> It may also recall Greek βορβορυγμός ("a rumbling in the digestive tract") and hence is a scatological reference.

<sup>548</sup> Epiphanius of Salamis, *Pan.* 26.4–5 (Collatz, Rattmann, et al., GCS 25:281; Williams, 1:86); see also Rudolph, *Die Gnosis*, 256.

<sup>549</sup> Rudolph, Gnosis, 257.

<sup>550</sup> Epiphanius, *Pan.* 26.5.4 (Collatz, Rattmann, et al., GCS 25:281; Williams, 1:86) also accuses such semen-eating groups of performing child sacrifices. Rudolph (*Gnosis*, 58–259) sees these claims as part of a larger tradition of polemical rhetoric used by many writers in late antiquity (see Celsus's accusations against the Christian Eucharist). On this material, see also Gero,

semen and blood cooked in an entrée of lentils. <sup>551</sup> Outside the *Life of Rabbula* there is no evidence for the presence of Barbelian gnostic sects in Edessa during this period, although one finds notices concerning this religious group in other earlier Christian literature. <sup>552</sup> Barbelian gnostics were among the earliest gnostic groups known to Christian heresiologists. <sup>553</sup> Epiphanius's sharp critique of the strongly sexual nature of their rites may be an exaggeration of the fact that in most Barbelian treatises, Barbelo was a female figure. <sup>554</sup> By the fifth century, Barbelian gnosis was probably subsumed in the more robust Valentinian system. <sup>555</sup> The evidence for the presence of Valentinian gnosis in Syria consists primarily of a statement offered by Theodoret of Cyrrhus. In 448, he was forbidden to travel from his city. In his *Letter* 81 to the consul Nomus, Theodoret complains that other groups—namely, Arians, Manichaeans, Marcionites, and Valentinians—enjoy freedom

"With Walter Bauer on the Tigris"; Emmanouela Grypeou, "Das vollkommene Pascha": Gnostische Bibelexegese und Ethik (OBC 15; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 164–70; or, quite a while ago, Franz Joseph Dölger, "'Sacramentum infanticidii': Die Schlachtung eines Kindes und der Genuß seines Fleisches und Blutes als vermeintlicher Einweihungsakt im ältesten Christentum," Antike und Christentum 4 (1933): 188–228.

- <sup>551</sup> Pistis Sophia 4.147 (Schmidt and MacDermot, 381; Mead, 321–22).
- 552 Blum, Rabbula, 101.

553 See, for example, Irenaeus of Lyons, *Haer.* 1.24 (Rousseau and Doutreleau, 320–32). For a discussion, see Michael Goulder, "Colossians and Barbelo," *NTS* 41 (1995): 602. On the name Barbelo, see ibid., 603–7, as well as the secondary literature mentioned in John H. Sieber, "The Barbelo Aeon as Sophia in *Zostrianos* and Related Tractates," in *Sethian Gnosticism* (ed. Bentley Layton; vol. 2 of *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the Conference at Yale, March* 1978; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 787.

<sup>554</sup> This is the depiction of Barbelo in the *Apocryphon of John*. See also Rudolph, *Gnosis*, 292. Sieber, "Barbelo Aeon," 787, observes that Barbelo probably held the place of Sophia in other gnostic systems. However, in the treatise on the Allogenēs, Barbelo, the first of the aeons, is presented as a young virgin male who reveals secret information to Yuel; see Maddalena Scopello, "Youel et Barbélo dans la traité de l'*Allogène*," in *Colloque International sur les Textes de Nag Hammadi (Québec, 22–25 août, 1978)* (ed. Bernard Brac; Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section "Études" 1; Québec: Les Presses de l'Université de Laval, 1981), 374–75.

<sup>555</sup> Rudolph, Gnosis, 348.

of travel.<sup>556</sup> This citation is presented without further comment in Klaus Koschorke's otherwise useful collection of late antique patristic statements on Valentinian gnosis.<sup>557</sup> In other letters, Theodoret refers to his christological opponents as belonging to these heresies.<sup>558</sup>

The two Christian groups for whose presence there is evidence in fifth-century Edessa are the Audians and the Messalians. 559 According to tradition, the Audians, to whom we have already referred above, were originally a movement within the church in Edessa attached to Audi, an archdeacon and anchorite who preached a strict form of ascetic practice as well as resistance to liturgical innovation. It has been supposed that their formal break with the church was the result of their refusal to accept the new date of Easter mandated by the Council of Nicaea. 560 Their sharp criticism of innovative liturgical practices that were adopted by the church in Edessa may be the reason behind their designation as "the Sadducees of the heretics" in the Life of Rabbula. 561 Through an illicit ordination, Audi became a bishop and established a schismatic church. After his exile, many Audian churches remained in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. The liturgy and hierarchy of the Audians were very close to that of Rabbula's church. 562 The Audians developed into a heretical sect that depicted God in human form, perhaps based on a particular interpretation of Gen 1:26. 563 When the Life of Rabbula states

 $<sup>^{556}</sup>$  Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Letter~81 (Azéma, SC 98:192–99). This letter is dated to 448.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>557</sup> Klaus Koschorke, "Patristische Materialien zur Spätgeschichte der valentinianischen Gnosis," in *Gnosis and Gnosticism: Papers Read at the Eighth International Conference on Patristic Studies (Oxford, September 3rd-8th, 1979)* (ed. Martin Krause; NHS 17; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 125, text reproduced on p. 135. Although Koschorke provides only limited information about the context of these quotations, his work is helpful, and it includes Julian's *Letter 59, To the Edessenes*, 132–33 (dated 362), which also refers to Valentinian gnosis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>558</sup> See below, clxxi and clxxvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>559</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 102–4.

See Epiphanius, Pan. 70 (Collatz, Rattmann, et al., GCS 37:232–49; Williams, 2:402–18); and H. Ch. Puech, "Audianer," RAC 1:910–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>561</sup> Rab. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>562</sup> See *Rab.* 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>563</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 102.

that the Audians have "decorated" their church (only one building is implied), from which Rabbula expels them, perhaps this is to be taken as a reference to such images. The *Life of Rabbula* specifically recounts that Rabbula expels them from their sanctuary, which he converts for the use of his own faithful. Some of the Audians accept the confession of Rabbula's church. As in the case of the destruction of the Jewish temple, Rabbula may have executed the law of Theodosius II (dated May 30, 428), which banned the Audians from the empire, for Rabbula's hagiographer may have used the promulgation of this law as a basis for the verisimilitude of his portrayal.

The final group in the list of alternative Christians one encounters is that of the Messalians.<sup>567</sup> The depiction of Rabbula's treatment of the Messalians is unique insofar as they are the only group for which, as Rabbula's encomiast narrates, he uses persuasion rather than violence. Although the Messalians were widespread in Syria and Asia Minor, they do not seem to have formed an organized church structure. Since for the most part they were itinerant, Rabbula may not have perceived this group as a threat, because of their loose organizational structure, and he may even have sympathized with their asceticism.<sup>568</sup> For this reason, Rabbula and his hagiographer may have been more lenient in their treatment and evaluation of this group. The members of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>564</sup> Rab. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>565</sup> Rab. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>566</sup> Cod. Theod. 16.5.65 (Krueger and Mommsen, 878; Magnou-Nortier, 290–95).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>567</sup> Epiphanius, *Pan.*, *Haer.* 80, 1–11 (Collatz, Rattmann, et al., GCS 37:484–96; Williams, 2:629–64). See also Jean Gribomont, "Le dossier des origines du messalianisme," in *Épektasis: Mélanges patristiques offerts au cardinal Jean Daniélou* (ed. Jacques Fontaine and Charles Kannengiesser; Paris: Beauchesne, 1972), 611–25. For an overview of the Messalian controversy, see Columba Stewart, "Working the Earth of the Heart": The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts and Language to AD 431 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 42–52. See also Klaus Fitschen, Messalianismus und Antimessalianismus: Ein Beispiel ostkirchlicher Ketzergeschichte (Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 71; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>568</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 104; see Jean Gribomont, "Eastern Christianity: Monasticism and Asceticism," in *Christian Spirituality: Origins to the Twelfth Century* (ed. Bernard McGinn and John Meyendorff; New York: Crossroad, 1985), 89–112.

the monastery of the Akoimētai in Constantinople were accused of Messalianism. The *Life of Alexander Akoimētēs* was composed in order to counter this accusation. In pursuit of the goal of clearing the founder of the monastery from any taint of Messalianism, this life also appropriated the *Life of Rabbula* and its mention of Rabbula's conversion of the Messalians for that purpose. <sup>569</sup>

From the scant evidence that exists outside the Life of Rabbula concerning the fifth-century status of groups with whom Rabbula purportedly struggled and whom he either expelled or converted, it is difficult to ascertain the reliability of the hagiographer's account. The collections of canons attributed to Rabbula prohibit monks from allowing heretics into their monasteries, or from possessing books that are "outside of the faith of the Church."570 However, those Christians who disagreed with Rabbula's Cyrillian Christology, particularly the supporters of a strictly Antiochene position, could also have been branded by Rabbula as being "outside the church." The report that Rabbula burned the writings of certain contemporary church leaders in Syria because they seemed to agree with the teaching of Nestorius supports the supposition that Rabbula may have thought that their writings were "outside of the faith of the Church." Thus. the attribution of canons such as these to Rabbula does not necessarily imply that Audians or Messalians were significant threats in Edessa.

If the adherents and adepts of these religious groups had more or less vanished from Edessa by the time of Rabbula, then this was a prime opportunity for his hagiographer to glorify his subject through spurious etiology: the reason why his audience does not know of the existence of these many heretics, Jews, and pagans is because Rabbula has eradicated them from the collective memory of their city. Whatever the status of these groups in Edessa, the literary goal of this section of the *Life of Rabbula* is to demonstrate that Rabbula is both wise and completely uncompromising in his battle against those outside the institution of

For clarification regarding Alexander's relationship to Messalianism,
 E. Wölfle, "Der Abt Hypatios von Ruphinianai und der Akoimete Alexander," ByzZ 79.2 (1986): 302–9; and Caner, Wandering, Begging Monks, 126–57.
 Admonitions 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>571</sup> See below, clxxiii and clxxvii–clxxviii.

Rabbula's church. The author uses the image of Joshua bar Nun to depict his battle against Bardaisan. 572 Yet this appears to be a separate heading. The description that follows it, in which Rabbula is shown to confront the other unorthodox or non-Christian groups in Edessa, is of a skilled physician. Rabbula is "wise concerning the lands of the heart";<sup>573</sup> that is, he is skilled in handling each type of heresy as a doctor uses different remedies for different diseases. Rabbula, "this glorious captain of Jesus Christ," subdues all those outside the church "in a peaceful and gentle voice by the strength of his God."574 Reference to Christ as a military captain is of interest here, because the image of Christ as warrior is significant in Marcion's Christology, <sup>575</sup> although Chrysostom also adopted this image; both are to be grounded in Eph 6:10-17, which describes the Christian as the soldier of Christ. 576 The "heterodox" sources of the imagery in the Life of Rabbula remain to be systematically explored. It is possible, however, that by the fifth century these images had become separated from their origins and that the author of the Life of Rabbula was ignorant of their original contexts.

In close connection with the author's portrait of Rabbula's doctrinal purity, one needs to consider the bishop's role in the controversies surrounding Hiba of Edessa and the theological school that he represented. This controversy was injected into the affair between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius of Constantinople. Much of the Rabbula Corpus touches directly or indirectly on the events that unfolded in 431–433. It also raises several questions with regard to Rabbula's intent and participation in the political and doctrinal disputes attending Cyril's attack on Constantinople.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>572</sup> See *Rab.* 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>573</sup> Rab. 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>574</sup> Rab. 41

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>575</sup> See H. J. W. Drijvers, "Christ as Warrior and Merchant: Aspects of Marcion's Christology," *StPatr* 21 (1989): 73–85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>576</sup> E.g., John Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions* 3/1.1 (Kaczynski, 2:293).

## 1.9. RABBULA AND THE CYRILLIAN CONTROVERSY: APRIL 428 TO APRIL 433

Any summary of the conflict between Cyril and Nestorius cannot be comprehensive. In the following discussion, only those details that are relevant for understanding Rabbula's role in the events before, during, and after the Council of Ephesus in 431 have been examined.

Nestorius became bishop of Constantinople on April 28, 428. The controversy surrounding him divided the church in the eastern half of the Roman Empire until the Formula of Reunion in April of 433. Rabbula was an outspoken member of a minority of bishops from Anatolia and the Orient who opposed Nestorius and sided with Cyril and the Alexandrian bishops. Rabbula's particular contribution to this debate consisted of making Cyril aware that the root of Nestorius's Christology was to be found in the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428) and the School of the Persians in Edessa, the members of which disseminated Theodore's ideas. In Rabbula's lifetime, his combat against Theodore and Antiochene theology spread to Persia after the Council of Ephesus in 431, but especially following the end of the schism between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria in 433. After Rabbula's death in 436, his legacy was reflected in the condemnation of the writings and person of Theodore of Mopsuestia at the Council of Constantinople in 553.

The heart of the early period of Rabbula's activity against Nestorius and Theodore was the Council of Ephesus (begun on June 21, 431) and the subsequent events leading to the Formula of Reunion in 433. <sup>577</sup> Blum has carefully examined Rabbula's role in the events of Ephesus, the history of his opposition to Nestorius and Theodore, and his relationship with Cyril in this period. <sup>578</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>577</sup> For the events surrounding the Council of Ephesus and the Synod of the Orientals, see Pierre Thomas Camelot, Éphèse et Chalcédoine (Histoire des conciles oecumeniques 2; Paris: Éditions de l'Orante, 1961), 44–60; and Alois Grillmeier, Von der Apostolischen Zeit bis zum Konzil von Chalcedon (451) (vol. 1 of Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1979), 687–91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>578</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 175–95. For more recent presentations of the Council of Ephesus (with no mention of the role of Rabbula), see Susan Wessel, *Cyril* 

Prior to Blum's investigation, treatments of the evidence suffered from considerable confusion, particularly concerning Rabbula's participation at the Council of Ephesus. The present comments concentrate on the arguments concerning two of the most important aspects of Rabbula's contribution to developments during this period: whether or not he was present at any of the synodal meetings held in Ephesus in 431 and whether he was an opponent of Nestorius and Theodore from the beginning of the Nestorian controversy or rather switched his allegiance to the Cyrillian party only after the Council of Ephesus.

The conclusion that Rabbula was present in Ephesus is based on the acts of the Council of Ephesus and of the Synod of the Orientals. The Council of Ephesus, in which Cyril had arrogated for himself the presidency on the basis of a maximal interpretation of his mandate, had deposed Nestorius in its second session on June 22, 431, in the absence of the bishops of the diocese of the East led by John of Antioch. Cyril claimed that he did not need to wait for the arrival of John and his party; in any event they would have mounted a powerful defense of Nestorius. When they finally arrived after considerable delay, they convened

of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy: The Making of a Saint and of a Heretic (Oxford Early Christian Studies; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 255–95; another view is that of John A. McGuckin, St. Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy; Its History, Theology, and Texts (VCSup 23; Crestwood, N.Y.: Saint Valdimir's Seminary Press, 2004), maintaining the opinion that Rabbula switched sides in the controversy (p. 111), but skirting the issue as to whether Rabbula was in fact present at any time at the Council of Ephesus.

579 Hermann Josef Vogt, "Unterschiedliches Konzilverständnis der Cyrillianer und der Orientalen beim Konzil von Ephesus 431," in *Logos: Festschrift für Luise Abramowski zum 8. Juli 1993* (ed. Hanns Christof Brennecke, Ernst Ludwig Grasmück, and Christoph Markschies; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1993), 444–45, maintains this assumption. Vogt does not address the problem of the reliability of the *Collectio Casinensis* or the problem of Hiba's *Letter to Mari*, which remains silent concerning Rabbula's alleged "defection."

<sup>580</sup> Cyril claimed that Celestine, the bishop of Rome, had given him the authority to depose Nestorius. The worth of Cyril's statement is weighed in Louis Duchesne, *The Early History of the Christian Church: From Its Foundation to the End of the Fifth Century* (trans. Claude Jenkins; 3 vols.; London: John Murray, 1951), 3:248 n. 3.

For the details of this session, see Camelot,  $\acute{E}ph\grave{e}se$  et Chalcédoine, 50–

in great haste a parallel synod, known subsequently as the Synod of the Orientals, on June 26, 431, four days after Cyril's council had already deposed Nestorius. 582 John and his synod in their turn deposed Cyril and Memnon, the bishop of Ephesus and Rabbula's close ally (for Cyril had promised Memnon that the synod would restore the patriarchal privileges of the see of Ephesus that had been eliminated at the Council of Constantinople in 381), and excommunicated all those who had deposed Nestorius. Rabbula's signature is found on three of the documents of the synod of Eastern bishops: (1) the deposition of Cyril and Memnon and the condemnation of their teaching; <sup>583</sup> (2) the letter of the synod addressed to the diocese of Hierapolis declaring their decision against Cyril; 584 and (3) the letter that the synod of Eastern bishops addressed to the representatives of the Antiochene party at Constantinople, urging them to persuade Emperor Theodosius to accept the acts of their synod. 585 The first two documents carry fifty-three signatures, and the letter to Constantinople contains forty-two names.

In addition to this evidence, there is the matter of Cyril's letters to Rabbula, which date to the time after the Council of Ephesus. The Latin version of Cyril's Letter 74 (the Greek is not extant), which he addressed to Rabbula sometime after the Council of Ephesus and which may be read in a manner consistent with the view that Rabbula became a partisan of Cyril after Ephesus, states: "Thus, at all times, my lord, your righteousness is celebrated, but especially at this time, [when] you are a pillar and a foundation of truth for all the inhabitants of the East, and just as though [he were] Pestilence the Slayer, you are pursuing the loathsome heresies of Nestorius." Finally, there is a letter from

The details leading up to the Council of Ephesus and the proceedings of the council are presented in Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, 3:236–52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>583</sup> These documents are only preserved in the Latin *Collectio Casinensis*. See here ACO 1.4.2:36,41–38,53. Rabbula's signature, no. 52, is found on p. 38, l. 52.

 $<sup>^{584}</sup>$  ACO 1.4.2:44,29–46,53. Rabbula's signature is found as the seventeenth, p. 45, l. 17.

 $<sup>^{585}</sup>$  ACO 1.4.2:65,31–67,40. Rabbula's signature is the eighth, found on p. 67, l. 6; "VIII Rabbulus [sic] episcopus Edessenus."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>586</sup> For the Syriac text of this letter, see below, 134–38.

Andrew of Samosata<sup>587</sup> to Alexander of Hierapolis (*CPG* 6374) that states in its superscription that Rabbula left the Synod of the Orientals.<sup>588</sup> *Prima facie* this evidence suggests that Rabbula was present at the Synod of the Orientals on June 26, 431, and that there and then Rabbula signed documents that stated that Cyril had been deposed.

This was the standard argument until Blum's careful examination of the evidence. Concerning the most important piece of evidence for this argument, which consists of the signatures of Rabbula on the three documents of the Synod of the Orientals, one notes that these three documents exist only in a work entitled the *Synodicon*, also known as the *Collectio Casinensis*. Being the work of the deacon Rusticus, this compilation was named after one of the two Latin manuscript witnesses, Monte Cassino 2 (the other being Vatican MS 1319). <sup>589</sup> Rusticus compiled the texts he selected in order to demonstrate that the charges made against the Three Chapters at the Council of Constantinople in 553 were unjust. <sup>590</sup> He based his collection on the larger work of the *comes* 

<sup>587</sup> Andrew was the metropolitan bishop of Samosata, the capital of the province of Mesopotamia (after the loss of the old capital of Nisibis to the Persians in 363). The most extensive study of Andrew of Samosata remains Pierre Évieux, "André de Samosate: Un adversaire de Cyrille d'Alexandrie durant la crise nestorienne," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 32 (1974): 253–300. According to Grillmeier, *Von der Apostolischen Zeit*, 702 n. 4, Évieux had promised a more thorough treatment of Andrew's theology, which to date has not appeared yet. Grillmeier (ibid., 701–7) also offers a discussion of Andrew's Christology.

<sup>588</sup> ACO 1.4.2:86,25–87,6. This letter is preserved only in the Collectio Casinensis. The superscript reads: Epistola sanctae memoriae viri Andreae episcopi Samosatae civitatis ad Alexandrum episcopum Hieropolitanum de Rabbula episcopo Edesseno, qui se ab Orientali synodo separavit.

<sup>589</sup> ACO 1.3:I.

<sup>590</sup> Bertold Altaner and Alfred Stuiber, *Patrologie* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1993), 22; see also *ACO* 1.1.1:xiii; Blum, *Rabbula*, 162. The Three Chapters were three statements of condemnation against the persons and writings of those who were associated with Nestorius or who actively supported him and/or opposed Cyril. The condemnations at Constantinople in 553 extended to Hiba's *Letter to Mari*, selected works of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and the person and work of Theodore of Mopsuestia. For the role of Rabbula in relation to the Three Chapters, see Robert Devreesse, "Le début de la querelle des trois-chapitres: La lettre d'Hiba et le tome de Proclus," *RSR* 11 (1931): 543–65. Devreesse accepts the argument that Rabbula was present at the Synod of the Orientals and that he became a supporter of Cyril only after Ephesus.

Irenaeus, which was entitled Tragoidia. After the Council of Ephesus, Irenaeus had compiled this monumental work while being in exile at Petra. Originally, this Greek work contained hundreds of documents, but only large fragments are transmitted in the Collectio Casinensis. 591 Blum judges that the comes Irenaeus probably did not work in an objective manner: his entire collection was assembled to demonstrate that Cyril had arranged for the condemnation of Nestorius through bribing officials in Constantinople (to which Irenaeus had personal access). 592 In addition, Blum notes that in his Letter to Mari (CPG 6500) Rabbula's bitter rival Hiba made no mention of Rabbula's presence at the Synod of the Orientals, which Hiba himself attended, or of Rabbula's presence among the bishops who supported Cyril at Ephesus. <sup>593</sup> To Blum, it seems difficult to imagine that Hiba would not have seized on Rabbula's support of Nestorius at the Synod of the Orientals and his subsequent abandonment of Nestorius after 431 as further important evidence for his charge that Rabbula was an unscrupulous character, "the tyrant of our city." 594 In her recent study on Hiba of Edessa, Rammelt comes to the same conclusion, emphasizing that Hiba did not mention that Rabbula, his opponent, attended the Council of Ephesus. 595

One can adduce additional evidence that Rabbula was not in Ephesus in the summer of 431. His name does not appear on any of the documents of the session of Cyril's council on June 22, which deposed Nestorius. <sup>596</sup> Rabbula's signature is not among

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>591</sup> On the *comes* Irenaeus and his fate, see Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, 3:238, 240, 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>592</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>593</sup> See ACO 2.1.3:33 [392],10–16. On the identity of Mari, see Michel van Esbroeck, "Who Is Mari, the Addressee of Ibas' Letter?" *JTS* n.s. 38 (Apr. 1987): 129–35. For an English translation of Hiba's *Letter to Mari* see Doran, Stewards, 169–73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>594</sup> ὁ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως τύραννος; ACO 2.1.3:33 [392],26 (Acts of Chalcedon), Session Nine (Acts of Beirut), in the Letter of Hiba quoted there; Latin version of Rusticus: ACO 2.3.3:41 [480],18; ACO 4.1 (Lat.):138,6–140,23, here 139,20 (Acts of Constantinople II); see also Blum, Rabbula, 163, for further discussion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>595</sup> Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 112–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>596</sup> ACO 1.1.1:54-64.

those who signed the first declaration of the Synod of the Orientals. His name does not appear on the list of bishops at the session of the Council of Ephesus on July 17, at which Cyril presided and which was attended by the Oriental bishops.<sup>597</sup> This is not to say that Rabbula had not been invited. As a bishop of a metropolitan see, he appears on the list of names that were read at the session on June 22, 431.<sup>598</sup>

If Rabbula had been present at the Synod of the Orientals, Blum argues, the documents that were drawn up by the Cyrillian party would likely have mentioned this fact. If Rabbula had not been present at the Synod of the Orientals, a Nestorian-biased presentation of the facts might have included his name after the fact to persuade the reader with as many Oriental signatures as possible. That same argument applies to the presence of Rabbula's name in the superscription of the letter of Andrew of Samosata to Alexander of Hierapolis, although the evidence in this letter is inconclusive. <sup>599</sup> Cyril's *Letter* 74 to Rabbula may be interpreted as implying that Rabbula was not present, at least at the sessions chaired by Cyril of Alexandria. <sup>600</sup> Moreover, the Rabbula Corpus is silent with respect to his presence at Ephesus, although this omission is also inconclusive, for if Rabbula had been present

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>597</sup> ACO 1.1.5:123–24. The list of names is complete, as the last line of the document (124,10) reads: ὅμου πάντες MT ("in all, 53"). For a discussion, see Blum, *Rabbula*, 161. The documents of Ephesus were drawn up by Cyril's party some time after the council proceedings and are therefore to be regarded with suspicion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>598</sup> ACO 1.1.3:24-25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>599</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 163 n. 18, notes that this superscription, even if authentic, is ambiguous. It can be read to imply that Rabbula left the Synod of the Orientals or that he did not attend the synod at all.

<sup>600</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, *Letter* 74.5 (for text and trans., see below, 134–39), writes: "Your perfection should not let itself be disturbed by the threats of those who according to their custom wantonly and imprudently threaten everyone, since they make themselves into servants of the blasphemies of Nestorius. These people have absolutely no episcopal authority whatsoever, because the holy synod has defined all that as void which they could venture to undertake against anyone. But all the holy bishops who dwell within the confines of the Romans are one and all joined with your glorious holiness in intention, will, zeal, agreement, communion, and belief" (John I. McEnerney, trans., *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Letters* [2 vols; FC 76–77; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1987], FC 77:78).

at the Synod of the Orientals, which condemned Cyril, then his hagiographer may have wished to pass over this fact. <sup>601</sup>

There are two possible explanations for why Rabbula did not respond to the imperial invitation to the Council of Ephesus. 602 The first explanation is one of illness. In a letter addressed to Andrew of Samosata sometime in the spring of 432, Rabbula states that he wished to reply to Andrew's refutation of Cyril's Twelve Anathemas promptly but that illness, among other things, prevented him: "Although I am diligent in opposing the fear of God that you have, at times illness that has afflicted the body, at times the harshness of winter, at other times weariness on account of your confession—these have hindered me. For, although we were kindled by one another, by that, with which we are wounded in our hearts, we have been extinguished from afar."603 It is most likely that in this reply Rabbula refers to the winter of 430–431. 604 Andrew's response to Rabbula's letter indicates that Rabbula had been preaching against Andrew's condemnation of Cyril and the Twelve Anathemas for some time: "Now after you poured out against us many abuses, you sent us a short letter in which was written but a single lesson."605 In addition, Blum has demonstrated that the christological terminology of Rabbula's letter to Andrew closely approximates Cyril's own terminology in Syriac translation; Rabbula's original Greek letters have not survived. 606

One may also offer a second explanation. As a supporter of Cyril from the anti-Cyrillian diocese of the Orient, Rabbula attempted to avoid being excommunicated or even deposed by his Antiochene colleagues by being present at either the "Alexandrian" or the "Antiochene" synod.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>601</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 160 n. 1.

Rabbula's name is listed on the *sacra*, the imperial invitation to attend the council: ACO 1.1.3:31,3–32,10, here 31,7; ACO 1.3:111,25–112,29, here 111,31 (Lat.). For a complete discussion, see A. M. Crabbe, "The Invitation List to the Council of Ephesus and Metropolitan Hierarchy in the Fifth Century," JTS n.s. 32.2 (1981): 373. This master list was the one that was used to issue the *sacra*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>603</sup> See below, 146–47.

<sup>604</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 152-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>605</sup> See below, 150–51.

<sup>606</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 153-55.

The fact that Rabbula was not present at the Council of Ephesus has necessitated a reworking of the biography of Rabbula. The evidence that supports the argument that Rabbula was present in Ephesus during the council has been used to demonstrate that Rabbula was a supporter of Theodore and Nestorius and that he became a fervent ally of Cyril's only after the council. These claims need to be revisited.

Rabbula's absence from the Council of Ephesus resolves an inconsistency with regard to the pre-Ephesian dating of the correspondence between Andrew of Samosata and Rabbula and suggests that Rabbula was a supporter of Cyril already before 431. 607 The setting of the correspondence between Rabbula and Andrew is located in the period after a council in Alexandria that had given its approval to one of the documents in which Cyril set forth his criticism of Nestorius and Antiochene Christology, known as the Twelve Chapters or Twelve Anathemas. 608 This council took place early in 430. Andrew had written a refutation of Cyril's Twelve Anathemas, as had Theodoret, the bishop of Cyrrhus. Both of these anti-Cyrillian works had circulated among the bishops of the diocese of the East but are now known only through Cyril's letters in which he replied to these authors in order to defend his Twelve Anathemas against the charge of Apollinarianism. 609 These refutations were probably written in 430, soon after the council in Alexandria.

Andrew's reply to Rabbula reveals that prior to Ephesus, Rabbula was an opponent not only of Nestorius but also of Theodore of Mopsuestia. In his letter to Rabbula, Andrew states that he has omitted Theodore from his list of theological sources because of Rabbula's deeply felt antipathy for Theodore and his writings: "From the blessed Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, I did not send you such testimonies because I have learned of the wrath and harsh enmity you have toward him, and moreover so

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>607</sup> Ibid., 152–60. On the role of Andrew of Samosata in the controversy between Nestorius and Cyril, see McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, 47–48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>608</sup> Originally appended to Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* (*Letter* 17; *CPG* 5317), delivered on November 30, 430 (*ACO* 1.1.1:33–42; McEnerney, FC 76:80–92; Wickham, 28–33).

These two apologies are the Defense of the Twelve Anathemas against Theodoret and the Defense of the Twelve Anathemas against the Eastern Bishops; see below, 139.

that you might know that we have learned the fear of God not [only] from him, as you suppose, but also from the other fathers who were victorious in the true faith."<sup>610</sup> Other sources indicate that Rabbula had condemned Theodore publicly.<sup>611</sup> In his lists of patristic sources Andrew includes Diodore of Tarsus, a bishop associated with the christological thought of Antioch who would become indicted along with Nestorius in the controversies leading up to the Council of Chalcedon in 451. It would seem, then, that before the Council of Ephesus Rabbula did not know of the writings of Diodore of Tarsus or did not associate them with Nestorius.<sup>612</sup>

Andrew's reply to Rabbula dates to a time soon after the Council of Ephesus. The basis for this dating rests on the fact that the content of Andrew's response in that letter appears to be similar to that of Andrew's letter to Alexander of Hierapolis, Andrew's metropolitan of the province of Euphratensis. Blum attempts to show that the contexts of these two letters are entirely different and that the similarities in content are only superficial. Andrew's letter to Rabbula mentions that Rabbula has been preaching against Andrew's condemnation of Cyril's Twelve Anathemas: Some days ago someone from there came to us saying that Your Paternity is behaving against us with many abuses,

<sup>610</sup> See below, 171.

<sup>611</sup> Acts of the Second Council of Constantinople (553), Actio Quinta (ACO 4.1:104,11-16): hanc vero ecclesiasticam traditionem custodiens et Rabbulas sanctae memoriae episcopus factus Edessenae ciuitatis, qui in sacerdotibus splenduit, Theodorum istum Mopsuestenum etiam post mortem in ecclesia anathematizauit propter impia eius conscripta, sicut testimonium praebet etiam epistola quae ab Iba ad Marim haereticum Persam scripta esse dicitur; "And Rabbula of holy memory, who was made the bishop of the city of Edessa, the protector of this ecclesiastical tradition, who was resplendant among the priests, anathematized in the church Theodore of Mopsuestia even after his death, for his impieties composed [in writing], just as the letter which is said to have been written by Hiba to Mari, the Persian heretic, bears witness" (our translation).

<sup>612</sup> See also Blum, Rabbula, 155-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>613</sup> See E. Schwartz, *Konzilstudien* (Strasbourg: K. J. Trübner, 1914), 23–24.

 $<sup>^{614}</sup>$  Blum, Rabbula, 156. The  $Collectio\ Casinensis$  places Andrew's reply also after the Council of Ephesus.

<sup>615</sup> Ibid., 156-57.

and not only before a small [crowd] but also openly before the people. He added that you also banned [in the church] those who do not agree with the opinion of Cyril of Alexandria and those who read what has been written by us, [namely,] the denunciation of the chapters that were set down by him."616 In his letter to Alexander of Hierapolis, composed after the Council of Ephesus, Andrew reports that Rabbula has openly condemned Theodore of Mopsuestia and that he even has begun to burn his writings as well as those of Theodoret. 617 Rabbula was an opponent of Theodore before the council. Following the Council of Ephesus, Rabbula probably was emboldened to attack Theodore and his supporters openly and to impose a ban on their writings in his province of Osrhoene. 618 Since Andrew's reply to Rabbula makes no mention of Rabbula's vigorous attack against Andrew's writings, it seems most reasonable to date the letter to a time shortly before the Council of Ephesus. 619

## 1.9.1. Theological Themes

Blum's study remains the most profound discussion of Rabbula's contribution to the christological debates surrounding the Council of Ephesus and other theological themes in the Rabbula Corpus, particularly Rabbula's biblical exegesis and the Eucharist. The present discussion provides a summary of Blum's analysis of Rabbula's Christology.

Rabbula's conception of the christological controversy is not grounded in Christology at all but rather is focused on the Trinity. 620 While the christological debates were an extension of the Trinitarian controversies of the fourth century, the *Homily in Constantinople* and Rabbula's letters seem to be tone-deaf to the fact

<sup>616</sup> Edited in F. Pericoli-Ridolfini, "La controversia tra Cirillo d'Alessandria e Giovanni di Antiochia nell'epistolario di Andrea di Samosata," *RSO* 29 (1954): 187–217; see below, 149.

<sup>617</sup> ACO 1.4.2:86,25–87,6, here 86,29–33. Andrew of Samosata mentioned Gemellina, the bishop of Perrhe and Rabbula's suffragan, as also having spoken against Andrew: Ab hac tuae sanctitati scribo provincia, exii enim multis adversus nos perturbatiis ex calumniis Gemellini et Rabbulae satisfacere volens.

<sup>618</sup> Similarly Blum, Rabbula, 157.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>619</sup> Pericoli-Ridolfini, "Controversia tra Cirillo d'Alessandria e Giovanni di Antiochia," 192.

<sup>620</sup> See Blum, Rabbula, 137-39, for a fuller discussion.

that the two-natures party maintained the same Trinitarian assumptions as Cyril of Alexandria. Rabbula's objection to the understanding of a human and a divine nature in Christ after the incarnation does not answer the question of how the human nature and the divine nature could have been preserved in Christ. The *Homily in Constantinople* does not seem to be aware that for the two-natures party the true humanity of Christ was at stake.

The question that Rabbula poses in his homily is whether Mary may be called the Birthgiver of God (Gk.: Theotokos). Rabbula is not concerned with the question of whether Christ has one or two natures after the incarnation. Rabbula understands the matter as a question of whether God the Word was truly born of a human woman. When Rabbula speaks of the natures of Christ, he does so with the concern that the divine nature, which is the same as that of God the Father, not be altered or changed, and that the human nature of the Incarnate Word of God be authentic. His hagiographer seems to echo this sentiment: "[Nestorius] dared in his arrogance to say that in Jesus he only gave a dwelling place to the Son, just as to the Spirit in the dove."621 Thus it is imputed to Nestorius that he denied the complete humanity of Christ, but here too is found no mention of the problem of how many natures existed after the incarnation. Where Rabbula could have elaborated on the complete humanity of Christ in his *Homily* in Constantinople and did not do so, the Life of Rabbula goes into some detail in this direction. The *Homily in Constantinople* offers the following passage:

While again this did not destroy what he had been, God and Son and Only Begotten, rather also while he was a human being, he was God in his nature, and Son in his person, and Only Begotten in his number, as well as the Firstborn in his humanity, and no addition nor privation as by alteration was done to him. While it was in his nature not to suffer, his own body suffered according to his will. For that was to him his own [body] in which he became the [Mosaic] priest, offering to his Father on our account the sacrifice that is without blemish and giving us life through his death that was for our sake. 622

<sup>621</sup> Rab. 44.

<sup>622</sup> Homily in Constantinople 8; cf. Rom 5:10.

This passage offers no defense of the true humanity of Christ. In comparison, one finds in the *Life of Rabbula* a catena of biblical passages that makes the humanity of Jesus explicit:

But the Lord of all took the likeness of a servant, in that he was a perfect human being, while this did not destroy that [nature] that is God, but the unity of his divinity and of his humanity was preserved. He was one nature and was the person of the eternal Son, just as he also was formerly, [when] he was not [yet] clothed with a body. For thus he also suffered in the flesh according to his will, he who could not suffer in his nature, because of this he died in the body but was alive in the Spirit. He brought good tidings to the souls who were captive in Sheol, and then he rose in the glory of his Father and ascended into heaven, to the place where he was from everlasting to everlasting. 623

Note the clearly anti-theopaschite formulation of the suffering of Christ in the flesh, with the assent of the divine will. This way of expression seems to be foreign to Cyril's own Christology. One wonders whether this is not evidence that the author was sympathetic to the proto-Chalcedonian interpretation of Cyril's Christology. Blum understands this concession to the Antiochene position to be a product of the development of the Council of Ephesus in 449, the so-called Robber Synod. He assumes that both the Christology of the *Life of Rabbula* and that of the *Homily in Constantinople* were authentically Rabbula's, and hence he sees in the work of the hagiographer a reliable exposition of Rabbula's Christology. Blum reaches the conclusion that the paragraph cited above from the *Life of Rabbula* represents the author's attempt to unify the "various nuances" of Rabbula's Christology before and after the Formula of Union of 433. 625

Furthermore, Blum observes that the concept of  $ky\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  ("nature," a translation of Greek *physis*, which is attested in Rabbula's *Letter to Andrew*), agrees with the concept that is present in the

<sup>623</sup> Rab. 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>624</sup> Theopaschite aspects of Cyril's thought have been examined in Paul Gavrilyuk, *The Suffering of the Impassible God: The Dialectics of Patristic Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 135–71.

<sup>625</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 151.

Homily in Constantinople. 626 That concept is identical to the "earlier" Cyrillian uses of hypostasis and physis. As Rabbula seems to have understood it, kyānā must be manifest in a concrete entity. This is a concept that Rabbula probably adopted from Ephraem. 627 Blum remarks that in Andrew's reply to Rabbula's charges, Andrew faults him for providing incorrect information about the matter of the debate. 628 In other words, Rabbula, like many others involved in these controversies, was not always clear as to what his terminology meant in the christological context.

The correspondence between Rabbula and Andrew of Samosata reveals that Rabbula's Christology, although expressed in Syriac terminology, essentially reflects that of Cyril. 629 In his reply, Andrew claims, as did Theodoret of Cyrrhus, that Cyril's Christology in turn reflects the thought of Apollinaris. Andrew is particularly concerned that Cyril speaks only of a single *hypostasis*, which to Andrew, and others who reason like him, implies that Christ was not both divine and human. 630 Rabbula's critique was that like Nestorius also Andrew divides the incarnate Christ into two persons: the Logos, or Son of God, and the human being Jesus of Nazareth:

For the separation of the natures troubles me much, and especially [the separation] after the union. 631 Anastasius, 632 who in the middle of Constantinople said, "I confess the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and our Lord Jesus Christ," amazingly introduced to us that there are two sons instead of one. Far be it from me to agree to any of this. I

<sup>626</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>627</sup> Ibid., 155.

<sup>628</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>629</sup> See ibid., 153–60, for a detailed discussion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>630</sup> See Cyril's interpretation in his *Defense against the Bishops of the East (CPG* 5221; *ACO* 1.1.7:33–65, here 49,9–12); Alois Grillmeier, "Die theologische und sprachliche Vorbereitung der christologischen Formel von Chalkedon," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon* (ed. A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht; 3 vols.; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1951–54), 1:191–92. See also Wessel, *Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy*, 270–71.

 $<sup>^{631}</sup>$  I.e., the separation of human and divine natures in Christ. See Rab.

<sup>44.</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>632</sup> A presbyter in Constantinople.

would rather accept with joy to endure anything else than to participate in any blasphemy such as this. <sup>633</sup>

This terminology of Rabbula's is similar to that which Cyril uses in his third of Twelve Anathemas, which he appended to his *Third Letter to Nestorius*, as well as in the text itself of his second and third letters to Nestorius. <sup>634</sup> As for Cyril, so also for Rabbula, the words  $ky\bar{a}n\bar{a}$  (physis) and  $qn\bar{u}m\bar{a}$  (hypostasis) were very closely related. <sup>635</sup>

## 1.9.2. Rabbula, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus

After Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch had agreed to the Formula of Reunion on April 12, 433, 636 which brought about a temporary peace following the Council of Ephesus, Rabbula entered into open conflict against Theodore of Mopsuestia and anyone who dared to support him. Rabbula's intention in attacking Theodore was in part to cut off power from his rival in Edessa, Hiba. In Hiba's response, his *Letter to Mari* (composed soon after April 12, 433), 637 he states that Rabbula has banished him. Barhadbešabba of Beth Arbaye's Cause of the Foundation of the Schools states that Rabbula burned all copies of the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia, except for his commentaries on the Gospel of John and the Song of Songs, because these two had

<sup>633</sup> Letter of Rabbula to Andrew of Samosata, 148-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>634</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, Letters 4 (Second Letter to Nestorius) and 17 (Third Letter to Nestorius) (Wickham, 2–33). Blum, Rabbula, 154–55, discusses the development of Cyril's terminology and the Syriac translation of key Greek words in Cyril's writings. See now King, Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril of Alexandria, 195–99, for an examination of the translation technique of the related On the Incarnation, preserved in Syriac as a scholion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>635</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 153–54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>636</sup> This is the date of Cyril's letter accepting the terms of the Formula of Reunion. See Cyril, *Letter* 39 (*CPG* 5339; *ACO* 1.1.4:17,9–20).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>637</sup> This letter itself is preserved only in translation in the acts of the Council of Beirut in 449 and in the acts of the Council of Constantinople in 553 (Greek text, from the Council of Beirut: ACO 2.1.332–34; Latin translation: ACO 2.3.3:39–43). The Syriac translation is found in BL Add 14530, fols. 34r-36v, and was edited in Johannes Flemming, Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449: Syrisch, mit Georg Hoffmann's deutscher Übersetzung und seinen Anmerkungen (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1917; repr., Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 48–52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>638</sup> Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 49–50.

not been translated from Greek into Syriac. <sup>639</sup> Rammelt has concluded that this means that Theodore's works were translated into Syriac already during Theodore's lifetime; Rabbula's move therefore struck at the heart of Hiba's activity of making Theodore's works accessible to Syriac-reading students. <sup>640</sup> Indeed, Andrew of Samosata makes reference to Rabbula anathematizing anyone who finds a work of Theodore's and does not hand it over to be burned. <sup>641</sup>

Such an evaluation of the situation emerges for anyone who takes at its word the letter Andrew of Samosata sent to Alexander of Hierapolis. According to Andrew's description of the situation in Edessa, Rabbula persecuted those who did not agree with Cyril's one-nature formula, burned documents composed against Cyril (especially those written against his Twelve Anathemas), and excommunicated those who supported Theodore and Nestorius, including bishops such as Andrew himself. 642 Rabbula anathematized Theodore, calling him the "root of all evil," 643 a name-calling picked up again when Rabbula's hagiographer speaks of Theodore as "one bitter root" from which the doctrine of Nestorius has sprouted. 644 This account is also consonant with the hagiographer's characterization of Rabbula as a new Joshua bar Nun: just as Joshua destroyed many of the inhabitants of Canaan, so too does Rabbula uproot all the "thickets of sin" that have overgrown Edessa, especially the teachings of Nestorius. 645

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>639</sup> Barḥadbešabba of Beth 'Arbaye, *The Cause of the Foundation of the Schools* (Scher, 381; Becker, 148; Ramelli, 156).

<sup>640</sup> Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 45–46. For the timing of the translation of Theodore's works into Syriac, see also Fitzgerald, "Theodore of Mopsuestia," 338, n. 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>641</sup> Letter of Andrew of Samosata to Alexander of Hierapolis (CPG 6374), text and translation below, 173.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>642</sup> This letter suggests that some of the clergy of Osrhoene rejected Rabbula's attacks against Nestorius. See ACO 1.4.2:86,28–29: scripserunt mihi ab Edessa quia Rabbulas apertissime declinauit a dogmatibus ueritatis et persequitur rectae fidei defensores.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>643</sup> The text of the Latin version of the *Letter of Andrew to Rabbula* is found at *ACO* 1.4.2:86,29–31; for the Syriac, see below, 148–73.

<sup>644</sup> *Rab.* 44; the phrase is from Heb 12:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>645</sup> See *Rab.* 40, 44.

In addition to theological reasons, there may have been other motivations for Rabbula's fierce opposition to Theodore of Mopsuestia. In his Letter to Mari, Hiba states that Rabbula's hatred of Theodore is personal. He claims that Rabbula holds a grudge against Theodore because he has rebuked Rabbula before an assembly of bishops in Constantinople. Theodore's accusation was that Rabbula had used physical violence against his own clergy. 646 While one needs to keep in mind that the evidence for this claim comes principally from Hiba's Letter to Mari, there is further evidence for Rabbula's ornery temperament. In addition to evidence that Rabbula was hurling abuses at Andrew of Samosata, one may also refer to Andrew, who in a letter to Alexander of Hierapolis (CPG 6374) writes, "Furthermore, it seems to me that since he has been continually receiving letters from Constantinople all the while, he has sprouted and given rise most clearly to an impiety which was conceived some time ago. Therefore I think that it is not proper at all for us to remain silent concerning such matters."647 This work is also extant only in the Latin Collectio Casinensis and therefore may contain material inserted after the fact. Yet this letter too alludes to Rabbula's temper, offering alongside many other juicy details. On account of its importance for the characterization of Rabbula, this letter has been included in the present corpus. 648 It seems then that Hiba's charges against Rabbula have some echoes in the letters of other bishops who were the objects of Rabbula's critique.

Hiba, the director of Edessa's prestigious theological school, an institution that took Theodore as its theological and exegetical master, expresses the sentiment of many of the learned clergy of the East at the time when he states that Theodore was "the herald of the truth, the doctor of the church, who not only during his life battered heretics with the truth of his faith, but [also] having departed left to the children of the church the heritage of his writing." The school in Edessa, later referred to as the "School of the Persians," was the bulwark of Antiochene theology and of the

<sup>646</sup> Hiba, Letter to Mari (ACO 2.1.3:33 [392],23-24).

 $<sup>^{647}\</sup> ACO$  1.4:86,25–87,6, here 87,3–6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>648</sup> For text and translation, see below, 172–75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>649</sup> Flemming, Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449, 51.

theological method of Theodore of Mopsuestia in particular. 650

Hiba also sought to portray Rabbula as a tyrant, a judgment that may be historically accurate to some degree, given that Hiba was a cleric subject to Rabbula's authority. Still, Blum is cautious—and wisely so—in accepting Hiba's explanation for Rabbula's virulent attack on Theodore and his theological legacy, even though Hiba's presentation was supported by statements in Barḥadbešabba's history of the school in Edessa. According to Andrew of Samosata, Rabbula attacked Theodore and the School of Edessa with the encouragement of the pro-Cyrillian bishop of Constantinople, Maximian (bishop October 25, 431-April 12, 434). Yet Andrew may have meant that Rabbula had official support from the emperor to do so, as it is clear that he was previously pursuing such activity.

## 1.9.3. Rabbula and Cyril

Although separated from the bishops of Antioch, Rabbula had the support of Cyril of Alexandria, as well as of some of his suffragan bishops in the province of Osrhoene. For his part, Rabbula convinced Cyril that the real danger was not Nestorius but Theodore of Mopsuestia, who had passed away in 428. In his reply to Cyril's letter, Rabbula clearly expresses his view of the danger of Theodore's influence in the East. 653 According to

<sup>650</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 168–73, outlines the importance of the School of the Persians for Antiochene theology. On significant aspects of the history of the School of the Persians, see Hayes, L'École d'Édesse, 144–58; Arthur Vööbus, History of the School of Nisibis (CSCO 266; Subsidia 26; Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1965), 7–56; and more recently Adam H. Becker, Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia (Divinations; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2006), 45–46, 57–61.

<sup>651</sup> For discussion, see Blum, Rabbula, 167–68. See also Addaï Scher, Mar Barḥadbšabba ʿArbaya, Évêque de Ḥalwan (VIe siècle): Cause de la Fondation des Écoles (PO 4.4; Paris: Librarie de Paris; Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1908), 380–81; Adam H. Becker, Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis (TTH 50; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 148–49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>652</sup> ACO 1.4.2:87,3-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>653</sup> Flemming, Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449, 19; see below, 129 and 131. Devreesse argues that someone of Rabbula's stature could not have written such a letter. However, if Rabbula attacked Theodore as part of his strategy to render Hiba powerless and unable to challenge his authority (or the

Rabbula, Theodore secretly disseminated unorthodox teaching among his disciples, one that was contrary to his public sermons. There is no further evidence to substantiate Rabbula's charge that Theodore taught a secret or endogenous doctrine. <sup>655</sup>

Cyril's letter to Rabbula makes clear that Cyril was not aware of or not particularly interested in the writings of Theodore until Rabbula brought them to his attention. <sup>656</sup> Cyril sent his reply soon after John of Antioch had excommunicated Rabbula, perhaps in late 431 or early 432 (*CPG* 6347). <sup>657</sup> In his letter, Cyril tells Rabbula:

authority of Rabbula's choice for the see of Edessa after his death), then such an attack fits well with Devreesse's assessment: "si Rabboula en est l'auteur, on doit conclure que l'esprit de vengeance eut tôt fait de lui mettre la tête et le jugement à l'enverse" ("Début de la querelle des trois-chapitres," 547). Blum, *Rabbula*, 174, accepts that such a letter accords with the reports of Rabbula's temperament.

- <sup>654</sup> See below, 133.
- 655 Blum, *Rabbula*, 175–77.
- <sup>656</sup> See below, 141; so too ibid., 178. On the contrary W. H. C. Frend, *The* Rise of the Monophysite Movement: Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 22, claims that Theodore was the real object of Cyril's condemnation and that the removal of Nestorius was auxilliary to this. One piece of evidence that Frend provides is from Letter 74, which contains the passage concerning Theodore. Based on extensive discussion of the evidence, this passage is generally thought to be a later addition to this letter. Both versions of this letter make mention of "Theodore of Cilicia" (i.e., Theodore of Mopsuestia, given that Mopsuestia was located in the province of Cilicia); this is the letter to which Devreesse refers, claiming that the section that mentions Theodore of Cilicia is a later insertion (perhaps based on Letter 73). See Cyril of Alexandria, Letters 74 and 74alt (McEnerney, Letters, FC 77:78, 81). Schwartz, Konzilstudien, 24 n. 4, offers a Greek translation of the Syriac text. Cyril's reply to Rabbula contains a refutation of Nestorius's statements concerning Mary, which may or may not have been authentic. Devreesse, "Début de la querelle des trois-chapitres," 547-48, is of the opinion that Cyril did not go further and attack Theodore and that two lines of this letter as it is reprinted in Dominicus Mansi, ed., Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio (Paris: Expensis Huberti Welter, 1901), 5:468, were added at a later time and are not authentic: "illius dico qui de Cilicia erat." Full text cited in Devreesse (ibid., 548 n. 1): Nam procedit quidem ex altera radice illius dico qui de Cilicia erat ista impietas: arbitratus vero est, quod tenebit orbem terrarum propter potentiam nescio quomodo illi datam.
  - <sup>657</sup> ACO 1.4:87,7–20; text and translation, below, 178–79.

let them not disquiet Your Perfection with their threats, those who out of habit are threatening everyone rashly and without consideration, while they act as agents of the blasphemies of Nestorius. For they do not have any of the authority of the episcopacy, because the holy synod [i.e., Ephesus] has foiled everything that they were attempting to do to everyone. Unanimously, all of the bishops under the aegis of the Romans, 658 with one mind, will, diligence, concord, communion, and faith: we are with your own radiant Excellency 659

From Cyril's perspective, John of Antioch and the other bishops of the Synod of the Orientals no longer had episcopal authority after they excommunicated him. 660 The reference to the "Romans" in this passage identifies the Roman legates, whom Celestine of Rome sent to the council. Cyril needed Celestine's support to legitimize the proceedings at Ephesus. In fact, Celestine had not granted Cyril the right to depose Nestorius on his behalf, even though one must conclude that Cyril convinced the council that this was the case. 661 The legates of Rome to the council conducted the sessions in such a way as in effect to bring unanimous consent to the deposition of Nestorius by Celestine that took place at a synod in Rome before the start of the council in Ephesus. 662 To be sure, the need for Cyril to do so was not as strong as Devreesse may have supposed, given that the process among Eastern bishops, by tradition and by canon, would have to have been decided by a council and not from Rome's decree

<sup>658</sup> The reference is to the presence of the Roman legates at the Council of Ephesus. On the relationship between Cyril and Celestine, see Hermann Josef Vogt, "Papst Cölestin und Nestorius," in *Konzil und Papst: Historische Beiträge zur Frage der höchsten Gewalt in der Kirche; Festgabe für Hermann Tüchle* (ed. Georg Schwaiger; Munich: Schöningh, 1975), 85–101; and Émile Amann, "L'affaire de Nestorius vue de Rome," *RSR* 23.1–2 (Jan.-Apr. 1949): 5–37; 23.3–4 (May-Oct. 1949): 207–44; 24.1–2 (Jan.-Apr. 1950): 28–52; and 24.3–4 (May-Oct. 1950): 235–65.

<sup>659</sup> See below, 136-37.

<sup>660</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 178.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>661</sup> McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, 43, mentions that Celestine had given Cyril permission to be the executor of his decree requiring Nestorius to recant and provide proof of his orthodoxy.

<sup>662</sup> See Wessel, Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy, 173-

alone.<sup>663</sup> Yet it is clear that Cyril understood Celestine's view of Rome's authority and using deception and skill manipulated the bishop of Rome to believe that Ephesus was convened so as to ratify Rome's earlier condemnation of Nestorius.<sup>664</sup>

Cyril has composed his reply in the tone of a fellow confessor for the true faith. Even more so, he flatters Rabbula, claiming that their struggle is in imitation of the temptation of Christ: "For if they called our Lord Beelzebub, it is nothing novel if [they] should also call us likewise, and if they persecuted him, would they not then persecute us? Yet we have overcome every one of them, and our labor makes the fruits of the love of Christ to increase and causes us to partake of the glory that does not pass away."665 Cyril also requests Rabbula to provide a translation of two texts, which he has attached to this reply. 666 The first of these texts is a refutation of Nestorius, probably the work that Cyril composed in 430, entitled Five Books of Refutations against the Blasphemies of Nestorius (CPG 5217).667 The second work is On the Correct Faith in Our Lord Jesus Christ to Emperor Theodosius (CPG 5218), also from 430.668 The Syriac version of this second treatise is still extant. 669 This request, as well as the detail that Cyril claims to have read Rabbula's letter before his own suffragan bishops in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>663</sup> As McGuckin, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, 43, rightly acknowledges, Celestine's perception of Rome's word as final on the matter was not accepted in the East. However, this still does not mean that Celestine gave, or implied that Cyril had, his permission to act as the president of a general council.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>664</sup> Wessel, Cyril of Alexandria and the Nestorian Controversy, 145–47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>665</sup> See below, 136–37.

<sup>666</sup> See below, 139.

<sup>667</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, Adversus Nestorii blasphemias contradictorum libri quinque (= Against the Blasphemies of Nestorius; ACO 1.1.6:13–106; PG 76:9–248; for a partial translation, see Norman Russell, trans., Cyril of Alexandria [The Early Church Fathers; London and New York: Routledge, 2000], 131–74). Blum, Rabbula, 178 n. 22, rejects the claim of Schwartz, Konzilstudien, 24 n. 4, that this work rather was a tract that is known only by mention in Cyril's letter to Rufus of Thessalonica.

<sup>668</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, De recta in dominum nostrum Jesum Christum fide ad imperatorem Theodosium (= De recta fide; ACO 1.1.1:42–72; PG 76:1133–1200). For further details on this text, see Johannes Quasten, Patrology (4 vols.; Westminster, Md.: Christian Classics, 1986), 3:126–27; see also below, ccxl–ccxlii.

<sup>669</sup> Text and translation below, 200–285. The Syriac version of this text has been edited in Philip Edward Pusey, Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini de recta fide ad imperatorem, de incarnatione unigeniti dialogos,

Egypt, demonstrates the close cooperation of these two opponents of Nestorius: "For I too have read before all the clergy, and to the bishops present with us in Alexandria, the letters of Your Perfection that were sent to me, demonstrating to them that Christ is not silent, but rather has in every place lights that fill civilization." <sup>670</sup>

Such indications of Cyril's trust in Rabbula following the council reflect a relationship that grew closer in the period between 431 and 433. During this time, Emperor Theodosius II pressured John and Cyril to reach an agreement. One attempt at reunion was a formula that Acacius of Beroea had drafted and that Paul of Emesa delivered to Cyril on behalf of John.

Prior to 431, Rabbula seems to have attempted to resolve the impasse in Edessa on his own by accepting a Cyrillian position. 673 According to Blum's analysis, Rabbula's position was grounded

de recta fide ad principissas, de recta fide ad augustas, quod unus Christus dialogos, apologeticus ad imperatorem (vol. 7 of Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli archiepiscopi Alexandrini [opera]; Oxford: Clarendon, 1877; repr., Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965), 1–153; and Bedjan, Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, 5:628–96.

<sup>670</sup> See below, 138–39.

<sup>671</sup> For an account of the events between 431 and 433, see Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, 3:219–315.

672 Of interest is that along with John of Antioch, Acacius of Beroea was a leading member of the Oriental party. Acacius was represented at the meeting in Chalcedon by Paul, the bishop of Emesa. About one year after the Council of Ephesus in 431, Sixtus III of Rome wrote in order to enlist him as a peacemaker between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch. See Sixtus III, Letter to Cyril (Epistola I) (PL 50:583-88). See Duchesne, Early History of the Church, 3:259. Acacius composed the well-known letter to Cyril attempting to establish reconciliation, yet Cyril rejected this letter. For the critical text of the proposal of Acacius of Beroea, see ACO 1.1.7:143 (McEnerney, FC 77:183). The relevant letter of Acacius to Cyril is lost except for a fragment preserved in Severus of Antioch, Against the Impious Grammarian 3, 2 (Lebon, CSCO 93 [Syr.] and 94 [Lat.]:14,25-15,10; 15,13-16,2 [Syr.]; 10,25-33; 10,36-11,14 [Lat.]). This letter and the meeting at Chalcedon are discussed by Theodoret in a letter to Domnus, the bishop of Antioch (Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Letter 112 [Azéma, SC 111:52-55; see esp. 52-53 nn. 3, 5; 54 n. 1]). Hiba recounts these events, from his perspective, in his Letter to Mari; Devreesse, "Début de la querelle des troischapitres," 544, provides a synopsis of the events as Hiba saw them.

673 See Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 128.

in his ascetic spirituality, most likely in order to seize the opportunity to attack his opponents. <sup>674</sup> Blum implies that Rabbula was naturally disposed to the position of Cyril. <sup>675</sup> John of Antioch issued a synodal letter to the bishops of Mesopotamia in which he opposed Rabbula's actions. <sup>676</sup> Rabbula was given some penitential act to perform to show his subordination to the see of Antioch. Yet Rabbula refused, as the subsequent events in Edessa and the letters of Rabbula to Cyril indicate. <sup>677</sup> Ideologically, Rabbula had now become a strong Cyrillian, entrenched in his opposition to the majority of his episcopal colleagues in the diocese of the East. <sup>678</sup>

Cyril wrote to Rabbula assuring him that the terms of the letter of Acacius of Beroea were unacceptable. There is no further evidence that Rabbula and Cyril continued their correspondence; it is probable that Rabbula was favorable to the compromise that was finally struck, and thus his part in the controversy was over, as far as Cyril was concerned. He reunion, Rabbula softened

<sup>674</sup> See Blum, Rabbula, 173-79.

<sup>675</sup> McGuckin, St. Cyril of Alexandria, 111, implies that Rabbula threw his weight behind Cyril after the Council of Ephesus. See also the discussion of Kohlbacher's thesis concerning Rabbula and Athanasian theology, above, cxxxvii–cxxxviii.

<sup>676</sup> See below, ccxxxviii; text and translation below, 178-79.

Rammelt, Ibas von Edessa, 129.

 $<sup>^{678}</sup>$  As Blum,  $Rabbula,\, 174-79,\, argues,\, Cyrillian Christology became the one, true Christology.$ 

<sup>679</sup> For Cyril's letter to Rabbula, see ACO 1.4.2:140,16–35 (see below, ccxxxi–ccxxxii). For Cyril's reply to Acacius's letter, see ACO 1.1.7:147–50, with a Latin version at ACO 1.4:94–98. Cyril reiterates this sentiment in his account of the events leading up to the Formula of Reunion in a letter to Acacius of Melitene (ACO 1.1.4:20–31; see Lionel R. Wickham, Cyril of Alexandria: Select Letters [OECT; Oxford: Clarendon, 1983], 37–38). Cyril had already invested considerable sums of money in bribes to imperial officials. He sent bribes to members of the court and church in Constantinople in order to persuade the emperor to reject Acacius's call to abandon Cyril's Twelve Anathemas (Duchesne, Early History of the Church, 3:261 n. 1; Collectio Casinensis 293 [203] and 294; see ACO 1.4.2:222ff.). An important bribe had been made to the eunuch Chryseros the praepositus sacri cubiculi, or chamberlain: two hundred pounds of gold and several pieces of furniture. This donation exhausted the treasury of the church in Alexandria (see Wickham, Cyril of Alexandria, 66 n. 8).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>680</sup> Acacius acquiesced to Cyril's argument for retaining his Twelve Anathemas. Along with Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Andrew of Samosata saw that

his stance and admitted Theodoret of Cyrrhus to be orthodox. <sup>681</sup> The account of the aftermath of the reunion that Hiba provides in his letter to Mari portrays Rabbula as one who was forced to give up the essential points of Cyril's Christology. <sup>682</sup> However, as Blum observes, Cyril's Christology was more sophisticated than the *mia physis* formula, flexible enough to be accurately expressed in other terminology that was acceptable to the Antiochene party, or at least to Theodoret of Cyrrhus, who was probably the architect of the Formula of Reunion. <sup>683</sup>

The terms of reunion were also acceptable to Andrew of Samosata. He was one of the first bishops to reconcile with Cyril (and Rabbula) following the compromise of January 433. Andrew wrote to Alexander of Hierapolis to persuade him to recognize the union. Andrew's argument was not persuasive, and it seems that Alexander saw Andrew as a traitor to the Antiochene cause. Andrew addressed a letter to Alexander that provides further evidence (albeit anecdotal) concerning Rabbula's strong position against the Antiochenes, placing him in the same group as Xystus of Rome, Cyril, and his supporters Maximian, "the Meletian" (i.e., Acacius of Melitene), and all the bishops of Pontus, those who, from the new christological formulation contained in the Letter of Union, had embraced (from Andrew's perspective) the true faith. This fact is also mentioned in the Breviarium of Liberatus.

Cyril's explanation of his anathemas had essentially vitiated their force. Moreover, it was not necessary that everyone condemn Nestorius if some had already done so. A discussion of the reception of Cyril's reply to Acacius is presented in Duchesne, *Early History of the Church*, 3:261.

- 681 J.-B. Chabot, Synodicon orientale, ou Recueil de synodes nestoriennes (Paris: Imprimérie Nationale, 1902), 167. Devreesse, "Début de la querelle des trois-chapitres," 548 n. 4, cites from this text.
  - <sup>682</sup> *ACO*, 2.1.3:34,2–25.
- <sup>683</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 181. On the role of Theodoret of Cyrhus in negotiating the Formula of Reunion, see Urbainczyk, *Theodoret of Cyrhus*, 25–26.
  - <sup>684</sup> *ACO* 1.4.2:136,30–137,18.
- $^{685}$  CPG 6382; ACO 1.4.2:139,6–33, here 139,19–20; text and translation below, ccxxxviii and 176–79. A bit further on in this letter (ll. 32–33) Andrew also indicates that Gemellina of Perrhe was a supporter of Rabbula.
- 686 Liberatus, *Breviarium* 10 ("On the Scandal of the Nestorians and Monks of Armenia") (ACO 2.5:110,19–113,32, here 110,28–111,5): sed ubi haec agnoverunt Acacius Melitiensis et Rabula Edessenae ciuitatis episcopus, de quo

Another opponent of Nestorius and an ally of Rabbula, Gemellina, a suffragan bishop of Alexander's in the city of Perrhe, also came to recognize the two natures of Christ and the impassibility of God, which were the two most important aspects of the Antiochene position. Although there are no writings of Gemellina of Perrhe that survive, Andrew composed a second letter to Alexander, who remained opposed to the reunion, and this letter must have been written after Gemellina had declared openly his acceptance of the Formula of Reunion. In his second letter to Alexander, Andrew attempts to convince him that the Christology that Cyril has expressed in his letter of April 12, 431, in which he accepts the terms of reunion, is indeed an orthodox one, and that he will therefore reestablish communion with Gemellina and Rabbula. In a letter to Theodoret, Alexander states that Nestorius has come to hear of the reunion and mentions that Rabbula, who has been calling

Ibas successor eius in epistola sua dicit: hunc praesumpsit, qui omnia praesumit, aperte in ecclesia anathematizare, scilicet de Theodoro Mompsuesteno superius loquens, scripserunt Armeniae episcopis ne Theodori Mompsuesteni libros susciperent tamquam haeretici et auctoris dogmatis Nestoriani, insimulantibus episcopis Ciliciae Rabulam et Acacium quod hoc non ex caritate, sed ex aemulatione atque contentione fecissent. Congregati sunt ergo in unum uenerabiles Armeniae episcopi et miserunt duos presbyteros Leontium et Abelium ad Proclum Constantinopolitanum episcopum secundum morem cum libellis suis et uno uolumine Theodori Mompsuesteni, scire uolentes utrum doctrina Theodori an Rabulae et Acacii uera esse probaretur; "But where Acacius of Melitene and Rabbula, the bishop of the city of Edessa, recognized this, concerning which Hiba [Rabbula's] successor said in his letter [to Mari], he presumed, who presumes all things, to openly anathematize it in the church, namely, [the teaching] of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the better speaker, they wrote to the bishops of Armenia that they should not accept the books of Theodore of Mopsuestia, as [he is] a heretic, and the author [behind] the teachings of Nestorius, the accused bishops of Cilicia Rabbula and Acacius, that they did this not out of love, but out of rivalry and competition. Thus the honorable bishops of Armenia assembled together and sent two priests, Leontius and Abelius, to Proclus the bishop of Constantinople, according to custom, with their petitions and with a volume of Theodore of Mopsuestia, wanting to know whether the doctrine of Theodore or [that] of Rabbula and Acacius was considered to be true." A variant passage to this one is found in the Letter of Innocent, bishop of Maron, "concerning those who hesitate to confess our Lord Jesus Christ [to be] one of the Trinity or one substance or one person" (ACO 4.2:68,3–96,22, here 68,14–23) (our translation).

<sup>687</sup> Alexander of Hierapolis, *Letter to Theodoret (Collectio Casinensis)* (ACO 1.4.2:136,22–23); see Blum, *Rabbula*, 182 n. 9.

<sup>688</sup> ACO 1.4.2:139; Blum, Rabbula, 182.

Nestorius a heretic, has accepted its terms. <sup>689</sup> Alexander remained a supporter of Nestorius and rejected the Formula of Reunion. Along with the other bishops who remained opposed to a compromise with Cyril, Alexander formed the nucleus of an anti-Ephesian church that maintained a strict interpretation of the decrees of the Councils of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381) and that upheld the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The leadership of the opposition to Ephesus was centered on and around the school of exegesis and theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia that came to be known as the "School of the Persians" in Edessa. After Emperor Zeno closed this school in 487, the anti-Ephesian leadership established itself in Persia. Out of reach of the Roman authorities, these bishops and their successors gave to the church in Persia its definitive christological and theological orientation, which became the bedrock of the Church of the East. <sup>690</sup>

## 1.9.4. Rabbula and the Armenian Church

Rabbula took the struggle against Theodore of Mopsuestia into Armenia in 432. <sup>691</sup> This date is based on the dating of a letter from Acacius of Melitene to Sahak, the Catholicos of the Armenians. <sup>692</sup> Acacius placed Theodore in the same company as Nestorius and blamed the Antiochene theologians for promoting false exegesis. These thoughts are quite similar to what one may find in Rabbula's letter to Cyril. <sup>693</sup> Although there is no extant correspondence to or from Rabbula after 433, letters from the Armenian bishops in Persia clearly indicate that Theodore's writings had become known and were being distributed there. Theodore's works in Armenian translation began to circulate sometime after

 $<sup>^{689}\</sup> ACO$  1.4.2:187. For remarks on this letter, see Blum, Rabbula, 182 n. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>690</sup> See Wilhelm Baum and Dietmar Winkler, *The Church of the East: A Concise History* (London: Routledge-Curzon, 2003), 30–32.

Rammelt, Ibas von Edessa, 140-43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>692</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 183. Gabriele Winkler, "Die spätere Überarbeitung der armenischen Quellen zu den Ereignissen der Jahre vor bis nach dem Ephesinum," *OrChr* 70 (1986): 159, dates this letter to 433; see the discussion in Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>693</sup> Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 140, and see V. Inglisian, "Die Beziehungen des Patriarchen Proklus von Konstantinopel und des Bischofs Akakios von Melitene zu Armenien," *OrChr* 41 (1957): 40–42.

From Cyril's reply to Rabbula's letter it may be inferred that Rabbula's arguments against Theodore had been received well beyond the province of Osrhoene: "Because you have become so illustrious and have reassured through your wise teaching both those who are under your authority as well as those who dwell in other cities and places; and you have illuminated also not only those who are near to Your Holiness but those who are far off." Along with Acacius of Melitene, metropolitan of the Roman province of Armenia and another fierce opponent of Theodore's and Antiochene Christology, Rabbula had written against Theodore at least in one, perhaps in several, letters. Babbula had corresponded with Acacius already in 432.

The relationship between Armenia and Syriac-speaking Syria and Mesopotamia was a close one. <sup>697</sup> Rabbula was bishop in Edessa during a formative period in the Armenian Church, a time when Armenian scholars set off for Edessa, Constantinople, and other centers of Christian learning in order to translate Syriac

<sup>697</sup> Winkler, "Spätere Überarbeitung," 143–59, gives a historical presentation of the Armenian-Syrian history; see also Josef Rist, "Proklos von Konstantinopel und sein *Tomus ad Armenios*: Untersuchungen zu Leben und Wirken eines konstantinopolitanischen Bischofs des V. Jahrhunderts" (Th.D. thesis, University of Würzburg, 1993), 166–85; and Nicholas Constas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity: Homilies 1–5, Texts and Translations* (VCSup 66; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), 92–104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>694</sup> Devreesse, "Début de la querelle des trois-chapitres," 549.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>695</sup> See below, 136–37.

<sup>696</sup> Rabbula could have won over to his attack against Theodore Acacius of Melitene, an implacable advocate of one-nature Christology. As evidence for this one considers the letter of Acacius of Melitene to Cyril concerning the peace between the Alexandrians and the Orientals, a letter composed soon after the Formula of Reunion was accepted. See ACO 1.4.2:118,15–119,3, and see also the letter of Andrew of Samosata to Alexander of Hierapolis, text and translation below, 172–75. However, this evidence is suspect. Devreesse, "Début de la querelle des trois-chapitres," 548 n. 7, discusses the possibility that along with Nestorius's name that of Theodore was inserted at a later date both in Acacius's letter (ACO 1.4.2:118,29) and in the law of August 3, 435, in which Theodosius II condemned Nestorius and sentenced his supporters and those writing against the Council of Ephesus to be burned alive in the public square. See Cod. Theod. 16.5.66 (Krueger and Mommsen, 879–80; Magnou-Nortier, 296–99). The critical apparatus does not mention any manuscript that witnesses to the name Theodore occurring in this law.

and Greek authors into Armenian, employing the recently devised alphabet. <sup>698</sup> There is some evidence that Hiba (or someone of the School of the Persians in Edessa) translated Theodore's writings into Armenian and then sent them abroad to Persian Armenia. <sup>699</sup> To be sure, although Rabbula banished Hiba from Edessa, there is no evidence that Hiba went to Armenia. <sup>700</sup> Rabbula's motive was to start an anti-Antiochene movement in Armenia. <sup>701</sup>

Since the theology of the School of the Persians in Edessa strongly influenced the Armenian Church in Persia, Rabbula was able to exercise influence on the Armenian bishops in Persia only indirectly, through Acacius of Melitene as the metropolitan bishop of Roman Armenia. <sup>702</sup> Acacius had been a strong opponent

698 See R. Grousset, Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071 (Paris: Payot, 1947), 121; Paul Peeters, "Pour l'histoire des origines de l'alphabet Arménien," in Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie Orientales (Subsidia Hagiographica 27; Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1951), 177–207; Arthur Vööbus, "La première traduction arménienne des évangiles," RSR 9 (1950): 581–86; and Bruce M. Metzger, The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 153–81. On the Old Syriac as the basis for the Armenian translation, see Arthur Vööbus, Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac (CSCO 128; Leuven: L. Durbecq, 1951), 144; on the School of the Armenians in Edessa, see p. 146. See also Blum, Rabbula, 183 n. 1.

<sup>699</sup> The only evidence for an Armenian translation has been given in Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:644, which provides the notice to MS BL Add 12156: "Then the godless Hiba translated the godless writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and sent [them] to Armenia to be copied." On the Syriac translation of Theodore's work, see Blum, *Rabbula*, 171–72. That there was an Armenian translation of Theodore's *On the Incarnation* specifically has been claimed by K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London: SPCK, 1965), 132–34, although there is no evidence to this effect, as Blum, *Rabbula*, 183 n. 2, has noted.

<sup>700</sup> Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 144-45.

<sup>701</sup> Ibid., 142; see Blum, *Rabbula*, 183; Inglisian, "Beziehungen," 48 et passim.

Mesrop Maštots' seems to have known Acacius personally, or at least seems to have trusted him enough to send students of his to Acacius for instruction. See Koriwn, *Life of Mesrop Maštots'* (Akinian, 14.2, 38.16–20; Winkler, 106–7). See also a report concerning Mesrop Maštots' found in the work of Eznik Koghbats'i (of Kołb), "Grigor Part'ewi kam S. Maštoc'i veragruac 'Harc'um' ew Eznik Kołbac'i," *Handes Amsorya* 85 (1971): 355–70, 463–82; 86 (1972): 73–94, 199–212, 347–54, 439–62; and 87 (1973): 51–60. See also Blum, *Rabbula*, 183.

of Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus and at the meeting of the Antiochene and Alexandrian parties in Chalcedon that Theodosius II had summoned on September 11, 431. <sup>703</sup> Acacius's letter to Sahak shows the influence of Rabbula's critique of Theodore, <sup>704</sup> even to the point that Rabbula caused Acacius to write this letter concerning the dangers of Theodore's Christology. <sup>705</sup> Sahak's reply to Acacius was cautious. He was not aware of any such conflict, and, not seeing among his bishops the teaching that Acacius had

<sup>703</sup> Acacius was bishop before 431 and died before 449. He was present at the colloquy between the emperor, Alexandrian bishops, and Antiochene bishops to resolve the schism between John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria. See Wickham, Cyril of Alexandria, 34 n. 1; and Blum, Rabbula, 183-84. On the meeting at Chalcedon, see E. Schwartz, Neue Aktenstücke zum ephesinischen Konzil von 431 (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1920), 65-66 (cf. ACO, 1.1.7:151-52; Latin translation: ACO 1.4.2:115,7-117,7 [the first letter of John of Antioch to Cyril after the schism at Ephesus]; McEnerney, FC 77:184-87). That meeting at Chalcedon was a defeat for the Oriental bishops. Nestorius was definitively replaced by Maximian on October 25, 431, and Cyril, who also was on trial at Ephesus, was permitted to remain bishop of Alexandria (Devreesse, "Début de la querelle des trois-chapitres," 544). According to Hiba, when the bishops returned to their dioceses following the meeting at Chalcedon in 431 the situation resulted in a breakdown of church order at best and a disintegration of the administration of the imperial provinces Asia and Oriens at worst. Hiba reported that there were strong divisions within the cities of the East and that certain bishops used these divisions, on the pretext of concern for the church, to move against their rivals and enemies. Here Hiba indicts Rabbula, "the tyrant of our city" (Hiba, Letter to Mari [Schwartz, ACO] 2.1.3:32-34, here 33,26 (Gk.); Doran, Stewards, 169-73, here 171: "tyrant of our metropolis"]; see also Devreesse, "Début de la querelle des trois-chapitres," 545). This charge is mentioned also in the letter of the Synod of the Orientals to Rabbula. Soon after October 431 Rabbula must have abandoned John of Antioch and his opposition of Cyril. Hiba reports that upon Rabbula's return to Edessa, Rabbula abandoned John of Antioch and became a staunch defender of Cyril. Hiba states that Rabbula exercised physical coercion against those who did not agree with Cyril and did not confess one nature of Christ after the incarnation, a charge that is confirmed by Andrew of Samosata's letter to Alexander of Hierapolis (ACO 4.1:86,25-87,6). See also Devreesse, "Début de la querelle des trois-chapitres," 545.

<sup>704</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 184.

Total Tbid.; see Sarkissian, Council of Chalcedon, 230–31, for a discussion of the sources on this point. Rammelt, Ibas von Edessa, 140–41, also examines the evidence and argues against the position of Winkler, "Spätere Überarbeitung," 165.

imputed to Theodore, he declined to take immediate action.<sup>706</sup> Acacius then tried to rouse the feudal lords of Persian Armenia, the *nakharark* ', to action against Theodore.<sup>707</sup>

Rabbula's considerable influence in this attempt to persuade the Armenian bishops to act against Theodore is evident in their hesitant letter addressed to Proclus, the bishop of Constantinople, in 434. This letter was a reply to a letter addressed to him by two Armenian priests, Leontius and Abelius. In it they mention that Rabbula and Acacius have warned them concerning the writings of Theodore and Nestorius. They also report that individuals from Cilicia who came to spread the writings of Theodore stated that Rabbula rejected the writings of Theodore out of spite.

Proclus replied to their letter with the *Tome to the Armenians*. 711 The original letter does not mention Theodore and

<sup>706</sup> Sahak, *Letter to Acacius* (Ismireants', 16–18; Tallon, 34–38); see also Blum, *Rabbula*, 185.

<sup>707</sup> Acacius, Letters in Armenian (Ismireants', 19–21; Tallon, 39–44). See Blum, Rabbula, 186–87, for details regarding the background of this phase of Acacius's correspondence. On the system of nakharark', see Nicholas Adontz, Armenia in the Period of Justinian: The Political Conditions Based on the Naxarar System (trans. Nina G. Garsoïan; Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1970).

708 For a reconstruction of the history prior to this exchange of letters, see Schwartz, *Konzilstudien*, 24–25; Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore*, 125–26; idem, "Début de la querelle des trois-chapitres," 543–65; and Luise Abramowski, "Der Streit um Diodor und Theodor zwischen den beiden ephesinischen Konzilien," *ZKG* 67 (1955–1956): 252–87. Blum, *Rabbula*, 187–95, provides a summary of the debate concerning Theodore and the reception of the acts of the Council of Ephesus in Armenia. See also Peter Bruns, *Den Menschen mit dem Himmel verbinden: Eine Studie zu den katechetischen Homilien des Theodor von Mopsuestia* (CSCO 549; Subsidia 89; Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 248.

<sup>709</sup> The Syriac text is edited by François Nau, Paul Bedjan, and Maurice Brière, *Nestorius: Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1910), 594–96; the back translation into Greek appears in *ACO* 4.2:27–28. For the origins of these priests, see Inglisian, "Beziehungen," 37–38.

For the German translation of this passage, see Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 141; the text is in Inglisian, "Beziehungen," 36.

711 The Armenian text of this letter is in the Girk' T'ght'ots', or Book of Letters. The Girk' T'ght'ots' has not yet been edited in its entirety. This letter has been published in I. Ismireants', Girk' T'ght'ots' (Sahak Mesropean Matenadaran V; Tiflis: Tkaran T. Rōtineants' ew M. Šaramē, 1901), 1–8. For a French translation with introduction, see Maurice Tallon, Livre des Lettres (Girk T'lt'oc): Documents arméniens du ve siècle; Premier Groupe (Beirut:

maintains a moderate Cyrillian position.<sup>712</sup> The Armenian translation of the *Tome to the Armenians* takes a harder line against Theodore. This may be due to the fact that it was rendered from a redacted Greek text, or it may reflect the input of the Armenian translator.<sup>713</sup> It is also possible that the present Armenian version was redacted after it was translated from Greek. As to the translator, Blum sees the deacon Basilius or Acacius as the editor of the Greek text.<sup>714</sup> Gabriele Winkler maintains that originally the heresy was about Nestorius and that mention of Theodore in the Armenian translation was a later interpolation.<sup>715</sup>

In the years following Rabbula's death, his legacy exerted considerable influence among Cyril's defenders and Hiba's opponents. Rabbula's name occurs several times in the acts of the Synod of Ephesus in 449 (the so-called Robber Synod) in short prayers that reportedly were shouted in reaction to Hiba's testimony (e.g., "Mar Rabbula, pray for us!"). The Although Rabbula had not always grasped the full theological implications of the christological arguments that filled the air in 428–433, he had been keen to see a way to advance his attack against Theodore of Mopsuestia, which would bear fruit in Theodore's condemnation at the Council of Constantinople in 553.

With the Formula of Reunion, the schism between Cyril and John of Antioch had come to an end, and the Patriarchate of Antioch was once more united. However, there was hardly an agreement among the bishops of the Orient. Several bishops protested that John had signed too quickly. This party thought that John had agreed too easily to the deposition of Nestorius, which implied that Cyril and the Council of Ephesus had rightly

Imprimerie Catholique, 1955), 29–44. A Latin translation of this letter by B. Mercier is found in M. Richard, "Acace de Mélitène, Proclus de Constantinople et la Grande Arménie," in *Mémorial Louis Petit: Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (ed. Institut Français d'Études Byzantines; Archives de l'Orient Chrétien 1; Bucharest: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1948), 393–412. For an overview of the circumstances of this letter, see Frend, *Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, 311–12.

<sup>712</sup> Rammelt, Ibas von Edessa, 142.

<sup>713</sup> Ibid

<sup>714</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>715</sup> Winkler, "Spätere Überarbeitung," 167–70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>716</sup> Flemming, Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449, 19, 21, 27.

labeled them schismatics for supporting Nestorius. The bishops of Euphratensia were at the heart of this opposition, led by their metropolitan bishop, Alexander of Hierapolis. Acacius of Melitene and Rabbula of Edessa, the supporters of the reunion and of Cyril, were able to convince some of the bishops of Euphratensia, among them Andrew of Samosata, whose correspondence with Rabbula is partially preserved in Syriac. Thus, Rabbula seems to have played a major role as a supporter of Cyril. It is impossible to ascertain whether Rabbula also supported John of Antioch and the compromise represented by the letter of reunion of 433. In any event, it seems that Rabbula was one of the first bishops of the Antiochene church to place himself in communion with Cyril, even if not from the very first moment.

There have been several hypotheses as to why Rabbula adopted Cyril's position. One must set aside his encomiast's declaration that Rabbula has defended the church against the error of Nestorius. Also, the reason in Hiba's *Letter to Mari*, echoed in the letter of Leontius and Abelius to Proclus of Constantinople, that Rabbula hated Theodore, must be rejected. To date, three alternative positions have been formulated. First, Blum maintains that Rabbula's opposition to Theodore was a conflict between two individuals and that the ideological differences were merely tools in that conflict. Second, Kohlbacher has refined this position, stating that Rabbula adopted Cyril's Christology as an effective means of opposing not Theodore himself but rather the School of the Persians and its leader, Hiba of Edessa.

The third hypothesis comes from Claudia Rammelt. In reviewing the evidence and earlier arguments, she sees a complex of circumstances leading to Rabbula's adoption of a Cyrillian position, in which Rabbula's conflict with Hiba, along with the common monastic culture of Rabbula and Cyril, led to a powerful synthesis. 723 There were other bishops who were once Antiochene

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>717</sup> See Duchesne, Early History of the Church, 3:265.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>718</sup> See below, ccxxxiv-ccxl.

<sup>719</sup> Rammelt, Ibas von Edessa, 119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>720</sup> This synopsis is taken from ibid., 118–20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>721</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 167; and Rammelt, Ibas von Edessa, 121 n. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>722</sup> Kohlbacher, "Rabbula *in* Edessa," 241.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>723</sup> Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 122.

in orientation, but who later sided with Cyril, among them being the above-mentioned Acacius of Melitene. Rammelt suggests that Rabbula's strong monastic credentials and his strong personality in a bishopric of considerable influence at the edge of the Roman Empire made him attractive to Cyril's party. This implies that Rabbula was courted by the Cyrillians first rather than having sought them out himself. It also suggests that the conflict between Rabbula and the school in Edessa and Hiba, on the one hand, and the support Rabbula received from monastics in Egypt, on the other, were related factors in igniting the conflict in Edessa and Armenia after 433.

#### I.IO. THE POOR AND RABBULA THE BENEFACTOR

The *Life of Rabbula* presents its subject as a great benefactor to the poor and infirm of Edessa. <sup>726</sup> The portrait of Rabbula as a benefactor rests on both Old and New Testament typology. The summary of his virtues in the domain of charitable activity offers that he "embodied the works of the law in his person." This recourse to Old Testament types is a significant literary device that conveys other aspects of Rabbula's character, particularly as a fighter against heresy. Rabbula's charity also is spoken of as a type of the divine mercy<sup>728</sup> and as another form of expression of

 $<sup>^{724}</sup>$  Ibid., 121; and citation of G. Cuogno, "Acacio de Melitene," Aug 35 (1995): 815–30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>725</sup> Rammelt, *Ibas von Edessa*, 120.

Ashbrook Harvey, "The Holy and the Poor: Models from Early Syriac Christianity," in *Through the Eye of a Needle: Judeo-Christian Roots of Social Welfare* (ed. Emily Albu Hanawalt and Carter Lindberg; Kirksville, Mo.: Thomas Jefferson University Press at Northeast Missouri State University, 1994), 43–66. For further discussion of Rabbula's activities on behalf of the poor, see Han J. W. Drijvers, "The Man of God of Edessa, Bishop Rabbula, and the Urban Poor: Church and Society in the Fifth Century," *JECS* 4 (1996): 235–48; and idem, "The Man of God of Edessa, Bishop Rabbula, and the Urban Poor," in *Media latinitas: A Collection of Essays to Mark the Occasion of the Retirement of L. J. Engels* (ed. Renée I. A. Nip et al.; Instrumenta Patristica 28; Turnhout: Brepols; Steenbrugis: In Abbatia S. Petri, 1996), 205–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>727</sup> See *Rab.* 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>728</sup> See *Rab.* 42, 52.

the manifold *imitatio Christi* he displays: the bishop carries the commandments of his Lord as a living example of imitation in his soul. <sup>729</sup> As Blum puts it, Rabbula's embodiment of the law was "not the basis of his righteousness before God, but rather an expression of the quickening activity of the merciful God." <sup>730</sup> The hagiographer includes in his portrait of his hero a reference to the faithful steward (Matt 25:21), which serves as a model prefiguring Rabbula as the wise administrator of the material goods at his disposal. <sup>731</sup>

The Life of Rabbula states that the money donated to the church belongs to the poor. The poor are not kept alive by the clergy, as these are merely the distributors of the divine treasury set aside for "the orphans, the widows, and the needy"; the church inherits the money for them from the faithful. 732 Similar admonitions occur in other canonical collections from the fourth century. 733 Not to distribute the money to the needy not only would harm them but would do damage to the clergy as well: "As for us, the leaders, we are permitted to use from it an amount just [enough] for the body's need just like the rest of the poor, as though according to the just sentence [of God], and not according to the will of our body, which desires anything that harms our spirit."734 As mentioned above, the goal of Rabbula's asceticism is not only to free himself from what distracts the mind from contemplation but to reach the status of the poor, as these are the ones who will be certain of God's mercy. 735

This attitude is also reflected in the portrait of Rabbula as a church builder whose emphasis is not the physical buildings: he refuses to build anything except half the wall of the north side of the church, which has been damaged and which he repairs in just a few days. Rather, Rabbula builds institutions to care for the poor. His encomiast describes the reform of the *xenodocheia* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>729</sup> See *Rab.* 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>730</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>731</sup> See *Rab.* 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>732</sup> Rab. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>733</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>734</sup> Rab. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>735</sup> See above, cxv-cxvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>736</sup> Rab. 38.

and the deaconesses whom Rabbula appoints for the service of the sick. Also described in some detail are the deacons and sons of the covenant who are assigned to care for the poor living on the outskirts of the city. Already in the mid-fourth century the *xenodocheion* had become an institution of the church. Emperor Constantius provided funds from his treasury for the poor, the homeless, the widows, and the foreigners. The popularity of the *xenodocheia* among Christian bishops was reflected in part in Emperor Julian's drive to take the initiative for this service from the Christian church and appropriate it to his parallel organization of classical religion. 738

The hagiographer mentions that on his deathbed Rabbula distributes a blessing to each member of the clergy equally. This may also be seen as an attempt to gain the moral high ground in the conflict with ecclesiastical opponents, demonstrating that Rabbula is not motivated by party spirit with regard to the allegiances among the clergy of Edessa. In this aspect of Rabbula's portrait one discovers a complex of ascetic practice and an attempt to burnish Rabbula's character in the wake of the charges (well founded or not) from his opponents.

Rabbula's concern extends to those who live the ascetic ideal: the ascetics, the holy poor "dwelling in hope of the grace of God," are given special importance by his encomiast. Rabbula sends money to the monks in the desert of Jerusalem, and thus his hagiographer depicts him as a second Paul, assembling money for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>737</sup> Rab. 50-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>738</sup> Ewald Kislinger, "Kaiser Julian und die (christlichen) Xenodocheia," *Bυζάντιος: Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. W. Hörander et al.; Vienna: Ernst Becvar, 1984), 173. The evidence for Constantius's largesse comes from the *Chronicon Pascale* (Dindorf, 545,1–5; Whitby and Whitby, 35 [see also p. 30]). To be sure, there was a precedent for such hospitality and care for strangers in classical Greco-Roman religion upon which Julian could draw (Kislinger, "Kaiser Julian," 173–74). The establishment of *xenodocheia* in Syria seems to have arrived later than farther west. In the later part of the fourth century, Acacius of Beroea witnessed to the practice of foreigners staying in the house of the local magistrate or bishop. See Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* VII.28, 1–2 (Bidez and Hansen, 344,5–11; Hartranft, 396). See also Kislinger, "Kaiser Julian," 175 n. 29.

 $<sup>^{739}</sup>$  Rabbula gave monetary gifts to all members of the clergy in equal measure. See Rab. 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>740</sup> Rab. 54; see also Blum, Rabbula, 71.

the poor in Jerusalem. Consequently Rabbula emerges in this narrative as a universal apostle, a figure of authority grounded in asceticism and spiritual wisdom whose concern for Christians knows no parochial boundary. He continues to send money through his deacons in all directions each year, and especially near the time of his death. This aspect of Rabbula's distribution of money to the poor as an imitation of Paul intersects with the hagiographer's portrait of the saint as having an episcopal authority that spiritually derives from the holy Apostle Paul himself, not from the succession of bishops.

Although the aspect of "benefactor" occupies a large section of the *Life of Rabbula*, it serves the narrow purpose of demonstrating Rabbula's ascetic mastery: "Having fulfilled his entire good will and having completed his entire virtuous desire, he saw that he had risen above the world and its impediments and had made light of evil and its flatteries. He also reproved the body and its enticements." The hagiographer takes care to record some details of Rabbula's charitable work, but only insofar as these demonstrate the strength of his practical asceticism.

#### I.II. RABBULA AND CHURCH REFORM IN EDESSA

Rabbula's ascetic mastery, clear to all through his radical distribution of the church's wealth to the poor, did not come without political tension. The encomiast implies that this was a new orientation for the church in Edessa, to which there was much opposition from the clergy. As the hagiographer presents the situation, the redistribution of the church's wealth was accompanied by the dismantling of a culture of class repression on the part of the rich. Rabbula the ascetic could give to the poor; Rabbula the bishop could command others to do likewise and rein in the excesses of the powerful of his city.

The elements of Rabbula's portrait as one who reformed and administered social justice reflect two aspects of the Edessene

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>741</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>742</sup> See *Rab.* 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>743</sup> See above, cxv-cxvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>744</sup> See *Rab.* 54.

church. The first involves the impact of asceticism, and particularly the emergence of anchoritic asceticism in the late fourth century. Closely connected with this impulse was a movement toward reform of the church. The best-known example of the monk-bishop as a reformer in the early church is John Chrysostom. The elements of Rabbula's Christian piety and reform, the principles of which were based on ascetic values and praxis, bear some resemblance to the reforms that John Chrysostom attempted in Constantinople. 745 Chrysostom tried to convince the more affluent members of his metropolis to contribute money to the care of the poor that formed the central mission of the social engagement of the church. For Rabbula, preaching repentance was closely associated with the exhortation to show the fruits of repentance through charitable work. The hagiographer has gone to great lengths to demonstrate that Rabbula's exhortation was grounded in his own praxis and thus was far from hypocrisy. Two episodes in particular address the matter of the hypocrisy of bishops. Both are presented as inner monologues, devices of verisimilitude by which Rabbula reflects on the options presented to him, and which provide examples to the audience of his clear moral reasoning. The first such instance is Rabbula's acceptance of the office of bishop of Edessa. 746 The second instance consists of a description of Rabbula's careful acceptance of gifts from the nobility of Constantinople on the occasion of the homily he delivers there. The danger inherent in taking money from the wealthy, even if these funds are turned over to the use of the poor, is a dependence on those who are powerful, a constellation that runs the risk of leading to the church's loss of moral independence. Rabbula acts so as not to pawn his nobility (that is, his moral authority) but still so that the poor of Edessa will benefit from his sermon delivered before the wealthy nobility of the imperial capital. 747 It is quite possible that the hagiographer has tried to make the most of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>745</sup> Kohlbacher, "Rabbula in Edessa," 235–36, provides a brief overview of the points of similarity between the depiction of Rabbula in the *Life of Rabbula* and Chrysostom's reform. For a recent discussion of Chrysostom, see Claudia Tiersch, *Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel* (398–404): Weltsicht und Wirken eines Bischofs in der Hauptstadt des Oströmschen Reiches (STAC 6; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>746</sup> See *Rab.* 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>747</sup> See *Rab.* 46.

Rabbula's presence in Constantinople in order to draw the reader's attention to Rabbula's qualities that he shares with John Chrysostom.

The encomiast presents extensive details concerning Rabbula as a judge and legislator whose rule serves to defend the powerless from the nobility of the city. 748 The function of the bishop as a judge in ecclesiastical affairs seems to have come at the expense of civil authority, including areas of civil and criminal jurisdiction. With respect to violations of ecclesiastical canons, the bishop could impose penalties that included penance in a monastery<sup>749</sup> or excommunication. Yet the separation between the "worldly" and the "spiritual" domains of law remained fixed. Several canons state that clergy, especially monks, are not permitted to initiate lawsuits or serve as witnesses in criminal or civil proceedings. 750 The hagiographer presents Rabbula as a mediator of disputes whose word is able to reconcile litigants without recourse to civil courts. 751 However, Rabbula also possesses real power: he bans the viewing of animal shows in the stadium and also seems to have restrained soldiers from taking advantage of workers and peasants, and especially of monks. 752

Not only is Rabbula able to cast out the demons that cause illness. Humans also fear him, so much so that reference to his intercession through prayer is enough to resolve disputes. The encomiast records in some detail Rabbula's strong defense of the poor against those who would extort money from the poor using their positions of power, "from among those who used to take refuge in the noble houses of those holding power in order to do evil." It is only in this section of the manuscript that the text is damaged, so that the depiction of Rabbula's zeal against unjust judges and those among the powerful bringing a false accusation cannot be described. The section of the manuscript that the depiction of the manuscript that the text is damaged, so that the depiction of Rabbula's zeal against unjust judges and those among the powerful bringing a false accusation cannot be described.

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<sup>748</sup> Rab. 34–37.
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<sup>749</sup> See below, Commandments, 29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>750</sup> See below, Admonitions 15; Commandments 26 and 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>751</sup> See *Rab.* 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>752</sup> See *Rab.* 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>753</sup> Rab. 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>754</sup> Rab. 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>755</sup> Rab. 36.

Lurking behind this portrait may also be a motive of commenting on the religious temperament of Edessa's elite. The encomiast implies that the teaching of Bardaisan was endemic to the thoughts of the ruling classes of the early fifth century. This suggestion is difficult to assess given the absence of other data. However, the conflict between Hiba and Rabbula does suggest that Hiba was supported by many of the wealthy members of the city; one may speculate within reason that operations of the school in Edessa were funded in large measure through charitable donations. The attack against Bardaisan and Rabbula's control of the activities of the wealthy were a two-pronged complementary attack that had as a collateral effect the weakening of his ideological opponents.

Closely associated in the Life of Rabbula with criminal law is Rabbula's regulation of marriage and sexual violence against female ascetics. Rabbula forbids divorce and also seems to imply that the rape of female ascetics is not unknown. 756 Rabbula's example moreover extends to the "informal law" of the virtues of humility and moderation.<sup>757</sup> The portrait of Rabbula's reforms extends to every aspect of society, from the temptations that occur within a human being to the good order of society predicated on the use of money to alleviate suffering and the use of power to control the lawless. The encomiast calls him a second Moses, but a second Plato would also be apt; both figures are associated with the ideal regulation of society. Future study of Rabbula might situate the vita more fully in the context of late antique political philosophy. It may be mentioned that Rabbula shared another important feature with Plato's philosopher-king: both are qualified for reasons *not* based on legislative or administrative experience but on the qualities of the soul.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>756</sup> Rab. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>757</sup> Rab. 37.

#### I.I2. RABBULA AND THE STRUCTURES OF THE CHURCH IN EDESSA

Details of the life of the church in Edessa emerge from the section of the *Life of Rabbula* that presents Rabbula as a wise administrator of his clergy. The administration of the church is his first priority. The hagiographer states that in his first sermon as bishop, upon his enthronement, Rabbula "manifested first of all his exceeding care for the glorious regulations of the service of the church." Austerity and charity are his guiding principles of church governance. As with many other facets of the hagiographer's portrait of Rabbula's actions, Rabbula's concern for the good order of the church reflects the moral example of the Old Testament. In this case, the concern of the priests of the Christian church has to exceed even the care embodied in the detailed observances of the law concerning the Tent of Meeting of the Israelites in the wilderness.

In the *Life of Rabbula* and in the canonical collections attributed to Rabbula, the dominant metaphor that is used for the organization of the church is that of the family. The is difficult to determine the extent to which this terminology of family language describing the relationship between Rabbula and his clergy reflects the reality of church administration. Although Rabbula may have used physical violence against his clergy, such behavior also is portrayed in terms of a father reprimanding his children. The hagiographer this reflects positive aspects of Rabbula's characterization, which suggests that also his audience understood corporal punishment as part of good childrearing and good family management. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that Rabbula's

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<sup>758</sup> See Rab. 19–24.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>759</sup> See *Rab.* 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>760</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>761</sup> Exod 27:21 et passim. See Rab. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>762</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 56–57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>763</sup> See *Rab.* 19. For a discussion, see Blum, *Rabbula*, 54–55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>764</sup> On the role of corporal punishment in ancient Christian childrearing and education and its larger context of domestic violence, see, for example, Richard Saller, "Corporal Punishment, Authority, Obedience in the Roman Household," in *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome* (ed. Beryl Rawson; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 144–65; Theodore S. DeBruyn,

successor and opponent, Hiba, owed some of his success with members of the clergy who may have been closer to Rabbula theologically to a certain amount of dissatisfaction on the part of those clerics who might have perceived Rabbula as having acted too harshly. <sup>765</sup>

### 1.12.1. Ranks of the Clergy

The ranks of the clergy found in Edessa can be sketched out in some detail on the basis of the Rabbula Corpus presented in this volume. Blum concludes that there were eighteen churches in Edessa and perhaps sixty to eighty members of the clergy. The Besides the bishop and the office of the abbot, the Rabbula Corpus mentions the *periodeutai*, chorbishops, priests, deacons, deaconesses, and the sons and daughters of the covenant. Although the exact duties of each of these groups cannot be determined, their places in the church hierarchy as well as their general functions can be deduced with the help of other sources.

"Flogging a Son: The Emergence of the pater flagellans in Latin Christian Discourse," JECS 7.2 (1999): 249–90; Raffaella Cribiore, Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 65–73; John T. Fitzgerald, "Early Christian Missionary Practice and Pagan Reaction: I Peter and Domestic Violence against Slaves and Wives," in Renewing Tradition: Studies in Texts and Contexts in Honor of James W. Thompson (ed. M. W. Hamilton, T. H. Olbricht, and J. Peterson; Eugene, Ore.: Pickwick, 2007), 24–44; Christian Laes, Kinderen bij de Romeinen: Zes eeuwen dagelijks leven (Leuven: Uitgeverij Davidsfond, 2006), 123–31; John T. Fitzgerald, "Proverbs 3:11–12, Hebrews 12:5–6, and the Tradition of Corporal Punishment," in Scripture and Traditions: Essays on Early Judaism and Christianity (ed. G. O'Day and P. Gray; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 291–317; and Horn and Martens, "Let the Little Children Come to Me," 30–32, 82, 128, 142, 149, 152, 192, 221, 233.

<sup>765</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 54–55, discusses the accusation of violence raised against Rabbula as well as Theodore of Mopsuestia's rebuke of Rabbula as only being a pretext for theological disagreements. Yet there is no doubt that one can understand the relationship between dogma and personality also the other way around.

<sup>766</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 43 n. 5, arrives at the figure of eighteen *xenodocheia* from the notice that there were eighteen assemblies of deaconesses, one in each of the forecourts of the churches in Edessa (see below, 81). His figure of sixty to eighty clerics also is a guess.

First in rank after the bishop are the periodeutai, who probably were functionally identical with chorbishops. 767 The collection of the Commandments and Admonitions for the Priests and the Children of the Covenant attributed to Rabbula contains several pieces of legislation concerning the periodeutes. 768 From other sources it is known that the function of the periodeutes in Syria, as elsewhere, was to assist the bishop in the oversight of monasteries and in the administration of the church. The name periodeutes, meaning "wanderer," suggests a member of the clergy who was not assigned to a specific parish but who traveled from church to church when needed. In Syria in the late fourth century the importance of the chorbishop grew primarily due to the expansion of the Christian population, the increase in the number of monasteries, and the construction of new churches. 769 Canons attributed to Rabbula indicate that the periodeutai in Edessa were celibate. 770 If so, this practice would be consistent with the powerful influence of monks at the imperial court: by the end of the fourth century, civil law gave monks preference in the ranks of the clergy, in that a bishop was encouraged to select monks to replenish or expand the clergy. 771

A second position, which was not a clerical rank but rather a function in a monastery, was that of the  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}n\bar{a}$  ("administrator"), a role distinct from that of the *periodeutēs*. The  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}n\bar{a}$  seems to have been an administrator who assisted the abbot and was in charge of the physical condition of the monastery, and among

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>767</sup> For chorbishops in Qenneshrin, see Phenix, Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin, 39–41; and R. Amadon, "Chorévêques et périodeutes," Orientalia Syriaca 4 (1959): 233–40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>768</sup> Commandments, 2, 5, 13, 14, 22, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>769</sup> See Phenix, Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin, 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>770</sup> Commandments, 2, 22, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>771</sup> Cod. Theod. 16.2.32 (Pharr, pt. 2: 446; Krueger and Mommsen, 846; Magnou-Nortier, 150–51); see Charles A. Frazee, "Late Roman and Byzantine Legislation on the Monastic Life from the Fourth to the Eighth Centuries," *CH* 51 (1982): 266.

<sup>772</sup> Admonitions 2, 3, 6; Canons of Rabbula 1, 2, 14, 31. Peter Bruns, "Die Kanones des Rabbula (gest. 435) und ihr Beitrag zur Reform des kirchlichen Lebens in Edessa," in *Theologia et Jus Canonicum: Festgabe für Herbert Heinemann zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres* (ed. H. J. F. Reinhardt; Essen: Ludgerus Verlag, 1995), 472 n. 8, equates these two offices with each other.

his duties were the responsibility of running errands and functioning as the liaison with the world outside the monastery gate. In contrast, the *periodeutes* seems to have been a member of the clergy. While the word  $s\bar{a}^{c}\bar{o}r\bar{a}$  does not appear in the Commandments and Admonitions and the word periodeutes does not occur in either the Admonitions for the Monks or the Canons for the Monks, Attributed to Rabbula, this does not prove that the two words refer to the same office. The Commandments and Admonitions are canons that concern primarily ordained clergy and the sons and daughters of the covenant who assist them. The other two collections of canons concern the life of the monk and the regulation of monasteries. This complementary pattern supports the identification of the  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}r\bar{a}$  as a monk with certain responsibilities and the periodeutes as a person holding a rank within the clergy. Indeed, the canons clearly imply that one of the duties of the periodeutes was to select candidates for ordination and to present these names to the bishop for his approval. 773

When one considers religious life in the church of Edessa, the evidence presented in the Rabbula Corpus concerning the bnay qyāmā and bnāt qyāmā ("sons of the covenant" and "daughters of the covenant," respectively) is of central importance. The Much of the debate concerning what precisely this station in life entailed has fluctuated along a spectrum: some understand this group to represent celibate servants of the bishop, while others see in the title a designation of baptized Christians, over and against those who were either catechumens or "hearers." All of these approaches assume, rightly, that monastic asceticism evolved later in the Syriac-speaking church, notably in the course of the fifth century; but they wrongly conclude that the immediately preceding

<sup>773</sup> Commandments, canon 15.

The literature on the sons and daughters of the covenant is voluminous. For a relatively recent reconsideration of the daughters of the covenant, see, for example, Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "Revisiting the Daughters of the Covenant: Woman's Choirs and Sacred Song in Ancient Syriac Christianity," *Hug* 8 (July 2005): 125–49, http://www.bethmardutho.org/index.php/hugoye/volume-index/166.html. Earlier work includes Michael Breydey, "Les laics et les bnay qyomo dans l'ancienne tradition de l'église syrienne," *Kanon: Yearbook of the Society of the Law of the Oriental Churches* 3 (1977): 51–75; and Arthur Vööbus, "The Institution of the *Benai Qeiama* and *Benat Qeiama* in the Ancient Syrian Church," *CH* 30 (1961): 19–27.

step was solitary asceticism. 775 Sidney Griffith has recently argued that the first ascetics in Syria lived in communal settings and that solitary ascetics developed from the mid- to late fourth century. 776 Especially in the canonical collections attributed to Rabbula, a clear line of demarcation exists between monks and monasteries, on the one hand, and the sons and daughters of the covenant, on the other. Yet the reconstruction of the manuscript evidence by Vööbus indicates that the canonical collections regarding monks that bear Rabbula's name reflect a span of the development of monastic asceticism from its loose regulation in a system of daily prayer to a more sophisticated institution that includes a microeconomy supplemented by outside support. 777 Evidence for the status of the sons and daughters of the covenant in late fourthto early fifth-century Edessa comes from these canonical collections attributed to Rabbula. From these, it is apparent that the sons and daughters of the covenant were simply baptized Christians. Yet they had undertaken some special commitment and were under the care of the local bishop, especially with regard to supervision for them in doctrinal matters. Evidence for the characterization of their life rests with the depiction of Christian life more widely in the early centuries in Syria. Encratism, or the rejection of marriage upon receiving baptism, seems to have been a common occurrence. 778

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>775</sup> E.g., George Nedungatt, "The Covenanters of the Early Syriac-Speaking Church," OCP 39 (1973): 210, clearly identifies them with the "solitaries" (Syr.:  $ih\bar{\iota}d\bar{a}y\hat{e}$ ) in Aphrahat's Demonstrations.

<sup>776</sup> See Griffith, "Asceticism in the Church of Syria," 222. The importance of Syriac cenobiticism is reflected in the fact that it preserved the only complete copy of Basil of Caesarea's *Little Asketikon*, the contents of which are also attested in Basil's *Regula Basilii*. The Syriac version of the *Little Asketikon* is known as the *Questions of the Brothers* and appeared probably between the mid 360s and the early 370s; see Jean Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de S. Basile* (Leuven: Publications universitaires, 1953), 108–48. Moreover, the dissemination of Basil's *Great Asketikon* to the West was probably through a Syriac intermediary; see Anna M. Silvas, "Edessa to Cassino: The Passage of Basil's *Asketikon* to the West," *VC* 56 (2002): 250.

For further discussion of the canonical evidence, see below, ccxxvi.

<sup>778</sup> Robert Murray, "Circumcision of the Heart and the Origin of the Qyama," in After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J. W. Drijvers (ed. G. J. Reinink and A. C. Klugkist; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Department Oosterese Studies, 1999),

The duties of the sons and daughters of the covenant included functioning as administrators for the specific churches and perhaps for other church institutions, such as hospices. 779 The term  $qv\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ , a noun related to the verb  $q\bar{a}m$ , "stand," reflects the idea of a commitment to the service of the church. "Sons and daughters of the covenant" occurs in many of the Acts of the Edessene Martyrs to express their unwavering Christianity in the face of imminent death. This idea of a "stance" as a way of life was easily exchanged to express the ascetic way of life that was synonymous with Syriac Christianity. 780 It seems that from this group were chosen the musicians of the church; one canon attributed to Rabbula requires them to learn how to sing mēmrê and *madrāšê*. <sup>781</sup> The sons and daughters of the covenant may have been understood as following in the line of the Levites of the Second Temple and as such were subordinated to the ordained clergy. Although there is no direct evidence for this elsewhere in the Rabbula Corpus, Rabbula's hagiographer depicts the order of the priests as being the New Testament counterpart of the Old Testament priesthood: "If the priests of Israel were serving with fear and reverence in a temporary tabernacle, how much more is it fitting for us that we should minister in fear and in love in this church of God that he founded with his blood."<sup>782</sup> In this sense, the "sons and daughters of the covenant" may reflect the covenant between Yahweh and the Levites in Num 18:19: "All of the offerings of the holy [things], which the children of Israel offer Yahweh, I have given to you and to your sons and daughters with you as an ordinance forever; it is a covenant of salt [that is, a binding agreement] before Yahweh with you and your descendants with you." This relationship between the ordained clergy and the sons and daughters of the covenant is also suggested by their immediate

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>779</sup> Rab. 58; Blum, Rabbula, 58 n. 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>780</sup> Susan Ashbrook Harvey, "The Edessene Martyrs and Ascetic Tradition," in V Symposium Syriacum 1988: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 29–31 août 1988 (ed. René Lavenant; Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990), 199–200. This connection is made more explicit through a play on the words  $q\bar{a}m$ , "to stand," and  $qy\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ , "stance" or "covenant," in the Martyrdom of Shmona and Guria and the Martyrdom of Habib (see ibid. for references).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>781</sup> See also Harvey, "Revisiting the Daughters of the Covenant."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>782</sup> Rab. 19.

proximity in the details concerning Rabbula's administrative and legislative activity. Rabbula's Whatever their precise duties and relationship to clergy and laity might have been, Rabbula's hagiographer implies through his portrait of Rabbula's legislative activity on their behalf that they were as important for the administration of the church in Edessa as were the monks from whom were chosen the ordained clergy.

At least some of the clergy in Edessa seem to have shared meals in common. Rabbula takes away the silver place settings and serving utensils used at the "ten tables of the clergy"<sup>784</sup> and replaces these with clay ones. The clergy whom Rabbula addresses live a common life of celibacy. In his speech to the clergy, which is an example of rhetorical verisimilitude, Rabbula warns his "brothers" that they must not live even with immediate female relatives, not even with mother or sister. They should also not disgrace their office by hiring female servants. The "brothers," that is, their fellow clerics, should help one another instead. Moreover, these conditions apply both to the ordained clergy as well as to the sons and daughters of the covenant.

There is one indication that some men entered the service of the church after having been married. One of the canons restricts clergy from living with female relatives, including "daughters." It is unclear whether this prohibition applied to a married deacon or priest who had continued his married life after ordination, to a cleric whose wife had died, or to a widower who had been received into orders. If it applied to married clergy, then it also is not specified to which grades. For example, the canon does not exclude the possibility that the *periodeutai* or country bishops were also married. <sup>788</sup>

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<sup>783</sup> See Rab. 22–25.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>784</sup> See *Rab.* 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>785</sup> Rab. 22; Commandments, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>786</sup> See Rab. 22; Commandments, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>787</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 45. A similar canonical prohibition may be found in canon 3 of the Synod of Mar Isaac (410) (Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 24 [Syr.], 264 [Fr.]): "any bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon or son of the covenant who lives with women, and not alone, chastely, and saintly, as is fitting for a minister of the church, men with men separately, shall not be admitted to the ministry of the church" (our translation).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>788</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 45, for further discussion.

The motivation for prohibiting clergy from living together with certain female relatives, especially daughters and mothers, deserves some comment. It is clear that some of the legislation was to prevent sexual abuse or cohabitation among the clergy. This is probably the motivation for placing the prohibition against living with nieces first in the canonical collections. This motivation may also have played a role in the prohibition of living with daughters and mothers. Yet economic considerations could also have formed part of the background to these rules. It is not difficult to imagine that clergy would have sought the best advantage possible for themselves in order to extract income from the church for their families. Separating the clergy from their families may have mitigated this economic behavior, which would have been disadvantageous for the church. Another aspect of this hypothesis is that clergy would have been more likely to use whatever economic resources were at their disposal to pay for common expenses and to contribute to the welfare of the "common table." While there is no evidence for any such behavior, economic factors, rather than sexual taboo, help to explain the incentive for separating male clergy from their mothers and daughters. This system may also have provided incentives for clerics to follow the example of their bishop and donate excess income or property to the poor.

The daughters of the covenant seem to have been an especially vulnerable subgroup of the church of Edessa. The canons and the *Life of Rabbula* provide several pieces of legislation designed to protect them from exploitation. The daughters of the covenant were forced to work for male clergy, especially as weavers of garments for the deacons and priests. Rabbula sought to extirpate this exploitative activity. Like the sons of the covenant, the daughters of the covenant were permitted to live only with one another, in an attempt to avoid placing them in a subservient relationship to the male clergy. The motivation in this case may have been to free the daughters of the covenant to perform services for the church that men did not do, such as assisting in the many hospitals and guest quarters or *xenodocheia* that Rabbula established

 $<sup>^{789}</sup>$  Commandments, 3 and 4. It is not clear whether this is a reference to liturgical vestments or to clothing more generally.

in Edessa. <sup>790</sup> The daughters of the covenant also were to wear a veil in public, as a sign that they were brides of Christ. <sup>791</sup> Moreover, they were to travel to and from the church together. <sup>792</sup> These and other regulations regarding the travel and accommodations of the sons and daughters of the covenant, as well as the prohibitions restraining a layman from marrying a daughter of the covenant, may have served to protect the daughters of the covenant from rape or other aggression as much as to ensure good discipline. <sup>793</sup> That kind of good discipline had to be supported by the deacons and priests, whose duty it was to help the covenant in every way and, when necessary, to bring serious problems to the bishop's attention. <sup>794</sup> These canons suggest that in early fifth-century Edessa it was not customary for the sons and daughters of the covenant, nor for other ranks of the clergy, to dwell together. <sup>795</sup>

Many of the canons legislate the proper use of the church building and its vessels and the celebration of sacraments. The last category does not include rubrics for liturgical services but rather is more general. Concern for the proper form of worship was an essential part of providing for the well-being of the church as the first priority of Rabbula's administration. This concern is a leitmotif in the *Life of Rabbula*. Already as a hermit, Rabbula observes the hours and form of prayer that are believed to have been part of the canonical rule of the church. Specific information is not given. Yet the hagiographer may have in mind the practice of monks in Egypt, given the pro-Cyrillian orientation of the author, or possibly the usage in Antioch, given Rabbula's connections with important bishops, such as Eusebius of Chalcis and Acacius of Beroea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>790</sup> See *Rab.* 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>791</sup> The Armenian poetry ascribed to Ephraem the Syrian preserves a hymn for the dedication of a daughter of the covenant. See Ephraem the Syrian, *Armenian Hymns* 16 (Mariés and Mercier, 105–9; for a translation, see Robert Murray, "'A Marriage for All Eternity': The Consecration of a Syrian Bride of Christ," *Sobornost* 11 [1989]: 65–68).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>792</sup> Commandments, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>793</sup> For further discussion, see Blum, *Rabbula*, 46–47.

<sup>794</sup> Commandments, 19, 36; Blum, Rabbula, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>795</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>796</sup> See *Rab.* 14.

The canons reserve certain functions for each rank of the clergy. The clergy are meals were communal meals. At the earliest stage of liturgical development they were celebrated together with a commemoration of the death of Christ in the form of the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper. According to the canons, they were no longer to be held in the church. Specifically, it was not permitted for any of the clergy to eat anything in the church or to bring any utensils or vessels into the sanctuary that were not specifically used for the celebration of the Divine Liturgy. The celebration of a communal meal in the sanctuary of the church was widespread in the fourth century, and canonical collections after the fifth century continue to legislate against this practice.

Rabbula took special care in the selection and ordination of his clergy. 800 All the procedures were performed according to the "apostolic order," which may be a hagiographical phrase rather than a reference to a specific "apostolic tradition." The hagingrapher describes the candidates to the priesthood as being similar to the bread and wine that are presented for the eucharistic offering. 802 Rabbula takes care that they are spotless, just as the bread and wine he offers at the altar are pure as well. To this end he investigates his candidates carefully, asking around in the church whether someone knows of any reason why a candidate is not worthy and at the same time conducting a secret investigation to determine a given candidate's character. 803 After their ordination, Rabbula's chief concern is that his priests should live the life of angels in their heavenly service as much as it is possible for human beings to do. 804 This concern reflects Rabbula's own ascetic virtue, given that his hagiographer calls him "an angel in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>797</sup> See Blum, Rabbula, 52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>798</sup> Commandments, 58.

 $<sup>^{799}</sup>$  See Blum,  $Rabbula,\ 53-54,$  for a discussion of this phenomenon in late antique Syria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>800</sup> Ibid., 55–56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>801</sup> Ibid., 55 n. 69; Blum argues that the appeal to 1 Tim 3:2–3 and Titus 1:6–7 is not expressly made.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>802</sup> See *Rab.* 21. See also John Rufus, *Vit. Pet.* 150 (Horn and Phenix, 222–23; Raabe, 113), for reference to a group of lawyers who were to be recruited as followers of Peter the Iberian as white breads from the market places.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>803</sup> See *Rab.* 21.

<sup>804</sup> See *Rab.* 21.

flesh."<sup>805</sup> If one takes the *Commandments and Admonitions* as illustrative of Rabbula's concern, independent of whether he was in fact their author, the church of Edessa had a mechanism for vocations. It was the duty of the *periodeutēs* to propose candidates for ordination and also to provide information concerning these candidates in order to make sure that they were neither slaves nor defendants in a lawsuit. <sup>806</sup>

The Life of Rabbula employs another expression, the bnay  $r\bar{a}z\bar{a}$  ("sons of the mystery"), in connection with the sons of the covenant and heretics. This is not to be identified as a separate group within the clergy but is an expression meaning simply "those of the same faith" or "those in communion" with Rabbula. The word "mystery" with these connotations is used in Cyril of Alexandria's De recta fide, and the Syriac translation of this work uses the same word,  $r\bar{a}z\bar{a}$ , to render the Greek mysterion in Cyril's expression "the mystery of our faith" (rāzā dhaymanūtan).807 Rabbula stipulates that the sons of the covenant should receive domestic services or other forms of assistance from "brothers, the sons of our [eucharistic] mystery."808 Rabbula settles "sons of our mystery" into the temple of the Audians, the "Sadducees of the heretics."809 Both imply a level of trust that reflects the committed followers, though not necessarily those who are celibate or clerics. However, given that the "sons of the mystery" are always called "brothers" in apposition, and given that the audience is also addressed as "brothers," it is possible that the hagingrapher has in mind in all instances the core of support for Rabbula, namely, monastics in and around Edessa. These brothers are also entrusted with the task of assisting the deacons in the work of the xenodocheion and in the ministry to Edessa's lepers. 810 As an aside, this shared terminology between the Life of Rabbula and a writing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>805</sup> See Rab. 34; see also Blum, Rabbula, 56. For this image, see also Frank,  $A\Gamma\Gamma E\Lambda IKO\Sigma$  BIO $\Sigma$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>806</sup> Commandments, 13. On the ecclesiastical debate about whether non-emancipated slaves should be ordained, see Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on the *Letter to Philemon* and the discussion in Fitzgerald, "Theodore of Mopsuestia," 351–54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>807</sup> Or "of the faith"; see below, Cyril of Alexandria, De recta fide 8, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>808</sup> Rab. 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>809</sup> Rab. 42.

<sup>810</sup> Rab. 50-51.

of Cyril that is associated with Rabbula points to a common vocabulary and might suggest Rabbula's encomiast as the translator of  $De\ recta\ fide.$ 

# 1.12.2. The Laity

It is noteworthy that in all the canonical collections attributed to Rabbula, no clear reference is made to a class of Christians that can be identified as the "laity." Monks, priests, bishops, deacons, deaconesses, and the sons and daughters of the covenant populate the church world of the Rabbula Corpus. Alongside them other groups are mentioned that are clearly outside the boundaries of the church: heretics, Jews, and so on. Yet one term that is used for another group mentioned in the canons of Rabbula, the  ${}^{c}almay\hat{e}$  ("the worldly ones") is somewhat ambiguous. The <sup>c</sup>ālmāyê were baptized Christians who were not celibate. <sup>812</sup> This designation occurs infrequently in the canons, and there only to restrict certain types of contact between them and various members of the clergy, such as prohibiting clergy from lodging with the laity. 813 One canon states that it is the duty of the priests to encourage the worldly Christians to help support the monasteries. 814 Another canon mentions that the male layperson who dares to carry off a daughter of the covenant is to be arrested, taken into custody, and sent to the city for trial. 815 The context of this canon suggests that the trial is to take place in a civil, rather than an ecclesiastical, court. In comparison, consequences of violating the covenant for the sons and daughters of the covenant are to be regulated in a more private setting. Sons and daughters of the covenant who break the vow of celibacy are to be sent to monasteries for repentance, but those who escape from the monastery are not to be readmitted to the church. Instead they are to be kept with their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>811</sup> For further discussion, see below, ccxl-ccxli.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>812</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 49 n. 35, states that it is also possible that the expression  $bnay \ m \bar{s} \bar{t} h \bar{a}$  in Commandments 24, refers also to the secular Christians; however, the expression  $bnay \ m \bar{s} \bar{t} h a$  does not occur in any manuscript Arthur Vööbus edited, and the canon most certainly refers to monks rather than to secular Christians.

<sup>813</sup> See below, Admonitions 3; Commandments 10; Canons of Rabbula 2.

<sup>814</sup> See below, Commandments 15.

<sup>815</sup> See below, Commandments 28.

parents for some time. <sup>816</sup> This implies that the sons and daughters of the covenant were young, of marriageable age; after returning to their parents, after some time they would enter a marriage, as it is assumed that this is the only other acceptable course of life.

### I.I3. RABBULA AND THE SYRIAC BIBLE

The *Life of Rabbula* is the first Syriac document to mention explicitly, albeit vaguely, activities concerning the translation of the Bible into Syriac. Even though this is mentioned only once, the author of the *Life of Rabbula* assigns great prominence to this translation activity, remarking that Rabbula's first act as bishop of Edessa was to commission a translation of the Holy Books from Greek into Syriac. <sup>817</sup> Initial conclusions to be drawn from this data are that Rabbula wished to replace the Diatessaron that had been in use in Edessa and that the Bible Rabbula produced was the Peshitta. However, the last claim in particular has been called into question. Baarda's study demonstrates that many of the quotations from the Gospels in the *Life of Rabbula* are in fact from a Syriac translation more archaic than the Peshitta. <sup>818</sup> Thus, at the time the *Life of Rabbula* was composed the Peshitta was not used

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>816</sup> See below, 111. Blum, *Rabbula*, 48, thinks this passage means that both the daughter of the covenant and her parents are to be detained in prison for some time.

<sup>817</sup> See *Rab.* 19.

 $<sup>^{818}</sup>$  T. Baarda, "The Gospel Text in the Biography of Rabbula," VC 14 (1960): 102-27. English translations of some New Testament citations in Rabbula are collected in Pusey, Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli, xxi-xxiv. For earlier work, see also Matthew Black, "Rabbula of Edessa and the Peshitta," BJRL 33 (1950-1951): 203-10; Bruce M. Metzger, "Investigations into the Text of the New Testament Used by Rabbula of Edessay," JBL 69.1 (1950): 74-78; Arthur Vööbus, "Das Alter der Peschitta," Oriens Christianus 38 (1954): 1–10; idem, "Neuentdecktes Textmaterial zur Vetus Syra," TZ 7 (1951): 30-38; idem, "The Oldest Extant Traces of the Syriac Peshitta," Le Muséon 63 (1950): 191-204; idem, Researches on the Circulation of the Peshitta in the Middle of the Fifth Century (Contributions of the Baltic University 64; Pinneberg: Baltic University, 1948); idem, Investigations into the Text of the New Testament Used by Rabbula of Edessa (Contributions of Baltic University 59; Pinneberg: Baltic University, 1947). See also the discussion in Andreas Juckel, "Research on the Old Syriac Heritage of the Peshitta Gospels: A Collation of MS Bibl. Nationale Syr. 30 (Paris)," Hug 12.1 (2009): 45-47.

to the exclusion of any other Syriac translations, 819 and the notice in the Life of Rabbula cannot refer to the production of the Peshitta. Yet the Peshitta itself was only a stage in the translation activity of the Bible into Syriac, even if the Peshitta and not the later developments—notably the recension attributed to Philoxenus and the hyper-literal rendering of Thomas of Harkel—would become authoritative in the end. The advancements on the history of the Peshitta that have been made since Blum's study now demonstrate that, at least for the Old Testament, the evolution of the Peshitta continued into the late eighth to early ninth centuries. 820 The Philoxenian and Harclean translations of the sixth and seventh centuries represent stages of increasingly sophisticated techniques in order to represent as literally as possible the underlying Greek text. It may well have been in reaction to these developments that the Peshitta became authoritative, given that these later authors sacrificed intelligibility for literal faithfulness to their Greek text. Since the work of translating the Bible into Syriac was an ongoing process that may have begun among the Jewish community of Edessa, the author of the Life of Rabbula may only have promoted the continuing translation of the Syriac text. In the Life of Rabbula, the work of translating the Bible into Syriac is depicted as Rabbula's first priority. This may be a hagiographical move in order to show Rabbula in a favorable light according to one important criterion in the mid- to late fifth century.<sup>821</sup> Another possible explanation is that Rabbula sought to produce a translation of the Bible, especially of the New Testament, that was less susceptible to Nestorian interpretation.<sup>822</sup> Perhaps an even more compelling reason is that Manichaeans may

<sup>819</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>820</sup> See M. P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), reviewed by D. J. Lane in *Hug* 3 (2000): 249–52, http://www.bethmardutho.org/index.php/hugoye/volume-index/224.html.

<sup>821</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 110, reaches a similar conclusion.

<sup>822</sup> See Philoxenus's remark in his Commentary on the Prologue of John (de Halleux, CSCO 380 [Syr.] and 381 [Fr.], 53), citing Heb 5:7: "He who, in the days of his flesh, presented with a powerful cry and with tears the petitions and supplications to the one who was able to deliver him from death"; see also Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation," 20.

have used the Diatessaron. A Middle Persian Manichaean text found in the Gobi Desert in China and dating to the sixth to tenth centuries contains a lengthy section of text that is a parallel to certain manuscript witnesses to the Diatessaron. 823 Any biblical text that circulated among Manichaeans or heretical groups may have provided Rabbula with the pretext for attempting to replace the Diatessaron, which had a long tradition of canonical use in the church of Edessa, with a text that more closely reflected the four separate Gospels. Such a disposition fits well with the hagiographer's presentation of his subject's strong opposition to supporters of Nestorius and to Manichaeans. Even if the reform of the Diatessaron occurred after Rabbula's lifetime, the Great Church in Edessa was concerned with the implications for doctrine and identity carried by the Syriac translations of the Bible in Edessa. The Diatessaron also features in the Doctrina Addai when the text tells that "many people assembled daily and came to the prayer service and to the [reading of the] Old Covenant and the New of the Diatessaron."824 This detail may reflect a practice that was ongoing in Edessa. Mention of the Diatessaron is consistent with the hypothesis that the Doctrina Addai was composed in order to defend the ancient traditions of the see of Edessa that Rabbula sought to replace with those of the church in Antioch. 825 There are several leads to follow in this matter, and the significance of the Life of Rabbula, as well as the use of biblical passages in texts associated with his corpus, deserve greater attention.

Elsewhere in the Rabbula Corpus, the significance of translation from Greek into Syriac is mentioned twice, first with respect to Rabbula's letters, and second in connection with his *Homily in Constantinople*. In the theological controversies of the fifth century, it seems plausible that accurate translations of the Bible and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>823</sup> William L. Petersen, "An Important Unnoticed Diatessaronic Reading in Turfan Fragment M-18," in *Text and Testimony: Essays on New Testament and Apocryphal Literature in Honour of A. F. J. Klijn* (ed. T. Baarda et al.; Kampen: Uitgeversmaatschappij J. H. Kok, 1988), 187–92. Rabbula is said to have destroyed about four hundred copies of the Diatessaron. See Fitzgerald, "Theodore of Mopsuestia," 338 n. 28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>824</sup> Doctrina Addai (Howard, 72–73).

 $<sup>^{825}</sup>$  For discussion and criticism of the thesis of Rabbula's involvement in the rewriting of the  $Doctrina\ Addai$ , see above, lv, in response to Drijvers, "Protonike Legend, the  $Doctrina\ Addai$  and Bishop Rabbula of Edessa."

of Greek theological texts into Syriac were a priority. The conscious references to translation activities therefore may reflect a concern for, or even active participation of the hagiographer in, theological debates.

Baarda reaches a similar conclusion concerning the activity of Rabbula's hagiographer. <sup>826</sup> He notes that of the quotations from the four Gospels in the *Life of Rabbula*, those of the Gospel of John show less affinity to the Old Syriac text than the quotations from Luke and Matthew. <sup>827</sup> Baarda's study does not include citations found in Rabbula's letters or in the *Homily in Constantinople*. With regard to the *Homily in Constantinople*, this exclusion is less significant. Blum suggests that the same person who authored the *Life of Rabbula* probably also translated the *Homily in Constantinople* from Greek into Syriac, since the *Homily in Constantinople* contains no Gospel quotations that are not also found in the *Life of Rabbula*. The quotations in the letters are another matter insofar as they contain material from John's Gospel as well as from Galatians. This data Blum calls "important evidence" for assembling the Bible text that Rabbula used. <sup>828</sup>

#### I.I4. SUMMARY

Research into questions raised by the Rabbula Corpus is far from complete. Clearly several areas of inquiry remain open, especially in the realms of hagiography and history. A great deal of work awaits in examining the literary aspects of Syrian hagiography and its relationship with Greco-Roman bios and encomium. The Life of Rabbula offers a rich ground of information for such investigations. It is clear that the roots of ascetic hagiography lie somewhere at the intersection of Christianity with other religions in Syria. Christian writers interpreted asceticism with a literary and conceptual framework borrowed from Greco-Roman philosophy; did they also dip into the language of Manichaeism and Gnosticism? The New Testament Apocrypha may provide further clues. If there is a positive result to be gained from such

<sup>826</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 109–10.

Bid., 108; and Baarda, "Gospel Text," 123–24.
 Blum, *Rabbula*, 110 n. 21.

investigations, then Syrian hagiography could be more firmly established as being a part of the covert transmission history of Christian apocryphal texts. Certain themes in Syriac literature, such as the image of the pearl that is found in Ephraem and Balai, are clearly connected with the apocryphal *Acts of Judas Thomas*. Such work in turn has implications for the study of the comparative development of Christianity and its cognate religions. Other areas of research include the literary relationship between the *Life of Rabbula* and Theodoret of Cyrrhus's *Historia religiosa* as well as the impact of the *Life of Rabbula* on later hagiography.

Rabbula's position in the church in Syria before his ordination is not fully understood. His election took place at a key moment in the Meletian schism. Work on the church in Syria during this period, which until recently has been dominated by Cavallera, must be reconsidered, and the search for the Historical Rabbula will play an important role. Kohlbacher has raised the possibility that the opposition to Rabbula in Edessa may have been primarily over alignments in the Meletian schism, but his explanation of Rabbula's support of Cyril against Nestorius after 429 is not entirely satisfactory. Most of the other bishops in the Antiochene church between 428 and 436 were ordained during the Meletian schism. This dimension of evaluating the course of the Nestorian controversy requires further attention.

The Life of Rabbula and the various collections of canons attributed to him provide some tantalizing clues concerning the relationship between the political and ecclesiastical powers of Edessa. It is almost certain that Rabbula's opponents within the church had support from powerful noble families, whose sons and daughters were clergy or held rank within the church and who therefore had control over the monastic foundations. There is little other evidence from Edessa itself in this period to determine the specific relationship between rich families and clerical institutions. However, broad outlines can be discerned, and these may be sufficient to connect the picture with what is known about monasteries in the region of Edessa from a somewhat later period. While recognizing and acknowledging the danger of filling in a picture with pieces from outside its immediate historical and geographical context, one may still suggest that aspects of the shared religious culture may provide some refinement to the personal conflicts seething beneath the Rabbula Corpus.

## 2. The Rabbula Corpus

The materials assembled in this volume include texts and fragments that are not written by or addressed to Rabbula but that are significant, because they are sources for reconstructing relevant hagiographical sources or because they cast light on his activity in the christological controversies. In the case of the hymns attributed to Rabbula, these are included because they represent a significant body of Syriac liturgical poetry that circulated under Rabbula's name and that is not otherwise accessible to a wider audience. Given the present state of research, this collection of materials is not complete; rather, it is designed to be representative. In particular, Hiba's Letter to Mari, the Life of Alexander Akoimētēs, and a critical edition of the Syriac, Greek, and Armenian materials relating to the Man of God and Alexius legends have not been included, since these are accessible in some form in annotated English translations. Another text that has not been edited or examined in this corpus is the Rabbula Gospels (MS Plut. I, 56). While this text certainly has not been neglected by scholars, its sheer size and the complexity of investigating its place in the transmission of the New Testament into Syriac remains far too vast for the modest goals of the present introduction.

2.1. THE LIFE OF RABBULA (BHO 1023)
AND RABBULA'S HOMILY IN CONSTANTINOPLE (CPG 6496)

The *Life of Rabbula* is found in a single manuscript, BL Add 14652 (fols. 83r-125r), which William Wright dated to the sixth century based on palaeographical criteria. This manuscript was found at Deir es-Suryan in Egypt; the marks of Egyptian provenance are the numbering of the fifteen quires with Arabic words and the numbering of the pages with Coptic numerals. The manuscript is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:651–52, no. DCCXXXI; Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri*, xviii (siglum: MS "A"), seems to have mistakenly stated that this manuscript also contains the lives of St. Sergius and St. George. See ibid., 159–209 (text), xviii (description of the manuscript), and xxxvii (table of contents).

incomplete, as there are a number of pages missing from the end, as well as after folios 7, 59, and 65. Many of the leaves are damaged, including several on which the *Life of Rabbula* was copied, especially folios 107 and 118–25. Following the *Life of Rabbula* may be found two of the collections of canons, discussed below, and the *Homily in Constantinople*, on folios 133v-136. The text of the homily is incomplete at the end, and this is the only witness to this work. Preceding the *Life of Rabbula* is an anthology of works featuring hagiographical heroines: stories of Ruth, Esther, Susanna, Judith, and Thecla. In the manuscript, this collection is entitled, "The Book of Women."

The only printings of the *Life of Rabbula* other than the edition of Overbeck are that of Paul Bedjan<sup>4</sup> and the abridged text in the chrestomathy of Carl Brockelmann's *Syrische Grammatik*, for which Brockelmann presents his suggestions for emendations.<sup>5</sup> The only translations of the *Life of Rabbula* previous to the present volume are Gustav Bickell's German translation<sup>6</sup> and the recent English translation offered by Robert Doran.<sup>7</sup> The present edition and translation were prepared before Doran's translation was published but nevertheless have been checked against Doran. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:652. Overbeck mistakenly assigns the first folio of the *Homily in Constantinople* to 131 (*S. Ephraemi Syri*, 239–44 [text], xviii [description of the manuscript], and xxxvii [table of contents]). For a German translation, see Bickell, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 238–43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See also Anton Baumstark, *Die Petrus- und Paulusacten in der litterarischen Ueberlieferung der syrischen Kirche: Festgruss dem Priestercollegium des Deutschen Campo Santo zu Rom zur Feier seines 25 jährigen Bestehens (8 December 1901)* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1902), 31. For a more recent discussion of this collection of books on women, see the comments in Catherine Burrus and Lucas van Rompay, "Thecla in Syriac Christianity: Preliminary Observations," *Hug* 5.2 (2002): 225–36, http://www.bethmardutho.org/index.php/hugoye/volume-index/143.html; and Catherine Burrus, "The Syriac Book of Women: Text and Meta-Text," in *The Early Christian Book* (ed. Linda Safran and William E. Klingshirn; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 117–38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bedjan, Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, 4:396-470.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Carl Brockelmann, Syrische Grammatik: Mit Paradigmen, Literatur, Chrestomathie und Glossar (Porta linguarum orientalium; 3rd ed.; Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1912), 69\*-101\*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bickell, Ausgewählte Schriften, 166-211.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Doran, Stewards, 65–105.

translation was also checked against Bickell's German translation. The editions of Brockelmann, Overbeck, and Bedjan, and Overbeck's edition of the *Homily*, were compared to a microfilm copy of the manuscript. In the present edition, the manuscript folia have been indicated in square brackets.

#### 2.2. COLLECTIONS OF CANONS ATTRIBUTED TO RABBULA

Four collections of canons bearing the name of Rabbula have been transmitted. Overbeck provided the first printed edition of three collections based on manuscripts from the British Library. Vööbus edited and translated into English all of these collections on the basis of multiple manuscripts from collections in Europe and the Near East. He provided a brief introduction to each collection. In a second monograph, Vööbus expanded his examination of these collections, taking into account subsequent discoveries and research.

2.2.1. Admonitions for the Monks (CPG 6491), Canons of Rabbula (CPT 6492), and Canons for the Monks Attributed to Rabbula (Vat. Syr. Borg. 10)

There are three collections of legislation attributed to Rabbula. The first of these, "Admonitions to the Monks," exists in two recensions. The shorter recension is known simply as "The Canons of My Lord Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa," designated as CPG 6491.

- <sup>8</sup> Arthur Vööbus, ed, and trans., Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism (Eesti usuteadlaste selts paguluses toimetused / Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 2; Stockholm: ETSE, 1960). For earlier work on the canonical material, see François Nau, "Choix des canons ecclésiastiques syriaques: Canons de Rabboula, évêque d'Édesse; de Cyriaque, évêque d'Amid; de Georges, évêque des Arabes; du patriarche Jean III; des Perses; et des patriarches Théodose et Cyriaque," Le Canoniste contemporain 28 (1905): 641–53 and 705–11, and vol. 29 (1906): 5–13; and François Nau, Les canons et les resolutions canoniques de Rabboula, Jean de Tella, Cyriaque d'Amid, Jacques d'Édesse, Georges des Arabes, Cyriaque d'Antioche, Jean III, Théodose d'Antioche et des Perses (Ancienne littérature canonique syriaque 2; Paris: Lethielleux, 1906).
- <sup>9</sup> Arthur Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen: Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde; I. Westsyrische Originalurkunden 1* (2 vols.; CSCO 307, 317; Scriptores Syri 35, 38; Leuven: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1970).

Overbeck printed this collection from BL Add. 14526, fols. 30b-31a. 10 BL Add 14526 dates to the year 641 and is the earliest witness to the shorter recension as a collection. The longer recension has the title "Admonitions for the Monks, the Very Same, of My Lord Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa" in Overbeck. This longer recension is designated CPG 6492. Overbeck published this collection immediately following that of the shorter recension. He identified three manuscript witnesses to the longer recension in the British Museum (now the British Library): BL Add 14577, fol. 83b (ninth century), 11 BL 14652, fols. 129a-131b (sixth century), 12 and BL 14526, this last witness being the shorter recension. 13 Overbeck designates these manuscripts with sigla that he does not use in his edition: BL 14577 is "A," BL 14652 is "B," and BL 14526 is "C." He follows "B" for the longer recension. Vööbus adopted Overbeck's sigla in his edition.

The shorter recension is made up of canons from two sources. It contains canons 1, 7, 8, 15, 16, 19, and 25 from the longer recension and two canons from the Commandments and Admonitions for the Priests and the Children of the Covenant (CPG 6490), namely, canons 17 and 48. The wording of these canons forms the textus receptus for the other collections in which they appear. In accordance with Vööbus's edition of Rabbula's canons, we have incorporated the text of this shorter recension as a witness to the respective canons in these two larger collections. We have chosen for this collection the title of the longer recension, Admonitions for the Monks.

Vööbus has described the *Admonitions for the Monks* with an in-depth analysis <sup>15</sup> and has provided a unified edition of these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 210–11 (Syriac text), xviii (description of the manuscript; siglum: "C"), and xxxvi (table of contents).

Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, xviii (description of the manuscript) and xxxvi (table of contents); Wright, Catalogue, 2:784–88, here 785, no. 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri*, xviii (description of the manuscript) and xxxvi (table of contents); Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:651–52, here 651, no. 1/2, though Wright gives the starting page as 131a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 212–14 (Syriac text), xxvii (descriptions of the three manuscripts) and xxxvi (table of contents where the sigla are stated).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:309.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid., CSCO 317:307-15.

texts with English translation based on nine manuscripts, including the three at Overbeck's disposal. The present edition does not attempt to replicate Vööbus's work, and the variations among the manuscripts for this collection are, the existence of two recensions aside, minimal. We have chosen to adopt Vööbus's apparatus only for those differences which are semantically significant.

A related collection of canons, also known as the *Canons* for the Monk, Attributed to Rabbula, is attested only in MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10 (fols. 106a-109a). <sup>17</sup> These canons in the Borgia manuscript are part of a larger collection entitled "Canons of the Holy Fathers concerning the Practices of Christians Who Make Offerings and concerning Sacrifice[s]," directed against Armenians who sacrifice sheep. <sup>18</sup> This Borgia manuscript contains the largest collection of monastic regulations in Syriac. <sup>19</sup>

Vööbus provided an edition of the Syriac text with English translation and brief introduction. <sup>20</sup> An edition of the Syriac text with a French translation was published by Joseph Mounayer. <sup>21</sup> Vööbus has dated this collection to the sixth century, arguing that it demonstrates a well-developed monasticism, which was not present in Syriac Christianity at the time of Rabbula's episcopacy. He thus ascribes this collection to "Pseudo-Rabbula." <sup>22</sup>

Canons 1-6 of this collection have parallels in the Admonitions for the Monks/Canons of Rabbula (CPG 6491/6492); the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 24–26 (introduction) and 27–33 (text, apparatus, and translation).

Addai Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits du musée Borgia, aujourd'hui à Bibliothèque Vaticane," JA 10/13 (1909): 251–52; Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 78–86. Vööbus (p. 79) reports that this MS is dated A(nno) Gr(aecorum) 1895, i.e., 1584 C.E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits du musée Borgia," 252. See below, ccxliv–ccxlix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 78. There are several instances in which canons between the four (here printed as three) collections are nearly identical or similar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid., 78–86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Joseph Mounayer, "Les canons relatifs aux moines, attribués à Rabboula," *OCP* 20 (1954): 406–15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 78; more extensive discussion in idem, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, CSCO 317:350–55.

rest have no parallel in any early Syriac collection of canons. <sup>23</sup> Vööbus remarks that the end of this collection indicates that there were thirty-four canons. The canons are not numbered in the manuscript. Vööbus problematizes this, as his edition presents thirty-six canons. <sup>24</sup> However, closer inspection of the manuscript reveals that three canons that Vööbus separates are not separated in the manuscript. <sup>25</sup> Vööbus argues that canon 28 (canon 30) of this collection reflects a period in which communal monasticism was beginning to dominate, which would place this collection in the sixth to early seventh centuries; the dating of the colophon of the manuscript, however, is 1583/84 CE. <sup>26</sup> For the present edition, the editions of Mounayer and Vööbus have been checked against a microfilm copy of Vat. Borg. Syr. 10. There is a small omission in Mounayer's Syriac text, but his French translation is complete.

# 2.2.2. Commandments and Admonitions for the Priests and the Children of the Covenant (CPG 6490)

The other collection of canons attributed to Rabbula is the Commandments and Admonitions for the Priests and the Children of the Covenant, which is attested only in BL Add 14652 (fols. 123–29). Vööbus provided an edition of this text based on seven manuscripts and reconstructed the development of this collection based on a larger collection of witnesses. The present edition has noted significant variants in the manuscripts based on Vööbus's apparatus. The significant differences consist of a few expansions, mostly to include relations between the sons and daughters of the covenant and the urban laity, as well as redactions for clarification. Of note is canon 43 of this collection, in which later manuscripts gloss the expression "the separate Gospels,"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:352.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:354.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Canons 11, 12, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:355.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 215–21 (text), xviii (description of the manuscript), and xxxvi (table of contents); Wright, Catalogue, 2:651, no. 1/1, though he gives the starting folio as 125a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 34–50; for a mostly superfluous synopsis of the contents of these canons in German, see Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, CSCO 307:128–32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 307:132–34.

referring to the four New Testament Gospels, with "the [lectionary of] the four evangelists." The gloss, which is found in a ninth-century manuscript, suggests that the original use of the "combined Gospels" (that is, the Diatessaron) in the liturgy of the church was forgotten or possibly intentionally obfuscated.

### 2.2.3. The Authenticity and Interrelationship of the Canons

The authenticity of these collections remains a matter of debate. Most recently, Peter Bruns has described these canons as "display[ing] a conglomeration of very diverse elements and for the most part go[ing] back to Rabbula himself."31 Blum is more hesitant in his assessment. Recognizing that many elements of the canonical collections reflect received tradition already in Rabbula's time, he considers that much of the material was ascribed to Rabbula in order to lend it authority. 32 Yet clearly Rabbula was concerned with the governance of his diocese, if the hagiographer's account contains even a kernel of truth, and therefore Blum considers the canonical material attributed to Rabbula to be consistent with the report of Rabbula's legislative activity in the Life of Rabbula. 33 Such points of comparison are provided in the footnotes to the respective canons in the present collection. Whether or not the canons attributed to Rabbula are entirely genuine, their ascription reflects his legacy as a legislator in Edessa. Some of the legislation expresses apodeictic statements that were already part of Syriac church governance, as witnessed to in Aphrahat's Demonstrations. 34

It is difficult to determine the relationship among the different canonical collections. The collection known as the *Canons for the Monks Attributed to Rabbula* contains thirty-four rules. As mentioned above, the first six of these are identical to six of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 46, note to canon 43; and Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, CSCO 307:134 n. 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Bruns, "Kanones des Rabbula," 471. Bruns provides a German translation of the collections of canons edited by Overbeck. He does not include the canons found in Cod. Vat. Borg. Syr. 10, *Canons for the Monk, Attributed to Rabbula*.

<sup>32</sup> Blum, Rabbula, 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Ibid., 44–45.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>mathbf{34}}$  See Bruns, "Kanones des Rabbula," 472–79, with notes to individual canons.

Admonitions for the Monks. 35 The other twenty-eight have no parallel in any early Syriac canonical collection. 36 This collection of canons takes its name from the author of the first six, but the other twenty-eight canons (and hence the entire compilation) probably are later than Rabbula. The evidence for this is that these canons imply that monasteries had a developed microeconomy to support themselves by agriculture and mercantile activity. In order to transact business, some monks had to have had permission to travel into town. However, for a monk to leave the monastery for such a purpose is explicitly forbidden in the first six canons of this collection. 37 Vööbus notes other contradictions between Canons 1-6 and 7-36 of the Canons for the Monks Attributed to Rabbula (Vat. Borg. Syr. 10). For instance, Canon 1 of the Vat. Borg. Syr. 10 collection (= *Admonitions* 2) stipulates that the brothers of a monastery may not enter the villages unless they are  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}r\hat{e}$ . The function and rank of a sācōrā in early Syriac monasticism is ambiguous in these canons. Vööbus assumed this was a single person with a clearly defined position in the monastery and that one of his tasks was to leave the monastery and procure supplies. That is one possibility. Another possibility is that the  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}r\bar{a}$  was anyone whom the abbot could trust enough and send out on an errand. Syriac has neither a definite nor an indefinite article, and it is not clear whether this is a specific individual within the hierarchy of the monastery. Furthermore, the role and function of a  $s\bar{a}'\bar{o}r\bar{a}$  could have changed over time, becoming a formal administrative position. It seems hardly likely that monasteries, if these were more than groups of hermits sharing a cave, could have survived without someone going off to procure food. Thus, it is improbable that the term  $s\bar{a}^{c}\bar{o}r\bar{a}$  is any criterion for determining the age or authenticity of these canons. Still, it does not seem implausible that a compiler of the Canons for the Monks could have used earlier material to grant them authenticity at the expense of contradiction.

Some canons illustrate the tension in harmonizing individual asceticism with communal monasticism. *Canons for the Monks* 28 (Vööbus: canon 30) offers an interesting example: "It is not permitted for a hermit to be in a monastery with a large population or

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Admonitions 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Vööbus, Syriac and Arabic Documents, 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:352–53.

to have two [simultaneous] rules [of monastic life]." Vööbus understands this reference to point to an exclusive choice between "monastic" and "hermit," with the life of solitaries being inconsistent with the life of the monk in community. However, given the ambiguity of the referent who possesses the "two rules," the monk or the monastery, it is also possible that this canon addresses "idiorhythmic" monasticism, in which each monk makes time to pray the daily prayers personally in his cell, coming together with the rest of the monks for important services, such as the Eucharist. Thus, it is not clear whether this is to be understood as hermits being forbidden from coming to the monastery from time to time or whether it means that the monastery may not have both communal and idiorhythmic monks. Similar language is found in other canonical collections, indicating that regulating solitary and communal life was a fairly widespread problem. <sup>38</sup>

Some of the Admonitions for the Monks are paralleled in the Commandments and Admonitions for the Priests and the Children of the Covenant. It is clear that the relationship between the Admonitions for the Monks and the Commandments and Admonitions are closer and more complex than any of these collections are to the Canons for the Monks in MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10. It is most likely that MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10 represents a separate line of the development of canonical material associated with Rabbula.

The Admonitions for the Monks are attested in several manuscripts from the sixth to the nineteenth centuries. Several of these admonitions are alluded to or quoted in the Life of Rabbula. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether Rabbula was in fact the author of some or all of the Admonitions for the Monks. If the encomiast does provide actual canons that Rabbula enforced in his diocese, it does not mean that Rabbula was the originator of these. The canons in the Life of Rabbula may reflect legislation that was in force elsewhere and that Rabbula introduced to Edessa. The encomiast states, "His excellent commandments for the priests in the villages, in the monasteries, and for [the sons and daughters of] the covenant are [too] many to recount," and "Who is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, CSCO 317:353 n. 22, with a reference to MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10, fol. 25b as an example.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Vööbus, Syriac and Arabic Documents, 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Rab. 25.

able to recount his constant admonitions with respect to the chaste covenant of men? For in all the twenty-four years of his life in the priesthood, he did not cease from exhortation, and we are not able to note and set down the great care of his daily admonitions."<sup>41</sup> These remarks suggest that at least some of the material transmitted under the name of Rabbula may indeed be a codification of regulations dating to his episcopacy. However, the encomiast does not expressly state that Rabbula composed any collection of canons; compare this to the statement that Rabbula wrote forty-six letters that the author of the *Life of Rabbula* translated from Greek into Syriac.

The material shared between the Life of Rabbula and the canonical collections is small. Admonitions 16 (similar to Commandments 20 and 27) and Commandments 23 and 57 are the only canons that are similar to canonical material in the Life of Rabbula, the latter containing several instructions not extant in any collection attributed to Rabbula. To date, there has been little work invested in attempting to trace the origins of, or later parallels to, the canonical material in the Life of Rabbula. Broadly stated, the background to this legislation is the rapid growth of eremitic monasticism in Syria and northern Mesopotamia. It was not until the Council of Chalcedon (451) that monasticism became regulated at the highest level of the church. 42 Some portions of the legislation from the period immediately following Chalcedon have parallels in the canons attributed to Rabbula. For example, the law of April 15, 452, made it illegal for serfs, slaves, and certain others in military or civil service to become monks. 43 A study of the sources and transmission of the Rabbula canons that takes account of the rapid development of canon law concerning monks and the traditions of important sees and monasteries, as well as Byzantine civil law, remains a desideratum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Rab. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Frazee, "Late Roman and Byzantine Legislation on the Monastic Life," 268.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Novels of the Sainted Valentinian Augustus 35.1.3 (Clyde Pharr, ed., The Theodosian Code and Novels, and the Sirmondian Constitution [In collaboration with Theresa Sherrer Davidson and Mary Brown Pharr; trans. C. Dickerman Williams; The Corpus of Roman Law 1; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952], 546); and Frazee, "Late Roman and Byzantine Legislation on the Monastic Life," 269.

None of the parallels between the *Life of Rabbula* and the canons is conclusive for deciding the question of authenticity. The text of some of the canonical material in the *Life of Rabbula* is similar to the text of some of the canons, but it may be that a canonist compiled some of the rules in this collection from material preserved only in the *Life of Rabbula*. Yet it could as easily be the case that material in the *Life of Rabbula* may be based on one or more canonical collections. In other words, the attribution of the canonical collections to Rabbula and the similarities in content between the *Life of Rabbula* and the canons are two related but independent problems. Given that the manuscripts of the canons are all relatively late, and that there is a propensity to avoid anonymity or obscure authors in attributions in Syriac manuscripts, the problem of authorship of the canons is probably intractable.

#### 2.3. THE LETTERS OF THE RABBULA CORPUS

Of the letters authored or received by Rabbula, only a few are extant. Those that have been preserved seem to have been valued primarily for their witness to Rabbula's doctrinal position with regard to the Council of Ephesus; in the present state of the corpus, all but one of the letters addresses the christological controversy. It is likely that the pro-Cyrillian party would have preserved any written materials from Rabbula's episcopate, and it is no coincidence that the letters associating Rabbula with Cyril were preserved, as well as an edited version of Andrew of Samosata's Letter to Rabbula, consisting of five fragments that result in depicting Andrew as a heretic whom Rabbula anathematized publicly. Such letters of theological and ecclesiastical importance would have circulated more widely. In addition to the forty-six letters known to Rabbula's hagiographer, other letters may have existed that are no longer extant; these may have elaborated on matters of church governance, such as Rabbula's Letter to Gemellina, and could have formed the basis for the extensive (and possibly pseudonymous) canonical collections attributed to Rabbula. In the present edition, the text relies on earlier printed editions and discussions of the texts in the relevant literature.

#### 2.3.1. Correspondence with Cyril of Alexandria

The content and circumstances of this correspondence have already been discussed above in the context of the presentation of Rabbula's role in the christological debates surrounding the Council of Ephesus (431). The Syriac, Greek, and Latin witnesses to and editions of this correspondence are as follows.

### 2.3.1.1. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, Letter 34; CPG 5334)

This letter, extant only in Latin, <sup>44</sup> reflects the period following the Council of Ephesus in which Acacius attempted to forge a compromise between Cyril and John of Antioch. The end of this letter makes reference to unspecified writings by Cyril, and possibly by others, that Cyril sent to Rabbula. The works appended to this letter and to *Letter* 74 suggest that Rabbula, or members of the pro-Cyrillian party, possibly played a much greater role in translating Cyril's writings into Syriac rather than merely translating *De recta fide*.

## 2.3.1.2. Rabbula to Cyril (Cyril, *Letter* 73; *CPG* 5373 [Lat.], 6494 [Syr.])

This letter survives, incomplete, in several versions and excerpts. There is a "longer" version of this letter that is preserved only in Latin. <sup>45</sup> This complete Latin translation is CPG 5373. The "shorter" version is extant in three closely related Latin excerpts <sup>46</sup> as well as a Syriac translation, all of which correspond to section 2 of the longer version. The Syriac excerpt of this letter is attested in BL Add 12156 (fol. 91r; dated 562 CE). <sup>47</sup> This Syriac version is CPG 6494, and it is this Syriac version which corresponds to the three shorter Latin excerpts mentioned above. It is this shorter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> ACO 1.4:140; see also ACO 4.3.1:176, no. 44; PG 77:161-64; PG 84:721; McEnerney, Letters, FC 76:136-37 (McEnerney incorrectly refers to ACO 1.1.4).

 $<sup>^{45}</sup>$  ACO 4.1:89,3–27 (Acts of the Second Council of Constantinople); PG 77:347A-348B; McEnerney, Letters, FC 77:75–76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> ACO 1.4:212,20–30 (Collectio Casinensis) and ACO 4.1:87,13–31; Pelagius of Rome, Third Letter to the Bishops of Istria (ACO 4.2:124,12–26; McEnerney, Letters, FC 77:75 n. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 225 (text), xix (description of the manuscript), and xxxvii (table of contents); Wright, Catalogue, 2:639–48, here 647, no. 16.

Latin version and its Syriac translation, CPG 6494, that we have designate "Letter 73alt."

One cannot agree with McEnerney's translation of the longer Latin version, in which he reads, "Nestorius, unmindful of the new division, published this heresy as his own."48 The Latin word *incisio* does not typically mean "division"; the classical meaning is "clause," but one imagines that it translates a Greek word related to either peritome ("circumcision," "gash, cut,") or entomē ("groove, notch"). This is confirmed by the corresponding Syriac word  $g^e z \bar{u} r t \bar{a}$ , which means "foreskin" or "circumcision" and, by extension, "the Jews." The fact is that the text refers to Nestorius ignoring the anathema against those who reveal the contents of certain works of Theodore, allegedly set at the beginning of some of Theodore's tomes. Nestorius made these "public," and because of this he is called the "founder [Syr.:  $r\bar{\imath}\bar{s}\bar{a}$ ; Lat.: auctor] of the New Circumcision." The translator(s) of the Latin probably did not understand Cyril's hyperbole in this instance, and it is likely that the Syriac preserves a more faithful rendering of the Greek.

## 2.3.1.3. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, Letter 74; CPG 5374)

The full text of the letter that Cyril sent to Rabbula after the Council of Ephesus in 431 is extant only in Syriac and is found in BL Add 14557 (fols. 95v-96v; seventh century). Bickell provided a German translation, which was the basis for the English translation by McEnerney. A shorter variant of this letter, designated Letter 74alt, is preserved in Latin in the Collectio Casinensis, which was edited in Eduard Schwartz's Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Cyril composed this letter to Rabbula after the meeting between the Alexandrian and Antiochene bishops at Ephesus in September 431. In this letter Cyril mentions that he has attached to it certain writings against Nestorius. These writings are Against

 $<sup>^{48}</sup>$  ACO 4.1:89,8–15; McEnerney, Letters, FC 77:75–76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri*, 226–29 (text), xix (description of the manuscript), and xxxvii (table of contents); Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:719–21, here 719, 1e.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Bickell, Ausgewählte Schriften, 246–49; McEnerney, Letters, FC 77:77–80.

 $<sup>^{51}</sup>$  ACO 4.1:87; PG 77:347–48; McEnerney, Letters, FC 77:81–82 (alternate version). See also CPG 5374; and PG 77:161–64.

the Blasphemies of Nestorius (CPG 5217)<sup>52</sup> (a copy of which was sent to Rufus of Thessalonica, appended with other works to Cyril's Letter 43 [CPG 5343]), 53 Cyril's commentary on Genesis (part of his Glaphyra on the Pentateuch; CPG 5201), his Concerning Worship in Spirit and in Truth (CPG 5200), the Defense of the Twelve Chapters against Theodoret (CPG 5221), and the Defense of the Twelve Chapters against the Orientals (also known as Against Andrew [of Samosata]; CPG 5222). Of these, only Letter 43 is not known to exist in Syriac.<sup>54</sup> Immediately following this letter in BL Add 14557 one finds a Syriac translation of Cyril's work De recta fide addressed to Theodosius II, examined below. 55 Against the Blasphemies of Nestorius, which Daniel King has identified as the Tome against Nestorius, is quoted in Syriac only in florilegia, and no discrete Syriac copy of this work survives. Since reconstruction of this work remains to be accomplished, it has not been included in this corpus.<sup>56</sup>

### 2.3.1.4. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, Letter 101; CPG 5401)

This fragmentary letter of Cyril to Rabbula is preserved in Syriac in MS Vat. Syr. 107 (fols. 64a-65a). The Syriac text was edited by I. Guidi. <sup>57</sup> The letter has had a somewhat odd translation history

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> ACO 1.1.6:13–106; Quasten, Patrology, 3:126.

<sup>53</sup> Eduard Schwartz, Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431: Eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Philosophisch-Philologische und Historische Klasse 32; Abhandlung no. 6; Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1927), 19–20; McEnerney, Letters, FC 76:184–85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> See King, Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril, 27–33, for an overview of these materials. King treats at length throughout his work the Syriac versions of the Defense of the Twelve Chapters against Theodoret and the Defense of the Twelve Chapters against the Orientals.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:719–21, here 719, 1f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> King, Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril, 28, points to the importance of Syriac passages from the Tome against Nestorius in helping to settle the matter of Rabbula's authorship of the translation of De recta fide; but the matter does not seem to have been taken up in his voluminous work. Georg Graf, Die Übersetzungen (vol. 1 of Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur; Studi e Testi 118; Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1944), 360, also mentions an Arabic version.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> I. Guidi, "Mosè di Aghel e Simeone Abbate: Nota II del Socio Guidi," *Rendiconti delle sedute della reale accademia dei lincei*, 4/2.1 (1886): 545–47 n. 2.

in English. Guidi was the first to observe that this letter is different from the letter of Cyril to Rabbula that Overbeck edited. The translation of this letter from Syriac into English was prepared by Edward Mathews for the English translation of Cyril of Alexandria's letters by John McEnerney. 58 King was the first to recognize that the English translator mistakenly had rendered a section of Guidi's edition of the Glaphyra over the second page of the running footnote, omitting the first two lines of the footnote on the previous page and the several lines on the following page, which contained the conclusion of the letter. King supplied an English translation of this missing footnoted Syriac material in a footnote of his own. 59 We have referred to the translations of Mathews and King and here present for the first time a single unified translation of this letter. The Syriac text was taken from Guidi, as were the biblical citations and the indication of the manuscript pages, to which access was not possible.

The language of this Syriac translation has raised some difficulties, particularly in the use of the Syriac word ethallat ("to be mixed") to describe the relationship between Jesus's divinity and humanity in the incarnation. McEnerney (or Mathews) has problematized the presence of this language in the Syriac, claiming that Cyril rejected the use of the idea of a "mixture" to describe the incarnation in other letters. He (or they) conjecture that the translation was either an "innocent one," a matter of translation technique, or was an attempt to impose a more Monophysite rendering of this letter. 60 King's detailed study of Cyril's translation technique (which did not include Letter 101 in the corpus of data due to the fact that there is no Greek text to which it can be compared) has demonstrated that the Syriac hultānā ("mixture, commingling"), which is cognate to the root of the verb ethallat, was part of the variety of Syriac terms used to translate a number of Greek synonyms in Cyril's corpus, including in De recta fide. 61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> McEnerney, *Letters*, FC 77:160–63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> King, Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril, 31 n. 31.

<sup>60</sup> McEnerney, Letters, FC 77:160 n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> King, Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril, 142-43.

2.3.2. Correspondence with Andrew of Samosata

2.3.2.1. Rabbula's *Letter to Andrew* (*CPG* 6495) and Andrew's *Letter to Rabbula* (*CPG* 6384)

Of the correspondence between Rabbula and Bishop Andrew of Samosata, only two letters are extant. Rabbula's *Letter to Andrew* (*CPG* 6495) is preserved in Syriac translation in the form of excerpts in two manuscripts that Overbeck edited, <sup>62</sup> BL Add 12156 (fol. 68r; copied in 562 CE) <sup>63</sup> and BL Add 14604 (fols. 110v–1111r; seventh century). <sup>64</sup> Overbeck assigned these manuscripts the sigla "A" and "B" for this text in the table of contents but did not provide an apparatus.

The second piece of correspondence is Andrew's *Letter to Rabbula* (*CPG* 6384). The complete text of this letter is contained in MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 82 (fols. 317v–322r). <sup>65</sup> Anton Baumstark was the first to point to the significance of this letter. <sup>66</sup> It was edited and published with an Italian translation by F. Pericoli-Ridolfini. <sup>67</sup> Luise Abramowski has provided a detailed discussion, including text-critical emendations, guides to the translation of technical terms, an improved biblical citation apparatus, parallels, and historical contextualization. <sup>68</sup> These comments have been taken into account in the present edition and have been indicated only where necessary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 222–23 (text), xix (description of the manuscripts), and xxxvi (table of contents); Bickell, Ausgewählte Schriften, 159.

<sup>63</sup> Wright, Catalogue, 2:639-48, here 644, no. 1/12j.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 222 (text), xix (description of the manuscripts), and xxxvi (table of contents); Wright, Catalogue, 2:724–26, here 725–26, no. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Previously known as Borgia K, VI Vol. 4, Number 25; Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits du musée Borgia," 268; P. Cersoy, "Les manuscrits orientaux de Msgr. David au Musée Borgia," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 9 (1894): 361–84, here 371.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Anton Baumstark, "Ein Brief des Andreas von Samosata an Rabbula von Edessa und eine verlorene dogmatische Katene," *OrChr* 1 (1901): 179–81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> F. Pericoli-Ridolfini, "Lettera di Andrea di Samosata a Rabbula de Edessa," *RSO* 28 (1953): 153–69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Luise Abramowski, "Zum Brief des Andreas von Samosata an Rabbula von Edessa," *OrChr* 41 (1957): 51–64.

Overbeck had published extracts from this letter as found in MS BL Add 12156 (fols. 68v-69r), 69 which Pericoli-Ridolfini collated for his edition. In addition, fragments of this letter can be identified in two works of Severus of Antioch. Two fragments are found in his *Philalethes* (*CPG* 7023). <sup>70</sup> The *Philalethes*, originally composed in Greek between the years 509 and 511, is preserved as a whole only in Syriac; the Greek manuscripts are highly fragmentary, 71 and none reproduces the relevant sections containing Andrew's Letter to Rabbula. The three manuscripts that witness to Andrew's Letter to Rabbula—MS Vat. Syr. 139, MS BL Add 12155, and MS BL Add 14532—each date to the eighth century. 72 Hespel did not present variants from these manuscripts in this section. On examination of the Syriac of this passage, it is clear that it is independent of the text of Vat. Borg. Syr. 82. These two fragments are found in sections 4 and 9 of the text presented in this edition.

The first excerpt in the *Philalethes* (Vat. Syr. 139, fol. 72r col. b)<sup>73</sup> is introduced with "the same [letter] of Andrew from the letter to bishop Rabbula." The second excerpt in the *Philalethes* (Vat. Syr. 139, fols. 72r col. b-72v col. a)<sup>74</sup> is introduced with "and after a few [words]." In the present edition, the Syriac texts are collated, whereas the entire passages are translated in footnotes, for clarity.

The second text from Severus containing fragments of the letter is *Against the Impious Grammarian* (CPG 7024).<sup>75</sup> In this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri*, 223,10–224,end. These fragments occur in a larger collection of letters that span ninety-one folios in BL Add 12156 (sixth century, before year 562). See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:644, no. 1/12k.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Edited and translated by Robert Hespel, *Sévère d'Antioche: Le Philalèthe* (2 vols.; CSCO 133–34; Scriptores Syri 68–69; Leuven: Imprimérie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1952).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Hespel, CSCO 133:i-vi.

 $<sup>^{72}\,</sup>$  Hespel, CSCO 133:iii, and notes for references to descriptions of these manuscripts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> For the corresponding Borgia text, see below, 152 nn. 1–6.

 $<sup>^{74}\,</sup>$  For the corresponding Borgia text, see below, 162 nn. 1–17 and 164 nn. 1–2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Edited and translated by Josephus Lebon, *Severi Antiocheni liber contra impium grammaticum* (6 vols.; CSCO 93–94, 101–102, 111–112; Scriptores Syri 45–46, 50–51, 58–59; Paris: E typographeo reipublicae, 1929–1938; repr., Leuven: Imprimérie Orientaliste L. Durbecq, 1952).

work, there are two unique excerpts, with three additional echoes of sections of these. The manuscripts witnessing to these excerpts are MS BL Add 12157 (seventh-eighth century, MS "A") and MS BL Add 17210 (ninth century, MS "B"). The incipit of the first of the two main excerpts (located in MS A, fol. 81r cols. a-b; MS B, fol. 56v cols. a-b) 77 reads:

The wicked Andrew, who dared to write what is outside the law and in a deprecating manner against the twelve chapters [of Cyril against Nestorius], just as also Theodoret [of Cyrrhus did], in the letter to the pious Rabbula, who at that time was bishop of Edessa, who censured him because of his bold and blasphemous attack, wrote the [following].<sup>78</sup>

The second excerpt (located in MS A, fol. 81r col. b-81v col. a; MS B, fol. 56v col. b) is introduced with the phrase "after further [words]." This excerpt found in *Against the Impious Grammarian* covers part of the same text in the second excerpt in Severus's *Philalethes*. The other three excerpts found in *Against the Impious Grammarian* are all short, nearly verbatim echoes of clauses from these two. Like the two excerpts in the *Philalethes*, they represent a distinct translation of the letter of Andrew to Rabbula.

One possible parallel of a passage found in this letter is preserved in a work of Andrew of Samosata that is not otherwise attested; it was written sometime between 431 and 433 and is preserved in the *Hodegos*, or *Viae Dux*, of Anastasius of Sinai. Abramowski's comparison of this fragment with Andrew's *Letter to Rabbula* rules out any parallel between these two texts, stating that the passage in the *Hodegos* is more recent, based on its apparent reference to terminology found in Cyril's works that can be dated with sufficient accuracy. This letter fragment states that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Lebon, CSCO 111:ii-iii; Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:550–54, 548–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Lebon, CSCO 93:250-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> MS A, fol. 81r col. a; MS B, fol. 56v col. A; Lebon, CSCO 93:250.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Lebon, CSCO 93:250-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> See below, 152 nn. 1-6, 162 nn.1-17, and 164 nn. 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Anastasius of Sinai, *Hodegos*, or *Viae Dux*, 22 (PG 89:292C-293B; Uthemann, 300–305). This parallel was first discussed by Abramowski, "Zum Brief des Andreas," 55–60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Abramowski, "Zum Brief des Andreas," 58.

Andrew opposed Cyril's fourth anathema against Nestorius.<sup>83</sup> From the content of the letter one cannot derive any evidence that this fragment was part of a larger letter addressed to Rabbula.

The present edition has collated the material from Hespel and Lebon. For large portions of these texts, the differences with MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 82 are so great that block citations are provided in footnotes. The translations of these sections are entirely in block footnotes, for ease of comparison with the text of MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 82.

Pericoli-Ridolfini offers a detailed discussion of the historical setting of this letter among the rest of Andrew's correspondence, which survives in the Latin translation of material relating to the Council of Ephesus (431) in the *Collectio Casinensis*. <sup>84</sup> Andrew writes to counter Rabbula's personal attacks, attempting to persuade Rabbula that he is now isolated from most of the Antiochene bishops, and to continue his pressure on Cyril's assault against Nestorius. Andrew's *Letter to Rabbula* probably was composed in the period between the winter of 431 and April 433, when John of Antioch and Cyril signed the Formula of Reunion. <sup>85</sup>

## 2.3.2.2. Andrew, Letter to Alexander of Hierapolis (CPG 6374)

While this letter and the following letter are not addressed to Rabbula, they offer some important information about Rabbula's activity against Theodore of Mopsuestia and shed light on his real or perceived character traits. In this letter, Andrew complains to Alexander that Rabbula has openly anathematized not only Theodore of Mopsuestia but also any who even so much as read his writings. He urges Alexander to stand with him, break their silence, and confront Rabbula. Andrew states that separating Rabbula from communion with the rest of the bishops is an

<sup>83</sup> See ibid.; and Luise Abramowski, "Peripatetisches bei späten Antiochenern," ZKG 79 (1968): 358–62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Pericoli-Ridolfini, "Controversia tra Cirillo d'Alessandria e Giovanni di Antiochia."

<sup>85</sup> Cyril of Alexandria, Letter 39 (PG 77:173–82; ACO 1.1.4:15,22–20,13; McEnerney, FC 76:147–52; see also the translation by T. Herbert Bindley and F. W. Green, The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith: The Creed of Nicaea, Three Epistles of Cyril, the Tome of Leo, and the Chalcedonian Definition [4th ed.; London: Methuen, 1950], 141–44). For a discussion of the Formula of Reunion, see Frend, Rise of the Monophysite Movement, 21–23.

acceptable and even necessary solution to the problem. Thus, it is likely that this letter predates Andrew's *Letter to Rabbula* and the letter of John of Antioch and the synod of the Eastern bishops (*CPG* 6347). Andrew's *Letter to Rabbula* may well represent the first major counteroffensive of the Antiochenes against Rabbula's aggressive campaign. Thus, John of Antioch's *Letter to the Bishops of Osrhoene* is the realization of Andrew's plan to excommunicate Rabbula. This letter is extant only in Latin; the text printed in this edition is from the *ACO*. <sup>86</sup>

# 2.3.2.3. Andrew, Letter to the Stewards of Alexander of Hierapolis (CPG 6382)

Andrew of Samosata wrote to the stewards of Alexander of Hierapolis in order to defend his joining communion with Rabbula and Cyril following the Formula of Reunion that formally brought to an end the schism between the Cyrillians and the Antiochenes. One can infer from this letter that Alexander does not agree with Andrew's view that now after the Council of Ephesus Cyril has issued an orthodox declaration of faith. Whereas this letter is not addressed to Rabbula directly, it sheds light on the perception of Rabbula's character. Andrew insists that he has not met personally with Rabbula due to a deep-seated animosity that Andrew claims Rabbula holds against him. Furthermore, Rabbula seems to be upset that Andrew, while accepting the orthodoxy of the pro-Cyrillians, still maintains communion with the Antiochenes. Only the Latin version of this letter found in the *Collectio Casinensis* survives, edited in *ACO*, which is the text used in this edition. <sup>87</sup>

## 2.3.3. Rabbula, Letter to Gemellina, Bishop of Perrhe (CPG 6493)

Overbeck edited two sections of Rabbula's *Letter to Gemellina*. The first is a short excerpt preserved in BL Add 14532 (fols. 67v-68v; eighth century), which consists of a catena of citations from writers entitled "Volume of Demonstrations from the Holy Fathers against Various Heresies." The excerpt occurs in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> ACO 1.4:86,25–87,6 (Collectio Casinensis).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> ACO 1.4:139,6-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 230–31 (text), xix (description of the manuscript), and xxxvii (table of contents); Wright, Catalogue, 2:955–67, here 961. Baumstark (Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, 72, note 9) does not mention the existence of this fragment in his presentation of the witnesses to the text of

second part of this catena entitled "Demonstrations against the Julianists" (i.e., the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus). The second excerpt is a longer text preserved in book 10 of the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah of Mitylene* (BL Add 17202, fols. 182–85; end of the sixth-beginning of the seventh century). Because the sixth-beginning of the seventh century. Because the sixth-beginning of the seventh century. Because the section missing from BL Add 17202 in the middle of this letter. Fortunately, this letter was also preserved in the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian*, from which E. W. Brooks supplied the sections that are missing from the two British Library manuscripts. Brooks also collated the Arabic version of this letter, found in the Arabic translation of the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian* made by Bar Hebraeus, from the witness of MS BL Or 4402. Significant variants that Brooks cited in his critical edition from the Arabic are translated in the footnotes to the present edition.

The translation used here was also included in the new annotated translation of Pseudo-Zachariah prepared by Greatrex, Phenix, and Horn. <sup>91</sup> The reader is encouraged to consult the expanded notes to this translation, since the notes to the translation in the present volume are minimal in comparison.

the letter of Rabbula to Gemellina.

- 89 Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 231–38 (text), xx (description of the manuscript), and xxxvii (table of contents); The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah (BL Add 17202): Wright, Catalogue, 3:1046–61. Wright does not note the presence of this letter. See the Syriac text of Letter to Gemellinus in Pseudo-Zachariah in Brooks, 178–88; English translation in Hamilton and Brooks, 301–10. For discussion of the other translations and editions, see the introduction in Geoffrey Greatrex, ed., The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Religion and War in Late Antiquity (trans. Robert R. Phenix and Cornelia Horn; with contributions by Sebastian P. Brock and Witold Witakowski; TTH 55; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011). For a German translation see Bickell, Ausgewählte Schriften, 250–58. Arthur Vööbus has argued for the obvious concerning this letter's authorship ("Solution du problème de l'auteur de la 'Letter à Gemellinos, Évêque de Perrhé'," OrSyr 7 [1962]: 297–306).
- <sup>90</sup> Edited and translated by Jean-Baptiste Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)* (4 vols.; Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899–1924; repr., Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), 4:298–304 left column (C); French translation: 2:224 right column–233 right column.
- <sup>91</sup> Greatrex, Phenix, and Horn, *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor*, 403–12. The present translation contains only minor modifications to the spelling and punctuation.

#### 2.3.4. Two Letters Written in the Context of the Council of Ephesus

The present corpus includes some of the letters that provide information about Rabbula's activity and character, from the perspective of his opponents. A letter from Andrew of Samosata to Alexander of Hierapolis (*CPG* 6374, mentioned above), and the letter of John of Antioch and the synod of the Eastern bishops to the bishops of Osrhoene concerning Rabbula (*CPG* 6347) have been included. These materials are extant only in Latin. The Latin text printed in this corpus is that of Schwartz printed in ACO. 92

## 2.4. SYRIAC TRANSLATION OF CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA'S DE RECTA FIDE AD THEODOSIUM (CPG 5218)

In the seventh-century MS BL Add 14557 (fols. 97V-126V) one finds the sole witness to the Syriac translation of *De recta fide*, a tract on the incarnation of the Word of God addressed to Emperor Theodosius II. <sup>93</sup> In this manuscript, *De recta fide* immediately follows Cyril's *Letter* 74 and in turn is immediately followed by a closely related tract, *On the Incarnation of the Only Begotten* (*De incarnatione unigeniti*; *CPG* 5227). The header to this section names Rabbula as the translator, and that tradition has remained unexamined until recently. In his *Letter* 74, Cyril informs Rabbula that he has attached to his letter a copy of this work, and he encourages Rabbula to circulate it. Although Rabbula's authorship of the translation remains an open question, this text has been incorporated into the present corpus. Without reservation, Paul Bedjan names "St. Rabulas, his friend and correspondent"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Andrew, Letter to Alexander of Hierapolis (CPG 6374; ACO 1.4:86,25–87,6 [Collectio Casinensis]); John of Antioch, Letter to the Bishops of Osrhoene (CPG 6347; ACO 1.4:87,7–20).

<sup>93</sup> Wright, Catalogue, 2:719. Cyril's work dates to after June 431. For a discussion of the dating and its close relationship to Cyril's On the Incarnation of the Only Begotten (CPG 5227), see G. M. de Durand, Cyrille d'Alexandrie: Deux dialogues Christologiques (SC 97; Paris: Cerf, 1964), 36–57. For editions see ACO 1.1.1:42,10–72,32; PG 76:1133–1200; Pusey, Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli, 1–153; and de Durand, Cyrille d'Alexandrie, 188–301. For other letters of Cyril preserved in Syriac, see R. Y. Ebied and L. B. Wickham, eds., A Collection of Unpublished Syriac Letters of Cyril of Alexandria (CSCO 359; Scriptores Syri 157; Leuven: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1975), viii-ix.

as the translator, <sup>94</sup> and others have followed suit. <sup>95</sup> More recently, Daniel King has offered a careful analysis of the translation technique of the Syriac text. The first reader to raise systematic questions concerning Rabbula's authorship of this Syriac translation of Cyril's treatise was Barbara Aland, who argued that the attribution to Rabbula was the conclusion of the scribe who read *Letter* 74 and then copied this work immediately after it. <sup>96</sup> Against this conclusion, Brock notes that this was an early translation, <sup>97</sup> and King points out that its "loose, discursive style" suggests a hasty rendering, likely for public reading "in which only the gist of the original was retained." <sup>98</sup> While Rabbula may have been the translator, other possible translators include the author of the *Life of Rabbula* or someone else from Rabbula's school.

Paul Bedjan published an edition of the Syriac translation of this work in 1895. 99 Bedjan also back-translated material found only in the Latin text of *De recta fide* and occasionally offered emendations and references to the Latin text where this differs from the Syriac. Prior to Bedjan, Philip Edward Pusey offered an edition of the Greek and Syriac texts in his collected works of Cyril. 100 Until now, no English translation of *De recta fide* has been published; a German translation from the Greek was published by Otto Bardenhewer. 101 The present translation is based on the Syriac text of Bedjan, with no attempt to offer a collation of the

<sup>94</sup> Bedjan, Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, 5:x.

<sup>95</sup> See King, Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril, 27, for details.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel, *Die grossen katholischen Briefe* (vol. 1 of *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*; ANTF 7; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1986), 98.

<sup>97</sup> Sebastian Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," in *III Symposium Syriacum: Goslar 7–11 Septembre 1980* (ed. René Lavenant; OCA 221; Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983), 6.

<sup>98</sup> King, Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril, 28; see also the remarks of Otto Bardenhewer, Des heiligen Kirchenlehrers Cyrillus von Alexandrien ausgewählte Schriften (BKV 2.12; Munich: Kösel, 1935), 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, 5:628–96, adopting the paragraphs and numeration of the Latin text; see PG 76:1133–1200.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Pusey, *Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli*, 1–153 (Greek and Syriac [incorporated in *On the Incarnation*]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Bardenhewer, Des heiligen Kirchenlehrers Cyrillus, 21–78.

Syriac text with the critical edition of Schwartz. <sup>102</sup> In identifying biblical passages, we have relied for help on the citations in Bardenhewer's German translation. The present translation includes Bedjan's observations of how the Syriac text differs from the Latin translation to which Bedjan compared his manuscript. We have checked Bedjan's text and remarks against the edition of the Greek text found in Schwartz and have included any essential discrepancies along with corrections of typographical errors in Bedjan's edition.

#### 2.5. ADDITIONAL CORPUS MATERIALS

Under this heading are materials, which mention Rabbula in some way or which are attributed to Rabbula. It includes one piece of new material, which mentions Rabbula, namely, a section from a Palestinian Christian Aramaic text, which we identify as part of the Syriac Life of the Man of God. One significant omission from this collection is the hymns called mawrebbê, which are attributed to Rabbula. These are sung during Morning Service (Matins) in the West Syriac Churches. An edition and translation of these mawrebbê hymns is a future project.

## 2.5.1. Rabbula in a Christian Palestinian Aramaic Fragment of the Original Syriac Life of the Man of God

This text fragment mentioning Rabbula is classified by Hugo Duensing among unidentified Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA) texts in his edition. <sup>103</sup> Through the present intensive work on the Rabbula Corpus, identification has become possible. The first portion of this fragment represents the text that is near the end of the original Syriac *Life of the Man of God*. The material Duensing presents is found on two different pages of a manuscript, and Duensing believes both belonged together. Yet it is clear from the contents that Duensing's assumption is not plausible. Given that the material on folios 2r-2v can be identified with certainty as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> ACO 1.1.1:42-72.

<sup>103</sup> Hugo Duensing, Christlich-palästinisch-aramäische Texte und Fragmente nebst einer Abhandlung über den Wert der palästinischen Septuaginta: Mit einem Wörterverzeichnis und 4 Schrifttafeln (Jerusalem: Raritas and the English Department of MAKOR Publishing Ltd., 1971), 73–74.

portion of the original version of the Syriac *Life of the Man of God*, it is possible to show that Duensing has labelled the recto-verso in reverse; the translation offered here restores the original sequence. As far as the fragmentary state of the manuscript allows, it is translated here from Duensing's edition. Still, there is enough of a text to conclude, from comparison with the Syriac *Life of the Man of God*, that the CPA text of this manuscript is a fairly faithful translation, even if it may also reflect a slightly different recension. <sup>104</sup> The second section, from page 5 of the manuscript, is of an uncertain text, one that perhaps incorporates the story of the Prodigal Son in Luke. However, this material is more difficult to translate and remains unidentified.

[2v] They did not see the holy body that was wrapped in them [i.e., the rags]. Then [after] a long time they finished searching the entire grave, but they did not find the holy body, only the rags. He became stupefied . . . for a long time. The bishop [pappas] . . . [2r] Then they prayed, and the holy Rabbula was weeping, saying, "From now on, far be it from me to have from the Lord any other work but that foreigners are given rest out of concern. For who knows that many like this saint not . . . a person because . . . [li]ke him (?)

[5r] saying ... me; the remains of the rags are a disgrace, these that I put on shame me, and I am no longer worthy to be called your son ... Make me one of your hi[red servants] ... [5v] I am dead, a witness to my evil [deeds], and before my eyes my accusers approach (?), my own sight [theoria] accuses me (?). And they cry out against me the whispering of slander (?), and the sight of those who fight against [my] life speak against me.

# 2.5.2. Tract against Those who Sacrifice Meat for the Dead (CPG 6497)

It has long been held that Rabbula composed a treatise against Christians who sacrificed meat for the dead and then consumed the meat at a communal meal. Simple inspection of two known manuscript witnesses to this text reveals that there probably never was such a work authored by Rabbula. In both witnesses, the relevant portion of this treatise is excerpted and appears in a larger

<sup>104</sup> Doran, Stewards, 24, offers a translation of this passage.

work. Vööbus has identified several manuscript witnesses to this text: MS Med. Laur. Orient. 298 (fols. 139r col. 2 line 15–141r; thirteenth-fourteenth century; formerly known as MS Med. Pal. 62, section VIII), <sup>105</sup> MS Dam. Patr. 8/2 (fols. 66b-67b), MS Mard. Orth. 327 (fols. 109b-110a), and MS Mard. Orth. 337 (fols. 67a-67b). <sup>106</sup> In addition to these, one needs to refer to MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10 (fols. 99v-101v). <sup>107</sup> The present discussion centers on the Laurenziana and Borgia manuscripts, as the others were not available for inspection.

The attribution of this polemical tract to Rabbula is likely the result of a misreading of Assemani's description of MS Med. Laur. Orient. 298, which was later uncritically reissued by Biscioni with the addition of color plates from the "Rabbula" Gospel (MS Plut. I, 56). Assemani's description of MS Med. Laur. Orient. 298 would lead the reader to believe that section VIII contained a mēmrā by Rabbula against giving alms for the dead and against eating meat cooked in memorial for the dead. The entry is the eighth item in a list that begins with Ephraem the Syrian's treatise on unleavened bread and concludes with item ten, a sermon by Jacob of Edessa on immolations for the dead performed by Armenians, <sup>109</sup> followed by a brief biography of Jacob of

<sup>105</sup> Antonio Maria Biscioni, Bibliothecae Mediceo-Lavrentianae et Palatinae Codicum Mss Orientalium (Florentiae: ex Typographio Albiziniano, 1752), 107–13. This catalogue is a reprint of Stephanus Euodius Assemani's catalogue (Florence, 1742), with the addition of plates depicting artwork from the "Rabbula" Gospel (MS Plut. I, 56); see J. Simon, "Repértoire des bibliothèques publiques et privées contenant des manuscrits syriaques," Orientalia n.s. 9 (1940): 271–87; more recently on the Syriac Laurenziana material generally, see G. Gabrieli, Manoscritti e carte orientali nelle biblioteche e negli archivi d'Italia (Bibliotheca di bibliografia italiana 10; Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1930), 14; Anton Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlichpalästinensischen Texte (Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Webers Verlag, 1922), 72 n. 11; new appellation correctly identified by Blum, Rabbula, 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:136 n. 85.

<sup>107</sup> See also Blum, Rabbula, 1 n. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Biscioni, Bibliotheca Mediceo-Lavrentianae, 107.

This is reference to the Armenian practice of the *madal* meal of plain boiled lamb, traditionally eaten in commemoration of the departed (but not for saints). More recently among those of Armenian descent in the United States and elsewhere this meal is offered in thanks for recovery from a severe illness, accident, or other injury.

Edessa. 110 All the other names in this list—Isaac, John Chrysostom, Ignatius of Antioch, Gregory the Wonderworker, Dionysius bar Salibi, Severus of Antioch, Rabbula, St. John, and Jacob of Edessa—are cited in a single work that provides proof texts with explanations as to why Christians should not sacrifice a sheep and eat mutton in memory of the dead. Far from being the eighth section of this manuscript, the Rabbula material is a relatively short citation with commentary in the final section of the manuscript in a work attributed to Jacob "the Teacher," who may or may not have been Jacob of Edessa (the citation from Dionysius bar Salibi would have to have been the result of a later redaction). The bulk of this manuscript consists of the seven-syllable metrical  $K^e t \bar{a} b \bar{a}$ d<sup>e</sup> grammatīqī (Treatise on Grammar) by Gregory bar Hebraeus. 111 Both Baumstark and Blum present information concerning Rabbula's treatise without further investigation. Vööbus notes the existence of this work and the folio pages of MS Med. Laur. Orient. 298 but does not provide further details. 112 There is no doubt that work on this problem is difficult because of the lack of a modern catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts of the Laurenziana collection. This lack is rather surprising, given that the collection contains some of the most important Peshitta manuscripts, as well as the famous Rabbula Gospel. Before turning to the identification of this excerpt, recounting relevant information on the two manuscript witnesses is essential.

The physical layout of this section in MS Med. Laur. Orient. 298 is not uniform: folios 139r-14ov are written in two columns (as are most of the preceding folios of this manuscript), but folio 141r is written in a single column. Both sections are written in Estrangelā. The hand appears to have been the same.

The Borgia manuscript (Vat. Borg. Syr. 10) is a collection of canons, the contents of which are given in Mounayer, <sup>113</sup> who also, somewhat misleadingly, has identified the tract in question here (based on data derived from MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10) as one composed against those who give alms (Fr.: aumônes) for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Biscioni, Bibliotheca Mediceo-Lavrentianae, 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Baumstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, 317 n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 307:136 n. 85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Mounayer, "Canons relatifs aux moines," 407–8.

the dead. <sup>114</sup> The text in MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10, folio 99v, has a brief introduction, after which it begins with a citation from Ignatius the Illuminator (of Antioch). This corresponds to MS Med. Laur. Orient. 298 (fol. 140v col. 1 line 4), after which the two manuscripts have virtually identical texts for the rest of the treatise. It is clear that the text in MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10 was excerpted from a longer work witnessed in the Laurenziana manuscript.

The beginning of the section in Med. Laur. Orient. 298 (fol. 139r col. 2) is:

ورد همونه دونه رحمه والعدم الحد الترسم، هم المورد مرده ورده المحدول ا

Again, a *mēmrā* of Jacob the Teacher concerning sacrifices. "The sheep were worshiping the living sheep of the divinity, who became a sacrifice and rescued them from sacrifices. The same God perfected the mystery with the sacrifice of his Son, whom the sacrifices and the libations of the nations depict. After the great sacrifice for sin, henceforth another sacrifice will not be accepted. Today, the church does not sacrifice sacrifices in a Jewish manner, but rather the sacrifice is the body and the blood of the Son of God."

The opening of the untitled treatise in Vat. Borg. Syr. 10 (fol. 99v) reads as follows:

מסכ כיז כל בבמכינן מניטא גאיכמאא מביא בל הסביא הדימלינטאא הכמילים למסיביא מבולא מהכיא מדכיא מדיניאלא הייטאא הייטאאיי בייטאאיי בייטאאריי בייטאאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בייטאיי בי

Again, with the help of our Lord, we write the canons of the holy fathers concerning the regulation of Christianity, of those who offer the Offering, and concerning the first sacrifice [i.e., the Lord's Supper]. From Ignatius the Illuminator: "We observe the night of the fourth [day of Holy Week, i.e.,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Ibid., 408 n. 1.

Thursday], because on it our Lord figuratively foreshadowed his suffering to the apostles, and they trembled with distress."

Following this in both manuscripts is a catena of patristic references that support holding a Eucharist on Wednesday and Thursday of Holy Week and not abstaining from the offering on those days. Beginning on folio 100v, in the context of a discussion of why Christians should not celebrate the Eucharist on Holy Friday, so as not to imitate the Jews who sacrifice the paschal lamb on this day, the subject of not eating meat in commemoration of the dead is addressed, with a citation from Basil the Great. The passage attributed to Rabbula follows next. The Syriac text from MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10 (fols. 1017-101V), collated with Med. Laur. Orient. 298, reads:

[1011] \$\text{ct} d \text{dm} \text{ dm} \text{dm} \text{coning} \text{dm} \text{coning} \text{conin

[101r] Then there may not be meat for departed Christians; [the canon] of Rabbula of Edessa: "It is not allowed for the

<sup>115</sup> Med. Laur. Orient. 298, fol. 141r: omit.

<sup>&</sup>quot;because." بحيل 116 Med. Laur. Orient. 298, fol. 141r: المجلة, "because."

<sup>117</sup> Med. Laur. Orient. 298, fol. 141r: متمتع "Pagans and Jews."

<sup>118</sup> Med. Laur. Orient. 298, fol. 141r: אביזיססס איזושב אבן מיזבלס, "and Christians [have] vigils and Eucharistic liturgies." Instead of אבין מיזבלס, the manuscript erroneously writes אבין מין אונים אלס.

clergy, that is to say, the priests, deacons, and the faithful, to eat meat in commemoration of someone who has departed, and [it is not allowed] to drink wine, lest instead of a suffering heart that asks mercy for the departed, they are laughing and rejoicing and angering God, and instead of a heart that is filled with pity, they possess a hard and prodigal heart and become partakers with the Jews who crucified our Lord because he did not pay attention to their sacrifices. While pagans and Jews call for a sacrifice in memory of their dead, we [call for] a vigil, because during a vigil there is no meat, but rather the food permitted to Christians, in which there is no stench of animals. Just as <code>[roiv]</code> the Christians are distinguished from the pagans and the Jews by faith, so too is it fitting that they be distinguished by their commemorations, because Jews and pagans have sacrifices."

Following this is a passage condemning the Armenians that is attributed to Jacob of Edessa: "The Armenian people have lived lawlessly from their beginning, and from them has come forth no teacher, no ascetic  $(\bar{\imath}h\bar{\imath}d\bar{a}y\bar{a})$ , and no one of knowledge, and for this reason they are administered by strange teachers, who separated them from the true faith; among their teachers are Jews, and others are Phantasiasts" (the latter referring to the followers of Julian of Halicarnassus). The rest of the treatise argues against the Armenian practice as being the result of Jewish influence and condemns this practice for resembling the practices of Nestorians, with proof texts from Greek patristic writers.

There are no extant canons attributed to Rabbula that contain precisely this material. The closest text, *Commandments* 46, reads, "Neither the sons of the covenant nor the daughters of the

<sup>119</sup> The Syriac corpus of the works of Julian were edited by René Draguet, Julian d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ: Étude d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale suivie des Fragments dogmatiques de Julian (texte syriaque et traduction grecque) (Leuven: Imprimérie P. Smeesters, 1924). The Syriac of some of the correspondence between Julian and Severus was preserved in part, along with a brief introduction and conclusion to the surrounding historical events, in the Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah 9.9–13 (Brooks, 101–13). For an English translation and discussion of the correspondence between Julian of Halicarnassus and Severus of Antioch preserved in Syriac, see Greatrex, Phenix, and Horn, Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetori, 332–43.

covenant may drink wine on the occasion of a funeral." 120 The extension of this prohibition to the rest of the clergy and the faithful is not attested in any manuscript that Vööbus collated. It is possible that this is an excerpt from a lost treatise by Rabbula. However, it is also clear that the author of this catena, citing among its authorities Severus of Antioch, wrote against the Armenian practice of sacrificing sheep for the dead as part of the general polemic against the Armenian Church. Armenian Christianity had come under attack because of its adoption of the Christology of Julian of Halicarnassus, a fierce opponent of Severus, whose defense of the anti-Chalcedonian position became foundational for the theology and identity of most Syriac-speaking churches. In this context, it is possible that the author has added a polemical commentary to a canon of Rabbula that in its original conception had nothing whatsoever to do with either sacrificing meat to the dead or anti-Armenian polemics. It is of interest to note that at least one other Syriac canonical collection, MS Berlin Sachau 335, provides instructions as to the celebration of feasts for the dead, even while citing Jacob of Edessa and the patriarchs John and Ignatius of Antioch, who forbid such a practice! 121

Manuscript Berlin Sachau 335 also witnesses to a set of obligations with regard to prayer attributed to Rabbula of Edessa. This material has not been edited as part of the present corpus. 122

## ${\it 2.5.3.} \ An \ Inscription \ Mentioning \ Rabbula \ of \ Edessa$

In addition to the above-mentioned materials, one can now refer also to a very brief early inscription mentioning Rabbula. The exact provenance of this inscription is not known, but it is likely to have been on display in the vicinity of Edessa. The inscription reads: "In the year seven hundred and thirty-seven, in the days

 $<sup>^{120}\,</sup>$  Vööbus, Syriac and Arabic Documents, 43; see below, 112–13.

 $<sup>^{121}</sup>$  MS Berlin Sachau 335, fols. 1a–66a; description in Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:553–61, here 557.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Ibid., CSCO 317:557.

<sup>123</sup> Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, Alain Desreumaux, and Joseph Moukarzel, "Découverte d'une inscription syriaque mentionnant l'évêque Rabbula," in *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian Brock* (ed. George A. Kiraz; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2008), 19–25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> Briquel-Chatonnet, Desreumaux, and Moukarzel, "Découverte d'une inscription," 25.

of Mar Rabbula, the bishop." Seven hundred and thirty-seven is the year in the Seleucid era, corresponding to 424/25 CE. For the study of Syriac palaeography it is an important inscription. Yet other than the statement that the date given on the inscription is one that is entirely possible for Rabbula, given the dating of Rabbula's time as bishop, the inscription offers no significant information for understanding the life of Rabbula. This is further compounded by the unfortunate fact that the context of this inscription is lost.

### 2.5.4. Hymns Attributed to Rabbula

The collection of hymns presented in this study is the  $tak\check{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ , "supplications," attributed to Rabbula. These  $tak\check{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  are optional hymns for the Midnight Office on Sundays. Other collections of  $tak\check{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  are found as hymns for the dead in the West Syriac  $Beth\ Gazo$  (hymnal); many of them bear attributions to Ephraem the Syrian, while others are attributed to Rabbula. 126 It

<sup>125</sup> The poetry that is ascribed to Rabbula deserves greater attention than what it has received thus far. See Richard Hugh Connolly, "Some Early Syriac Hymns," The Downside Review 35 (1916): 137-49; Robert R. Phenix and Cornelia B. Horn, "Prayer and Penance in Early and Middle Byzantine Christianity: Some Trajectories from the Greek- and Syriac-Speaking Realms," in The Impact of Penitential Prayer beyond Second Temple Judaism (vol. 3 of Seeking the Favor of God; ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline; Early Judaism and Its Literature 23; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 225-54; Robert R. Phenix, "Approaching Penitential Poetry: Rhetoric and Exegesis in the Liturgical Hymns Attributed to Balai of Qenneshrin and the Supplications Attributed to Rabbula of Edessa," in Bibel, Byzanz und Christlicher Orient: Festschrift für Stephen Gerö zum 65. Geburtstag (ed. Dimitrij Bumazhnov et al.; Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 187; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 315-28; and most recently Peter Bruns, "Die Gedichte des Bischofs Rabbula von Edessa," in Orientalia Christiana: Festschrift für Hubert Kaufhold zum 70. Geburtstag (ed. Peter Bruns and Heinz Otto Luthe; Eichstätter Beiträge zum christlichen Orient 3; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2013), 129-44.

126 The origins of these hymns and their connection with Mesopotamian Jewish songs for the dead and with Akkadian laments are discussed in Regina Randhofer, "Zu den Takheshfotho der Totenfeier im westsyrischen Ritus," in Syriaca: Zur Geschichte, Theologie, Liturgie und Gegenwartslage der syrischen Kirchen; 2. Deutsches Syrologen-Symposium (Juli 2000, Wittenberg) (ed. Martin Tamcke; SOK 17; Münster; LIT, 2002), 355–79. On p. 358 n. 8, the author reports research based on testimony from three monks in Lebanon that there are over five hundred takšepātā in the collections sung for the burial of the dead;

remains a task for future research to examine the *takšepātā* material and provide a critical comparison with other manuscript witnesses. In addition, there are two hymns attributed to Rabbula in a collection of hymns by Severus of Antioch and others (*CPG* 7072). <sup>127</sup>

This material bears the promise of allowing the researcher to gain substantial insights into the liturgical reception history of thoughts attributed to Rabbula. The text offered here is not a critical edition. Many of the hymns are contained in known manuscripts that could not be obtained; without a doubt there are more manuscripts waiting to be identified. The present Syriac text and translation rely on two printed sources: the selected hymns Overbeck included in his edition and the complete collection of hymns published by the Dominican press in Mosul. <sup>128</sup>

Overbeck printed only sections of the first, fourth, and seventh orders (or tones) from two manuscript witnesses: BL Add 17238 (fols. 71b-73b; Melkite, thirteenth century) for the first tone, <sup>129</sup> and BB Marsh 479 (fols. 195, 176–190a, 190a-198b [omit 195]) for the fourth and seventh tones. <sup>130</sup>

The supplications of the first tone occur in BL Add 17238, the first part of which also contains hymns attributed to Severus of Antioch. The supplications of the first tone are part of a larger collection of  $tak\tilde{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ , with hymns for each of the eight tones. In a

these hymns could also be sung on other occasions, including during the reception of communion and in the Night Office.

- <sup>127</sup> Edited and translated by E. W. Brooks, *The Hymns of Severus of Antioch and Others in the Syriac Version of Paul of Edessa as Revised by James of Edessa* (2 vols.; PO 6.1, 7.5; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1909–1911), 138–39, 771–72 [359–60].
- 128 Breviarium juxta ritum ecclesiae antiochenae syrorum (7 vols.; Mosul: Typus Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1886–1896), 1:77–126.
- Wright, *Catalogue*, 1:353–54, here 354, no. 2; Overbeck, *S. Ephraemi Syri*, 245–48 (text), xx (description of the manuscript), and xxxvii (table of contents).
- 130 R. Payne Smith, Codices syriacos, Carshunicos, Mendaeos complectens (vol. 6 of Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae; Oxford: Clarendon, 1864), 183; and Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 362–69, 370–78 (text); xxii (description of the manuscript); and xxxviii (table of contents).
- <sup>131</sup> For a critical edition and English translation of hymns attributed to Severus of Antioch and others, see Brooks, *Hymns of Severus*, PO 6.1:1–179; PO 7.5:593–802.

subscription on folio 73b, only these supplications of the first tone are ascribed to Rabbula. Immediately following the supplications in eight different tones one finds a collection of *megalynaria* (Syr.: *mawrebbê*), which are hymns recited after the singing of the Magnificat, also arranged according to eight tones. This occurrence is noteworthy, since some Syriac traditions attribute the *mawrebbê* to Rabbula of Edessa, although the collection in BL Add 17238 is anonymous. This manuscript contains additional  $takš^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  on folios 130b-136a, which are anonymous as well. Neither the *mawrebbê* nor these additional  $takš^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  have been included in the present edition.

A manuscript with similar contents and arrangement to BL Add 17238 is BL Add 17254 (thirteenth century). This manuscript contains two collections of  $tak\check{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ . The first collection (fols. 164a-196a) comprises eighty-nine supplications arranged according to the eight tones. The superscription to this collection attributes them to Rabbula of Edessa, Maruta of Tagrit, and Ephraem the Syrian. Following these (on fols. 196b-200b), one finds a second collection of supplications for the resurrection,  $tak\check{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$   $daqy\bar{a}mt\bar{a}$ , also arranged in eight tones; there were originally thirteen, but the last hymn has been lost. None of these collections have been taken into account in the present study or incorporated into the present edition.

In the text offered below, the supplications in Overbeck are presented first, and those in the Mosul edition follow (sections 3.6.2.1 and 3.6.2.2, respectively). The differences between the first, fourth, and seventh tones are noted in the corresponding sets of supplications from the Mosul edition. An appendix contains tables charting the numbers of corresponding hymns in the two editions. Overbeck's manuscript and the printed Dominican edition from Mosul differ in several locations in the text, suggesting the necessity of a critical examination of the manuscripts for these hymns as a project to be undertaken by specialists in liturgical studies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Wright, Catalogue, 1:354.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> Ibid., 1:354, fols. 96b-104b; full text in *Breviarium juxta ritum ecclesiae antiochenae syrorum*, 1:15ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Wright, *Catalogue*, 1:355–56, here 356, no. 2.

The rubrics in the Mosul edition indicate that the hymns optionally replace the petition at the end of the office, or the concluding petitions and prayers at the end of the recitation of the psalms. The Midnight Office consists of a preface, which is common to most of the Syriac offices, followed by a collection of Psalms particular to the Midnight Office. The eight tones are each organized into several  $n\bar{\imath}$ sê ("canons" or "models") that follow the template of divisions in the Midnight Office. Each tone contains at least one complete canon, but most of the canons in a given tone are not complete. The titles of the hymns in each of the eight tones indicate to which of the three divisions or vigils (i.e., "watches" of the Midnight Office) a given hymn belongs. Each of the three watches has a different emphasis: the first is for the intercession of the Virgin Mary, the second for the intercession of the saints (or apostles or martyrs), and the third contains prayers for the departed. The  $\check{S}^e h \bar{\imath} m \bar{o}$ , the Book of Hours of the Western Syriac tradition, has standard hymns for all three watches of the night. The  $tak\check{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  attributed to Rabbula may replace any of these. The  $tak\tilde{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  also contain hymns on repentance and on the universal resurrection. When present, these always follow after those for the saints and precede those for the departed. Not all canons contain a complete set of hymns. Given that many of the hymns for the resurrection of the dead and for repentance include strong themes addressing life after death and final judgment, these hymns may simply indicate variants for the hymns for the departed sung in the third watch of the Midnight Office. The  $tak\tilde{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  on the universal resurrection may have been variants for the third watch sung on Sundays only, or during Pentecost.

A given tone, which indicates not only a musical scale but also a definitive melodic arrangement, had two or more melodic variants. It is likely that each canon within a given tone was sung to a single specific melody. A chanter would recognize the melody from the text of the hymn. In cases where the chanter might have a choice of melodies, the short phrases that introduce some of the hymns indicate the name of the song that contains the tune for that hymn. The Mosul collection contains pointers that some of the canons were chanted to the tune of the last hymn of the canon. This is indicated by a short word or phrase appearing at the start of the first three hymns of a canon. This word or phrase is the *incipit* of the last hymn of the canon. Thus, the "tune" of the last

hymn in the canon determines the tune of the preceding hymns in that canon.

Some themes in the  $tak\check{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  are consistent with the themes of midnight prayer: the coming of the bridegroom, the image of the last judgment, and prayers on behalf of the dead. Some hymns specifically indicate the midnight setting, encouraging the faithful to shake off their sleep in order to pray. This theme is found in just a few  $tak\check{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ , since the fixed prayers at the start of the Midnight Office, as well as the standard hymns in each of the watches, all play on the theme of rising from sleep for prayer.

Overbeck's manuscript also preserves two hymns for the washing of the feet on Holy Thursday. These are not part of the collection of  $tak\check{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ . They belong to the group of hymns called "Greek hymns," which are found at the end of the hymns of the fourth and seventh tones in Overbeck's manuscript. The Mosul edition does not contain these hymns, nor does it mention any other hymns of "Greek" origin.

It is difficult to come to any conclusions as to the authenticity of Rabbula's authorship from the Christology of the  $tak\check{s}^e p\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ , given that one finds no mention of or allusion to the controversy over the natures of Christ. Mary is the Birthgiver of God, and her son is God and a human being, but all christological formulae or hints at a specific theology of the incarnation are absent. The trisagion hymn, "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal," forms the basis of several hymns of repentance. The presence of the formula "who was crucified for us" occurs only in one instance. 135 Different explanations could be offered for this absence, including that it was removed in the Mosul edition of the hymns to reflect the "Chalcedonian" Christology of the Syrian Catholic Church, for whom the edition was intended; the or khach'ets'ar wasn mer of the trisagion hymn in the Armenian liturgy used by Armenian Catholics fell to a similar fate. Since there are no examples of a "trisagion" hymn occurring in both Mosul and Overbeck, any conclusions must be based on an analysis of the poetic content. If there were a clear violation of meter or versification in the Mosul "trisagion" hymns, this would indicate that a phrase has been

 $<sup>^{135}</sup>$  Hymn 4.25, edited by Overbeck, which is not present in the Mosul edition.

omitted. However, an examination of the meter and versification of these hymns was inconclusive on this question.

The meter of the hymns is generally comprised of six- or seven-syllable lines, arranged in bicola. However, the number of syllables in a line is not entirely regular, even within a single hymn. This violated regularity is different from the meters observable in the poetry of Ephraem, Balai, Narsai, and Jacob of Sarugh, in which the meter in a poem is always or nearly always regular. Omitting the epenthetic vowels that are not counted in the meter, there are instances in the  $tak\tilde{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  where a line has five or seven syllables. Some verses of twelve syllables cannot be divided into bicola without enjambment. Finally, many of the hymns have a final colon of eight syllables, perhaps set to cadences indicating the conclusion of a given hymn. This pattern suggests that the first part of the hymn is recited and the last bicolon is chanted according to a particular rhythm and melody. Thus, the melodic indications in the superscriptions of some of these hymns pertain to the last part of these hymns. 136

Peter Bruns's study of the *takšepātā* edited by Overbeck was the first to investigate their theological content. In his appraisal, he argues that there are no good grounds for doubting the ascription of these liturgical texts to Rabbula. <sup>137</sup> Bruns identifies six types of hymns: christological hymns, including those concerning the resurrection, the washing of the feet, and the cross; eucharistic hymns; Mariological hymns; hymns in honor of the martyrs and saints; penitential hymns; and hymns for the dead. <sup>138</sup> Bruns's brief discussion of the different types of hymns did not include these last two categories of hymns. With respect to the christological hymns, Bruns observes that the hymns concerning the cross contain as a recurring theme references to Constantine and the sign of the cross (i.e., indications of the legend of the sign of the cross appearing to Constantine before the Battle at the Milvian

<sup>136</sup> Randhofer, "Zu den *Takheshfotho* der Totenfeier im westsyrischen Ritus," 360–62, 377.

<sup>137</sup> Peter Bruns, "Bischof Rabbulas von Edessa—Dichter und Theologe," in Symposium Syriacum VII: Uppsala University, Department of Asian and African Languages, 11–14 August, 1996 (ed. René Lavenant; OCA 256; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1998), 195–202. Bruns does not mention the existence of the two groups of hymns preserved in the Syrian liturgy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> Ibid., 196.

Bridge).  $^{139}$  The hymns on the resurrection and the hymns for the dead reflect the concept of Sheol as featured in the Hebrew Bible, a concept that is shared by Aphrahat and Ephraem. Of note is that some of these hymns indicate that only the humanity of Christ descended into Sheol, a theme to which Bruns finds a parallel in the section of verisimilar speech in the Life of Rabbula.  $^{140}$ 

Other voices in the debate about assigning these hymns to Rabbula have been less favorable. Blum and Bardenhewer doubt that Rabbula was their author, 141 which is the natural conclusion, given that pseudonymous ascription is common in liturgical poetry generally. The appearance of the trisagion in some of these  $tak\check{s}^ep\bar{a}t\bar{a}$  with the phrase "who was crucified for us" presents some difficulty for ascribing them to Rabbula. Bruns notes that this expression occurs in one genuine instance in Cyril of Alexandria's corpus, namely, in the twelfth anathema against Nestorius. 142 In contrast, in the context of the Mariological hymns, the idea is expressed that the nature of the Logos is immutable and was not changed even during the incarnation. 143 This logos-sarx Christology occurs also in Rabbula's Homily in Constantinople, 144 as well as in the Life of Rabbula. Whether the idea that the Logos is immutable proves or disproves the authenticity of the hymns that contain the expression "who was crucified for us" is difficult to determine, although the evidence from the prose material of the Rabbula Corpus suggests that Rabbula believed in the impassibility of the Logos. Moreover, the terminology of the

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 197. On Constantine and the sign of the cross, see primarily Lactantius, *On the Death of the Persecutors* 44.5 (Städele, 200–203; Creed, 62–63); and Eusebius of Caesarea, *Oration in Praise of Constantine* 1.28–32 (Beckmann and Schneider, 182–87; Cameron and Hall, 80–82).

<sup>140</sup> See *Rab.* 45. All the first-person speeches and dialogues presented in the *Life of Rabbula* fall into the category of verisimilar speech, with the possible exception of the selections from Rabbula's preaching against Nestorius.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Blum, *Rabbula*, 206–7; and Otto Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Fribourg: Herder, 1924), 391. See also Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 72.

<sup>142</sup> Bruns, "Bischof Rabbulas von Edessa," 197; see also Grillmeier, Von der Apostolischen Zeit, 700–707; and idem, Die Kirche von Konstantinopel im 6. Jahrhundert (with the collaboration of Theresia Hainthaler; vol. 2.2 of Jesus der Christ im Glauben der Kirche; Fribourg, Basel, Vienna: Herder, 1989), 334–59.

Bruns, "Bischof Rabbulas von Edessa," 200–201. See Hymns 201.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> See below, 84–93.

Antiochenes, particularly that of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia, relied on the image of the human Jesus as the temple of God the Logos. <sup>145</sup>

According to the Mariology of these hymns, Mary was the greatest of all creatures, the pinnacle of creation. She was the dwelling place of God, prefigured in the biblical prophetic literature through many typological signs, including the cherubic throne of God.  $^{146}$  The image of Mary as the temple of the divinity of Christ occurs in these hymns as well as in Cyril of Alexandria's *Homily at the Council of Ephesus*.  $^{147}$  With regard to expressions of a eucharistic piety, Bruns notes the parallels between the hymns and the remainder of the Rabbula Corpus, particularly the canons concerning the proper celebration of the Eucharist. The hymns attributed to Rabbula refer to the Eucharist under the image of the "coal" (Syr.:  $g^emort\bar{a}$ ) that burns away the sins of the faithful.  $^{148}$  The necessary requirement of faith in order for the Eucharist to be sacramentally present to the partaker appears in the hymns as well as in Rabbula's Letter to Gemellina, which discusses eucharistic abuses.  $^{149}$ 

The theology of the hymns quite clearly reflects the christological and Mariological rhetoric of the Alexandrian party at the time of the Council of Ephesus, as Bruns has suggested. However, these themes remained important throughout the fifth century. It is equally plausible that a later author or authors composed these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> See Bruns, Menschen mit dem Himmel verbinden, 143, 193, 201.

<sup>146</sup> See *Hymns*, 294–95 and 356–57; see also Bruns, "Bischof Rabbulas von Edessa," 202. Mary's role as intercessor in the *Life of Rabbula* and the hymns ascribed to Rabbula has been the subject of investigation in Cornelia B. Horn, "Ancient Syriac Sources on Mary's Role as Intercessor," in *Presbeia Theotokou* (ed. Leena Mari Peltomaa, Andreas Külzer, and Pauline Allen; Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 153–76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> See *Hymns* 288–89, 342–43, and 366–67; Cyril of Alexandria, *Homilia in Deiparam* (PG 77:991–96). See also Bruns, "Bischof Rabbulas von Edessa," 201. Cyril of Alexandria's Mariology has been the subject of concentrated recent research efforts. See especially Antonia Atanassova, "'Container of the Uncontainable God': Mary the *Theotokos* in the Nestorian Controversy" (Ph.D. thesis, Boston College, 2003); and eadem, "Did Cyril of Alexandria Invent Mariology?" in *Origins of the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (ed. Chris Maunder; London and New York: Burns & Oates and Continuum, 2008), 105–25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> See *Hymns* 308–9; see also Bruns, "Bischof Rabbulas von Edessa," 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> See below, 190–91.

poems and ascribed them to Rabbula. Such an author or authors could have been motivated by a desire to keep the memory of Rabbula alive at a time when it seemed destined to oblivion, perhaps in the period during which Hiba was bishop of Edessa.

## 3.1. The Life of Rabbula $(BHO 1023)^1$

[1] [03 IS9] בתנת המה, הכל, לכם איש האסלית, כהנת איש (מון [03 IS9] בתנת האיש בישל איש (מון c

- <sup>1</sup> Text: Overbeck (S. Ephraemi Syri, 159–209); see also Bedjan (Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, 4:396–470) and Brockelmann (Syrische Grammatik, 69\*–101\*). Translations: Bickell (Ausgewählte Schriften, 166–211); Doran (Stewards, 65–105). For the introduction, see above, §2.1. References in brackets labeled "OB" are to the pages in Overbeck's edition. Folio numbers are from MS BL Add 14652.
- $^2$  ترديك (neṣḥānê) has the connotation of martyrdom or perfection (lit. "victory, triumph, trophy"). A closely related term, (naṣṣīḥā; lit. "bright, shining") also means "victorious" or "heroic" and in Syriac hagiographical literature frequently refers to a Christian martyr or martyrs. Rabbula's episcopacy is first explicitly described as a form of martyrdom later on. See Rab. 16 (Overbeck, 170).
- 3 Nestle, "Rabulas," 394, claims the name "Rabbula" was equivalent to the Greek ἀρχιποιμήν ("great pastor"). The name "Rabbula" may derive from an expression in a dialect of Aramaic, cognate to Syriac rab alāhā ("God is the Lord") or, less likely, rab 'elāyā ("the exalted one is the Lord"), if not from Syriac itself. An Arabic etymology from rab al-'ulā ("the Lord is the exalted one") or even from rab allāh ("God is Lord") cannot be ruled out, but there is no evidence that Rabbula's mother or father was an Arab.
- The Syrians held the city of Edessa in special honor and used to call it "the blessed city" or "the believing city." Evidence of this practice is preserved in the reported correspondence between a "King Abgar" (traditionally identified with Abgar V Ukkāmā ["The Black"]) and Jesus, recorded in the *Acts of Addai*. See Segal, *Edessa*, 73–74, for a discussion of the sources; see also Phenix and Horn, "Beyond the Eastern Frontier." See Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 1.13 (Schwartz, Mommsen, and Winkelmann, 2.2:82–96; Williamson, 30–34),

## 3.1. The Life of Rabbula (BHO 1023)

[1] [OB 159] The Heroic Deeds<sup>2</sup> of My Lord Rabbula,<sup>3</sup> Bishop of Edessa, the Blessed City<sup>4</sup>

My brethren: In the zeal of Christ's love we paint<sup>5</sup> before Your Charity by means of written [words] the icon of the excellent deeds of my lord, Bishop Rabbula, the boast of our city,<sup>6</sup> so that we and all generations may have an inspiring model<sup>7</sup> whose good deeds we should emulate: he who in the arena<sup>8</sup> of righteousness proved himself valiant<sup>9</sup> and in pitched battles with principalities<sup>10</sup> was found victorious, who by his wisdom overpowered the cunning of Satan<sup>11</sup> and who prudently despised<sup>12</sup> the world and its desires,<sup>13</sup> who by his warlike strength<sup>14</sup> trampled the power of the Enemy<sup>15</sup>

which is the earliest source of the correspondence; however, the "blessed city" occurs only in later versions of this legend.

- <sup>5</sup> Phenix, "Kunstprosaische Elemente in der Vita Rabbulae."
- <sup>6</sup> Commentators, like Baarda, "Gospel Text," 102–3, take this statement as an indicator that the author of the *Life of Rabbula* was from Edessa. Baarda adds that the biographer knew facts about Rabbula that "he recounted to us."
- 7 دید ( $n\bar{t}s\bar{a}$ ), lit. "banner," possibly alluding to 2 Tim 1:13, where a synonym خاص ( $hawr\bar{a}$ ), "sight, aspect, look, appearance" is found: "Retain the standard of sound words which you have heard from me, in the faith and love which are in Christ Jesus" (NASB).
  - 8 Gk. στάδιον.
- $^9$  سلحي (إُ $^e l ar i s ar a$ ), lit. "girt," but also "strong" and "valiant." See Eph 6:14.
  - <sup>10</sup> See Eph 6:12.
- Eph 6:11. The words אביב (ṣenītātā), "artifice, cunning," and אביל (ākel qerṣā), "slanderer," lit. "eater of a gnawed morsel" and a common term for Satan, have a parallel in 2 Cor 2:11 "so that no advantage would be taken of us by Satan, for we are not ignorant of his schemes [סאביבאס, maḥṣĕbātēh]" (NASB). The entire sentence is an allusion to 1 John 2:14: "I write to you, children, because ... you have overcome the evil one" (NRSV).
  - <sup>12</sup> 1 Cor 12:10.
  - <sup>13</sup> Luke 8:14; Titus 2:12; 2 Pet 1:4; and 1 John 2:17.
  - <sup>14</sup> 1 Cor 15:27.
  - <sup>15</sup> Luke 10:9.

עם. המשל בש הלמשה ליש הרשה ביז המש יהשאר [2]

Read for مصيح.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  משבדינטאל ( $m^e$ saybarn $\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ ), "patience, endurance, self-control"; see Col 1:11.

Gal 5:24.

<sup>4</sup> See Rom 16:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 Tim 5:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Jas 5:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Syr.: ≺ \\\`...\'; read either \(\delta add\(\bar{a}l\har{e}\), "beguilers," or \(\delta edl\har{e}\), "enticing, solicitation, lures, bait."

The meaning of these words in Syriac evokes the idea of ploughing hard earth:  $rac{k^eba\check{s}}$  means "break up (ground)" and "subjugate" and is also used to speak of reining in the natural impulses;  $rac{k^eba\check{s}}$  means both "sharp point" and "sharp edge," used to describe both a shovel or pickax and a sword. This double connotation between the ascetic hero and the peasant is evoked later on in the *Life of Rabbula*, when Rabbula is called a wise farmer of the heart in reference to sin and ascetic struggle; see *Rab*. 41.

and by his endurance<sup>2</sup> subjugated the flesh and its passions.<sup>3</sup> Satan, [who] hated him, he subdued by his fight, 4 and those whom [Satan] had led astray<sup>5</sup> he turned back to his truth.<sup>6</sup> The cunning lures<sup>7</sup> of the sweet enticements of sin he broke asunder by the sharp point<sup>8</sup> of his endurance. He helped people<sup>9</sup> by his words, and by his deeds he was profitable for many. 10 The angels he made glad and astounded by his stamina, and his Lord he glorified and magnified by his faith. He found his soul<sup>11</sup> and held [OB 160] fast to his life. The Spirit of God rested<sup>12</sup> upon him all his life, until he had raised up the crown of uprightness <sup>13</sup> after all the contemptible contests, 14 adorned with a good end worthy of God. Therefore, it is fitting 15 that we ought to inscribe for this renowned hero a fair record of his divine practices, so that we and all generations have the image of his heroic deeds, <sup>16</sup> a stirring model to emulate, like the virtuous fathers and the victorious ones whose names are renowned, 17 these who in the Old and in the New [Testaments] raised up the images of their virtues that the holy Scriptures 18 clothe 19 with the pigments of written words.

[2] Now that same blessed Rabbula was in his childhood a

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<sup>9</sup> See 1 Cor 12:28.
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Lit. "he turned many into heirs"; see Eph 1:13–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Matt 10:39.

<sup>12 1</sup> Pet 4:14. Note that the verb, the subject of which is the Spirit of God, is conjugated in the feminine singular, which is a frequent occurrence in Syriac texts dating to the early fifth century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 2 Tim 4:8.

<sup>14</sup> μαζκ (agōnīn), Gk.: ἀγῶνες.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Lit. "rightly necessary."

<sup>16</sup> نيسك (neṣḥānê). See above, n. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Lit. "their names."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Lit. "Books of Holiness."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> For a discussion of clothing metaphors in Syriac literature, see Sebastian Brock, *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World-Vision of Ephraem the Syrian* (CSS 124; Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian, 1992), 86–87; idem, "Clothing Metaphors"; and Phenix, *Sermons on Joseph of Balai of Qenneshrin*, 250–59.

The mo hoom, we have mon occatin. of seen white, the same have the season to be the season. The same have the season is the season of the season of the season that the season has season. Here have the season seen the season that we have the season of the season that season the season of the seas

- 1 Kanpā), designating a pagan or heathen, someone who does not belong to the true faith, i.e., who is not a Christian. Later on, Syriac authors like Theodore bar Kônî use the word also in reference to Muslims, given that it is cognate to the Arabic hanīf, which the Qur'ān employs as a substitute for muslim. See Sidney H. Griffith, The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 43. For a consideration of this term in relation to Manichaeans, see, for instance, Moshe Gil, "The Creed of Abū ʿĀmir," Israel Oriental Studies 12 (1992): 15–19.
- <sup>2</sup> Saints who have as parents a pagan father and a Christian mother are not infrequent in hagiographic literature, as Drijvers, "Man of God of Edessa, Bishop Rabbula, and the Urban Poor: Church and Society," 240, observes without further elaboration. Augustine certainly is the best-known example from the Western Christian tradition for that.
- <sup>3</sup> I.e., Emperor Julian the Apostate (361–363 CE). Testimony to the negative view of the reign of Julian the Apostate and to the ridicule to which he was subjected for his defeat in battle against the Persians in Syriac Christian circles comes from Ephraem the Syrian's *Hymns against Julian* (Beck, CSCO 174–75). English translations of these hymns against Julian are available in Judith M. Lieu and Samuel N. C. Lieu, "Ephrem the Syrian: *Hymns against Julian, the King, Who Apostasised and against the False Teachers and against the Jews (Hymni contra Julianum)," in <i>The Emperor Julian: Panegyric and Polemic* (ed. Samuel N. C. Lieu; 2nd ed.; TTH 2; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 89–128; and in Kathleen McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns* (CWS; New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 221–57.
- <sup>4</sup> According to Bowersock, "Syriac Life of Rabbula," 261, Julian left Antioch for war with the Persians on the Euphrates on March 5, 363. Bowersock makes a good case that although Qenneshrin was not on the road Julian traveled, he did stop in nearby Aleppo to sacrifice a white bull at its acropolis. It could well be that Rabbula's father made the trip to see the emperor

pagan, since his father was also a pagan. Moreover, [his father was] a priest, through whose very hands the criminal Julian himself, when he went down to the battle with the Persians, sacrificed to the demons. His mother, however, was a believer, and she was constantly making war with her husband that he be converted to the fear of Christ. Yet the strength of his tyrannical will was such that she did not succeed in converting him to the truth. He in turn provoked the faithful woman in every manner, yet it was not enough to force the strength of her freedom in Jesus into sin; each one of them remained in their own [faith]. From them was born the most heroic Rabbula, a zealot, a second Josiah, if this likeness by which we paint the honor of the saint is adequate. His mother entrusted him to a believing nurse to nurse him. Although while growing up he was educated in the literature of the Greeks as a member of the wealthy nobles of their city, Qenneshrin, his

or to participate and serve at the altar in this event. That the distance between Qenneshrin and Aleppo was not forbidding is testified later on in the *Life of Rabbula*, when Rabbula's believing mother seemingly without difficulty and with rejoicing takes her son to see Acacius, bishop of Aleppo. See *Rab*. 4 (Overbeck, 162). For Chalcis ad Belum/Qenneshrin and Beroia/Aleppo see Talbert, *Barrington Atlas*, 67 E4 (Beroia/Aleppo) and 68 C-D1-2 (Chalcis ad Belum/Qenneshrin).

- <sup>5</sup> For a study of the theme of the Christian wife struggling with her pagan husband in the literature of Christian beginnings, see MacDonald, "Early Christian Women Married to Unbelievers."
- $^6\,$  Josiah the son of Ammon was king of Judah ca. 642–609 BCE (2 Kgs 22–24 and 2 Chr 34–35).
- This was a common practice in both wealthy and less fortunate families. See, for example, Peter the Iberian, whose mother gave him over into the care of the foster mother Zuzo and the nurse Otha, to be fed and raised by them. See John Rufus, Vit. Pet. 17–18 (Horn and Phenix, 20–23; Raabe, 11–12). For discussion of the role of nurses in antiquity, see T. Hopfner and T. Klauser, "Amme," RAC 1:381–85; Th. Harald Schulze, Ammen und Pädagogen, Sklaven und Sklavinnen als Erzieher in der griechischen Kunst und Gesellschaft (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1998); and Jean Alaux and Françoise Létoublon, "La nourrice et le pédagogue," in Les personnages du roman grec: Actes du colloque de Tours, 18–20 novembre 1999 (ed. Bernard Pouderon, Christine Hunzinger, and Dimitri Kasprzyk; Collection de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen 29; Série littéraire et philosophique 7; Lyon: Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen-Jean Pouilloux, 2001), 73–86.
  - <sup>8</sup> See the introduction, xc-xcii.

פים, למי: זישאטלב בין טופסא'ז דאכסמי, למיבינטאמי זיבינטאי. סלמין לא אמלפים פיסא. באבוו פיסא זין כשסללא בשבמא ז'איםן א זיבן בלבא אמללב למי.

[3] [3] aikm 1.4 Lkh seikh 1.1100 moh Lose 1.4m. Lhe, cascin tale 1.5 tale 1.4m. Lhe, cascin tale 1.5 tale 1.5

See the introduction, lxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Κακεπᾱγê), "foreigners." These brethren may have been called "foreign" elliptically for "foreign from the world." In that case one may think of a group of hermits or anchorites living there. The brothers may also literally have been foreigners, that is, having come from elsewhere and wandered about until they settled at that site. The Syriac translates the Greek ξένος, used for a foreigner, stranger, pilgrim, or guest. See J. Payne Smith (Mrs. Margoliouth), A Compendious Syriac Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon, 1903; repr., Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1998), 16b, and Sokoloff, Syriac Lexicon, 45. For an important study of the ascetic ideal of living as a stranger to the world, see Antoine Guillaumont, "Le dépaysement comme forme d'ascèse dans le monachisme ancien," in Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Ve section: Sciences religieuses 76 (1968–1969): 31–58. See also Caner, Wandering, Begging Monks; and Horn, Asceticism and Christological Controversy, 257–60.

mother had already chosen for him **[OB 161]** a believing woman. All the while, his spouse and his mother were constantly enjoining him to turn away from the paganism of his father to the faith of Christ, but he did not obey them: he had become entrenched in the reputable office of honor bestowed upon him by the emperor.<sup>1</sup>

[3] Then a fortuitous occasion called him to go out to his estates on the edge of the desert of Qenneshrin. On the border of one of his lands was the solitary monastery of the blessed Abraham the Hermit. His [Rabbula's] servants and the residents of that place had told him beforehand that foreign<sup>2</sup> brethren were living in that monastery and wonderful powers of healing were performed at their hands by Christ, <sup>3</sup> God of the Christians. When he heard [this] he was astounded by the good report of his [Abraham's] miracles, 4 and the report of his heroic deeds fell in his soul like an anchor. When the fire of love of the adorable name of Iesus<sup>6</sup> hastened into his heart, <sup>7</sup> his mind began to cast doubt against his paganism, and soon it had carried him swiftly by the providence of God into the presence<sup>8</sup> of this blessed [Abraham], so that he would see with his eyes the power of the wonders of Jesus, whom he was hating. In the likeness of Paul by whom [Jesus] was persecuted at first, but [Jesus] bound [him] in the snare of the heavenly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lit. "And as he heard [this] the goodness [or "blessing"] of his signs astounded his sense of hearing."

 $<sup>^5</sup>$  Syr.: Τος Gk.: Τόγκινος; Sokoloff, Syriac Lexicon, 20, cites this passage with this reading. Lit. "like anchors"; see Heb 6:19: "We have this hope, a sure and steadfast anchor of the soul" (NRSV), which is consistent with the Syriac word  $r^em\bar{a}$ , "fall." Bowersock ("Syriac Life of Rabbula," 260), proposes to translate this as from the Greek δικεανοί associated with δικεανός, a metaphor invoking the roar of the crowd in the stadium. Doran, 67, translates this as "acclamations." The author may have had both contexts in mind in choosing this term.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For a study of early Christian devotion to the name of Jesus, see Hausherr, *Name of Jesus*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See the similar expression "the fire of the love of God" in the dialogue with Acacius at *Rab*. 7. For use of the "fire of the love of God" as a central motif in other hagiographies preserved in Syriac, see, for example, John Rufus, *Vit. Pet.* 119 (Horn and Phenix, 176–77; Raabe, 87).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Lit. "sight."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Lit. "in his beginning" or "in its beginning"; see Acts 9:4.

حتی دستنی تی لیدی حت میزد. مسلمی دم میرون ملی لعنینی. کسی دیمو لنده کی مده ملی لوزم لیسه کی.

(4) מכל האוטאר האוטאר במשמבה אלו בלהל האוטאר הלה שבה (4) شه دنه بحد مد من مرك برنا من عل بحد من العدادية من منه دنه منه ראאטר בסספר איים איים איים ארא דירטאלס [OB 162] איים אריים ועמלים (OB 162) עלים אכל הבי הכים בסומר אנגעם אכל אים הבים הכים עביל אים אכל אים אכל אים של היים מים אכל אים אכל אים של היים מים حصة ف مخعة ع مه مدحد من محد ساف بلمدحد احداث المدحدة للم مديد. אול. בד מאדמי כנפית של מדוק דמסאי סייד, מאפלב של עופסאמ בעולא وردع مراحم لعده بخر برمق بعبر عموم معروم والمراجع المستمرة حسلاء مراهاه :مين مي مصملاء [86r] خمصه، من مص حساب וסיפאי עו, כנא מבי בהמדנא הצבכת כנפינאי. כאמים אלה דאנאאא לה. منة كالله لعدمتها محدة سالمه كالحدة والمعدد المعدد אומא האשמים בנוסח, בא אלב הברח אמנחם ב מססי אשמוחבה בי wrokin. olok fort howers heaver warehinder halo whore שחשונות זכוה סעד, חבד אדו אמנה ומעניאלא כן באכא פים לח של משעאי אוליב זבול א זכן אעדיל נחסא מסבא לכלמה. סכל מוא מק זכלת עב לאיז בי שארט אמן ומא ומא אססמשאר שבים אנער בי בינאא. بعيز کر تديز کي

[5] محد عمد علم حكم المالية المالية المالية المالية [5]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Acts 9:4–6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Matt 11:29–30.

Recalls Paul's falling to the ground on the road to Damascus; see Acts 9:54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In the Greek biography of Alexander Akoimētēs, Alexander receives credit for having led Rabbula from paganism to Christianity. As Bowersock, "Syriac Life of Rabbula," 255, observes, many of the embellishments with which Alexander's biographer endows Rabbula are not mentioned in the *Life of Rabbula*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> There are several such allusions in the NT, but the closest is perhaps John 4:48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Lit. "a lure of life."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> John 4:7–29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> John 1:45–49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 298, for parallels to this *topos* in other hagiographical literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Jesus's healing of the woman with a hemorrhage in Mark 5:25–29.

voice<sup>1</sup> with the yoke of the cross<sup>2</sup> as [Paul] bowed [to him]<sup>3</sup> and [Jesus] snatched him from Judaism to his truth, so also [did he snatch] Rabbula from paganism to Christianity.<sup>4</sup>

[4] Since those who do not believe necessarily need signs,<sup>5</sup> the good Lord, who cares for his servants, had prepared a living lure, 6 like the one for the Samaritan woman 7 [OB 162] and for Nathaniel, 8 so that [Rabbula] was caught for life by a little sign. 9 Present with Abraham was a woman whose flesh had dried out and whose limbs had become weak after a long illness. 10 When the blessed Rabbula saw this miracle, he went away amazed in his soul over that which had taken place. He began to doubt his paganism through the power of Christ. In his heart he was saying to himself, as he recounted to us, 11 "If you are [still] ashamed to renounce the shameful gods of the Greeks and confess the crucified God, see what the remembrance of his cross has worked in your soul through the healing of that woman: and be true to yourself." When his mother beheld him transformed in his appearance and heard from those who had been with him of the divine action performed before his eyes, she made haste in her joy and went to the blessed Eusebius, bishop of her city. She informed him of her son's experience, and he rejoiced. When he had sent [for him], brought him in, and had explained to him many things from the Scriptures concerning Christ, he thought that help from others would lend support to his argument. Therefore [Eusebius] rose, and taking the trouble to accompany [Rabbula], brought him to the distinguished Acacius, bishop of the city of Aleppo, for they were brothers in Christ and had been instructed together in the honorable way of life of the monastery.

[5] When Acacius heard [of] the occasion of their arrival, he

Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 7.18 (Schwartz, Mommsen, and Winkelmann, 2.2:672–73; Winkelmann, 2.2: 672–73), reports a set of statues of the woman with the blood flow and Jesus healing her set up in Caesarea Philippi in order to commemorate this event.

Baarda, "Gospel Text," 102, sees this as evidence that the biographer knew Rabbula personally. Yet the comment could also be a literary device. That Syriac authors frequently employed such dialogues or monologues is witnessed to by the brilliant use of contrived conversations between biblical characters by Ephraem and Jacob of Sarugh, among many.

تسجمهم رزدمكم مغنى ربكاهن له. دنى للم هعدل كالحفادل سلك אטא בינה [OB 163] אבת המה אבת בא אלא מס איז בי אלא בינה בינה בינה אטא בינה בינה אנה בינה ווער ב לביטוא מס בין בא סאמי למ. אבע היא האל לפובי זמנא מומ Khando Kite . mhoims Kite on on on Khand Kit. I. «وزعكم لك نشمير. مدلة رب ممميع هيم لموحد مرتم سلالكما ممحة لم. معدد من مه لمدر عنونه عنونه عنون مسلم وعدد لم אסס הן יאבידי ארן בינעי עוני מון איבור ארסטן בין סס יאבידי ארן «هر حديده شر العزز كال الم معسده كالم الم المحمد الم المحمد مر المالك לום מם שלו אול באב במבי באל אשום אמול אול אבי באל אולים מם מו ידיאל ביז מה יהאמל משתי אובא אובאל אלוצ מה בבשם [87r] הלהליז מה סה . אשש איז ב מסח באז ואשבו מב זסאבאז אוא בשם אוש בשם הלה אדב אליץ אמי לה אסמבים. מסים ביון א האיל האי ביות מיני לאי אביאה לבסלים בי ביאף האמנו מנים אל זיני באמי לכם ל ישה משפסת . ביש מידישה מה מה אבי מן זהי ישוש מרדא מיד מלים בז משל משבי כנפיץ הסבונה אבעה השבי בשונה בל ביש הבמש בה אל העים בעיי. כוכה אל זכל שב שובא כן מומ ולשא זנה מוֹא ביים ביים

سل حلمص, عنة نا BL Add 14652: المنابع عنه المنابع الم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Paraphrase of 1 John 4:6.

The verbs used here foreshadow Rabbula's renunciation of the world. عنكانت (mestarraq), "be combed, be emptied, renounce," and مدل ( $q^e n \bar{a}$ ), "possess, acquire," also occur below, where Rabbula renounces all his possessions. See Rab. 10 and 54.

<sup>4</sup> Being tormented by demons, Anthony experiences a similar revelation. See Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 10 (Draguet, 26,4–7 [Syr.]; Bartelink, 162 [Gk.]; Gregg, 39): "In this circumstance also the Lord did not forget the wrestling of Antony, but came to his aid. For when he looked up he saw the roof being opened, as it seemed, and a certain beam of light [ἀχτῖνά τινα φωτός] descending toward him." Gregg (136 n. 24) notes that the "saving ray or beam appears elsewhere in Athanasian writings (notably *Or[ationes] c[ontra] Ar[ium]* 3.51) as part of a criticism of Arian Christology." See also Robert C. Gregg and Den-

greatly rejoiced, and his love swelled on account of Rabbula. He began by saying to him, "My son, you cannot comprehend the power of the truth that *is* the truth unless you understand that what **[OB 163]** you know is an error."<sup>2</sup>

Rabbula answered and said to him, "How am I able to know that something that I know is an error, if that which is the truth does not indicate to me distinctly by its illumination [what is] truth and [what is] deception?"

Acacius, however, conceded this objection of his from [a position of] strength and said to him, "You can know the truth if it is that which you know you did not know previously."

Rabbula then said, "This thing that I know, [namely,] that I do not know the truth, is not [itself] knowledge of the truth but rather proof that my error is [indeed] error; but it is the truth that I want to know."

Acacius said to him, "Believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Son of God, and so very wise is the truth that will lead you to him."

Rabbula then said, "And by what might I be able to come to recognize Christ, if he is the very truth that I need to know?"

Eusebius said to him, "He is the truth your soul makes known to you if you would be emptied of your knowledge and would acquire a need for his knowledge."<sup>3</sup>

Rabbula said, "How can I forget these [things] that I remember, albeit unwillingly?"

Eusebius said, "When the constant recollection of Jesus enters [and] dwells in your soul, all of the evil that disquiets you will see it and will go away from you in the likeness of darkness being dispelled before rays of light."

[6] When many things concerning the faith had been spoken between them, Rabbula vowed to go pray [in] the house of the victorious martyrs Cosmas and Damian. So they outfitted him with prayer and sent him off while rejoicing. As he was standing in the temple he saw a man, an acquaintance of his [OB 164] who had been blind but [now could] see, and Rabbula became astounded by the power of the cross. He was amazed especially at the wonder that

nis E. Groh, Early Arianism: A View of Salvation (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1980), ch. 4.

REDURY LYCY OFEN OFFOR ODIEN. OLDE RES ITERY: CI. CALLY TULY OSEC. OMEN LYOFUM: CI. COLF CY LOSEM LL JAMES ILLEN LOSEM.

[7] MAN TY DA NADED: OF TO THE TO THE STANK TY TO THE NATURE AND THE CEROSE ASCOME. OAT AND NADED WE, CEROSEDAN. OAT WE LED TO THE TOO THE STANK TO THE STANK CONTRACT OF OAKWAI. NOT THE STANK STAN

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck: משבשאמים.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ps 40:3; 51:15; Rev 5:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lit. "changed his path."

לבב"ה ( $metd^e k\bar{a}$ ), "to be cleansed," and משלים (methawwar), "to become clean (lit. "white")," are baptismal terms. This passage has a close parallel in a set of Epiphany hymns (4:19–20) attributed to Ephraem the Syrian. See the English translation in Brock,  $Luminous\ Eye$ , 93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See above, *Rab.* 3.

Reading  $ne^c mar$  with BL Add 14652 and Doran, 69. Brockelmann suggests an emendation to  $(ne^c mad)$ , "to be baptized." It is clear that Rabbula intends from the beginning not merely to become a Christian but to attain the perfect state of being a Christian, an ascetic.

For the description of the holy place of the nativity as a cave, see

God worked in himself: the Lord opened his lips, and he gave a new praise<sup>3</sup> of glory to God, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. He gave alms there, meditating on those things he had seen and heard, and he converted,<sup>4</sup> being reproached by his soul because of his error, which had lasted until then.

[7] He came to Acacius and revealed to him how God had made praise arise in his mouth while he had been standing in prayer, and he confessed his faith in Jesus in front of him. When Acacius heard [this], he rejoiced over [his] faith and said to him: "My son, in the heart of whomsoever the fire of the love of God has free course, all lusts with all [their] thickets of sin are singed in it and burned, and he is purified of them sevenfold and becomes clean."5 The bishops Acacius and Eusebius led him then to the monastery of the holy Marcianus the hermit and to the blessed Abraham, whom we recall from above. With bountiful discourse they strengthened his mind and convinced him to stay.<sup>7</sup> Rabbula promised them, saying, "Since I hoped in the Lord in truth and have come to believe in the Son of God, I vow all my soul to God, and I will abandon the world completely, go entirely toward God, and shut myself up in the monastery as you [have done]. This is my desire: to journey to Jerusalem, to see the Holy Place, and to be baptized in the Jordan just like the Messiah was baptized as a model for us." When the fathers heard these things they rejoiced, dismissed him with a prayer, and sent him off.

[8] When my blessed lord Rabbula [OB 165] went up to Jerusalem, he prayed before Golgotha in many tears and in anguish, entered the tomb of our Lord, [went] into the cave of [his] birth, and ascended to the Church of the Ascension. He gave alms to the poor and [then] went down from there to the Jordan. At once he made a request to the priests and recited the creed before them,

Eusebius of Caesarea, *Oration in Praise of Constantine* 3.43 (Winkelmann, 101–2; Richardson, *NPNF* 2/1:530–31). The tradition of Christ's birth in a cave is attested in the second-century *Protoevangelium of James* 18 (see Ronald F. Hock, *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas* [The Scholars Bible 2; Santa Rosa, Calif.: Polebridge, 1995], 64–65).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Lit. "the house of the Ascension."

<sup>10</sup> Lit. "faith."

[9] دست آن المحدد به المحدد ا

- Paraphrase of Mark 15:46; the nouns  $(k^e t \bar{a} n \bar{a})$ , "robe," and  $(k^e t \bar{a} n \bar{a})$ , "his body," and the verb  $(k^e t a k)$ , "wrap," are in common; it may also be an allusion to Rev 19:13: "Wrapped [in] a robe dipped in blood, he called himself 'The Word of God'" (our translation). This is a direct translation of the Peshitta of Rev 19:13, and is essentially identical to the Greek.
- 3 مراحة المعربية (ḥatnā ruḥānāyā); see Matt 22:11, the parable of the wedding guests at the spiritual wedding feast. The word ḥatnā means "bridegroom," but it can also mean a (male) relation through marriage, including son-in-law and brother-in-law. It might not be too much of a stretch to suggest that those baptized into the church, the bride of Christ, might be seen as relations by that marriage, if not specifically son-in-law/daughter-in-law or brother-in-law/sister-in-law to Christ. Bowersock, "Syriac Life of Rabbula," 267–68, proposes that this expression occurs also in Greek sources.
- $^4$  καριζ, ( $tayb\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ ), lit. "goodness," but used to translate Gk. χάρις, "grace" in the NT, and can also mean "blessing."
- in Syriac literature, see Peter Bruns, "'Die Blüte des Heiles': Bildmotive bei Ephräm dem Syrer und in der äthiopischen Dichtung," in *Garten des Lebens: Festschrift für Winfrid Cramer* (ed. Maria-Barbara von Stritzky and Christian Uhrig; Münsteraner Theologische Abhandlungen 60; Altenberge, Germany: Oron, 1999), 43–59; see also Paul-Hubert Poirier, *L'hymne de la perle des Actes de Thomas: Introduction, traduction, commentaire* (Homo religiosus 8; Louvain-

and they anointed him and baptized him. As soon as he came out of the water, the unique pigment<sup>1</sup> of the blood of Christ appeared all over the linen garment that was wrapped around his body<sup>2</sup> according to the custom of the spiritual bridegrooms of Christ,<sup>3</sup> shining everywhere on it in the sign of crosses. When all who were there saw this great miracle, they looked on, astonished and shaken, and trembling seized them. In their trepidation they fell down and knelt in prayer before God, praising God in a loud voice on account of all the mighty deeds that they had seen. When he had taken part in the holy mysteries of the body and blood of our Lord and had been initiated into the entire divine mystery, he returned to [his] city [Chalcis], rejoicing in his faith, leaping for joy in his hope, thriving in his love, drunk in his compassion, and receiving the goodness<sup>4</sup> of God.

[9] As soon as the blessed Rabbula was baptized, he went down to his city, entered his house, and made ready as he had promised. Like a wise merchant who sought after fine pearls,<sup>5</sup> when he had found the pearl of his hope, he went to sell all he had and bought it.<sup>6</sup> His gold and his silver and all that he possessed he distributed to the needy until his alms reached both the saints and the poor of Edessa alike, and he prepared to receive for him-

la-Neuve: Pierier, 1981); and Robert A. Kitchen, "The Pearl of Virginity: Death as the Reward of Asceticism in Mēmrā 191 of Jacob of Serug," Hug 7.2 (2004): 147-56, http://www.bethmardutho.org/index.php/hugoye/volumeindex/160.html. Ephrem's Hymns on Faith contain numerous instances of the pearl, a symbol of the gospel. An entire subset of these Hymns on Faith, namely, hymns dealing with the image of the pearl, builds on this theme. For an accessible English translation, see Edward G. Mathews Jr., "St. Ephrem, Madrashe on Faith, 81-85: Hymns on the Pearl, I-V," St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 38 (1994): 45–72. Ephraem also is very fond of the imagery of the merchant. See the discussion in Andrew Palmer, "The Merchant of Nisibis: Saint Ephrem and His Faithful Quest for Union in Numbers," in Early Christian Poetry: A Collection of Essays (ed. J. den Boeft and A. Hilhorst; VCSup 22; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 167-233. The allegory of the pearl also occurs in Manichaean texts. See, for instance, Victoria Arnold-Döben, Die Bildersprache des Manichäismus (Arbeitsmaterialien zur Religionsgeschichte 3; Köln: Brill, 1978), 45.

<sup>6</sup> Paraphrase of Matt 13:45–46. See Baarda, "Gospel Text," 112–13, for a discussion of these terms relevant to the Old Syriac Gospels.

[166] كىندى قىم مەلى كىن كىندى تەخىك ھىدىنى ھەدىنى كە دەھەدىك ئىندى ئىندى كىندى ئىندى كىندى كىندى كىندى كىندى كىندى كىندىك ئىلدىك ئىندىك ئىلدىك ئىندىك ئىلدىك ئىلد

- Syriac  $\langle n^eb\bar{\imath}y\bar{u}t\bar{a}\rangle$ , "prophecy," has a range of meanings. In the present case, the best translation may be "allegory." The author seems to have in mind that through acting out the commandments to care for the poor Rabbula has invested his money to receive a capital gain. That gain is the "treasure in heaven" that Rabbula stores up through good deeds, a form of spiritual investment that Christ made possible through his death on the cross.
- $^2$  καραδών. The whole passage is an allusion to Eph 1:14: "[The seal of the promise of the Holy Spirit] is the pledge  $(rahb\bar{o}n\bar{a})$  of our inheritance toward redemption as God's own people, to the praise of his glory" (NRSV).
- າ ກາວ ເທ້ ( $h^e d\bar{o}g\hat{e}h$ ), "her wedding guests." That the possessive pronoun here refers to the city of Edessa is supported by the following observations: (1) the only other feminine singular noun in this passage is (margānītā), "pearl"; (2) Edessa (Orhāy) is a feminine proper noun; and (3) this passage mentions that Rabbula also gave alms "to the rest of the places," which in the Syriac occurs right after the word "wedding guests." This word itself can also mean "friends of the bridegroom," an appropriate title for the poor and the holy ones, the friends of Christ.
- <sup>4</sup> Paraphrase of Matt 13:22–23. Bickell (172) understands it as "thistles and thorns," but here as Baarda, "Gospel Text," 111.

self that [pearl; i.e., Edessa] through prophecy<sup>1</sup> as an inheritance, **[OB 166]** for the mystery of Christ had already bought it for him as though [Rabbula were] a bride with the earnest money<sup>2</sup> of his alms, through her [i.e., the city's] poor wedding guests.<sup>3</sup> For he realized prudently in his soul that the ornamentation of this world and the anxiety of wealth, like thicket and thorns, choke the seed of the word of God<sup>4</sup> in the soul that is not vigilant, and [so] it does not bear fruit,<sup>5</sup> and because of this he took great care to cast off from himself all the heavy burden[s] of the fetters of wealth, so that the word of God that he received<sup>6</sup> could readily spring up [from] within and give fruit thirtyfold and sixtyfold and one hundredfold.<sup>7</sup>

[10] So with rejoicing he accepted the command of our Lord: "He who has not left behind all his possessions cannot be my disciple." Earnestly he distributed and gave all that he possessed to the poor, so that his righteousness should stand forever. He also sold his own farm lands and as is fitting divided their proceeds among the needy, so that through them his assets should be taken up to the heavenly treasury [and] his deposits with their interest would there be guarded for him. He even manumitted all his servants, both [those] born in his house and [those who were] purchased. He supplied each one of them with provisions and sent him off in peace; some of them he admonished and taught and

- <sup>5</sup> Lit. "it did not give fruits."
- <sup>6</sup> This entire passage is a mixture of phrases from the Synoptic Gospels. See Baarda, "Gospel Text," 111–12.
  - <sup>7</sup> Mark 4:20.
  - <sup>8</sup> Matt 11:29. See Baarda, "Gospel Text," 110.
  - <sup>9</sup> Ps 112:3.
- Matt 13:44: "The kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hidden in a field, which a man found and hid again; and from joy over it he goes and sells all that he has and buys that field" (NASB). The allegory of the pearl mentioned above (see *Rab*. 9) immediately follows at Matt 13:45.
  - 11 Matt 6:20, which Baarda ("Gospel Text") does not note.
- Lit. "the purchases of his money." Bowersock, "Syriac Life of Rabbula," 265, discusses the two kinds of slaves mentioned in this passage, those born in Rabbula's house and those who were purchased. For discussion of the situation of child slaves in antiquity, including those in Christian households, see Horn and Martens, "Let the Little Children Come to Me," 31–38 et passim.
  - <sup>13</sup> Deut 15:13–14.

تملیک میمه مد سدیک، مصحه سنون درسیک، صحب کم برد عملاولان، لحته من مدیر مریک درسیک، کمهنون مرحل می مدر برد مرک المدر مرک المدر

This comment evidences the presence of children in monastic settings in Syria. See also the discussion in Horn and Martens, "Let the Little Children Come to Me," ch. 8. For evidence regarding the presence of children in the monasteries of Symeon the Mountaineer, see John of Ephesus, Lives of the Eastern Saints 16 (Brooks, PO 17.1:242–47). See also John of Ephesus, Lives of the Eastern Saints 4 (Brooks, PO 17.1:64–65), which mentions that John's parents gave him to the monastery of Maro at the age of four, following a miraculous recovery from a childhood illness.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Matt 11:29–30.

<sup>3</sup> שמאלה (estereq), lit. "was combed," the same verb used by Eusebius in his dialogue with Acacius and Rabbula; see above, Rab. 5, above p. 13, n.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This passage is a paraphrase of Luke 14:26–27, noted by Baarda, "Gospel Text," 116.

brought to the monasteries.<sup>1</sup> As for his blessed mother, he took [and gave] away all that she owned, and she accepted the yoke of Christ joyously.<sup>2</sup> He dealt in this way also with his wife; his children, however, since they were young, he instructed and [then] entrusted to monasteries. Thus he was emptied<sup>3</sup> of all he possessed, so that the Lord of all possessions might possess him.

[11] When he had separated himself, according to the command of our Lord, from his mother and from his wife, from his sons and from his daughters, from the farm lands that he had and from all his property, from his dependents and from [OB 167] his servants, from his loved ones and from all he possessed [in] the world, he took up his cross secretly according to the commandment of our Lord and followed him completely. As soon as he had stripped off the world with its life and all that was in it, in the fervent longing of his true love of Christ he went out into the desert as a solitary so that he too might be tempted by the Slanderer according to the example of our Lord, 5 to wage battles with fierce pains like the champions in the open country, 6 to seize the contest with nature and his [own] habits, and to wrestle as a spiritual athlete with principalities, powers, and evil spirits from within and from outside. He went and dwelled in the monastery of the blessed Abraham, which was in the desert, the one whom we brought to remembrance above: by the little ray of one of his signs the blessed Rabbula had been compelled initially to leave the darkness of paganism for the light of the truth.8

[12] When [Rabbula] had stayed with him for a given time, [performing] his great feats, he pressed [Abraham] to let him take a small cell beside him and to reside in it as he pleased. [Abraham] agreed to his proposal and [Rabbula] adopted [the way of life of] the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Matt 4:1. Here, as in other places, Baarda ("Gospel Text," 108) convincingly shows that this quotation can come only from the Old Syriac, not the Peshitta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 8.2 (Bartelink, 156; Gregg, 37), describes how Anthony shut himself in the tombs and underwent painful tortures by the demons, recalling the confessors under anti-Christian persecutions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Eph 6:12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See above, *Rab.* 4, which recounts how Abba Abraham healed a sick woman.

وه برام متعند برسام برامه همه معرب برامه برامه

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This seems to imply that Rabbula had a larger family whom he persuaded to enter the monastery.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Peeters, "Vie de Rabboula," 145, who points out that the hagiographer seems to be confused here, since Eusebius of Tella already signed a letter to the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410 CE. See also Blum, *Rabbula*, 27 and n. 63.

Bowersock, "Syriac Life of Rabbula," 267, argues that the word  $(n^e s \bar{\imath} h \bar{a})$ , "glorious," should be rendered here as "victorious." He thinks that  $n^e s \bar{\imath} h \bar{a}$  translates νικηφόριον, the Greek name given to Tellā and other cities, several of which were known in Asia Minor and Roman Armenia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Acts 2:44; see below, Admonitions 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Lit. "the bread of their need." Cf. Matt 6:11; Luke 11:3; Baarda, "Gospel Text," 110.

منت ( $madb^e n \bar{a} g^e w \bar{a} y \bar{a}$ ). Bowersock, "Syriac Life of Rabbula," 266–67, confirms that this describes a more remote place in the desert. The

monastery. His brother and others dwelled with him, along with the blessed Eusebius, the one whom the holy Rabbula would make bishop of Tellā, the victorious city of renown. Their dwelling was like all monasteries: it was the image of the church of the apostles, such that everything that they had was held in common.

[13] Many times they passed the vigil without food, rejoicing. One day, as it usually happened, the bread from their monastery ran out. While he was giving thanks to his Lord, who deemed him worthy to bear [OB 168] sufferings such as these while exulting, grace sent to them at sundown the bread they needed. Abraham was astonished and amazed by the blessed Rabbula's strength of mind, for Rabbula saw that blessing and said, "Because God perceived my weakness, that I am not holding up under afflictions, he did this to tempt me," and with this decision, he took that food and gave [it] to others [that] evening, but they themselves went to sleep hungry.

[14] After seeing that a throng of people began to visit him so as to catch [sight of] the man who left the world and loved the wasteland, who hated himself and loved God, he stole himself from them and departed to the inner desert<sup>7</sup> just as the blessed Anthony also had done,<sup>8</sup> in order that he might not be hindered by their presence from his constant course of righteousness.<sup>9</sup> He found a small opening in the ground; at its side was a trickle of water, dripping enough for one person. His work there was this alone: constant prayer, the service of the psalms, and the reading of the Scriptures, for these are the righteous canons of all proper monasteries and of all who belong to our Lord.<sup>10</sup> He also set out [for the desert] for this reason: so that the thought of God should not at all be cut off from his soul. For there the Evil One stirred up against him

wilderness of Qenneshrin was an area of arid land that stretched south and east into the Syrian Desert from the marshland of the River Belus (modern el-Qweiq). See Monceaux and Brossé, "Chalcis ad Belum," 339–50. In this case, the "inner desert" is further south or east from the arid steppeland that would have been too dry for agriculture but was suited for pastoralism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 8; Anthony begins his ascetic isolation near his village (*Vit. Ant.* 3) and later moves out into the tombs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See 2 Tim 4:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A similar description is found in Athanasius, *Vit. Ant.* 9 (Bartelink, 159–63; Gregg, 38).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Matt 6:13; Luke 11:4, although here the verb is from Luke; "all evils" recalls the Hebrew translation of Matthew (Baarda, "Gospel Text," 110).

<sup>3</sup> حمد (zaw<sup>c</sup>ā), "shaking, impulse, movement, force."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See the introduction, xciv-xcvii, for further discussion of Arabs in the vicinity of Chalcis.

See Isa 6:3; Heb 12:24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For a discussion of this episode of the visit to Baalbek, see Jürgen Tubach, "Rabbūlā in Heliopolis-Baalbek," in *Sprache und Geist: Peter Nagel zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Walter Beltz, Ute Pietruschka, and Jürgen Tubach;

all his diverse and many contests, as that blessed one recounted. Vermin, strong and of manifold shapes, were openly coming near to him. He made snakes and scorpions swarm round about him and above him as his means of [inspiring] fear, [and] basilisks and asps as his means of terror, but they were all overcome by the power of the sign of the cross. Since Satan had not prevailed by his strength, he overturned [OB 169] the pitcher of water into which that little trickle was dripping, which was just enough for his need. These things, however, by which Satan violently fought with him to make him suffer, came to be much profit for his great righteousness, such that he would diligently be laboring in his prayer and would supplicate and call out in power to God to deliver him from all evils. For by endurance from outside and from within he valiantly withstood the Evil One; with all the good forces he was equipping himself to resist and subdue all the evil forces.

[15] While standing in prayer so that he would not break off [his] intimacy with God, it happened that a band of Arabs that had been approaching suddenly appeared to him. He rejoiced, convinced that finally the moment of his crown[ing] had come. They saw him [as] one who was dead in the empty cave, though he was alive, and they despised him. Leaving him alone, they took only his bread and his cloak and then departed. He, however, gave thanks to his Lord also on account of this [other miracle]: he was amazed that someone who had been coming to bring him a blessing, [namely,] the bread for his need, had encountered the Arabs but they had not harmed him. In this way his endurance was victorious on both accounts.

[16] While he was alive in his body and in his soul through these practices of the angels and his mind was dwelling before God, as in the likeness of the angels in their service in heaven, the sons of his monastery learned how and where he was. They came to bring him back to them by persuasion, but since the desire of confessorship was in his heart like a hot fire, he set out and took with him the blessed Eusebius, and the two of them traveled to Baalbek, a city of pagans. They went up in their godly zeal to the temple of their idols [OB 170] in order to smash them and

Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft 35; Halle (Saale): Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 2003), 329–41.

. אשיים איסיוטאב אפסספא אלטין איסטל איסים ביאיז [17]

¹ Overbeck: حبيب.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> MS حداه.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Overbeck: سنجني.

With Bedjan for BL Add 14652 and Overbeck كمحصد.

The example of the Phrygian Quintus in *Martyrdom of Polycarp* 4 (Ehrman, 1:372–73)—who "had forced himself and some others to come forward voluntarily" for martyrdom, but who "took fright when he saw the wild beasts" and in the end was persuaded by the proconsul "to take the oath and to offer the sacrifice" to the pagan gods—was put before the eyes of early Christians to warn them not to seek martyrdom. See also the comments in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 4.15 (Schwartz, Mommsen, and Winkelmann, 2.1:334–54; Williamson, 118).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The "they" in the Syriac text as a referent to the ones who are acting on Rabbula and Eusebius here and elsewhere in this passage is not specific, but must refer to some group in the temple or city of Baalbek.

to be esteemed worthy of martyrdom.<sup>5</sup> For [Rabbula and Eusebius] had not gone there in the expectation of returning alive but in the hope that they<sup>6</sup> would torture them, kill them, and through their murder make [Rabbula and Eusebius] martyrs, and [Rabbula and Eusebius] acted boldly so that they would do this. Although their sufferings of martyrdom were not lacking, they were delivered on account of the things to come, prepared for them by God, so that they should be successful in the episcopate. They beat [Rabbula and Eusebius] without pity until they believed they had killed them. Afterwards they hurled them like corpses from a high elevation with many stairs, by which their limbs were battered as they tumbled over each [step], striking them one after the other in succession, so that they were pummeled by each [step] as they descended until they reached the ground. [Rabbula and Eusebius] returned to their dwelling place, rejoicing that they were worthy on account of God to bear the wounds of Christ's passions in their body. They endured the afflictions of death as they had sought, but they did not die in martyrdom as they had expected. They were martyrs by their will as they had desired, but neither of them was perfected by murder, because they were preserved to crown many others.7

## [17] How the Blessed Rabbula Became Bishop of the City of Edessa

When my lord Diogenes, bishop of Edessa, passed away, the bishops, including Acacius the bishop of Aleppo, were assembled at Antioch with Alexander, the patriarch, to decide whom they should seat [as] bishop for Edessa. [OB 171] [At that time] the spirit of Jesus instructed their hearts, [saying], "Rabbula is worthy to be chosen for [Edessa] because I am pleased with him." Just as the Spirit spoke concerning David, so also was [the Spirit] spea-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See 1 Cor 12:31. The "crowning of others" foreshadows the ordinations of like-minded clergy, which Rabbula and Eusebius would perform later as bishops, as well as their efforts to shape a well-performing body of ascetics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Syr.: محمد (appīsat); Doran accepts the error in BL Add 14652 and in Overbeck here and translates "allowed."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See Matt 3:17; Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22.

لهعمعه, معسك تمه عرك كمعسمه, حكت من المعمد المعتده المعمد المعتده المعتده المعتده المعتده المعتدد الم

(19] Cr. Lack mal moim, afer remember riach icolm. Addition were lack modificer was lack operations. [949] ocurs rate

Overbeck: حملیک.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Acts 13:22, and cf. Saul's finding David worthy of his service as musician and armor bearer (1 Sam 16:22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 2 Kgs 16:12–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ps 89:21; see Ps 77:70–72; 1 Kgs 16:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lit. "his enemies of the truth"; 2 Kgs 3:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ps 89:23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ps 89:24a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ps 89:24b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 1 John 3:20–21.

אב'' (bart ḥē̄'rê̄), perhaps referring to his soul (Syr.: ביי (Inapšā̄], a feminine noun), in that Rabbula was of noble birth. This expression does not occur in the Peshitta of the New Testament (the masculine בּוֹ עב''ה' (bar ḥē̄'rê̄) occurs only in Col 3:11).

king about [Rabbula] in the mouth[s] of the priests, "I have found Rabbula, my servant, suitable for my service.<sup>2</sup> The ointment of my holiness will anoint him by your hands.<sup>3</sup> My hand will help him, and my arm will strengthen him;<sup>4</sup> I will destroy before him the enemies of the truth,<sup>5</sup> and I will shatter those who hate it.<sup>6</sup> I have also brought about through prophecy that he shall subdue the fury of heretics. My faith and my goodness are with him,<sup>7</sup> and in my name his horn will be exalted." Such was the witness that the spirit of Jesus confirmed in their souls.<sup>8</sup>

[18] Thereupon they sent [for him] with haste, took him by force from his monastery, brought him up to Antioch, and made him bishop. They did not let him speak on pretense as many [do] and persuade [them, saying], "I am not able to bear and endure the burden of power," for he did not even agree to behave hypocritically with the customary phrases of [those], whosoever they may be, [who] moan and seize upon excuses [such as], "We will not accept that for which we are unworthy." For he was spiritual and was anxious that his heart not reprove him over anything,9 and he judged everything in his noble soul uprightly, 10 so that no one might reprove him over something that was ungodly. He feared to resist, saying, "How can I stand against God?" 11 He iudged himself and said, "Not has anything whatsoever compelled my intellect out of desire, nor does [the desire for] property hold sway in my heart. I believe without hesitation that this is all truly the providence of God [OB 172] and that he has in this way willed for me the heavy yoke of power. The honorable mystery of the priesthood I will bear in my infirmity. May his will come to pass, and may his pleasure be fulfilled, for heretofore I have obeyed his word: my soul has gone out after him from the evil world, so that I may keep his commandments; so too at this hour I accept his commandment with faith, and by his power I shall enter back into the world, only that I do his will."

[19] When Edessa heard the good news that Rabbula [had become] the shepherd of the priests, <sup>12</sup> they made haste and ran out to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Rom 13:2.

<sup>12</sup> Lit. "priesthood."

orde at kitoo tamtoki. Edolan ağanın takin at Jöran rinimon, ediano uo, atkak efalokon kakiki. At Jöran katanın takakarık tatkin. A la ağının tinadini ekatikin talikin etalikin ocaadokin katanın anoo. Akin latinikin tamının takin tinan takin taki

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I.e., the bishop's throne.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Acts 20:28; 1 Pet 1:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See the introduction, ccxiv-ccxvii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ps 50:17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lit. "the sons of his clergy."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Col 2:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Lit. "and said as follows."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Matt 6:24; Luke 16:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 2 Cor 6:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 1 Cor 14:40.

meet him in joy and received him in peace and were rejoicing when he entered [the church] and sat on the throne of the priesthood, 1 with many praises from all the people of Edessa who lauded him with their voices. He manifested first of all his exceeding care for the glorious regulations of the service of the church, [saying,] "If the priests of Israel were serving with fear and reverence in a temporary tabernacle, how much more is it fitting for us that we should minister in fear and in love in this church of God that he founded with his blood?"<sup>2</sup> With the wisdom of God that he possessed he translated the New Testament accurately from Greek into Syriac, on account of its variations, as it actually was.<sup>3</sup> The many dishes of silver that had been cast with care for the service of the ten tables of the clergy he at once seized, and they were sold and their proceeds he distributed appropriately for the use of the needy, and he gently persuaded them to employ clay vessels. He thought too that he should sell for the churches the gold and silver vessels of the liturgy and give their proceeds to the poor, saving, [OB 173] "It is clear, to those who are experienced, that costly vessels of silver and gold for the liturgy can add nothing to the glory of God; rather, the Spirit of God is pleased with contrite hearts."<sup>4</sup> In their insolence his command was held in contempt: at the request of many he was prevented from doing any of this, since these were offerings of their forefathers who had passed on before them that they [had] offered to God in return for the salvation of their soul[s]. He counseled his clergy<sup>5</sup> as a father does his own sons, and he instructed them as a head does its members. He persuaded them lovingly and said. 7 "My brothers, you know that we are standing in the very high glory of the priesthood. All the people that are standing below us look to us for guidance. Now let no one have anything as a stumbling block. Let us not serve mammon in our liturgy, 8 and let neither the clergy or our Lord be brought into dishonor by us. Let us not do anything that might be condemned, either in our heart[s] or by the people, and especially [by] God. Yet in all things let us show ourselves to be ministers of God<sup>9</sup> through all things befitting God. As the Apostle said, 'Let us establish order in all things.' Therefore, as befits the beauty of true righteousness, 11 let us set the example in our own actions, witnesses to those watching that our promise is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Matt 3:15.

[20] دها ۲ تر مونسه عمر هسه ۲ تولیک اوز هر مها ۲ توه تریک ده تریک کره کم کم کمورک ۲ توه کی دولیک از کم توه کم ده کمورک ۲ توی داری کم کم کمورک از کم تره نامون کم تریک بره کمورک کم تره کم توه کمورک کم تریک بیس وارده کم تریک به بازوجه بریک بیس وارده کم تریک به بازوجه کم ده کم تریک کمورک کم کمورک کم کمورک کم کمورک کم کمورک کم کمورک کمور

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck: سطخ ا

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Rom 4:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See below, Admonitions 1. For the problem of ascetics in different positions avoiding any contact with women, see also the examples from the Life of Peter the Iberian and Abba Isaiah of Gaza's Discourses discussed in Horn, Asceticism and Christological Controversy, 164–65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Commandments 2. Rabbula explicitly forbade the practice of a man living with his daughter (see Rab. 36).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Commandments 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Commandments 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> That is, men in communion with Rabbula.

<sup>8</sup> Syr.: שבליס; read habrēh for Overbeck habrāh, "her companion."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Commandments 10.

Commandments 23.

Lit. "deprivations." See also Canons for the Monks 11, 16, 25, 26.

<sup>12</sup> Or "habit," "[priestly or monastic] garment." See Canons for the Monks 12.

true.<sup>2</sup> On account of this I beseech you, in the gentleness and humility of the Messiah, that above all things you separate yourselves from all contact with women.<sup>3</sup> Let no one among you ever be persuaded to live with the daughter of his brother or the daughter of his sister, <sup>4</sup> [and] if possible and not a burden on you, neither [with] his mother nor his sister, as befitting **[OB 174]** purity.<sup>5</sup> Certainly do not disgrace your honor through service from secular female or male slaves, <sup>6</sup> but rather your independence should be honored by the brothers, the sons of our mystery, <sup>7</sup> as is fitting for holy persons, or you should serve one another, while [each] one from among you should live with his companion <sup>8</sup> as befits Christian love. <sup>9</sup>

[20] "Meat and fowl<sup>10</sup> as well as washing in the bath[s] except by the compulsion of sickness or the suffering of pain are completely forbidden. You should also take care against a profusion of bodily nourishment, even with simple food, lest its enjoyment vex you with worry over lack of it. 11 Also, the love of money or the desire for possessions, these [things] which are alien to our right behavior: 12 let this not be mentioned among you. Let not shining garments or polished ornaments weigh down the honor of your chastity; rather, instead of these may you be constant in fasting, prayer, and holy works. 13 Let no one among you give himself to things befitting the world, and let no one among you give himself over to the affairs of the members of his family; 14 rather, may you be occupied with the reading of the holy writings. Do not love empty vanities, and to wander about in the streets of the city aimlessly 15 and to display yourself with empty eloquence, which [is] of no advantage, like those who are vain. Rather, be diligent in the service of the church of God, by day and by night, <sup>16</sup> and always and in all your manners show the proof of good servants, <sup>17</sup> that all men may believe firmly from your appearance that the faith [that is] in

See Canons of Rabbula 5 = Admonitions 16; and Commandments 11.

See *Admonitions* 13. The second part of this instruction witnesses to the ongoing involvement of ascetics in the affairs of their family of origin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Canons for the Monks 2.

See Commandments 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Matt 25:21, 23.

עה בידוא אור בשבר אור בשבר אל ז זיין מיש [21] מיש בידוא אור בידוא אור בשבר אל זיין מיש (21] تسلمه مهانة بمل لتحكم بعد تحصه عوس مكسلم تدمهه على ملحقيم تحصور من وزوعهم لل ورده و محمد و المحمد و ورده و محمد و مح עבוניתם ב בבמולותם בשל בל המסם בל (177 מבי זועים) مدرسه ما مرسله شاعه و مستن المستعدة مد مرسه مرسه وحلاله מהכון מסס. אונה סאסוב אתבי המתר ושנהאא הבואא. חשםל باسه : مور سعر کم دهرماه مرتب الدتر الماء لابعل הנים אבן מש בעלים במום בילים במום בילים בעלים בעלים בעלים וכוא Kereston Ecerum. Eld man Li Ludhingh Ei Lum. Ecerum ist man האמפשם כנות גלא עסש, לביבאיאו. אם הבל ואד האני הלה מבל בלחת, consolor ration con sexua. when it rature cities of the consolor מסא. סדושבת אוד בעל על אוצ לא אולף בים מאי. דל שאטאפ בעלמה מבילו אלא מה האב כן מידא הופצח הרבלות כעוד [97v] מהא. יבל כמבת אבות [OB 176] מזגא במשבת למה בול עוד (במונות לבים למה בים בלם בים למה בים למ أذكم عدّمهم لعب عدلا محدا مهمه ودا ملم وللمان فعلم والمان فعلم والمناد בו משמו בבלא האלמא לבלמם במבטאיי וא ביבי במם מומ ححمد ۱۰۰ د به دسم و بالمرم عليم منهم مرم دور دهما בתות. שבת מסא ביו לביא כבל אמבים שוני איתי ואיתי וכנוא לביא مماتك بصدك بصدك عددك، يصمه والمعادي مدمن المامة

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck: ベኔኒጄ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Matt 23:33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Mark 8:38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lit. "in his hand."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Read sg. for pl.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Matt 5:30; Mark 9:43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 1 Tim 5:22.

you is the promise of God," and like a prophet he testified to them in his speech, saying, "If you heed me [OB 175] and you obey me, not only will you eat the fat of the earth, but you will also partake of the goodness of heaven. But if you do not pay attention [to me] and you resist, you will be held in contempt in the eyes of all of us in this world, and you will be sentenced to the punishment of Gehenna<sup>2</sup> before the angels and in the eyes of all the ages."<sup>3</sup>

[21] Those whom his love did not convince gently, his fear compelled them by force. He humiliated justly those who were haughty so that they might repent, and he honored prudently those who were least so that they might be strengthened. Those who were going astray insolently and in their opulence were lifting themselves up above their neighbors he abased and belittled greatly so that they might feel sorrow. Those who, in willing affliction or [in the affliction] of poverty, were conducting their lives patiently in all modesty, he exalted and loved exceedingly: [to them] he entrusted the leadership of the church. He took pains toward those under his authority; those to be chosen for the ranks of the priesthood were perfect in these virtues and in many others in addition to these. For he was agonizing in his thought a long time, that he might find by his investigation evidence that he was putting his faith in someone who is true<sup>5</sup> in order to offer him for the service of the Messiah. For it was a trifling [thought] for the strength of his mind to give his right hand to be cut off from him mercilessly<sup>6</sup> rather than to stretch it out rashly over the head of a man concerning whom he had not received trustworthy testimony. For through [his] action he was fulfilling the word of the Apostle: he was not at all persuaded to place the hand hastily on anyone, so that he not participate in the sins of someone else, <sup>7</sup> but moreover [only] one who was free from the passions of his soul and his body should draw near to his ordination [OB 176] to the holy mysteries of the priesthood. In a loud voice he announced their names before the whole church, that whoever desired ordination should approach, while he was witnessing by the word of God to all the audience that if they knew among them someone who was foreign to God they should reveal [it]. Along with this he was both secretly conducting all possible investigations concerning them, while he also opposed those among the very same who were found guilty in any matter of bloodshed. He took pains in virtually every aspect that those who approached God for ordination should be without רש ערוז . אסס, מסאיל אנים אין מור איזים און אריים אין מור אנים אין המצע האיז.

[23] ملطم مسحه تقعه هامهٔ مِومهٔ مِومه محلو، تعلی المحله وحده محلوم المحلم المحلم محده المحلم المحتود با بالمحلم المحتود بالمحمد المحتود بالمحلم المحلم الم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lev 22:20.

See Gen 4:4. For the interpretation of the figure of Abel in early Christian literature, see Sabine Schrenk, "Kain und Abel," *RAC* 19:943–72; and Johannes B. Glenthøj, *Cain and Abel in Syriac and Greek Writers (4th–6th Centuries)* (CSCO 567; Subsidia 95; Leuven: Peeters, 1997). See also Sebastian Brock, "Fire from Heaven: From Abel's Sacrifice to the Eucharist; A Theme in Syriac Christianity," *StPatr* 25 (1993): 229–43; and Dirk Kruisheer, "Reconstructing Jacob of Edessa's *Scholia*," in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Tradition* (ed. Judith Frishman and Lucas van Rompay; Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 187–96.

The following three canons closely follow the text in Rab. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Admonitions 25.

See above, cix and cxxv.

stain, like a choice sacrifice<sup>1</sup> and the acceptable offering of Abel, the first priest.<sup>2</sup> His concern was such that the priests might resemble in their service the likeness of the angels of heaven as much as it was possible for humans to do so.

[22] Who is able to recount his constant admonitions with respect to the chaste covenant of men? For in all the twenty-four years of his life in the priesthood, he did not cease from exhortation, and we are not able to note and set down the great care of his daily admonitions.<sup>3</sup> He entreated and threatened [them] that they must abstain from contact with women entirely.4 He commanded and warned that they must not eat meat or bathe so long as they are healthy.<sup>5</sup> He advised and instructed them that they must not drown in the commerce of the world.<sup>6</sup> He forbade them to lend money with interest or in usury. He implored them gently by his word that they love one another. He advised them that if possible each one of them should live with [OB 177] his companion. 9 He admonished them and exhorted them to be engaged in fasting and to be constant in prayer. 10 He encouraged them, that in everything they should show themselves through works to be disciples of the Messiah, while also commanding by his word that the clothing, shoes, and cut of the hair on their heads should not appear extravagant.11

[23] The whole covenant of women he admonished at all times, that the face of a bride of Christ must never appear in the street in front of anyone without the covering of chastity, <sup>12</sup> that they not display at all any sign of licentiousness in any of their manners of dress, <sup>13</sup> and that none of them ought to go to the assembly [of worship] or to any appropriate place without the company of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Admonitions 25; see Mark 4:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Admonitions 9; see Exod 22:25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> John 13:34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Commandments 10; see Ps 132:2.

<sup>10</sup> Commandments 11 and 27; see Mark 9:29.

<sup>11</sup> Canons for the Monks 5.

For Western patristic perspectives on the veiling of virgins, see, for instance, Tertullian, *De virginibus velandis* (Eva Schulz-Flügel and Paul Mattei, eds. and trans., *Tértullien: Le voile des vierges* [SC 424; Paris: Cerf, 1997]).

<sup>13</sup> See Canons for the Monks 1 and 27.

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[24] אלים מסי איל כבל פסומים. דירוא בייוא כבי הליא איני בעל פסומים. בייוא בייו س لاتعمه العاملية معنا به وحينا به العاملية المعاملية المعاملية الإناملية المعاملية العاملية العاملية المعاملية مر المالي في الما الاسم المربع المالي المال ترمح ما ما موم المعرب عنه موم معلم مع ما المورد المعرب معلم معرب المعرب דבל אפישי דין לאכז האכים בא מואה בין מואבי ופיא מוא מ حدمه مسعة. وعنهملم لمن صريمهم عمة صمم وحلام محللم مطلقة معسم دروندره. ولك يموم درة دور ودور مدر مدر مدرو دروسك مو درانك. مودل مومك بن علمه, حسوص ته معدد المصمة [OB 178] مختم عدم إدلام. סנחם משל אבין לבינה לבלה השבי עיל לבלשה עיל מה למשם صلمه المالم عنول مالم عنول مالم عنول معلم المالم المالم المالم عنول مالم عنول مالم المالم المالم المالم المالم حقم لحمه, تمسل معزعه مرمه لف. مهم ترم سلك مصمح مالوبك ملاسم. دخلهم, ستلام لنه دعمه مهم حط سعبه. حر حباز علمشحهم, [99v] لعجيدهم. محسم حقمكممر لحتيمهم. محسط حلمقدممر لحسلهم. ترح حده حدم حد حد حد حد حد مد حدم دحمد الم מסא. ממעבוא מסא בין נפינת מכולא כו בא זונין לפסו בוא זבלכת. אים משעיי ביבן פעיי ישט דישעי באילי אשריי עאטיישה אין אביל אריי אריי איייישלי אייי המתמבואי בל בלע מתמבן מים אל של אביביי בהל לעדים אח זמביי.

[25] محقتدم و بالم حقد الملاحق المحتاد موسلات ماسلات ماسلات ماسلات موسلات موسل

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Commandments 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The reader witnesses here an important moment in the process of the formation of female ascetic life. For a view inside women's monasteries, see, for example, the *Martyrdom of Febronia* (Brock and Harvey, 150–52 [introduction], 152–76 [text]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Lit. "associate them with righteousness."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lit. "a visitation of goods."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Rom 9:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Matt 25:21, 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See the introduction, ccxxvii.

many [other women]. He wanted that all the [spiritual] daughters of each deaconess live with her in continence, holiness, and chastity, [saying,] "The unity of many can be [such] that it guards each of them."

[24] He was anxious in every way to wrest people from sin and to make them partakers in righteousness.<sup>3</sup> Like a prosperous shepherd who with diligence tended his flocks, so was the care of that spiritual shepherd for the rational flock that was committed to him by God. For he feared to rest even for a little [while] out of concern for it, lest out of concern only for his own body one soul [of those] with him might perish and be lost. In great vigilance he kept diligent watch at all times, praying on its behalf, and was wearied by his concern that there not be in it anything evil either in secret or in the open. He had taken upon himself in his love that, if it were possible, his flock should [OB 178] perform good deeds<sup>4</sup> but he should become as one rejected;<sup>5</sup> such was his benevolence toward it. In much affliction on its behalf he was laboring in prayer before God at all times, while in the meadows of the power of the Holy Books he was pasturing it with his spiritual savings, and by his living words he was watering it [with] divine teaching in all earnest care as though from a sweet brook, while guarding the things of heaven with his warnings, and healing with consolatory discourses the sick and strengthening by his [words of] encouragement the strong, lest for any length of time any from his flock should stray out of negligence on his part. For his soul believed in the blessed hope that was kept as the reward for his days, just as the testimony of God [had it], who said to him in that parable of his talents, "O good and faithful servant, you have been faithful with little, I will place you over much. Enter into the joy of your Lord."6

[25] His excellent commandments for the priests in the villages, in the monasteries, and for [the sons and daughters of] the covenant<sup>7</sup> are [too] many to recount, but according to our ability we mention some of them. For his word was at all times [endowed] with the grace of God, as though it were seasoned with salt<sup>8</sup> and could give grace to those who faithfully accepted it. For his word was credible to his audiences through the example of his deeds, because his deeds and his words, through hearing and through sight,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Col 4:6.

لحلیو حدملانی میده من من من من عانی من حلیو [1001] حدامدلی میده ترسلی میده تری میده من میدی میدی میده میده میده میده میده تری میده تری میده تری میده تری میده تری میده میده تری میده میده تری میده از الاس میدا میده تری میده میده تری میده از الاس میدا میده تری میده میده میده تری میده

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Matt 12:34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Deut 10:16; 30:6; Jer 4:4. The author refers to the quotation from Jeremiah, as is clear from the following passage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Jer 4:1–5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Critique of the theater in the Syriac tradition is also expressed in work offered by Jacob of Serug. See, for example, Cyril Moss, "Jacob of Serugh's Homilies on the Spectacles of the Theatre," *Mus* 48 (1935): 87–112. For a study of John Chrysostom's perspective on the theater, see Blake Leyerle, *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), ch. 3.

Lit. "wickedly, impiously."

were profitable to everyone, and they were received by all persons as true testimonies. His word was fearsome in its admonition and was weighty in its warning, and it was beloved for its exhortation and profitable to its hearers [when put] into action. [OB 179] For from the fullness of his heart his lips were speaking, <sup>1</sup> and they were exhorting everyone to [imitate] the virtue of his deeds. He was not satisfied to be meticulous in his speech, except [with regard to] how someone might be turned toward God from evil deeds to deeds of righteousness. It was [hardly] for his lack of knowledge in these [matters] or [in things] like them that [his speech] was wanting; rather, he was concerned only that [his words] be virtuous and profitable to people. He was never deceived that he should have anything to do with the ornamentation of polished words in his sermon, for he did not speak in the church in order to make known the abundance of his wisdom and bring praise upon himself as others [do, who are] despised by their audiences; rather, everywhere he was solicitous that he circumcise the heart[s]<sup>2</sup> of his audiences from bad things to good [ones] with his sharp word and was anxious that they not withhold on their part glory to God. As though he were repeating in his sermon the powerful speech of Jeremiah the prophet, in the likeness of a trumpet he was crying out into the ears of the people, so that they separate from iniquity and [from] the sins that weakness spawns.<sup>3</sup>

[26] Moreover, he humbled those who made haste with lust to view the despicable and unseemly event that is in the theater and in the circus. By his authoritative command he abolished completely the odious sight of fanged beasts shedding the blood of a human being in the stadium. He forbade it rightly, saying, "Far be it that such a thing may occur in a city of believers, people who in their faith eat the body of God and drink his blood, [that they] should view the flesh of humans consumed [OB 180] gratuitously by evil beasts for sport," while he showed them by his word the wounds of the sins, which without cognizance may have control over their souls in the guise of enjoyment. Just like the one who out of his love for them was wounded for their sake, so truly did he feel pain because of those who were acting most evilly unto the perdition of their lives by their disobedience. For it was not that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The pronoun "he" may refer to Jesus Christ or Rabbula.

رتعب المامع عدم المامك عدم ومع بالمامك ومعتب المامك ومحتال المامك المام استام معلام و مدسم مهم والمار عفد لحديد ل وسلم المراد من المرد ال شدل خزده المراكم والمراكم مراكم والمراكم المالي مراكم مراكم مراكم مراكم المراكم المراك בא מש מא אמת האביה (מוסף) השלבה משל אמת האלם משם אל מש האלם تدهدادة, لحسب بهم مهم لم إدم تمصل معمم مه تمديد במיבנטאמי. בא מס עלפטמי, בראכמי זבלמטי, אין זכנטו אים מסא. حدادم بية مهم مصل محصة لمعدل شهودهم وتعلام المكارم הנפיצא הנאניבע עבת מסא. מאל מסא ארל, הכובו המא היוער העבעה העבעה העבעה מסא לבישה (בפון דים אליי אר זים זייער ולבצמון (B 181) משפטא לפישה אמת בישה אומם אמת خدة ۱۰۵ تنیع منسل مهم محمد تحلمتنجه تخلمه بصوم لحصر دنعه דישבאיז יאט בכשל אין באבא באבא בארא האמשב אין אין דישביז איל יאאמלים זי محدة. مملا مرمه لامد محلار. ووقع معيد وقد محمد دهيد דישוא האמבוא מעביש משמבוא יהא וכשמבוא מפיבוא מומשל בייים בייים איזים בייים איזים בייים איזים בייים איזים בייים ביים בייים בייים בייים ביים בייים בייים בייים בייים בייים בייים בייים בייים בייים Khah goh. Tim oicih. cfiloka si cel hacia azh gok. Teluot במארי שואסיי עידי ויבים ווועם ליבים ווועם ליבים איפים איפים ביים מיים ביים ליבים איפים ביים מיים ביים איפים ביים .രരന

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jer 15:19c.

Syriac tradition is fond of the image of Christ the healer and "medicine of life." For a study of spiritual sickness and healing in early Syriac writings, primarily those of Ephraem the Syrian, see Aho Shemunkasho, *Healing in the Theology of Saint Ephrem* (Gorgias Dissertations; Near Eastern Studies 1; Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias, 2002). In the present context, medical imagery is applied to the role of the bishop, which contributes to the theme of *imitatio Christi* in the overall portrayal of Rabbula.

he would witness to the people out of a duty to turn [them] from their evil ways in order to save himself by admonishing [them], but rather so that it might it be fulfilled in him what God promised through the mouth of the prophet, "If you speak what is valuable rather than what is cheap, you shall be my mouth." Thus he worked with all his strength.

[27] Concerning those who were struck down from the vow of celibacy and holiness by the wounds of sins in their body, it suffices for us merely to recount in his words the pangs of sadness that goaded him in his heart on account of them. Who from among those who are sound in their steadfast way of life, that should [Rabbula] hear concerning him that he had fallen ill from some evil deed, [Rabbula] would not become ill, suffering with him on account of it? Or who among those embracing Christ would bring to [Rabbula] his confession, that he had dishonored his covenant or was suspect in his faith, and he was not burning with pain over it as though [it were] fire for his sake? For at all times like an experienced doctor<sup>2</sup> he discerned what [remedy] to use against various types of diseases of the soul: sometimes it was with compassionate admonition that was useful for the reprimand [OB 181] of impiety, as though he would lance with a sharp blade the putrefaction of an abscess, to cause suffering and to restore to life; sometimes such was the threat of his words that it was sufficient to punish the leader of the wrongdoing, as though he cured the stubbornness of the disease with powerful medicinal herbs, so that one might feel remorse and become well. At other times it was with the peaceful persuasion of his pleasant sayings, which were fit for the correction of the wrongdoer, that he was curing the disease of the patient as though with invigorating remedies, so that he should grow strong and be restored. For in every manner his sole concern was this: that they should come under the care of his teaching only for the healing of repentance, which restores one to life.

[28] Thus in these [actions] and in many more than these he demonstrated continuously his solicitude toward his flock. For he truly feared the just punishment that was appointed by the threat of God against those shepherds who, in neglect of their flock[s], were taking care of themselves, as one who indeed believed in the upright reckoning in the end that was prepared for the shepherds, to whom the word of our Lord witnessed, "to whomever much is

تعكر لع بملاحل له بحد عكر الاحدة و حبيته. هجابه العبار مره لحده الحدة المرابعة المر

(29] [28] בבוא ז'א זים משמבת המלי, וכו (OB 182) בבוא אים משמבא אונים (באלי) בחלם זוסבדא אישימים מסים. ביטבא מבין מציא ברובי. פים אל בעל מסל בעל מסא. בד. אפ מי, מביואמ הסבא מבולבוא איאנים مه المربعة والمربعة المربعة ا בחב בעוסד. אל אפלא כבונא הלבסכת משל בפנסלת אל לפיש מכלסק השמיבן יי בין אין אים שמש דותר אל מצ מצ מצי בין אואי ביי בין אואי ביי בין מאיבן יי בין אואי איז השת השוא הכן נובו או הוא כן נובו או השת הבי שנוא ביו השת לבי השת השוא אלסוֹר, בלחתי. זושבב בפנחלת בן מדת לא עב זואלפים. סובא ביו אכעד לספבל בל דען: בעס בשנת שבו מסא. סלביבו לא אמעשן זוד مع بحدة عبلهم مولحدية. كما دولار برهم محمل محر دادهه. دع سلم شعه هستله دهددر رسدته. الاسلام عمدد م معدله تصمیم یک در برای کی در تدم خلام معتقلهم و تدم ميكم مدموت مه، لم مسمدهم ولدميد حسے مه، محمر, تحمر إديم مهم تصدل، لحتم ملحقسم تحصيتري משדו מסא למש. בלאם בבאבן בבאבא העולא העולא העולא העולא.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Syr. *b*<sup>γ</sup>*īdēh*, "through his hand" or "under his authority."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lit. "better."

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "minds."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Rom 2:15.

Syriac  $\hookrightarrow$   $(n^ezar)$ , which evokes the Nazirite vow (Num 6:1-21). For a discussion of this motif in select ascetic literature, see Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy*, 188-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> I.e., from his baptism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Lit. "that [was] on account of them."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> An institution that functioned both as a guest house and as a hospital. See Alexander Kazhdan and Alice-Mary Talbot, "Xenodocheion," in

entrusted, much shall also be demanded from his means."<sup>1</sup> Thus his heart was diligent with all its might, whether in word or in deed, in and out of season, to admonish, instruct, and set everyone right with each command, while the power of his nature could not overcome the readiness of his will, for the strength of his will was greater<sup>2</sup> than the power of his nature, as the consciences<sup>3</sup> of those who are upright can testify.<sup>4</sup>

[29] [OB 182] The outstanding corporal feats of my lord Bishop Rabbula were these constant practices. He exercised discretely in the Great Fast [of Lent] at all times [and] in such a way that even his nourishment was a complete fast. For not only was he accustomed not to give through diverse foods a place to laxness in his soul, but he was also never convinced at his mealtime to satisfy his hunger. He permitted himself [to have] in his belly three ounces of bread with one simple dried vegetable, while abstaining<sup>5</sup> from oil and wine. For from the day on which the name of Christ was called upon him, 6 he was not persuaded by anything to consent to satisfy his hunger. He made constant war against all desires by his endurance, and he was not at all overcome to covet even a wretched morsel and taste it. Rather, at all times he was exalted and lifted ever higher in his victory over these powerful passions that strike down the mighty ones under the fierce oppression of the need caused by them. 7 For through his person he was persuading everyone [to observe] a [regimen of] strict fasting and a simplicity of diet that was without boasting. Whenever he was convinced to receive great honors [in the form] of diverse foods, which were brought to him by many in confidence that he might make use of them, he sent them to the sick and to the afflicted in the xenodocheion,8 and to those in the destitute habitation of solitude who were afflicted with diseases.

[30] [OB 183] This was the whole wretched sum of his despicable table: a glass dish and a vessel of clay with a spoon of wood. He was also instructing with these things the inhabitants of his

The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium (ed. A. P. Kazhdan; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 3:2208. See also Timothy S. Miller, The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 8–9; and Andreas Luther, Die syrische Chronik des Josua Stylites (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 49; Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1997), 175.

(13] تمحنی می ترج که سری ترب که سری ترب که ترسم و حدم و حدم الاسلام می ترب که که الاحل می ترب که که الاحل می ترب که که ترب که که المحل می ترب که ترب که که ترب که که ترب که که ترب که که ترب که که ترب که ترب که که ترب که که ترب که ترب

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fact that reading in ascetic settings extended not only to Scripture but also to the consumption of impressive amounts of other theological literature is evidenced, for example, by Melania the Elder. See Palladius, *Lausiac History* 55 (Butler, 149; Meyer, 136–37).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Dan 1:12.

house, as they were able, and they too were zealous in their will to imitate in themselves the likeness of his virtue. For they spent the greater part of the night with him in constant vigils of psalms and of prayers, while each of them by day was laboring with visitations to the afflicted and with reading in his presence. They fasted with him every day: from two meals of dry pulses and potherbs their necessity was satisfied. The wearied appearance that he had as well as that which adorned the faces of [those] with him was sufficient to demonstrate their strict practices. Like someone who feeds from a meager table, so were their faces anointed with jaundice. He was diligent to repeat the severe practices of his monasticism in his episcopacy, for the gift of the spirit of the priesthood was for him a spouse, assisting him in all [his] good [deeds].

[31] This was also a marvel: that of the men who were with him in the monastery [for] twenty-four years, not one of them who were serving him in the course of this long span of time dared to go in before him casually as is usually customary or to speak with him informally. Every day, fear was added to their fear of him, and like those who had [only] recently begun to enter before him [OB 184] were their minds trembling with awe in his presence. It was not as though they were struck with terror by a severe and fearsome [person], but rather they stood in awe [of him] as of one lofty and noble. For not only before their eyes was his nobility not diminished by any baseness, but also there was no cause by his own volition that they should harbor any [animosity] toward him in their thoughts. For he, being unaware of anything in his soul that was odious, was revered and honored all the more before them and everyone [else]. Thus he was feared while being loved.

[32] The members of his monastery, along with all his own clergy, were continually bound to him by the word of God that they would not take anything from anyone by way of a forced contribution or a token of honor. He even subjected all the priests under his authority under penalty of permanent suspension from ever daring to offer such a thing to anyone, either from among his own or any [other] clergy, saying, "If [someone] should bring to us a gift in exchange for a blessing, it is right for us who are honored by them to give [the blessing], but if this is a token of honor, then it is a disgrace: it is appropriate that we who have the authority should

رق کے فرون کے جو میں میں کے اس کو میں کا معفی موں کو کرد کام کو میں اور الروں کو میں کو میں

The telegraphic style of this passage requires some interpretation. The passage seems to state that gifts in exchange for blessings are acceptable but that receiving an honorary gift without giving something in return is not. The assumption behind this rule may be that the role of the clergy is to give and not receive, as stated below, but also that to accept gifts without offering a blessing in return may lead to corruption and favoritism. Doran (85 n. 64) has posited that "Rabbula is more concerned that his people should not take blessings, as they are the ones who give blessings," but this is the rhetoric by which Rabbula argues that the clergy should not be dishonored by accepting gifts without giving a blessing in order to prevent them from being compromised.

This rule seems to mean that if it is known that the gift, which would otherwise be acceptable under the first condition, is fraudulently or iniquitously obtained, then the cleric must distribute it to the poor, in effect returning it to the class of the population from which it came.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Syr.: حدل ( $ab\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$ ), lit. "mourner." This is a term used for the ascetic who is in mourning for his or her sins. For the "mourner" as ascetic

bestow honor.<sup>1</sup> However, if the gift is [procured] by extortion, we who benefitted from it ought to distribute [it];<sup>2</sup> therefore, in either case we are obligated to give and not to receive." Who from among the monks could imitate the great portion of his renunciation? For he was a monk<sup>3</sup> in his appearance: his usual clothing was a coat of hair and a modest mantle. During the time of the church service he wore the one outer garment he possessed in winter and a priest's cape in summer. The humble bedding [OB 185] of his bed was only a bedcover, a mat, and a small pillow cut from a monk's mantle, placed beneath his head.

[33] Concerning the frequency of his prayer before God, the obligatory times of service were not sufficient for him; because of this he dedicated from time to time a week of days to continual prayer, and he secluded himself from human interaction in the seclusion of his monastery. While being sheltered from the sight of his cellmates he also refrained from reading, 4 so that in a state of being set free from the voice and the clattering of people, in the peaceful quiet of his thoughts, his mind might become completely tranquil in him, his thought might be vigilant in the recollection of his Lord, his intellect might become inflamed in the Spirit of God, and his prayer be agreeable in his solitude, 5 so as to offer to his Lord the acceptable sacrifice<sup>6</sup> of a pure petition in the temple of his secrecy, while he carried on the hands of his mind the recollection of the sins of the world in order to offer in his presence atonement for their sins from the mercy that has no end. In this furtive quiet of his few days of prayer, who would know how to recount the amazing changes that were arising in his mind from the Spirit of God, except for the perfect ones who like him were instructed in the hidden mysteries of prayer? Certainly it was easier for these to discern from the sense of his words secret signs that were created in his heart by the goodness of God. Like those

type in Syrian monasticism, see Griffith, "Asceticism in the Church of Syria," 234–35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See *Rab.* 14, 20, 30. Given the following concern about distractions from people's voices, the reading from which Rabbula refrained may not have included Scripture.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Syr.: خىمتىمە (*īhīdāyūtā*); see the introduction, cviii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Rom 12:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Matt 6:6.

κος τετίλος που που γραγ κου σει μου ο εκτος κου ρώς μου κάτης καν το καν κα το καν και με το καν το καν το καν το καν το καν και το και το καν το και το κ

[34] حصل شحط تموته عقبه تحصه هلهده تحصنه هلاسم مومه عمته هداله مومه عقبه المحمدة معتده تحمده معتده معتده معتده معتده معتده معتده المحمد المحمد معتده المحمد معتده المحمد المحمد

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Prov 9:5; Isa 55:1; Sir 24:20–21; Rev 22:17.

The author might mean that Rabbula secluded himself during the forty-day fast before Pascha. The practice of withdrawing to the desert during the forty days of Great Lent is a theme that is familiar from the lives of great early Christian ascetics. See, for example, Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymius* 5, 7–8, 25, 32, 37–39 (Schwartz, 13–15, 38, 51, 56–57; Price, 9–11, 34, 47–48, 52–54).

Syr.: هدي ( $h^e n \bar{a} n \bar{a}$ ). In this context the word refers to a poultice of dust moistened with oil or water that either has come into contact with the relics of a saint or is made from the dirt around his or her grave. The faithful treated Rabbula's clothing as holy relics, venerating him as a living saint. This

who were truly both gluttons hungering for the love of God and drunkards thirsting for it, and who were drunkards thirsting for it again, he was tormented more and more by the good longing for the love [OB 186] of his Lord so that for forty days in the year<sup>2</sup> he for sook the city and the necessities of its affairs, fled instantly, and remained dwelling in his monastery in the wilderness of Qenneshrin, that there he might supplicate in prayer and call out in power so that his entreaties might be answered. Whenever he stood at the head of the people before God in prayer, until he stood up from kneeling his eyes did not at all cease from mournful weeping. The abundance of the flow of his tears was sufficient to move by its sight even the savage and merciless; as though by the fervor of his spirit they were pouring forth and falling down from his eyes onto his chest as he was sitting on the [bishop's] throne during the service. For out of fear of honor, because our human nature is guilty, and in the boldness of true love, according to the will of God, he was officiating with prudence as priest before him.

[34] Through those heavenly practices that appeared in this angel in the flesh [God] was distributing the multifarious and abundant aid of his healing to the indigent by the power of his prayer, and his faith was casting out from people grievous sicknesses [caused] by evil spirits. Moreover, his word was confirmed to all his acquaintances through the fact that whether he might be rightly angry with someone or after deliberation agreed [with him], God held converse with him, and on account of this fear, mention of his intercessory prayer alone was sufficient even to bring the dispute of a man's household with his neighbor to a peaceful end.

[35] How many times did the people out of the fervor of their faith in him tear his clothing in their desire and convey [the clothing] among them one to the other like a mercy,<sup>3</sup> so that on behalf of many of them [OB 187] a blessing would be given from his clothing? Again, many were the citizens<sup>4</sup> of the city and all those [under] his authority who in confidence named their sons as well

is a motif taken from Acts 19:12, a reference for which we are indebted to Susan Harvey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lit. "sons."

حنة العادم والتي له المراه والمعدد المراه المعدد المراه المعدد والمراه والمرا

(36] محلع داده معمده عند معمده عند معلة بلده و36 באם בנותם ב השלחת, בלבשאיל באכים מסם. כואא בי אם אומבאי אם מכבמא דוש בינה בשלאא בי אינא בי אובא בו מנו בי בבינ מחא. מנו בי מכלע מחא כיד לינות דולה בינצוא מסא בלהת, לבידוחאת באידא בי דכים אים ושבהו בת משבואי בן בהמדומ בלנהד משלוד מהא המלבשש. הלבוא صهم. معصة عصم بمتد بم سهقه ملابه بمديم قدمه وحتم المنسمه (OB 188] تمانة بم تسلمه من الماسك لم الماسك الماسك الماسكة ال המה שמה אם כב אלם ההובאשה במל משם מסם כבלא כים א האיני. אוים בש אלים אלים אלים באר השו איזא אלים בשב בשב אלים באלים אלים באלים אלים באלים אלים באלים אלים באלים אלים בא השדוח העללם א בל האמניע. אם יבן היי איים בחמם ביסמלת אלובן ««« حل حلمه. ولم فلطه شدنده المم المتراب المام المتراب المام المراب المام المراب المام ال عل تهمعل که محمد پینین علمه می کشد، عمل لک بینین الأصر عل בסאה [107v] אמאלה אטערב אייייי איערבשישה אלס איייייי מבבסה معسله معمدته م المام، معارض مهمه، المركب المراكب المر حصدتهم و تحمد عنب من له مددوم مهمه وقدم معلم مع ولتبر ممص بعدا بديةمت الملك مد براعمدا مرماية بي عمل مل المنازلهم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Matt 23:37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The outer edge of the last eight lines of fol. 107b is damaged; Overbeck, 188–89, has several lacunae. The use of braces here suggests likely reconstructions of the lacunae in the text.

as their daughters after the honorable name of Rabbula as a blessing. For his flock cleaved to the wings<sup>1</sup> of his name and of his prayers that it be protected, and it [in turn] prayed for his perfect health so that he would endure with a long life. For he was a sturdy wall, entirely encircling all his territory, he who was never vanquished in a single struggle by the deceit of the Enemy.

[36] Those who were within the stronghold of his borders were secure in peaceful calm, guided in good order through their trust in him. By his authority he protected people from robbery, oppression, and merciless extortion. For who dared to pilfer a garment, or rob a poor person, or cause trouble for his neighbor, and upon him, for his correction, the justice of God was not manifested through [Rabbula's] zeal? The rich person who treated the poor cruelly was struck with terror right in his conscience and was convicted, and the man who cheated through his bookkeeping someone who had less than he [had] shrank back and became afraid out of fear of [Rabbula's] name. Everyone began to conduct his business with his neighbor with upright intention[s], so that he might not be condemned in judgment before him. The greedy mouth of those who commit fraud was muzzled by the bridle of his justice, so that the iniquity of their oppression could not openly assault the poor, and the rapacious hands of spoilers were bound in the fetters of his uprightness, so that the coercion of their power [OB 188] could not restrain the weak. For who from among the great ones of his city, or from among those who used to take refuge in the noble houses of those holding power in order to do evil, raised his head and uttered shrill sounds in [his] pomp and was not at once crushed by the heel of [Rabbula's] truthfulness so that he should regret that he was presumptuous? Or who among the judges in the district who were alive in [Rabbula's] lifetime thought to go against his word, and God did not seize him swiftly \*\*\*\*\* with a terrible punishment so that he suffer because he had gone astray? Or who from among those possessing power would dare to raise himself above [Rabbula's] \*\*\*\*\* humility and not receive quickly the justice of God, so that he repent because he had sinned?<sup>2</sup> For all the orphans and widows in his district dwelled in their hope in him as though in a peaceful harbor and were not harmed unexpectedly by the tossing waves of terrifying marauders. For in his days soldiers were not only constrained out of fear of him not to oppress

ליחוץ ציבונט: אדי ברים אמספרץ בידי באר ארץ יבילים וע מבא אריבים אר בידים ועזים אריבים אריבים אריבים אריבים ארי

[37] בן ומטאח ולח בליל אל משבון מסס. מבוא ביל אשל, מסא אלים בי יעריצם העיו היא יהוד בדוד דר שביטים שאויז עשוע محمه مر کرمه جالک موسعدم می می دمه بنید זידאכה באטמנים אוב ייייי באבאיז ילבסא בוססלא ייייי מבסבונא سلحل مه [OB 189] بنبن تب ست لاتلام کشم بنبن مه [OB 189] دمه لم בייייי שנוכאל השנה לא יייייי [108r] מסא. אס הכוא אנסמ, אס הכוא שא אע עשב לח בידאי. ממי לא מיבוא מסיא. אני אל בידאי של אומי אל מיבוא מאט אל בידאי. מאי בעד אכן בעל בברם מואי מדא לעבי האמחא בה וציב לא ביר מחא. لدة مي برديم كمن يالمالان به عدد من المعادة مدمر والمعمدم هدوره بهمه. هفه بهم درج حدلم اقدع دمهرس دسلم دراسه لاسك و موسك دوس و المار و المار و المار مورون و المار المار المار و ال الله معتدر حده به حر عرائم سرف موه حقحده احلام المعرمه سناه الملكمة. تحويمه عوينه تتحوله بلاحمه بمديد بلاتعة بيده ولسه. هدرونه مدرعه مرسل سعيك، هدر مه كازك المسامه، معدم لیا درده. محمد کم سبک ویده دشار صمی ده مغید. کم کمیک مر قداه لحدر لحسلم. بلوم مم مكتم نقدم مقرلهم. بردمه و معتمد נמשטו הבשטה כדי הוא אבשני אין ידע הבשי בישה בישה בישה בישה בישטו (108v) ואמין בישה בישה בישטו ב וֹנאמי. בו. עוא מסא בעים לא ז.למי. ז.באעא אשברא כיים בוא ביים בא מסא פאסות המוא ומואי זולא שבב כן כאסק בפנסאמי. חידים מסא [OB 190] השהו האלשה בידהל שה אל משה האש מה אותב למבתון דינתב, בשפאי זכשו במאא זא באלמו לאת עיבתה במכון מססי ואכן מס المعلك دهد أحداد المالك المالك المالك المعلك المالك בינא עד אי הפונטא מסא ליבטאא באינמ לבסבואי לבן בא מישאא בינ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> That is, clergy, ascetics, and anyone else who served the church.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Commandments 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Matt 19:9; Mark 10:11–12; Luke 16:18.

See the same formulation above at *Rab.* 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> I.e., Rabbula.

the worker[s] or do harm to the villagers, but also [were constrained] to respect the schema of Christ, no matter how offensive to the eye, on whoever wore it.

[37] They were subjugated by his very splendor, for God had made his fear and his love rest on everyone in turn, so that many through fear and modesty should be freed from a multitude of sins because of him. It was hardly imaginable that a secular person might be found in his diocese who would contemptuously perturb [OB 189] the institution of holy marriage. [Rabbula] did not allow anyone to be married to two sisters while [still] having children from the first [sister] who had died, nor did he allow that a man take for himself as a wife the daughter[s] of his brother or from [among] the daughter[s] of his sister. However, he especially did not allow at all that a man would leave his wife for any reason: it was not permitted should it ever occur and [Rabbula] be aware [of it], for it was outside the will of God.<sup>3</sup> He did not fail to investigate anything that was mentioned in his hearing; but how many times was even the recollection of the power of the divine zeal enough to rein in ahead of time the hateful onslaught of evils prepared so often by so many [individuals], so that they would not be done? Who among the unfaithful in his days was [so] bold to openly [dare to] raise his gaze lustfully at the face of a beautiful woman who observed modesty, that when he merely remembered the holiness of this pure one the earth trembled beneath him and the heaven[s] above him, and with a cooling of the impulse, his body became quiet and he settled down? Or who from among those who have embraced Christ, wearing clean and neat garments in which he appeared in the streets honorably out of vainglory, was not ashamed of himself so that he despised his lust when he saw the [city]'s honor,<sup>5</sup> who was standing in such a humble manner at the head of the people? Or who from among the greedy ones enslaved to the evil domination of the craving of the stomach, upon recalling the table of this pure one who did not ever satisfy his hunger, dared to continue to eat greedily or drink immoderately? Fear of [Rabbula] [OB 190] corrected some, and adulation [toward him] preserved others. Who among the lovers of money, who in the vanity of trade waste their lives, could completely understand this steward of God, through whom grace distributed some seven thou $k_{1} x_{2} x_{3} x_{4} x_{5} x_{5} x_{5} x_{5} x_{5} x_{5}$   $k_{2} x_{3} x_{5} x_{5} x_{5} x_{5}$   $k_{1} x_{5} x_{5} x_{5}$   $k_{2} x_{5} x_{5}$   $k_{2} x_{5}$   $k_{2} x_{5}$   $k_{3} x_{5}$   $k_{4} x_{5}$   $k_{5} x_{$ 

[38] colmy 14 sery 1 mison, Icery char chich hybes.

Nh > elpok how / jemb 1 moch 1 mo

[39] على عنىدەلالا تى تىتىدلالە تەسىنەلالە تەسەللە نولا الالالە كەلكە تەسىلە تەسەللە تەسەللە

<sup>1</sup> Syr.: Καρεικός (στατήρ). The Syriac word seems to mean one Roman *solidus*; see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 1:948. The *solidus* was introduced by Constantine I in 309/10 and had a theoretical weight of 1/72 of a pound of gold or about 4.5 grams.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 1 Kgs 3:5–14.

sand darics<sup>1</sup> in one year to the poor, in addition to the expense of his clergy and of all the scribes of his city, and would not immediately judge his soul, condemn himself, hate his [soul's] flaw, and run to share in his giving of alms in imitation of the righteous [Rabbula] who in all things imitated the loving-kindness of God?

[38] He could not be persuaded in all the years of his life to build anything on earth except for half of the northern foundation of the sanctuary of the church of his city, because he was forced [to do so] out of necessity on account of the damage it had, and [even then] he repaired it in a few days. [As Rabbula said,] "We are living from what belongs to the poor, as though according to the just sentence [of God], and they are being sustained not by what belongs to us, but rather according to the justice of God: for whatever is for the maintenance of the orphans, the widows, and the needy, the church inherited this means from the property of the faithful. As for us, the leaders, we are permitted to use from it an amount just [enough] for the body's need just like the rest of the poor, as though according to the just sentence [of God], and not according to the will of our body, which desires anything that harms our spirit."

[39] There is much to recount concerning the astuteness of his knowledge and the clarity of his intellect. He could perceive the words of each person as though they were actions. [OB 191] He was filled with the Spirit of God, and false [words] that conceal the face of the truth could not lead him astray by lies. For the mind[s] of those before him seeking a judgment were utterly disquieted by the spirit of the wisdom of God that was in him. When their argument became confused by their fear, in their mouth[s] they spoke the truth though unwillingly; and even the witness who was bringing the charge sought his own condemnation. It sufficed that he himself should guide his inquiry as to who was guilty and who was innocent, so that he pass judgment on the person before him, deciding not under corruption but justly. As though he were someone into whose mind the thoughts of people crept, he persisted in his examination of their secrets to know the facts. For wisdom, understanding, and greatness of heart: as great an abundance of virtue was given to him by God as to Solomon.<sup>2</sup> On the one hand, there was no bound to the measure of his uprightness, which became agitated violently against the scornful ones who were [so] hardened that in their pride they did injustice to those in need. On

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[41] هدا مدن مرب محن مرب مدن مرب المدن المدر ال

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Allusion to the story of Shedrach, Meshach, and Abednego, the three companions of Daniel, and their rescue from the flames of Nebuchadnezzar's furnace (Dan 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Joshua bar Nun, who is called Moses's aide in Exod 24:13, is introduced abruptly into the account of the exodus (Exod 17:9) and is named Moses's successor (Num 27:18). The author refers to the holy war of the Israelites that Joshua led against the Canaanites narrated in the book of Joshua.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See 7 n. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Deut 31:23 or Josh 1:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The image of "weeds" refers not infrequently to false teachings. See,

the other hand, there was no measure to the richness of his kindness that was so lavishly poured forth on the poor in body and in spirit, who in their endurance were found victorious in the furnace of poverty. In his justice and in his mercy he was guided in all things only by the will of God. He was a second Moses in his generation and in his time, whose righteous zeal hated the perverted evildoer, and the humility of his demeanor was despicable and contemptible to the arrogant ones.

[40] Not [OB 192] in these [traits] alone did he resemble Moses, but rather in all things he was like him. In his obstinate conflicts with the host of [false] religions he was like Joshua bar Nun<sup>2</sup> and especially [comparable] to the zeal of Josiah.<sup>3</sup> Thus it was also said to him by his Lord as to Joshua, "Be strong, be brave, do not fear; because I am with you as your support." For just as Joshua bar Nun and Josiah found the land of Canaan taken hold of by all the thickets of paganism, thus he also found the whole land of the house of the Edessenes entirely overgrown in the thickets of sin. For the evil doctrine of Bardaisan bloomed in Edessa prolifically until it was condemned by him and was conquered. Cursed by his cunning, Bardaisan first seized by the sweetness of his songs all the nobles of the city, to be protected by them as though by strong walls. For the foolish one had hoped, while going astray and leading astray those who were with him, that with the feeble power of his supporters he would be able to firmly establish his error.

[41] Now this farmer was wise concerning the lands of the heart. Not only because he could pull up entangling weeds<sup>5</sup> from his land and [could] forgive great sins did he have success, for that was easy; rather, he concerned himself with sinners so that he might by his wisdom convert the weeds to grains of wheat,<sup>6</sup> for this too was necessary. Instead of the dreadful sound of the trumpets of Joshua and of those with him who shouted out at the walls of Jericho and they were overthrown, and who slew the inhabitants

for example, Ephraem the Syrian's designation of Mani as a "thorn among the tares" in *Hymns against Heresies* 14.8 and 22.2 (Beck, CSCO 169:52, 78 [Syr.]; CSCO 170:51, 77–78 [Ger.]). See also Griffith, "Thorn among the Tares."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Matt 13:24–30.

mla . hikile jakou \_ ambeau hadi . malki klima maek kamia Lin weept it Letun. Lich ihe chein hundh we. Long 14 Lever what is the chroke side work. see coursely معدد وسسملاك مهوير لعناه وحدلاله وعلتسك ووفي محسنحب Herokoo .. oon ... אבת אנה במשוא סבסמפ אנה למשמבאח. סכמוא ומכולא עשן בים לבו מס בו לאו זו ווולא: סברו אנן ליולא. مهاقه بدمة به ودمله بره المعدد محدد محدد عدد عند حسمه في مساله م בת מסב בועא הוסשא המשלפ מסאי אממץ, הניצבה ליודא המלעמסאא «ندهل که لکتید میلم بله المهمم بین حمد ملمه فرد لهمه. הלבוצא זבוכמה ב עבא כתול ביולמה. בו נמכנון [111] אבעו שהכנוא שה لست حديم الملالم قدم محرم محرم مونه من المربع المرب תשם \_ סחשלבו האמשיבת תמשתו תות שבים תאתיבם תלפת ביו mod. Low med south air to this to the man a tool mod. בים לבנת המוא אמא וכא עם בבל אמג כבסהו אלתח בעבוסא וֹסעת ובבכתם ב. אשוֹ, כתם בעוֹ אנחא העלמת ובוגשא וכבלאי. בפבלחת, לידוח בחובואות בד בפון בלבים אחם . מבוא מסב ביד עבבאח אסזיע (OB 194) שביד איר איר איר (OB 194) פיניאי פעידיאי Orkhower I seen. Heroka Hoc cicika ocelenda feraka تروده زمل المحكم ومعدد مره لا تراكم نعزي مره حلم الحلم وسيسم מים זייום ביתראם בית בית [112r] יש אראים העודה מישה ביתר מישה בית weethor . The same of the works and same continuous of the continuous continu אב משאע מסא למס בי דבאסעדות לא באל א ניאלבעם ..

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Josh 6:16–17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For a similar use of the image of stones to represent people, see, for example, *Shepherd of Hermas*, *Vision* 3.2.8–7.3 (Whittaker, 11–14; Osiek, 61–67).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This title for Christ recalls the *Legend of Abgar*, as found in Eusebius of Caesarea *Hist. eccl.* 1; see 42 n. 2 and the comment in Blum, *Rabbula*, 99 n. 21. The theme of Christ the healer is prevalent in the hymns attributed to Rabbula but occurs in Syriac hagiography generally.

Lit. "the wisdom of God."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Syr.: אב"ג (dayrātā). This word can also mean "dwellings" or "lodgings" and is so translated by Doran (93). However, what seems to be implied here is that the Borborians/Barbelians were imprisoned in monasteries for the rest of their lives. This was a possible punishment for the leaders of even

and put their possession[s] to the ban for the Lord, in a peaceful and gentle [OB 193] voice by the strength of his God this glorious captain of Jesus Christ was able to destroy quietly the house of their assemblies, and to carry and bring all of its treasure[s] into his church until he had even taken all its stones for [his] use. As for the individuals for whom he was concerned, he persuaded [them] gently, and he calmly subdued them and converted [them] to the truth of the true church of the apostles while they were renouncing and cursing their error. Thereupon they worshiped the Messiah and partook of his liturgy, and in this manner [Rabbula] prevailed by his doctrine over the greater part of the [false] religions and forced them to the truth: thousands of Jews and myriads of heretics he converted to the Messiah during all of the years of his priesthood. He was equipped with the weapon of the Spirit and was enabled to subdue even the Arians to the truth of the exalted Trinity. He broke down their house of prayer and brought them to his own [church], and the people who were among them he incorporated into his flock, while together we were giving worthy praise to the one nature and three persons of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Concerning the Marcionites I am unable to express even with many words how great was his diligence against them. By the care of this great and most glorious doctor<sup>3</sup> he healed this stagnant, gangrenous ulcer of the error of the Marcionites by his God's help through his forbearance toward their people. For God instilled in them the fear of the holy Rabbula, and they faithfully accepted his truth while renouncing their error. Thus through his divine wisdom<sup>4</sup> he also brought the crazed Manichaeans to a stable mind of discerning knowledge. [OB 1941 They then confessed as he wanted, believed in the truth, were baptized into Christ, and were added to his people. Whenever he found the vile error and the defiled tradition of the Borborians, he hurled them with great compassion into monasteries<sup>5</sup> for the rest of their lives, for great was their folly, and their filthy teaching was too abominable for clean lips to speak into pure ears; because of this he also forbade them to be found ever again in his province.

<sup>&</sup>quot;heretical" Christian groups, such as the anti-Chalcedonian bishop Theodosius of Jerusalem, who died imprisoned in a monastery (*On the Death of Theodosius of Jerusalem* 5; Horn and Phenix, 286–91).

رمالامر برا مادة معناه المعالية المعارية المعار تحتد مه حستحد مع عنائه. مهمله معمد معمد معدد ملا معناهم בותה אל זשו יול בו של בי כאו ביות וצוחות מסבה כן מהאאי. בואי מעל אומים ולויל בביא אליים לביל הוא בשל לביא המיבישמה. حدانه. در الامد در در در المدار به معدم به معدم المالي المالي المالي المالي المالي المالي المالي المالي المالي מבל סוב להאמ האפש כבשינואי הסבלה עד.אימ בד בפון בלביהאמהם. אליד (1151 ביביץ ערט ער ציינה אבא באר בית אין אין אין אין אין אין ארא אריב אין ארא אריב ארא אין אין אין אין אין woen paix ilok han. ozo hak cfeloko iet fen och cizn حدة، مدسه مه، محللسه له مسحر معلم مرحم علله وحدة אישוֹל. אלא כבל וכן שחל לבנת היאוֹא [OB 195] הבלבתם\_. כשמבוניםת, Khur mon. Lo Lit of sokerky III. Exp Lecokon chur. Ly Ll ر مست در برت دسته به برمعته برت برعده و بر براد ر ماد تسدله وحل عدم ستركم مد لهدومهم ١٥٥٥ مر مد المدماه محسلام Lokao .

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See the introduction, clx-clxii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Paraphrase of 1 John 2:5; 4:12, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mark 5:45; Baarda, "Gospel Text," 108–9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Eph 5:27; see also 2 Pet 2:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Eph 2:14–16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 2 Cor 11:15.

[42] As for the Audians, [who are] the Sadducees of the heretics, who separated themselves from the community of the church because they were cursed by the truth and begot for themselves a perfidious priesthood in the likeness of the true one, straying after foolish revelations and being blinded from [seeing] the truth, this true shepherd who cared for his flock dealt with them accordingly. He disbanded their congregation, exiled them from their temple, which they had adorned, and expelled them from it. He settled in their place brothers, sons of our [eucharistic] mystery, but those from among them who converted he incorporated into his flock. Likewise he also showed his care toward the Messalian heretics: he drew them near to him and instructed them concerning the Messiah, and they received [his teaching] gladly while renouncing their error. This true shepherd was diligent to emulate the mercy of the Father who is in heaven: just as the love that God has is perfect, he manifested his care in equal manner in his deeds toward both what is good and what is evil; and because of this he also did not neglect the obstinate people of the sons of Israel. Rather, at all times he showed himself [OB 195] [as taking] special care concerning them in his actions. Indeed, not only did he not deprive them of his blessing—the charity of alms—but also every year many of them were convinced by his constant admonition to them to receive the sign of life in the baptism of Christ.

1431 After the blessed Rabbula had shattered with the buckler of his faith the darts and arrows of those who hated the truth. had conquered the enemy of justice by the mighty hand of God who prevailed, had subdued with the trampling of his truth all things perverted in error, had wiped away by the medicine of his teaching the abhorrent plagues of the blasphemies of pagans, <sup>4</sup> and had made the entire flock [into] the one peaceful body of the perfect human being, <sup>5</sup> he came near to stopping awhile to rest on the gains that he had snatched up in his battles with erroneous teachings. Yet he carried on only so that we—he himself and the sons of the house of his faith—would be diligent regarding the things [that are] perfect, while admonishing, instructing, and exhorting that "we must acquire heavenly possessions with works of righteousness while [we are] still in the world, so that the true leader might accompany us to a good end [to our lives], by whom we may boldly enter the kingdom of God."6

[44] While so he admonished and chastised [us] with these

ביבאתו ערלו סיט אניבי א רובי בעלאים אינים לים בישאמבאו عة بنائم وللموصور ورب ورب المرائم والمرابع المرابع المرابع والمرابع والمرا סאמעבל בתבסמאי. סובע פלות תפנםא המהסא וכלא כאובאי מנות מבשל המבא של בשל השל המשל למשל למשל למשל למשל השלים אלמשה בשבא. מוא מבל פֹזק מסא פבל ווֹבא לבלא כך הלפנח [113v] זמס סכק בעל הביכח. הכמי, הכספת מסא להעלא איניאלא. ענים מסא כאובא דורה בידא המכשהי בד דים בעדא מן בול עולם לופינה בהומהא מבלה הובה בשנים של ישבו ילאם ומבלשה לאבי לא מבל למ שבי לא מבי ל בותחאת. דבושלא מציא השה לואי הכתבהונהאתה בהוהובוא התלבהאאי לבליג למל שביב איש במפא מיסא. מכן מיזים אידי ניבלך אלבתה של הניבאי בי בי של של של של היא בי אבש בי אואבתוד בהופחתי. המס האפיני לבאפי הפיב לב למכניא לם להא אלמא מי. مل ملده وزيع. م \_ لعرية هزيع ملده وزم صر. مو ملعد ملدة ioux . השלי וישוא לסשם יאאאר בי הסשם שבו אשל ליוד וישוא ולסשם אנייא עבים אר במבה מלב לבי בשום (114r) באוסומאה הברבת בים באר אלא הלומש כבסעב. האחב לב המה בבה האמלה כך אנאלאי מה עם איץ בעת אלהאא זאבין בלהחה. מכוא לב ושוא כח שבו אלהאא אלבי וישבא. נוספ לבאט לביטאת המה בעל האט משבם מלב זוהד. בשמע ביז הלו لعدةللائه أدملاء تأمعه عدد مديم يمن عمل علا ستمصر عهد تدسيف سه که دوه زید از المامه در الاتم والم در المحمد المام دوه المام در المحمد المام در المام در

¹ Overbeck: ≺ioi≫.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Heb 12:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 1 Kgs 22:22–23; 2 Chr 18:21–22.

I.e., in Constantinople.

See below, Rabbula, *Homily in Constantinople* 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Overbeck printed לוסבֹה; here we read with BL Add 14652 מבּיה (marrōdā).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 1 John 4:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gal 4:4.

<sup>9</sup> Doran (96 n. 97) remarks that the verb is in the singular, which may be an indication of a translation from Greek of one of Nestorius's genuine sayings.

See Rabbula, *Homily in Constantinople* 8, citing 1 Pet 4:1 against this view.

[words], and others he stirred up with many words and actions like them, there was [still] one bitter root, 2 as the truthful ones who had learned of it say, the blossoms of whose youth the fire of desire had consumed, until he was old and worn out and became corrupted by death, and his pampered body rotted and became dung on the earth. From him the spirit of the lie<sup>3</sup> [OB 196] caused to germinate one cursed sprout, Nestorius, the evil student of that Theodore [of Mopsuestia]. Nestorius gave out by his mouth murderous fruits poisoned by concealed death, since he was the first to receive the cursed seed from [Theodore's] doctrine and from friendship with him. Since Nestorius trampled upon human piety, he was drowned in the earth of his evil heart and was covered over. But when on one occasion he seized for himself the exalted throne of the high priesthood in the chief city of the empire, the fool planned, while erring in his pride, to simply convert everyone to his blasphemy with the harsh power of authority and the help of the nobles of the empire. From that time he tried to speak injustice against the Most High and to raise slander against her who bore him. I am trembling just remembering the blasphemies of him who dared to say, "The Blessed Mary was not the Birthgiver of God, but rather the birthgiver of a human being,<sup>5</sup> because if Mary was indeed the Birthgiver of the Son, [then] Elizabeth was the birthgiver of the Holy Spirit." He was not swayed out of contempt for his rebelling<sup>6</sup> heart even to revere the word of the Apostle who said, "God sent his Son, <sup>7</sup> and he was [born] from a woman, and he was under the law."8 Rather, he dared in his arrogance to say that in Iesus he only gave a dwelling place to the Son, just as to the Spirit in the dove. Again [he said] indeed that "that slave who was born of a woman suffered according to his nature those things that happened<sup>9</sup> to him,"<sup>10</sup> and "The Son in whom [God] dwelled performed those signs that he<sup>11</sup> willed." Lest we again repeat the error of him who is under anathema, let these things that we make known suffice [OB 197] to understand the magnitude of his impiety. For thus he made a mockery of his life, like one who was shameless [enough] to demonstrate by the distinction of his words two different sons: one of nature and one of grace.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> I.e., God.

[45] בז אלם מבל לכינכאת זמנא עשבאי מלי בה אל בה באל מסא (45) ciois. Hope Les crulds oshic. ira Li srip cuerd sloss تحصد بمدلا مديم هديم كمل عل هزيده ومعسم ملكمه ودورة בנא זכמאלא. סבק מנד. אפש מסא מס לכבללם בל אלבים אמ זמם. בד حسه مره کره در می ترحدی در مهده میزیز کرد کردی در می سيك فذك ودلمولك لادل ولاك دزي ومذعور عدم عدم عدم הכלאוֹ צב בכן אלת \_ סחא אומיא מביווי האלת באב באובא אלעו, סבם دندیک کاهموم. مصل علی قالم مدالم در تخلیم ی وردید محمد אלבוסא הכיות המסא כבשו כן וובא הכשל הסב. סאלבב המסט כוא השלח אה ממע מפים בשבואותי הכלא כשול מחל האם לעם בי חשון לע שהכעות שהכעל איני העוד א זוכל באר מה בין אכל מהאי זכל שה KLK. com mus aluker Klis . Kon Kies Khlo . Khlo Kon, moker שב זכנה אל ז. בבול מה כול בל. כומה לינים בכילא. בו לא אהכו מי, מס זוים . האמצול זם האמחלל ז לאמיזיי לגלי ללל . לחלל , המשלת דלא ואלאבת. מבוא בין אב על כבסו [115r] בשביעה. מס דונע בעאיא לא لم. حيلمت حده دولة مسلم دوهد. معدة ليعقم ودعده لمسة מס, ממתים מת כאשבמעלא האכחת, משלם לשתיאי אולי האוחח, מחלי מבמסק חלשת. מלש מבל צאדא דמעוא בן משמא המשבוחמתי אכם לשב אווע פאר הליוב שובלו לבש אואה ביד הלוצה ביד הלוב באווע ברא הכלים

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Rabbula, *Homily in Constantinople* 6. The connection between words and deeds here is explicit in the homily, the premise being that virtuous actions, the signs of true faith, are impossible for one who does not believe rightly, in this case concerning the mystery of the incarnation.

Matt 1:23 (Isa 7:14 LXX); see Rabbula, Homily in Constantinople 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bar 3:37.

<sup>4</sup> Rom 1:3; Col 1:15; see Rabbula, Homily in Constantinople 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> John 1:14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Either 2 Pet 1:16–17 or a citation from one of the transfiguration accounts (Matt 17:5, Mark 9:7), followed by John 1:14, as 2 Peter may not have been in the Syriac canon. For this allusion, see also below, *Letter of Andrew to Rabbula* 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> John 1:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> John 1:14a.

See Jas 1:17 and Rabbula, *Homily in Constantinople* 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Phil 2:7b-c.

[45] When these blasphemies that the rebel spoke came to the attention of the holy one, his heart was terror-stricken in fear, and he was shaken. For he grasped ahead of time by the wisdom of God that was in him that such an odious danger was entering quickly into the flock of Christ through that disgraceful pastor. From that time on he went forth to speak against [Nestorius's] error, demonstrating in words as well as by his actions according to the true witness of the divine Scriptures, [saying] that "the holy Mary was truly the Birthgiver of God.<sup>1</sup> For indeed the prophet Isaiah proclaimed, 'A virgin shall conceive and give birth to a Son, and they shall call his name Immanuel, which is translated "God is with us." <sup>2</sup> Jeremiah proclaimed, 'Our God appeared on earth and lived among human beings.'3 The Apostle Paul confirmed the words of the prophets and made known the birth of his Lord that was in the flesh from the seed of the house of David, and it became known that he is the Son of God.<sup>4</sup> John explained in his Gospel, 'The word became flesh and dwelled among us,'5 and 'We saw his glory, that is, the glory of the only [begotten] of the Father.'6 For he said, 'In the beginning was the word,<sup>7</sup> and the word became flesh,'8 while his nature did not change,9 God forbid. But the Lord of all took the likeness of a servant, in that he was a perfect human being, <sup>10</sup> while this did not destroy that [nature] that is God, but the unity of his divinity and of his humanity was preserved. He was one nature [OB 198] and was the person of the eternal Son, just as he also was formerly, [when] he was not [yet] clothed with a body. 11 For thus he also suffered in the flesh according to his will, he who could not suffer in his nature; 12 because of this he died in the body but was alive in the Spirit. 13 He brought good tidings to the souls who were captive in Sheol, 14 and then he rose in the glory of his Father and ascended into heaven, to the place where he was from everlasting to everlasting." <sup>15</sup> Now our blessed father was stretching out and shooting by the taut bowstring of his true

For a study of clothing imagery in Syriac literature, see the classic work by Brock, "Clothing Metaphors."

<sup>12 1</sup> Pet 4:1; see also Rabbula, *Homily in Constantinople* 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 1 Pet 3:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> 1 Pet 3:19–22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Eph 2:6; see also 4:8–10.

تلامكام محذب ميمه محذب بالم للحم يهه المعدل نفعي ميمه المعامية المعاملة ال

(46] כח דש כוכנא הים בולח הים בלא שביל א דאב לאכן ולאכן ולאכן של בלא הים בוכנא הים בולא שביל אלא ביל ולאכן ו מסא. בו עובל שבחלה באנשלא זימטניץ מוולא. בו עובל מבותכ משלאי מס מוא בשפא משלאי. מכז בובל נפיע מסא לשמא למש تعدده أنه و مدد عل ده زهم العمل إله العمل المقد المقد المقد لحق لحد איז בין אלא אית היון אבין איז ביון עליי ברו און בין אין (115v) בד מאדי מבבמה לא הבלבות בזכא המה: באסדים בל (115v) המבוזחת בלבה לאיז בשי בים בל בים ביז השל המלה השל בסגדות הבלנץ. אם הובאכיםה, בן כאו באבו באבו הבלםה, שובא הם הכלל לחבוא לבלבץ סמלמתבן. דאבדא פוֹמשבא ובמא בנבא מסמ כלמת כשל לאימי. כש ממזנסא ובא דיש השולאה [OB 199] ובבא או היש אחמב, מסד השלאה בא היש אול מיש בשלאה בא היש אול تركام إحده وهده ودهد عنزه والمه المحالم المحالم واسحر yx, aio, Killar, rink Kalar, amb Kistollo. Kurral סכאים א מציא יו סבל לאנוא הנוסכמים בלמאמי בעקפים מיסים עביבאים Les resis reminent respenses [116r] se es ious is siste con لصم کتدیم ہوتم کی بہد محمد ادیا والم مریم مرسم محمد محمد مرسم کر محمد اللہ مرکز مرسم کے محمد مرکز کر اللہ کا ا حدلحه عدة الم منتعد المحتمد المقلم مكركم المحاسبة المحاس המשבוא. בדא מלאש משפחלא מיבלא זיעולה דלי האווי חליו חבונה مزيد مصل مريد المركب ا וסעם במנה אם השבל עד בי מובה לח מינה במנה במוכבחם במנה במוכבחם محلم محمدة من تصدي محرية على ماده على محده مدس والمعلى مەزدىسە \_ . فىل سەم مە كەند ، دە بلد كىلى مىد مىددەد تهمم لمزدي: الديم المعادة لمه م المعدد على المعدد المادية المعدد المادية المعادة المعادة المعدد الم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An allusion to Judas and the money he attempted to return to the temple (Matt 27:4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Syr. خلحة ("kings, rulers").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 1 Cor 15:9.

tongue these spiritual arrows that were from the bow of his faith. They not only entered and edified the ears of the people painlessly, but they also struck the heart of any who were opposed [to him] so as to make it suffer and repent.

[46] At that time a beautiful occasion called him, which brought him even there [to Constantinople]. He reproved openly the old error of the [so-called] new Jew, while he was still adorned with the priesthood—he, that rejected [sum of] silver<sup>1</sup>—and while still puffed up with vainglorious pride and sitting on the high throne of power. Face-to-face before the whole church when it was assembled, in a loud voice that was not ashamed he preached correctly the word of the truth while condemning the perversity of [Nestorius's] false doctrine with the true confession of his own faith. We shall, for the sake of persuading many and for the sake of helping everyone, write down following our encomium about him that discourse that the blessed one spoke into the ears of the [imperial] throne in the great church of Constantinople, so that it appear openly to all people and be believed that his word possessed authoritatively this great boldness of speech. On account of the great witness of his pure [OB 199] conscience, he did not fail to reveal Nestorius's error and also to make known his own truth to the believing and Christ-loving [members of the] imperial [household],<sup>2</sup> and to all the nobles of the emperor who possessed power. They received him like an angel of God and like the last of the apostles<sup>3</sup> with fear, love, and much honor; and with the fervor of their love for him they lovingly insisted in their faith on kissing his hands so that they might be blessed by him and have profit. The beautiful report of his godly virtue had coaxed them to good deeds even from afar, so that many times they and those who were further away than they in the upper kingdom of Rome sent to him many thousands of [coins of] gold for the support of the poor. All the more were the close connection with his presence and his pleasant company with them abounding in benefits, [because] he was exhorting them to all good things in his admonitory [address]. The gold that was sent to him from afar he received joyfully, but when the kings and the wealthy brought to him much gold in person, [along] with ornaments and garments, and begged him to receive their offering, he was afraid, saying [to himself], "Although the necessities that compelled me to come up here are quite evident, lest

[116v] שי זלשט שבת . ביאר [OB 200] אמין של הסוב בא השל [47] Deta, Heroka. Dain. Let rum. Dis, Laurenda I. La I. Iti. Desa لخلك مسة دعة اس مخبر لتماويك معزز حملويس حيز عوسكم دخلك محدقيم لحلمه \_ بسمهم ورقيدهم بحديد عليمي در فلم مسلا حدم זמע כושא למונאה. בס, מסא זין מס. בו עובל מבוב מסא אמעאא حدم درمه ومعمل عدم حدد مرب المرب الم איבידי אלישה אלישה המיברא הפינה עדיים יציים יצריים איביריי حة بلنة لتبله حمله يملهم. تحص بعل فعلمه عمر شدى مملح وعلام تهده \_ المصدل ١٠٠٥ براهم بعده مد المعادد المعا הלטכבה היקר אבי ביבול הבואא הבואא הבואא הבואל אנים בים הצול אנים ביבול הבואל הבואל אנים ביבול הבואל הב لحقائه ملتخام ملاءة ملاية على ملية المراجعة المحاسبة على محدة المراجعة المحاسبة المح سے دوسع کسے حے مام کھمازے کے المحلے دوسے کا المحلے دوسے במש. האבע לענת אלמשאי איא זכרטון בי מיסא טביל אולי כי מהבנהאה מסא בי הפהלהם כשבות הכתהכת. אם בי הנאעוק ב [117v] אלא ישלה אל השלב מיא לפשם: "ממדייאט לאיי שלה אחייא שלה לייבה ישמייאט לאיי אליי אליי אייבה ווועל האייבה אייבים تنهدوس حلك عمد ملك مشمر ومستمر [OB 201] دونوس نحم الله عمد الله ساعصه مل مرا مريد المريك مرممي مريم مرمي سام الامري مركب لعبار، معرسه، مسر مارن المراقطاء المعرب ال المتعدلة عامر بيتهم المحمد معلم مدار المعلم مدار المعلم ال

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lit. "faith of the truth."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> John 10:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A reference to the Council of Ephesus in which the bishops of Alexandria and the representative of the bishop of Rome removed Nestorius from his office.

See the introduction, lxxii and ccxix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Rom 9:3.

it seem to them that I have appeared before them in a pretentious manner to make a request for myself and to take from them a gift." Precisely for this [reason], because he was not debased by any of them on account of anything and he did not at all pawn away his independence, he was honored in their eyes and was trusted.

[47] With these [actions], [OB 200] he reproved Nestorius and exposed his error. He called the people to witness against him, and he showed his own true faith. He instructed the members of the] imperial [household] and enlightened them with his truth. He edified the nobles and confirmed them in his teaching, and liberally assisted by his words and by his deeds with love all those who saw him in the cities where he stayed when he was going up and coming back [from Constantinople] until he reached his city. He continued for a while to wage war constantly with that novel impiety, until that Good Shepherd who suffered for the sake of his flock<sup>2</sup> rose up against Nestorius with a just punishment, [executed] by means of the faithful and holy bishops of the south and of the west, who, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, decided to cast him out of the rank of the priesthood, and he was remanded to the just judgment of God, to whom he would have to answer, along with those who agreed with him. I cannot present the struggle of our father against this error [even] with a lengthy account, or in a few words do justice to the fight of the blessed one on account of the true faith of the church. Forty-six letters, which he wrote to the priests, to the [members of the] imperial household, to the nobles, and to the monasteries, we are working to translate, with the help of grace, from Greek into Syriac<sup>4</sup> to make known to those who happen upon them his godly fervor, which was alight and burned as though with fire. He was a son of the faith of Paul in his hope and in his love: even if he did not pray that he should be excommunicated from Christ on behalf of his brothers and kin in the flesh like the Apostle, 5 he was anxious to be sacrificed for Jesus, ten thousand times if possible, on behalf of his brothers and kin [OB 201] in the Spirit; but that this should take place publicly, time did not grant him. The days of his life in this world he spent in the constant sufferings of the cross, through the torment of his will and in the deprivations of freedom that he showed in his person.

[48] Not only in those [matters] did he bear a resemblance to Paul, but also [with regard] to the great gift entrusted to him from the apostles prior to him, that he take care of the poor. He

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gal 2:10; Rabbula's charitable work for the poor is shown also to have increased his authority in the community insofar as this work was recognized as being in line with apostolic teaching.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> On the connection between relics and scent, see Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 228.

was concerned also to do this, and as though it were something that together with Paul he had received from the apostles, namely, that commandment to take care of the poor, he earnestly kept it. Who could describe the great diligence he had concerning the support of the poor, especially concerning the sublime love he possessed for the holy poor? In each one of the solitary habitations of the monasteries of the pure ones, who lived constantly in seclusion and whose bones after their departure were a pleasing fragrance for the Messiah, at his word, they set aside a solitary cell for him, [just] as he wanted [it], so that whenever he came to visit them he might receive through his faith help from those who had fallen asleep in peace, and moreover so that he might assist their sons by his admonition. In it, he would be free in quiet solitude to persist in prayer that was acceptable to God, so that his prayer would profit him.

[49] Now while the offerings of alms were many and frequent for everyone at all times, he desired especially to offer the sacrifice of himself to Christ on behalf of all. According to the desire [OB 202] of his benevolence toward all, the palms of his hands nourished the poor with that which was from his Lord, so long as he lived in the world, according to the will of God. Even after his departure he left them a good inheritance of prayer, and he commended them to the Grace of God, the Mother of all, that from her should be distributed every day what was necessary for their needs. For it is through [Grace], the one by whom the fire of his friendship is alive and preserved in their hearts, that the pleasant memory of the beloved name of Rabbula nourishes and kindles the fire of his love that is in their hearts. For this reason all the needy trade by means of [Grace] the good name [of Rabbula] in exchange for what they need. As soon as his friends hear the pleasant name of Rabbula, love for him in their hearts is kindled, their compassion becomes warm, they give alms, the recipient rejoices, the one giving is helped, and God is glorified, while also a share for our father Rabbula is kept with his Lord in exchange for this, because of which it is said among the faithful, "Fortunate is the servant on whose account the name of his Lord is praised."

**[50]** On account of the love for the poor that he possessed in his soul, he made a notable change in the *xenodocheion* of his city, which had been previously one in name alone and not in fact. He made it truly fitting for the glory of God, and he put [it] to use

وزع لش ريز مه تا مديد مديد من تحمل المداهد المديد المريد لالمحلك مهمه مكلامه لازعم لقدم المالم يتعام معتباء عب במשאז . הכנות [OB 203] אשים האללבו העבמע המתו המנות המנות שלה سب احتماد محمدته المسلم אשת בי בישאבי ולמים [119v] בת אש הלוז ב ממאול העוםז בלה משלשה. הלבישה כשבל לביא ובססוות מסם מססם. ואוצ ביו מש כשיוא ىتى ھەكى تىدىك مقلىك دىسدىلاك نىدى ھەمە لاھى كى ھىدىك ھەلا. ملا لالات من من بعن بسلعة لالمنقعة كالمقعلة عند ملا لالاتر الماسة غدل حقیک، لک دھے ملک علیمے دلسے موں میں لیسک کی ترامعدمامور Kheao, Kihaaika Kirima Kirnin . Lamhüki Lamhurula تعلمهم تصلح معللم مهمه لمه عمر ممتل بدوم ملاس مدم تحدم مسام שלאחם בא עבדה מסס. מבוא מסכ אפ כבמנובן וייא עבד. מי, ואפ בא אמת מסא לאבי. אלא כפססונה אלאמנה [120r] מסא בלאל. בי באפא זכבא אובדא אובבאי האמאוים במהעאמ בן כלאמ בין לאש. אסבת מסא כמ לבי מבל פינסשאלי. משמשנלא מטולא בת ניא בינ סברא. تصب بدوكم لتخلي وعيمكم المعمعالم السمي

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ختنة, from Latin *denarius*. The identification of this coin after the middle of the fourth century, its function, and its value are not certain.

[in a manner] befitting his own good reputation. He set aside for it certain pieces of land from the property of his church, so that from their harvests what was needed for its expenses was met. The door was open to [so] many, that the holdings and property [needed] to sustain it had an income of some one thousand dinars<sup>1</sup> per [OB 203] year for its necessities, from which he gave relief to the sick and assistance to those who were healthy according to the administration under his control. Who of those with a bad conscience did not long to be sustained from the different dishes that were prepared for the sick at his caring command? For it was impossible for anyone to think that the sick and those afflicted with sores were lying there neglected on account of the care and cleanliness which [the sick] had by his command. Their beds offered a friendly appearance, with soft mattresses laid out upon them. One could not see in them or on them linens that were the least bit soiled or worn out. To attend to their comfort and to provide for their needs, faithful deacons, who were caring in the matters that concerned [the sick], administered it, with chaste brothers filled with love, who in no detail treated them like strangers. He did so too for the women's xenodocheion, which had not existed at all, but at his command was constructed quickly upon the stones of four temples of idols that were destroyed [in his city] officially by his command. He appointed judiciously within each a reliable deaconess, along with women, daughters of the covenant, to carry out modestly and simply their service of providing comfort.

[51] Moreover, through the love of God that blazed and burned compassionately as though with fire for his fellow human beings, he manifested his great concern particularly upon the poor lepers who were dwelling alone outside the city as detested and rejected persons. [OB 204] For he appointed a trustworthy deacon over them, who dwelled at their side, along with reliable brothers who were appointed to minister to them. Supplies for all that they needed were issuing continuously from the church within [the city], while he was constantly giving comfort to their souls by deed and by word. By the action of his gift he was healing the suffering of their pains, and by the word of God he was encouraging their minds so that they would not be overwhelmed by sorrow. How many times as a consolation for their souls did he give the peace of a holy kiss upon the putrefied lips of a person whose body was decaying and strengthen them so that they would not be disheartened

تلملاهم لهم حنيط همه. متحسم تهماكريسم طريبه بعدم مدير المرام همه المرام المرام

[53] محے حلا مالے حلمے کرتے کہ حدید مکھمے دولے نمہ المحدد عدید مکھمے دولے نمہ وصدی کہ تعدد میں المحدد عدید سلم المحدد عدید ستم کا معمد تدری کہ تمدید کہ تمد

[54] سەر تى بەك دخىقىتى، بىلى شە تەدەمىلى كە دەدىد. تىدەلاتى تىدەلدىكى تىلىدەلىكى ئەر تەدىد تىدى دەل ئىلى دەدىدىكى تىلىدەلىكى ئەر تەدىدى يىدى دەل ئىلىدىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىدىن بەلىلىدىن ب

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reading for BL Add 14652 and Overbeck ميلاك.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Luke 16:23; Baarda, "Gospel Text," 117–18; paraphrases also of Luke 16:25. See also Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration on St. Basil the Great (Oration* 43) 63 (Bernardi, 264; McCauley et al., 81).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Reading المنطى (naḥtā) for المنطى (ḥyt²); so also Doran, 102 n. 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Noted by Doran, 102, where he translates "to the limit of his power"; both readings are possible and not mutually exclusive.

For the dating of Rabbula's death, see the introduction, lxxi-lxxii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> That a saintly person foreknows when the day of her or his departure from this world has arrived is a relatively common hagiographic *topos*. For

on account of the chastisement of God that was upon them? He was exhorting them to praise our Lord especially on account of their afflictions, [saying,]: "Remember, my brethren, that it is written, that for enduring evil things Lazarus was considered worthy to recline in the bosom of Abraham in the place of the kingdom."<sup>2</sup>

[52] On account of all these things, on account of the many [deeds] that we have mentioned already, and [on account of] the rest [of them] that we are not capable of recounting, the true priesthood of the resplendent and illustrious one became victorious. While the evil and the impudent ones trembled before his justice, the weak and the poor were cared for by his gift. While he kindly lowered his ear to the oppressed, by his zeal he was also the avenger of those who were wronged. While he exhorted the virtuous with his words and with his deeds that he performed, at all times he gave a hand to the lowly for their uplifting. While he embodied the works of the law in his [OB 205] person, he wore the commandment of his Lord upon his soul as a long outer garment.<sup>3</sup> While the marks of the mercy of his God were visible in him, he poured forth [gifts all the way out] to the boundary of his jurisdiction.<sup>4</sup> While all the families of the house of the Edessenes were boasting in him and were swaggering, he was boasting in his Lord and was strengthened. Though he openly saw the saving acts of God, he did not at all trust in the righteousness of his [own] soul.

[53] After all these [things], as it so often happened to him, he became ill in his body, [this time] on the new moon of the month of July, at the completion of three months beyond the twenty-fourth year of his life in the episcopate. Let us take notice of and be enlightened also by this wondrous sign that was worked on his behalf: that [to] a man, who had been [sick] with various illnesses every day [of his life], on the day when this last illness fell upon him, it was revealed to him suddenly, [as] he said in the sight of those close to him, "The time of my rest has come upon me."

[54] He manifested with his works that which in truth was told to him secretly by the Spirit, that the end of his life was drawing near. On account of this, he quickly moved up to the month of July his distribution of the blessing, which he was accustomed

הלבענו ליבחאת לבחבוא וכבבובא הכליבואי יאכן בל מכוא וליבחאת سرم بماد تحدد مراعب و تعني المعادية مريم عدد مراحة المراحة الم Kink appa .Khant \_ and Kan Kit abo oalas Kind \_ ski רשבי אשינא העלפה מדיע איישיא בען בען איישיא אינישיע (OB 206) ملمت درية مرتبع مدت مدير مدود كافتر المختاء مرية كالمرام المرام ا באסעונות. ספוש לכשבוא ואל כפסונא כבלות כא אסומא. בו מפלבה مريع برعبم بريناه مساء برميتها بريسر مهينه عامه ممت סמר ארגעם באבם יאבי זיי ביום אילי ניים איני באר מונים אר ארינים ארליים אר ארינים حلسه \_ . معدم سقدم علم معدم مدير عراقه معدم . معدم علمة معدم معدم علم معدم علم معدم علم معدم علم معدم علم معدم במכל מביבום אבינת [122v] מזות במכם הלאשונים במלחם \* Low ret the series fer of est in the series out המלו בל בלבא הבהבהתי. האםל, בל כביא השהולהתי. הכשל אם בל פלוא مسمدشمور. کاز مع ملم محملک مد ، دم مصده مل بحدی در تحده و دماتی. בו משאכתו כמו אישי ואמל עשא פסנמים. ואצמשא אנבאשא. oint, elect. one work, itid. or, men itit L, clib III. and s. העול אוא מהל בארש מה. המחשה העל באוא באוא בארש מאק אוא למ ליסע. מלבן אוכי בו מבן לא בעיא כבונא המסמחי מעלק פין ספח בן לבאי בשלב המתבש מסם בה מה בין ערבר מעבר מפצח אשלם למיות עה באל.

האמשת אשל של ביז זיש ביש של [123r] בינ של של ביז הכיסמק שבשא בארים ביז של [55] בינ אשל ביז המסק שביל ביז השל מושל א ביז אולו בין של ביז השל השל האשל ביז השל השל האשל השל השל האשל השל השל השל השל השל השל השל השל השל ביז בינבים אמים ביולא עד בינבים אולי ביז ביולא עד בינבים אוליי ביז ביולא של ביולא של ביז ביולא של ביולא ביולא של ביולא של ביולא ביולא של ביולא ביולא של ביולא ביולא של ביולא ביולא ביולא של ביולא ביולא של ביולא ב

Syr.  $(k\bar{a}n\bar{u}n)$ . Two months have this name:  $k\bar{a}n\bar{u}n$   $qd\bar{u}m$  is December and  $(k\bar{a}n\bar{u}n)^2hr\bar{a}y$  is January. It is not certain which month here is meant but there can be no doubt that this distribution of alms occurred in the context of the celebrations of Christmas and Theophany.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gal 1:17. The *Life of the Man of God* also witnesses to Rabbula's distribution of alms far and wide; see Doran, *Stewards*, 25. For Rabbula's activity outside the limits of his ecclesiastical province, see the letter of John of Antioch to the bishops of Osrhoene (*CPG* 6347), below, 178–79, and the introduction, clxxxi, ccxxxviii, and ccxl.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See above, 48 n. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 2 Tim 4:7–8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Luke 23:46; Baarda, "Gospel Text," 118–19.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. "his face."

to distribute each December-January. 1 He sent off at once to the north and to the east through his deacons the alms that he was accustomed to give. He sent off others bearing his blessing to the monasteries that were in the west and in the south, to those dwelling in hope of the grace of God. He distributed the blessing even as far as to the holy poor ones who sojourned in the desert of Jerusalem, as it is written also of the blessed Paul.<sup>2</sup> Others went out to [OB 206] the [places] of the jurisdiction of all the cities under his charge, and [again] others distributed [alms] to the priests and to the covenant of men and of women that was under his authority. He gave to the mourners<sup>3</sup> and to the monks that were in his jurisdiction and cared for the poor who were in all the districts of the country of the Edessenes, while still others were distributing [alms] in his city to all the poor and to the monasteries and to the covenant of men and of women. He donated as he wished also to the widows and to the lepers and wrote many more things for them [in his will]. He forgave all the loans that he had made, tore up the deeds [by] which he had lent much gold to the craftsmen, and gave from his hand a blessing to all the clergy equally. Having fulfilled his entire good will and having completed his entire virtuous desire, he saw that he had risen above the world and its impediments, had made light of the Evil One and his flatteries, and had reproved the body and its enticements. He lifted up his voice confidently on account of the good witness of his excellent deeds, boasting in the Lord as the illustrious Paul said, "I have fought the good fight, and I have completed my race. I have guarded my faith, and henceforth the crown of righteousness is kept for me, which my Lord may bestow on me on that day of the just judgment. 4 Into his hand I place [my] spirit." He said those [words] while praying in suffering at the moment of his death, and he sealed himself<sup>6</sup> with the cross. He lovingly blessed those who stood before him, and he joyfully gave up his soul to his Lord.

[55] On the seventh day of the month of August, when the news of his death flew suddenly through the city, doubtless even its walls shook and the lofty dwellings were shaken to and fro by the voice of the sobbing shouts [OB 207] of its inhabitants, who were in such pain that the wailing voice of one person was bound up in that of his neighbor and continued on without interruption. For

<sup>1</sup> For Overbeck and MS . هج

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  Syr.: אסאלים (est<sup>e</sup>req), lit. "combed." See Rab. 5, 10.

Syr.:  $(h^e n \bar{a} n \bar{a})$ ; see the introduction, c, and 50 n. 3.

the whole city was one lamentation, divided among the eighteen assemblies of the deaconesses inside the courtyards of the church and the lamentation of the Jews outside, while the whole city was weeping for him in the streets, in the courtyards, and inside the church, with doleful lamentations that brought forth bitter sighs and sorrowful tears. The priests together with all the sons and daughters of the covenant, and the lay people together with the Jews, were mourning for themselves, saying, "Woe to all of us, the poor, because we are deprived of such a friend of God and a lover of humanity and are bereaved of such a true shepherd and a leader of righteousness! We have been separated from such a provider of good things and [from] one who is concerned about justice! We have been removed from such a teacher of true things and one correct in his faith! We have been deprived<sup>2</sup> of such a counselor of beautiful things and an advisor of virtues!" They were saying, "Who do we have who will succeed him by his deeds with love, the one in whose mind the sufferings of the children of his nature cried out for that merciful physician? For he was a father to the orphans through his love for them, and a brother of the poor through his care on their behalf. He was a friend of the mourners through his ascetic practices, a friend of the holy ones through his generous distributions [of money], and concerned for the life of everyone with his truthfulness! They were saying such [things] while weeping, and they recounted things like these while mourning [over] themselves.

[56] The next day they hastened to bury his pure body in a coffin of wood [OB 208] from inside his dwelling, so that his holy body not be torn to pieces by the hands of all the people crowding together in their love to take from him a mercy<sup>3</sup> in their faith. So they accompanied him with psalms and hymns while he was borne with respect to the haven of the grave that was in the cemetery, in which went down the toilsome ship of his blessed old age, heavy with a great cargo of righteousness from inside of which he would distribute aid to those who in faith ask his Lord through his name to visit them through his true treasurer with a gift of love from the treasury of his mercy. Behold: there the sick are healed, the healthy are helped, evil spirits are cast out, the sad are consoled, the poor are supported, and the rich are benefitted. Even his cold corpse was a spring of riches from the fervent heat of the spirit that was at rest in him. With the permission of his Lord, he had authority

بعلم لحدمد نتيسهم, الحزر زده لم محصومي

See Mark 8:38.

over the abundance of his possessions to distribute readily through them good things to all who draw near to him according to need, while he gathered to himself completely all the wealth that was his, and all the labor of his endeavors is kept in its entirety for him, until his body is resurrected and renewed, and his soul is united to him and purified, so that perfected by them it should shine in glory on the day of the glorious revelation of the Son of God, the savior of all. Through the gift of his compassion, may he make all of us worthy in his mercy to stand at his right hand in the peaceful refuge of our splendid Father, and may he say on our account to his Lord in confidence and without being ashamed of us, <sup>1</sup> [OB 209] "I, my Lord, and the sons you have given me<sup>2</sup> bow to you, confess your Father, and give glory to your Holy Spirit, now and unto the ages of ages. Amen."

Here ends the account of the heroic deeds of my lord, Bishop Rabbula.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Heb 2:13, which is a citation of Isa 8:18.

# 3.2. Rabbula, *Homily in Constantinople* $(CPG 6496)^{1}$

(1] [133v] (0B 239) אוסי בא הכלל כיי, זכם א האסים א האסים, האסים א ה

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: Overbeck (S. Ephraemi Syri, 239–44). Translation: Bickell (Ausgewählte Schriften, 238–43). For the introduction, see above, §2.1. References in brackets labeled "OB" are to the pages in Overbeck's edition. Folio numbers are from MS BL Add 14652.

a. Reading for مخده

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 1 Cor 14:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Exod 28:3: "You shall speak to all the skillful persons whom I have endowed with the spirit of wisdom" (NASB). This phrase also alludes to 1 Cor 2:1: "When I came to you, brothers and sisters, I did not come proclaiming the mystery of God to you in lofty words or wisdom" (NRSV). This is a dominant theme throughout this homily and indeed the entire Rabbula Corpus. See *Rab*. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Jas 1:5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Eph 4:7.

# 3.2. Rabbula, *Homily in Constantinople* (CPG 6496)

[1] [OB 239] The Homily that My Lord, Bishop Rabbula, Spoke in the Church of Constantinople before All the People

We are immature in our words and in our knowledge, but you, you are mature<sup>3</sup> in the wisdom of the Spirit and in the subtlety of speech.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, who would not be struck with terror in a church such as this? For it is very trying that the ignorant should give judgment on the discourse of a learned man. But I am praying for this [one thing] and seeking from God<sup>5</sup> that each person, according to our understanding from the gift of the Spirit that we have in our hearts,<sup>6</sup> not be in need of instruction<sup>7</sup> from his neighbor.<sup>8</sup> For grace is the fountain of all teaching,<sup>9</sup> by which our Lord instructed his church and baptizes.<sup>10</sup>

[2] For even if we have the knowledge [that is] in our nature, sin has been ruling over us<sup>11</sup> through our will, and it has darkened our understanding. Therefore the gift of the written law came, so that with the appearance of that revelation, that secret which is innate in us might be awakened in us. But again, because the first people led their lives in negligence, [OB 240] their bodies put to death that [knowledge] from [their] nature, and that [knowledge]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Syr.: خاميمه ( $malp\bar{a}n\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ ). This word can mean both "instruction" and "homily."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Jer 31:34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See Ps 36:9.

<sup>10</sup> Reading ma'med for mezammar, "sings."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Rom 5:14–17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Eph 4:18; Rom 6:14–16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 2 Tim 1:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Lit. "that hidden thing."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Rom 1:20.

Lit. "first ones"; see Rom 2:17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See Rom 1:18–32(?).

הכשלמם . לא אשבעה העלים בבבראי מם מם מהק הכן בעמם בבחים . בבהיא מה על עדים א אשבעהם:

[3] مماء مريت ما المالم المحمد المالم مريد المالم ا الله ورد سوده المراش وردون وزوعه مدات المراه المراسك وسكة בלבא מואי בעצמא מכבאנמא מכהעל אלמא. מהכינומאמ בי המין סעשת האשמת, בסומא הבן. בחב ל בסווא שולא המעש לבישחם ב השבים הבשלה מסא אול בן. אר אל בן אול פסלעוא הפספהנים הלו [4] معق صلع متر مح مرده لحملهمه المرادم حمل حلن באא הבספרא סמק האא היבלאי הלאה בבהא המאלכבים עון הנסבסד נדיין سورلمده. للم يعن اذع لي محديم. وحلم المعنولام [135] وحدم بالم المرسانة بعراته برايم والمراجع المراجع المرا נים מים דישמת כאים ב מדבי בשהו משו בי אולי בי حے نمحش تعدیک، صوری کے تصدیم کے دے سلام دے وہ لسب تو مقددم، דמדיש. מלב המשם ל כמי ביוחלפחלא המנוח. לחל הן כבולא סיבולא ידיאא במשחשאי משא ומנה ומתבל לבבוא לבאי אים ואם שבין ראסולבל בעלי ביבעה האטרם זוכן פאטאר בבעה שמלבל בעלים און [135v] שא איי איי אל איי אל של אלא יאט יאי איי אל איי אל של של אלא יאט איי איי אל איי אל של

¹ Reading for ≺\\*\*\*±⊃.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rom 3:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Gal 3:24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 1 Pet 3:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 Cor 2:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Titus 2:12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Heb 2:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Heb 12:12–13.

<sup>9</sup> See Col 1:10–11.

This is the well-accepted Christian identification of the snake who tempts Eve (Gen 3:1–5). This identification is first attested in the *Life of Adam* and Eve 17.4 (Tromp, 140; Anderson and Stone, 41).

Reading  $\prec i$   $(\bar{\imath}yda^ct\bar{a}^i)$  where the manuscript reads  $(b[***]t^i)$ , with three letters missing.

which was of the law they buried in their souls. For in the weakness of their flesh they were not able to be perfected by works:<sup>2</sup> that was something they knew from their nature, but of which they were reminded by the law.<sup>3</sup>

- [3] From [the time] when the grace of God was revealed, it gave life to all persons.<sup>4</sup> It instructed us, by the wisdom that is from it,<sup>5</sup> that we should renounce the iniquity and the desires of the world and should live in this world in purity, in uprightness, and in the fear of God.<sup>6</sup> For the dispensation of our Lord, as well as his suffering, which is the salvation of us all,<sup>7</sup> gave us true healing and strengthened our weakness,<sup>8</sup> so that there be not only knowledge in us but also the strength for the practice of his commandments.<sup>9</sup>
- [4] These are sufficient, my brothers, if you want to be convinced, that you should therefore abandon all debate over investigations and the contention of words. Rather, let us run earnestly toward the works that we are required to do. For it is not proper for us today that we should make our whole mind putrid with superfluous debate and with the disputation of words, because this is a disgrace and great mockery: that anyone in the street who is without fear should presumptuously instruct concerning the greatness of God. For it was Satan who envied our first honor and hurled us by his flatteries from our desirable place. 10 Today he also burns with jealousy of the second salvation that happened for us, so that he would cast us down even from the height of heaven by his provocations. For by his schemes he is turning us away from the work of these commandments of our Lord, which are able to draw us near to him through the participation that [comes] from him. Yet it is toward harsh contention [that is] beyond our measure [OB 241] [that] he drives us, so that he might deprive us of our lives. Now, it is useful that someone should attain knowledge in measure in order to aspire by it to good works. So it is proper for us to behold the sun in the knowledge<sup>11</sup> that from the beauty of the created thing can the comeliness of its Creator be understood. But if beyond what is proper someone should dare to gaze intently at the sun, not only does it happen to him that he cannot see what he wants, he also darkens the light of his eyes by his boldness.

[5] عنی شهره تر تر تر تر ترده این استان این الله تا تا الله تا الله

Overbeck printed אסה זוכעל וועל.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The premise behind this homily, which is also attested in *Rab.* 44–45, is that virtuous deeds are impossible for one who does not believe correctly, in this case one who does not believe correctly concerning the mystery of the incarnation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Matt 22:38; Deut 6:5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 14:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Matt 22:39; Lev 19:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Exod 20:13, 15, 14; Deut 5:17, 19, 18.

[5] I want to speak concerning the practices of virtue according to the church of God, not concerning my own inadequate teaching,<sup>2</sup> being a village man and dwelling with villagers. Since for the most part we are also speaking Syriac, what then may we teach an assembly such as this, which is suitable to instruct everyone? Two are the principal commandments, my beloved, those in which the Law and the Prophets are contained. The first is that you must love the Lord your God with all your heart.3 Therefore he who loves does not inquire but obeys and does not desire but believes. For God is loved not by words but by deeds. "For he who loves me keeps my commandments."4 The other of the two is like it, that you must love your neighbor as yourself.<sup>5</sup> Again, whosoever loves does not kill, does not steal, does not commit adultery,6 and neither acts treacherously nor defrauds. For something that he does not want to be done to him by someone, he must not do to another, but rather according to what he wants people to do to him, he should also do thus to them<sup>7</sup> while loving them. These are the advantageous teachings of our souls, my brethren, and something that is useful for [OB 242] the edification of the entire church of Christ. For this reason it befits us that we be steadfast at all times in our deeds, for these alone are the proper fulfillment of true righteousness.8

[6] Because I know that the readiness of your hearing along with the intelligence of your understanding is watching and anxious to hear our word and our faith and is anxious to know our truth concerning Christ, we are compelled by your love to speak before you these [words] that only in the silence of faith alone are fittingly honored. Now, the thesis of your dispute is this, whether the Virgin Mary is truly the Birthgiver of God, or is called [so] only in name, or whether it is not even fitting that she be given such a title. Now, we have a true hope, for it is also our life, and a confidence [in which] we believe, for it is also our boast. We say in a loud [and] bold voice that Mary is the Birthgiver of God and is justly preached as such. For it was for her to be on earth for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Matt 7:12; Luke 6:31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Matt 3:16. See *Rab.* 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See *Rab.* 44.

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رسام: تا محمد معدي و معود علاما برمام محمد ما با [8]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1 John 4:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gal 4:4.

ر ( $k^e y \bar{a} n \bar{a}^{\gamma} \bar{t}t$ ). Some texts within the Syriac tradition, for instance, Odes of Solomon 19, did express alternative views by envisioning a heavenly birth of the Son from the Father and the Holy Spirit as mother. See the discussion in Cornelia Horn, "The Virgin and the Perfect Virgin: Traces of Early Eastern Christian Mariology in the *Odes of Solomon*," in *Studia Patristica* 40: Papers Presented at the Fourteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2003 (ed. F. Young, M. Edwards, and P. Parvis; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 413–28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Isa 7:14 LXX; see *Rab.* 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> John 1:1.

<sup>6</sup> همج $(s^e y \bar{u} m \bar{a})$ , lit. "author."

her to be the mother of God the Word according to his will, for certainly he does not have a mother in heaven! God sent his Son, and the Apostle declares that he came to be from a woman. If someone dares to say that she gave birth to God the Word according to nature, he does not just speak inappropriately, he confesses wrongly. For we call the holy Virgin the Birthgiver of God not because she gave birth to divinity according to nature but because God the Word was born from her when he became a human being. "For, behold, a virgin will conceive and bear a son, and his name will be called Immanuel, which means, 'God is with us.' "But it was not [OB 243] as if our Lord obtained a first beginning from the Blessed Virgin, for "in the beginning the Word was with his Father," according to the witness of John. Rather [Christ was born] in [the sense] that Christ appeared from her in the flesh because of his mercy, he who is God Almighty in [his] nature.

[7] Forgive us, my beloved, for the inadequacy of our words. For it is not that we speak from the promptings of a script, 6 for we do not have the habit to write our homily beforehand, learn it, and then retell it; rather, it is something to which grace gives birth in our mind, that is, we speak without preparation to the people of God. We exhort you, my brethren, that you should prudently consider the power of our simple address and not the carrying on of ornamented words. Thus we believe that God the Word is with God.<sup>7</sup> and by his nature he was begotten from the Father from eternity.8 Then in the completion of time for the sake of our salvation he was born in the flesh from the Virgin. Thus these who do not maintain that in his nature he was born of the Virgin are confessing well, but these who say that the Christ is merely a human being, or that Mary gave birth to the one anointed by the Spirit, are not able to escape from heresy, 10 even if they allege that it is because the leaders who are opposing the heretics refrain from preaching that the holy Virgin is the Birthgiver of God.

[8] We believe according to the tradition of our holy fathers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> John 1:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed; see Eph 2:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Gal 4:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See *Rab.* 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Phil 2:7b; see *Rab*. 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Phil 2:7c; see *Rab.* 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Lit. "become from one to another." This may refer to the idea that the body of Jesus is of heavenly origin. Marcion was perhaps the first writer who maintained that the body of Jesus was real but was created in heaven. The purpose of this idea was to distance Christ from the creator deity of the Hebrew Bible. Most theologians advocating docetism maintained variations on the theme of a "real" body that was capable of suffering; see Grillmeier, *Von der Apostolischen Zeit*, 188–89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 17:5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Rom 1:3; Col 1:15; see *Rab.* 44.

مر ( $i\hbar\bar{n}d\bar{a}y\bar{a}$ ). As a title for Christ (Peshitta John 1:11), this term took on a life of its own in Syrian asceticism to describe the ascetic as the "single one," who lived his life single-mindedly focused on God. For a concise

that God the Word took a body, and for our sake became a human being,<sup>2</sup> and did not change from one into another,<sup>3</sup> but the one who is from eternity with the Father<sup>4</sup> is from the nature of the Father, while he was born in the flesh [OB 244] from the seed of the house of David, <sup>5</sup> from the holy Virgin, the Birthgiver of God. While again this did not destroy what he had been, God and Son and Only Begotten, 6 rather also while he was a human being, he was God in his nature, and Son in his person, and Only Begotten in his number, 7 as well as the firstborn in his humanity, 8 and no addition nor privation as by alteration was done to him. 9 While it was in his nature not to suffer, his own body suffered according to his will. 10 For that was to him his own [body] 11 in which he became the [Mosaic] priest, <sup>12</sup> offering to his Father on our account the sacrifice that is without blemish 13 and giving us life through his death that was for our sake. 14 For as much as he was tempted in his body by Satan, 15 he overcame him and subdued him under [his] feet. 16 He suffered also ... 17

presentation of the use of this term in the earliest ascetic sources, see specifically Griffith, "Asceticism in the Church of Syria," 223–29.

- <sup>7</sup> 1 John 4:9; see *Rab.* 41.
- <sup>8</sup> Rom 8:29.
- <sup>9</sup> See Jas 1:17; see *Rab*. 44.
- <sup>10</sup> 1 Pet 4:1. See together with *Rab*. 43, where Nestorius is accused of saying the opposite of this.
- $(\bar{\imath}h\bar{\imath}d\bar{a}y\bar{a})$ , lit. "unique thing" or "possession"; see civ, and 16 n. 1.
  - <sup>12</sup> Heb 2:17 *et passim*.
    - <sup>13</sup> Heb 9:14.
  - <sup>14</sup> Rom 5:10.
  - <sup>15</sup> Mark 1:13.
  - <sup>16</sup> Rom 16:20; Ps 8:6.
  - 17 The rest of the sermon is missing.

## 3.3. Collections of Canons

#### 3.3.1. Admonitions for the Monks $(CPG 6491, 6492)^1$

 $\sim$  ترمی (OB 212) (VB 27) مرکل برتی برختی برختی و ترمین (OB 212) (VB 27) مرکل برختی برختی در ترمین و ترمین از ترمین از

- ومده بنا با محمد کا بردی (3 محمد محمد کا بردی محمد کا محمد کا محمد کا محمد کا محمد کام  $^3$ . حمد کام  $^3$ . حمد کام  $^3$ . حمد کام کام محمد کام  $^3$ .
- 4) کے بھی مے میں ہے۔ کا برائے ہوئے ہوئے ہوئے کے دیے کے برائے ہوئے ہے۔ مفعلی معطم کے دیے ہے۔ مفعلی معطم کے دیے ا
- مح معتاء ہداء . (VB 28] (5 محتب منتب ملم ہدا (VB 28) روز ہے۔ مائی مائی تستیم جلسہ ہلہ ہاہ کا ہے۔ مائی
- 7) אני מר אני אר בין ארל האני מר <sup>4</sup> משנא. מרל ארל ארל ארל ארל מישה אוני מר א מרל ארל מישה אוני מרל ארל מישה אוני מרל ארל מישה אוני מרל ארל מישה אוני מישה

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: Vööbus (*Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 27–33); the canons in Overbeck (*S. Ephraemi Syri*, 210–11) have been collated with this collection. Manuscripts: MS A = BL 14577; MS B = BL Add 14652; MS C = BL 14526. For the introduction, see above, §2.2.1. References in brackets labeled "VB" are to the pages in Vööbus's edition; references labeled "OB" are to Overbeck's edition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> MS C reads: אסיוסא ז אבשמבשר אלמסי, והאה אולה. MS Dam. Patr. 8/11 (see Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:308 n. 12) reads: אבשמבשא אלמסי, אנייניא זמייניא איני, זיסי, פיניעלא

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Read for Overbeck (and Vat. Borg. Syr. 10): בא באלא.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Reading with many manuscripts; MS A and other manuscripts: خصة.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Some manuscripts read "Canons of My Lord Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa." For a table of corresponding collections of canons in this volume, see 675.

### 3.3. Collections of Canons

### 3.3.1. Admonitions for the Monks (CPG 6491, 6492)

[OB 212] Admonitions for the Monks of My Lord Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa<sup>5</sup>

- 1. First of all, let the monks be diligent so that no woman might enter their monasteries.<sup>6</sup>
- **2.** The brothers of a monastery may not go out into the villages, except for the  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}r\bar{a}^7$  of the monastery, all the while maintaining the order of chastity.<sup>8</sup>
- **3.** A  $s\bar{a}^{\prime}\bar{o}n\bar{a}$  who enters a village or a city may not lodge at an inn and may not spend the night in a house of worldly [persons] but [may lodge only] in a church or a monastery, if one is nearby.
- **4.** Monks may not drink wine, lest they blaspheme, but they must be especially careful not to purchase [wine to] drink.<sup>10</sup>
- **5.** Monks may not grow their hair or wear or carry around iron [weights], except those who are solitary hermits and do not go anywhere.
- **6.** Neither the  $s\bar{a}^{\prime}\bar{o}r\hat{e}$  who go out for the work of the monastery nor any of the brothers may wear a coat of hair outside of the monastery, so that they not sully the dignity of the [monastic] habit.
  - 7. None of the monks may give<sup>11</sup> oil [for anointing],<sup>12</sup> espe-
  - <sup>6</sup> See Commandments 15.
- <sup>7</sup> Someone whose tasks include procuring things the monastery needs from the local town; see the introduction, cciv-ccv.
  - <sup>8</sup> See Canons for the Monks 1.
  - <sup>9</sup> See Commandments 22; Canons for the Monks 2.
- <sup>10</sup> Lit. "buy and drink." Compare with *Canons for the Monks* 3; for other restrictions on the consumption of alcohol, specifically wine, see *Commandments* 23, 46.
- 11 Reading with many manuscripts; MS A and other manuscripts: عدد (*ʿābed*), "make"; see Vööbus, 28.
- Some manuscripts add  $\prec a \Delta \Delta \tau$  ( $d^e s l \bar{u} t \bar{a}$ ), "of prayer"; see Vööbus, 28; and idem, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:311 n. 51.

- شاء ہتر برام ۱۳۵۰ کا ۱۳۵۰ میں ہرا ہوں ہے 1900 کا 1903 (8
- בניביא און באכא און דאיים לבן בל בל איי שיבנטאא גידואאיין און נשט (10) בער איין באראיין איין איין פניביאאיין איי

- $^{1}$ شے مہمیں ہیں۔ مہمیں ہے تے مہم ہیں (VB 30) (13  $^{1}$ شے مہمیں ہیں۔ مہمیں ہیں میں معامی میں معامیں میں میں معامیں معامیں میں معامیں معامیں میں معامیں میں معامیں میں معامیں م
- 14) کے حفتے معک تحمتوں کیک ھنے ھنوب بیٹلاموں۔ معضے حظر (14 حقتے کی تحتیم کے معتون کی کی معتون کی بیٹلاموں حک ہیں۔ معلل کی معلم کی معتون کی معاملے کی معاملے
- ر15 مسا بغرده . ومصامح بدیت بطانه و مصابح (15 شریت مصا بخرده . ومصامح بدیت کابره . چریت بروه نوع دونیا
- ولم لا بنت هالي . ملحه به محدله مرا (16 مردنه معدله محدله) ملت بدين مدلك مدلك مدلك مدالك مدترة مدالك مدترة مدالك مدترة مدالك مدترة مدالك مدترة مدالك مدترة مدالك مدالك

<sup>1</sup> Many manuscripts add: المراجعة المام ال

Many manuscripts read: تحقیدیم.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Some manuscripts read سخة البية (ḥemārê balḥād), "only donkeys"; see Vööbus, 29; and idem, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:311 n. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Canons for the Monks 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Canons for the Monks 5.

cially not to women. If someone manifestly possesses the charism [of healing] [OB 213], he may give the oil to men, but if there are women in need [of it], let it be sent to them by their husbands.

- **8.** Monasteries may not have memorial [services for the dead] with a public assembly but only [with] the monastery's own brothers.
- **9.** Monks may not possess sheep, goats, horses, mules, or calves of cattle as property, except for one donkey<sup>3</sup> for what is necessary, or a yoke of oxen for those who do the plowing.<sup>4</sup>
- 10. Books outside of the faith of the church may not be in the monasteries.<sup>5</sup>
- 11. Commercial transactions of buying and selling may not take place in the monasteries, except [to procure] whatever is necessary for their supply, [and so long as it is done] without avarice.
- 12. No one of the brothers who are in the monasteries may possess anything solely for himself other than whatever is common to the brotherhood and under the authority of the head of the monastery.
- 13. The heads of the monasteries may not allow the brothers to meet their family or to leave and go to them, lest they become weak.<sup>6</sup>
- 14. The brothers may not desert their monasteries and go about in the cities or in the villages on the pretext of illness. They must bear their infirmities within their monasteries for the sake of the love of God.
- **15.** Monks may not forsake their dwelling and take on lawsuits on behalf of others<sup>7</sup> and go to the cities or before judges.
- **16.** The monks may not skip the times that are fixed for the service, by day or by night, on account of duty or work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Many manuscripts add at the end *men 'enyānā dlā' yotran*, "[weak] from socializing that is without benefit"; Vööbus, 30. See the comment on concerns for the family above at *Rab*. 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Many manuscripts read *meskēnê*, "the poor"; Vööbus, 30. "Others" is attested in the oldest manuscript, but it is not clear which of these is the older reading.

- ے ہے۔ ہیں ہے کہ ا(18 (18 ہے۔ ہیں ہے۔ ہیں ہے۔ ہیں ہے ہیں ہے ہے۔ ہیں ہ
  - $^4$ אטע באר איצות אוצות איצות איצות איצות אוצות אוצות איצות אוצות אוצות אוצות אוצות אוצות אוצות איצות איצות אוצות אוצו
- ראוב במחל בעאר מיתנה בהידא מפשיביא מפשיביא בהידאר (21 במהיד במה השביבה במהיד בל בידאה מהיד בל בידאה במהיד ב
- אריז בא שראר . אריבים במשאד אר אזמסז אשל [VB 32] (22 אר ביז בא במה ביז ביז בא שמהא ביז בא במה ביז בא במה בא במה של האולט ביז של שנה ביז של שנה ביז של שנה ביז של של האולט של
- مصا \_ مصل متحدہ ہے۔ بہتے ہے ہے۔ ہلہ ہلاء \_ مصل (23) مصل ہلاء \_ مصل ملاء \_ مصل ہلاء \_ مصل علم \_ مصل
- - <sup>1</sup> Many manuscripts add: אבא השל.
  - <sup>2</sup> Many manuscripts add: ממוא הארז השמרא.
  - <sup>3</sup> Many manuscripts read: ເປັນລັດ.
  - Many manuscripts read: حدّد من مناطعة.
  - Many manuscripts add: , بمحة ميص.
  - Many manuscripts add *aḥê dayrāyê*, "brother monks"; Vööbus, 31.
- Many manuscripts add *aksenāyê d'ātên le wāthun*, "strange [brothers] who come to them"; Vööbus, 31. See *Canons for the Monks* 6. For a discussion of hospitality in Rabbula's legislation against the background of Paul's letters, see Claudia Tavolieri d'Andrea, "L'ospitalità nell'epistolario Paolino (Rm 12,23; 1 Tim 3,2; Tt. 1,7 Sg) nella legislazione di Rabbûla e in quella a lui attribuita (Amm. 17 e can. 6)," in *San Paolo letto da Oriente: Atti del convegno internazionale in occasione dell'anno paolino, Damasco 23–25 aprile 2009* (ed. Bartolomeo Pirone and Elena Bolognesi; Studia Orientalia Christiana Monographiae 18; Milano: Edizioni Terra Santa, 2010), 119–29.
  - <sup>8</sup> Many manuscripts read *dubbārê*, "(ascetic) practices"; Vööbus, 31.
  - 9 Syr.: אים בא בא (šāqel petgāmā), lit. "carry a reply."
- Many manuscripts read  $k^e t \bar{a} b \hat{e} q a d d \bar{e} \hat{s} \hat{e}$ , "from the Holy Books," "from the Scriptures"; Vööbus, 31.

- 17. They must receive strangers<sup>6</sup> lovingly, and they may not shut the door on any of the brothers.<sup>7</sup>
- **18.** One of the brothers may not dwell alone **[OB 214]** unless he gives proof of his works<sup>8</sup> for a duration of time.
- 19. A monk may not deliver a sermon<sup>9</sup> from the Book<sup>10</sup> to anyone.
- **20.** No brother who is neither a presbyter nor a deacon may dare to distribute holy [communion].
- 21. Those who are presbyters or deacons in the monasteries and to whom have been entrusted churches in the countryside: the heads of the monasteries must appoint those in their monasteries who have demonstrated proof and are able to manage the brotherhood, <sup>11</sup> and they must remain with their churches.
- **22.** The bones of martyrs are not permitted in the monasteries, but all [monasteries] that have any [bones] must bring them before us: if they are real, they will be placed among the martyrs, <sup>12</sup> and if not, they will be placed in the charnel house. <sup>13</sup>
- 23. [Regarding] the urns<sup>14</sup> of the dead, which some monks desire to make for them[selves], they must hide them in the ground so that they are not at all visible.<sup>15</sup>
- **24.** If a head of a monastery or a brother <sup>16</sup> of one of the monasteries goes out from the world, only those brothers of the same monastery will bury him quietly. If they cannot, <sup>17</sup> they will call

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> I.e., who are steadfast in their monastic way of life.

Reading with Ruggieri, "A proposito," 205, against "in the house of the martyrs," as at Vööbus, 32.

Lit. "house of burial"; see Ruggieri, "A proposito," 207.

<sup>14</sup> Syr.: (gurnê). See Ruggieri, "A proposito," 205. These were essentially for those monks who could afford to have an individual burial. According to Ruggieri (ibid., 206), Rabbula had in mind an urban and episcopal church or martyrion.

This and the previous canon are discussed with references to secondary literature by Ruggieri ("A proposito," 205).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Lit. "If a brother or a head of a monastery." The order has been inverted for clarity; some manuscripts read only "the head of the monastery," omitting "the brother"; see Vööbus, 32; and idem, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, CSCO 317:311 n. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Many manuscripts add *neqabrōnāyhy*, "bury him"; Vööbus, 32.

کہ بہتا ہے ایک ہوئے۔ ماہ کے ایک ہوں کے ایک ہوں کے ایک الانتہا۔ المسکان

עבס אר אני ארגיא אויי ער ברס אר ברס אר בר [VB 33] (25) אני ער ער ער אויאר א המודב ברט אויאר אראר אליאר איין אייי אראר אראר אליאר אייי זאריא (בובע הילאי) פעת הלאר אייי

محت معدد بایم بایم بایم ملتبه می المام ۱۳۵۰ محتمد بایم ۱۳۵۰ می ۱۳۵۰ می ۱۳۵۰ می ایم و (25a) محتمد بایم بایم و (25a) محتمد بایم بایم و ایم و (25a) محتمد بایم بایم و ایم و ایم

ونبحريون معالمة بنبو

- Some manuscripts add: מונא השבעה אינולא.
- Many manuscripts add: حتع.
- ³ One manuscript reads: నేపిను; many manuscripts read: on నేపిను సాంగామంగా.
  - <sup>4</sup> manuscripts B and C only.

  - <sup>6</sup> MS C only.
  - <sup>7</sup> One manuscript reads: ٦ حمد .
  - <sup>8</sup> One manuscript reads: מפניסאלא.
  - 9 Some manuscripts read: Kananark Klasi, isa Klais asle: ", miok 1.
- <sup>10</sup> Some manuscripts add *aḥrānê lesawīhon*, "other [brothers] to their task"; Vööbus, 32.
  - Syr.: حصتىد (meskēnê), "poor" (pl.).
  - Many manuscripts add  $w^e n\bar{e}s\hat{e}$ , "and women"; Vööbus, 32.

over to them brothers<sup>10</sup> from a monastery that is near them. Neither the peasants<sup>11</sup> from the countryside nor secular people<sup>12</sup> may be [present] for the procession.

- 25. If someone buys grain for the use of the monastery, he may not keep any profit. He must buy it at the price at which they are selling [it] at the time of threshing, <sup>13</sup> while not coveting [anything]<sup>14</sup> in the name of the monastery.
- **25a.** <sup>15</sup> Diviners and charmers, those who write out amulets, and those who anoint men and women while acting under the guise of medicine: drive them out of every place and take from them a guarantee that they will not enter into our territory [again]. <sup>16</sup>
- 25b.<sup>17</sup> The children of the church will not have fellowship with heretics, neither in word nor in deed.<sup>18</sup>
- **26.** No one may accept a brother who<sup>19</sup> moves from monastery to monastery, unless on the order<sup>20</sup> of the head of the monastery to which he belongs.

The end of the admonitions for the monks.

For "at that time of threshing" one manuscript reads  $ba^{2}tr\bar{a}$ , "in [that] place"; many manuscripts read  $ba^{2}tr\bar{a}$  haw  $d\bar{\iota}^{2}tayhon\ b\bar{e}h\ n^{e}zabben$ , "in that place in which they are selling"; Vööbus, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Many manuscripts add *d<sup>e</sup>nesseb yattērā*, "to take more"; Vööbus, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Canon 8 in Overbeck; all but identical to *Admonitions for the Priests* 17. This canon is found only in the later manuscripts; see Vööbus, 33.

See Commandments 17; some manuscripts read, "enter into all of our region."

This canon is found only in MS B.

See Commandments 1 and 48–51.

For "brother who" one manuscript reads  $la^{3}yn\bar{a}~d$ , "him who"; Vööbus, 33.

One manuscript reads  $map\bar{a}n\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ , i.e., "with the permission"; Vööbus, 33.

# 3.3.2. Commandments and Admonitions for the Priests and the Children of the Covenant $(CPG 6490)^1$

#### [OB 215] [VB 36]

- 1) סומ בל פומי. נמסס בינ בולא הבהי משפטלא שוֹ שֹלא הבולא סושלא. ולא נמסס בלבה למס מוֹשבאלאי:
- 4 کے کی جے قیمہ ۱۵ میں کہ محقومیں کے مد کے اور مدکا کے اللہ میں مد نوب کے حد کا دے اللہ میں مد میں مدر کے حد کا کی دورہ کے لیے لوغ دورہ کے اللہ کی مدر میں کے لوغ دورہ کے دور
- رتب ممت کے محمد محتد محدکہ اللہ 37] (3 محدکہ کے محمد کے اللہ عدیہ محدکہ کے تمان کے تم
- 4) کے معددیں محتدی محتدی کے مدینے کے مدیدی کے مدید کے دیا محدیث
- و) کہ بنجم محتمع محتمع کوتھہ، حل دیر محکہ محل حلقہہ کہ دیم محتمع کے در محکہ محتمع کہ دیم وی کہ محتمع کہ محتمع کہ محتمع کہ محتمد محمد محتمد محت
- <sup>1</sup> Text: Vööbus (*Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 34–50); the canons in Overbeck (*S. Ephraemi Syri*, 215–21) have been collated with this collection. For the introduction, see above, §2.2.2. References in brackets labeled "VB" are to the pages in Vööbus's edition; references labeled "OB" are to Overbeck's edition.
  - One manuscript adds: حقدک.
  - One manuscript omits this phrase.
  - Many manuscripts read: אבתאל.
  - <sup>5</sup> Many manuscripts add: מלא האל השמי אלז.
  - 6 Many manuscripts add:
  - Many manuscripts add: حمة المحتمد.
  - 8 Overbeck prints with some manuscripts : حج نخبي.
  - One manuscript adds  $dabq\bar{u}r\bar{a}y\hat{e}$ , "who are in the villages."
- One manuscript omits text from  $d^e mery$ , "of my lord," to the end of the title and thus does not ascribe these canons to Rabbula.
- Regarding the concern for heresy, see also Admonitions 25b; Commandments 48–51.
  - See above, cciv and ccviii.

## 3.3.2. Commandments and Admonitions for the Priests and the Children of the Covenant (*CPG* 6490)

- **[OB 215]** The Commandments and Admonitions for the Priests and for the Children of the Covenant<sup>9</sup> of My Lord Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa<sup>10</sup>
- 1. First and foremost, the sons of the church shall know the true faith of the holy church, lest heretics turn them to error.<sup>11</sup>
- 2. No one among the *periodeutai*, <sup>12</sup> priests, deacons, or the sons of the covenant <sup>13</sup> may dwell with women, except with his mother or his sister or with his daughter, and they may not make them [i.e., the women] live apart from them, but they must always be with them. <sup>14</sup>
- **3.** Priests, deacons, and sons of the covenant may not compel by force the daughters of the covenant to weave garments.
- **4.** The priests and the deacons may not be served by women, and especially [not] by the daughters of the covenant.
- **5.** The priests, deacons, and *periodeutai* may not take a bribe from anyone, and especially not from those who [are party to] a lawsuit. 15
- **6.** The priests and the deacons may not raise contributions<sup>16</sup> from the sons of the covenant or from the secular people, not even if they [i.e., the priests and deacons] are commanded [to do so] by **[OB 216]** those<sup>17</sup> of the city; rather the requirements<sup>18</sup> of the church will be met by whoever gives according to his will.<sup>19</sup>
- Instead of "covenant" many manuscripts read  $d^cedt\bar{a}$ , "of the church"; Vööbus, 36.
- That is, the clergy may not establish a separate household for their female relatives so that they can live therein.
- Many manuscripts add  $d^e l \bar{a}^{\flat}$  nessebon baʻppê  $de^{\flat} n \bar{a} \bar{s}^{\flat}$  we neṣlôn, "so that they not show favoritism [lit. "accept the face"] to anyone and pervert [justice]"; Vööbus. 37.
  - Syr.: אביא (gabyātā); Vööbus, 37, translates: "tributes."
- <sup>17</sup> Many manuscripts add  $\check{s}^e l \bar{\iota} t \bar{\iota} n$ , "[those] who exercise power"; Vööbus, 37.
  - <sup>18</sup> Many manuscripts add w<sup>e</sup>sunqānê, "needs"; Vööbus, 37.
- For this emphasis on voluntary contributions, see also the following two canons.

- 7 (7 کے حکہ تکار کہ حصمہ کہ نمالے کو محکہ نہیں کے انگری حصمہ کہ تک اور 38 (8 کی حکہ تک حکہ تحکہ دعمتہ تحمیم تک جاتے کہ اور محکہ تک محکہ تحمیم تح
- دعمے کی در مرتب کے موزی کے مرتب کے مرتب کے 1 مرتب کی 1

- وتر مماه کا) (11) (18 موم کا) مومد کا محمد مومد کا محمد مومد کا محمد محمد کا محمد محمد محمد محمد محمد محمد محمد کا محمد کا محمد محمد کا محمد
- - 1 Overbeck: Kangak.

  - <sup>3</sup> Reading with some manuscripts: מה מה גאל פֿמ om.
  - <sup>4</sup> Many manuscripts add: ملحمدات المعاددة المع
  - <sup>5</sup> Some manuscripts read: حب علحه کی مصعد ہلا۔
  - Many manuscripts add: מעבא אסוֹם המים.
- - Many manuscripts add: מבמשנשא.

  - 10 Some manuscripts have: אבשנגא.
  - <sup>11</sup> Many manuscripts add: אור שב של אב מלום אור אפי סאל.
- 12 Some manuscripts specify the subject after the verb as  $qa\check{s}\check{s}\check{t}\check{s}\hat{e},$  "priests"; Vööbus, 38.
- Some manuscripts omit this phrase haw men  $d^2\bar{\imath}t$   $b\bar{a}h$ , lit. "that which is in it"; Vööbus, 38. This phrase may have been omitted from some manuscripts by similarity with the expression "if there is nothing in the church."
- Many manuscripts add *ayk dalqoblāh*, "as a fee [for services rendered]"; Vööbus, 38.
- For "give," many manuscripts read *nassebon men 'almāyê*, "they may not take [anything] from the laity"; Vööbus, 38.
  - <sup>16</sup> Syr.: בייאלא (n<sup>e</sup>yāḥātā), a meal in honor of the deceased.

- 7. When a bishop goes out to a village, they<sup>12</sup> may never raise a forced contribution from the laity in the name of the bishop. Yet if [there is something]<sup>13</sup> in the church, they will donate whatever is appropriate for the church,<sup>14</sup> but if there is nothing in the church they may not give<sup>15</sup> anything.
- **8.** The priests may not demand anything in the name of the poor from people by compulsion in compensation for feast days or for memorial meals, <sup>16</sup> but he will receive according to the will of the one who gives.
- **9.** The priests, the deacons, the sons of the covenant, and the daughters of the covenant may not demand usury, or prepayment, or any of the instruments<sup>17</sup> of defiled profit.
- 10. The priests of the sons and daughters of the covenant may not allow them to reside with laity, <sup>18</sup> but [they may live] either with their families or with each other.
- 11. All the sons of the church must be constant in fasting,<sup>19</sup> [be] diligent in prayer, take care of the poor,<sup>20</sup> and demand judgment of the oppressed without discrimination.
- 12. All the priests who are in the villages must take care of the poor,<sup>21</sup> visiting them and comforting them, especially those who are children of the covenant.
- 13. The *periodeutai* may not propose someone for the rank of the priesthood who has an accusation [against him], <sup>22</sup> or those who are in the yoke of servitude, or have not been set free, but rather as the Apostle commands. <sup>23</sup>

Many manuscripts add  $w^e purs \hat{e}$  senn $\bar{e}y^c \hat{e}$ , "artful contrivances"; Vööbus, 38.

Many manuscripts add aw  $danšamm^e$ šon ennon aw  $d^enehwon$   $l^ehon$   $q^e y\bar{a}m\hat{e}$   $^cal$   $^ceb\bar{a}d\bar{a}$  meddem, "either to serve them or to be replacements for them in any work"; Vööbus, 38.

<sup>19</sup> Many manuscripts add *wabtešmeštā*, "and in service"; Vööbus, 39.

Many manuscripts add  $qa\check{s}\check{e}\check{s}\hat{e}$  wam $\check{s}am\check{s}an\hat{e}$  we kulhon  $b^e$ nay  $q^e$ y $\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ , "the priests and the deacons and all the children of the covenant [must take care of the poor]"; Vööbus, 39.

Some manuscripts have aksenāyê, "strangers"; Vööbus, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Many manuscripts add *aw sak īt betarrēh edlāyā*, "or who is in any way guilty"; Vööbus, 39.

Perhaps a reference to Titus 2:2.

- 16) בבסל בדולא דאינלי. נמסא יניבי ביולא ינדי דומסס באלונינניים כמ משבוא דיירים קולאים
- لک، کہ بنوی  $^2$  لقبل محکہ: ہیں، ہیں، ہیں، کہ ہے  $^2$  رقبل کہ کالے کا کہ بنوی ہے کہ کہ قدر محکہ: محلکہ: کے معجبہ ہے کہ کہ محکہ: محکمہ ہے کہ ہے کہ محکمہ ہے کہ ہے
- 19) [VB 41] کے کہ کا بیا ھے قدر مندکہ کہ ھے قدلا مندکہ تسھنہ لامن ۔ مصل عصل کے دیکھرہ میں ۔ کے تب کہ حکا یہ مخاب کے دیک حصل میں کہ شاہد کے تدکم سینہ میں کہ دیک ہیں گئی کے دیک میں کہ دیک کے د
  - 20) מסם לפה מומסדא בני פתרא. הבני פתרא זיה אם מדודאי
- 21) کہ نصوب وزعبے عملہ تہلمہ مخبے قعبعہ کہ معتبہ، مخبہ کا دکا کہ حل تہلمہ مالکہ کا کہ حل کہ کہ محبہ تومید،

  - <sup>2</sup> Many manuscripts add: حينة.
  - For ביש many manuscripts have: בילארים לותו אישברם בשש.
  - <sup>4</sup> Many manuscripts add: موجع مصاعة.
- <sup>5</sup> For مصلة عصدية many manuscripts have: معيديا كالمتابعة المعتقدة المعتق
- Many manuscripts have  $l^e hon \ balh\bar{a}d \ n^e s\bar{\imath}mon \ d^e ne sm^a {}^c on \ d\bar{\imath}n\bar{a}$ , "they shall appoint [only] those who shall hear lawsuit[s]"; Vööbus, 39–40.
  - 7 Lit. "take the face."
- <sup>8</sup> Syr. ممتد (*īdathon*), lit. "their lands," possibly referring to church-held property specifically.
  - For the final part of this canon, see also Admonitions 1.
  - Overbeck printed nos. 16 and 17 as a single canon.
- Nearly identical to *Admonitions* 25a, printed in Overbeck as Canon 8.
  - 12 Syr. <sup>c</sup>arrābê; in Admonitions 25a, this word is in the singular: <sup>c</sup>arrābā.
  - <sup>13</sup> Many manuscripts specify *qaššīšê*, "priests"; Vööbus, 40.

- **14.** The *periodeutai* may not entrust [just] anyone to hear lawsuits, but [only] those<sup>6</sup> of whom is it known by examination that they do not discriminate.<sup>7</sup>
- 15. The priests and the deacons must show concern for monks who are in their districts.<sup>8</sup> They must take care of them [OB 217] like their own members, and they may encourage also the laity that they share with them what is [necessary for] the body, but women may not enter inside the doors of their monasteries.<sup>9</sup>
- **16.**<sup>10</sup> For every church that exists, a house must be designated wherein the poor who turn in may be given rest.
- 17.<sup>11</sup> Diviners and charmers, those who write out amulets, and those who anoint men and women while acting under the guise of medicine: drive them out of every place and take from them sureties<sup>12</sup> that they will not enter our territory.
- 18. They<sup>13</sup> may not permit the daughters of the covenant to come to the church individually or to go out at night. If it is possible, they should dwell<sup>14</sup> with one another; likewise [this applies] also [to] the sons of the covenant.
- 19. If a son or daughter of the covenant lacks anything, the priests or the attendants will address<sup>15</sup> their concern.<sup>16</sup> If [a priest] is unable, he will inform us so that we<sup>17</sup> might take care of them, lest on account of their need they be forced to do anything that is not proper.
- **20.** The sons of the covenant must learn the Psalms, and the daughters of the covenant [must learn] also hymns. <sup>18</sup>
- **21.** The priests, deacons, sons of the covenant, and daughters of the covenant may not divide the name of God: they may not take an oath, neither on [what is false] nor on [what is] true, but as is commanded.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> For "dwell," many manuscripts have *nehwên*  $\bar{a}mr\bar{i}n$   $wa^{\flat}yk$   $h^{e}d\bar{a}$   $n\bar{e}^{\flat}zl\bar{e}n$   $w^{e}n\bar{e}^{\flat}tr\hat{e}n$ , "they shall live and travel together"; Vööbus, 41.

<sup>15</sup> Syr.  $\check{s}^e q \bar{\imath} l \bar{\imath} n$ , lit. "carry."

Many manuscripts add  $w^e s \bar{a} p \hat{e} n \ d\bar{\imath} lhon$ , "and shall care for their [needs]"; Vööbus, 41.

<sup>17</sup> Many manuscripts specify  $d^e qa\check{s}\check{s}\check{t}\check{s}\hat{e}$  wam $\check{s}am\check{s}an\hat{e}$  na $\check{s}p\hat{o}n$  d $\bar{\iota}lhon$  nehw $\hat{o}n$ , "so that the priests and the decons can care for their [needs]"; Vööbus, 41.

The Syriac is ambiguous as to whether the daughters of the covenant must also learn the Psalms.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Matt 5:33–37.

- 23) بیموں نسمی جے سجا کہ محر جھڑکہ قعیعکہ محقحیدیہ، مدید (23 محر کے تیم کہ محتحدہ، بدید (28 محر کے محمدہ، بدید محر کے محمدہ، بدید محل کے تیم کہ حکمت محمد، بدید محل کے تیم کا محمدہ، بدید محر کے تیم کے تیم
- אזורט איזהע איזה איזה אכייש בייט איזהע מסטי אל (VB 43) (25 איזהע איזהע איזהע איזהע איזהע איזהע מאיזהע איזהע איזהע איזהע איזהע מאיזהע מאיזהע מאיזהע איזהע אייינע אייינע אייינע איזהע אייינע א
- مستر محم کومتها در محمد مقدم کمی محمد کمی محمد کردید کومس کر (26 مستر کردید ک
- ومسا (27 مراب متو متوسط مقدم مترسط مات الماء الماء مترسط مات الماء الما
- 29) [VB 44] قدر معدم مه قدم معدم معلم وبدولي حر آVB 44] وبر
  - <sup>1</sup> Some manuscripts read: حعة علك.
  - Many manuscripts add: حبية.
  - <sup>3</sup> Some manuscripts read *masr<sup>e</sup>yānê*, "innkeepers."
  - <sup>4</sup> See Admonitions 3.
  - <sup>5</sup> See Admonitions 4; and Commandments 46.
  - <sup>6</sup> Lit. "the house of storage."
- 7 Syr.: Καοϊ Δακ (epitropê), from Gk. ἐπίτροπος. An epitropos was one who was in charge of the administration of a large estate. See Liliane Vana, "Epitropos ou administrateur de biens: Une fonction féminine méconnue aux premiers siècles de notre ère," in Pierre Geoltrain, ou comment "faire l'histoire" des religions? Le chantier des "origines," les méthodes du doute et la conversation contemporaine entre les disciplines (ed. Simon C. Mimouni and Isabelle Ullern-Weité; BEHESR 128; Histoire et prosopographie de la section des sciences religieuses 2; Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 187–205.

- **22.** Any *periodeutēs*, priest, or deacon who comes into the city may not lodge in a guesthouse or an inn,<sup>3</sup> but they will lodge in the *xenodocheion* of the church or in the monasteries outside [the city].<sup>4</sup>
- **23.** The priests and the deacons as well as the sons of the covenant and the daughters of the covenant must abstain from wine and from meat.<sup>5</sup> **[OB 218]** If there is one among them who is infirm in his [or her] body, let him [or her] use a little [wine] as it is written, but those who become intoxicated or who enter the storage rooms<sup>6</sup> shall be excommunicated from the church.
- **24.** All who have become disciples of Christ may not be covetous and possess more than they need but must distribute [the rest] to the poor.
- **25.** The priests, the deacons, and the sons of the covenant may not be keepers of threshing floors or of vineyards or employers of secular people.
- **26.** The priests, the deacons, and the sons of the covenant neither may be stewards<sup>7</sup> or administrators<sup>8</sup> for any of the laity, nor may they be involved in a legal action [involving] either members of their family<sup>9</sup> or anyone else who hires judges for himself and frequents the law courts.<sup>10</sup>
- **27.** The priests, the deacons, the sons of the covenant, and the daughters of the covenant shall be constant in the service of the church and shall not forsake the times of prayer and the [singing of] psalms by night and by day.<sup>11</sup>
- **28.** They<sup>12</sup> will anathematize, imprison, and send to the city for trial the secular man who dares to carry off a daughter of the covenant. But if she also by her will was corrupted, they shall send her [for trial], too.
  - 29. Send away to the monasteries for repentance the sons

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> ماليات (šallīṭānê); this word may be a gloss for epitropê.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See *Rab.* 20.

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  Lit. "door of the judges." See *Admonitions* 15, which discourages any contacts between ascetics and judges.

See Rab. 14, 30; Admonitions 16; Commandments 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Many manuscripts specify qaššīšê, "the priests"; Vööbus, 43.

להבוא אודים אום בל אבה אלא השל הפחש בהניאי. לא נאמבלם בבדאלא. אלא נמסם בה בלא בל אבה בלא וכנא הודם:

- 00) Ly moo carty holos. Hy maky synk ho priy hei or prim. Oly frein synk ha ynkky elss or sokeka. Thy moy or see sokeka. Thy moy or see som shaky.
- אזבז <sup>2</sup>הבים או מא לודאדא בא מא לדידם בא זה מל לאזבז (32) ∴למסזוֹם מל לאמשם: לדינוסנו לולא זיר לאמשה עובות מונים מיבות אונים אונים מיבות מונים אונים מיבות אונים אונים מיבות אונים אוני
- متمسر ممتاء (34 [VB 45] حتر مەتب، حکسفت ترده لامه میدر کسور کسور کسور میلام حکقیمه میلام کالام کالام

- - Many manuscripts add: באלפיםם, ל.
  - Many manuscripts have:
  - 3 Many manuscripts add: ــرحصدا.
  - <sup>4</sup> Many manuscripts add: معانة المعانية على المعانية ال
  - <sup>5</sup> For متحب many manuscripts have: مصعبة.
  - 6 Some manuscripts add: ≺••••.
- <sup>7</sup> Some manuscripts add *lā¹ mettappīsīn*, "are not persuaded [to remain in the monastery]"; Vööbus, 44.
  - Some manuscripts read *tagmê*, "ranks"; Vööbus, 44.
- Syr.: Καράδισκος, a cupboard or compartment where food and table settings are stored; see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2:3240–41.
  - <sup>10</sup> See also Admonitions 20.

of the covenant and the daughters of the covenant who fall from their status; even if they<sup>7</sup> remain in the monastery they will not be received [back] into the church, but they will be sequestered with their parents for an appropriate time.

- **30.** They may not receive as a disciple a woman who has a man other than her husband, and especially not [a man] who has a woman in addition to his partner, lest the name of God be blasphemed.
- **31.** The priests may not let approach [to] the holy [gifts] those who are found [to be] in **[OB 219]** adultery, except by our own decree.
- **32.** No one from among the priests, the deacons, or one of the sons<sup>8</sup> of the church may dare to place ordinary utensils along with the vessels of holiness in any chest or cupboard.<sup>9</sup>
- **33.** No one may dare to draw near and give the offering while he is not a priest or a deacon. <sup>10</sup>
- **34.** To all the lords of the villages you must accord the honor due them, while you may not discriminate among them, and you may not cheat the poor.
- **35.** You may not scourge anyone, <sup>11</sup> but if there is a matter on account of which it is necessary to scourge, either scourge [only] to frighten [them], or send the offenders to the secular judges.
- **36.** You [may] decide lawsuits, <sup>12</sup> but you may not come to the city importuning [the judges]. Those who disobey you, send before us. <sup>13</sup>
- **37.** They<sup>14</sup> will neither permit the sons of the covenant to go to the assemblies or to other places without priests, nor the daughters of the covenant [to go] without the deaconesses.
- **38.** No one from the priests, deacons, or sons of the covenant, unless so ordered, may go away to the court, or to a distant place and forsake his church, not even if [it is] for the business of his village or his church.

Some manuscripts add  $d^e$  masbel, "so that he suffer"; Vööbus, 45.

Syr.: Syr.:

 $<sup>^{13}~</sup>$  For "before us" some manuscripts read  $d\bar{\imath}nayhon~l^ehaylkon,$  "their cases to our authority"; Vööbus, 45.

Some manuscripts specify *qaššīšê*, "priests"; Vööbus, 45.

- بیم حکمت کے محکم کے محکم کے محکم کے محکم کے محکم کے  $^1$ کے محکم کے  $^1$ کے محکم کے مح
- בעל בעל בעלים באיז אפ מיניא אפ בעלים במלים בעלים בעלי
- رهات برمصه [VB 47] (43 برنویت کام برخیت کی در برمصه (VB 47) برخوتی کی در برخیت کرد برخیت کی در برخیت کرد برد برد

- $^{6}$  )  $^{7}$  .  $^{6}$   $^{7}$  .  $^{6}$   $^{7}$  .  $^{6}$   $^{7}$  .  $^{7}$   $^{7}$
- (48 (48 (48 (48 کہ ۱۵۰ معمدلک، کہ دخلکہ کہ: کہ دخلکہ دائم کے دخلے کہ دخلکہ دخلے کہ دخلکہ دخلے کہ دخلکہ دخلے کہ دخلے کہ دخلکہ دخلے کہ دخل

- 2 For Kriess some manuscripts have: Kladiok ombits.
- <sup>3</sup> Reading with some manuscripts.
- <sup>4</sup> Reading with some manuscripts.
- <sup>5</sup> Reading with some manuscripts.
- 6 Some manuscripts add: אבעה א כי בינה א כיים.
- <sup>7</sup> Some manuscripts have: حيم ملكة للكام تركاء كالمائة للكامة المائة ا
- <sup>8</sup> For "nor" some manuscripts read <sup>c</sup>al enāš aw <sup>c</sup>al meddem aḥrīn aw, "concerning any one or any matter of others or"; Vööbus, 46.
- 9 Syr.: <a href="mailto:cewangelyōn damparrašê">Syr.: <a href="mailto:cewangelyōn damparrašê">cewangelyōn damparrašê</a>); for "separate" some manuscripts read da comparrašê (ewangelyōn ewangelistê, "of the four evangelists"; Vööbus, 46. This Gospel was to replace the "combined Gospel" (ewangelyōn ewangelyōn ewangelyōn)

- **39.** All the priests must care for the service of the house of God, and they will do all that is required for the maintenance of the house. They may not tend animals in the church, lest the house of God be dishonored.
- **40.** Anything that a *periodeutes*, a priest, or a deacon who has departed the world might have, he must leave to the church.
- **41.** The priests, deacons, or the sons of the covenant may not be guarantors for anyone, neither in writing **[OB 220]** nor<sup>8</sup> without writing.
- **42.** The priests as well as the deacons must live at the church, and if it is possible also the sons of the covenant.
- **43.** The priests and the deacons will ensure that the [book] of the separate Gospels<sup>9</sup> is in all the churches and that it is read.
- **44.** The priests must read the Gospel where there [are priests present]<sup>10</sup> and there are no deacons present, and the priests must give the sign [i.e., the oil of blessing]<sup>11</sup> if there are [priests present].<sup>12</sup>
- **45.** Secular persons may become managers in the church only if there are no sons of the covenant who are suitable.
- **46.** Neither the sons of the covenant nor the daughters of the covenant may drink wine on the occasion of a funeral. <sup>13</sup>
- **47.** You will not accept<sup>14</sup> a forged document<sup>15</sup> against anyone and because of it do anything other than justice.
- **48.** The sons of the church will not communicate with heretics, neither in word nor in deed. <sup>16</sup>

damḥallaṭê), that is, the Diatessaron. See the introduction, ccxiv, ccxvi, and ccxxv.

- $^{10}$   $\,$  Reading with some manuscripts that have this phrase; Vööbus, 47.
- Reading with some manuscripts that have this phrase, one manuscript adds "that the priests give"; Vööbus, 47.
  - Reading with some manuscripts that have this phrase; Vööbus, 47.
  - <sup>13</sup> See Admonitions 4; Commandments 23, and Canons for the Monks 3.
- Some manuscripts add  $bahd\bar{a}$  men  ${}^{e}d\bar{a}t\bar{a}$ , "in any of the churches"; Vööbus, 47.
- For "forged document" some manuscripts read  $men\ k^e t \bar{\imath} b \bar{a} t \bar{a}\ degl \bar{a} t \bar{a}$   $d^e l \bar{a}^{\flat} b \bar{u} h \bar{a} n \bar{a}$ , "from false writings without examination"; Vööbus, 47.
  - <sup>16</sup> See Admonitions 25b.

- .لاعدامه براء براده براده کا (51) براده کا براده کا براده کا کا براده کا براد کا براده کا براد کا براد کا براد کا براده کا براد کا برا
- רשא איז בארא איז בארא איז בארא בישה בישה בישה בישה ביל (52 המשה איז בארא איז אמשאמים איז בארא איז אמשאמים איז בארשה איז אמשאמים איז באראיז אמשאמים איז באראיז אמשאמים איז מש
- רס בינה שבים הביל (54 [OB 221] אביה בלים בינה בינה בינה (54 נומס בינה בינה לינה בינה בינה לינה שבינה שלינה שבינה שלינה שלינ
- עבית הביה המיא בלים דים ביביש ביביש

- - ¹ Some manuscripts have: ≺₺ℷъъ
  - Some manuscripts add: حسحه
  - 3 Some manuscripts add: حلحه.
  - <sup>4</sup> Some manuscripts read *dayrā*, "monastery"; Vööbus, 48.
- <sup>5</sup> "Without disturbance" may be a later gloss to explain how someone tears down a building "quietly." It may also attempt to prevent extreme acts of violence by monks against non-Christian, religious property.
- <sup>6</sup> Castration was a feature of the cult of Atargatis, or Dea Syria, the "Syrian Goddess." Atargatis was one of the most important deities worshiped in Edessa. She was the goddess of fertility to whom the pools of carp that still stand in the city were dedicated, as fish and water were important aspects of her cult. The *Books of the Laws of the Countries*, a work of the followers of Bardaisan, mentions that Abgar V Ukkāmā, who by tradition is called the first Christian king of Edessa, outlawed castration. See Drijvers, "Persistence

- **49.** No one from among the heretics is allowed to reside inside the monastery, and no one from among the heretics shall approach the holy [eucharist], lest they come to the church<sup>4</sup> and lead their thoughts astray.
- **50.** Search for the writings of heretics and their books in every place, and as you are able, either let us have them or burn them in fire.
- **51.** Do not accept heretics for baptism without discernment; rather, they must demonstrate proof, and then they may be received.
- **52.** The priests shall not give communion to these who are possessed by demons, lest the holy [communion] become dishonored by the communication of the demons.
- **53.** Cut down those tree trunks in which evil spirits dwell, and let them be for the proceeds of the church in their area. If the remainder of a temple of idols stands in the place, let it be torn down quietly without disturbance.<sup>5</sup>
- **54.** Build churches **[OB 221]** where there are none. Those that are built must be white and must have apses and sturdy enclosures.
- **55.** No one from among the sons of the church, those who call upon themselves the name of Christ, shall dare to castrate himself.<sup>6</sup>
- **56.** A man shall not leave his wife so long as he does not catch her in adultery. Also the wife will not leave her husband for any reason.
- **57.** No one shall take [in marriage] the daughter of his sister or the daughter of his brother, also not his mother's sister or his father's sister.<sup>7</sup>
- **58.** The sons of the covenant shall not go up to the chancel steps of the altar and take any food<sup>8</sup> into the apse, nor shall the priests eat there, nor shall anyone<sup>9</sup> take food into the sanctuary, and nothing shall be placed there except the vessels of the holy [offering].

of Pagan Cults," 37–38; and Daniel Caner, "The Practice and Prohibition of Self-Castration in Early Christianity," VC 51 (1997): 408 n. 51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See *Rab.* 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Some manuscripts add *šaḥḥēmtā*, "common"; Vööbus, 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Some manuscripts add <sup>c</sup>almāyā, "secular, lay [person]"; Vööbus, 50.

לא מספר במחבל המחבל מסה אל המחבל המחבל המחבל המחבל הארשה מסה אל המחבל המחבל

بدحه ومقدبه والمسايع يهام حيب مجلم

**59.** The priests and the deacons who give the holy [communion] may not receive any gifts from those that take the holy [communion].

The commandments and admonitions to the priests and the children of the covenant are ended.

# 3.3.3. Canons for the Monks Attributed to Rabbula (Vat. Borg. Syr. 10)<sup>1</sup>

אם בים אמלז, המיהלז לשמשפאל [106v] למסיז למש שמא

 $^{15}$ (5 موهنگ $^{15}$  مسلم  $^{15}$  مسلم  $^{15}$  مسلم  $^{15}$  مسلم  $^{15}$ 

7) (107r) באבי בא אינא דעב, פנות אס עב, באני פסומנים הושהלא: האלאס: הכאומ:

- <sup>1</sup> Text: MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10; see also Vööbus (*Syriac and Arabic Documents*, 78–86) and Mounayer ("Canons relatifs aux moines," 406–15). The first six canons have been collated with the parallels in Overbeck's edition of *Admonitions for the Monks*. For the introduction, see above, §2.2.1. Folio numbers in brackets are from MS Vat. Borg. Syr. 10.
  - <sup>2</sup> Admonitions 2 (Overbeck, 212,5–7).
  - 3 Read with Overbeck (212,6) for Vat. Borg. Syr. 10: متت.
  - <sup>4</sup> Admonitions 3 (Overbeck, 212,7–10).
  - <sup>5</sup> Overbeck (212,7): מבסהי.
  - 6 Mounayer, 409, misprinted: صغے.
  - <sup>7</sup> Read for Vat. Borg. Syr. 10 (and Overbeck): רבא בוא ביא.
  - <sup>8</sup> Overbeck (212,10): حند رحاً.
  - <sup>9</sup> Admonitions 4 (Overbeck, 212,10–12).
  - <sup>10</sup> Overbeck (212,11): מנדי א ענכדי .ז...
  - 11 Overbeck (212,11): איל בא ביז במשלשאו.
  - <sup>12</sup> Overbeck (212,12): omit.
- <sup>13</sup> Admonitions 9 (Overbeck, 213,4–7). The material in brackets is supplied from Admonitions 10.

# 3.3.3. Canons for the Monks Attributed to Rabbula (Vat. Borg. Syr. 10)

Further, the Canons of Rabbula, [106v] Bishop of Edessa, for the Monks

- **1.** The brother monks may not enter the villages, unless they are  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}r\hat{e}$ , and [while outside] they shall keep the discipline of chastity.
- **2.** And a  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}r\bar{a}$  who enters a village or a city may not lodge at an inn and may not spend the night in a house of worldly [persons] but [may lodge only] in a church or a monastery that is nearby.
- **3.** The monks shall not drink wine lest they blaspheme, and the monks should be constantly on guard not to purchase wine to drink.
- **4.** Monks may not possess [as] property sheep, goats, horses, or other livestock, except for a donkey or a pair of oxen in order to sow something for themselves and for those who have need of them.<sup>21</sup>
- **5.** And books outside of the faith of the church [may not be in the monasteries].
- **6.** They shall receive strangers gladly and shall not close the gate [of the monastery] in the face of any of the brothers.
- 7. [107r] It is not permitted for any of the brothers to buy or sell anything without the permission of the abbot and of the three [monks] who come after him [in rank].

<sup>14</sup> Overbeck (213,5): .הכבול או.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Admonitions 10 (Overbeck, 213,7–9). Note that the wording of that canon differs from the text indicated in brackets.

<sup>16</sup> Overbeck (213,7): حگے.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Admonitions 17 (Overbeck, 213,25–27).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Overbeck (213,25): \_\_\_\_\_\_\_.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Overbeck (213,26): .עריבאיאל.

The Syriac is vague but seems to mean those who depend on eating what the monks sow; in other words, the monks can sow enough to take care of only their needs and the needs of others in the monastery.

- באא \_ ת תלה ית בידים המסום . היומש בידא בידל תלם הלם (21) בא ביד אוני הלם הלם היה המסחה: סום בידים היה הלם בידים הלם היה בידים הלם היה בידים הלם בידים בידים הלם בידים הלם בידים בידים הלם בידים הלם בידים בידי

- راهد با با محمود معتم الاماء [108] برناء المام برماء (17 برناء بلاغة برناء المام برناء بر

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Or "who behaves in a scattered way," "dissipates his time."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vööbus divides this canon into three canons.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This sentence is not reflected in Mounayer's edition of the Syriac text, although it is present in Vat. Borg. Syr. 10, and Mounayer accounts for it in his French translation.

Vööbus divides this canon into two canons.

- **8.** It is not permitted for anyone to give anything other than three measures of bread without [the permission of] the abbot.
- **9.** It is not permitted for anyone living in the monastery to steal anything. If it is found that one has stolen [something], he shall go down from his rank, becoming fifteenth [in rank] of the brothers. If he is a priest, he shall become the last of the priests. If he is the last of the priests, he shall receive three years' penance. If he has stolen routinely, he shall go out from the monastery, so that the entire body of the brotherhood not be corrupted.
- 10. It is not permitted for anyone to raise his hand against his brother. Anyone who dares to strike his neighbor shall go down to [become the] twelfth of the brothers. Anyone who mocks, tells tales, or sows discord<sup>1</sup> shall go down to the sixth [degree of the] brothers.
- 11.<sup>2</sup> It is not permitted that there be a cooked meal outside [107v] the assembly within [the monastery], except for those who are sick, and it is not permitted for anyone to dine in the course of the day without the blessing of the abbot, and it is not permitted for anyone to spend the night outside of the monastery except for the  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}r\hat{e}$ .<sup>3</sup>
- 12.4 And it is not permitted for anyone found in adultery to remain in the monastery, unless he repents of his sins, has accepted penance, and shall not be found [to continue] in this habit. It is not sufficient that the testimony of only one [person] be accepted [to convict an adulterer].
- **13.** And it is not permitted for a monk staying in the monastery to loan anything with interest, even if he has some [capital] from his own activity.
- **14.** It is not permitted for the  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}r\hat{e}$  of the monastery to show favor [to anyone].
- 15. It is not permitted for anyone to enter the garden and take anything from it without [the permission of] those who have been appointed to [manage] it.
- **16.** It is not permitted for anyone to dine with a relative who has come to the monastery except at the customary time and with the blessing of the abbot.
- 17. And it is not permitted for a monk [108r] to accompany his neighbor and cross the threshold of the gate without [the permission of] the abbot.

- 18) کے مال ہنا مصدنے کے تصمحین کی الات ہلان کی دکتہ العال ہنا (18) العال ہنا ہے العال ہنا ہائے ہیں العال ہنا ہ
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  - (20) איני לא בכל בל פנוא המאת לח ושהניא: לכל מן בסומוא:
- منسده مراعت عمادر مهم مربع مربع کام (12 مربید کرفر (21 مربید) مربید کرفر در برد کرفر در برد کرفرد کرف
- کان نظیمته بیر کام نظمی در (23 کان بران کی در کامی کی در بران کان کی در کامی کی در نظمی کلید در نظمی کی در نظ
  - : الله مار عبد علي عدة الله مار (24
- ماس ملا :محم حمد ملاء :مه ملات عمل تغرب المام بدغه المام (25) مدن محمد: محمد: محمد المام (25) مدن محمد: محمد المام (25)
- روس، مر دومه مر دومه المان کر دور در الان مر در دور در الان مر در در الان مر در الان الان الان مر در الان مر در الان مر در الان مر
- ישביז אינים מה המשל בינים משה הלא גול (27 בינים אלים המש בשמי הלים המשה המשה הלא בינים המשה בינים אלים המשה בינים אלים המשה בינים הלא השביבה נבשה שלים ואינים המשה בינים בינים
- בס בססט מל : אבז א בבסעל א נהנה א מסט ליידה א מסט א יאבימא אל על (28 אלי אבימאר היא:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.

- 18. It is not permitted for anyone to go [from the monastery] for a personal matter or to the house of his family without [the permission of] the abbot.
- 19. And the novice who is to become a monk shall not leave the monastery for the three years [of his novitiate] without the permission of the abbot.
- **20.** And no one shall be released from the penance that is placed upon him except by the abbot, except [in the case of] sickness.
- **21.** It is required that every year on the fifteenth of September, [when] they have celebrated the offering, the vigil, the office, and the feast, the abbot shall assign the tasks of the monastery and shall make the [assignments of the] weeks to the brothers with care, so that there not arise among them disputes or envy of one another.
- **22.** It is not permitted for the abbot to neglect the divine office or prostrations.
- **23.** It is not permitted for anyone to speak unnecessarily either during the office or prayer, not even for the abbot, or at the meal table.
  - **24.** It is not permitted for anyone to neglect prayer.
- 25. And it is not permitted at all for a monk to dine with women or with his mother or with his sister [108v] under any circumstance.
- **26.** It is not permitted for monks to go to a banquet or a drinking party. A monk may not be a godfather or a relative to lay persons through baptism.
- 27. It is not permitted for a monk to enter a city or a village to dine, except in the house in which he is staying, and he shall not go out and wander in the streets and from house to house because of his stomach, and thereby denigrate the rule of chastity.
- **28.** It is not permitted for a hermit to be in a monastery with a large population or to have two [simultaneous] rules [of monastic life].
- **29.** And it is not permitted for anyone who has something from the house of his family to say, "It is mine," or to scorn the brothers because he has given it to the monastery, or to have an authority over it that is greater than the rest of the coenobium.
- **30.** It is not permitted for anyone who knows a trade to demand with it a compensation that is greater than someone who does not know a trade. If he is skilled and learned, he shall not be made

- جعتن لاغته لابلاغ الحالم الاغتمام \_ 2000 مرية الحان الاغتمام الاغتمام المعادم الاغتمام المعادم الاغتمام المعادم المعا
- بعد الاملام باسم مادیم برعمی محمده محمده (33 محمده محمده کی الاصوبر الامره محمده کامری (33 محمده محمده کی الاصوبر الا

معیک ۳ : تصبوبه بریمه کریمه فرسه کریمه کریمه

מלכם מבוא גדיב לג: גובה לא.

superior to those who are less than he in knowledge; rather [109r] he shall do everything for the glory of God, and in Him he shall be content at all times.

- **31.** It is not permitted that any become  $s\bar{a}^c\bar{o}r\hat{e}$  of the monks unless they are just, truthful, chaste, and vigilant, with a proper way of life, and not greedy after anything.
- **32.** The abbot shall be solicitous for the service within [the monastery] and the good order of the brotherhood, and those who are after him [in rank] shall be solicitous for the administration of all things, lest anything be lacking in the monastery.
- **33.** And the receipts and expenditures and everything that is within [the monastery], the abbot and the three with him shall administer, and debt and profit are their responsibility.<sup>1</sup>
- **34.** It is not permitted for anyone who resides in the monastery to give anything from the produce of the monks to members of his family. The wealth of the monastery is a blessing of our Lord, and the one who gives and holds [this matter] in contempt shall incur a penalty for himself and his family.

We have written these canons for Your Honor, concerning the rules and the canons of the monastic household.

The canons of the monasteries for the monks by Rabbula are ended.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lit. "if there is debt; [but] if there is profit: they will go after them."

#### 3.4. Letters

#### 3.4.1. Correspondence with Cyril of Alexandria

3.4.1.1. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, Letter 34; CPG 5334)

Text: ACO 1.4:140,16-35 (Collectio Casinensis)<sup>1</sup>

Epistula, inquit, Cyrilli ad Rabbulam Edessenum, nuntians quod omnino non reciperet propositiones quae a Iohanne sunt destinatae

Piissimo et amatore Christi imperatore dirigente dominum meum mirandissimum tribunum notariumque Aristolaum, Christianum uirum et ualde pro recta fide certatum, ut ad pacem copularet ecclesias, et scribente clare quod Antiochenus deberet prius suscribere quidem Nestorii damnationem, anathematizare uero scelesta eius dogmata et tunc iam communionem nostram quaerere, scripsit ad me dominus meus religiosissimus et optimus senex episcopus Acacius incongruam quandem propositionem quasi ab Orientis episcopis, magis autem, si oportet dicere ueritatem, ab eis qui ea quae sunt Nestorii, saperet. Nam dum eos oporteret segui quod congruit, et < secundum > 2 intentionem piissimi principis omniumque orthodoxorum anathimatizare scelesta Nestorii dogmata, e contrario petunt uacare uniuersa quae a nobis scripta sunt siue in tomis siue in conscriptionibus, et sic, inquiunt, ecclesiae comunicabunt ad inuicem. Hoc autem clare dicere est quod oporteat nos rectam fidem denegare et Nestorii consentire blasfemiis [sic]. Si enim nostra exterminamus, quae se bene habent et inexprobabiliter et asserunt ueritatem et rectae fidei militant, approbabimus ea quae sunt Nestorii, et omnes erimus eius ammirantes insaniam. Sed illorum quidem propositionem intelleximus, contristati enim sunt quod blasphemante Nestorio, ab orthodoxis

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: ACO 1.4:140,16–35 (cf. ACO 4.3.1:176, no. 44); see also PG 77:161–64; 84:721. Translation: McEnerney (Letters, FC 76:136–37). For the introduction, see above, §2.3.1.1.

### 3.4. Letters

#### 3.4.1. Correspondence with Cyril of Alexandria

3.4.1.1. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, Letter 34; CPG 5334)

A Letter of Cyril to Rabbula of Edessa, Announcing That He Would Not at All Accept the Propositions That Were Stated by John [Bishop of Antioch]

The most pious and Christ-loving emperor, having instructed my lord the most admirable tribune and secretary Aristolaus, a Christian man and one who has struggled much on behalf of the correct faith, to join together the churches in peace, and having written plainly that the Antiochene must first sign any condemnation of Nestorius. [and] in fact to anathematize his wicked teachings and then seek communion with us: my lord, the most religious and most venerable elder. Bishop Acacius wrote to me a certain unacceptable proposition, as though from the Eastern bishops, or rather, if one must say the truth, from those who share a taste for the things that are of Nestorius. While they should follow what is acceptable, and [according] to the intention of the most pious ruler of all the orthodox anathematize the wicked teachings of Nestorius, on the contrary they desire to void out everything that has been written by us, whether in letters or in documents, and then, they say, the churches will be in communion with one another. However, this means clearly that we ought to deny the correct faith and to agree to the blasphemies of Nestorius. For if we destroy our [writings], which are correct and which state irreproachably the truth and defend the correct faith, we would approve of the things that are of Nestorius, and we all would be admirers of his madness, but we have understood their proposal. They are sad because, when Nestorius blasphemed, speeches and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Added with ACO 1.4:140 n. 25.

contra eum sermones scripti sunt et epistulae. Qualia uero et nos scripserimus, sciet tua perfectio, dum legeris paria eorum; ob hoc enim tuae illa religiositati direxi.

## 3.4.1.2. Rabbula to Cyril (Cyril, *Letter* 73; *CPG* 5373, 6494, Latin Version)

Text: ACO 1.4:212 (Collectio Casinensis); ACO 4.1:89,3–27 (Acts of the Second Council of Constantinople) (collated with excerpt in Pelagius of Rome, Third Letter to the Bishops of Istria; ACO 4.2:112,15–132,37, here 124,12–26)<sup>1</sup>

Incipit epistola Rabbulae beatae memoriae scripta ad sanctum Cyrillum contra impium Theodorum

Iam uero quidam unitatem secundum subsistentiam omnibus modis abdicant. Morbus enim aliquis sublatens inueterauit Orienti, immedicabilis modo uulneris depascens ecclesiae corpus et plurimos quidem latens, apud autem quasi studiosos et supercilia extollentes eruditione latenter honoratus, episcopus² enim quidam prouinciae Cilicium Theodorus, uir uerisimilis dicendi et potens persuadere, alia quidem supra tribunali ecclesiae statim dicebat ad populi placentiam, alios autem laqueos perditionis in scriptis ponebat. Qui in principio³ quorundam eius codicum anathemate circumcludebat inspicientem non manifestare aliis scripta. Iste primus exposuit non esse uere dei genetricem sanctam uirginem, tamquam deo uerbo non suscipiente secundum nos natiuitatem. Hoc usque adhuc latens, ne tempore ampliore confirmatum fortuis putaretur, secundum iudicium dei oblitus Nestorius nouae incisionis auctor publicauit.

Sequitur autem hoc et quod est humanatione: Nec enim dicunt secundum substantiam uel secundum subsistentiam unitum esse deo uerbo hominem, sed bona uoluntate quadam, tamquam diuina natura non suscipiente alterum modum unitatis propter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: ACO 1.4:212 (Collectio Casinensis); ACO 4.1:89,3–27 (Acts of the Second Council of Constantinople); collated with excerpt in Pelagius of Rome (*Third Letter to the Bishops of Istria*; ACO 4.2:112,15–132,37, here 124,12–26). Translation: McEnerney (*Letters*, 77:75–76). For the introduction, see above, §2.3.1.1.

letters were written against him by the orthodox. So that Your Perfection might know what kind [of faith] we too have committed to writing, "[and] while you will be reading analogous [statements] of theirs, I have sent these to Your Reverend Self.

### 3.4.1.2. Rabbula to Cyril (Cyril, *Letter* 73; *CPG* 5373, 6494, Latin Version)

Beginning of the Letter of Rabbula, of Blessed Memory, Written to the Holy Cyril against the Impious Theodore

Now there are indeed some who reject in every way a unity according to subsistence.4 A concealed disease has become established in the East, like an incurable wound wasting the body of the church, and though hidden from many, it is honored secretly among those who are supposedly learned and who pride [themselves] on erudition, namely, a certain Bishop Theodore from the province of Cilicia, a man who speaks convincingly and has the power to persuade. He was saying some [things] from the platform of the church to please the people on the spot, yet he sets into [his] writings other [things that are] snares of destruction, he who at the beginning of some of his books bound the one who looks at them under condemnation not to divulge to others what was written. He was the first to declare that the Blessed Virgin is not truly the Birthgiver of God, as if God the Word had not accepted a birth like ours. Lest what was until now hidden be considered well established over a longer [period of] time, by the judgment of God, the heedless Nestorius, the founder of the New Circumcision, publicized it.5

This too follows for what [pertains] to the becoming-human [of God the Word]: they say the human being is joined to God the Word not according to substance or according to subsistence but by some benevolence, as though the divine nature, being boundless, does not accept another kind of unity. He also said it is not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Here begins the excerpt from *Letter* 73 in Pelagius of Rome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pelagius of Rome reads: *principiis*.

Probably translating the Greek ὑπόστασις, Syriac  $(q^e n \bar{u} m \bar{a})$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See the introduction, ccxxxi, for a discussion of this terminology.

non circumscriptibile. Iste et dominum nostrum Iesum Christum dixit non oportere adorari sicut deum, sed relatione dei honorari sicut imaginem quandam, magis autem manifestius secundum eos dicere, sicut instar aliquid relatione assidentis daemonis. Iste et carnem domini pronuntiauit nihil omnino prodesse, dissipans domini uocem quae est: caro nihil prodest. Iste et apostolos dicit non cognouisse Christum quod deus erat, sed supra fidem quae est in homine, aedificatam esse ecclesiam. De gehenna autem ratiocinationes eorum non est tutum per litteras significare.

Isti sunt thesauri impietatis eorum, quibus iamdudum latenter fruebantur et uolunt, si possibile est, usque ad finem obumbrare et mentes <et> pias aures populi.<sup>1</sup>

## 3.4.1.3. Rabbula to Cyril (Cyril, *Letter* 73; *CPG* 5373, 6494, Syriac Version)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Excerpt in Pelagius of Rome ends here.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Text: Overbeck (S. Ephraemi Syri, 225). For the introduction, see above,  $\S 2.3.1.1$ .

<sup>3</sup> Overbeck: عيريا.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 6:64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> I.e., Theodore of Mopsuestia. Theodore is explicitly mentioned in

right to worship our Lord Jesus Christ as God, but he is honored as an image of God by a connection, or rather, to speak more as they do, as some appearance of a connection [as though] to an attendant deity. [Theodore] declared the flesh of the Lord is of no value, distorting the word of the Lord, that is, "the flesh is of no use." He says the apostles did not recognize that Christ was God, but [says rather] that the church is built on faith in a human being. It is not prudent to state in writing their exercises in reasoning concerning Gehenna. These are the treasuries of their impieties, the use of which they have secretly enjoyed for some time and wished, if possible, to cloud at last the minds [and] pious ears of the people.

### 3.4.1.3. Rabbula to Cyril (Cyril, *Letter* 73; *CPG* 5373, 6494, Syriac Version)

Part of a Letter of the Blessed Rabbula That Was Written to the Blessed Cyril

For there was a bishop from the place of the Cilicians,<sup>5</sup> a man who was effective when speaking and was able to persuade. Some things he preached on the bema, according to what is pleasing to the people, but other things that are a snare of perdition he set down in books. Whoever finds what is in the chapters that are among those books of his is bound by anathema lest they reveal to others those things that are written in them.

He was the first to declare that the holy Virgin is not the Birthgiver of God, as though he who is God the Word did not take upon himself a birth like ours. This [teaching], which until now

the longer Latin version of this letter (see below, 138–42). This passage is probably a later addition; one may also see a similar passage in the letter of Cyril to Rabbula as an addition: "[the heresies of] Nestorius that have now sprung up, those which sprouted from another plant, I mean from Theodore, the one who is from Cilicia," below, 134–35. See the introduction, clxxxi n. 656.

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3.4.1.4. Rabbula to Cyril (Cyril, *Letter* 73alt. [*CPG* 5373; 6494], Latin Version)

Text: ACO 1.4:212,20–30 (Collectio Casinensis); ACO 4.1:87,13–31<sup>2</sup>

Pars, inquit, epistulae Rabbulae Edesseni scriptae ad Aegyptum, significans quod is qui ab eis obpugnabatur, id est Nestorius, eos qui circa Theodorum, secutus in suis est coram ecclesia doctrinis

Episcopus enim quidam prouinciae Cilicium, uir uerisimilis dictu et sufficiens ad persuadendum, altera quidem pro tribunali proferebat ad placendum populo, alteris uero perditionis capturas serebat in scriptis. Qui in quorundam suorum librorum principiis anathematismum legenti circumponebat, ne aliis proderet scripta. Iste primus exposuit non esse dei genetricem secundum non est genituram. Hoc nunc usque latens, ne tempore diuturnione roboratum firmius putaretur, secundum dispensationem dei oblitus Nestorius, nouae incisionis auctor, in publicum protulit.

Overbeck: حسلها.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Text: ACO 1.4:212,20–30 (Collectio Casinensis); ACO 4.1:87,13–31 (corresponds to Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 225,4–17). For the introduction, see above, §2.3.1.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I.e., a "New Judaism." Syr. gzurtā ḥdattā, lit. "circumcision." Cyril

had escaped notice, lest it become established over a long [span of] time so that it would be strongly believed, through the providence of God, while forgetting [the anathema], Nestorius, the founder of the New Circumcision,<sup>3</sup> revealed it openly.<sup>4</sup>

### 3.4.1.4. Rabbula to Cyril (Cyril, *Letter* 73alt. [*CPG* 5373; 6494], Latin Version)

Part of a Letter Said to Be of Rabbula of Edessa, Written to [Cyril] the Egyptian, Stating That the One Who Is Fought by Them, That Is, Nestorius, Followed the [Teachings] of the Blessed Theodore in His Own Teachings in the Presence of the Church

Now, a certain bishop of the province of Cilicia, a man who speaks convincingly and is effective in persuasion, presented some [things] on the platform [of the church] to please the people but inserted other [things that are] snares of perdition in [his] writings, he who in the beginnings of some of his books bound the reader under condemnations not to reveal the writings to others. He was the first to declare that the holy Mary is not truly the Birthgiver of God, as though God the Word did not accept a begetting like ours. Lest what was until now hidden be considered firmly established after a long period of time, by the providence of God the heedless Nestorius, the founder of the New Circumcision, has dragged it into the open.<sup>5</sup>

and other opponents of Nestorius referred to his doctrine as Judaism and its followers as Jews, because (in their view) they had denied the divinity of Jesus Christ.

See above, ccxxvi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See above, cxviii with n. 379, ccxxxi, and ccxxvi.

#### 3.4.1.5. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, *Letter* 74; *CPG* 5374)<sup>1</sup>

[OB 226]

י אלואא ולסכוא מסורס וואל בי ובטן י ובני מביא טאמס ב סכו KLIK L. I TO KERDEN. asi Loo Neade Coci . stor. cult The «بردک مولوسوه الم بسدی، للفقل خراج لموسی وه لمه، حد داد מבואי «תיני נפושות מש עוסכת המביעאי אם ליי אים ליי אם איי אם iroe که معدی که مخالمه که معدودی که صوحی لیل به מות ולא משלא בשבל ב אלבן ושמה כלוב במחו לבה אלו הוא ranson vity \_ orafano \_ orafano \_ orassono ~ dio وللم معرسدل سودله سي بمحاري حمر يسوس ويحسم بريدونه ر مصالا برامعیتها بری برای : بناز برسان بری بره برای برقایر ישוכה בי באנד בא האים בי באשה בחב"א מכו אב אל ביביאא בחומים متعمل مناح مرام برسب به دائده من على على على مناعب ماعن المعتقات المامية مناعب סכתשיבונים אין יבשיבים אין בשיבים אין בי וחליבים בי וחליבים בי בי וחליבים حديا من لمودل عديده عدية له . وزور من لدمه م وروسه من مدادم מבל כדי, עשיחולתי אליקעול. עלידאיל דים כוכנא מנאי זבל בחלמם ב יולכת תבסלים [OB 227] אילס . הלולביז האשהלאבס איסש היוסאים . הרוואים האיסשלאבס איסש היוסאים . הרוואים مرامل المناجعة والمناجعة و כן אבן בי ושב שהו אום אבי השבי השבי העבי הע בלה אובא נשלע. «Jol solfer six is the second of the John Line John

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: Overbeck (*S. Ephraemi Syri*, 226–29). Translations: Bickell (*Ausgewählte Schriften*, 246–49); McEnerney (*Letters*, FC 77:77–80). For the introduction, see above, §2.3.1.3. References in brackets labeled "OB" are to the pages in Overbeck's edition.

The excerpt of this letter (*Letter* 74alt.) begins here; for the translation of this Latin version, see below, 138–41. See the introduction, ccxxxi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rom 8:35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See 2 Tim 4:7–8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The source of this is unclear. A somewhat different use of the pilot analogy can be found. See Origen, *Commentary on Matthew* 16:19, who ex-

#### 3.4.1.5. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, *Letter* 74; *CPG* 5374)<sup>2</sup>

[OB 226] A Letter from the Blessed Cyril to My Lord Rabbula

To my holy lord and our brother and son of our ministry Rabbula the bishop: [from] Cyril the bishop, peace in our Lord.

With invincible power and unassailable confidence the blessed Paul equips our souls when he writes, "What shall separate me from the love of Christ? Affliction or ill-treatment or persecution or hunger or nakedness or danger or the sword?" For there is nothing that those are not able to endure who have set [it] in their mind to strive hard for the good contest of the faith and to finish their race and preserve their faith in order to receive the incorruptible crown. 4

Just as those who know how to pilot ships skillfully become known as skilled sailors not only when they steer them in calm but also when they deliver their ship from storms, so too those who accepted to lead the holy churches: not in calm are their deeds celebrated but rather when they stand mightily against the disgraceful inventions that heretics devise in their hearts.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, at all times, my lord, your righteousness is celebrated, but especially at this time, [when] you are a pillar and a foundation of the truth<sup>6</sup> for all the inhabitants of the East, and just as though [OB 227] [he were] Pestilence the Slayer, you are pursuing the loathsome heresies of Nestorius that have now sprung up, those which sprouted from another plant, I mean from Theodore, the one who is from Cilicia. For from there this wickedness took [its] beginning, because [Nestorius] supposed that he might have authority over all the earth—I do not know how such authority was given to him. For he seized the great throne,<sup>7</sup> and it became food for the many-headed dragon.<sup>8</sup> He also contrived to swallow up the church of God, subjugating all things. If God Almighty [had] not

presses the idea that pilots and physicians retain their skills even when they are not used. See Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity*, 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 2 Tim 3:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> I.e., the throne of the emperor in Constantinople, or the see of Constantinople.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Rev 13:1–10.

من علاء نعمه. مصدة بدر كمء لابيال لالمامع لامهم . لاعة لاستمام لحدوه بملم بحلد ولحدة وملك والمعادة مملك المرامة مهامة منه האלסמה, של בל: בבו הש מא השבו השלא כאיבסח, המו ושבי האלמות בל בל: vx Kyk " Land Kow Jos word fra Low vx co ואתיו עבאי אלת בתי ובה בתיצא העהכה אלבן ועשינון. אם ביל HOC HHILD \_ HOC HUDED \_. OCOL HIZLAN THHILD \_ ichlin cin. مده دسعده مده منعده على معمور حيل محدم مه مدنى ملم ع محلل من بن مملم معم دعق من و تحدار عنزه . مسلمه و المحلل من بنام Themas Though with round. ones then curchens. of نقدم عمالديم وبه ممدسه م . ليم سحل بنسدم للحينهم والاستسم . מלש האי וכביהאי שיבאים סולא כחש בל בלוש מאלעוביי בו בביהים orient yorenm, reafine. Let long yet solfer remembrach chem. בלוג בשמנתהסט בוביאא בלוא. בל מהמ המבינים [OB 228] למא בלוב במשלי השמה אנושמבי שלה במחש ביז איליים ובמשל معمده مراساته و برا المرب و بر המשבנה אליי שב ומיטימי בידו היקר איינים אליי ביל בע ומיטימי בילה היקר איינים איינים ביל בע ומיטימים בילה בילה היקר איינים איינים . במשלה אנה כבלפנטאט עביבאאי אפ לאלים דומיוא איני אינים. ملك تحديد المسات المستعدد الماء المستعدد المستعدد المسات المسات المسات المستعدد المس تعتد معاهد علم المالة وتحديد خدمة ملا علم المالة علم المالة علم المالة ا ترح با عبك بنه مره مل بركستسم المعتبر المعتبر مركب و المبادر من و المبادر المب لمة لحة \_ وحلاده و منه الم مهم حدم سدال مداخر . مديم محمد عده الم محدم محدل فهري يسمح و يد محمد ومحمد ومد ومرد الم مدر حدد ل די אסואה שבי שבי אמינטאף עביבא כבטלי דראוניטא און דרי אבי בילי און בילי אין דרי איניטאלי סובבי. דבאסות אולים אונין יסמאא אינין יסמאא בניסאים מינים ייס מאיא מינים ייס מינים איל סיים איל מינים איל الله. حلل ترم تهنع وشرم محددار حلوسهم تهميد: تردوس بدعد دمية ک مهد کرد عد مد کرد اور ایسان و معند دین ای دورد و اور ایسان دور ایسان دور ایسان دورد ا

<sup>1</sup> Overbeck: كنغده.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Here the Latin text of *Letter* 74alt. ends.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Isa 8:9–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> That is, the sessions of the Council of Ephesus (431), over which Cyril presided. See the introduction, clxv and clxix.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Matt 10:25; Mark 3:22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The subject is either "Christ" or "our labor."

saved us, perhaps it would have come into this evil one's hands just as he designed, and in accord with the diligence of his preparations, his desire would have been fulfilled.<sup>2</sup>

But as the prophet said, "Our God is with us. Know, O nations, and submit, [you] who are strong. For even if again you should become powerful, again you will waste away, and every plan that you devise the Lord will bring to nothing, and every idea you consider will not stand, because with us is the Lord our God." And because of this, God himself stands on behalf of those who proclaim his truth, and he is shattering and casting down the power of those who are opposed and is turning their plans against them, and they will not reach completion according to their expectation.

Therefore, let them not disquiet Your Perfection with their threats, those who out of habit are threatening everyone rashly and without consideration, while they act as agents of the blasphemies of Nestorius. For they do not have any of the authority of the episcopacy, because the holy synod<sup>4</sup> has foiled everything that they were attempting [OB 228] to do to everyone. Unanimously, all of the holy bishops under the aegis of the Romans, with one mind, will, diligence, concord, communion, and faith: we are with Your Own Radiant Excellency. Because you have become so illustrious and have reassured through your wise teaching both those who are under your authority and those who dwell in other cities and places; and you have illuminated also not only those who are near to Your Holiness but those who are far off. As for the reproaches of the impious ones and the abuses and other things that I leave aside, these do not greatly concern me. For if they called our Lord "Beelzebub," it is nothing novel if [they] should also call us likewise, and if they persecuted him, would they not then persecute us? Yet we have overcome every one of them, and our labor makes the fruits of the love of Christ to increase and causes<sup>6</sup> us to partake of the glory that does not pass away. For Your All-Wise Perfection suffices to guide the places that are near you on a straight path, and vou teach the matter of the faith clearly and exactly.

Since there are some who go astray and are proclaiming the erroneous teaching that has recently sprung up through Nestorius, and who are bringing some of the simple ones into captivity and leading them astray, I too, according to what is appropriate for my

تصمح دستلور معده مامت لحصم مراية به به ما المعامرة به مامه المامة مخدده دوسمه عدة خدم منه لهمدوم دسله معنفه فر دمد فعدنه לבד בים מדות דלם בים וכל OB 229] האלעשל האלים כים מדות דלאינובא ביבי בביל. מש באנע א מבדוא: דולבבד דאב מומ אנוא ממעבע ולמדים. באכא דים مو محمدته مل ولانده وروس دروس المراسم والمراسم المراسم المرا לאונא בה בנה מבסו מות ומלעוא לאי. אב אנא בו הביה מביה לשלוא זמן Lociodo radit. ara ela alisa aida. alregaer madacho but Klt. Klik Kl Kureni \_ ind Kut Kous .z. . bol Kitues Ko مه لم دميت حداده، تخدل تهده سنك، حك تب تهده لحديثه الم مديم تحدد دسر دوستداء . فعد لهم لهم ملك المنابع المنابع بهم المعالم סת יל עסש בידן טאיים בידי טעיים ואיים ישטאין אידים שויים של יל איים שיים של יל איים של יל איים של יל איים של יל סהשהאת בלה בשבה המבן ען: מוֹנים אול אופינסה בבלה פונואא הואב مدن تروی . ماد کم م لسعدم مملا معصب

3.4.1.6. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, Letter 74alt.)

Text: ACO 4.1:87,12–31 (Collectio Casinensis)<sup>1</sup>

Epistola Cyrilli ad Rabbulam episcopum Edessae

Ad incomparabilem quandam alacritatem et ad inexpugnabilem confidentiam nostras excitat animas sapientissimus Paulus sic scribens: quis nos separabit a caritate Christi? Tribulatio an angustia

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: ACO 4.1:87,12–31 (Collectio Casinensis); corresponds to Overbeck, S. Ephraemi Syri, 226,3–227,12. Translation: McEnerney (Letters, FC 77:81–82, alternate version). For the introduction, see above, §2.3.1.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cyril's *Against the Blasphemies of Nestorius*, composed in 430; see the introduction, clxxxiii and ccxxxii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> I.e., *De recta fide*, addressed to Emperor Theodosius II. See the introduction, ccxxxiii and ccxl–ccxlii, and the text and translation below, 200–285.

See Matt 8:25; Mark 4:38; Luke 8:23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Syr.: محط تنك (dūkat ḥayyê), lit. "place of the living."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Paul Galtier, "Saint Cyrille et Apollinaire," *Greg* 37.4 (1956): 584–609.

strength, have set down a discourse against his error according to what is proper,<sup>2</sup> and while refuting his heresies with the power of the truth, I have written [this down] in a volume that I have sent also to you, so that you might desire [OB 229] to condescend to correct in it anything that escaped our thought. In addition, if it seems helpful, I have also written a discourse on the incarnation of the Son of God for the believing emperor,<sup>3</sup> which I have sent to Your Excellency so that you might arrange for it to be read before the believing brethren. If it appears worthy to you, this too could be read to the believing brethren. Do what seems [right] to you. For I too have read before all the clergy, and to the bishops present with us in Alexandria, the letters of Your Perfection that were sent to me, demonstrating to them that Christ is not silent<sup>4</sup> but rather has in every place lights that fill civilization.<sup>5</sup>

When Your Perfection has given ear to what is written in those volumes, you will condemn those who revile us, who [claim that] we are saying the nature of God is as one who suffers, or that we maintain the opinion of Apollinaris, or of one of the other heretics. As Your Holiness gives ear to those things carefully, it will perceive that the contents of the chapters that we set down have been correctly explained in each chapter. Moreover, the shafts that are hurled from out of the gaping mouths of those [who are] against us shall be foiled by it. These [words] are enough for the wisdom of God that is in you.

# 3.4.1.6. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, Letter 74alt.)

Letter of Cyril to Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa

To a certain incomparable cheerfulness and to unshakable confidence the most wise Paul inspires our souls, writing thus: "Who will separate us from the love of Christ? Difficulty, frustration, persecution, hunger, nakedness, danger, the sword?" Nothing is intolerable to those who resolve firmly in themselves to struggle

Referring to the twelve anathemas against Nestorius, which are stated in Cyril's third letter to Nestorius; see the introduction, clxx and clxxvii.
 Rom 8:35.

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an persecutio an fames an nuditas an periculum an gladius? Nihil enim intolerabile est eis qui firmiter apud se statuunt certamen fidei certare, cursum perficere, fidem seruare, ut et incorruptionis mereantur coronam. Sicut uero solitos optime gubernare non in serenitate nauigare, sed in tempestate posse nauem seruare, probatissimos declarat, sic etiam sortitos ecclesiis praesidere non omnimodo rerum serenitas claros demonstrat, magis uero solertia in tribulationibus et fortitudo et patientia et fortiter resistere instabilibus haereticorum sermonibus. Semper quidem tua splenduit sanctitas, praecipue autem modo facta omnibus Orientalibus columna et fundamentum ueritatis et sicut quendam pestiferum expellens morbum nouae et abominandae haereseos, Nestorii blasphemiam. Nam procedit quidem ex altera radice, (illius dico, qui de Cilicia erat), ista impietas; arbitratus uero est quod tenebit orbem terrarum propter potentiam nescio quomode illi datam. Rapuit enim sodem fortissimam et factus est cibus draconi multa capita habenti, sperauit uero etiam ipse sanctas dei ecclesias deuorare et omnes adprehendere; et nisi nos saluasset deus omnipotens, praeualuisset utique, quantum ad potentiam conatuum pertinet eius scleratasque concursiones illorum qui eum continent.

# 3.4.1.7. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, *Letter* 101; *CPG* 5401)

Text: Guidi, "Mosè di Aghel," 545-47<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: Guidi ("Mosè di Aghel," 545–47). Translations: King (*Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril*, 36 n. 36); Matthews (in McEnerney, FC 77:160–63). For the introduction, see above, §2.3.1.4. References in brackets labeled "G" are to the pages in Guidi's edition. Folio numbers are from MS Vat. Syr. 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> MS Vat. Syr. 107: מאשאלז.

in the contest of the faith, to finish the course, to keep the faith, in order to win the crown of incorruptibility.<sup>3</sup> Just as being able to preserve a ship in a storm, rather than being able to navigate in calm, marks out those who are characteristically most skilled to steer best, so too calmness in affairs does not mark out in any way those who are clearly chosen to preside in the churches, but rather shrewdness in difficulties, and bravery and strength, so as to resist strongly the shifting speeches of heretics. Thus, Your Holiness has always shone, but especially now, having become a pillar and a foundation of truth<sup>4</sup> to all those of the East, expelling as it were a certain pestilent disease of a new and abominable heresy, the blasphemy of Nestorius. Now, this impiety proceeds from another root (I speak of the one who is of Cilicia). Indeed, it was thought that he would possess the territory of the earth through a power, about which I do not know how it was given to him. He seized the most powerful seat, and it has become prey for the dragon having many heads, 5 who hoped to devour the holy churches of God and to grab everyone, and if Almighty God had not saved us he would have prevailed, at least as far as the power of his attempts and the wicked attacks of those who associate with him [would allow].

# 3.4.1.7. Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril, *Letter* 101; *CPG* 5401)

[G 545] ... are placed upon his humanity without division, just as it is written in the Gospel, that "no one has [ever] ascended to heaven, except the one who descended to heaven, the Son of Man, he who was in heaven." Thus also [G 546] the characteristics of his humanity are placed upon the actions of his divinity on account of the union. As it is written in the First Letter to the Corinthians, "If they had known, they would not have cruci-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See 2 Tim 4:7, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 1 Tim 3:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Rev 13:1–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John 3:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Matthews's translation begins here; the section before and the section following this were translated by King; see the introduction, ccxl–ccxli.

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בל ארשומה בלל משלות. איל היי היי באבדא באלות שלא האחשלה לב סומבאאו האם בבם לא וספים מחם לביה ואשבהעלא. לה זים כינים عسد که سلا در عدم کام مه کام مه کام دوز بعد ما که موزش האשבה של אוצא האלחת, אלחא משבעא מחם העובפ אלה פבוא לא עשב. حیل سام در قمعید مرد سوم لعالی مر موز یرسوم محدید دعم LIKE soin represent the soils of the start coin Kerner Kunia Kina Kok המשבנה האסכה משכנה כשכת הכל ב שמש כשעא. הנוהא השכת הכל ב عدم دعسك، صحب خديك موزه لكيل العجاب ده، كيه عده م المحل and a strong of the follow strong and its contractions of the משעל מים ואללו כן מין בע מסט כיל בין אל ואלו אים אמין אולו אל בא על אלו בא על אלו מים אנייל אים בי אמין בא על אלו הנחל ולחס. המשבע עלעה האלמא וכא המעע שחב משעא. האחב אכנו בל במסה אולא הלא המסהי אכלו לאינות אלעו, משיעא כרשו حة \_ حة عمل للالحقة ٥٥٥, تحده محة على حقيقه تميل وذه تمسكم محتة לת שמבים באפאה. אנל מהם משביעא כוֹמ זאמא ייאה ביבי של הוא מוב אפיו. ולבא אמלו ב ספיא אמנחם ב. מאמיו, שכח ומכיו מכלובא. لا مراع دور به المراح من عمور المراع دور المراع دور المراع دور المراع ال סליצא פין בישט אבר ארטאל וצאססה, אלמא בק []. ססביאלא מסכ שמהוחמא האיף מלבי בשבעם אלו המעבי לשיוא הכבמכא בהישא. ביש אידים עדים אבשים אבשים אבשים אידים אידים אידים אידים אידים של لصلح [\_] حالم ل تست صه محذ مد محسله شه تدم إمام خالم الملالة من حديم عدسه تهدم داقيه إن مستك الموادة من مد من مرالله

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> MS Vat. Syr. 107: שאט .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 1 Cor 2:8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Syr.: كملات (*etḥallaṭ*); this is a problematic term because Cyril explicitly rejected the idea of a mixture of the divine and human natures; for a brief discussion, see Matthews, 160 n. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Matt 28:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Acts 2:38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Titus 2:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Rom 9:5; note "from him" instead of Gk. and Peshitta "from them."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Matt 16:15; Cyril (or the translator) has changed the wording of the phrase in order to make clear that Jesus is not a mere human being and to emphasize Peter's reply.

fied the Lord of Glory."<sup>2</sup> A mere human did not come down from heaven; rather, it is God who was mixed<sup>3</sup> with a human being. Yet the Lord of Glory, who is God, could not be crucified unless he took a body. For this reason, after the command was given to the apostles from our Lord, "to baptize in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit,"4 the blessed Apostle Peter in the Acts [of the Apostles] said to those who came to believe, "Repent and be baptized in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ,"5 in order to demonstrate that the name of our Lord Iesus Christ is lifegiving and saves those who are baptized into it, [in the form of] the holy names of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Also the blessed Apostle Paul teaches us that our Lord Jesus Christ, who was born from Mary, is the true Son of God, when he says in his Letter to Titus, "We await the manifestation of the great God and our life-giver, Jesus Christ." Again, he said against the Jews in his Letter to the Romans, "From him appeared Christ in the flesh, who is God Almighty, to whom be glory and blessing forever and ever. Amen." Also our Lord, when he asked his disciples, "What do people say concerning me who am the Son of Man?"8 Simon the Rock said to him, "You are the Christ, the Son of the Living God." For this [reason], "he gave him a blessing, [saving,] 'Neither flesh nor blood has revealed this, but the Father who is in heaven.'"10 Again Isaiah said, "A male child has been born to us, and a son has been given to us, and his name has been called 'Marvel' and 'Counselor,' 'Almighty God Forever.' "11 And again the same Isaiah said, "See, a virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, and his name will be called Immanuel, which is 'God with Us.' "12 And again, lovers of the truth will find many witnesses such as these in the Holy Books.

The faith that was written down by the fathers in the city of Nicaea also teaches us the very same [things as these], that the Lord Jesus Christ is one: he who was born from the glorious nature of the Father before the ages in the recent past is the same one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Matt 16:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Matt 16:17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Isa 9:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Isa 7:14; Matt 1:23.

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محبل قدومي. ملاحمة إمملاده أو مديم دمولام مدعمه، مقه حة بهه (64b) سع مبهه حة بهه عمر ، محسله تعدمجه . عمل سعب تركي له ربة دانع فاعل محمد المعدة عدم المعمد مع المحمد المح estro som after the tira tous deans aft to مسل الماس مع مع مع من من من من الماس من الماس من الماس الماس من الماس ا משמעה בביבה אלישר על בשטעשיי פעל השטעש ביבים אושטעש ב, אלמסמת. בת מס אמסמר, אלמא מיולבוא סכוייא מיולבוא. תלוס . תבאים לאל ללו . לצולו שמל לים לחלו לים מיף וב מיףם لاتحدید میر دین من من من من در من از من در من تعمل دے سیک کریں اور سے میں المعمد دے کے المعمد اللہ المعمل المعم لامرام مع ولمع و معده و المعدم ואמבים מל בנופוא. פנוח ומין בתק לא במוא: בלל ואמב בן حبل معرف المعمل مريع المالم سك المعرفين وه و وه والمعصم المعرفين ا הפלוא. משבע העהו מהת לנשהבהחת, איש מלאחם בי חלם הבאכא לועדא אלמא זכעי אפ בכן למשחשלא זאלואי אלא כן עבד שא זופשן ס כן משלים אמשר אישר [\_] אמניים אמן א איני גער עם הן שלים מיי יבתאת [\_\_] החשבאש לאיוי בלמשעה מינול לעל לפעע ל לשיי . הבשת שב ל אמבל [\_ ] [65a] [\_ ] הבל עשים עמבל בל אמשה (G 547] [65a] בל עשים ממבל בל אפים. ملا بعديد بديماك يد بديم المحديد يكمية بمام ير المريد مهري مديم مدريد مريد مريد مريد مريد مريد المريد المري מותי וום דים בלא בשבובה בל בי בשבובה במחל מותי וום וים تلاتح مترعملان والمن مديم كحمله المعتمون من وحن الما والمرافع من المرافع المرا באבטח, בלחם ב האאגסוסט הבל כיות האלחאי אעייכא אנם ב כבהאא בל ביב אין זאף מטנשנים ביבא אינולא אינולא בין זין מס ביב אין אינולא حاميده علت عمر الشاه. موهم حيليده وإمدال حراريد الم المالية ا פבתהם ב זעמא הבו ב אכולא אנעא על זמבואח. מה בעעות נוע שעות

Syr.: خصصه  $(q^e n \bar{u} m a)$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Syr.: المسلح (etḥallaṭ); see 142 n. 3.

See John 6:53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Matthews's translation ends here.

This is the second half of the translation presented in King, 31 n. 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Gal 1:8.

who for our sake and for our salvation became embodied and became incarnate from the holy Virgin Mary, and he [who] suffered is the same [as the one who] rose, and [who] in the suffering of his person<sup>1</sup> bore our own passions. For neither our salvation nor our hope is [in] a human being who was separated from divinity, like the division of those who err, who ought to be separated [from the church] because they have disturbed the church of God and have spoiled the simplicity of its faith with the perversity of their words.

We know the Son of God is the same [Christ], while we do not distinguish his divinity from his humanity on [account of] human passions, and the same one is complete God and a complete human being, and the same one is the Son of God and a human being, whose mother is not in heaven and whose father is not on earth, the one who as a human being became hungry and tired and slept but [who] as God worked wonders and [is] the same one [who] gives life to the dead. We also confess that the body of the Son of God, which was taken from human nature, is life-giving, because it was mixed<sup>2</sup> with God, who is life, according to our Lord's own word that he spoke in the Gospel, "Unless you eat my body and drink my blood, you do not have everlasting life."3 If, as those blasphemers say, the body of our Lord is of no use because it was taken from human nature, then, according to their statement, the living mystery that is the same type of his own body is also not able to help those who partake of it.

These [things] that I have written to Your God-Loving Self also pass beyond the scope of a letter, but I have written out of the suffering of our soul and out of the great love that I have for Your Holiness. Great adversity is a small thing for us who are fighting for the true faith [for] which the blood of the holy fathers was shed, <sup>4</sup> [G 547]<sup>5</sup> on behalf of which all endure suffering. For we recall the saying of the blessed Apostle that he said in the Letter to the Galatians, "Even if we or an angel from heaven proclaim to you [something] other than what we have proclaimed, may he be condemned." Your Holiness ought to know that Theodore [of Mopsuestia] brought forth all of this error. We have read all of the writings of Theodore concerning the Son of God; we condemned them in the church from the bema, just as the holy synod condemned them. May our Lord, who has reconciled through his crucifixion [those who are] above with [those who are] below, and

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#### 3.4.2. Correspondence with Andrew of Samosata

3.4.2.1. Rabbula, Letter to Andrew of Samosata (CPG 6495)<sup>1</sup>

[OB 222]

لحن, حدمن ححل منسخ للملصہ ہمھممہ ہدنہ ہنہ نحماک ہندنہ فردکہ نور ملک ملاسل میں المحمد مرسط کا المائی المحمد مرسط ہمامہ المحمد ال

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: Overbeck (S. Ephraemi Syri, 222–23). Translation: Bickell (Ausgewählte Schriften, 159). For the introduction, see above, §2.3.2.1. References in brackets labeled "OB" are to the pages in Overbeck's edition.

with his cross cut off the bridle that leads astray, [which] was on the jaws of the nations, and has yoked creation under the yoke of his gospel, manifest through his mercy peace upon his churches and abolish the night of error from every door and return to the court of his worship those who rebel in their will against the yoke of his compassion, forever, amen. The letter of the holy Cyril to Rabbula the bishop of Edessa is completed.

# 3.4.2. Correspondence with Andrew of Samosata

### 3.4.2.1. Rabbula, Letter to Andrew of Samosata (CPG 6495)

[OB 222] A Letter of My Lord Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, to Andrew of Samosata

To my most honored and God-fearing lord, the bishop Andrew, from Rabbula.

Although I am diligent in opposing the fear of God that you have, at times illness that has afflicted the body, at times the harshness of winter, at other times weariness on account of your confession—these have hindered me. For, although we were kindled by one another, by that with which we are wounded in our hearts, we have been extinguished from afar.

Now then, this has compelled us to write to Your Piety, [namely,] a certain tract that has come into our hands, in which is set down a refutation of the twelve chapters that were spoken by the God-fearing bishop Cyril. At first I thought it was that book of the honorable Nestorius, in which are [set out] those things for which all of us unanimously fault him. But when some persons who are of Your Reverence confirmed that it was yours, we were amazed.

It is fitting that I write this [letter], so that I may know whether these things [OB 223] that are written are indeed of Your Chastity. For the separation of the natures troubles me much, especially [the separation] after the union.<sup>2</sup> Anastasius,<sup>3</sup> who in the middle of Constantinople said, "I confess the Father and the Son

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I.e., the separation of human and divine natures in Christ. See *Rab*. 41. There are some sections of the Rabbula Corpus that do not distinguish clearly between nature and hypostasis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A presbyter. See Blum, *Rabbula*, 153.

אשר אספר בינה בינה בינה לאספר בינה לאספר בינה אס זיבי ליבי איא יהרול תות זאי מנא.

#### 3.4.2.2. Andrew, Letter to Rabbula $(CPG 6384)^{1}$

מסר זוא ליאיז השמם שר שסר זוא היוםז האוער [PR 2] ممانمه، ددش محمه له على المسلم المامه مهامد، الاعمومه ممانمه المامه الم 2[.windaak Karis, 50

4[.خ. معر معر جا المناجة المن ترمساء برمق براه و المهمعم حهد برسعهما بهبریک برهسیونی و ا عدم مرة الأمم عممه  $^{7}$  مدم عمد  $^{8}$  مدم حدل  $^{6}$  الما عدم مرا  $^{8}$  مدم عدم مرا  $^{8}$ استخد مفدم الأو حديد المانية والمانية والمعلم والمعلق المانية والمانية والم ملحصية نام ممل مملح منف حدم وعدد لي: لعنه ونكم وملا علم ومدني. منا معديد ماري بالمعليم على إخار من من من المعالم المعالم على المعالم على المعالم على المعالم موس، موس بنعم رميس، ترسم موس بنا لالاتكم مي ويا بدا يا عدم حتصري لحموليه محمل على ممركم ومصرة لم محرم موره. مولم על אולימים בר אולה ומעות למבוכם.

مل صلع. محمد معدسة حداقده و حدم وغر معرب عدد المعدسة حداقده

Text: Pericoli-Ridolfini ("Lettera di Andrea," 153-69); see also Overbeck (S. Ephraemi Syri, 223,10-224,end) and Abramowski ("Zum Brief des Andreas," 51-64). Translation: Bickell (Ausgewählte Schriften, 159). Fragments: Severus of Antioch, Philalethes (text: Hespel [Sévère d'Antioche, CSCO 133:123-34]); idem, Against the Impious Grammarian (text: Lebon [Severi Antiocheni, CSCO 93:250-51, 254, 271]; manuscripts: MS A = BL Add 12157; MS B = BL Add 17210). For the introduction, see above, §2.3.2.1. References in brackets labeled "PR" are to the numbering in Pericoli-Ridolfini's edition; references labeled "OB" are to the pages in Overbeck's edition where each excerpt from BL Add 12156 begins.

BL Add 12156 adds: Last, is had ook inks.

المدنر وحد كمره ورسل لكرس معين معرض المراس 

BL Add 12156: הבלבן: העלה אלמא זכף משמעשות.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> BL Add 12156: كميكميم.

BL Add 12156: omit.

and the Holy Spirit and our Lord Jesus Christ," amazingly introduced to us that there are two sons instead of one. Far be it from me to agree to any of this. I would rather accept with joy to endure anything else than to participate in any blasphemy such as this.

#### 3.4.2.2. Andrew, Letter to Rabbula (CPG 6384)

**[PR 2]** Letter of the holy Andrew, bishop of Samosata, to Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, to reprove him concerning the relationship of the teaching and the confession of Cyril to that of the evil Apollinarius.

[1] (Of Andrew to My lord Rabbula. To<sup>11</sup> my most God-fearing lord, the holy and pious bishop Rabbula, from Andrew: peace in our Lord.)<sup>12</sup> Some days ago someone from there came to us saying that Your Paternity<sup>13</sup> is behaving against us with many abuses, and not only before a small [group]<sup>14</sup> but also openly before the people. He added that you also banned (in the church)<sup>15</sup> those who do not agree with the opinion of Cyril of Alexandria and those who read what has been written by us, [namely,] the denunciation of the chapters that were set down by him.<sup>16</sup> At first I doubted this report, presuming that these things were not from Your Intelligence, but when many were repeating these things, saying that they had heard them, I could no longer doubt the multitude of witnesses, for they are hardly among those who are accustomed to lie.

[2] I was in doubt over what provoked Your Paternity to act with boldness against these things. For even if something is found

- <sup>8</sup> BL Add 12156: ചയാ്.
- 9 BL Add 12156: איליפיא.
- <sup>10</sup> BL Add 12156 reads: בתק בדא'א. End of first excerpt in BL Add 12156.
  - Beginning of first excerpt in Overbeck, 223.
  - <sup>12</sup> So BL Add 12156.
  - BL Add 12156: "Your Piety," lit. "the fear of God that is with you."
  - <sup>14</sup> BL Add 12156: "privately."
- <sup>15</sup> BL Add 12156: "in the presence of the church." End of the first excerpt in Overbeck, 223. Vat. Borg. Syr. 82 reads: "placed a ban in the church."
- Andrew refers to a document that is only preserved in fragmentary form; see the introduction, ccxxxvi–ccxxxvii.

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المافعه الماسك الماسك الماسك المعدد المعدد

ے۔ ہدیر ہدائی ہرے۔ جل ہے۔ کہ ہدر ہدائی میں مراز کے [4] کے الحم ہدائی ہے۔ کہ ہدائی ہود عالم ہونے کہ الحماد ہوں ہے۔

<sup>1</sup> Read with Pericoli-Ridolfini for حقيعة.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Read with Pericoli-Ridolfini for מאברט.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Read with Pericoli-Ridolfini for ملاعة.

Pericoli-Ridolfini: حميده".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Matt 18:16–18.

in our writings that strays from the truth and does not agree with the straight teaching of the church, by all means you are right to straighten out our error, whether by letter or by conference, and to witness to us many times, and then if you find us as not having accepted the remedy, to instruct us and admonish [us] many more [times], or as a last resort with an accusation against us. For if concerning foolish persons, concerning whom and to whom our Lord commanded that they should be reproved by those who find fault with them, and then before two or three witnesses, and if they persist in what is not correct that they should be convicted before the whole church, 5 so much more [should it be said] at least once to those who are of the faith. 6 It is right that it should be told to us privately by Your Reverence if we have been amiss in something. If, then, we do not accept your correction, let us be accused openly.

- [3] Now, after you poured out against us many abuses, you sent us a short letter in which was written but a single assertion. For you wrote in it that, based on the document that was written by us as a refutation of the twelve chapters of Cyril, you found that we were preaching two sons instead of one. Those [things] you have said not as someone who has been hurt by it, or who has suffered because of something that I did, for slander may be used by those who are slandered, as it is the penalty for those who slander. Rather, I wanted to demonstrate the deficiency of thought in the matter. For all of this I distance myself from being ashamed by the objections that are against those chapters. Even [if] tens of thousands from our side indict them, we boast all the more in them, and the matter has convinced us that they are for us a reason for honor that is from God, because [they were] written against the opposition to the truth, and not only that, but it has conferred on us also praise from everyone who is filled with understanding and who has not fallen away from the sound faith. In the face of [these] charges, I reveal how much I did not want to set you right. Thus I beseech you even now, teach us what was said in the book with which you found fault, or that which we wrongfully think, and which is foreign to the fear of [PR 3] God.
- [4] Lest I be negligent, again by letter I make known succinctly how I reason concerning the persons of the divinity. I am

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Lit. "of the fear."

- <sup>2</sup> Vat. Syr. 139: אמשב אספה מישור ולאמלרס האשר השטרה.
- <sup>3</sup> Vat. Syr. 139: insert οἀ.
- <sup>4</sup> Vat. Syr. 139: مملاً :الاعتاد المحادة .
- <sup>5</sup> Vat. Syr. 139: :בּסבּת.
- Vat. Syr. 139: לישבאר אולים בין אולים בין אולים בין בין אולים בין בין אולים בין א
- <sup>7</sup> As opposed to the Diatessaron or some other Gospel harmony. It is difficult to determine whether Andrew means that Rabbula was still using the Diatessaron as the basis for his Gospel quotations, or whether Rabbula has claimed that Andrew was using the Diatessaron or some type of Gospel harmony.
  - <sup>8</sup> Paraphrase of Col 1:15.
- <sup>9</sup> Phil 2:7c. The expression "likeness of a servant" appears frequently in the christological expression of Antiochene writers. For a discussion of this terminology in this letter, see Abramowski, 51–52.
- Eph 3:9; this may also be a citation from the Creed of Constantinople (381) (*CPG* 8599); see G. L. Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Constantinopoli: Edizione critica* (TRSR 2; Rome: Herder, 1967), 244–51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> First excerpt in Severus of Antioch, Philalethes (Vat. Syr. 139, fol. 72r col. b; Hespel, 123) begins here; see the introduction, ccxxxvi.

not the inventor of these opinions, but rather I have taught them from the divided books, and I have followed after the many fathers who were worthy of the Holy Spirit and who time and time again led the church of God. I say that our Lord Christ, as the Scriptures also say, was both God and human, the likeness of God<sup>8</sup> and the likeness of a servant, 9 who was born of the Father before all ages, 10 and from the seed of David in the flesh, 11 and who existed unceasingly at all times, and was not a creature by his divine birth. In the end time he was conceived from the Holy Spirit in the womb of the holy Virgin in his humanity. 12 I 13 say that there was a joining 14 of the divine nature and of the human [nature], and the Only Begotten, who is from the Father, joined to himself, with a union, the nature that he took from the seed of David, while there [remained] two natures, in the sense that there was one prosopon on account of the joining. While God the Word made use of the body, as though a temple<sup>15</sup> and a fabricated vessel, neither did he alter his own nature because of the humanity [of the body], nor did he share in sufferings because he had become human. For he was unchangeable and immutable, and the likeness of the servant did not separate from the [things] belonging to its [human] nature on account of the fact that God was in it; rather, in Christ the two natures are clearly known.

[5] While he was of our own [nature], all of what it possesses he preserved, that is, circumcision, hunger, thirst, toil, age, scour-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Rom 1:3.

Paraphrase of Gal 4:4; this is very close to what is stated in Rabbula's *Homily in Constantinople* 6 and in *Rab.* 44.

The first extract in Severus of Antioch, *Philalethes*, begins here (see the introduction, ccxxxvi). Translation of this section: "(Of) the human being [ousia] and the divine (being): I say that a joining together took place, (and) that the Only Begotten, who is from the Father, was joined to the one who was of the seed of David. Whenever there are two natures, a prosōpon is understood because of the joining that is in the temple (of the body), while God the Word made use of a body."

Syriac Καρανία ( $naqq\bar{\imath}p\bar{u}t\bar{a}^2$ ), which translates the Greek συνάφεια, a term used by followers of Theodore of Mopsuestia to indicate the connection of the two natures in Christ without commingling; for a discussion, see Abramowski, 60–64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> End of the first extract in Severus of Antioch, *Philalethes*; see the introduction, ccxxxvi.

ورد بدالها من محافظ من محمود به محمد من المرابع معتب المرابع معتب المرابع معتب المرابع معتب المحتب المحتب

(6) کہ تب سب تہلسہ جلاہ: حید بند بیع بین کا موں کے لیت اس مورد بین ہونے کے لیت کے مین ہونے کو میں میں مورد میں ہونے کے میں مورد کی مو

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Second excerpt in BL Add 12156 begins here with שונעל.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> BL Add 12156: מר, הכל של אה אם מסה, מסאה כלא שרבה ענן:

<sup>3</sup> BL Add 12156: べっの,のっとべ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> BL Add 12156: حيحد.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> BL Add 12156: كاس مهلاء.

<sup>6</sup> BL Add 12156: べっぺょ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> BL Add 12156: معملاحلت سب

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> BL Add 12156: حت تب عثب لاەت.

<sup>9</sup> BL Add 12156: معممة.

<sup>10</sup> BL Add 12156: حينك عمدة.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> BL Add 12156: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> BL Add 12156: جفح.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> BL Add 12156: حمومي. This is the end of the second excerpt in BL Add 12156.

Syr.:  $\langle z^e q \bar{\imath} p \bar{a} \rangle$ , which means also "[being] crucified." Abramowski's admonishment (52) of Pericoli-Ridolfini (163, 1. 24) for translating this word with *crocifissione* is unwarranted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Matt 14:13–21; Mark 6:30–44; Luke 9:10–17; John 6:1–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> John 2:1–12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Matt 14:22–33; Mark 4:35–41; 6:45–52; John 6:15–20.

gings, being struck, and the cross. <sup>14</sup> He died, was embalmed, and was laid in the tomb; and on the third day he rose. But as for [his] divinity, he did those things that are particular to his glorious nature, namely, that from five loaves he fed five thousand, <sup>15</sup> and [that] he changed water into wine, <sup>16</sup> and [that] he calmed the waves of the sea. <sup>17</sup> He molded from clay eyes for those [who were] blind, <sup>18</sup> he gave life to Lazarus, who was four days in the tomb, <sup>19</sup> and [he performed] the rest of the wonders written in the Gospel.

[6] Those things that are of God the Word, which we have set forth not by our authority, we are unable to ascribe to a human being, and we do not attribute the sufferings of one [nature] to the other [nature]. Rather, since one prosopon is made known through the joining of the natures, we distinguish in thought and in word not the natures but those things that belong uniquely to each of the natures. When<sup>20</sup> we hear that in the beginning was the Word,<sup>21</sup> and he came into the world, 22 and the world came into being through him, <sup>23</sup> and he was the reflection of the glory <sup>24</sup> and the likeness of the person of the Father, <sup>25</sup> and all other [statements] like these, we understand him to be the Only Begotten, who is from the Father before all ages.<sup>26</sup> Again when we read, "The book of the birth of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham"<sup>27</sup> and that "the child grew and became strong in the Spirit" and that "Jesus grew in stature and wisdom"29 and that God exalted him and magnified him and gave him a name greater than any name, 30 and anything that might be similar to these [statements], we reckon

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> John 9:1–12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> John 11:38–44.

Beginning of the second excerpt in Overbeck, 223. BL Add 12156 reads: "And after other things: and when."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> John 1:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> See John 1:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> John 1:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> John 1:14; see also *Rab.* 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Heb 1:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Eph 3:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Matt 1:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Luke 2:40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Luke 2:52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Phil 2:9.

لستهام : کے صلع تسست کم لحل س حسم و تحتیک محفظ عدم حملاک דאת למ לנפיא. דבה אונישם במשבת [PR 4] כיניא: האבין דפלוא מאון בין אים הראש מס סמראש מלוס הסטער ליבן ואים הלאש הלו אים האשונהא مدين محليله مل حدمهم درالمة محمدم لدونعه مهدر وتره کم کم است کمهم حدید. دعدسی از کام کم کم کم کام کم صحب بدله لي عل معسله. ١٥ محمد محمد مماسه لص حد له، ١٥ محمد ترفاعام . حدم الماسك محدونه عنه مراعم المرابع المرابع الماسك محدونه الماسك محدونه الماسك المرابع الماسك المرابع المراب محرم مم معمد محمد محمد للله لحلم ممرياهم عند مرة من ورود דבבדא. מים לע בי ובו כומסאל האלמא האלמת, לא מים על בי ובו כומסאל עשבה לחזא האסח, פערא האמא. אלא נפשח שום. סומסאא השבה بعد. ٥٨٥٥ مجزة ٤٨١٨م ٥٥ وردم للم ددهة. ١٥٥٥ لم ١٨٨١ ودهة. مكره وحصيمه ويده ووجه المعتبر المعتبر المرابع المعتبر المرابع المعتبر حلام معنى تجنيك دسة فأعرمه مل ملك محلك محلف لم محد على محد على محد على ملك تستهملا ملا لطلبة هدهم وتتنا خلف لي. دشر وه وقعلام المهم تعل سة ونهموكم كمخة لصع.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pericoli-Ridolfini notes that this comment, constituting an interlinear addition, appears to be by the same hand as that of the main text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> End of the second excerpt in Overbeck, 224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> John 2:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 2:21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Phil 2:7c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Phil 2:6.

them to him who is of the seed of Abraham, while not maintaining that in [doing] this we are in any detail diminishing the unity [of the natures], if we distinguish in word those [qualities] that each of the natures possesses uniquely, because it is also not so when we distinguish in word those [qualities of the] servant that belong to the body from those [qualities] that belong to the soul, the two [parts] from which humanity [PR 4] is constituted, [as though] in saying that the body is perceptible but is not rational and is mortal, but the soul is invisible but rational and immortal, we thereby mutilate humanity and make two prosopa [from] that which is one. Moreover, we find that the Holy Book thus teaches us concerning Christ, that sometimes [it calls him] God, other times it calls him the son of man, and [other times] a temple and a dwelling: "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it"; but the evangelist interpreting the expression says, "That which he said was concerning the temple of his body."4 Again it calls him the likeness of God and the likeness of a servant, 5 for "he who is the likeness of God did not consider it violence that he be the equal of God, but he emptied himself, and took the likeness of a servant."6 Again it said that God was revealed in the flesh: "He was revealed in the flesh"; 7 and as we see in the interpretations of a multitude of other places, the Book proclaims to us that he was God and man, and it teaches us the distinction of the natures without confusion in one prosopon, while teaching us concerning them that [they] belong to each of the natures uniquely, in such a way that it states these distinctions as though concerning one prosopon.

[7] Hence we find that Cyril, through those twelve [chapters] that he committed to writing, does not agree with this thought, but [rather agrees] with the teaching of Apollinaris and believes like him, and he said that there is one thing and it is [both] flesh and divinity, as though there were either negation of those natures or confusion or change, for she [Mary] gave birth to the Word that was from God, who became flesh. Moreover, [Cyril says] that each one of the natures did not fully have those things rightly belonging to it alone, but rather in confusion he assigns to them what is intrinsic to each, while rejecting [any] distinction, since he tells us that such [would imply] two *prosōpa*. Since he has therefore as-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 1 Tim 3:16.

کلمہ معمد کمامی . حموقہ کمامیس لموط تعک شربی لہ مد مرکم کا معمد مارک کا کا معرفی کا معرف کا م

Beginning of first fragment cited in Severus of Antioch, *Against the Impious Grammarian* (MS A, fol. 81r col. a–b; MS B, fol. 56v col. a–b), with a verbatim fragment of this section given twice more at MS A, fol. 81v col. b; MS B, fol. 35v col. b (Lebon, 250–51); identical to MS A, fol. 82v col. a; MS B, fol. 2r col. a (Lebon, 254); see the introduction, ccxxxv–ccxxxvi. This text reads:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Read Kyse for Kyse.

The first excerpt in Severus of Antioch, Against the Impious Grammarian (see the introduction, ccxxxv-ccxxxvi), begins here: "If Your Piety doubts that which is said concerning the [writings] of Apollinaris or the school of Cyril, that after the union it is not acceptable to separate in word the natures, as though henceforth we would make two sons, with forgiveness I beseech Your Grace to listen. This is a very foolish and senseless artifice. For first of all,

cribed death and suffering to God, we have made recourse in the refutations against those chapters, not to something we have devised from our own opinion, but to demonstrations from the divine books.

[8] If you, Blessed One, have found in us erroneous wisdom, O Seal of the Faith, wandering outside of the truth, do not be as one who oppresses by authority and curses and prevents by command someone from reading them. Rather, reprove our writings with an account of your own. Show by the writings of the Spirit that the writings of Cyril are correct, and [that they] agree with the divine tomes and with the faith of all the saints, and that those [writings] of ours are alien [to the truth] and are false, in order to convert us readily, as well as to separate yourself from censure, demonstrating that those things that he [Cyril] teaches are preferable to you for good reason. If<sup>3</sup> that which we say concerning the school of Apollinaris and of Cyril prevents Your Grace from rightly distinguishing in word the natures after the union, so that thereby we do not create two sons, I ask Your Charity that what I say not be considered by you [to be] a disgrace. First of all, it is a very foolish and senseless artifice should one say, "after the union," for it has no place, because the humanity of our Lord is inconceivable before the union with God,4 and because it never was that that [divine] nature was not found<sup>5</sup> with him [in Christ], since "wisdom has built for herself a house,"6 and the inhabitant never left his temple; and therefore it is very shameful and foolish to say "after

should one say that [expression], 'after the union,' this has no meaning, because the dominical human being cannot be abstracted from the divine union, and there was never [a time when the human being] did not possess that blessed nature. For 'Wisdom has built her house' [Prov. 9:1], and the inhabitant never left the temple. Therefore, it is vain and foolish to say 'after the union,' as though the human being had already been prepared and then at the end the joining [of the natures] came into being. While they say that the very same one is God and a human being, they confess nothing less than two natures, if the divine and human nature[s] are not the same [thing], or some commingling or confusion of the two of them had taken place" (our translation).

- <sup>4</sup> John 1:1; the syntax of this sentence is very convoluted and the expression highly elliptical.
  - 5 Read عديد (šakkēnā) for العديد (šabbēhā).
  - 6 Prov 9.1
  - <sup>7</sup> For a discussion of this terminology, see Abramowski, 52.

אסים אלאים בידישם :עהודים [PR 2] באאת בינים סים מיר יתאמיזיי אם سعده المدود والمراجع المراجع ا ملا : المعتدم مدسلا لاب به مد من مل مل من تلب م مستله مدرمه KJifao baara Lam Krak 1 Kom Klalas ak \_ amiki Kufa سعمت لصه علم معتمد تحدورت مهر معادر مهاد عمر معادر مهاد علماء والمعار معادر مع تج واعده ممسمه اج هامع مد سده له. مه محدم لازم دنتم «حلب، کے معمد حدم السد هدمه عدم السد مدمه، در لک کمهممر، تسدنه. که لازے در دستعک لسر دانعک حدید: حیل فرر ردعلاه رحد سے .Kleba Klo Khara -1 mile : Khhara Klo Khleba meni אבוא מבל זבו מאאפין מל על עו כיניאי לא מאפל לאין פין ספה: מבוא מלא משנת זעד מס לאון מאפשם: כמי, דימלפוש בתלא און تست کبل کم لست دے لاتھ وے دنیک کے تب ست ملاک عملاق کم حدید لحل سة هدسه ع تحتب دحلهم هلم تهمه لسدنه، مهم المر هلم سيتنام و بدام بناء لحدة عده الما و بدم ملم الما الماء للمحة فدرج دلمه مه دهر العص درويد. داعيه مهمك، محر مدم حلقك. مِن مجمد ملك محلد، هدود ورج الملك حدد ممل مجمد من من באסלא אלבבל. סאסב זכוא בעם מי, זאמא אכאי זיכטאי זיכטאי זיכטאי מי האמשבה. כו בין דין דין בעל אלמיאי. סומסב דפעולא מיס האמשבי. לא KL on Kileson . Kulus mondo Kiizi Klu sus . on Kluss משאבר א מס. בא האלוער א מס. בשאבו א זבן כאלו א הא הל משאבה אלושב לבי בא זאושב לבי במש אפסלעונים. אלושב לבי בן בואא مه رحال المراح لحدداه لوزم: وز حده المراه مالم.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> End of first fragment cited in Severus of Antioch, *Against the Impious Grammarian*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Abramowski (59 n. 29) demonstrates that Cyril referred not to the history of the incarnation but to the concept of the union of the human body with the Logos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The first excerpt in Severus of Antioch, *Against the Impious Grammarian*, ends here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 1:1.

<sup>5</sup> Phil 2:7c.

Syr.: حنه جمکری (bart  $k^e y \bar{a} n \bar{e} h h \bar{i} da' l l \bar{a} h \bar{a} a b \bar{a}$ ), "the daughter [referring to "likeness"] of the nature of God the Father."

Syr.:  $(bar \ k^e y \bar{a} nan)$ , lit. "the son of our nature." This

the union." This is as though the humanity had already been prepared, and then at the end [PR 5] the joining [of the natures] came into being.<sup>2</sup> Those who call him God and human equally confess two natures, if the divine nature and the human [nature] are not one thing only, or a blotting out of the two of them, or a confusion [of the natures]. Therefore, how do they conceive that what we are preaching, just as the divine books taught us, is a ground for accusation against us, that the Word was from the beginning4 and the humanity was from Mary, having been joined to him? How do we introduce two sons, if we indicate something [as] belonging to one of the natures while not belonging to its companion? Or how do we make two humans of the one human, just because we recognize that the soul is rational and immortal but the body mortal and irrational? Thus in like manner, just as those [things] are said concerning one person, [and yet] it is not divided into two prosopa, so too the one Messiah is not cut up into two by those [things] that are distinguished in word, [namely,] those [qualities] that respectively belong to one of the two natures. If, then, I have made the union into a participation of each one of the natures in all of those [qualities] that belong to the other [nature] and are unique within [it], and [if] it is not proper to distinguish those [qualities] that are of one nature from those that are of the other, then we should also say that he who is from the seed of David was in the beginning and existed from before the ages, and also that God the Word took the beginning of [his] existence from Mary, and that the body [of Christ] is created but was born from God the Father, that God the Word was created and was conceived by the Virgin, but the likeness of a servant<sup>5</sup> that was taken was of the nature of God the Father. 6 that the divine nature is of the same nature as ours. 7 moreover that the body that he took was invisible, but visible to the eves [was] the divinity of the Only Begotten, and that the body was infinite and unbounded, but that the divinity was confined to one place; because Apollinaris committed impiety by these [opinions], he was cast out from the church, like a man who contrived to make the body [out to be] the nature of God the Word.

expression is equivalent to the Greek δμοούσιος ήμῖν, "consubstantial to us." See Abramowski, 52.

 $^{9}$  κανοί κλοι το κτια μερον τια τον το και τια και το και το και το και ο και το και ο και ο και ατα και ατα και ο και ατα και α

- <sup>1</sup> The second excerpt in Severus of Antioch, *Philalethes* (Vat. Syr. 139, fol. 72r col. b–72v col. a; Hespel, 123–34) begins here; see the introduction, ccxxxv–ccxxxvi. Vat. Syr. 139, fol. 72r col. b: insert -5.
  - Vat. Syr. 139, fol. 72r col. b: :べんかん.
  - <sup>3</sup> Vat. Syr. 139: :בבדו ל.
  - <sup>4</sup> Vat. Syr. 139: :ישה אצור ים שארם מָה זב מהָז אמלאלם.
  - <sup>5</sup> Third excerpt in BL Add 12156 begins here with הכאל אשניטא.
  - 6 BL Add 12156: אמכסאז.
  - <sup>7</sup> So BL Add 12156; Vat. Borg. Syr. 10 reads: מבויבא; Vat. Syr. 139:

.r.c∞i ∕ ਮ. 8

- <sup>8</sup> So BL Add 12156; Vat. Borg. Syr. 10 reads: حديث Vat. Syr. 139: omit.
  - 🎖 Vat. Syr. 139: omit punctuation. Vat. Syr. 139: كمحناء.
  - <sup>10</sup> BL Add 12156 and Vat. Syr. 139: ≺io⇒≤o.
  - 11 BL Add 12156 and Vat. Syr. 139: ≺∞√3 om.
  - <sup>12</sup> Vat. Syr. 139: :יאמלי.
  - <sup>13</sup> BL Add 12156 reads: حصد الله ; Vat. Syr. 139: صدحه سب
  - <sup>14</sup> Vat. Syr. 139: אלים.

÷∞ For the English translation, see below 163 n. 22. This is the end of the third excerpt. Vat. Syr. 139, fol. 72r col. b–72v col. a:

- مه لعزيم مهدد. عد لم ضعم سے عصم المه دهم، عل علم عفر سے فصر وسر.
  - Read with Vat. Syr. 139, 72v col. a for mhound.
- Beginning of the second excerpt in Severus of Antioch, *Philalethes*, and in Severus of Antioch, *Against the Impious Grammarian*; see the introduction, ccxxxv-ccxxxvi. Translation of this section: "Because the divine book also declares to us two natures after the union, saying that God and the human being are the same, and 'he was the likeness of God and the likeness of flesh,' and 'Word' and 'temple' and 'inhabitant.' If we were to say that he is only God

[9] Then if it is impiety and error to say that there were two natures that were joined together after the union, is it right in every case to say that there was one nature after the union? And wherefore should they say that this one is the divine [nature] and this one, the human [nature]? Because 17 the book of God also preaches that there were two [natures] after the union, calling one "God" and one "human," and the 18 likeness of God and the likeness of a servant, 19 and flesh 20 and Word, and a temple and the one who dwells in it;<sup>21</sup> but if we were to say that he is of God alone, while not understanding with it the human [nature], (or if [he is] human while not taking into account the one who dwells in him completely, we introduce a single [nature] from the two.)<sup>22</sup> And if we allow only the divinity, 23 we commit iniquity with the Marcionites and the Manichaeans, those who said that in appearance and in illusion but not in truth was the Messiah human. But if [we confess only] his humanity and do not confess his divinity, then we are si-

without placing with him a human being, or again [to say that] he is a human being without placing with him the One that possessed him: in every way we reject this, because he is one. And if we should remove the humanity, we act wickedly, being equal to the Marcionites and the Manichaeans, who say that [his humanity] was merely in imagination and in semblance, and that Christ did not become a human being in truth. If we confess a human being, [and] again we do not confess with him his divinity, we resemble the wickedness of Photinus and Paul [of Samosata], who [said] he was a mere human being; but indeed we demonstrate in our [confession] of faith, that with the confession of the two united natures we are exalting constantly the one [nature of Christ], and either we speak necessarily of the miraculous diffusion [of the two natures] and of the commingling [of the two natures] with one another, or that God, having been transformed into flesh, endured and suffered all of these [passions]" (our translation).

- Beginning of the third excerpt in Overbeck, 224. BL Add 12156 inserts before this excerpt: "And after other things."
  - <sup>19</sup> Phil 2:7c; Vat. Borg. Syr. 82 reads: "human."
  - <sup>20</sup> Vat. Borg. Syr. 82 reads: "body."
- For "and the one who dwells in it," BL Add 12156 reads "and the inhabitant."
- <sup>22</sup> BL Add 12156 reads: "Again, though we do not see the one who is in him, in every way we exalt him as one." End of the third excerpt in Overbeck, 224.
  - <sup>23</sup> Read *laʾllāhūtā* for *leʾnāšūtā*, "humanity."

المال عالا عالا المال عمل المال ال

<sup>1</sup> Second excerpt in Severus of Antioch, *Against the Impious Grammarian* begins here. Text is from MS A, fol. 81r col. b–81v col. a, with variants from MS B, fol. 56v col. b (Lebon, 251), plus a fragment of this section is found in MS A, fol. 88r col. b; MS B, fol. 30r col. b (Lebon, 271); see the introduction, ccxxxv–ccxxxvi.

رحة مدح :ms B حج

סכל אינועלא. סכנעלא עד אמסכלעלא. כו ב'סש מי, דולדש בעא בעינה עסום . (נסוא :B mo עו פלעכש.

(ms B: אבעשאל; Lebon 271: ארעשאל בין

no ucoch (oucoch : B m) deum nocoleth inety (inetus B: R) et act out: no two how at least nochele. Los act out:

<sup>2</sup> Vat. Syr. 139, fol. 72v col. a:

itas: 1304 leianoudy oleiny eiszen. 1cenfory yester ococcioky. olo 1cestiy opon esemy cityy. Y 14 ct. ct. next eoster: koc ly 1012 zeen lylooky: cioszy reofero oseoly estecy un. 1city senecy nest y nest 12 nokom. oseculky chock eury. 1city eury eursty enstantis. Los us estecy un nestantis one coko 1ce üsty es afet nestantis onecoky 1ce üsty es afet nestantis onecoky 1ce üsty es afet nestantis onecoky och ones:

End of the second excerpt in Severus of Antioch, *Philalethes*, and in idem, *Against the Impious Grammarian* (Lebon, 251).

- $^3$  The fourth and final excerpt in BL Add 12156 begins here with איינוגאלא.
  - 4 BL Add 12156: حلاعة عند .
  - <sup>5</sup> BL Add 12156: عالمن لمن لمن المناهرية ...

  - <sup>8</sup> BL Add 12156: omit.
  - BL Add 12156: حيللم ليم بعد .
  - <sup>10</sup> BL Add 12156: محمة.
  - <sup>11</sup> BL Add 12156: علم حلح.
  - 12 BL Add 12156: 🖼 ܡܫܝܬ ܪܩܝ.

milar to the impiety of Photinus<sup>14</sup> and of Paul [of Samosata], those who said the Messiah was human [only], a religion<sup>15</sup> that is indeed false. If we refuse to say that there are two natures that were joined to one another, then by all means we are introducing from the two [natures] one [nature alone], but if [we say] that God was transformed into a body, and we say both of them suffered and endured [affliction],<sup>16</sup> then I cannot understand how it is possible that a distinction [of the natures] could not be employed, while nevertheless maintaining the joining [of the natures].

[10] Someone<sup>17</sup> from the unbelievers<sup>18</sup> approaches, (wanting to learn the fear of God [i.e., religion]).<sup>19</sup> The teacher convinced him that he should preach to him concerning the Messiah.<sup>20</sup> What then is correct [PR 6] (to say to this [person]?)<sup>21</sup> That [Christ] is the likeness of God alone and is equal to God but did not take the likeness of a servant<sup>22</sup> for our sake? Then we would entirely reject the dispensation<sup>23</sup> that was in his humanity. But if we teach that it

- 14 Photinus was bishop of Sirmium (344–351), who expressed a Christology that rejected the pre-existence of the Logos. See Daniel H. Williams, "Monarchianism and Photinus of Sirmium as the Persistent Heretical Face of the Fourth Century," *HTR* 99.2 (2006): 187–206; Codex Vat. Syr. 108 contains a florilegium composed by Peter of Callinicum (d. 591) in which one finds an excerpt from a text against Photinus by Eustathius of Antioch dating to around 340. See Rudolph Lorenz, "Die Eustathius von Antiochien zugeschriebene Schrift gegen Photin," *ZNW* 71.1–2 (1980): 109–28.
- Syr.: איל (deḥletā), lit. "fear," an ellipsis for the expression "fear of God."
- <sup>16</sup> End of the second excerpt in Severus of Antioch, *Philalethes*, and in Severus of Antioch, *Against the Impious Grammarian*; see the introduction, ccxxxv-ccxxxvi.
- <sup>17</sup> Beginning of the fourth excerpt in Overbeck, 224. BL Add 12156 inserts before this excerpt "And after other things."
- Syr.: ستّنه (ḥanpê). This is the term employed for one who is neither Christian nor Jew.
  - BL Add 12156 reads, "asking us to instruct [him in] our teaching."
- <sup>20</sup> BL Add 12156 reads: "What is fitting for the teacher to say to this person, so that he might preach to him concerning the Messiah?"
  - BL Add 12156 omits this phrase.
  - <sup>22</sup> Phil 2:7c.
- $^{23}$  Syr.: אביביבי ( $m^e dabb^e r \bar{a} n \bar{u} t \bar{a}$ ), which is equivalent to Greek οἰχονομία. See Abramowski, 52.

MOC NE TON COLT. LET DULL HING COLT HING COLT COLT WOOD COLT WORKS

[11] جرحه محسند معنو و نحسه دمنده و مخت مخبز دونده مهم وخص دمنده وخص دمنده وخص دمنده وخص دمنده وخص دمنده وخص دمنده دمنده وخص در معدود وخص معدود وخص معدود وخص معدود وخص در معدود وخص در معدود وخص در معدود وخص در دمنده وخص در دم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> End of the fourth excerpt in Overbeck, 224. BL Add 12156 adds "The letter is finished."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lit. "the son of the opinion of Arius," a (hyperbolic) accusation against Cyril.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> John 20:17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Matt 28:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Phil 2:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See John 13:21, or the episode on the Mount of Olives (Luke 22:39–46), or the episode in Gethsemane (John 18).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Luke 22:43.

Luke 22:44, to which Heb 5:7 alludes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Matt 28:18.

was God who put on humanity for our sake, again by necessity we would confess that there was another nature, and we would fall into a distinction for which we are accused, that is, [a distinction] after the union.

[11] On the other side, the follower of Arius<sup>2</sup> has worn himself out saying that the Son of God is a creature, and he has much abased the Only Begotten in his nature that is from the Father, while promising to bring forth the proof of these claims from the divine books. For [Christ] said, "I am going to my God and to your God"<sup>3</sup> and "authority has been given to me in heaven and on earth."<sup>4</sup> And the Apostle says concerning him, "God exalted him greatly and gave him a name greater than all other names."<sup>5</sup> They add, in refutation against us, that he feared and was afraid, 6 and this, that he was strengthened by the angel, 7 and the sweat and tears of the prayers<sup>8</sup> [that he produced], and all such things like them, in order to persuade the simple not to think of him with the one who begot him.

[12] What, then, do we conclude of God? That he is the God of God the Word, and the authority of heaven and earth were given to their Creator after he came into being? But in these [statements] we would confirm the error of the heretics, and in truth we would be found saying that the Son was from another nature, in that we agree that his God is the Father, but it is not according to his nature that he has authority over heaven and earth, 9 and over all the rest of those things of which he is their maker, but rather he obtained them by grace. And if we were to say that that body was [of] God the Father, but that he obtained his authority from David, not having [authority] from before [the incarnation], and that his tears and the sweat of his prayers 10 were his own, and [so too] the strengthening [he obtained] from the angel, 11 we then would deduce [from these] the separation from which, as we have said, it is correct to flee. And just as it is not fitting to distinguish in thought the humanity of Christ from his divinity, lest we introduce two sons, it would be considered a falsehood to depict as being beautiful on the outside matters that hide the deficiency of the thought of [Cyril's] impiety. But a short time has passed, in which they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Again Luke 22:44, to which Heb 5:7 alludes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Luke 22:43.

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مر [13] مر المانعده : المر غلب مراء مراء مير مر ومر المراء الم הבידאיא ממימנים: אלא עון בה ממימנין מן הלמלכב בידאא הקבואי مها سام بداه : د itiz، د مام ب مید د کهه : بهید حصصه بدری م ستعمد مرقاعه درسه، موم وعاعم وعاد در لات دختر، دلارة معتدر الالامة معمد ۵۵۵ احداده الحديث . كريت الم حديده و الحديده و المحديد المحدي Kura nu ru ne amroka. Ir baka rasidos ecaza. oestuk سلامل هستند. تهدمه وهدسه مديم مماهم. محلق لم علم [PR 7] «بروز براه براه در مصافره مساهره مساهر مساهر المام بروز المام برو "KIDDO KECODERK OCIIPIZO "KIDDO KECODERK OCHTORK ""TO תיזילותי עם מספיםת היאל הסטעי יייהואע עעיצה עוטיבה בון תינסטי עסטיסא העונה ייעונגי אמהיים בא אד העונאע טט האיני ooriatit :ootalakka omnki Kaarorak ooriatit :krooiari ooio. I. I alone or sold on the contract of th and it is a control of the control o oalle :Klazi Kaaronak oariao :Kaonii Kaaronak מטרשטעף ישרוט אילון מטסי בשטשה אישר יינאשטען אימר יינאשטען " worldare for the same of a conft " Kilmory Ki Kadawak ייתיזים שי עשטשישע מטיןעל ייםטייזי עשטטשישע שישטיישע שששמת ישלביטעיי עשמששע המקינים יישטישמיים עשמששע היששע

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The text here is corrupt; emending with Abramowski.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This portion of the text is corrupted. Abramowski (52–54) discusses the history of its reconstruction and offers the following conjecture (54): "Antiochius bishop of Ptolemaïs, Meletius bishop of Antioch, Severianus bishop of

have been accepted by those who without control and without experience accept everything that they find. In the end, their deceit has been revealed, but the error of those who make use of them has spread. I have had such things to say in brief to those who accuse me of preaching two natures joined to one another: for such is also not called a union, if the union arose through the joining of those things that are not distinguished first in thought.

[13] But even if you have accused us without examination and have declared concerning us that we do not believe correctly concerning the human [nature of Christ], while believing [that we have the right] to avenge [this] dishonor, we requite Your Honor with good instead of evil, and we do not avert our eyes from you, even though you believe wrongly and stray from the teaching of the truth. And we will not censure you in front of the people and preach against you that you do the will of heretics because you agree with Cyril. Rather, along with those demonstrations that we have already mentioned, we have collected and sent to you the testimonies of many persons who were filled with the Spirit and were teachers and leaders of the church of Christ, some of whom even shed their blood for the sake of the faith. These, then, are the witnesses, reproving the vanity of Cyril and demonstrating the accuracy of the distinction between the humanity of Christ and his divinity, and teaching us the complete [PR 7] dispensation of God. We have gathered some of the testimonies from among these: Hippolytus, bishop and martyr; Methodius, bishop and martyr: Damasus, bishop of the Romans: Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, who was victorious in many contests: Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, who was also persecuted for the true faith; Basil, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia; Gregory, bishop of Nazianzus, the Theologian; Gregory, bishop of Nyssa and brother of Basil the Great; Serapion the Egyptian, bishop of Thmuis; Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium; Diodore, bishop of Tarsus; Antiochus, bishop of Ptolemaïus; Melitus, [bishop] of the Romans; Severianos, bishop of Gabala; Meletius, bishop of the Romans;<sup>2</sup> John, bishop of Constantinople; Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria; Atticus, bishop of Constantinople; Ambrose, bishop of Milan; Gallius,

Gabala, Melito bishop of Sardis, Miltiades bishop of Rome (?), John bishop of Constantinople."

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[51] سلام مومه بنج تصحیح که هدهدسدد: کے حصر مالی حالمه میت کے سو مالی حالمه میت کوتک سوند کرنے سیات کا تعتبہ میں تصویح کے المحالم میں تصویح کے المحالم میں تعیب میں میت کرنے کے المحالم میں میں میت کے سامت میں میت کے المحالم مین کے المحالم میں میں میں میں کے المحالم مین کے المحالم میں میں میں کے المحالم میں کے المحالم میں میں کے المحالم کے المحالم میں کے المحالم کا المحالم کے ا

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¹ Read for ≺how.

<sup>2</sup> Read without for without; see Abramowski, 53.

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<sup>4</sup> Read كالمحر (عزبيره) for كالمحمد (ystrys); see Abramowski, 53.

bishop of Pisidia; Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus; Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem; Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea; Eusebius, bishop of Emesa; [and] Didymus, bishop of Alexandria.

[14] From the blessed Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, I did not send you such testimonies, because I have learned of the wrath and harsh enmity you have toward him, and moreover so that you might know that we have learned the fear of God not [only] from him, as you suppose, but also from the other fathers who were victorious in the true faith. And if Your Wisdom becomes instructed from them, and agrees with them, and becomes healed of the error of Apollinaris that is today renewed through Cyril, you would give us great joy as it behooves you to do, and we will not be saddened by those things that have been hastily said by you against us. But if you incline toward those who are opponents, and the words of the divine books are reckoned by you as vain words, as well as the proclamations of all those holy fathers and other great ones who did not write their testimonies out of their own self-importance, be it known then that you will alienate yourself from the blessed ones.

[15] As for us, you know that we are not discouraged by anything. If we, along with all these glorious ones, should be struck down by you with insults against us, then it is clear that you also include [in such insults] all of these saints, because our faith as well as theirs is rejected. And it is not that we are eager only for when someone reviles us, rather we desire to endure everything for the sake of the teaching of the truth, because we are convinced that death in defense of this faith is a source of life and of miraculous favors. And I pray that I might contend against fire and irons and beasts in this world in the company of any one of those who preached the true faith, rather than to forsake the faith that the apostles handed down, so that I may be exalted with the honor and the glory of the world beyond. For we add another to those witnesses, in order that you might clearly recognize the error.<sup>3</sup> For we set down against these [writings] of Cyril and have joined them to those of Apollinaris and Asterius<sup>4</sup> the Arian, and of the heretics Eunomius and Aetius. Truly they are brothers, and [PR 8] their words agree with those of Cyril; because of what Cyril thinks he is equal to the thinking of Apollinaris, of Arius, and of Eunomius.

[16] We send this remedy, for since it so appears that documents from the [writings of] the older fathers are not found with

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# 3.4.2.3. Andrew, Letter to Alexander of Hierapolis (CPG 6374)

Text: ACO 1.4:86,25-87,6 (Collectio Casinensis)<sup>2</sup>

Epistula sanctae memoriae uiri Andreae episcopi Samosatae ciuitatis ad Alexandrum episcopum Hierapolitanum de Rabbula episcopo Edesseno, qui se ab Orientali synodo separauit.

Hi qui pro recta fide laborant, scripserunt mihi ab Edessa quia Rabbula apertissime declinauit a dogmatibus ueritatis et persequitur rectae fidei defensores, ita ut Theodorum quidem beatum recta glorificationis magistrum praesente anathematizaret ecclesia et multa milia contra eum diffunderet, anathematizaret uero et illos qui ea quae illius sunt, legunt, insuper et qui illa quae scripsimus, et quicumque habent et non portauerint ad combustionem Theodori codicem, et hos qui praeter illa quae Cyrilli sunt, sapiunt. Dicitur autem et praedicare quid una tantum natura sit Christi, et expellere ualide hos qui aliquid aliud dicunt. Superflue igitur, et apparet, definitiones effingimus, qui per tactiturnitatem proditores ueritatis efficimur. Et festiuitas quidem quae sistit in ianuis,

<sup>1</sup> Reading for << \doi.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Text: ACO 1.4:86,25–87,6 (Collectio Casinensis). For the introduction, see above,  $\S 2.3.2.2$ .

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Reading with Abramowski (52 n. 5) كما ( $lemet!app\bar{\imath}s\bar{u}$ ), "to be persuaded" ("überzeugt werden"). Pericoli-Ridolfini has translated this verb "esaminare," "to examine."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Irenaeus, the compiler whose work was translated into the Latin texts that became known as the *Collectio Casinensis*, asserts that Rabbula was present

Your Excellency, perhaps you came to this error in ignorance. But if this [opinion], which many have accepted without examination of the chapters of Cyril, has caused you to be persuaded of<sup>3</sup> those things erroneously said by him, I am [nevertheless] convinced that it is no less possible to obscure the beating sun at noontime than to obscure the truth, even if everyone together should stand against it. Even if it should happen that it is obscured for a short time, like a spark in the grass eventually its light appears like a fierce flame. May our Lord grant me, along with a few [others], to hold fast to the true faith, even if we will be persecuted and killed, and not, as with all of those persons, to go astray after what is vanity.

The letter of Andrew, bishop of Samosata, to Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, is ended.

# 3.4.2.3. Andrew, Letter to Alexander of Hierapolis (CPG 6374)

A letter of Andrew, the bishop of the city of Samosata, of holy memory, to Alexander, the bishop of Hierapolis, concerning Rabbula, the bishop of Edessa, who departed from the Eastern synod. Those who labor on behalf of the correct faith have written to me from Edessa that Rabbula has strayed openly from the teachings of the truth and has persecuted the defenders of the correct faith; moreover, he anathematizes from the church by name even the blessed orthodox teacher Theodore and pours out many thousands [of things] against him, and indeed anathematizes those who read the [things written] by [Theodore], and moreover those [things] that we wrote, anyone who has a book of Theodore and does not hand it over to burning, and any [books] that know of [things] other than those [written] by Cyril. He is also said to preach that there is one single nature of Christ, and to vehemently reject those who say anything other [than this].

Therefore, because it would seem superfluous for us to copy out [our] definitions [of the faith]—we who have become betrayers of the truth through silence—and [because] the festive occasion that has stopped in the doorway now prevents us from assembling,

at the Synod of the Orientals, but this seems not to have been the case. See the introduction, clxvii-clxviii.

nunc conuenire nos prohibet; rogo uero ut mihi tua probitas indicet quae oportet dicere uel agere super his, et priusquem nos conuenire contingat. Amici enim qui persecutionem sustinent, interrogant nos si oporteat iam scissionem fieri et ostendi fiduciam quia circa ea consilium [ceperunt, sed]<sup>1</sup> minime id nunc usque fecerunt. Mihi autem rationabile uidetur ut qui ipse fiducialiter impie agit et omnes abiurauit Orientales, et nos contra eum clare pugnemus; si uero essent quidam fortes, et illud aliud fieri debuit. Et mihi quidem uidetur quod a Constantinopolim suscipiens literas, quas nunc usque sustinuit, erupisset et impietatem, quam olim conceperat, clarissime peperisset; nobis uero tutum, sicut arbitror, non est ut de talibus ulterius taceamus.

I ask that Your Goodness indicate to me what one ought to say or do concerning these [things] and what should happen before we meet. Now, friends who endure persecution ask us if it is right to make a separation, and [if] confidence [ought] to be shown, because [they have devised] a strategy concerning these [matters], [but] until now they have by no means done it. However, it seems reasonable to me, so long as the one who, acting with confidence, condemns impiously all the Eastern [bishops], let us openly fight against him; if indeed they are strong, then this other [thing; i.e., plans for a separation] is certain to be done. Furthermore, it seems to me that since he has been continually receiving letters from Constantinople all the while, he has sprouted and given rise most clearly to an impiety which was conceived some time ago. Therefore I think that it is not proper at all for us to remain silent concerning such matters.

Filling in a lacuna in the manuscript, following ACO 1.4:87 n. 1.

### 3.4.2.4. Andrew, Letter to the Stewards of Alexander of Hierapolis (*CPG* 6382)

Text: ACO 1.4:139,6-331

Epistula, inquit, Andreae ad oeconomos deo amicissimi episcopi Alexandri quod communicauerit Antiocheno et reliquis omnibus. Audio quod ualde irascatur sanctissimus episcopus et per multa loca contra nos epistulas dirigat, quasi uiderimus religiosissimum episcopum Rabbulam. quod quidem nondum contigit; quodsi et euenisset, nescio si quid commune commissum sit unde indignari debuerit. quia enim semel communicaui sanctissimo episcopo Iohanni pacemque amplexus sum, ab eius communione et colloquio aspectuque repulsus sum et hac ultione maiorem nec, si impie, quod absit, egissem, mihi imponere ualuisset, quippe qui et iudicatis colloquitur et paganis, in praesentiam nostram uenire non pertulit, quia sanctissimo episcopo Iohanni communicauimus. quem dixit orthodoxum? forsan uero et per singulos episcopos expetendus sum singulas ultiones? igitur ne semper nouiter perturbetur, ecce aperte dico, sicut et olim scripsi, quia et postquam allata est ultima epistula ex Aegypto clare continens orthodoxae fidei dogmata, ego et amplector pacem et omnibus ubique sanctissimis episcopis communico et sanctissimo episcopo Xysto et Cyrillo et Maximiano et Rabbulae et Melitinensi et omnibus Ponticis et a nullo discissus sum, dum apud eos omnes obtineant dogmata ueritatis et unitio atque pax ecclesiae ad gloraim dei pertineat, et confiteor dominum Christum deum esse atque hominem, duas naturas, unam personam, humilia et sublimia de eo diuinis scripturis inserta, haec quidem ut de homine, illa uero ut de deo, inconfusa unitate optinente et uno existente, ut dixi, domino et Christo. si ergo uult de cetero ipse ut catholicus cum catholicis amplecti pacem et liberare ab scandalis naufragantes per discordias et contentiones nostras, faciet bene; si autem non uult, ego quidem contristabor quod ita dispositus est, iudex uero deus est omnium. nullus ergo mihi de cetero quaestiones importet. clare

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: ACO 1.4:139,6–33. For the introduction, see above, §2.3.2.3.

### 3.4.2.4. Andrew, Letter to the Stewards of Alexander of Hierapolis (*CPG* 6382)

A letter said to be of Andrew to the Stewards of the Closest Friend of God, Bishop Alexander that he communicated with the Antiochene [i.e., John of Antioch] and all the rest.

I hear that the most holy bishop [Alexander] is becoming very angry and is directing letters throughout many places against us, as if we had seen the most religious bishop Rabbula. That indeed has not yet happened, but if it should have come to pass, I do not know for what [reason] he would have to be displeased if anything were undertaken together, because ves, one [time] I communicated with the most holy bishop John, and I embraced peace. I have been excluded from communion with [Rabbula], from conversation [with him], and from his sight. Even if I had not committed impiously [anything] so great as this [act of] revenge—though it is not [so]—he would have seen fit to indict me. Even though he speaks both to [those who have been] judged and to pagans, he would not put up with coming into our presence, because we have communicated with the most holy bishop John. Whom did he call orthodox? And should I perhaps truly long for individual [acts of] vengeance upon individual bishops? Therefore, indeed he is thrown into confusion ever anew—see, I speak openly, just as I at one time wrote—because after the latest letter was sent from Egypt, clearly containing the teachings of the orthodox faith, I too embraced peace, and I communicate with all the most holy bishops everywhere, and the holy bishop Xystus, Cyril, Maximian, Rabbula, "the Melitian" [Acacius of Melitene], and all the Pontic [bishops], and I am broken off from no one, while among all of them the teachings of the truth and unity are preserved, and the peace of the church endures to the glory of God. I confess the Lord Christ to be God as well as a human being, two natures, one person, the humble and the sublime concerning him joined through the divine writings, this [thing] indeed concerning the human being, that [thing] truly concerning God, while preserving an unconfused union, and while existing, as I have said, in one Lord and Christ. If then he, being of the universal [faith] like the rest [of the bishops], wants to embrace peace with [those who are] universal, and to free from scandal those causing shipwrecks through our disagreements and disputes, he would do well; but if he does

enim sententiam mean a principio aperui et nunc nihil noui deliberaui, sed quae ab initio tenui, mox ut allatae sunt litterae. atque utinam possibile mihi esset ut omnes qui non consentiunt, coniungerem adunaremque ecclesiae essetque mihi a deo donata efficacia haec, quam me arbitrarer maximum ad aeterna repperisse remedium siue solacium.

# 3.4.3. John of Antioch, Letter to the Bishops of Osrhoene (CPG 6347)

Text: ACO 1.4:87,7-201

Synodicum decretum Iohannis Antiocheni episcopi et reliquorum ad episcopos Osroenae prouinciae contra eundem Rabbulam Edessenae ciuitatis episcopum.

A multis et dignis fide uiris subtiliter et integre didicimus quia honorandissimus Rabbulas et Edessam perturbat et omnes qui uicinas prouincias habitant, apostolicae fidei ualde contraria perpetrans, et eos qui recte sapere elegerunt, uertit in fugam et multa molitur contra orthodoxam fidem. Unde compulsi sumus, haec discentes a plurimis, uestrae religiositati epistulam destinare, ut si uera sunt ista quae hic diffamantur a pluribus, immunes uos ab eius communione seruetis, donec eum euocantes ad nos et integre discutientes quae ad eum pertinent, aut ignoscamus satisfacienti aut conuictum subdamus sanctionibus regularum. Oportet enim uestram deoamabilitatem in fidei causa uti fiducia qua et praeter litteras nostras uestra sanctitas utique uti poterat, quippe quae in diuinis legibus ante conscripta est.

Omnem fraternitatem quae uobiscum est, et qui mecum sunt, plurimum salutamus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: ACO 1.4:87,7–20. For the introduction, see above, §2.4.5.

not want [to do so], I certainly will be sad that he is so disposed; but God is the judge of all. Then let no one introduce to me questions concerning the rest [of the bishops]. I have disclosed plainly my opinion from the beginning, and now I have not contemplated [anything] new, but [rather] these [which] I have held from the beginning, as soon as the letters were delivered. Moreover, if only it had been possible for me that I could join and make one with the church all who did not consent, and had this means been given to me by God, I would have found this, as I would judge, [to be] the greatest eternal remedy or consolation.

# 3.4.3. John of Antioch, Letter to the Bishops of Osrhoene (CPG 6347)

Synodical decree of John, the bishop of Antioch, and the rest, to the bishops of the province of Osrhoene against the same Rabbula, bishop of the city of Edessa.

We have learned accurately and completely from many trustworthy men that the most honorable Rabbula has disturbed both Edessa and all who live in the surrounding regions, acting quite contrary to the apostolic faith, and has put to flight those who have chosen to understand correctly, and has stirred up many against the orthodox faith. Wherefore, having learned of these things from many, we are compelled to address a letter to Your Religious Selves, in that, if these things that are being divulged here by many are true, you shall keep yourselves innocent of communion with him, until we, summoning him to us and examining completely the [matters] pertaining to him, either should excuse [him] from demonstrating proof or should subject the accused to punishment [according to] the rules. Therefore it behooves Your God-Loving Selves, in [this] matter of faith, to employ the confidence of which Your Sanctities should have been able to make use apart from our letter, since these things have already been written in the divine laws.

I and those who are with me send many greetings to the whole brotherhood that is with you.

## 3.4.4. Rabbula, Letter to Gemellina, Bishop of Perrhe $(CPG 6493)^{1}$

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Text: Brooks (Historia Ecclesiastica Zachariae, CSCO 84:178–89); see also Overbeck (S. Ephraemi Syri, 230–38). Brooks is the basis for the present edition, apparatus, and translation; only significant differences in the manuscripts are noted. Translation: Bickell (Ausgewählte Schriften, 250–58); Greatrex, Phenix and Horn (Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, 403–12). Syriac material in square brackets is supplied from the Chronicle of Michael the Syrian (= Chron. Mich.; text: Chabot [Chronique de Michel le Syrien, 4:298–304]). For the introduction, see above, §2.3.3. References in brackets labeled "B" are to pages in Brooks's edition; references labeled "OB" are to Overbeck's edition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Read with *Chron. Mich.* (Chabot, 298) and Brooks for BL Add 14352 and Overbeck ممتقاد.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> So BL Add 14532; Overbeck misprinted متحد.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Read with Chron. Mich. and Brooks for Overbeck حتوجيك.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Supplied from Chron. Mich. by Brooks.

<sup>6</sup> Read with Brooks for BL Add 14532 העשטה; Chron. Mich.: אלאלא.

## 3.4.4. Rabbula, Letter to Gemellina, Bishop of Perrhe (CPG 6493)

[1] [OB 231] From a Letter by Rabbula to Gemellina, Bishop of Perrhe, concerning Those Who Commit Iniquity with the Mysteries and Are Nourished by Them as Though It Were Mere Bread<sup>11</sup> [B 178] I have heard that in your own place of Perrhe some of the brothers whose monasteries<sup>12</sup> are not known, <sup>13</sup> as well as others among the renowned 14 heads of the monasteries there, have broadcast fraudulently about themselves a vain reputation, [namely,] that they do not eat bread; [they] have applied falsely to themselves a vain boast, [that is,] that they do not drink water, and they claim for themselves that they abstain from wine. Therefore I shudder 15 to mention that I have heard that they are acting wickedly with the body and the blood of the Son of God, Jesus, [wanting] to spare the ears of [my] hearers, 16 but because necessity forced me, 17 [and] because it is right I should warn against such [B 179] a sin, I will boldly say these things that they do without trembling, who insanely and without discernment offer the body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord. This is the holy and sanctifying body [OB 232] that they have received and the living and life-giving blood that they have

- <sup>7</sup> Reading with Brooks for אינורא, Arab.: בּילוֹשׁר.
- <sup>8</sup> Chron. Mich.: محكمة
- <sup>9</sup> So BL Add 14532; Overbeck: منحب.
- <sup>10</sup> Reading with Brooks and Overbeck for BL Add 14352 מכבאס; Chron. Mich.: אבלא; Arab.: מכביסה,
- For more complete commentary on this passage, see Greatrex, Phenix, and Horn, *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor*, 403–12.
- $^{12}~$  Syr.  $^c\!amm\bar{o}rayh\bar{o}n,$  lit. 'dwellings,'; reading pl. for sg. with John of Ephesus.
- $^{13}$  Reading with Brooks "known" (pl.) for "they will know" as Overbeck printed.
  - Reading  $m^e$ šam $m^e$ hānê for  $m^e$ šam $m^e$ šānê, "servants" or "deacons."
- In BL Add 17202, only the *ayn* is legible; read  $z^{\mathcal{K}}$  following *Chron*. *Mich*.
- Material in italics refers to passages supplied from the *Chronicle of Michael the Syrian* corresponding to the material in square brackets in the Syriac text.
  - <sup>17</sup> Reading "forced me" for "forced us"; Arab.: "I am compelled."

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[OB 233] KIK TREST. TREST. TRESTED [2]

LECKE DIES TO THE TERMO CELLY DECEMBER, THOUSE LECKE LIND SECUR HORIK, THOUSE LECKED DIES TONG HILL WOUND THE TONG THE WOOD AND WELL WOOD AND WELL THE MOOD AND WOOD TON WOOD THE WOOD TONG THE WOOD TONG WOOD

Reading with Brooks for , are left.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> BL Add 14352 and *Chron. Mich.*: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Reading حصيح for BL Add 14532 and Overbeck حصيح.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Reading with Brooks and *Chron. Mich.* for BL Add 14352 مصحة.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for جمطح.

<sup>6</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for ہے۔

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Read for \_oм.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Reading with Brooks for علاجماً.

<sup>9</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for Low.

Following Overbeck and Arab.; Brooks reads: "I do not know of what kind they are." Rabbula returns to the question of how to designate the objects of his attack at the end of this letter; see below, 192–93 and 198–99.

Syr.:  $\prec b$   $(q^e s\bar{a}t\bar{a})$ , also "broken portion," referring to the loaf of bread that is prepared for the Eucharist.

Reading for  $m^e dakk \hat{e}n$ , "they purify."

drunk. These [people], whom I do not know how to name, 10 impiously satisfy with it the usual, natural need of hunger and thirst, and they are incapable of surviving even one day by their will without the offering, [which is] their nourishment, but rather every day there is a large quantity of food that is supplied from the sacrament. Because of this they even leaven excessively the loaf<sup>11</sup> that they prepare and take care to salt it 12 and let it rise 13 diligently so that it can become their food and not the mystery of the body of Christ that is symbolized in the unleavened bread. 14 Finally, every time they are in short supply, they even offer mere unconsecrated bread upon each other's hands and eat it. Sometimes, when they are traveling from place to place, or are going on an extended journey, two or three times in a single day they satisfy the hunger and thirst of their nature from the same body of our Lord. When they have come to 15 where they are journeying, in the evening they again offer the oblation and take from it as though [they were] fasting; even on the holy days of the Fast of the Forty [Days]<sup>16</sup> they dare to act in this way without fear of God and without [B 180] human shame. It has been found that some individuals, as they say, who refuse<sup>17</sup> bread and water every day, are found eating the sacred bread and drinking the holy wine on such celebrated days as those on which even the contemptible abstain.

[2] Thus as the spirit that is within me is my witness, my holy brother, I tremble [OB 233] as I write to Your Honor all that I have heard about them, these [things] that my conscience cannot truly believe. [I wish] it were possible for you to know those things that I want to teach, without my letter or my word, and for them to receive correction from Your Uprightness, because I do not wish that you, my lord, or they, should know what is heard concerning them. Now you should not consider, nor should they think, that I write to you these things concerning them because I believe the

What is suggested here is that the transgressors make a loaf of bread much larger than the typical loaf used in the celebration of the Eucharist.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See Blum, *Rabbula*, 112–13, 130–31; see also below, 196–97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Reading for dsāmw, "who have determined."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> I.e., the Great Fast before Easter (in contrast to the Nativity Lent and the other shorter periods of fasting in the Syrian calendar).

Reading for  $\bar{a}kel\bar{\imath}n$ , "eating."

. الائت لاحتمت بالاغتم بهمهدر رلا لاملت لامت لاما ملا [3] [B 181] تتسلم حيل تماتم تحصي. مو عل بخلطم تعميم لحلمة ده رمصت ملح بداله معصم ومصما و تعنون مرتم مدلك مراس ما محدده مده . والم حصده مع لحصم دندم بمدل دلومية حلم עופא האלבסם מהם. זכלל זכבאינ משמשאמת דאלמא אולב זיין ביניטמי . איי איי ביסיד בעם ביסידי איי ביסיד איי בעם ביסידי אייא איידי בעס [OB 234] דמטאא ומבאסב בל אשלעות כן כיוסבא ומבאסב בל אמאא تصحله در کموز علم لخدمه معدمه تعدید دو یا مرتحم دونه تهلمه. کو له پن لیم کفه تحقهه، تهمینها عمه تبهوسر صحتم לשבישה אות הואוא מבלבא. במה באנה שומי השלה הפאהוא האבל ההבה בו בפן. מומא לח לפליח מעוד ואלחא מלאא. וום ל למעו כח. איץ تراعد علمة من من ويت وين مرده ورد من لسحم والمحال حرامل سل مسد سه لوزم مدحه درخ . شه رمة باقليم ويتديم وسد مه זמות מות. מוא ון בלוח סומח מעל ומול א בסב. לא מסא עלמא 

<sup>1</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for الملكمة.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reading with Brooks and *Chron. Mich.* for משל.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for مخسمه.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Reading with Brooks and *Chron. Mich.* pl. for sg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> BL Add 14352 inserts κοω; correcting with Brooks and Chron. Mich.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Reading for *ekalw*, "they ate."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Dan 5:1–6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Reading for  $m^e rahm\bar{a}n\bar{u}t\bar{a}$ , "compassion."

<sup>9</sup> Syr.: خنمک تعدیم (laḥmā dpattōrā), lit. "bread of the table." See Exod 25:30 et passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 1 Sam 21:5–6.

evil rumor concerning them. Rather, being in doubt until now, I say even to others that it is not possible that so great a sin as this has been committed on the part of those who have been baptized into Christ. For they say that when they have performed the holy [Eucharist] in the paten, they eat<sup>6</sup> freely from it as much as they want. As for the chalice of the blood, each one of them, when they are able, mixes with it warm water as though it were mixed wine and drinks it, and again fills it and gives it to his neighbor, so that from the abundance of wine that they drink in the name of the holy [offering] they are often forced to even vomit it out from their mouth.

[3] Oh, such extreme impiety as this, if it is so: the honorable vessels of the holy sanctuary, [B 181] which even the heavenly rational beings fear to approach because of the mystery that is in them, they have boldly made into vessels for the service of their belly, held them in contempt of their lives, and did not remember the punishment that Belshazzar the pagan king received and [for which] he was reproved. For he, with the vessels of the service of God, thought to insult God [OB 234] like a rebel, in that he made use of them in a contemptuous way, so that the likeness of the palm of a hand that wrote was sent from on high to write on the wall of his house the just sentence for his boldness.<sup>8</sup> Yet how can the vessels of the service of the temple in Jerusalem compare to the glorious vessels of the service of the body and blood of the Son of God? For even the bread of the presence of the priests of Israel is not worthy to be compared in any way to the glorious nature of the sublime mystery. If there is anyone who compares the bread of the presence that David ate when he was hungry<sup>10</sup> to the life-giving body of the Son of God, then it is right for us to consider him as a fool who does not distinguish the body and blood of the Lord from the bread of the presence [and] for this reason gives offense to the body and blood of our Lord: 11 for it [the bread of the presence] purified only with difficulty bodily defilements, 12 when combined with various types of ablutions and observances of several [other] things, but this, the life-giving body and blood of our Lord Jesus,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> 1 Cor 11:27–29; Blum, *Rabbula*, 116.

<sup>12</sup> Reading pl. for sg. in BL Add 14532.

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له کالم کخت تنسمک نے مصم صد نامسم کہ تکسیل میں حدد فیاتا ہا (B 182) בי לב גאבל פבור, סשא זבב אמו כוא גאלמא. מס ב, סאנא כמ. מאבות השבישה ביטבא איניבא ואסב איניניאים משביים לבשמבלם בשלבת ב השלש המלה בשל הוא היש הישל הל אשמבא הישום ל מש בישא משוא העול ב פחלמש בל אלב [OB 235] הבשמבה כמי ملانة دح بين تدويل مسل. في مهام المراد على المراد المراد المام المراد ا محدز کیز: ۲۱ کی ۵۰۰ می ایم دیری ایما محمد الحدمص درد کیز مرد کم ایمار کی ایمار کی ایمار کی ایمار کی ایمار کی ا און בעל איליא משונים. דלא ועבים באא מסא ביצא אלוו ביצא אלאט ביצא לבמת כו יצא הוגא אירא הואה לבות האלתא. מעיב הכא ההאם הלת אשר הבםל אוצי. בים לומש הליבהאה הכה אמבדשי משא מבל לומשא הליבה לומש הבל לומשא הליבהאה הבה אמבים ומים ליבה איני النب السلام عديه. مراهل سيده المرام ملم مدام مناه سيك لحلمه. هده تصحبه عدر تدفيه مدهم للبيع مقم صحمته تحر مأحم. مرك المريد والمريد المريد الم שנאל עשב לח. הלא משתב, לבוא האפו הלומו הלעל שבי האל פבו היים تحل کقر ستهمر تحلحک همیدهد. لک مهمی محیل لینجی مه دلیمه. ولانه وكنه مبارع من المساء المراد وما لاساعة مهر المسعمة موارعه روس برا الابرما فا نسبر فرامه و شمي مير بريمي براء <sup>9</sup>. בישוז האמישאך ארא (B 183) י" איביט איציין ארא איניין ארא איניין ארא איניין ארא איניין ארא איניין איניין איניין

- <sup>1</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for مخيف.
- <sup>3</sup> Brooks and Chron. Mich.: omit.
- <sup>4</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for אזס בא.
- <sup>5</sup> Reading with Brooks and *Chron. Mich.* for ≺on.
- 6 Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for ≺∆₃.
- <sup>7</sup> Chron. Mich.: ベのススペロスペンショ
- <sup>8</sup> Beginning of lacuna in BL Add 14532; text supplied from *Chron*. *Mich.* 9.27 (Chabot, 300–303 col. C).
  - Reading with Brooks and Arab. for محمد المقعل المحمد المعادد المعا
  - Reading for *pagran*, "our body."
- John 6:54, 56. The omission of 6:55 may be attributed to the fact that it states, "My body is truly food and my blood is truly drink" (translation from the Peshitta).
- <sup>12</sup> With *Chron. Mich.* reading *bāsên* for *bassemw*; note that F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks (*The Syriac Chronicle Known as That of Zachariah of Mitylene* [London: Methuen & Co., 1899; repr., New York: AMS Press, 1979], 304) have the translation "who enjoyed," reflecting the root *bsm*.

not only brings forgiveness for the sins of the soul and of the body, sanctifying the faithful who partake of it, but also causes God to be in us, and he through his Spirit, as we are in him through his body: 10 [B 182] "Whoever eats my body and drinks my blood," says the son of God, "He is in me and I am in him, and I will raise him up on the last day."11 Again, in another way we are able to understand the greatness of this new service that has delivered us through God the Word from the harsh and severe punishment that Paul decreed concerning those [OB 235] who abuse 12 it, beyond that which those who transgress the old [covenant] that is from Moses will receive. 13 For he said, "If it were the case that someone transgress the law of Moses, by the mouth of two or three witnesses he would die without mercy. How much more is he worthy of bitter punishment who tramples on the Son of God, and has considered the blood of his own covenant as [that] of any person, and despises the spirit of his grace by which we have been sanctified?"14 Therefore, this bread of life that came down from heaven, 15 because of its union with God the Word, gives life to the world: who is so insane as to compare it with the bread of the presence, with its seasoning that is of the earth? Rather, the opinion of one who thinks or acts in this way is known and moreover clearly seen, for anyone who so madly receives it in fact considers it to be mere bread, as he sees it, and does not believe the Son, who says, "The bread that I give is my body, that which is given for the life of the world,"16 for thus not only is the bread in the body of Christ, as is seen by them, but also in the bread is the body of God, <sup>17</sup> who is unseen, as we believe, and we receive the body 18 not to satisfy our bellies [B 183] but to heal our souls.

<sup>13</sup> Omit <sup>3</sup>nahnan, "we."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Heb 10:28–29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> John 6:33; see 6:31–58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Iohn 6:51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Chron. Mich. 9.27 (Chabot, 300, col. C) reads: "Son of God."

Here a leaf is missing from BL Add 17202. Overbeck, 230–31, supplies an edited excerpt, which is taken from BL Add 14532. Brooks, 182–86, supplies the material from *Chron. Mich.* 9.27 (Chabot, 300–303, col. C), collated with the shorter fragment of this letter in Overbeck. In this section, the material in brackets indicates phrases omitted from Michael the Syrian. See Blum, *Rabbula*, 127–30, for a translation and commentary of the section in Overbeck, i.e., up to 189 n. 30 below.

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- The excerpt printed in Overbeck, 230–31, begins here. The superscription reads: אולא גלאל אולא אולאל בי הייסומאז אפממשאל אלמסל, אבלאלא גלמסל, אבממשאל.
  - <sup>2</sup> Chron. Mich.: omit.
  - <sup>3</sup> Chron. Mich.: omit.
  - <sup>4</sup> Reading with Brooks and Overbeck for *Chron. Mich.* ≺∆₃.
  - <sup>5</sup> Reading with Brooks and Overbeck for *Chron. Mich. متنع*لام.
  - <sup>6</sup> Chron. Mich.: omit.
  - Reading with Brooks and Overbeck for Chron. Mich. حفياته.
- <sup>8</sup> Reading with Brooks and Overbeck for *Chron. Mich.* ഉപച ചെ ,തരിച്ച്.
  - Reading with Chron. Mich. for Overbeck ملكمهم.
  - 10 Reading with Brooks and Overbeck for Chron. Mich. האב בנכל.
  - 11 Reading for Chron. Mich. ~:
  - Reading with Brooks and Overbeck for  $\prec i \searrow \qquad \searrow$ .
  - 13 Reading for Chron. Mich. ama; Arab.: Kaisa.
  - Reading with Overbeck for Chron. Mich. אבשיבא.
  - <sup>15</sup> Reading for Chron. Mich. אילאאש.
  - Excerpt in Overbeck, 230–31, ends.
  - 17 Reading for Chron. Mich. مطعنی Arab.: معصفی ..
- Here the extract edited in Overbeck, 230, begins. The superscription to the excerpt on p. 230 reads: "From the letter of the holy Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, to Gemellina the bishop of Perrhe."

[4] [OB 230] For 18 those who with faith eat the bread eat in it and with it the [living] body of God, [which sanctifies,] but those who eat it without faith receive nourishment only like the rest of those things that are for the use 19 [ of the body ]. For if the bread is snatched away by enemies and eaten by force, they eat mere bread, because though they eat it they<sup>20</sup> do not have the faith that is aware of its power of life. 21 For the palate tastes the bread, but faith tastes the power that is hidden within the bread. For we are not kept alive just by the body that is eaten, 22 as we said a little earlier; 23 rather, it is the thing that is commingled with it [that gives us life], as we believe. For the power<sup>24</sup> that is not eaten is commingled with the bread<sup>25</sup> that is eaten and becomes<sup>26</sup> one with those who take it, [inst as] [OB 231] the hidden names are associated with the visible waters, and from them a child is born anew. For the Spirit flutters secretly 27 over the visible waters 28 in order to beget<sup>29</sup> anew through them the image of the heavenly Adam.<sup>30</sup> And just as in the visible water are hidden the invisible names, in order that all who are baptized in it may partake<sup>31</sup> visibly of the life that is invisible, so also in the visible bread [B 184] is hidden the concealed power from which everyone who rightly partakes will obtain immortal life. We affirm (the word of)<sup>32</sup> Paul, that those who receive it carelessly<sup>33</sup> obtain from it injury to soul and body and no advantage, even

- 19 Chron. Mich.: "uses."
- <sup>20</sup> Chron. Mich.: "the mouth that eats it."
- $^{21}$  Reading with  $Chron.\ Mich.$  9.27 (Chabot, 300, col. C) for  $\rlap/helyuta,$  "sweetness."
  - An illusion perhaps to Deut 8:3 (Matt 4:4, Luke 4:4).
  - <sup>23</sup> Chron. Mich.: "that we have also already said."
  - <sup>24</sup> Chron. Mich.: "the body."
  - <sup>25</sup> Chron. Mich.: "with the body."
  - So also Arab.; Chron. Mich.: "is."
  - <sup>27</sup> BL Add 17202: "the hidden Spirit flutters."
- Syr.:  $\angle :: \Rightarrow (mayy\hat{e} \ g^e layy\hat{e})$ , lit. "open waters"; perhaps a reference to Gen 1:2.
  - <sup>29</sup> Chron. Mich.: "engender exactly" or "truly."
- $^{\rm 30}~$  Here ends Overbeck's first excerpt (MS 14532); see Overbeck, 230–31.
  - Reading with Brooks for Chron. Mich. "fall"; Arab.: "break."
  - <sup>32</sup> So Arab.; BL Add 17202 omits.
  - <sup>33</sup> Chron. Mich.: "secretly"; Arab.: bil'istiqād, "under restriction."

Krai , ocatin un leoloo. 1 mil reamin de coches con les 1. סובלי א מני כנוח. מל מאדיא. מאם כבימיניא מינבין. מא באלפימין لحلم العلم المجزز : נושה אית כם אות השל אבל הי לשובה من محمد من حصر من الله عنه الله عنه الله عنه الله من ا لبوس محل معلم. موه حد وه حديد دحلمه. تحر حلمه وه دورتم מרשונטאל ז. בל פעול סדמא. באכא משעלם א סמהאל עלים א כז. בא مهر که الاست میل. 4 مهله بوعی زنین ۱۵۰۰ که مدارات سون مدر מאלוינים עם מן כל מלווים מלווים עם: ולא בת בלמא נאעיב. אניהם מבל המלץ הבים כלא פוצא המשמשלא משמם מפן. מעד בלעסד حزرسلم معدم الس شكر مرسم حلام مهم درسلم האביא משלי אינים אל בפרון להי בו מסכ לא משלים כשבוא א משלים אל וחתבנו אחם בי בעובה אנאם ב לב או הוכא וכלא. אי ואכי فه لمن حل ولله ويغه ولين وردنه وردنه المنه معمر دنيه وردنه در سلم الملاز علسه حل صلح و المحد ومعد ومعد ومعدد المحلم والمرابع ماحد לת. בא שבעלא [B 185] המשבנה לא שמבע, אלא שמעלא ל הבפיחם ב. as 8, mail bis Kbalk Kblus Kaso Kls. Kin yoks Klearl ok ולא עוסב אפ בן שבבא. זכבן מי, בבסולא ונטולא אבלאא: אבע זכבן לעובא שעעבא און אא זפן בחם בעדיבה כנה זוא השמלוז אפ לבאנא. تحر بحده الله تعيم سين شر تحلل ترك عندسه الماري حر حلدلاله دوزاله سمع وهمسد دلميده محدسة نيام مدلمية فأد لحكسة

<sup>1</sup> Arab.: 2020 Jap.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reading for *Chron. Mich.* ארששבז; Arab.: ארם אניילאב.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Added from the Arabic text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Added from the Arabic text.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Reading with Chron. Mich.; Brooks and Arab. omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Reading with *Chron. Mich.*; Brooks omits.

<sup>8</sup> Arab.: തിക്കി പൂട്ടിറ്റ്.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 1 Cor 11:28–29.

Syr.: مرکعی ( $h^e t \bar{t} p \bar{a}$ ), lit. "snatched" or "seized."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Lit. "chastened a chastement."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> 1 Cor 2:30–32.

if they are considered to be among the believers, but \[ only \] if they are instructed by the word of the Apostle, who says, "Let a person examine himself, and then let him eat of [this] bread and drink of this cup; but whoever eats of it when he is not worthy of it eats and drinks condemnation for himself," while the same states by his word that it is on account of this contempt for the body and blood that the various infirmities and premature 10 deaths befall us according to [this] righteous judgment: "By reason of this, many among you are ill and sick, and there are many who [suddenly] fall asleep. But, if we judged ourselves, we would not be judged. When we are judged by our Lord, we are chastened, 11 so that we may not be condemned along with the world."12 And if those who in the appointed days of service<sup>13</sup> were now to partake, [even] they would receive only one particle 14 of the body of life. If it were [the case] that they were to receive [the particle] without suffering or repentance, unfaithfully and without reverent fear, even if they have not also committed an act contrary to their faith, they would be guilty 15 with respect to the body and the blood of the Lord, as Paul said, because they do not discern the Lord's body. 16 What punishment is harsher than this one, to which the Apostle sentenced them, that he should add condemnation of those who approach it without fear and do not receive what is useful [B 185] for the faith but [for] the necessity of their hunger? Oh, such insolence as this, for which the divine retribution that punishes<sup>17</sup> [the offender] is not sufficient! Who does not fear just from hearing that they satisfy the needs of their bodies on that coal of devouring fire, as though it were mere bread? Who is not frightened even to relate how these men eat [to fullness and without] fear of the coal, the foundation of our life, 18 that which the seraph revealed to us, grasping it with iron forceps in his hand. 19 to teach the sublimity of our mystery, and while gazing, looking on with honor, approached

responsibilities, to praise and serve before the priests, a fixed number for each day" (our translation).

- <sup>15</sup> Chron. Mich.: "you [pl.] would be guilty"; Arab.: omit.
- <sup>16</sup> 1 Cor 11:27, 29.
- <sup>17</sup> Arab.: "which kills."
- <sup>18</sup> Chron. Mich.: "that gave our life"; Arab.: "the medicine of our life."
- <sup>19</sup> Isa 6:6.

<sup>14</sup> Syr.: (margānītā), lit. "pearl," a metaphor for a particle of the consecrated Eucharist. See Vööbus, Syrische Kanonessammlungen, CSCO 317:335 n. 9; P. Yousif, L'eucharistie dans Saint Ephrem de Nisibe (OCA 224; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientale, 1984), 285–86.

المحلب هلي [حصوم مدلم] عبل من من ولا الماد الما

[6] مدم کے ترکا بعیم کے لسکہ انم کو تحلکہ کو کم بہتم کہ بہتم کے درکہ کا ادب ہوں میں اسلام کے شر اردا کہ اللہ کا کہ کہ کا کہ ک

י ג'ז is printed after a lacuna; the text is supplied from the Arabic באב"ב.

Correcting with Brooks באב"א from Arab. האבוכבת

Reading with Brooks for 🏎 🛪

<sup>4</sup> Reading with Brooks from Arab. for ملے

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Reading with Brooks and Arab. משאכשם for משאכשם.

<sup>6</sup> Reading with Brooks and Arab. ചेर् for औरत.

Tither an allusion to 1 Tim 4:8, or reading خصلت ( $^{de}$ almā) for خصلت ( $^{cattīd\hat{e}}$ ) from John 6:51; *Chron. Mich.*: "the abundant life"; Arab.: al-hayyāt al-muzmi $^{c}ah$ , "the forthcoming life."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Matt 26:26; Mark 14:22; cf. 1 Cor 11:25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See Matt 26:27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> So also Arab.; Chron. Mich.: "they might be satisfied."

<sup>11</sup> Chron. Mich.: "instructs"; Arab.: "wins."

to take hold of it? At that body that was given for the life to come<sup>7</sup> their heart does not tremble with fear, their hands do not become feeble and weak, and their knees do not shake, when they stoop to eat it for the maintenance of the bodily life. Perhaps it is right for us to say that our Lord also, with his knowledge that searches out all that shall come to pass, knew the deed of these men; and for this reason, after they had eaten and were satisfied from the Passover of the law, then he blessed the bread and gave it to his disciples<sup>8</sup> in order that these men might not say that after he had blessed they were satisfied; rather, after they were satisfied, he blessed [it] when the master and his disciples took a small particle of it, and over the cup he said, "Take, drink from it all of you," so that they might understand by this that twelve men drank from that little cup.

- [5] It is necessary to state that they thought they could win the admiration of simple persons through these [things], abstaining from bread and wine, but they did not understand [B 186] that the ridicule of the intelligent surpasses 11 and prevails over them more than the praise of fools like themselves and [that] it will be turned against them. Those who have 12 accepted from mortals praise for themselves for this entirely unpardonable iniquity, even if they did not [really] acquire it, are not fit to be named "men." Rather, they should justly be named "rabid dogs," for the sign of rabid dogs is this: that they suddenly attack the body of their master in order to eat it.
- [6] And a man who has cut himself off from bread ought not to taste anything at all until the time appointed for him. And it is well known that when Saul enacted that no one should taste anything on the day of battle until the evening, <sup>13</sup> Jonathan, because he tasted some honey on the end of his staff, <sup>14</sup> was condemned to death but was delivered because of the force of the people. <sup>15</sup> For "the foundation of a person's life is bread and water," <sup>16</sup> says Jesus the son of Simeon Asira; <sup>17</sup> under the name of bread he extended his saying to all food. But concerning

Reading for Arab. "He is devoured who has ..."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 1 Sam 14:24, 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> 1 Sam 14:27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> 1 Sam 14:32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Sir 27:29 (27:21 in some versions).

That is, Jesus ben Sirach; "Asira" means "the bound one," identifying him with Simeon of Luke 2:25. See J. F. Coakley, "The Old Man Symeon (Luke 2,25) in Syriac Tradition," *OCP* 47 (1981): 189–212.

באברא. המהב נשבבל מנה כוֹמיאה. האם מהב האהב שבבל איני נבא لعمر المراكة [OB 235] المحتم المراكة المحتم وعيمكره. [4 كوده لا مدين بلك لبيده معمودين ويوبه الان وحوال לביבים אונעלמה ב שלים כמהם בילי מאלי מאלים אל מאלים והכינים بلنة صلافة كير حد ددة بلام وروعه ممقوية م وحدك وسريده ومرا העהבי א השלש בשת בסהבא הלים בשתא הלחם [OB 236] למה . בלח לב ميل معدد ملح ترحلي وي وي الله على أولاد الله على الله om:  $\lambda$  doc exizod $^{7}$  zero. was  $\angle i$  rificodo rule $\lambda^{8}$  oaizodo معدش هویک. و بعد ایم احداد عد ایم سخه شخه شخه کرمی مهدمه و ایم ا למפרשים ב מבשנחמים באומא האנשא. הבבה להמ בל בילל ביהחיר. המא معصمل ملايم مايت المرتصر عوز مرامه و ممامه و ممامه معزور قددسر وقوه ودر مود بلد عدد عدله ودر سلم سه دلالمه لحدله ودر شن ے مصلحة مرم حصر کی در کرمان کرمان کرمان المحمد مرمه علی الدر کرمان کر مو وسدم الحصم وزعم منه الوم عل صلى اللها علمه \_ حيل مام لم מבא איכו בי אל אלמא זאשולאל. באכו אכיול מחול זבען חביל אכם עומים ב סדימי בומא לבל המשא אמיו מין אי שם ל מלל זמיםיני سعة. معتمل بهاعةه ي ندام سمل معلم سمول علم سمول من حصدها. متعدد من من المرابع من المرابع المرابع

<sup>1</sup> Added with Brooks from Arab. مصحد.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The portion missing from BL Add 14532 ends here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Chron. Mich.: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Chron. Mich.: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Overbeck: حصلاحك).

<sup>6</sup> Chron. Mich.: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for حمة عدا .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for السحك.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Reading with Brooks and *Chron. Mich.* for معمد المعادية.

<sup>10</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for ambalacers.

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$  Chron. Mich.: מבבא

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The Syriac text on Overbeck, 235, picks up from this word.

<sup>13</sup> Chron. Mich. 9.27 (Chabot, 303 col. C) reads: "pulses and vegetables."

these men they say that after they have received the oblation in the daytime, and [have partaken] of it again in the evening, then they eat other food, boiled beets, 12 [OB 235] and they readily (devour seasoned pulses). 13 They are said to support themselves 14 with cheese instead of bread, and with fish, and they set out among them all the dishes that they desire. They are greatly sated with delicious fruit, and they delight themselves even more with dried [fruit served] along with honeycombs and egg cakes. And because the heat of the wine that they drink in the name of the holy [offering] inflames their thirst even more, [OB 236] during the whole summer when the milk of sheep [B 187] or goats is to be found, they drink it regularly instead of water, and moreover they plan to do this, knowing from experience that the goodness of the milk<sup>15</sup> and its coolness are able to cool down the constant burning on account of their excess that is from the wine in their stomach. Because of these things which these [men have done], and [because of those things done] before these [men] in its time, it is said, as though the upright rebuke of God, which he did to Eli on account of his sons, were also against the [se men], "See, I gave you every good thing of the earth, so that you might use them without sin, just as I set apart for them all of the offerings of the house of Israel, so that they should enjoy them blamelessly. Why have you too committed iniquity with my body and my blood, like those who profaned my sacrifices and my offerings?"16 Since the crime of these men against God has greatly surpassed the crime of those [sons of Eli] that was committed among the people [of Israel], there should be terror and great trembling—if they [feel] suffering—lest the punishment that went out against those [sons of Eli] should also be decreed against these men. Because of this, "Thus says the Lord, the God of Israel, 'I spoke my word, that your house and the house of your father will serve me forever,' but now the Lord says, 'far be it from me, for those who honor me I honor, and those who spurn

Reading for *mstm<sup>c</sup>yn*, with Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2:2663; see Hamilton and Brooks, *Syriac Chronicle*, 307 n. 4. As Hamilton and Brooks have noted, this sentence is corrupted and is difficult to reconstruct.

Reading for laḥmā, "bread."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> 1 Sam 2:28–29.

تعلمه المحمد به المحمد المحمد

[7] אשרב ביד (OB 237) בערב המבין מסח עבים (T) בו ציו כשא הנות מלבים צביא וללביות ונפט לות ותחם בלעתוחת, נותחא בבד משרשאתה. מבוא אתי למ בד משבע לעפין למאח מכחל כשיבואתה. מנה لم رعة معدد وسط ١٠٠٨ على المعمومة. لم ١٥٠٨ لم لسحم ١١٠٨ محلم אונון אבעאל. הם בעוש אוכל, ומס סושאפבל שובא אפל הכ כב قه لمن حزوره دعزوه معلم معلم المعلم ا שם בא השטושות שהו וכן בחלעת. הכווכנה לערא הה בלעה בלב הוכנה האלים למ דע יטנסאי נומים אם ל ומניםא כדנים. אילי וכמלאם. صحدته لم مدحصه لم مركب كر مهم لم صف لم سك. مم راحمة مهم لمهم لحررمه وقلسه عقهرهم رياحه بعزه ومن عدمة معليه محمرهم تعلم مرد دوسه مرد مهما عصر عصر مراد ، مصم عدد محلدة م, وتعسم معلی می بدن کو هذا می دارد می است مه سه را به و معلی می می بدن کرد می سه به است می است می است می دارد محمده . مرمه مرتحق مرام مرتب مل عمر محمله . مرمه صحاء سندر تبلده وبحدة مر حلام ولحمه مسهم بترحيم بالقب وعدمه عدك مقوزير در حليو لسحك مكسم في مد كمل عالمتروس فیسک لسحک همع ۱۳۵۸ متحده، فرنم محد در دلاز معدلاه تحر دملا تخمل لسحك تمحل عع الملتخية مصر به وحيم بقاص الملاسيح لمام ous \_ reder. 1-2000 \_ la 22/ oox sies use. oleus alsex [ ou

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Chron. Mich.: عمديد.

Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for

Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for حكم.

<sup>4 ്</sup>രാപ്പ്ര: initial waw added by another hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 Sam 2:30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Chron. Mich.: "how."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Chron. Mich.: "obeying" or "listening to."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pseudo-Clement, *Homilies* 12.6.4 (Rehm and Strecker, 176; Calvet et al., 1448); and Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitiones* 7.6.4 (Rehm and Strecker, 199–200; Schneider and Cirillo, 361).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Acts of Paul (and Thecla) III.23 (Lipsius, 251; Rordorf, Cherix, and Kasser, 1136); and the Syriac text offered of parts of the Acts of Paul in the History of Thecla, the Disciple of Paul the Apostle (Wright, 1:محدد); 2:129–30).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 1 Tim 6:8.

me shall be despised." You see how he excluded them forever from the priesthood and made them outcasts and foreigners from his house.

[7] What<sup>6</sup> shall I say concerning those who do not agree with the prophets of the Old [Testament], let alone [concerning those who] are not conforming to<sup>7</sup> the apostles of the new one? For it is right that they should learn even from the chief of the apostles, [B 188] Peter, what his food was. He heard [OB 237] clearly of what bodily life consisted: for when Clement, his chosen disciple, asked him to permit only him to perform his ministry, he said to him thus, while praising his diligence but deriding his diet, "For who is the one who is capable of strength for all of this ministry? Is it not bread and olives that we are regularly eating, even if it happens sometimes that a vegetable turns up?"8 Moreover, from Paul, the preacher of truth, they have received a good tradition. For see, even he out of the magnitude of his necessity took off and sold his tunic, [as] it is written, and with its price they bought only bread and brought it to him with a vegetable. 9 Also this law was set down for us by his deed as well as by his word: "If we have food and clothing, that is enough for us."10 But if it is insignificant for them to imitate the apostles, the pillars of the world, let them imitate even the master of the apostles, the maker of the worlds and of all that is in them, unless perhaps even the human dispensation of our God is disdained in their eyes and is contemptible. For see, in addition our Lord demonstrates to us that he ate bread everywhere and that the bread was not even of wheat but of barley, as were the seven other [loaves] that they produced and were multiplied by his word, and on which four thousand fed and there remained seven baskets filled with bread. 11 And when he ate the Passover with his disciples, unleavened bread was placed before him, and also after the resurrection from the place of the dead, he ate bread with his disciples for forty days, <sup>12</sup> so that the dispensation of our Lord and his bodily incarnation would be believed by them, just as [B 189, OB 238] they wrote down: "Jesus entered and went out

Matt 15:37; Mark 8:8. Since Christ ate bread, those who refuse to do so neglect Christ's humanity; see Blum, *Rabbula*, 119–21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Luke 24:30; John 21:13; Acts 1:3.

תבא השל סד בי בי בי היא שבמים באסימאי. א לעובא כין מפשא למים בא השל בל בי בא השל בל היים בא בי בי אמל בל היים ב

[9] LE RELY LY TITED LEADO ONLY LILOFING CHUDT LOBED LODO .: OLL YILY DENDO ONLY YOUR YOUNT TOURS ALLY CORRESPOND .: ORTHER RELY CHURT HOURT YOUR YOUNT YOUNT ALLY THE TITE OF YOUNT OR YOUNT ONLY CHURT. ONLY CHUPT. ONLY CHUPT. ONLY CHUPT. ONLY AREADO ONORDO ONLY WOOD OF AND AT THE RELOWAY THE RELOWAY. OLY CHIPT THE RELOWAY.

<sup>1</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for ≺it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reading with Brooks and Chron. Mich. for ≺in.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Reading with Brooks for היא משבחה משבחה איל במה איל ...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Overbeck has this word in parentheses, indicating dittography in the manuscript.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Reading with Brooks for جة.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Acts 1:21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Luke 24:18, 30–32.

among them."<sup>6</sup> And at the house of Cleopas, not wanting them to recognize him while he was traveling with them along the road, he blessed the bread and broke [it] for them in the house, and indeed then they recognized him.<sup>7</sup>

- [8] However, as I have heard, neither do they follow those [who have gone] astray in their deeds, nor do they concur with those who [hold to] the true things<sup>8</sup> by their actions. For neither are they Nazirites,<sup>9</sup> like the Marcionites, nor are they observant in the likeness of the Christians. For see, they are not like those deniers [of the truth] who eat only dried legumes or bread and they do not commit falsehood at their offerings, but they do not resemble the believers,<sup>10</sup> we who eat mere bread with moderation and receive with discernment the support of our true life in the consecrated bread.<sup>11</sup>
- [9] Why do they not train themselves, those gluttons whom only insignificant things satisfy? And why have those prodigals not accustomed themselves to loosen the skin of their belly with something mean and ordinary? Why, then, do they not eat bread that is ordinary, simple, and common? It is clear that it is because they do not want to be afflicted: if they truly wished to afflict their bodies they would not satisfy themselves but just eat bread. See, although they are wasted away and consumed and weakened, it is evident and known that these neither contend with their bodies nor wrestle<sup>12</sup> with Satan, but instead [they] practice vanity with the schemes of their evil contrivances, and not with the afflictions of asceticism.

And the rest of the letter, with further demonstrations from the Scriptures. <sup>13</sup>

- <sup>8</sup> Reading for  $\check{s}arr^e r\bar{a}$ , "the truth."
- Reading for  $g^e z \bar{\imath} r \bar{a}$ , "the circumcision," i.e., "Jews."
- Reading for man lamhaymānê  $m^e$ sabb $^e$ hīn mappis bahên, "is one who resembles the believers persuaded by these [things]."
- See Blum, *Rabbula*, 121–22, on Rabbula's difficulty with the taxonomy of their heresy.
  - <sup>12</sup> Reading for *rādên*, "traveling."
- <sup>13</sup> The *Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah* omits some of Rabbula's letter; how much is uncertain. See Blum, *Rabbula*, 127.

#### 3.5. Syriac Translation of Cyril of Alexandria's De recta fide ad Theodosium (CPG 5218)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: Bedjan (*Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, 5:628–96); see also Pusey (*Sancti patris nostri Cyrilli*, 1–153). Translation: Bardenhewer (*Heiliger Kirchenlehrer Cyrillus*, 21–78). For the introduction, see above, §2.4.2. References in brackets labeled "B" are to the pages in Bedjan's edition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Emending with Bedjan for صطغه.

Bedjan emended to متحة.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Emending with Bedjan for محمعسلام.

# 3.5. Syriac Translation of Cyril of Alexandria's De recta fide ad Theodosium (CPG 5218)

[B 628] A discourse on the humanity of our Lord, which Cyril the bishop of Alexandria wrote to the believing emperor Theodosius. [Cyril] sent a copy of it to the holy Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, and [Rabbula] translated it from Greek into Syriac.

[1] You have the finest praise of human civilization and incomparable honor, you Christ-loving emperor. For God has apportioned to you a great measure of worldly splendor, and he has made the fear of your authority to rest over his dominion, which is over all. And while all bend the knee to him: 5 thrones, dominions, princes, and authorities, with us, their image, bowing together in obedience to his dominion, <sup>6</sup> and with the glorifications, which we owe, we are constantly praising him, because "heaven and earth are full of his glory."<sup>7</sup> It is easy to see the equivalent of this in your own greatly resplendent stature, because a type of these things is depicted and revealed in it. For you are the abundant springs that supply the dominions, and you are the likeness of a firm wall [B 629] that truly surrounds all your dominion. Those who dwell within the stronghold of your boundary live in an orderly fashion in the secure peace of the confidence of your tranquility, but those who rebel against your yoke quickly fall, vanquished by the might of your forces. For at that moment when the shield of the emperor flashes, they flee, and are scattered, and are destroyed, and the haughtiness of their thought is humiliated; having raised the finger of defeat they fall on their faces to ask for mercy. For your martial forces, skilled in battle and ever victorious, have conquered all peoples,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Isa 45:24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Col 1:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Isa 6:3.

لابالمع منعته مدنه دعارعا حادع موم لاغلم لالاتهه [2] برسلا المسان بلهم بالمره : الاتلاء مرسة في مست . الله ما المراكة المرا تحصه عجمتم من تربه عجم حصور سنه حصحد لل مرتب المرابع ا سرد: \_ متصابعا ما معاه: 1. و ملع ملع مراد ملا ما به مردن \_ 1. مسع מא זאפ בלבה ב כתושמשה בי חבל נתחמש באנא מס זלבל מזכי אמשוֹם. מעדם נפעמם בלסמה א הוֹמשלה: כנע כנע איף הסיא אכהם. ش : برهماه که به وحد براهه : برسهرا اله ته بدر نمی به به بر برمه و ماعد مائره : برعانا ما بهدمام : برهمام : برقب ماعده مائله : بريد יאשן מוזחמבו היה יאשא איבת אהיה אים שלו . בחהיאום הזשבי نسل دهمد محمد وروعي. ها لحمد ولاحت مخلملا مع لحمد الممان הבא הלואה הלואה הלואה אותם שם הסכד המצו באוש במצו המפה בעוד המשה حم بلاته مع علا معتب معتمل علا بعام لالله مع المادة ومعتمد على المادة ا ביז בים בדישראר . השלה של ביב אלמם" בין משמאה [B 631] ביור בים מבים

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Emending with Bedjan for מבול שכל מסום.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Prov 8:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 2 Kgs 23:4–15.

nations, and tongues. [Yet] you are rich in mercy and abundant in gifts, concerned in your thoughts for human sufferings. For those of the East and of the West, with those of the North and of the South, extol you with voices bearing congratulations. For our Lord Jesus Christ is the foundation of your believing and correct empire, for through him kings reign and rulers show forth righteousness, as it is said.<sup>2</sup> For his will is the perfecter of all, and by his signal alone all good things are fulfilled. He readily distributes to his friends all the things that are honorable, profitable, and worthy to be received; and these things that are fitting were given to your authority, so as to be the proof of the things that I have said. Furthermore, as we believe, also other good things are given to you, which are promised to those of the fear of God, [who] like them are endowed with good things. That the boasting in the faith is the unshakable foundation upon which the honor of kings [B 630] is established, from what is in the Holy Book, I want to demonstrate in a few words.

[2] There were many kings from time to time in the land of Judah, and they exercised authority over the kingdom of the Judeans. Some of them were correct and just, and because of the love of God that was in them, their names were worthy to be inscribed in the Book of Life, to be guided from reign to reign, as we also believe concerning you. Others among them rejected the fear of God in their boldness, and they took lightly the just law that governs all, and they dissipated themselves in the blasphemy of iniquity; like demons, they perished in a very bad way. For it is a very serious matter when someone angers God and turns aside even a little from what is right, [from] that which utters a rebuke against him from within. Kings who were successful, [who were] assiduous in the fear of his faith, and who kept his will, overwhelmingly conquered enemies and without difficulty subjugated those who hated them. Thus, King Josiah of fair memory awakens in our souls a pleasant odor. He destroyed in his zeal the houses of idols, the high places, and the priesthood of the idols, along with all sorts of sorcery and divination, and he annihilated by his just command all the things of error deserving reproach.3 Therefore, on account of these [actions] God also increased his kingdom. Just as those who were in his presence admired him, while others were guided by him, so likewise these were done by your ancestors and by you, [who are] glorious and upright, [B 631] in that you have chosen the [3] בבוא עד כבר נפוס: נשכח מסא וכ שבא: בעני אודא נישחים سأد: مصدف عدم مح لعدام. محة صلم سلم: عل مماعلم حديد حلدملم מבבל זכד מסא לבאאא בז מוזבע כן עיוטאא זאנעש איזשי איזעי אראאא בעמ سععم مرا بعام: «مرسي مراب : مراع تاه مرياء مردي مردة ع، مرب تر المناحدة و المراجعة و المناع المناع و المناع تمادی، مصلمنه ملی تحدید دامی معمل سومی المحدد مصلمنه المحدد محدد المحدد תאדיים תאייזשן שע יעבו ארז אייביא בארייבאן שעי על ישריים ביידיא שעי ישריים ביידים אייביים אייביים אייביים אייביים سفي. وعل عمدسه تهلهه صف دله مدلال معدد صمه دسهوم ودره عدة مرعب معمون ومراكم معلا مراء عنه المراد عن المراد المرا אלא מבעל אילי מיסא בין: האם עבא זישטוב: לא משבע זישל אכות للملع والمصرور وروا والمرام المعام المعامة المعامة والمعامة المعامة المعاملة المعامل دست مرجاب المربان المر אשבו גו עביבאיל: הבלל עבים אלה הכה בלח: אך אוזבא: בה בסח, המה بعده متحدی: حر حدلی ترمشمه تدوند در در مرم در هد ساید در مرم در است ملات مرور بر المراسم به مرور مل مل المرور المرور و المرور المرور و المرور השלאא ובשא בה מכן הביא לביב ומים הב אל בר בר בר בר בי הוא כל בי מעלה והשלאא רשה הוא הבים אמלביה <sup>4</sup> השלבה לאמשסתם ללם <sup>3</sup>: השלם את הודים לאמש הבים ללם לא הודים לאמשסתם ללם לא הודים לאמש הודים הודים לאמש הודים הודים הודים לאמש הודים לאמש הודים הודים לאמש הודים הודים לאמש הודים לאמש הודים הודים הודים הודים הודים לאמש הודים ה in Kionk Klen als Is : Kell Ins : Is Kopo iski on Kalki حداثم المعادية ما المراجعة ال مرتاء والمحدم علقي المعتدر معدده حرفة على علقه

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Emending with Bedjan for  $\Delta$ .

Emending to pl. for sg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gk.: οὐ τοξοτῶν εὐστοχίαις.

 $<sup>^4</sup>$  Gk.: οὐδὲ ταῖς τῶν ταχτικῶν ἐμπειρίαις τῶν ὑπὸ χείρα χρώμενος; Lat.: ducum peritia.

Emending to pl. for sg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 2 Kgs 18:19–25; Isa 36:4–20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gk.: "not with skill in shooting arrows, nor the throwing of spears."

things concerning God. [Thus] it is right to recall also the things that were done in [their] time by the blessed Hezekiah, for the power of his story offers great assistance to your believing wisdom.

[3] A man from Babylon in Persia, whose name was Rab Shaqê, devastated the whole land of Judah and dragged down with it also the Samaritans. As he was bringing these things to an end, he led an assault against Jerusalem, the royal city, marching in triumph with the forces that were under his command. Coming with him was an assembly of many horsemen, heavily armed soldiers, and infantry, a large army that one is unable to count. When they brought their war machines near to the wall, and the battering rams, and all the equipment of war, his mind was carried off in the pride of barbarity. For he was saying that just as he had conquered other cities with his army, so too was he going to overpower the Holy City, and he persisted in his haste against the glory of God, which is unutterable, and was uttering sayings filled with blasphemy, while his tongue was loosened and was not restrained from speaking against God with impudence. For he was saying, "Even if he wanted to deliver [the city], he is unable to provide any help to those who trust in him."6 When some told the righteous king of the boldness of his folly and of the words filled with the pride of the Persian mind, Hezekiah in truth suffered bitterly, and like one who [B 632] was wounded by the blasphemy against his God, he tore his robe. For he wisely thought that the punishment of his city had arrived: if it were conquered, [the Persian's] blasphemies would come to pass. He went quickly up to the house of God to assuage his anger through his petition and to make atonement for himself and the people from the accusation of the [verbal] abuses of the barbarian. What happened after these, the Book makes known: he appeased Almighty God, and he defeated the Assyrians with the strength of his prayer, neither with the harnessing and equipping of horse[s] for battle, nor with the skill of archers and spear-throwers, 7 nor with the martial skill of his forces. 8 By the will of God, the one who spoke and everything came into being, in one night he decreed death for the entire Assyrian army. For "an angel went out from before the Lord and slew the Assyrian in his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gk.: "nor with the skills of tactics in hand-[to-hand] combat"; Lat.: "with the experience of generals."

[4] כלך מוץ איבו איז: זווֹם וכשבעל איבה לבאה זכל אינל איל אינל הווֹם ובשבעל אינה באידי בחביבה בתביבה במביבה האס אאר ועכל על אות אות בא אפינט אירי בעל אושאי ארן זיכט אירי בעל אואי ארן ז מות לוא כחן: סמובין מן וסבבא הבולא: השהכעא ופא למ מפינים. בלל מביל ומפט אנא: זמי, מולא של, פפעא: מבסוו בעול אולים: لاستاء، مهمىعاء، [B 633] مهرسته مهمىء، المحركم الهامهم אבאסכ כבונבאא מהא: מלוכמאבה בהכמא האוא ומעוא אמוכ. ملحلته بالمرام عزيز بمر ويالاه المرابع المحري بمو ومعدر المعالماه משנים בשמרחש זבת אלחא הכעהכחש דולם לב כמשעא. בת עלבה ترمه و معدد برعن به بروه و معرف من معدد و براه ما معرف المعرف الم שבעולא: האולא מי, דאמסמי, שבכמולי כפאיר, בושמי. דבר אל דבר ב בליבט ב אימישה: בו משמבוים בל יטכלא ומלבטמבט בי ומן איטיטמבט سومیل حصمت ارزی مرتب که ایر در کقی کرتب ایر مرده: لاللا : معم لاعربة برقهم بله المسعم عمدة لل معربة الماد المعربة المادة المعربة المادة במשרטאא אושא הולים במל במל זיבא בכל באר בולים אוים ביולים ביו מסדב אבר כדימטא באאר האלא לאל אמאא ואליביאאי היכא לופאי הבארא ורא אבראי הביבא אכיבי הבא אנדים אליביא حدد رمنة المحكم من المحلك من المحكم المقلم المحكم ا  $L\dot{m}$ .  $c_{1}c_{2}$   $c_{2}c_{3}$   $c_{3}c_{4}$   $c_{4}$   $c_{5}$   $c_{5$ במביוסא אניים לאב ער ביבוסל אילים מוזל ,מסאיל לבאום مهد :معديد محمد معامد : معلم مان : معلم مند، معلم مند، معلم مند، معلم مان المعامد معلم مان المعامد معامد معا 

Gk.: περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τοῦ Μονογενοῦς.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 2 Kgs 18:35; Isa 37:36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Eudocia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Pulcheria, Theodosius's older sister.

I.e., the Empress; lit. "the former [of the two women mentioned]."

As of the date of this letter (sometime after June 15, 430, as this is the date of a letter of Nestorius to Cyril in which he mentions that the imperial court is on Nestorius's side), Theodosius had two daughters, the older Licinia Eudoxia (born 422) and Flaccilla, who died in 431. His only son, Arcadius, died in infancy. It may be that Cyril wrote this letter after the deaths of the infant Arcadius and of Flaccilla, and here expresses his concern for a male heir. See Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); and I. M. Plant, *Women Writers of Ancient Greece and Rome: An* 

camp—one hundred eighty-five thousand."<sup>2</sup> These are the fruits of the fear of God, and anyone who does not believe even one word is guilty of being opposed to the majesty of God.

[4] For this [reason] I say that it is proper that nothing that contains blasphemy against God be spoken in the serene hearing of believing kings, but rather those things that have no spot in them, and are free from wickedness and blame, and render to him [i.e., God] proper glory. It is because of this that I, being convinced that this is very useful and contains assistance, have been diligent out of necessity to write in this discourse the correct faith [B 633] of the tradition of the apostles and to present [it] to Your Majesty in the likeness of a spiritual gift, as well as to the empress, who is truly God-fearing, who with you also shines in her covenant with God and in her love that burns greatly in Christ, along with your sister,<sup>4</sup> who has grown particularly strong in the virtue of virginity, while your glorious kingdom is anxious with you and the other [one],<sup>5</sup> she whose boast is in the fruits of her belly, because the prayers of our churches are upon you, while we hope for the succession of your kingdom, that it may be made smooth by the establishment of many generations through Your Concord. 6 Even if Christ has crowned your honorable heads with choice stones from India, for the sake of the light of his presence, he has nevertheless desired for you [things] that are hidden: [that] virtue of the soul and adornment of the mind, that is, the correct and spotless faith. Since I am conscientious that you protect [this faith], I present my word like a foundation for the mind, and an adornment for the soul, and a crown for the heart. For it is written, "Wisdom is better than gold and precious stones, and nothing compares to it."7 Through [my] inadequacy, I struggle to speak concerning the embodiment<sup>8</sup> of our Lord and to declare clearly what its mystery is, as much as it is possible to make known such things as one sees in visions and in parables, and which a few among many know,<sup>9</sup> according to the measure of the gift that is given by the Spirit. 10

Anthology (London: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 198. The succession of the kingdom remained uncertain at this point.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Prov 8:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gk.: "concerning the becoming human of the Only Begotten."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 1 Cor 13:12; Phil 1:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Eph 4:7; Rom 12:3, 6; 1 Cor 12:11.

פסלים ליבוץ איבו ציבון מים בי מצי יובון מיבון ביון איבו ניבוץ שם אלא :שמבי מם דייוד ישיאל צור אלם . הצומבו אשמים בר אלא :שמבי مے ورحلادہد. <sup>1</sup> کی تک منتب دندی مذہ کہ نام کے در «عسلولا»: در هصور لعدرة ۱۵ مل تا ۱۸ محدة ودر مصل سدلا معلامه کلی میر بعز: وحل وهند والمعدد بفات و المعدد بفات و المعدد بفات و المعدد אבונה אל יבאבה השבע ומפול המסא אית בקיבו כבולם המסא אית בליבו כבין אר משאבלם מהת האלים: בלא מהת הבלהת, מאעום בבם. מנא הם אוצ אוצ Now I feed to the contokno kally: ochoinan isti aketan.

בי של אשל השל האלש האלא האלה: בי אישל בש במשש [5] المعامد ولا المعالم عدمه المعالم عدم والمعالم المعامد عن المعامد عن المعامد عن المعامد عن المعامد عن المعامد المعامد عن المعامد المعام . האשלט באשלט זיים איין בייטל ילאלן דעושה לאשלט באלא کستنک تیم ندون: درهفتن ترلحنیک محفرد میدرده و در معدل مرح در المناسب می میدرده از میدرد می میدرد می است می است ביז אים בלא בשני אומשואיז משבי אביא באל ביו אומשואי בל ווען בי אומשואיז משבי ארס בינשאים בינשאים בינשאים בינשאים ورعاضري مرسله ماسرة ملكرة محصد ومهمر وممامره ראלן העום : אבר בא האלן om [B 635] אלאה החלה של שאברן סד ביצוא סדיכשון אי בי מבותם נסבא בן מבסדים ובמנים אין בי בי במסף איי مفعدع لش وعدمة ملا لحدون ملام المدام مكسلام المستدر للم وعدمة ما يصفوه בגאהון: זכובוא אעדי אמלג אלמאי מה זאמסמי, כן האסק בק אכסמן: סמיבש מס לב אמא למסש בז אמלג כבשול. אמ זש הש אעניאי: אלחם, כפנסמא: אלא בעבמא בעלא בעבמא לבן אהסחק: מהא הבבוא בעל האחם, כמנסמלי בלעסד מאנובאה היח, מדא לבן מיחול כבוניאי: איש שלבא החלפנמם\_. المامع معمر مركة معلمه دنية محتمد مممر سام مرح مملكم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Emending with Bedjan for בבערהם.

<sup>1</sup> Cor 12:3, 5.

Prov 9:18; Ps 54(55):15(16).

<sup>1</sup> Tim 1:7.

The Syriac text of this passage differs considerably from the Greek and is probably corrupt.

Syr.:  $\prec$   $\Rightarrow$   $(baqn\bar{u}m\bar{a})$ .

A similar expression is used in the Life of Rabbula, 44, to describe the relationship between the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia and that of Nestorius.

For just as the Apostle [B 634] Paul said, "We know few [things] among many: that no one says that Jesus is Lord except with the Holy Spirit, and no one says Jesus is accursed except with Beelzebub," so too there are individuals who, having a rebellious mind inebriated with diverse errors, turn into absurdity the words spoken about [Christ] in the Old and New Testaments—for it is clear that everything odious is easy for the foolish to do—together they will fall promptly into the bottom of Sheol and into the chasm of the abyss, as it is written. Concerning those "who do not understand anything they say and do not know anything about which they quarrel," it is necessary to state whatever we might recall [of that which] any one of them has wickedly spoken, and [of] their depraved fables, so that the error of their denial should be revealed, and the confession of our truth be propagated.

[5] Some of them, saying that "God the Word who is from the Father appeared as a human being," should confess that he clothed himself with a body from the holy Virgin, Birthgiver of God, but rather they say that "the coming of Christ took place in the form of a false vision." Others, as though being pious, suppose that they are offering their worship to a human being, and rejecting this they maintain that they should adorn the body that is from the earth with the word "divinity." Their stupidity is very feeble, [having] a false form of the fear of God, in that they say that "God the Word, [B 635] he who was begotten of the Father, was transformed into the nature of bones and tendons and flesh," while these miserable ones mock the birth of Immanuel from the Virgin and set into absurdity his brilliant and divine economy. Others err in saying that "God was born multiple times, he who was eternally with his father, and then came into being [again] when he was born in the flesh." There are others who are driven to complete madness, such as those who say that "the Word who was from God was not in an individual,6 but was a mere word, which is made known only with a voice, and it is this that became a human being." Such is the madness of the teaching of those who became bitter roots and caused to sprout shoots with deadly poison, [namely,] Marcellus and Photinus.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> That is, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra (d. ca. 374), and Photinus, bishop of Sirmium in Pannonia (d. 375).

«ialso sestus». Duits 1. Naud: 1. Lex exix xue. סמת שבנה זמסא כפלוא בלוסו: בו איבון: ולא מסא כמ נפיא מלולא تعذف: حدامهم بالمام حلمه ملك مربعه وهامله ومناها بوغفه אילין בו בוכן כח כלא ואנחאי סבכות במשרא הלחי בו מכלא לח מס הסבל נפיז המסנא. אעדיש הן לסכ: השמכלא המלבן אליון: סכלובם الملب مدية معسه لمن المهدة: وم مهم ملهم مصر وم משמע בני ביו משמיא בעל דומן במסלאא: מנס זבן: מן משמע אושאי משמע אושאי מים בעל אושאי משלא אלוסח, לב שבעה בה (B 636) ומכלך מוא לא עדים מישבואא wheels prished celys to be this her cams. sesions after حسلا الأتسم عديد: حد فسحم سد لحك مسد لحك مه من تحريب משבים בו באת מנות בלת באתםת, אעליא מה זכן מינ אללו במלאת בושא: סאעול אסב מוֹ בלא זב, אבר אמלא זבן אלסב מוֹ בל לא זכם ליים אליים אליים בל לא זכם מוֹ בל לא זכם מוֹ בל לא בן את באא ושולא. משבעם מסס ביו למשמבלם: ולא מסא עד אמסמ, Kom, mobik in 1 Killarso Klus Klk : Khomlkio Kilai Klus בסנסבא. מנה בז שובש לעד את ביניא מנות בלו בד בין לן במשבועד. ים בישרא ביל אואי: זכבעא מכשלל אלמסת, כל משכמים. ממל איל מישלם با ما ما ما ما ما دا ما کلمہ کے دیمقر دیر کردی کے نفد ، محدہ ہے کہ دیکہ حل مدی، אלאש ארליים לידים ולים: יעדש איעוישמל ב סושליו מיושלם אמטת כאל השל אשבי למה אנים: בשל השלה בשל השלה אלחא אלחא: אלא זככושא בכל. בל אנעונא ביל אוללים: זשל לאל אנאסח, כנת סלח

<sup>1</sup> Bedjan emends to Allaz.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Emending with Bedjan for مرصه.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  Syr.: خلامه (naqīpūtā).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bedjan emends to "one dominion."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Emending with Bedjan for "this one."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> That is, the random selection of any human body for the divine Son would be an impersonal union based on an arbitrary selection, which, as Cyril seems to imply here, would be also contrary to the divine attribute of impartial justice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Paraphrase of two lines found in Nestorius's *Logidia*, preserved only fragmentarily. See Friedrich Loofs, *Nestoriana: Die Fragmente des Nestorius* 

To others it has seemed that the Only Begotten clothed himself in a body, and they believe that he was only in a body, saying that "he possessed neither a rational soul in that body nor a mind like our own, but rather "[appeared so] in an exact connection," as they think, joining God the Word and the holy body that is from the Virgin. Thus they say that "the Word of God dwelled in it, and his own body served him, while he filled the place of the soul and mind." Still others, who are opposed to these, say and think they are different from them. For they attempt to say that "one is from God the Word; but the one that is from a rational soul, and a discursive mind, and the body that is from the Virgin: this is the Immanuel, who is entirely from humanity." [B 636] For this reason they did not keep the sound faith perfectly, for they divide the one Christ in two and cause a large separation between the two of them, while placing one here and another there, and as though with the finger they are pointing, while standing apart from him, to one, the human being, who was born perfectly from the Virgin Mary, and [to] yet another one, that Word who is from God the Father. Since they do not investigate into what is of the nature of God the Word and what is the nature of the body, they do not desist from the knowledge of the truth, for they are able to understand that the nature of the body and of the divinity are not one [thing], but [that rather] he was one power and will<sup>4</sup> in [his] person. They posit one as a human being separately, bare and solitary, and the other one as God, whom they name "son" in nature and in truth. While thev<sup>5</sup> consider themselves very much Christians, what they are escapes me, for God does not play favorites among human beings.6 They also wrote discourses concerning this (opinion) and dared to say blasphemously the following, that "the Son was truly the Word who is from the Father, but the other who was called with his name is 'son' in name only." And again, after these things they said that "the Word of God did not become flesh" but that "he dwelled in a human being." For they say concerning the Son of God that "he was truly from him and of him, the Son of God, the maker of all"; vet concerning the human being, [B 637] whom he took upon him,

(with contributions by Stanley A. Cook and Georg Kampffmeyer; Halle an der Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1905), 217, ll. 18–19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bedjan inserts ≺∆≺.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Emending with Bedjan for sg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Insertion in accord with Bedjan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Matt 11:27; Luke 10:22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Luke 1:30–31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The above collection of excerpts is taken from the same text by Nestorius that was mentioned above; see Loofs, *Nestoriana*, 218, l. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In reference to the division of Israel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Matt 12:25; reading pl. for sg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> See Matt 22:29.

they say that "he was not naturally the Son of God [but]<sup>3</sup> that he was called by his name." "This statement, that 'no one knows the Son except the Father,'4 concerns [only] the one who in his nature was the Son of God, and this [statement], said by Gabriel, 'Do not be afraid, Mary, for you have found good (favor) with God, and see, you have received conception and you will give birth to a son and you will call his name Jesus,'5 this is appropriate for the human being," say those who divide the Son, those who separated [themselves] and went out from his church, because they are divided off through their divisions.<sup>6</sup> For every kingdom divided against itself is ruined, just as it also happened, and house and city will not stand, as though they had never existed. We, holding fast to the truth, believe that it was not so. For the word of heretics never persuades us at all to leave behind the straight path that is toward that [truth], the one that the deep [sayings] of the prophets taught, and in which the footsteps of the apostles appeared, that we should make another [route] in the trackless desert and journey willy-nilly without a map.

[6] For if anyone wants to draw out every single one of their faults and wants to investigate each story accurately, he requires a lot of time; laboring and toiling he might omit many minute details, which are piled up in compiled compositions, which are dispersed from themselves [and] are scattered and are lost. With a few inquiries, we have investigated the words of each one of the heresies. We should say first of all to [B 638] those who say that God appeared as though in semblance that "you err and know neither the books9 nor the power of God, even if by a great miracle of the faith you were convinced that it was Christ who was revealed in the flesh, and was justified in the Spirit, and appeared to the angels and was preached to the nations, and was believed by the world, and was taken up in glory." For I hope that it is appropriate to those who are opposed, that either they should prevail over those who were first and call the apostles liars, those who preached the true mystery to the entire world, those whom Christ sent forth in the Spirit and confirmed by his command, saying, "Go, preach to all the nations"; 11 or if they are terrified to do this, because their desperate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 1 Tim 3:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Matt 28:19.

متحکمه صحیمه ترجیسی: حت عنی معضم دیک حدیک تران میران میران میران کا میران در بازی میران است که میران است که میران است که است که در بازی در با

אלא אמלאז :,mobek אנוס :om א tite באמשיהז וּגע הוואל [7] ترحم کر ایملال و دعن: کلالد روز می دلاه که مدیده کارد אלמא: בו נשב בלבת, ומהמאז ובבוא. בשמובן מלאבא: מלם ובו ملالة هلله مدهمه, حملتهم ومحرفه المعدمسلال مللم محرومك دلاممح [B 639] عد منه محنه العنام المعالم الم علد من تدخله و تر بهموس برا به مراد مرد به به برد به بهداد مستحه در تعمر معربه و و مراد مراد مراد مراد المعرب در المعرب در المعرب ا הוסגד. ממדא במולה המשבעה אלאה בכו המולה בל אול במולה הוהוא המולה הואה בולה המולה במולה הואה בל אולה במולה המולה במולה המולה בל המולה במולה د الماره علم الماره المرامة الماره ا Khiate Kharea \_ ami Kharea \_ amhizae Lino Kl Krak 1.2.2.2. השתים בישאל אמנים אירו ייבול אי ביבשבים אירו איה שייאי איידי Klo: κλωτοποκος κου κλυμιτί τη ασικ. \_ in κλωνισο κλλιλω האכומת עשב על א אמא הלא זה אכא. ען זין לא כהשבונואא: بسلامه بعدر لمعة محمد ملا : بمدر ملايع بدر ملام مادسه مر مدام ولا مر به مردم المردم ا

Emending with Bedjan for مدح.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Phil 2:7c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Luke 2:14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Luke 2:11–12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Heb 2:16–17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Heb 2:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Isa 50:6.

measures are of no avail, then they should accept, correctly and purely, the faith of Christ, having condemned and abandoned the lying folly of their foolish thought, and prudently grasp the faith that is confirmed through the testimonies of the divine books, so that, journeying on the path of life, which is the one of the saints, they will arrive at the one who is the truth.

[7] For the mystery of our faith is true, and it is this: that the Word who is from the Father is God, who was revealed in the flesh. For he was born from the holy Virgin, Birthgiver of God, having taken upon him the likeness of a servant, 2 and the angels bear witness, they who sang "Halleluia" before him with their voices when he was born, saying, "Glory to God in the heights, and tranquility on earth, and good news to humanity."3 They also announced [B 639] to the shepherds concerning the one who, while he was God, put on a body for our sake, when they say, "See, today is born to you the Savior and the Christ, he who is the Lord Christ, in the city of David. And this is the sign for you: that you will find the boy sleeping in swaddling clothes and lying in a manger." Now, if it testifies to the birth that was through the Virgin, and the manifestation of the body is known, [then] how are the empty fables of these [persons] not dubious? The thing that is said by them is stupid madness, as though in semblance appeared the real and evident economy of our Lord. For if he became a shadow and a semblance and was not a true embodiment and a true child from the Virgin, then neither did God the Word, who is from the Father, take a body from the seed of Abraham.<sup>5</sup> We are not in semblance and not like a shadow but are in tangible and visible bodies, clothed in this body that is from the earth and susceptible to suffering and death.

[8] If, then, the Word did not become flesh, then according to this he was not able to suffer and be tempted in order to help those who are tempted. For a shadow cannot suffer from anything. If, then, it [was] according to their word, then truly all of our members are reduced to nothing. For which back did he give on our behalf? Or which cheek hosted the slap? And thus, who persevered while the Jews were beating him and also endured [B 640] being whipped by the judge? How did he receive the affixing of nails into his hands and feet, he who was not in a body? Or which side did the soldiers from Pilate pierce with the sword, and it cau-

معت ملاعد، عصم باس ب تست بلد، ب، مربلد متس بعل أ، ، أند out ules: held rad ad crews. or. or. or of kacel frokon \_ roles دونه و منزنه: کمهذوبه حلق صحدهه: ۵۸دبل اصوبه: ۲۸مهمر، قه و معدد معدد بالمعدد المعدد المعدد معدد المعدد معدد المعدد معدد المعدد معمد الماء تحل موهمه حوام الماء الم فه المن والمن مديم ومصعوب المستنان وسم ملاه مد بمخز : المعلمة صفط لحمر لع مع مدمع: صف محدم دمخلط مع علتسك دمدمد: دمعسك مدم حل مقر تيلهم: مهم ترحمند. ٥٠ مهمودة ٥٥ لملم بقري مهم تدميد: סהאמעו, לבאבא: סכמות לולבשו: סכמוב אמעו, אמנו כן ערביבאא \_ סמושם: הציח לשוב בשים בסמוש להנוצמו: בנינים בה ליווש איי ترحده. ورح دون مراح مراحده ورج دون مرح دون المالم المالي المناور المنا מביא בנת אמשפם לשהדי בי מיכא בלנתם [B 641] בז אילי: הא معسك مدارز ومع مر دم هذا ١٠٠٠ كالمر بالتام والمراد المام مناه المام مناه المام مناه المام مناه المام ا של אב משנה בב בשל בנו עם בין השל הב משה הל לבו לא האלמאים المعمد عل الماد المعمل فعجب: المسلام محمل محديم هنام من محديم مصم محم لحزم دد אמסת, אנתא סמשבינטאא: מלב, ובאשטיי, מטאא ועאעום בל פיםש ניעם זים כל נגאא זוליטכמים בנמוט בי סשביאא מויםאא זובבן כן ובעוא تعدیم بدستی لے بخلیمہ ی علم سام میں کین میں مدس میر حدد کے الملحية المنص مملع عليه المرتبي المرتبي المسلع مصم المرتب الملاء المسلم عليه المرتبي المسلم المرتبي المسلم المرتبي الم تب تحدهده و مدلم أغم علمه و تدواعه و در مدلم لم لمع تعد تحده למלת בה ילשה אאל תשבים במבו :תבומה לשול בבשל: תשלה לשלה בהשל בי ילשלתה לשלה المام . معلم ما المام عن المعدد من المام ترمس مر در ماد من و معدده من الماد من الماد من الماد من المادم من الماده من

<sup>1</sup> Gk.: συναναβλύζον; Lat.: ostenderunt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bedjan suggests (wrongly) אברא.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gk.: "flowed together"; Lat.: "they were made known."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 19:34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 Cor 15:3–8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Reading for "them."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 1 Cor 15:12–15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 1 John 4:1–3.

sed to flow out<sup>3</sup> the precious blood and water before the eyes of the spectators?<sup>4</sup> We are compelled to conclude from these things that are held in honor by them that neither did Christ die for us, nor did he rise. If this is accepted, then their error in the guise of the truth renders the entire faith absurd, nullifies the crucifixion that is the salvation and the life of the world, and completely destroys the hope of those who fell asleep in the faith, and the lives of those who were teaching this expectation are cut off. For it was right for Paul, the wise stonemason, to dislodge such decay as this through the power of his word, saying, "I have handed down to you from the beginning the thing that I received from the apostles who were before me, that Christ died for our sins, as it is written, and was buried and rose on the third day, as it is written, and he appeared to Cephas and after him to the twelve, and then he appeared to more than five hundred brothers at once, while they were assembled, and many of them exist until now, and some of them have fallen asleep. After this, he appeared to James, and after him to all the apostles. Finally, as though to an abortion, he appeared to me, as to the least of these." Many more times than this he has doubled our confirmation, enriching it, <sup>6</sup> [B 641] saying, "If Christ is preached that he rose from the dead, how can you say there is no life for the dead? For if the dead are not raised, neither did Christ rise. And if Christ did not rise, your faith is also in vain." Then we also would find that the witnesses of God are false, those that bore witness to us concerning God that he raised Christ, when he did not raise him. For if the dead do not rise, then how is a shadow mortal? Or how did the Father raise the Son, while he was a shadow or a semblance, which in no way can be imprisoned in the bondage of death? Let us be far from the abomination of their vomit and the vain fables that bubble up from wicked thoughts, lest their words besiege us. For concerning them and those like them, the beloved disciple John has already written to us that "many false prophets have gone out into the world." He wrote that this is the sign that distinguishes them in the world: that they have separated [themselves]. "For from this, know the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ came in the flesh is from God, but every spirit that does not confess that Jesus is from God, but rather that Christ [is from God], is a liar: the one [about] whom you have heard that he is coming, and is now in the world."8 For if he did

ראבמצי ב מהאביאה האתלב האמלך בה בה תודישר [642] [9] بالعده : دمهامه مع المعلد مع المهددة والمعلدة مع المهددة المعلد حسم دیا با معلاسله در جه موه لولانه در برای مخدم در برای ترای کا معلاسله در برای معلاسله در برای میلادم در برای לשטמינים ב. עד נים בשתברים חדי: נישר בישר בישר בישר בישר לשטעל حلاله: عام بعدم حاللا ي: موم دانعه: موم مر اللالاله ماله المالله الماللة عنام الماللة nadoken Lewin oran: ne mo laly incoke new conta column, lais it suffer incolos: and it laster out on laster land تحتسله الحملاء وحلمه وسنسه و معدد مهمه لحداده مدام لمنة محدة حدد معرف مديع من من وير بمنحم وعدمة ملك لمديم سححد لم تحددنان لا مراجع عدم المعام معم المعام والمعام والمعام والمعام المعام ال صلع: حمحة لم وسحده وبمله بمله بمختاع لعنا: ولم وزع وللمحتاط مستنام: تعدل علمه, سقله محملته تحر مسلام. الله تام لع تسلف مدم mus: 1000 cum 17 has nedule low exix xizux. Oduloex roller exters . Let ao Els contes soules externes משב האלסח, כחים. בעל [B 643] הן בביד א: והם א מומ בות ביל הנשב תים יעים אול בשו אאל בשו איליאאעי פש השישו אילים הישאעלב: בא אמלה מהא לבו כן באנהסאא השהעלבו. אלמא הן כבל, מה כה בל ובני סבי בל מסנאי מבן מבלא אימסממ וניים מכלדאי מכלך מהא מכבה מס מן שהעלא. אבונא ביד הכבנות מבל הלא פעמא מן בל כוֹם: מבא אב בי משף ובוים בל כוֹנא מכבו מס בא מבים: בים ترحم ورح لل معدل حور بالمهملا مراقط بملمة بملع والم مقلطان

Gk.: ὑποστρέψη; adopting with Bedjan for κλκ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gk.: καθ' ἡμᾶς, ἄνθρωπος δηλονότι καὶ ἐν σαρκί; Lat.: neque homo perinde ac nos carne vestitus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gk.: "returned."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gk.: "and of course [was] a human being in [the] flesh like us" or "in a body"; Bedjan: "having put on a body and a human being like us."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Phil 2:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John 1:14.

not become a human being, and was not taken up bodily to God his Father who is in heaven, then neither did he come<sup>3</sup> from heaven, having been clothed in a body and a humanity like our own.<sup>4</sup>

[9] [B 642] Others say, out of the great hardness of their darkened minds, that the same God, who is from God, refused to be born from the Virgin and despised our nature: he altered the body that is from the earth. These are the words of those who blaspheme against his economy, so that it is decided for them to be indicted with the words of God as their penalty. We believe that the maker of all and the mercy that is God the Word emptied himself for us,<sup>5</sup> and he became a human being<sup>6</sup> and came into being from a woman; because the children were made partakers of flesh and blood he too partook of those things like us, so that by his death he could incapacitate the one who wielded the power of death, namely, Satan, and save those who, in the fear of death for all of their lives, were subjugated into slavery; for thus says the Holy Book.8 Then those who hold in disgrace this wisdom of the allmagnificent economy, such as any [persons] for whom it is trifling to think that there are things greater than these, despise the wisdom of God. For they say that it is not right to say concerning the Only Begotten that he took upon him sufferings and birth from a woman, but it is right that, instead of this, we should believe that his nature of God was transformed into this earthly body, and an exchange and a transformation are deceptively imagined concerning him who did not admit transformation. For the nature of God is assuredly in the qualities of his person and is not shaken from those things that belong to them by alteration. Now, the created nature [B 643] that comes at the time of birth can be changed, and this is nothing other than what is proper. For in anything that originates at one's birth, future changes are implanted. Now, God is exalted above all thought and above all intelligence and is far removed and above corruption, and because of this he is remote from changes. For in a like manner as he is exalted in his nature, which has no similarity among all creatures, so too is he infinitely remote from the things that happen to creation, and he did not receive the suffering that naturally causes pain. The divinity is those attributes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gal 4:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Heb 2:14–15.

وزید مه کن بر در تری محتیاه مربی معاه معاسمها مرب نی هه دخیر دون کر مه دخیر معاسمها کرده این مه دخیر می دون کرد مهلا . تغامل مد بالله منه علم علم علم الله المحتر المعلم ا من سند ده دمان ملح علم دهن ورد الملح و المستد مل ماستد مل معني من سعّم صه معلاحدة. سع وم و المعلم المعلم المعلم معادر المعلم معادر المعلم معادر المعلم معادر المعلم المعالم ا لعلم: صوره ورم محمد وحدادم مدم لم حدسقلام وحملتلوم. لم תבואאט סת : תשלים אייא עיטע שטאטע שיאיעי בא עאסשלע דיש حر سة دح سقيم. ١٥٥ د حدي ده دول دار محال ۱۵۵ د دول در دول בבעה לא כשאעלפהו הלא בעבעא זואשאכהו כיניא כלבאא זבעה איליז ייל אראס איערעע (B 644) שקיציי ייל פוע (צו 170 שליציי ייל אראס איעריי ייל וויסאריי ביז. שליא בו איבו: ויכוא איץ לא מומ ולא ושבא ואססת, וים ביות :برعاسمع مسلام برقصة مصح مص صعبه : برعاسمع براء برهای برمايره בת נסמדא הכלהמ, ההסת מוכינא לכעוא הואמת פינם ל. השכא לק بهر ممله من با بنده من محدة من المريد Levery et : 02 of cet for kase no orkules. Once 12 of the KOLK, OD, MODEKT YEK LOOK KIDEK . TOOL KY YEER : SUK YEEKT. Kano : rico richino com condularo con continto and continto בהת דרא אימים ביים בייא בפלוא בריץ ביים בייא בריב ביימים אלא כי ساه مهدة ملة سد مهمسه ما

الما مرد المام ا

Emending with Bedjan for האלה.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bedjan claims this word is not in his Syriac version, but it is printed in Pusey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bar 3:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 1 Cor 4:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Heb 1:10–12; Ps 101(102):27–28 (25–27).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Isa 7:14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Luke 1:30–31.

that do not change. For creation is susceptible to changes, to alterations, and to many perturbations. For also the prophet Jeremiah, a man who was convinced of it through experience, cried out to God in a loud voice, saying, "You are alive and remain forever, but we perish forever." For as the one who sits on the throne is God, in that [nature] he governs the world and has dominion over all, and is not subjected to a single one of the sufferings; [but] we, because our nature is easily transformed and altered, perish forever. He is constant and for all time; we are corruptible and changeable. The divinity, being eternal, is neither subject to changes, nor is it moved by a single one of the passions. Again, a corruptible and changeable nature did not come into being, [one] that possesses in its nature immutability, and it is not possible that creation boast in the qualities of the nature of God, as though they were its own. [B 644] For rightly [creation] hears from him who is the Creator, through the Apostle, who says, "What thing do you have that you did not receive?" That the nature of God the Word is without change, but the nature of things that come into existence is subject to change—it is easy for us to see both of these through the light of the words of David the Psalmist, "Heaven, which is the work of your hands, may pass away, but you remain; and everything wears out like a garment, and like a mantle; should you fold them up, they are transformed, but you [remain] as you are, and your years never cease."5 Thus, until now, God the Word has remained as he is. If this is so, then did he abandon his immutability and his permanence, and become something that he had not been, and be transformed into the nature of the body, which is accustomed to being corruptible? Now, then, are not words such as these madness?

[10] We are persuaded of their obvious error, because we follow after the Holy Books in a straight manner. For we hear the prophet when he says, "See, the virgin will conceive and bear a son, and his name will be called Immanuel," and [we hear] Gabriel, who sealed the prophecy and declared to the Virgin the will of the Most High. For he said, "Do not fear, Mary, for see, you have conceived [in your] womb and will bear [B 645] a son, and you will call his name Jesus." Thus we believe and this we rightly think, that Immanuel was truly born of a woman. We do not reject the pride and boast of our nature. For the Only Begotten accepted neither what was his nature, nor anything that we did not inherit,

רלים משמעי ביש דה פע באיז אין גוע עודע יים בין בין של בול (11] Kine Kunil in Kuna Cours onlek Krief Knoilo: Kulki יאשובים במהו השכים בווגם מים לע האוכים: המים בכסו איר ושבים במהא הלשמים מה אלמא הלאא הכבלהם אמהמה, בם אכהמה: הבם כבולות הכפלו נשבא مدهه عدنه. مدسد اقبه صنحم له: لهذه بمدهم مر مدم عدم حلقه. תמאל . אבי שב אל בי ואבא הידים אבא אמאל בי אאל בי אל אמוז זב כללא: מוֹ הבאנהמת, מוֹ בא בו ווכמ בל מאק: הכפבדא הכן כדים נשב سنده و محدلات معنى مامسه معنى موند مراكب و موند Wikmo: olzimo canecy. ociky inaea kusk aëokno: ספספחה באלא באלא ספולא. וום בי הנחבר: החה הבאנהח, (646 B ום בבה בחה באלא בי החה באנהח, مره مل على مدر مره مر على مرد مرد عليه مدرد ، دونعده ,moshk kalko :kalk sal kog, moshk ksloo :ksloo kog, moshk מסאם אסת אבו הבלבת הסוד וכלבת המשלה שלא עד א מסאר בינים שלא מה אם אסת המש משע באצואה מס בד מס בל מס דאמסמר, מסא מן כוציאו מס דשמבעת, د کتی، معاسم، دختی، ۱ کوسم، دکتر، شه در میری، ۱ معاسم، حلاله است مناع بملالمه المناع معمدة على المعمد المام בוסשם זשת לשבש מים בסאם בן משלאהם הבת אמל ממים במשאהלז على مدم مديع لحمة المركب المركب المركب مديع لعمة المركب مده لم تعديد دا سحيم عتم كم كمديد، ولكمداهم سامه وير لهور مه ولا لحد .אהע עות אכים אבים אובים בים עות זייות בישת בישלו :עומה سلم سحط تحطرت علمس, تهمام به به تمام سماء عمر سر تمانا مره عل دوس מא ביושל אביש משה הבומשה אינה ביו ביול אונים לו היום משבע לביוב ו אבנא מס האלומת, מסא כל ביציא לא מלהדיף בי מסנאי: מסבל בלחת,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Heb 2:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 1 Tim 4:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ps 12(13):3–4 (LXX).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 1:1–3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 John 1:1–3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John 8:57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> John 8:58.

nor the nature of the angels, for they did not sin, but rather [he was] from the seed of Abraham, because we committed iniquity. For it was necessary for our race that had fallen into corruption to be saved, and he did not want to become something else in order to redeem us.

[11] Then how, from these [words], can anyone be led to reject the words of God concerning these [things] and surrender their soul to erring spirits?<sup>2</sup> For thus they are led to a foolish thought, as they think it is correct to say that he is the maker of the universe, he who is God the Word and who has been eternally with his Father, whose essence originated with his bodily birth, and they make him out to be temporal, the one who is from before the universe, so that according to their word, God the Father should have become a father at that time [of his birth], while they think that the Son, God the Word, the one through whom everything came into being and in whom all things exist, came into being in the body that was from Mary, they who accepted old wives' tales, who are turned into crabbed, evil [women] through the lying discourse of their certain madness. For truly their throats are open graves, and their tongues are stretched out, and snake venom is under their lips, and their mouths are filled with curses and bile.<sup>3</sup> For we ought to believe that [he is] the one through whom [B 646] all things came into being before everything, as John the apostle recorded: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, and everything came into being through him, and without him not a single thing came into being." Again, he expresses in his letter, "He is the same, the one who was in the beginning, he whom we have heard with our ears, and have seen with our eyes, and have touched with our hands, the one who is the Word of life, and life was revealed, and we saw and bear witness; we announce to you eternal life, [that life] which was with the Father and was revealed to us." And again, Christ speaks and makes known to the Jews concerning his hidden being that was from the first. For because they said to him, "You are not even a man of fifty years, and you have seen Abraham?"6 he returned to them this answer, "Amen, amen, I say to you, that while Abraham was not, I was." Who can know the origin of his birth? Or how is it that the one whose origin is incomprehensible to the mind accepted upon himself to come in

איזידן יאיני ידישר : משני בישר איזיא קשרן [13] בואשם בסבעת השושלא משעלבן: בו מיניבע למינים אינישם בי יסמבער בין מינים בי מינים בי מינים בי מינים בי מינים בי איע יאשואי זיד עדיצייא דד ישישיו עיע יאשוע דר עישיטוף ישטאי אן: ידי איבויא יבאואאי: באו איפויהי בשטים איטטשל אן מש אלא ישים בסנם בשלב כבושא לע בכל כבושא בלבם בסנסק נפינה: אואל בא למה זיע אל אימסת, לב בלא כבלא במינבא: מביא הסבה מבסמ, לייםב: تحدد الملحدين تعزمو: بالمد تحده بالمان المان الم באבא: מלא כבול מסגא. מכן זכבול בפול: אפלא כאכא ממעבן. ממס זמסדא בבלא: מס ממגב, כאכא. מנא בו כמנא: ממודים מיד בעד: ואים של אילים ביד איינים ואין ויים מבן בולאין איינים של איינים ביאיי ז.בענסמא אלב. אלה אולה אלסכ זמנא אלסמה, כלא משבע אני זולב: אלפא : איז האטנם , מסאיל אלי סיי באי יואאיז איים אים איץ מדת האללה. מים בש לא הבסנם אל אשמחה: בש לא מדת. . אשר המל דוש הלו שבים אשלה

رمی مدر براه مهدر دامه هم بردر براه هما بردر براه هما بردر براه می در در در براه می بردر در می بردر می بردر

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ps 74(75):5–6 (4–5).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See 1 John 2:22–23.

order to become existent in the last times? For if someone wants not to pass over quickly the investigations into these [matters], it is not difficult to take a weapon from the books of the Spirit, and with it, they are shot down with arrows due to the deficiency of their reasoning. Let us move away from this. For their hollow words that are clearly found to be wrong, [B 647] and that are weak, and whose absurdity is great: I believe we ought always to treat these words with contempt.

[12] Let us then speak against others who are their companions, who debase the glory of the truth like a false coin, while lifting high their horn and speaking slander against God, as it is written. For concerning the Only Begotten of God, they think that he was like one not having a person or having an existence. For they say that he was not himself personally, but he was a word known by a voice. For thus he came into being from God, and he in his humanity—the demons spread [this] around—and while they posit Jesus as such, and they preach he was the holy of holies, they do not admit that he was also God. Then as the disciple of our Savior wrote, we learn: "Who is the deceiver? Is it not the one who denies that Jesus is the Christ? And he is the false Christ, the one who denies the Son and does not believe in the Father; but the one who confesses the Son, he believes in the Father. For he is the same, and the two are one and the same"; by us as well as by the angels they are known, and thus they are acknowledged. For no one can teach what a father is without first admitting into his thought that he has a son, whom he begot personally, and moreover one cannot know what a son is unless he considers in his heart that a father begot [him]. Then it is necessary whenever [B 648] I conceptualize, and I am compelled to say, that if he is not the Son personally, then neither do we understand the Father as father. For how is he a father if truly he did not beget? And if he begot something that is not in [his] person, then nothing at all was begotten. For the one who is not in [his] person is equal to nothing [and] then God is father without [having begotten] anyone.

[13] I say to those who bring out vanities such as these: O wise ones, who in your wisdom do not comprehend the wisdom of God, your words are nonsense. For I ask you, say to me, how did God the Father show his great love for us, if the Son whom he gave for us, just as you say, was not in a person? Then he gave nothing for us, and the word did not become flesh, and he did not endure

in: Kon Jankon is : Kisaf 62 over [14] במי : בישו : זאל זב לשוז לממ לבי לאמם אל זי זצ לממי ,ממאלז לשוז למים לבי לשמעם למים, ממשל ללוז ממל ,ם מל : ל מושם : ולשל עלא מי: דלמים האינים בשנסמא בפנסמא סבא בלמים מביל דלא מומ ست الله : وسياعه بريسم مهر : بريموه ما هماء لله : برغه مق שלבין ושול אל ולאל ולאלו ואלים בישת השל מסא בו אלין ומוא בלח ادب حدده ري برس الم المعادر وملمه بخر ومعد من المحل الماد ال ממשל אוא זא אול בארם בי סאכי כי האל האוא האול אול באימש מסב פסושא: זוענדבם זיעד אימישים שו מי מדות זא אימישי ביש מים מדות אלאת לב איע איע אביל בינים יאנים אביל אסשו אידיע היצים "שומים אלים" אין אין איל אייע אייע אייע אייע אייע אייע אייע לאר בא יסים באו השמחי אלשה אולה משלא אונים בים באה בופים לאלה אונים בא המשל אלה מים באה בופים בא בופים ملک حدم له صوعه: محدهه به عدم حدم معدم عدم المحدم K1.7. \_ מוחז \_ מחשלת , ממשאל ז למש לובה של לאל : לבי זצם ל.זה אשמחני בבד אבא זבת בז בל הקסק, אבן בא בד בבת אבר בד במשאר  $^{1}$ Kl  $^{1}$ Eua  $^{1}$ Go  $^{1}$ Go

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bedjan suggests  $\swarrow$  3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Phil 2:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Heb 1:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 14:8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> John 14:9–10.

the glorious cross, and he did not annul the power of death, and he was nothing and did not rise from the dead. For if, as you say, he was nothing and did not come into existence in a person, how, then, did he suffer? Thus, the word of the Book is derided by the things they believe, and the entire foundation of our faith would be demolished. Does not the Holy Book make known that the Son was like the Father?<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, does it not call him the image and likeness of his begetter?<sup>3</sup> This reveals to everyone that they are identical, exact copies, for [if] they are alike, and he did not become otherwise, then rather he was the image in [his] person, and the portrait is revealed in his own existence. [B 649] [Thus,] they are forced by this statement of their words to say that even the Father has a Son of his image, that he is without a body, and that the imperfection of the image reflects the Father in every detail.

[14] The blessed Philip, when he entreated [Jesus] to teach him about the Father, was attempting to see someone who is truly in a person when he said, "Our Lord, show us the Father, and it will be enough for us,"4 or did he wish to see what does not exist in a person? This reveals that he exists in a person and in an essence. Otherwise, the Son is nothing, according to the impudence of their words. For what is the proof of the true knowledge of the Father? He himself showed [it] when he said, "I have been with you for all this time, and you do not know me, Philip? Whoever sees me, sees the Father. Do you not believe that I am with my Father and my Father is with me?" and [that] "I and my Father are one?" For no one who is in a person is able to see him who is not in a person. Again, is it not a shame that they call that which is and that which is not one [and the same]? Then how can the Father be with his Son, and the Son with the Father? For there is ground to say, if God the Word was not in a person himself, then neither [is] the Father, and he has nothing in himself, and he also exists without anything. This word is harsh and absurd, but also it shows that their teaching is without discipline. We also have [B 650] to marvel that the Father created the creatures, who came into existence through the Son, who is [allegedly] nothing. If someone asks, "What is accurate [to say] about creation: that it is, or that it is not?" we return this reply to him, "It is accurate [to say] that [creation] has a Creator, having

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John 10:30.

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¹ Emending with Bedjan from ∴..

Emending with Bedjan for κανακίσθαί φαμεν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Heb 4:12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 14:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Exod 3:14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Emending with Bedjan for "that are from them."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Rom 12:3.

brought into existence something that did not exist, calling it good, and [it] truly exists." Otherwise, creation possesses an excellence greater than the one through whom everything came into being, because he is said not to have a person, but creatures bellow forth that they exist and also that they have a person. Oh, away with the perversion of this absurdity of thoughts! Let us be far from their bitter blasphemies, lest we too pass along with them, going to punishment for their crime, for "the word of God is living and active," as it is written.<sup>3</sup> For because of these [things] he calls out, saying, "I am the life." It would not be known that he is life if he did not have a person. He is life in his nature and is not able to lie. That someone says that "God the Word is not a person": this slander is a lie, having nothing of use in it. He said to Moses. "I am the one who is," something that truly is. If he himself did not exist personally, how, then, is he known? Thus their foolish thought is declared openly by these [statements].<sup>6</sup>

[15] Being concerned that nothing [B 651] of the truth escapes us, we silence these, as well as those who say that the body that God the Word put on was deprived of a soul. For we understand that they cover the Word of God in a body in which there is no life force or perception, and thus they lift him up before the world, saying that instead of a mind or soul the Only Begotten filled these in his body. I do not know why they who confess [this] are not made to shudder, because God the Word put on a body that has in it a rational soul and a perfect intellect. They scorn the faith of those [apostles] who were prior [to them], choosing that which is according to their will, to go astray with human opinions, thinking beyond what is right, <sup>7</sup> and they will have to give a lengthy defense for this teaching. We understand<sup>8</sup> that that mediator between God and humanity, <sup>9</sup> as the Books say, came into being from a perfect humanity that is from us, with that Son of the nature of the Father, who is the Only Begotten. Thus we say that from these two natures, each one not resembling or equal to the other, the union came about incomprehensibly. We know one Christ and Lord and Son, who is the same, and [in whom] God and humanity are manifest. We preserve this union perfectly, while never mixing it; all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gk.: "we say"; Lat.: "we preach."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 1 Tim 2:5.

[16] לא הן שלע ל כמה ל בעמס שליא המנס . עד בי המעבנה رمیاعا، مدعون رسی بهد درسین : منسعه عمی بره و تر اسع عمر للانم لعجمه مع بعيام ومعالم والملام والمرابع المرابع ا ەكىخەنى: تىكىلامە كىلىك كىلىك كىلىك كىلىك ئىكى تىمىدىنى: كىلىك كىل ביושא א מודי האלים בי ודש בי אולבי לוסבר עד: בינאל אילים בי ביושא אילים בי ביושא אילים בי ביושא אילים בי ביושא אילים ביושא ביושא אילים ביושא ביושא אילים ביושא ביושא אילים ביושא ביושא ביושא ביושא ביושא ביושא ביו מבות המה של הבחלא לב זלא משמל בינה בומהם, מה זם זכבוסכת محدید میده مر معملی: کی صده یا توجه معمله تحدید و الارحز. Kilo in Kustes on Kerk is itisku a alkbest a il Kin Ha עסשי עדישי עדיע ע־דים נשי יעארי יעקרן שחאעי בריבעה ומחא אול לח הפם כיוחשה גלו הלה על המספה זין אחב אים אלא בים הלא הפינים ביו בא סים בל ויל מה של לעל זים ואל אים מל אלים ביו האל מים בל היים בל אלים ביו היים בל אלים تسلامل مع المحادث المناع حتى: المحدد المناع معسب مسم בתלאח. אנה בסב פהל הא של של של בש ביי עדי ל ינשי ביי אין ביי لا لاسعمى لااء لاعتقاد الماحية الاعتباء الاعتباء لاقاء لاستاه ער מחו אם: ביוואה אלו בשם השם אלילה אלה אנה אלם. אבי כיים אינו ומחשה בי זון אר מחוד מחוד מיים או המשם בי או היון אר ומון בי זות לבי המשם כיים אונו בי אונו שפין ארבי ב מש בין אלאמיו. וום מס בין אפ פמעא שוין אלאמיו. השהו בל בים שיבוש בישוחי בישוחי בישוחים האשורים בישוחים בישוחים בישוחים בישוחים בישוחים בישוחים בישוחים בישוחים لحمد : تامط المحلل غصب سي لم كمنة : المحلة المحلم المرسم المحالة المحلم المحلف المحلم المحلف المحلف

¹ Emending with Bedjan for ₺.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rom 8:29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 1 Cor 8:6.

the while we believe that he is the Only Begotten and the firstborn. [He is] the Only Begotten as the Word who is from God the Father, because he is from the nature of the Father; again, it is said [he is] the firstborn [B 652] because he became a human being and was numbered among many brothers.<sup>2</sup> For just as the Father is one, from whom everything [came into being], so too the Son is one Lord Jesus Christ, through whom everything [exists].<sup>3</sup> Also, if the Word became flesh, [then] this human is God. We understand that he is God in his nature, the one through whom the Father made everything.

[16] We do not agree with this controversial thought of theirs, for while they also believe that Jesus Christ is one, and they loathe to divide Immanuel into two, considering this to be wickedness, they remove from his body a rational soul and say that "the Word God was joined to [the body]." They have, so they think, a defense for this. For they say that because he, who in his person and in his nature is complete, "[is assembled] from many parts into a single construction, and from things that are not fully complete when they come into being, then there is no need for the various constructions that are from [these parts] to be complete"; and because of this "we ought to refrain from saying that the human being, the body that was joined to God the Word, is perfect; this 'construction' is sufficient, because the intelligence understands that it came into being in Christ"—this would be their honest defense. Again, they add, I think, also this, that "if Immanuel is from a perfect human and from God the Word, there is [B 653] great concern, for no one can refrain from saying, 'two sons'; even if one does not want to [do so], he shows two Christs with his word." What response do we have for these? It is the true faith that was from the holy first apostles that was transmitted down to us, so that we would not be harmed with immoderate inquiries, and not place under excessive examination these things that are incomprehensible, and not become like the rulers and the legislators. For there is the danger and the severe threat that we might be blamed if [we were to say] that these things have been said correctly, but they have not been said correctly. For it is truly advantageous to leave to God the understanding of his wisdom, and it is correct to say that we should not find fault shamelessly in those [things] that are from him for our assistance. For we hear him who said, "My thoughts are not like your thoughts, and my ways are not like

תשבר בה בי הלא אהדעל איץ אהדעל בה בי אלא איץ דולבי שביא בי אדבאל מבר אונים אבל מבר אונים אבל מבר אונים אובאל מי

[17] محط شلب کی آ شخصی سے لحید اللہ دسی، حصملک تبطن حب تبلسب خدلی سے کی مصحب مصحب مفتیل حدادہ کی محلت حدادہ کی محلت کی محلت

[18] אך זק לאפים: זבל מאמאמ זאנגער בל איבא מנגם מסא בע אונאמ זאנגער בל איבא ואנגער בע איבא איבער ביל איבא ואנגער איבל בל איבער בא איבין ווא איבין איבין ווא זיין איבין איבין ווא איבין איבין ווא איבין א

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Adding with Bedjan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Isa 55:8–9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bedjan adds "if."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Heb 1:1–2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ps 96(97):8(6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bar 3:37(38).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 1 Tim 3:16.

your ways, but rather as high as heaven is from the earth, so much higher are my ways than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts."<sup>2</sup>

[17] And after these [things], in meditating beyond them on an idea greater than their own, we labor in vain, and then we are in doubt and remain in a stupor like those who are dazed. Therefore, we do not worship two sons, and we do not say, "two Christs," when we confess correctly that he possessed a rational soul in that body which God the Word put on. For [even] if someone says, in the manner that they [do], that Christ came into being with a body and from God alone, there is nothing that compels them to place what belongs to the body on the one hand and what belongs to the Only Begotten on the other and to confess two Christs. So neither do we, who say that God the Word put on perfectly a humanity complete in every way to our nature, confess two sons, but rather he is one and the same, the one who is God in his nature and was begotten from the nature of the Father for all time and eternally, and in the last times became a human being<sup>4</sup> and was born from the holy Virgin Mary, the Birthgiver of God, and is worshiped by us and by the holy angels, as the Books say.<sup>5</sup>

[18] If one should say concerning the coming of the Only Begotten that only the race of our humanity was in need, and it is because of this that he wanted to appear on the earth, and went about among human beings, 6 and showed us the way of the practices of the gospel, and therefore as though for the sake of economy he assumed a body like our own because the divinity could not be seen in its nature, they who say these [things] are kept ignorant of the truth, they who do not know the reason for the birth of our Lord with a body and are not instructed in the great mystery of the faith. For if this was the only reason for his birth, [namely,] that he appear on earth, but he did not add anything to the nature of human beings, then how is it right that they agree to say that he appeared as though for the sake of economy and suggest God the Word had a body that was from the earth, [B 655] and that the wretches say, while lying, that he appeared on the earth as a type and a likeness of human beings? They are easily caught in their error, [whether] having turned aside from the truth or having spoken sincerely with honorable intentions. Now, if the same God the Word who became flesh did not avail human nature, which was

Letoky refin: ochocky ykur, yry ciry: omczy skł, zerm:

haty m, med etky reykkum yo yre; yo kł i ogoy ciry y

hat rayl: ske kr. rekey kle fy: ky med yo ceriy: oryl

chen o rien; onard koło poch; mo rioum resury kelt moy cm:

keft reily yrkokeo cemiy orky: yrein yki i ye mo

reft reily yrkokeo cemiy orky: yrein yki i ye mo

yeokmo yrkoke cr ykue legiy: rekoku ceftom, lmo ryur

softy yrkoko ceniy orky: rekoku ceftom, lmo ryur

echmo wimo krecky moo leciol lmo reky reky

echmo wimo krecky moo leciol lmo reky

echmo wimo krecky moo leciol lmo reky

t etky reky; reft reky reky

remiy: reftki reky

rufuky: rufuky

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rufuky: rufuky

ruf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gk.: κρείττονα; Lat.: superiorem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gk.: Δεῖν γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς περὶ τούτων λόγοις παραδειγμάτων πολὺ λίαν ἔχουσι τὸ ἀσυμφανές; Lat.: (Arbitror enim exemplis,) quae rem per se obscuram nonnihil illustrent, in hac doctrina opus esse; Bedjan renders: באז: ארשה אריים: מעם אריים: מעם אריים בענה אריים: מעם אריים

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 2 Cor 13:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Heb 2:14–16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Rom 8:3–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gk.: "stronger"; Lat.: "higher."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See 1 Cor 13:12; Gk.: "I maintain that examples are necessary for expressions of that which has much that is very obscure"; Lat.: "that it is

delivered from the foulness of the body, and appeared as a human [only] outwardly, and thus brought his will to completion, then what is the reason for his coming? Or how, or because of whom, did he become a human being? If someone should ask, he would hear from us, "The Books teach you, so come, O fortunate one, and ask the Holy Books; obtain sight in your thought, and inquire into this matter among their words." Thus the blessed Paul says, he to whom the spirit of Christ spoke, 3 "Because human beings take part in flesh and blood, as those first [apostles] say, he too partook as they [did], while being joined to a body, so that by his death he could thwart the one who held the power of death, who is Satan, and save those who were subjugated all their lives to the fear of death in slavery."4 In another place, while telling the reason for his birth, he said, "Because the law was ineffective on account of the infirmity of the flesh, God sent his Son in the flesh into the world, in the likeness of sinful flesh on account of sin, in order to annul [B 656] sin through his flesh, so that the righteousness of the law should be fulfilled in us, because it was not in the flesh that we were weak, but in spirit."5

[19] Now, is this not known and obvious to everyone: that the Only Begotten came into being like us, he who was a complete human being, in order to cleanse our body, which is from the earth, from the corruption that came upon it, and through the economy of the union to implant life within the body, while making this human soul his own, and making it so that it became stronger<sup>6</sup> than sin, while dipping it as though it were wool in his actuality, and without transformation? I suppose that it is necessary to make use of demonstrations [to explain] these matters, for they are but very dimly perceived. For we see better, such as in a picture or an allegory, the divine mysteries that are above all minds. Before he came into being, the matter was perfectly hidden; rather, what was made known was a portion of the meaning, whenever it was necessary for our help. For just as the same body, because it belonged to God the Word, escaped from the power of corruption and was set free, so too because the soul that was his did not know sin, it was not trou-

necessary to make use of examples in order to illuminate anything in this matter, which is in itself very obscure."

זכבלוחם, לבילא: מעשעד דוסובאים בם עליא מי, זיב סור מבירוא שיסוף בר ביד אבד על האבשא מסף או ביד של אל בר בר של B 657] ביד על אבר ביד של אל בר ביד של אל בר ביד של אל ביד ביד של אל ביד ביד של אל ביד של ביד ש תשוסים במושל אשיבים איש בסיל היה ששה בלא הבים אבל אלם וכן אומסאלא בל בלת בעם זכני אניא: איף וביים אפסאלא בלבבם אא. رعم فصم مهنام رسطاء مهدا: تغام عد مصامع لاسم لمص غد لاءمه בפיא: ערבי בסו למה בתי ביביא. בסולמת בבי במים במים אילשב אל אביא: אביאי אלביא حب المام عنه من محمد من محمد الممار مدا معد من ما المحمد الممار المام ال ראמייזם אלי בי לאמם, מסאר : איז ביז מוח : ליאב או מֹחז מחז ביז מֹחז ביז מחז בין מוחז בין מוחי معمدته مسدده وحمده لسته: محر سعله لله محدسطيمهم.

رب بخند بعدم ملعاء: لحلام معاد الماد عدم ماد [20] تهديد كهرية ميه المركبة ميه المركبة المحمدة ال وعه: الالاعدل مام حديد؛ وحلم حدله وحله ولا وعنه وليدهم والم במה א מה א מביבי מה א אוא זמוביניטאמ באווא בת מחם ל וום אנא. מביבי Kingan : Kizas mizaal mizas auzioKs wok in wengk حتباء المحلم مل المحتدة من ورم حدله المعلم المحتد المعلم ا אניבא: המרבה [B 658] מסס מן לשנא. מאאמי בי בלסמה: הבם סלאי בן בבלא האסושא סדעל ספול: סהאאלבים סונא<sup>6</sup> מפיבן בסאא נכוסיםא. حة. كمنا كم يد كم يوه كله عمر وعمد محله وعده وعمد ومدم المناه والمناه لحتمام ملسته: حد مشر معدم عبد معدم ملت المتمام ملك علمه علمه كةعجب: مەزدىك عزىزكمى بىمفى يومك سلك على بوس بى ھەد سەد وهزوری سلف نقیمه دول: کمو مع دے دیم دقیمه: دیمیمهم سته دوروس ישור השלו יאיר אישו ואט בשלו אטן ישור האול שלו אישור אישור שלו אישור אי מפש לבא בין בצא של זש אכמוא זוסנד: זוכנו בא בא בא בא משם לא בין בא בא בין לא בין בא בא בין לא בין בין בא בין א בו: ססות נוב: דכבה כלא מלא מלא לחלא: דובן פאוץ דבוסף אחלב בל

Gk.: εὐσθενεστέραν, "stronger"; Lat.: potentiorem.

Gk.: ἀσφαλὲς ἐρηρεισμένον; Lat.: securitatem ac firmitatem.

Gk.: τὸ ἄμεινον ἐν ἡμῖν; Lat.: principe nostre parte.

Emending with Bedjan for محنم

Emending for אוֹאלים; Gk.: δι' ἄμφω; Lat.: per utramque partem.

Gk.: καὶ ἀγωνίαν; Bedjan suggests (wrongly) τω, "suffered."

<sup>1</sup> Pet 2:22.

Gk.: "what is firmly stable"; Lat.: "security and stability."

<sup>1</sup> Cor 15:49.

Gk.: "in the better (quality) in us"; Lat.: "in our principle part."

bled by the true stature of all the qualities [of the body] and was much stronger than sin, which had been subjugating us from the first. For [B 657] the first human being on earth who did not commit a sin was Christ, and there was no deceit found in his mouth. He was established like the root and the chief of those who are born in the Spirit to new life, and he distributed the incorruptibility of bodies and the true condition that is from the divinity upon the entire human race, by participation in the blessing. This the holy Paul knew when he said, "Just as we put on the form of the one who is from dust, we will put on the form of the one who is from heaven." The form of the one who is from the earth [has] the propensity toward sin, and from this, death happens to us. Again, the likeness of the one who is from heaven—this is Christ's—is the true condition that is in holiness, restitution, and renewal from death to life and from corruption to incorruption.

[20] Thus we say that God the Word was joined entirely to all the humanity that is from us. For it is not possible that the virtuous part in us, 10 that is the soul, should be despised by him 11 and that all the effort of his coming would be only for the sake of the body. For the mystery of his economy worked actually (through both of them), 12 for he employed his body as though an instrument for the maintenance of the body, its natural needs, and all the [other] things that are far from censure. In his body he experienced human pains, which [B 658] from the beginning were far [from his nature]. For it is said concerning him that he was hungry and weary from the journey, and he feared and was afraid, and that he trembled, contemplated, and awaited the death that was on the cross. For without anyone compelling him, he voluntarily gave himself for our sake, 13 in order to become the Lord of the living and of the dead, <sup>14</sup> while giving his body as payment for debt on behalf of all bodies, an offering that was truly sufficient for all of us, and again his soul was a ransom for the souls of us all. Just as the one who is life in his nature as God rose from the place of the dead, so also Peter the apostle said to the Jews, "My brothers, it is instruc-

<sup>11</sup> Reading with Bedjan for "by it" (fem.).

<sup>12</sup> Reading with Bedjan for Syr. "(worked actually) both of them."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 1 John 3:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Rom 14:9.

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<sup>1</sup> Emending with Bedjan for ∞±3.

Emending with Bedjan for ma.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Acts 2:29–31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 Pet 3:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Isa 49:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 1 Pet 3:17–20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Bedjan 661, n. 1: "We know what was revealed, we are in his likeness, and we see him as the thing he is"; 1 John 3:2.

tive to declare concerning the chief of the fathers, David, that he died and was buried, for he was a prophet and knew beforehand, because God swore to him concerning this, 'I will seat upon your throne [one] from among the fruits of your belly,' and having been illuminated in the Spirit, he signified by [this verse] the resurrection of Christ: 'His soul was not left in Sheol, and his body did not see corruption.' "4 Then it is also not edifying to say that the body that God put on was seized by corruption and his holy soul was bound in Sheol, according to what David the prophet said before him and Peter the apostle confirmed after him. I say that the nature of the Only Begotten did not come into existence and was at no time confined by death, such that the same divinity went up from the recesses of death.

[21] [B 659] For it is not that this is a marvel, if he who did not remain in Sheol is God the Word, the one by whom all things are filled, wondrously and in a manner the mind cannot grasp, with the efficacy of his divinity and his nature. Rather, that at which everyone marvels and which was a wonder is this: that his body, which in its nature is corruptible, rose from the place of the dead. For the body that belonged to God, who is incorruptible, and moreover the soul to which God the Word was conjoined, went down to Sheol. With strength and divine power he also appeared to the souls in Sheol,<sup>5</sup> for he said to the prisoners, "Go forth," and to those who were confined, "Be free." It seems to me that also the blessed Peter says something similar concerning God the Word and concerning that soul that became his own through the union that was by his economy: "It is useful for us to suffer while we do what is virtuous, if it is the will of God, and not while doing evil, because Christ died once on behalf of sinners, one who is righteous for the sake of those who are wicked, in order to offer us to God. For he died in the body but is alive in the Spirit, and he gave good news to the souls who were confined in Sheol, they who did not have assurance." Neither do they have this to say, [B 660] that the same divinity of the Only Begotten went down stripped [of the body] to Sheol and gave good news to the souls that were there. For the divinity was always concealed and hidden from sight for all time.8 Yet, they also have no grounds to say this, that the soul transformed into a [human] likeness, as though in appearance تصحفد المراكب مراكب المراكب ا

[23] حة كالمدم، محنا كالمكام محناك تحل المحنائي المحافرة بهر المحنائي محدد المحافرة برعده المحافرة بين المحافرة بين المحافرة ال

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Inserting with Bedjan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Emending with Bedjan for הפאסגא; Gk.: κατὰ μετάστασιν; Lat.: per sui mutationem.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> John 3:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 3:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 Cor 2:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Bedjan inserts "we."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bar 3:37(38).

[only]. For it is necessary for us to always reject anything that is said to have come into existence in appearance; but rather, just as he went about in a body among the living, who have a body, so also did he give good news to those in Sheol while he was clothed in a body that was joined to him.

[22] How this union came about is very profound, and our thoughts are too feeble to comprehend it. It helps to consider this, that it is not without harm for anyone to inquire into something that is higher than he, for it is not intelligent to investigate and place under questioning something that is higher than the mind and strive to know something that it cannot comprehend or do you not know that this mystery that is profound and beyond thought is honored with an unquestioning faith? If someone asks out of ignorance, like Nicodemus or those like him, "How could these [things] have possibly happened?"3 he would be enlightened by us, and we accept without reservation the words that were spoken by the Spirit, and we believe in Christ, [B 661] who said, "Amen, amen, I say to you that whatever we know, we say, and to whatever we see, we bear witness,"4 in order to spare us their empty fables, because they are useless; for it is the folly of a deceiving mind, and a mockery of babbling words. For far be it from us to accept something that is injurious to us, even if [these are] empty words, in which there is the bitterness of impure errors, lest they who are against [us] importune us. "For our divine mystery came into being not through the persuasion of words of human wisdom but rather through the demonstration of the Holy Spirit,"5 and6 spiritual men and spiritual things are identical, and for those who are pure, everything is pure.

[23] Thus, he revealed himself to us while being God and Lord, the firstborn of all, as the Books say. For he appeared on the earth, and his flashes [of light] shone in the darkness, the one who became a human being, but he did not come into being as one having flesh, far from it, for this is a disgrace to contemplate; but neither was he transformed into flesh transformed as though through change or alteration, for it is also humbug to think this, for he was not changeable and remained always the same God the Word, and not only after he was born with the body, as they dare to say, for this is nonsense to recount, for the same one is the Creator of the universe; again, not as an impersonal Word who does not

ملعب کمی لی پین ستک حصده دی کمی تکمه لکحک ستک حصده ده المحم المحک المحک

<sup>1</sup> Emending with Bedjan for κατος, σ καις; Gk.: (καὶ τοῦτό γέ ἐστιν) τὸ πλάνησις καὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα τοῦ πρέποντός τε καὶ ἀληθοῦς; Lat.: Errare ad vero . . . abduci.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$   $\,$  Gk.:  $^{\tau}\Omega\delta\epsilon$ γάρ τις ἔφη τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gk.: "This is a departure from and a failure [with regard to] what is apparent and true"; emending with Bedjan for "blessing."

Gk.: "For one of the disciplies of Christ said thus."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Jude 17–18.

have a person, [B 662] as others teach, for he has life in his person, as the Father has life in his person; and again, not as a mere word did he become a human being, the one about whom the testimonies reveal that it was God who put on a body, for he is the life of all creatures, he who was begotten from God the Father, who is life, and is and is known in his own person. And again, we also do not say that he took a body deprived of a rational soul, for he was born in truth from a woman and appeared as a human being, he who has been alive before all other creatures, forever with God the Father. [Just as] God the Word, who took upon himself the form of a servant and came into being complete according to what belongs to his divinity, so also was he complete in his humanity, and the one Christ, Son, and Lord came into being not from divinity and body alone but rather from the two of them perfectly. For I say, "from humanity and divinity": thus he is from both of them in a miraculous manner, and he is the very same, bound together in one union.

[24] Suppose someone were to say, "To whom did the Virgin give birth: a human being, or God the Word?" We say, that this is an error<sup>3</sup> that leads away from the truth, for you should not divide the union that is from the womb afterward, and you should not set apart the human being on the one hand and God the Word on the other, and before the eyes of your reasoning depict Immanuel in two persons, lest [B 663] you be rightly accused by Justice. Instead, we have accepted to employ these things that are also from the Holy Books. For one of the disciples of Christ asked as follows: 4 "You, my beloved: recall the words that the apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ said before, that 'in the last days, imposters will arise, who love themselves and love things that are desirable, they who are separatists, each one for himself, who are deprived of the Holy Spirit.' "5 Thus, it is not right to separate by any means and to say, "Two persons after the one union," and to consider each one on its own; rather, we should know this, that our mind perceives the division of the natures, for the divinity and the humanity did not become one thing; but our mind accepts with this thought also the union of the two natures. Then, just as God was begotten by God the Father, a complete human being [was begotten] from the Virgin. For the one who shone forth from God the Father invi-

<sup>1</sup> Emending with Bedjan for പ്രഹി.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rom 1:1–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 2 Cor 4:5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 1 Cor 2:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ps 2:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> So Lat.; Syr.: "to him."

sibly, in a way our mind does not comprehend, that is God the Word, he who is said to have been begotten in his person also from a woman and was brought down to humanity and lowered himself to something he was not. He came into being not in vain, but in order [for it] to be believed that he is God. Even while he appeared on the earth in our likeness he lived not like someone who possessed a human being, but rather like someone who was a human being, [B 664] while the glory of his nature was preserved in him. For also the blessed Paul, when he brought together the two natures into one union, those that were immeasurably foreign and distant from one another—this is [the natures] of the divinity and of the humanity—and proclaimed one Christ, Son, and God, who is from the two natures, said, "Paul, slave of God, called an apostle of Jesus Christ; set apart for the gospel of God that was promised beforehand through the writing of the holy prophets concerning his Son, who was born in the flesh from the seed of the house of David, and was designated the Son of God in power and in the Holy Spirit." See, he says clearly concerning himself that he was set apart for the gospel of God, while indeed he wrote in another place, "It was not ourselves preaching to you, but Christ Jesus our Lord."3 Again he said, "I did not decree among you anything that I know except Jesus Christ and him crucified."4

[25] Do you then understand that he called him the Son of God and said that he was born of the seed of the house of David? He shows by his word that he was designated the brother of many while being the Son of God. Then how is he God, he who is from the seed of the house of David? Or the same Son, who was from before the universe and from everlasting in [the nature] that was begotten from God, how was he designated to be the Son of God, as one who came into existence at the beginning? [B 665] For he said concerning himself, "The Lord said to me, 'You are my son, and today I have begotten you," "5 while indeed this phrase "Today I have begotten you" typically refers not to the time that has passed but to the [time] in which we exist. This mystery is obscure, but [only] to those<sup>6</sup> who divide and separate Christ, because [this phrase] is not truly comprehended. For those who accept Immanuel in a real union, [the mystery] is easy for them to know, and the knowledge of the truth was prepared before them by the Holy Books. For the one who is eternal in his birth is the Son who is from before the universe, because he was brought down to a human naت> المدسة لحديك تحتر كالعكا: حد لك عدم كالمامه الماد تر كالعامل المعدد لل كالمديد المكاملة المديد المكاملة المكام

(בב) הכבל א הבי הל אלא לא בפינה: אם מהל זוכב מה לא וכנה [B 666] (ב6 בן כבושעא ובהינא האניבואה ההכלוו בנהאה כלביו ל. להיים בי حة بحجم المحمدين مرية بين المرية بالمرية ويم مرية المحتمدة المحتمد تهدنهم عفتر مهمده و معلم تر حفر مده و لحمولله: للحدثه השל שלא משבה ב. באב באב הב באב בה בה בחלם בעובה החד א בללח: ביסמלת זכמות: בבסולא סולביפולא כעלא עולונולא סכדיבא מוב מסא לבי זרשבע מסא כן כמא זנענממי, סאשאכב כבסבבמ בזכא לבמאא: محة لحد دنام كمروس المحفر المعموم من المرام والمرام المعرب المرام כונא שעובא: זכבהת בע לא בעון: באובע ען זאמסס, בשעוא עם سحمره ١٠٠ د الماع مرماد بالمجنوب مله: درهاد مرماد مرماد مرماد المديدة אים זונישל כן כמלא: חנבשא כן אכא הנאפום חכן חי, האמחה, כבעח תאשבמש שבם שאמשות שב בשל השב שו השביש של הדישיו יעבה تحدم دلحة: صغر به به محدد مدلاله عبد المامية عند والمرابع المامية عند والمرابع والمر מות בלבא: כד משאבלבן היחם בד מים אמאסת, אמאר בד משאבלבן برمه دوند مرامع در المرحمل المحديم حسن المردد المعان المرمه برامه المرامع المر יאבי: [B 667] העבמא ממללים כלמיבאי: מכמאא לא נשרא באראי معلمة والمعتمد والمعتمد المراجعة المعتمدة المعتم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> John 8:39–40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Heb 5:7–8.

ture. While he forsook neither his divinity nor his humanity, it is properly known that also he was born from the seed of the house of David, and he had a temporal birth, the one that was according to humanity. For nothing that he took was alien to him, but rather [all of it] was truly his own, and immediately there is included with it whatever is also with us; this is plain to see. For we hold concerning the natures that they do not resemble one another; this [feature] is of the soul and [that feature] is of the body, but one human being is known from the two of them. For just as from the body alone is the entire human being implied, and always from the soul alone are the two [parts of the human being] known, so too we say that it is so concerning Christ, for Jesus Christ is one Lord and one Son, both before he became embodied and while he appeared as a human being.

[26] [B 666] And we do not deny the Lord, who purchased us from sin, no matter how many times he is declared to us through the meager limits of his humanity and his intelligibility. For he was saying to the Jews, while refuting their faults, "If you were indeed the sons of Abraham, you would be performing the deeds of Abraham. Now, you seek to kill me, a man who speaks with you what is true." Also Paul wrote exactly like this concerning him, "In the days of the flesh, offering entreaty and supplication with strong moaning and with tears to the one who could revive him from death, and he was obedient in his humiliation until death, and while indeed he was the Son, he learned obedience by the fear and the sufferings that he endured."2 Now, do we then think that Christ is a mere human being who was no greater than us in anything? Far from it! Do we say that he, the wisdom of God and his power, lowered himself to all this infirmity, so as to fear death, and beseech the Father to be saved? And from this [statement]: "that he was life in his nature"—do we then drive out Immanuel? Or while we take the [things] concerning his humanity and concerning the limits of our nature that he put on, are these things concerning him said contemptuously, as though of a [mere] word? Do we do something praiseworthy by perceiving from the [things] that make known his divinity the glory yet claiming that the very same God, who became a human being, is [only] a human being? Now, Paul the skilled disciple declares publicly, calling out and saying, [B 667] "We speak wisdom to the perfect, a wisdom neither of this world nor of the powers of this world who perish, but rather we speak

באוו: מון הבשבא מסמל כבן פות בלבא: מן הלא אוצ כבן של של אחת הבשבה הודל מוא בבה. אל בבסה: לם לכילי האשבטעלא ופני מסס. סאסב מנא دلة ملي مكرة دمة مرسم بعدة المسار بعده مرسم أغماره المعادة المامه المعادة المسامعة ا امحمد حل لسل حلمه: مه دعيه حدة ومدي وسلمون مهد حل יבעא הוכחמא כתוחה. חמנא בלח יוב כן כלאכא: איט כא הכימו יראש מבא הנו ל בא הלוש ביו א הנו ל בא הלוש מדא הנו ל ביו א הנו ל ביו א הנו ל ביו א הנו ל ביו א הנו ל ביו אינים ביו א בשה שיש אייאן עסידים :עיסשן גאיעיי דף בא עשנים עדודי ען עזייע المقلالم عمد، بيء المد نضل : بلية على نير بآمد المسلم العنت، אני נעכת: מאובש מכהמלכא מכוים או נכנא: מא במכ שויבא הכלב, כן מלבן נבמד: מסדא דמאעאבן דלא מסבעא מן מס בלת ונא דוכםאמי: בליבי בוא מסבא משנוא מעבולא אילו איל בו: דאמות מבל מס מב حل محمة، ولهن حديم وحديه المحلم عل حلم والمعافرة المحديم محمل אבאה הישה אבים לבשם שבזולה מה לשנם באה הישה אהר [B 668] סשלה בא בארשי [סמס הכיאה בל לעיד בראשו: ] ב על ביא יבי פעם ביא משל בי יביא אין יביא ביא מים יביא מים יביא מים י יבו אמעו בבו אואי זיכן זישב בלחת, ובהוסואתם בי בו אמעו, איא בנהא במים ליון: עבעקש בא חדף מאיז יוול מיץ במים בער ביום מישר משע כושת המחלח בו לשבחעל האים אים לישת כושת. לכא מבע היים באוא באלא ניבל אכא ביל וביטאא זא למ בבינה: סבן הסכת שלשא האכסתו: סאלינו המלשל, מס כן מלאבא: כלל העונן למ במה בבא המהכינה אלא עם מבוא בי ודם: הלא מב מלם האושה אלא עבי הח, אממאלו השפע בא באל הלם : הלוצי בשל האלא האלא האלא עלובה לאושהואא: כא וגל משות מות נולאמו.

10: <a href="https://www.com/winders/com/winders/">www.com/winders/">www.com/winders/<a href="https://www.com/winders/">www.com/winders/<a href="https://www.com/winders/">www.com/winders/">www.com/winders/<a href="https://www.com/winders/">www.com/winders/<a href="https://www.com/winders/">www.com/winders/<a href="https://www.com/winders/">www.com/winders/<a hr

<sup>1...</sup> مست حل حسله برحاله و text differs from Peshitta Heb 1:3–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Emending with Bedjan for המשאפתה.

Emending with Bedjan for κπ; Gk.: καν, "and if."

<sup>4</sup> Emending with Bedjan for οπ Δκ; Gk.: τις.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Peshitta Heb 1:3: האשה בל בעולא הפלאס.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 1 Cor 2:6–8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Bedjan 667, n.2: "And controls all by the power of his word" (Heb 1:3–4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Heb 1:3–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Gk.: "anyone."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Gk.: "and if."

the wisdom of God in a mystery, hidden from before the ages, that which none of the powers of this world knows. For if they had known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory."6 And again, [in a manner] similar to these [words] he says, "He who is the image of his glory and the likeness of his being, (and brings all by the power of his word), he who in his person made restitution for our sins, and sat at the right hand of majesty on high, and he, all of him, became greater than the angels, in that he inherited a name that is greatest."8 Since he is and is called the Lord of Glory, how is he not higher and greater than all who come into existence, and how does he not forsake what is below, for these [properties] of human beings are small and very base? Then I say that one<sup>9</sup> possessing a steady and wise mind should both<sup>10</sup> mention the angels and number the archons, thrones, and dominions; and if one recalls the seraphim, who are higher than those, he also admits that they are immeasurably lower than all the radiance of his majesty. For I say that his honor is exalted above all honors, and it is fitting for that nature that rules over all to be offered up. [B 668] How, then, is the one who was crucified the Lord of Glory? And for what [reason] is he, "the image of the Father and the likeness of his being [and ruler of all by the power of his word],"11 said to surpass the angels? I say [it is] because he took upon himself their small stature when he appeared as a human being. For it is written, "The one who lay down a little from the angels, we see that he is Jesus Christ, because of his suffering and his death, while glory and honor were placed upon his head."12 Then do we drive away God the Word, who is from the Father, from the majesty that is in his nature and from the exact resemblance of his Father and say that he became lower than the angels, because we see him in the humiliation of his economy? Far from it! For we must neither deprive him of the things [pertaining to] humanity after he put on a body, nor cheat humanity of the glory of the divinity, [that is], whatever is said concerning Christ.

[27] I know some who ask, "Who is truly Jesus Christ—the human who was from the Virgin, or the Word from God?" [This

Bedjan 668, n. 1 (Heb 1:3–4); Bedjan offers in the text: "and the one who brings all things into existence."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Heb 2:9.

[28] حدادا رب که حد در در در ماند کرد و بر در بر کرد و ب

<sup>1</sup> Inserting with Bedjan; Gk.: ποτὲ δὲ αὖ πάλιν ὡς θεὸς; Lat.: insinuat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> John 17:11: pl.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> John 14:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 10:30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> John 14:28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gk.: "again at times as God, on the contrary, [in] its silence concerning humanity."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Phil 4:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Rom 1:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Col 3:5.

is] of an ignorant mind that speaks lengthy things and that answers empty and vain words. For the matter is fearsome and full of the danger that someone might divide [him] into two and assign some [things] from him to the human being and some [things] from him to God the Word. For the economy of our Lord that is in the flesh does not offer to him the opportunity [to do so], in that [B 669] the Holy Book proclaims that Christ is one. Then it is right, according to what I say, for us to call Jesus Christ God the Word not without the humanity, and the humanity not without God the Word. For God the Word, having been joined to humanity in an ineffable connection, is called Jesus Christ, the Son of God. He did not abhor this—to become a human being—because of his compassion. For this [reason] he says, "The one who saw me saw the Father,"3 and "I and my Father are one,"4 and again, "My Father is greater than I," while he was not less than his Father, because the nature is one, and they are equal in their natures and are unanimous in their will, and their honor is one. He said he is less than the Father because of the humanity he took, while [his divinity] did not naturally make him less, but rather the kindness of his compassion showed perfectly in his humiliation without him lacking [anything].

[28] He is declared also through the Holy Books, sometimes as though he were entirely human, while the Book is silent concerning his divinity, because of his economy, and sometimes<sup>6</sup> as though he were one divine nature, while not mentioning his humanity. His rank is not affected by this because of the union of the two natures, in that the person is one. The holy Paul, who was a Hebrew of the tribe of Benjamin,<sup>7</sup> the one who was called and an apostle,<sup>8</sup> writing to those who were crucified for the sake of the faith of Christ, [says], "put to death the members [B 670] of the body: fornication, pains, evil desire, and greed," [and again he] says, "For you are dead to yourselves, and your life is hidden with Christ in God," and our Lord said concerning his disciples, "Holy Father, protect them in your name, these whom 11 you gave to me, so that they become one, just as you and I are one. While I was with them, I was protecting them in your name, and I protec-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Col 3:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> So Gk.; Bedjan: "the one that."

ינאבא בעל אואס באסט : רוע אאר מאטל ביז הבים . השל הלשאיז זענסא, אמחם משמבל אוא ביו חלים ביו אינו ביו אבוא כין איניטעש ברוטו באכן ומם לין נוחרן ויבשבעו ויבשבעו ויבאלים האל באל באל באל זייל אפ מס ארון: דארם אל בא אה אלון אולו لحه عن المحمد المحديد علام ملا عنه المحمد المحرد المحرد المحمد المحديد المحدي מסטב: המא ברבה ב אשם במשם בימלא: בהמא לשה לבתה הבלבא. تنعیده و دنیک و مامه لعرب علسه له در دتر میسه مله در. כונאר אלא ביז בחב משנואי. האהב: מהוב אלא לבה ב לבן בל מכולא השאכוא בני בא אישיש בי הואי בלן ואא מסא בל בי אואא מבלאה הלשלה: אלא בעלעא הזמעא [B 671] המהגאא. האם בהסבא מבולאה האשם בהסבלא אעולא אמו: ואם עובן כרסו למשעא: אלא מכעל לא מסכ עובעם. מנה محمل بهماتارة مزنعه من وراي من المسلمة من المسلمة عمد بهمار المسلمة من المسلمة من المسلمة من المسلمة ا אונע בלבת האל אלשאי מים ומסד בשלא מלשאי מים ותשלבו משלא זהר ישרו אלש בין בי ביות מסח שרני בי אשר אל אללש האשר بحدث لدمه للم مدعمة للم مدسلم حدث مم بعد مملم حدث الم مناده, دنا، ملمون عدم عمد معدد المعدد אלישר דאושא בונאא: ביני סוש ניבראבא. סוימבא שסיץ דין אה הבינאי: ותה א מכהם א: המפוא לת שמא עהמא: מס המוצא שממשחת. בה מבל מה אל המח, מחל בן עד אבחתי: כו א מחל המחל מה א מות בת אבר מחל היו מות בת אבר מחל היו הוא היו מות בת אבר מחל היו حلته، به ده ده به در به אמם: ת' אואלי בים אואלי ביאוא אולי ביאואלי ביאואלי בים אואלי בים אואלי  $x \rightarrow conk x$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Syr.: אַבּס אָבּן אֵּל אוֹ בְּבִּיֹשׁהְאֹז; emending with Bedjan and Gk.: Οἰήσομαι γὰρ οὐδαμῶς κεκρύφθαι τε καὶ ἀποδημεῖν τοῦ κόσμου.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> John 17:11–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Syr.: "those who say that the words were hidden and removed"; Lat.: "that the Word was hidden or removed from the world"; Bedjan renders the Latin as "of those who believe that he was hidden and removed from the world."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Matt 18:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Matt 28:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gal 1:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gal 1:11–12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 2 Cor 5:16.

ted them, and none of them perished, except the Son of Perdition, so that the Book might be fulfilled. Now I come to you, and I have spoken these things in the world, so that my joy may be complete in them."<sup>2</sup> Do you understand from these words how he is proclaimed from his humanity alone? For far be it from us to accept the thought [that he was hidden and removed]<sup>3</sup> from the world. For see, he also says, "Amen, amen, I say to you, that wherever two or more are gathered in my name, there I am among them,"4 and again, "See, I am with you for all the days, until the end of the world."5 It is easy for you to see also the blessed Paul, who so many times neglected to call him human, "Paul, an apostle not from humans and not through humans but through Jesus Christ,"6 and again, "I make known to you that the good news that is announced by me is not from a human being, because I received and teach [what] is not from a human being, but in a revelation [B 671] of the Holy Spirit,"7 and again he says in another place, "Even if we knew Christ in the flesh, but it is not thus that we know him."8 The one who is Jesus Christ, the one who revealed the truth of his mysteries in the heart of the apostle—is he not God the Word, the one who became flesh, and who did not reject a birth from a virgin for our sake? Truly it is he. For we recall the words Gabriel said to the holy Virgin, "Do not be afraid, Mary; for see, you have conceived<sup>9</sup> and will give birth to a son, and you will call his name Jesus,"10 and I think that a new name was given to God the Word by God the Father through the voice of the angel. For also the prophecy happened earlier that points to this: that he would be called with a new name, so that they may call him the Lord. 11 When the one who was with his Father from the first—that Son who came into existence before the universe, the light from light and the Only Begotten of the Father—was born at the end of times from a woman<sup>12</sup> and became a human being, and was declared a son and was called the firstborn, and came to be in a house with many brothers, 13 then his Father also set for him a name in the custom and law of the ancestors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Lit. "received the womb."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Luke 1:30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Isa 62:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Gal 4:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Rom 8:29.

مهد نیک دریس درخامی عدر کریس عدر بهمهد کے موروزی اوروزی مالا: ماللهم [B 672] مع عدا: الابناء مهد لالتكوه و در به مولا : در به دهم دهم در به المرم المرمة ال בים אפשא זים טבליבים איז: מדי באיזים מי בנים ואיזים בי באינים בי באינים איזי מים בי באינים איזי מים איזיים איזי תשאר בעביבו אושה לאלא השלא אשטארז לא יציים אאטבילז محدة ملا العالم بعلم مراكب برا العالم الماد و الماد المادة من المادة من المادة من المادة الم מבג אמסמ, כאלמסממ שלילאים מכבל, מן כל שמעלם: סם, אים מאים האמחסה, בד מחם כל עד אנידו בל המכלל כשהכעות מבלים. מלל מוא: عد مدوقة عدم معة على علم وملكت القرار له. ومدم مومل عنه: וניב בא בשל האמליד מסים בייוי בייול מסיע אבלים לא מסים בין אמליב ביים בייוי ביים ביין אמליב ביים מיים ביין ביים من بخب موه و تعديد حميد مرمي المائية علي من عديد مرمي بغير مرمي بعديد مرمي بعديد مرمي المائية المائية بمائية بمائي الملك . معلى الأنام ليء عدمي عد أبي مرمي محمد : معلى ماداء المعلى المعل מסא זיי נסתאי סל אברבא מסא למס בייאי דוא לוס ב הא אברבאמי. בלל מוא אמי בסלסם: דאמא, זמבל כסביא לאבאי אמי: דלמ נסעלם حلمه \_ حلمحةم, تملمه. هذه يمع ترحيس حمل حي داعم محدة, حيد: בה; הא בינים עד השאה בבואה בה אלשו בינים איר בינים איר בינים אור ב eft or: x ream trocum xlmx: captilized in the מלפלא כמבלא.

Gk.: φυσικῶς, "naturally"; Lat.: secundum naturam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Inserting with Bedjan from Gk. μόνον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Inserting with Bedjan from Gk.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Heb 1:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gk.: "as only a human."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Rom 1:25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Rom 1:22–23.

[29] Thus he is both the Only Begotten and the firstborn. For the Only Begotten, as God from the Father, became the firstborn through the union of the economy and [came to be] in a house of many brothers, so that through him and because of him we too [B 672] might become sons of God in nature<sup>3</sup> and by grace, through the nature that belongs to him and only him, [so that we might belong] to him in the Spirit by participation and by grace. Just as being the Only Begotten came to belong to humanity through Christ because it was joined to God the Word by economy, so too being the firstborn of a house of many brothers came to belong to God the Word, because he put on a body. Since he in his divinity is truly exalted above all change, he remained what he was while he was a human being, the Almighty and crowned in his exalted glory. For this [reason], all the ranks of the angels are commanded along with us to worship [Christ], because it seemed that they abstained from his worship and his honor when they saw the contemptibility that he put on from our nature, and they did not want to glorify the one who became like us for our sake. For they were careful, lest they err, for the mystery of Christ was hidden even from them. Then the Spirit revealed [this mystery], and it was not withheld from those holy ones so that they would be deprived of his glory. For this [reason], Paul said, "At the time when he brought the firstborn into the world, he told all of the angels of God to worship him."<sup>4</sup> For the one who is exalted above creation and is greater than it, in that he is God, entered it, while he appeared in a [finite] part that is in [creation] as a human being. For this reason, he did not forsake his divine glory, for he is worshiped as the Only Begotten, even if he is called the firstborn.

[30] [B 673] So then, do we worship Immanuel as a human?<sup>5</sup> Far from it, for this is of an ignorant and confused mind. For if we worship him as a human being, we are in no [way] different from those who worship creatures rather than their Creator, they who exchange the truth of God for falsehood, as it is written.<sup>6</sup> For if we were to agree with their thought, we would also entirely follow those who, thinking they are wise, are contemptible and have exchanged the incomparable glory of God for the likeness of a human that is corruptible.<sup>7</sup> For how would we not resemble them, if we think the same things and do their deeds, offering to Im-

سمحه من متن معمد المصل المحمد رمالا بينها ألم يعالم المراكب معتاد المناسب عن المراكب والمناسب عن المراكب المراك בים . חביד אל בובב אלייוא אניטעם: סצים ביים איא אבי שא גיד كالمك ولساه و لمام و وحد مسام المام رماسلا من بعزة من : الاعتقام المعتقل مل معالم معالم معالم معالم عن معالم رمصا متعدده المام عند المالا بريا لاسلام معدده المامر مصا ארשא מינים שבים ביבים לבינים אבילים לבינים ביבים משכים מיניבא אושא المعادية عادي كالمعادية عادة المعادية عادة المعادية عادي المعادية الملاحمة من في من المعسم محلم المعسل المعسلة المعالم المعسلة ا منع ل دعادا، مرد : دده به العدة مرد المحمد ا משבחה לאמיז באלה באלה באלה באלה בהכאל בי בלל העדים לאמי בוכבאל בי בלל העדים בי בלל היים לאמין בוכבאל בי בלל היים לאמים בי בלל היים לאמים בי בלל היים לאמים בי בלל היים בי בלל המושא: הביבא וכנים, בעולא משבונו האמא בשבונו וביבא וכנים, מפעל מחל המושא משבונו או וביבא וכנים, מפעל מחל ה ل: حيل عيهملاء بمعملاء حيي ين تملمه حلمه: حيل ويعد אביסאס : האסשה בו לה זה ביסבעם אלמה בעורה מכם האסשה השחלים ולי היש ביסבעם אלמים ביסבעם אלמים ולי מים ביסבעם ולי מים ביסבעם אלמים ולי מים ביסבעם ולי מים ביסב כח לשמאל לאמשו ;ה כז לשלבה עלם משלמה לל יב :בול מש יאמאלז אול מים איליים ייייים איל ייי של ביולמס לייישאא מסים בשמש سمالا مهد مدهمه لاعدية لاللا مع لحاميه

הפנה זיים בפין זיים באיני בי אינים [13] בבין אמיבי ארן בי האינים בי אינים [13] בבין און בי אמיבי ארן בי האינים בי אינים בי אינים

Gk.: ἡ πληθύς τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο μανίας ἥκουσι συντετάξεται; Lat.: Nonne coelestis quoque ille angelorum coetus in tantam insaniam prolapsis annumerabitur? Bedjan renders: אמשבה חלם א משבה מלם א משבה.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gk.: καὶ τῆ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀγέλη περιθήσομεν; Bedjan κέπιδετές.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Emending with Bedjan for حيدهر.

<sup>4</sup> Gk.: γὰρ δὴ διέθει; Bedjan renders ৴m. ৴.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gk.: "Would that multitude (of angels) be ordered to agree with those possessing such insanity?"; Lat.: "Or how would every rank of the angels not think that they have fallen into all this madness?"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gk.: "and that we should set [the inevitable sentence against those who have strayed] around the herd of the nations"; Lat.: "We are not able to

manuel worship as though he is a mere human being? Or how would every rank of the angels not object to them that all this is madness?<sup>5</sup> Even the flocks from among the nations would bring against all [this] a harsh condemnation of [this] error. For they are leading them astray, even now just as at first, and still they do not know the straight road. Furthermore, the blessed Paul cries out to them, saying, "At that time when you did not know God you served those who were not divine in their nature. [B 674] Today you know God, and moreover, you are known by God: do you again turn yourselves toward those weak and poor forces of nature and desire to be subjugated to them again [as] in the beginning?"<sup>7</sup> Which God did they know, if Christ was not in his nature God, the one in whom they believed? And if they worshiped a human being, when did they fall [back] into the former snares of error—or are these [statements] not true? I say they are true. If, then, you should accept [this], then consider, O Christ-loving Emperor, how the consideration of the matter forces us and compels us to come to the knowledge of the proper truth, to worship God in his nature— God the Word, who was begotten from the Father and appeared in our likeness, because of the union of the two natures. (It is right for you to correct [this] opinion that so many times has been imparted to us based on what is lacking in humanity. For because the nature of God the Word took on humanity, [humanity] is no [longer humanity] alone.)8 He glorified it with his divine glory, and it remained with him forever, while it was not altered or warped by that divine majesty. Thus the disciples believed and worshiped him, saying, "Truly you are the Son of God." While indeed they saw him who walked about among them and was corporeal as we are, he also walked 10 on the waves of the sea miraculously, as God.

[31] [B 675] Suppose one who is opposed to our faith says, "Who is it who says to the Samaritan woman, 'You [plural] wor-

bring against the flock of the non-believers [such] a harsh condemnation of [this] error."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gal 4:8–9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Greek of this passage is particularly opaque.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Matt 14:33.

<sup>10</sup> Gk.: "for he also walked."

مرامه در المراج مراج من المداع المراج المرا אישיי יעוע זיאר ביז עוע ער איז איז ידי ביז יש שריי ישי ישיי ישייי וישייי ערייי ישייי ישייי ישייי ישייי ישיייי מזוא גלו : ואמן המנה: בא זבל משעא מות מאאמן: וא מווא مرائع مورس مراءه والح معسم. من الم المريد والم المراء والمراء תן אנים אל זואי: סבן אלמסאל זכשאל זואי מראסמה, סביאלכח  $^1$ Kha $_2$ -,  $_3$ -,  $_4$ -,  $_5$ -, מן אלמא משאכעו. מנים מסא אפ בל משבמעאא בז אמיד: אכן שבע זבאבה. אבונא מבל זעדא מי, מיבינוא זיכריייא מעדא מעדא מיביע זיכריייא عنظمه: حد بحد حدد مي محصحت سي حكم محدة عدد المحتفية המסודא ולבי שבל הליבה האל האל מעולא האל מוכל אולבי של א ההיסעה مقدله به ماه به ما در معدد که معرف می مدید می مل مل مرد مدارد می مدارد مدارد می مدارد می مدارد می مدارد می مدارد مدارد می مدارد م منتل عن مرام بنماده : مركره [B 676] منعد من عد المقادر من المعادر المقادر المعادر الم علا أبر عنا مع دلامي علا لامق لامه لابعد : برالاه . لالاتره מה לברשא: המנם הכתשבע לו איל ביל אכל אכלים: הכחם מלא בלעוז האללו כן אכא מחימנים: כו משלעים למ כן אושואא. سلام، سر دمن دل، لله . ومنعد، ومل س بعد نه د، دلامد אסטהל ז לשלב ז יעל ללל : אמשהם השלל בש זש יעל ,סטלהל ז حديده عذية للم وغيره على المعسلي محدة لشرب لحلل محد وملمه לוכנא כו אביו: ולא מחוא נפין מבוונן: אלא למייתא ייחב מון. נפין נגנע. מָס זַנע כלבטא ב: זיאנמוֹ כיז. אא זפוֹקספא זייטכעת זכייעה מא. מא

Gk.: ὁ κατὰ μέθεξιν τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ . . . ἄνθρωπος; Lat.: . . . consortio; Bedjan renders <a href="hashar.">hashar.</a>.

John 4:22.

<sup>1</sup> Cor 2:8.

Gk., Lat.: "participation."

ship something you do not know; do we not worship something we know?'2 For is the one who is worshiped counted among those who worship?" I say that this question that one might say, "Who is it?" whenever it is said concerning Christ, is [a question] without training and without thought. For Christ is not divided; he who spoke with the Samaritan woman was the one and only Lord Jesus Christ, who possessed the humanity that worships and the divinity that is worshiped, and is called God and human. Should one also say otherwise concerning him, that in one [thing] he was God, [and] it is known that he is the Lord of Glory,<sup>3</sup> and in another [thing] he became a human being, who is glorified through grace from<sup>4</sup> God, then is he deprived of the glory who says, "My Father, glorify your son"? But one is the Lord, the faith, and baptism, as it is written, 6 for there is one faith in Christ and [one] baptism, while we are indeed baptized and believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; again, then there is one worship of the Father, and of the Son who put on a body, and of the Holy Spirit. For the Only Begotten does not become unworthy of worship, not from us and not from the holy angels, even having become flesh [B 676] and dwelling among us, and being called the firstborn, because of the many brothers; 8 but rather how else should the faith in him be? For it is also necessary to strive after this, that those who believe correctly should never say, "We believe only in that Word who was begotten from the Father," despising entirely the one who is from humanity. We should also not allow them to say, "Our faith is not in the one who became like one of us, but rather in God, who is truly in his nature in the person<sup>9</sup> of Christ." For also the blessed Paul supports our thesis when he says, "We do not proclaim ourselves, but Christ Jesus our Lord, and we ourselves are your slaves in Christ, because God, who said, 'May the light shine forth from the darkness,' is the same one who shone in our hearts, so that we may be illuminated with the knowledge of the face of the glory of Christ."10 See, the clarity of the knowledge of God the Father ma-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> John 17:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Eph 4:5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> John 1:14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Rom 8:29.

<sup>9</sup> Gk.: πρόσωπον (prosōpon).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 2 Cor 4:5–6.

השחשה שלאש אחם האל בן לזה האל הלאל הלפוז לשומצום K) pl [B 677] in Kiles malon of boom Kisus Kliso hals If so בבו אנא בכות ואכן: לא מתערנטנג אלא אפן ל לא המתבנה אומם تحدید کم بروس می بروس المحتمد بروس الم کار مرس می کار م במשמש שאמשלאז איישן: יאסש ישרא בי יאסש אלשש במשייבין מערנטמבים: איש ולפוֹקספא ואכא. אמין ביו: וגין וממער כן: לא ישרא ב כבחברב: אלא בחה השהדע. הלם הל עוא: עוא ללך השהדע. הארם مه تصحبه محنة معدة معد محدة المامة على المامة على محلمة مام المامة الما مرینه دورنه دورنه کار می در در در در در دورنه در دورنه יבסאע אואה אישה אישה ביבו אישה במער אואה במער אואה במער אואה Refrance : Oshla cur. y y sek in afleco : Oshafek מאסבול ב משישבר ב: זכן במשפערם ב משמעול בי דלגי אולא . העות זיבים של של יאשבישאז האמימאם העד ביני אמימים אנים אלמימים

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gk.: χαρακτήρ; Bedjan renders אלכל.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> John 14:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> John 10:30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gk.: "impression from a seal, character."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> John 10:37–38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John 12:44–45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gk.: πρόσωπον (prosōpon).

nifested [itself] brilliantly in the face of Christ. For this [reason, Christ] too says, "Whoever saw me, saw the Father," and "I and the Father are one."

[32] The divine portrait<sup>4</sup> did not become corporeal, but rather what belongs to the power and the glory of God came into existence exactly in Christ. He desired to be known from these [things], and from the myriads of wonders, which edify those who hear of them, because to the foolish, the sight of his body made him appear trifling, for "if [B 677] I do not do the work of my Father, do not believe in me, but rather even if you do not believe in me, believe in [my] actions." Christ said this whenever he knew it would help greatly those who were listening. For because they were thinking that he was not God in his nature, the [nature] that for our sake became a human being, they supposed that he became a mere human; and because they do not accept anyone who believes in him correctly, he eliminated the trepidation and fear in their minds, while bringing [it] about that their faith would approach the nature of the divinity as though to the face of the Father. For he said, "Whoever believes in me, believes not in me but in the one who sent me, and whoever sees me, sees the one who sent me."6 [It was] as if he were saying, "O hearers of my words, do not think that I am contemptible and slight, but rather know that if you believe in me, [I] who am in the body and visible, you cannot believe in a mere human being, but rather in the Father through me, [I] who am his Son, equal to him in all things; and I am not different from him in a single [thing]. I became embodied for your sake, and I have wrapped myself [in] whatever is contemptible from your humanity, and I have joined you to me, so that through me I can offer you to my Father, the one, with regard to whom in equality of nature and in agreement in glory I am not in the least less than he."

[33] In another [sense], it is also easy to see that he did not reject the faith of those who believe in him as in God, but rather [B 678] without division or distinction he accepted [divinity] in his person, 7 even if he became a human being. For because he healed the one who was blind from the womb of his mother and planted in him the light of nature that was foreign to him, while everyone was amazed, [Jesus] was condemned by the Jews. For this [blind man] also became a confessor, in that he was tested and did not deny

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Emending with Bedjan for יהאה.

<sup>2</sup> Emending with Bedjan for  $\infty$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Peshitta Acts 4:9: תכביג; Bedjan suggests מברבי,

<sup>4</sup> Emending with Bedjan for \_οσως.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> John 9:35–38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John 1:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> John 20:30–31.

but rather repaid the glory of his healer with the confession of his mouth in lieu of payment. When he encountered him, he asked him and said to him, "Do you believe in the Son of God?" He, not knowing him, and having only recently [first] seen him, asked him, "'Who are you, my lord, that I should believe in you?' Jesus answered him, saying, 'You see him, and he is the one speaking with you.' Then he answered him, 'I believe, my lord,' and he fell down and worshiped him." Then whom [did he worship], [the one who was] not manifested, the nature of God that was hidden and concealed? For "no one has ever seen God," as it is written. If he then separated his humanity from his divinity and desired to be believed as [he was] when he was begotten of the Father, why instead of this did he show himself in his visible appearance, which was easy for the eyes to grasp? For he said to him, "You see him, and he is the one who is speaking with you." Or now do we say that he did not show his body? How, then, is the same one the Word and flesh, if no one [B 679] perceived him through the union, according to whatever we ourselves possess? For someone appears to his friend neither divided nor lacking a soul or body that a person has, although he is visible in his body alone.

[34] The blessed John also wrote, "Jesus performed many signs that could not be written in this book. These [things] are written so that you might believe that Jesus is the Son of God, so that when you believe, you will have in his name eternal life." One is also amazed at the courage of the blessed Peter, when he sees him openly rebuking the blindness of the Jews, saying, "Leaders of the people and holy ones of the house of Israel, listen: is it just that we are judged by you, because we have done a virtuous thing to a sick person? By what was he healed? Let it be known to you and to all Israel, that it was in the name of Jesus Christ, the Nazarene, the one whom you crucified, whom God raised from the place of the dead: see, through his name, he stands before you, healthy."8 Again, after a little while, he said, "In no one else is there salvation, and no other name is given to human beings through which they might live,"9 except through Jesus Christ, he who was begotten before the universe, at a time that is incomprehensible, "and in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Acts 4:8–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Acts 4:12.

:ベルイン べかつきっこっ べかかかっ : べかさっ、 べかきさ , ののかべっ りゃっ [35] יפס כך פות בלוצ אונו, ולאולו כך לסטוא. לא היה אונו ווכשלא אונו במשלא ווסף حبيب المراكبة من ١٥٥١ من محدد محتصم و مردم من مرد المردم ا محملات الماء : المام المارك ال מים אביואם במשל במים אל אבול: די אהבי באל בא אביל בים באלבא: עד מים للاسمعما برت . وعدمد لاشلا معلم و ملاه : محمد أبي זמלאה באנה בהוב בחיב בתובה בהבה עלהא בתערומת. באב בי אפ פסלסט מכיא: זכל לע היד.בין: דלא מודום כיניא מן בכהא זוכח איז אלא במענטאא זוכים איז הען ביים ביים אלא יוכח הבען: זכח נוגום. לא ון מכאן אנאי ומרות ועדא וכן אמיוא: המסב אמנא סלביו: KLK: Kisho Khlo Kalk auso ano biklfis Kl Kures sari בונשב שלחת, [B 681] אמצול חלבי בעלא. מבנא כמ בפעו ב חכד. מכו באום ישים ארטה, לשלעא סדיבה יכם אלא: זמנה כדי, הערבה זכת אשלביא: למ שבבה. אמאבל מביל: גלא מַחֹא כמנא איאחמה, כד, אכד: סמס כג עדימאא בכדוכלוטאא ואגוב. זמג זין מבלא: דאוב ואעוא לסבל יש אישיש שושי יצו באים יארושי בי באכי שרחי יצו בארט יצון בי שמהוחאת האלה האשמה בל כיות. סמים הכמשבן כבין האלה אשמה בל כיות משונסאת האלא: וללא מבה בביא: בבות וללא: וללא משהיסאתם

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Emending with Bedjan for منصند.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gal 4:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> John 1:12–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Col 1:18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Heb 13:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Matt 19:4; Gen 1:27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gen 1:28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Matt 23:9, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Gal 2:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Matt 17:5.

the last times and at the end of the world he was born with a body from a woman."<sup>2</sup> Anyone who accepts his faith receives an exalted honor, for he is called a son of God, [B 680] "For he gives to all those who receive him the authority to be called sons of God. All those who believe in his name are begotten not from blood and from the will of a man but from God,"<sup>3</sup> for the one who was before everything, as it is written, was begotten of a woman.<sup>4</sup>

[35] And because he is the head of creation that is renewed to God in holiness, the same one who appeared to everyone was begotten by the Spirit, not as someone who rejects natural copulation, because [as it is written], "copulation is in every way honorable," and "let their bed be pure,"5 and the one who created them in the beginning "created them male and female" and "he blessed them"<sup>7</sup>—but [he was conceived this way] so that he could bring our nature close to that [nature] that is greater and incomparably more virtuous. For he wanted us to be called offspring of the Spirit, and not offspring from a man. For he said, "do not call [anyone] among you 'father' on earth, for one is your Father who is in heaven, and all of you are brothers."8 Then all who believe in him are made equal to the measure of the angels, in that he receives remission of sins through his faith. For Paul also writes, "Because we know no one is made worthy through the works of the law, but through faith in Christ, [therefore] we believe in Jesus Christ, so that we might be made righteous through him." I am not slothful: I have said once, and again I reiterate, that Jesus Christ is called God the Word not in a bare [sense] and [only] in his own nature, but rather because he took [B 681] upon himself humanity and put on a body. Thus in our body and in our likeness his Father showed him to the holy disciples, with a voice that came from above, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am pleased; listen to him."10 Then, consider that it is not that he said in this [passage], "He is my son," lest someone think that he was something else other than the one who was from him, and that he had another [son], but so that it would be known that they are one and the same through the union of the economy. That it is very foolish for anyone to fight against the truth, and all that is fearsome, the Apostle John teaches when he writes, that "this is the witness of God, who bore witness concerning his Son, and the one who be-

مع بالمعديد المعديد المعديد المعالمة المالية المالية المعالمة الم אלישביץ. בשני ליים ליים באבי: נשים נישבי שים שים שים שים ביים «كوروم المان عن من به به المنتعام المات المناح المناطق الماد الم סכנסוֹא. מסבונא מבל מנא: זבען זען אליוען זאמסמן: זעמד כוֹסעא הבהבו לבבל ב למם לשבעה מה א משבעה (B 682) לומבים לצומם הבומם הבלה ובאנו. תם זכאו של נאא מנאעואי בלהמי, אבו: הכבבו כנהוא מכוימעוא. בז אר מא איזשע אר ישיים בושבו בלא של איזשטו אשמי אמי אמי אל אני המשמים שלה לשוח בישוח למשל מסמל בי עיל לשל בישוחים משל השוח שול השוחים משל השוחים של השוחים השוחים השוחים של השוחים של השוחים של השוחים השוחים השוחים של השוחים השוחים השוחים השוחים של השוחים ה בים לדו ישיבי שני בי באים בי עדשי אים מים בי בישול אים ישים וישים בי בישול אים ישים וישים וישים בי בישול אים ישים וישים וישים בי בישול בי הישול הישים בי הישול בי בישול בי הישול בי בישול בי הישול בי בישול אות :בעום אים איתיולם מחים אל זם :בחצי העוצאים הישול העומים ביד שחמפחמא דוחעא לבשיעא כן מסבלים. חבד וחונן נאמל מבנא: מוחו 194, cris. 1. There eias Idrenuts outs Icoars. Sile La Li تردوسه عدره: لدسه لدمه.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Emending with Bedjan for האססה.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Emending with Gk. ἄνθρωπον ἁπλῶς; Lat.: simpliciter for בעראם.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 1 John 5:9–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> So Gk.; Syr.: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Matt 3:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ps 34(35):9; Isa 61:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gal 3:27.

<sup>8</sup> Syr.: "rashly."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Acts 2:38.

lieves in the Son of God: in him is the witness of God, and the one who does not believe in the Son is the servant of deceit, because he does not believe that witness that God bore concerning his Son."3 He bore witness that<sup>4</sup> he who was in the flesh and in the form of a servant, "uniquely and truly he is my own Son." See, also the glorious grace that is through baptism, and the new life that is in it, and the participation that is with God, that is through the sanctification of the Spirit: we confess that it has been given to us truly through Jesus Christ. For we recall John who said, "The one who comes after me is mightier than I, and I am not worthy to loosen the straps of his sandals. He will baptize you in the Holy Spirit and with fire."5 Then, do we say that this action is of our nature, for him to baptize in the Holy Spirit and in fire? [B 682] How is this possible? And see, concerning the man who after a little [while] was going to come and appear: concerning him he said, "He will baptize in fire and in the Spirit." It was not a spirit foreign to him that he was going to give to those being baptized, like a man, or like someone who is a servant, but like one who is God in his nature he gives the Spirit of him and from him with authority, the one through whom the divine portrait is depicted in us. For we are depicted in the divine portrait through Christ Jesus, while it is not created in the body, but rather through participation of the Spirit do we receive Christ in us. And we should say while rejoicing, "My soul will rejoice in the Lord, who clothed me [with] the breastplate of glory and a robe of delight,"6 for "those who have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ."7

[36] If someone should inquire, "What then—are we baptized into a human being?" he would also hear from us, do not blaspheme, O human, in despising and casting to the ground our hope. For we are not baptized merely<sup>8</sup> into a human being, but into God, who became a human being and who has forgiven the penalty of earlier sins for those who accepted his faith. For also the blessed Peter said, "Repent and be baptized in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ for the pardon of sins, and receive the gift of the Spirit." For the one who draws near to him is purified from his sin, and he anoints him by his Spirit, who goes out from him—that is, [the Spirit who] springs forth from God the Word and his nature. While he does this from within [B 683] through his economy

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<sup>1</sup> Gk.: ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ; Syr.: κυσ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gk.: Πνεύμα; Syr.: κπωλ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gk.: οὐ τῶν τῆς θεότητος ἰδιωμάτων ὡς ἐν ἰδία φύσει λειπόμενος; Bedjan renders ܩܝܝܩܝܩ ܩܕܝܩܝܕܝܬ ܕܩܝܬܝܕܝܢ ܩܩܢܬܕܝܕ ܩܩܢܬܕܝܕ ܩܩܢܬܕܝܕ ܩܩ٠٠.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gk.: πλήν, "moreover"; Lat.: verum tamen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lit. "in."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John 20:22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> John 3:34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Gk.: "he sends [it] from himself."

<sup>9</sup> So Gk.; Syr.: "he gives this."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Rom 8:9–10.

Gk.: "there is nothing lacking of the properties of the divinity in its own nature."

that is in the body and [through] his divinity, as a human being in the body he breathes, for he breathed on<sup>5</sup> the holy apostles when he said, "Receive the Holy Spirit," and "the Father gave the Spirit to the Son without measure," as John said, but it is from his divine nature that he sends [the Spirit] forth, like the Father.<sup>8</sup> [For] the blessed Paul, whenever he makes this distinction, it is clear that when the Father gives the Spirit<sup>9</sup> it is always in relation to the Son, for he writes, "You are not [justified] with the flesh but with the Spirit, if the Spirit of Christ is truly with you. If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, [then] this [person] is not of [Christ]. If Christ is in you, [then] the body is dead to sin, <sup>10</sup> but the Spirit is alive through righteousness. Then truly and in fact the Spirit is of the Son, and he is not only with the Word who was begotten from the Father, but [was with him] also [from the time] when he became a human being like us, (while indeed a human being in nature is very far from the [things] that belong to divinity.)<sup>11</sup> For this [reason] when he became the life of everyone, because his hidden birth was from the living Father, it is said that he received life like us. He showed clearly that he gave to the body the glory of the reality of his divinity, and again he took upon himself the [things] that are of the body, taking them upon his nature through the union.

[37] [B 684] For this was pleasing to that Word who is of the nature of the Father: that he would come from heaven above and bring life to whoever wanted it. And again, should this [Word], having a human nature, create as God [creates]? Far from it! How, then, did he vivify us? As God: for we did not become alive only through the Spirit that he gave us, but rather he sets before us his edible body. For he said, "Amen, amen, I say to you, unless you eat the body of the human being and drink my blood, you will not have life." For when at times the Jews were mocking him and trying to make Moses [out to be] greater than he, they said to him, "Our fathers ate manna in the wilderness, as it is written, 'He gave them manna from heaven to eat.' What sign will you do so that we believe in you? And what will you perform, as one who brought

So Gk.; Lat.: "nevertheless."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Usually translated "Son of Man," which means "human being."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> John 6:53.

 $^1$ במא אבמש לא משל  $^1$ במש במש אבמש אמה אל $^1$ י במש אנא של לבם ב לעובא המשלא כן שובאי לעובת בין האלחא אילמח, מים העול מש אנש דכשבא: סישים ובאר איני בשל איני ובשרא בשא השוא ופאה דות בתו אמש תשב בהו תש לשעל תות לות אכי זהת שבע אתו نمحه دع مدم لسحه سه لعلم. هلسح ممله تهدم مهل ويخر مهه: تعل محمور ستة من العلام من [B 685] من المخل الم وحدة والمعلم من ترد: در دعمه مهد ده. لر هم مه سه دللار. مهه کله مر ۱۳۸۰ בידי משל יאכם משל יאכם בא ארן יאלה שאש דיני פשט יאכיל 3مرحته بریمه برهامی برهامی از میان برهامی برهامی برهامی برهامی دیرانی و برهامی دیرانی از میرانی دیگرانی در ایرانی از میرانی در ایرانی از میرانی ا אסים לאדים : האהשבה אוזאה אסים בשאמי הלוז : ביז שמהאמים אאלינעם מבותם: <sup>4</sup> אינות בשות בשות לבית למששל בלה ב"ב א לביתי אכיו עם בי סבו השת בע אומס בי משול בי משל אומס בי משל אושה אמיביע ביש אווי פשע לא אוני פיש ארא מים זייא ביש אוא הלם ביש אוא אוני ביש אווי האיים ביש אוני אולים ביש אוא אוני رمما تعده :موس بلك ماممد، مام مدرة مام مركب موه دمي بمامدر، מים אימ זובועה במי בעל דאובי למס בע במצמי זובעה אמלסמי סות, שוביא עול: אתו למס ב: ומוזא מבישלא לבס ב א ב מבע מעוסנים, لدزه تابعه مفلم لهذة بهده مهم در مديم مه الحدادة مرك در له در תביע סע :עסט שישיע היבה ער דער דער ארעוצי זראעי שיאיע עאאיע שלם לבתבא: אול זאל האמחה, מסא לה בה בה לא (B 686 בתם אכי דמא על את הנכן כמסלא מושאל אמלוג מס נסשכא נפעואי: דלח לכץ

Inserting with Bedjan from Gk. ὑμῖν.

Bedjan suggests രന്.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gk.: λόγων; Lat.: locis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gk.: ἀμαθῶς; Lat.: imperite.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Emending with Bedjan and Gk. ποῦ for אבבא.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Emending from pl.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> John 6:31, 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Inserting from Gk. "you" (pl.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> John 6:32–33.

John 6:51, 52, 56, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Gk. and Lat.: "in many places."

Gk. and Lat.: "ignorantly."

down your body from heaven?" He said to them, "Amen, amen, I say to you, it was not Moses who gave them<sup>8</sup> bread from heaven, but my Father, [the one who] will give you the bread of truth from heaven, for the bread of God is the one who came down from heaven and gives life to the world." And again as someone who is embodied points to himself with the finger, he said, "I am the bread of life who came down from heaven, that whoever eats from this bread will live forever, and the bread that I give is my body, [B 685] which I give for the sake of the life of the world. Whoever eats my body and drinks my blood remains in me and I in him. Just as the living Father has sent me, and I live because of the Father, the one who eats me will also live because of me." And see, it was revealed that the body did not come down from heaven, but was from the Virgin, as the Books say, and God the Word is not edible except as the one who gathers into one union the [things pertaining] to the divinity and of the humanity. And the [things pertaining] to his humanity are seen in many passages. 11 Nicodemus, who did not understand the hidden [meanings] of the mystery, asked in ignorance, 12 "How is it possible for these things to be?" [Jesus] said to him, "If I speak to you [of] things that are on earth, and you do not believe, how will you believe if I speak to you [of] things [that are] in heaven? No one has ascended to heaven except the one who came down from heaven, the human being<sup>13</sup> who is in heaven."14 And again, to the Jews who were ignorant like [Nicodemus], and who were happy to mock him in vain because he said to them concerning his body that he was the giver of life and that he came down from heaven, he said to him, "Does this bother you, if you see the human being ascending to the place where he was from the first?"15 Or do we now not say that Immanuel was begotten from a woman? How<sup>16</sup> he came into existence and how he ascended into heaven, the place where he was from the beginning, as [B 686] he said: these are explained thus: it is revealed that from the holy Virgin was born the ensouled body that God the Word

Usually translated "Son of Man," which means "human being."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> John 3:9, 12, 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> John 6:61–62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Gk.: "where."

حستسمه بالمه هله برا مقمه در هل هد به بخورد دولم همه مخورد ورا مورد به المعلم ملاهم ورا مورد به المعلم هم المعلم هم المعلم هم المعلم هم المعلم المعل

(38) הפין איר שטיבעי ניבף איר לשיר א היים בי איבי: ויבטניה ו رع موزع، من . من المناع المعتبر المناعل ومعد، من المعاد الماسل יתום ל איע שביו ינדים שנם ינקסקאן ליטבעם יעדעם יעדעיי שורוסה בר בר בר בעלה העלה אום האסמה, המשלה האלח הלעלה הלעלה בלעלה محمدته تحلمه وتهام تده مهدن ول تصحبه محمنه محل دم فهمر שים שיל היים לצי החסליני ישה ייאודי לאדרי לאדרי ביי שים אים כיים מבולא: זנמסא מזמב, מס כבל. זכמ את לב, בלמ מסלבא זאמסאא למבמי עמשתבאל: מכת נובא לת כל. משם כדמא דומיפת: מא דכינתא ממא זכל: האלו: האלו באיבה, הכח: אלו: האלו באלו באלו האלו ולאכל, בל סמסב: דוכן סדמ בל אומסחוי: חבל כח באת. בד אומסחו, כחבו א דוכן כוא מבולא: אמל בלחמי: הדיבה כדיבא דופים דכינהא הרבאלבא. אנה מבול בסביא זוכן כיא מייאא: אך משיעא ישמבי מינ זין כלאייא ימבת المعلم بهمام دوسه كمن لك مديده وه ملك مملك المعامر المعامر אלא . העולם באסבת, הסאה בב: בז אינססה, הסאה בידיאים באסס مامد به نامه و مر معدم ركاء بهمهد مل عد : ممام مهد لغره مذن זמן מוכבאי אלא אנאסמי, אם כמבוא זמן כבא מבאאי כמי, זאמעו, בושא: בו לא שבת אלמוסמת כולבי אשמול ..

ב. הכתו איזי (39] איזי לאטיניאר איזייטר ב. בער ב. במשל איזיי (39) ביז באר ב. במשל ב. במשל ב. במשל ב. במשל ביז אלמים ביז הראש

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gk.: σάρκα; Lat.: carnem de terra.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Gk.: oὐδ' ຂຶ້ν; emending with Bedjan for 人人.

Emending for sg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gk.: "flesh"; Lat.: "flesh from the earth."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Col 1:12–20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Syr.: "but rather."

put on in the union. Not because of this do we say that [his body]<sup>4</sup> was unoccupied before it was able to give life by his nature. Then how is his body life-giving? Or how is it declared that the one that is from earth is from heaven? It is clear to the faithful that it is because of the union [of the body] with God the Word, that living one who came from heaven. For thus we correctly believe, and we are in agreement with the Holy Books, that he existed divinely in the Spirit, [exactly] as he is, during [the time when] he had put on the body.

[38] For confirmation of [this] thesis I read the blessed Paul, saying, "We confess God the Father, the one who made us worthy of the portion that goes forth to the saints in light, the one who saves from the reign of darkness and makes us worthy of the kingdom of his beloved Son, that through him we might have salvation, and in his name, pardon for sins; the one who is the likeness of the invisible Father and the firstborn of all creation, and through him everything in the heavens and on earth was created, and in him everything exists, and he is the head of the body of the church, the one who is the head and the firstborn from the place of the dead, so that he might be the first before all; in him all the fullness of the divinity was pleased to dwell bodily and to reconcile everything to him, and he brought harmony to what is on heaven and what is on earth through the blood of his cross." [B 687] See again, [Paul] says clearly that "all things were created through him and in him," and again, that "he was before everything, and everything exists in him," while "he is the firstborn of the place of the dead" [says Paul] concerning him, and that "he brought harmony to what is in heaven and what is on earth through the blood of his cross." So who is the firstborn from the place of the dead, if not Jesus Christ, he who was corporeal, and was the incorporeal God the Word? For the Word of God is immortal in his nature and did not<sup>6</sup> become known to be the Creator of all when he became a human being like us—he is the Creator and the fashioner as God even if he is not incorporeal after the union that is from the womb—but rather he is also the firstborn from the place of the dead, where he appeared [as] a human being, while he did not forsake his divinity in putting on our humanity.

[39] In other passages, you see the spiritual [qualities] going forth in words one-by-one together with the human [qualities].

סיט אסים ישטאיע אשרט יאשאי אטן אטן אסים יאאשי סיט יאאשי פלאא. מוא אמסת, מסא לאלא: בל כאבת מסא: סבלבוסת, אפ בא עדא שסעי בטרסם מסב איבו: זיתו שם ארשא אכא: זיכנש בל. סעד מול ביש אכת מש איל ביז מלא עם זהל הוא הריב בעל אמא מלאא לפלינימע בי בינו ואל בים ישבו מבוע ומבוש וישואי בינוא אינוא מום בי אוכיו, כל כישהב משיעה אוכיו, בי כם כל. על הם יה بلت مق، لم که حد کالهدار که داندکا دلاک م محمل تکار برداد تبولد. ست ۵۵ کی دخ ر معمد دعیسم: ۵ دیم شهر دنی کری کل که دهر מבל כינס אלמאר ו מכנונדא איל נידי אינאסטר ניני: בי שלים בינים שלים בינים שלים בינים שלים בינים שלים בינים שלים אמאלז, אמשל בע לעבה אמשללזז בל השם במשלל לאמשלזז مل، ب، مل : برمام بهمهم نب مسعه . مرخه ب نغند، مهم : مرد : مرد المعتاقة م Kaas , societ et it is in sure Link is Keiso . Kreaz אמבל סיט בד שם יצי שם סרקבי

[40] סאר מפרא ממינבו ענן: זמן כאסואא מזיא אול אוא את אולו: כופנא אעניא במנטאל: באניא מניא אולול אני אולול אולול אולול אולול: כופנא אעני זיי זיי אולול אינול אינול אינול אינול אינול אינול אינול אינול אינול מיטאל בא הבי אינול מבר מיי בא מבא המיא בא וכנא מינא המילא הבי מיני אינול מבר מינול אינול מינול אינול מינול אינול מינול אינול מינול אינול מינול אינול אינול מינול אינול אינול מינול אינול אינול אינול מינול מינול מינול אינול מינול מינול מינול אינול אינול מינול מינול מינול מינול מינול מינול מינול מינול אינול מינול מינול

<sup>1</sup> Gk.: ζωή: AQ14 κωϊ.

Emending with Gk. and Bedjan for  $\searrow$ .

<sup>3</sup> Gk.: ἐνανθρωπήσεως; Syr.: σλαιμίσλωπ.

<sup>4</sup> Gk.: ἡμῖν . . . ἐδείχθη; Syr.: μω λωωλκ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> John 1:1–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 1 Cor 8:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gk.: "life."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 1 Tim 2:5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Emending with Gk. and Bedjan for "whoever."

For John said, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. This one was with God, and all came into being through him, and nothing came into being without him"; 5 again Paul, saying, "God the Father is one, from whom all [things are], and one is the Lord Jesus Christ, through whom all [things are]."6 Indeed, if there was something that remained to God the Word in his embodiment after he became embodied, and something that sets aside and shows that this is one [B 688] and that is another and separates the union into two sons, as they say, then how was everything created through Jesus Christ? For through him everything was created. It is obvious that these [things], being of the nature of God the Word who is from the Father, were preserved in him also when he appeared [as] a human being. The concern is this: that someone would dare to divide [him], for our Lord Jesus Christ is one, and through him the Father created everything. Thus, he is the Creator divinely and the life-giver, being alive, while he is one, being the things that are of humanity and of divinity. For he is the mediator between God and humanity.8 as the Books say, for in his nature he is the incorporeal God and truly human, not a mere human like us, but while remaining<sup>9</sup> as he is, even if he became flesh. For it is written, "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever."10

[40] Then how is what we believe true, [namely,] that he who was born in the flesh from the holy Virgin, Birthgiver of God, in the last times of the world is Immanuel? For this [phrase] "yesterday and today," O Christ-loving Emperor, signifies this time in which we now exist and that [time] that has passed. Then how is he the same in the time that has passed, when he was not born in a body? [B 689] [It is because] he who is God the Word from the beginning, being the one who appeared from the Father in his divinity, has no beginning and no alteration, like his Father, even if in the recent past (during his embodiment)<sup>11</sup> God the Word took this [human] nature in order to be called Jesus Christ, for even now he appears to us [in this way]. Consider, then, that the Apostle says concerning Jesus Christ, "He is the same yesterday, today, and forever," and [he says this] not only concerning God the Word.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Heb 13:8.

<sup>11</sup> Gk.: "of his becoming a human being."

אל איזיים אטסינים : אגזא ביין ארדי איזי אטסיאייים אן דים ארדיא מאעלה ביוא בין וכנישא אמש בשמערא: סמש סומ בלמש מוא: ובו المعادية بالمام المناع ما معتب لم المتسامة المام المامة ال זאלין שי אסשי אסשי שיים ביד לאין זאלי ואסשי שיאי אלי אאלין משל יאלי איאלי משל יאלי משל אלי איאלין משל יאלי منه محمد فع باعهد : بدلايً له باي محدة عصصر منه بدعه بدلايً الم בשנוא בחלה בחדיבטעש בים פרא בהאמושה אני בחדי בחבי לחים לי האכפסד: אפן מסא כשדא. ממשבן אנא ז.ן: זכיד עדיטוא זיבע פלומ: ترخیم به محمد تلکه درن به درن میده در در به مدانم משכנה אמין איין בי איר אמש אויין בי ידי ידי מסש היויטא פון (B 690) איין פון איין אמין אמין אמין אמין איין איין משמה מסא אל נפינה: דמוכל מס כן כב, אניא: סומכולסם אילסמי, אי אסמו אלידיו: במש איני זיאל באל באליו: דייע אסמי זיאל אמאל אבומת אנה אולי בעוד שסט זים לא אפ לאנה זמה מעם מבמונא שלהת, אמכלל מַה: זמנה זאכיות לבה בכלו, אמא המים למ פזכן: כלל حدد حاوسه بعدد ما عند به در با مدام من المدام מסא מנות האנים, מסא הכאלים אלא בכל אני נאמל: המהא: המהכ, מען: על שוריו של בין איל בין: ומבע בים בים איל ול ביאה ולשמשה שוים בי مل : ملعه على مريم مريم مير مي مريم الماء بعت الماء المعالم : معالم الماء المعالم : معالم الماء المعالم الماء وه من برایم می تک در می الم در در می الم در می در الم איאי מים גדן שטכעת בעודא אבין א כמוץ בלאאי אב למי: זכך כאל, אלא: זבל בקילומל שחבעת מהובא: מבחלים. חמלבקים זומבד מבלאול: זכלעל, מים שחבעת זכשעל כן זיטען: חבקין מים כנות: זאלא כלות. אכל בי: זכאל, אאא בליא. אם כן מדא שבילם א דבע מבלכא על: זכאל ממשבע ענו (B 691) אמליא בז מאכם ממחואא: מזמ זבאיב כיבא

Gk.: ἔμπροσθέν τε αὐτοῦ for Syr. ,σοσπ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See John 1:1–3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> John 8:58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 1:30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Mark 1:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Matt 3:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gk.: "before him."

How, then, did the human nature possess immutability so as to remain the same while not being transformed? For human nature is constantly in flux, and this [nature] is not the one that was created before all things; but rather it becomes living. Then is the passage in the Book not true that says that the one who existed from the beginning did not exist yesterday?<sup>2</sup> Far be it from me to say that the Book has lied, the one that imposes a punishment on liars! For far be it from me to deny that Jesus Christ is yesterday and today [arguing] from his precedence and not on account of any transformation of the Word of God, even if he became flesh. I believe that through the union that was with his body he is the one who again is proclaimed yesterday and from the beginning. The foolish Jews, who abhorred his words, were even crying out that they should stone him, not having accepted his faith. For they were confused, because while he indeed appeared as a human being [B 690] he bore witness concerning himself that he was before human beings and that he was ever-existing as God. For he said, "Amen, amen I say to you, that before Abraham came into existence, I was." They also recalled the things that were said to them concerning him by John the Baptist: "The one whom I told you is coming after me, the same one came into existence before me, because he is older than I,"4 and "I am not worthy to loosen the straps of his sandals,"5 along with this: "He will baptize in the Holy Spirit and in fire."6 Then how, knowing that he was a man and that he was called Immanuel, did he say of the one who was younger than him and [born] after him, "He came into existence before me" and that "he was older than me"? Perhaps one might say that it is [for] this [reason]: that the [phrase] "before me" concerns the glory that was taken upon [him]. However, I consider that they hold this [opinion] according to their desire and not according to [what] is [actually the case]. Many words are not necessary to show that this is a lie and a very foolish [opinion]. For if we accept this, that the [phrase] "before me" said in this passage [means] greater in glory, then we also accept that this [phrase] "he comes after me" declares that his glory is less, and we are compelled to think wrongly that the glory of Christ was lower than that of John, and the one who came after him was less than he, for he said, "a man will come after me." Oh, away with this obscenity of foul thoughts! We believe [B 691] perfectly, having understood what is written in the prophets

ودحاحدة من المنام المنام وتعرب عدلم والمرتب ووالم ووالم والمرتب والمكتم ייים של מניבטולא אפ של במשמה: איתי נואמא וכבעא: ווכא בליא: סלבתא וכשה יכא ורכל ביות ושבו עם איבו בישה מורידה

(41) مصر کی عمر الحدید تصر مین ماه نام کی عمر کمید الحدید אנדון או ממוזמש אולים בין ובא איבו בין איבו בע אריים בע יאטומש אאיזייא דביל הסבד אתלה כבסוד: אם אול, לב כיל לעב אפולא לא מסיל, כין בי حدلقه بيمه به مدرية يوهم حلك، بهه بنحيه, لعمر بعنال، محومه محله: محعلام علحم. حيل ورعي معزمل محز مملمه: وعلمه حمد الموس مرياري مراي بر موس مرية : مري در بروي المري الم בתמחם ב באפא זים מי מחסים משעא. אוכם א מבעל: איבוא כמשעא ישר במעודא: בעניטאד בפלים: 1 סניבטאד ובינה ואנוא באלא. אם لا بان مهلا، من المن عن المن من أعمر، من المال مل סכן אנאא אולד: כן [B 692] ושנא סכן בלכא האואר אאטר באס حسب ک در داعیم کی کی موسور میر حایج این کی بر داری در در میر כל על. המם אמרם מסא אפ באפא: מי, דוכנים של ל אשאכב בעסובא: בה החי, לב. אמלה כפלו: הכשהל וכנא נסב אנשהמאי האמכשע השמלע لصن علمه من ملمه محمد مهمة, بعة معسه له مهم ميل مديم العنامع بسم عد معند منشو منشو المعالم العنام بالمعالم المعالم محدير وحالمه للأسم حديد محوم عزيز مدار ممخز محديد مل ישטאיני בישטין יביאין איש עיל בין זישל האטשללין בושט האטיילין مه مر مدعر: مه دسسم وحند معددسم وکاند: مه دست مکتب بل معلی المر محمد المما ممم مصابحة و معلی الماء محت عملی الم بعدل محل . تحل من ، بمدهم , مدم مع مديع بمخة ، دسر للمد ومحل

Gk.: καθ' ἔνωσιν οἰκονομικήν; Syr.: κλαιτοποπι κλα.τω.

Emending with Gk. εỗ μάλα φήσιν; Lat.: evidenter exponit; and Bedjan for Syr. べいかん.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ps 88(89):7 (6–7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Mic 5:2; Matt 2:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 Cor 10:2–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gk.: "in the union of the economy."

Syr.: "appeared."

<sup>1</sup> John 1:1-2.

and in the Psalms: "Who is comparable to the Lord in the heavens of heavens, and who is like our Lord among the sons of angels?" Thus we give him precedence also with his body, as though to God in nature who put on a body and wanted to make the properties of his nature common to both himself and his body.

[41] It is easy to know that this has been correctly spoken also from another witness, if one wishes. For the prophet said concerning Christ, the one who from the seed of the house of David was born in the flesh, "Also you, Bethlehem in Ephrata, you are not the least among the kings of Judea. For from you a king will go forth to shepherd my people Israel and to restore them, as in the beginning, from the days of eternity."4 On account of the sons of Israel, Paul said, "All of them passed with Moses through the cloud and through the fire, and all of them ate the food of the Spirit and drank the drink of the Spirit. For they were drinking from the rock of the Spirit that accompanied them, and that rock is Christ." Consider, then, how the precedence of the nature of God the Word appears in Jesus Christ, (in the union of his body)<sup>6</sup>—or is the argument that we have spoken not clear? For the one who is from Bethlehem, he who was born as a human being and—[B 692] it quite clearly demonstrates<sup>7</sup>—from a woman, is the one who was in the beginning and forever. For God the Word is from the beginning and before the world, he who became a human being, and he was also the rock, the one from which Israel was satisfied in the wilderness when it became very thirsty. He was born in the flesh; at the end of time he assumed humanity and was anointed and sent forth to this world from God the Father. For he was called Christ, for no other [reason] but this. He stood and extended the hand to our race, as the blessed John [wrote], when he gathered by his word the two natures, and he truly joined [them], and he mentioned at the same time the things of the divinity and of the humanity. For he said, as we now reiterate, "He who was from the beginning, the one whom we have seen with our eyes and heard with our ears, the one whom we saw and our hands touched, he is the word of life, and life became revealed, and we saw and bear witness, and we announce to you the eternal life that is with the Father and has been revealed to us."8 Thus we should understand that concerning the one who was from the beginning, he says that he appeared openly and that he became tangible. For also the Apostle Thomas cried out, "My מסא בדות אעדים: אלא בלע מהדא בלעסד ביש מסב. בנו די אבינה ביש אמים ומח א מעל מכא מעאי מסק בן כיל מילא אלא מי, זכי אי מכחד מכדי מכחד א מכי אנא הבלע מסהא. משל אילים ענן: המטאל אמסח, סמאלעהנא מן עבלא אלמא כלאא זכב, אבא. אם מבל מם כב, מבולא מעשב כב, עבלא: حدقه مادم من حلمه وحس له شهد مختب ورد: وحلل وحده ورده מם מלאמי דעי מדא מד. בא מח אם לן מן בא דא בפעד או מדי בעל או מח מל בעל או מדי בעל או מח מל בעל או מים מל בעל או סבת פבוא. שהכעא הכיוחלא מבל: מה הכלבמא הפבוא הבל כבול אבת אום בא שות בי של בל: מים ולש אלים המשוז ולשאל אל מים אוא יבל אכטשי אבאסודים וארידי ולבי: ובל מים כינש ماد : ماد من ماد من علا من عمد من نصاح من ماد : دماد، فنر مده \_ لرنص محن \_: معدم مخنر مده \_: مدر به . تعنند مد لصديم حدديم: عدم سيلقه وحلمه مصد عمليه عل تمس بتولمه:

Bedjan has rendered this phrase from the Latin; Gk.: "Αραρεν οὖν ἀληθῶς, ὅτι κεκυριεύεν ἀληθῶς νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> John 20:28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Luke 1:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Rom 14:7–8.

From the Gk., with Bedjan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ps 87(88):6 (6–7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> John 1:50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> John 13:13.

Lord and my God,"<sup>2</sup> when he touched with his finger the hole in the body that was pierced by the spear and the place[s] of the nails that were fastened into him. The blessed Luke declares concerning the apostles that they were eyewitnesses to and servants of the Word.<sup>3</sup> [B 693] For the incorporeal one was revealed and became perceptible, while the garment that he put on from the earth, that is, his body, was not foreign to him, but he made it his own, and in it and through it God and Lord are known. We also recall what the Apostle Paul said: "None of us is alive in himself, and none of us is dead in himself, but if we are alive, we are alive to our Lord, and if we are dead, we are dead to our Lord. Thus, whether we are dead or are alive, we are of our Lord, because Christ also died, and came to life, and rose to become the Lord of the dead and of the living."<sup>4</sup>

[42] (Then it is truly right for him to be the Lord of the dead and of the living,)<sup>5</sup> he who did not come into being for any other [reason] but died and rose for this [reason] alone. Who do we say came under death and became alive [again] and rose from the place of the dead? It is clear that it is the Son, and I think everyone admits this. What then do we say—that God the Word, who is from the Father, was mortal and susceptible to corruption, or was he above death and a stranger to corruption, as the one who is life? To whom is it not clear that he was above death because he is life? [If so,] then how did [those in] the place of the dead become free, as the Books say, <sup>6</sup> for God the Word is immortal in his nature? We say that [he did this] because he died in his body, the one that is said to have suffered. Thus, he was not without the body, but in the body [B 694] and with the body he received the glory of dominion, he who died according to the order of the body and in our own nature and rose. For when he died, he suffered as a human being. When he showed forth his resurrection—that was [through] the life of his divinity, so that through both [natures] it should be known that he was like us, and again, that he was exalted above us as God, and to show that he was Lord over all, the one who even before the body was ruling with his Father. Nathaniel caused this to be known when he said, "Our master, you are the Son of God. You are the king of Israel." He also said to his disciples, "You call me 'master' and 'our Lord,' and you speak rightly, for I am." For in read his creations or that a color or the control of the montre of the color of the co

(43) کمی کانع که محل ترج کا دری محلات بیا تریکام که فات دری ماند که محل ترخی ماند که محل ترخی ماند که محل ترکید و نازی دری ماند که ترکید که محل ترکید که محل ترکید که محل ترکید که ترک

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Emending with Bedjan for באשבה; Gk.: συνωθούμενοι, "forced"; Lat.: compulsi; Syr.: האלאם.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Matt 10:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Acts 3:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Acts 9:34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 John 4:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John 1:14.

order to confirm this in action, he forgave sins by his word and gave authority over unclean spirits,<sup>2</sup> to cast them out by his permission and to heal all those who are sick and infirm in the world by his power. In the name of Jesus Christ the Nazarene, the paralytic was healed, and so too the one who sat begging for alms at the gate of the temple.<sup>3</sup> He also freed Anias from a very severe illness, and it was taken away by the word of the Apostle Peter, who said, "Anias, our Lord Jesus Christ heals you."<sup>4</sup>

[43] Therefore, like one who is trapped on all sides, let us come to the truth and investigate diligently the meaning of the Books, and let us continue on in the faith of our fathers, [in] the one that is from the root of Jesse, [B 695] the one from the seed of the house of David, the one that is from the woman in the body, the one who with us came to be under [the authority of] the law as a human being and is above the law like God, the one who for our sake and with us became one of the dead, the one who because of his nature is higher than we and is the life-giver and life [itself]. We believe that he is truly the Son of God, while we do not separate his humanity from his divinity, and again, we do not drive away his divinity from his humanity after that ineffable union, concealed from all thoughts. He is one and the same Son from two natures; he appeared from humanity and from divinity, [in a manner that] the mind cannot comprehend, in an exact union that was without alteration of the natures.

[44] The disciple of Christ declares how profitable it is for those who believe, saying, "Whoever believes that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, God is in him, and he is in God." The blessed John bears witness that Jesus Christ, the one who is in the body from David, is of God in nature and in truth, in this [passage], "God the Word became flesh and dwells among us," and he says, "We know that the Son of God came and gave us the heart to know the true God, and we are in truth in his Son, Jesus Christ, he who is the true God and eternal life," through whom [B 696] and with whom be glory and honor to God the Father and to the Holy Spirit forever and ever, amen.

The discourse concerning the embodiment of our Lord is finished, the one that the blessed Cyril, bishop of Alexandria,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 1 John 5:20.

284 CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA'S DE RECTA FIDE AD THEODOSIUM

Lact rials oestus osestis sestis oests od risio outsis. Le sin resta delas.

composed against Marcellinus, Photinus, Apollinaris, Paulinus, Theodore, and Nestorius, on behalf of the truth of the universal church.

# 3.6. Hymns Attributed to Rabbula

# 3.6.1. Two Hymns Preserved in the Hymns of Severus of Antioch $(CPG7072)^{1}$

Text: Brooks, Hymns of Severus, PO 6.1:138-39

OT NO CHARLES TO TOTAL CONOCIN. YOU CONCINT YOUR CONTROLLY TO THE FORM YOU CONTROLLY

# نرم مسلخ، مسلغ، م

Text: Brooks, Hymns of Severus, PO 7.5:771-72 [359-60]

Text: Brooks (*Hymns of Severus*, PO 6.1:138–39; PO 7.5:771–72 [359–60]). For the introduction, see above, §2.5.4. These two hymns are preserved in a collection of hymns of Severus of Antioch and others, found in the Syriac version of Paul of Edessa, as revised by James of Edessa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Brooks, PO 6.1:138 n. 6, states that the ascription to Rabbula could also refer to the previous two hymns.

# 3.6. Hymns Attributed to Rabbula

# 3.6.1. Two Hymns Preserved in the Hymns of Severus of Antioch (*CPG* 7072)

This hymn is not the composition of Mar Severus but is thought to be the work of John of Aphthonia, or of Mar Rabbula bishop of Edessa.<sup>2</sup>

[To be sung] when they [i.e., the catechumens] take off their garments [at baptism].
[To the tune] "Come hearken and I will tell you all the works of God."

Though you are taking off the clothing that is outside you, do not remove from you the hidden clothing within, you who have been baptized; for if you are clad in this a storm of trials will in no way prevail against you. You know it is according to the speeches you have heard, you know by what lamb you have been refreshed. Beware of the enemy lest he strip and expose you as [he did with] Adam and make you strangers to the blessings of the kingdom, as he made him a stranger to the life and the blessings that are in paradise. Wherefore beseech with us and call out to Christ, "By the Holy Spirit confirm and preserve the souls of us all!"

Another [hymn] is by the holy Rabbula, bishop of Edessa.

[Refrain] "Because from you is the fountain of life."<sup>4</sup>
[To the tune] "The City of the great king."<sup>5</sup>

Full of true and noetic light is the place of the righteous ones, and for all those who conducted themselves piously there is prepared and reserved the enjoyment of good things that do not pass away.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gen 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ps 35(36):10. On the ascription of this hymn to Rabbula, see note 956.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ps 47:3 (LXX).

ولم الجمع متر ده نصب الدملان والجعدم والمحمدة المحمدة المحمدة

# 3.6.2. Hymns Preserved in the Eight Tones

Hymns Edited by Overbeck (Tones I, IV, and VII)<sup>1</sup>

[OB 245] لاەد خلادىن لادغەلالا تىدلىكىيە دلاھىكى كىتىكى ھى مەھدىكى كىلاھىدىكى .

תיאים עמא עיציים [Tone I]

# .ಗಂಗಳ ಸುಸ್ತು ಸಂಸಾ :Supplication I.1

غلم لدر هی حل متعلام. نلتهٔ مهله هندر کرم عصبه مصنی تحله هدخوندی لحدید المحدد برای مصنی الماله می مصنی المحدد الم

#### べかいべ:Supplication I.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Text: Overbeck (*S. Ephraemi Syri*, 245–48 [Tone I], 362–69 [Tone IV], 370–78 [Tone VII]). Translation: Bickell (*Ausgewählte Schriften*, 257ff.). For the introduction, see above, §2.5.4. References in brackets labeled "OB" are to the pages in Overbeck's edition. In the footnotes, the Mosul edition of the *Breviarium* (= M; see below, §3.6.2.2) is compared with Overbeck's edition (= OB).

Read with M; OB: omit.

O you, Lord God, give repose to your servants, by your grace may they stand before the throne of your majesty, and may they find mercy through [your] help at the proper time; glory to you!

# 3.6.2. Hymns Preserved in the Eight Tones

#### 3.6.2.1. Hymns Edited by Overbeck (Tones I, IV, and VII)

**[OB 245]** We write the supplications of each type in the eight [tones] of the Octoechos, from the first to the eighth.

## Tone I First Tone

Supplication I.1: The First [Hymn] on the Birthgiver of God Peace be with you, most holy one, Mary, Birthgiver of God, glorious and honored treasury of all habitation; splendid, blazing lamp, incomprehensible abode, pure temple of the Creator of all creation. Peace to you by whom [the lamb]<sup>2</sup> was named,<sup>3</sup> the one who takes away the sin of the world and saves it.

## **Supplication I.2:** Another [on the Birthgiver of God]

On the mountains of Horeb the prophet Moses saw you in a miracle, holy Virgin. The fire dwelled within the bush, and it blazed in it, but the bush was not burned.<sup>4</sup> Again, the ladder that the righteous Jacob saw in the open country on which the watchers ascended and descended to [and from] heaven<sup>5</sup> depicted you. Likewise,<sup>6</sup> the son of Jesse took his spiritual harp and began to say with it, "Like gentle rain that falls upon the earth," so did God<sup>8</sup> come down<sup>9</sup> and lodge [OB 246] in [the Virgin.] Thus may (the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Matt 1:25; Luke 2:21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Exod 3:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gen 28:12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M: "David."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ps 71:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> M: "the son of the king."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> M: "shone forth."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> M: "your womb."

تلمدلام. ودلاة للام حدة ملام وقليس دامير ومبتر وبالمام و والمام موتم والمام والمرد و والمام والمرد و والمرد و

#### Supplication I.3

#### **Supplication I.4**

#### **Supplication I.5**

تهده ها که فهر تسم مبینی که هدمیک ده ده که در الله الله الله والله ما تالید و الله ما تالید و الله و الله

# **Supplication I.6**

- <sup>1</sup> M: "Hebrew maidens."
- <sup>2</sup> Exod 15:20.
- <sup>3</sup> M: "with joy."
- <sup>4</sup> M: add "the stately one, the warrior, the valiant one, and the miracle worker. Omnipotent Lord, glory to you."
  - <sup>5</sup> German translation by Bickell, 262.
  - <sup>6</sup> M: "the wine of your love."
  - <sup>7</sup> M: "is gladdened."
  - <sup>8</sup> M: add "pains, tortures, and."
  - <sup>9</sup> M: "put to shame the tyrants by your athleticism."
  - 10 M: "who crowns his beloved ones, have mercy on us."

maidens and virgins)<sup>1</sup> come to you clapping their tambourines in their hands<sup>2</sup> (in the spirit of holiness)<sup>3</sup> before the son of the king and say to you, "Blessed are you, Mary, on account of the one to whom you gave birth."<sup>4</sup>

# Supplication I.3: On the Martyrs<sup>5</sup>

Blessed martyrs, you appeared as rational grapes, and from (your very wine)<sup>6</sup> the church (has become gladdened.)<sup>7</sup> O brilliant and divine lights who readily showed battle against all<sup>8</sup> afflictions, and (conquered ferocious tyrants by your victorious athleticism and they were put to shame,)<sup>9</sup> glory to the power of your strength in your contests! God, (who came for the salvation of his creation,)<sup>10</sup> have mercy on us.

#### **Supplication I.4**

When the saints went up and rested on the couch of their sufferings, from that juice that the people trampled out on Golgotha all of them drank and learned the secret mysteries of the house of God. Wherefore we sing with praises and say, blessed is the Messiah who intoxicated the holy martyrs with the blood from his side.

#### Supplication I.5: On Repentance

O most merciful and compassionate one! O purifier of the blemishes of all sinners! Cleanse me with your purifying hyssop and have mercy on me. <sup>11</sup> As [with] the publican <sup>12</sup> and that sinful woman, <sup>13</sup> have mercy on me in your compassion. Messiah sparing sinners from their debts, you who receive all who repent, savior of the race of our humanity, save me by your compassion.

# **Supplication I.6**

If he who is righteous is saved with difficulty, what will I do, I who am a sinner?<sup>14</sup> I did not endure the burden of the day and the burning of the sun, but count me with the workers at the eleventh hour,<sup>15</sup> save me, and have mercy on me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ps 50:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Luke 18:9–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> M: "I who am a sinner: what will I do."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Matt 20:9.

#### **Supplication I.7**

#### Supplication I.8: تحدد

ZIII > ILEZON CZ CZOSIIN CELN. NICZ OZIWO NOJE ZOCUN CN INK KIUK OKUK CAKI NIK KLUK OKUK CAKI NIK KALK LAKO NIJE WON NIZESIN. NACH KALK LEGON CELKON NIZESIN KALK LEGON CELKON NIZESIN.

#### **Supplication I.9**

er 12 4 leruk Exko esoa. iceko nekezik cerol oich, Ekoanin. oanu la iril acino conta mil almo. ochercouko natur oran ostat. ochercouko natur oran ostat. oran iene centra centra oran ostat.

# **Supplication I.10**

<sup>1</sup> Reading for المحلماء.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gen 1:26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Read *heţāhā* for *ḥaṭṭāytā*, "sinful one" (fem.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hos 5:7–9; 1 Cor 15:52; 1 Thess 4:16; Rev 8:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> M: add "of humanity."

#### Supplication I.7

My sins cast me down, and from the high place where I stood they caused me to descend. As though in the pit, I proceeded toward corruption. Who will obtain for me [my] [OB 247] original comely beauty but you, skilled Creator, who from the beginning conferred on me your image and likeness, I who through my will am a friend of Satan and a slave to sin? My Lord, in your compassion set me free and have mercy on me.

#### Supplication I.8: On the Departed

Lord, the departed ones who clothed themselves in you by baptism: clothe their bodies with the robe of glory when you come, when with the sound of the horn and of the trumpet<sup>4</sup> you will resurrect and renew our entire race.<sup>5</sup> My Lord, forgive their debts and pass over the sins in the multitude of your goodness. Glory to the power of your presence, Lord of lords! God, who came for the salvation of his creation, (give life to your servants.)<sup>6</sup>

#### Supplication I.9

When Jesus the Savior entered the city of the dead, a clamor was heard in Sheol. Its foundations trembled and the inhabitants of the graves eagerly met him when they saw his light shine forth upon them. He was resurrected in glory and made us stand with him. Wherefore, we sing with glory and say, blessed is he who resurrected and renewed from corruption the race of mortals.

# **Supplication I.10**

Jesus the Savior will come in great glory on chariots of fire<sup>7</sup> when he comes to make a new resurrection for the departed (who fell asleep in his hope.)<sup>8</sup> He will sit in judgment, and before him will enter the generations for the sentence of justice. Then he will open his books:<sup>9</sup> the good will rejoice and be glad in life eternal.<sup>10</sup> (My

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M: omit and add "and have mercy upon us."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Isa 66:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> M: "who confessed and believed in you."

Rev 20:12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Rev 22:22–27.

ترحکه دی قص در به نظر که بره که بره که نظری الاسته که فیکر و تریخه که نقوه که نقوه که بره بره که نقوه که الاسته می معدد که نظر که بره که نظر که نظر

#### . אביברא: Supplication I.11

مهمجمه هذر صالحت هر خالم. وصعها المتاهد منتب . [248 [0] مستم الماتحد فتلام عجعه بعد هوم فاميحه . المبار هذر الخالم ملاء وحدالم الماتحد فتلام عجعه بعد المعمد على الماتحد على الماتحد على الماتحد على الماتحد على الماتحد الما

برعمصعد برامعن برهميه علد

[OB 362]

יי, סיזמא ז כבבא האבשא הובסא במא [Tone IV]

# ನ್ನೂ ಸುಸ್ತು ಶಿಜ್ಞಾತ :Supplication IV.1

کردیک نفاهم کن دبیده کی دبیده کی است. می فردیده و دران و

# ארבים איז ישמיז:Supplication IV.2

هم فيم هوم ملوك تبحد محم دوهم لسده. فرح مونه لملوله. تقلم علسه مفقد م. لبد محم لتسمحه، هدم تحسم لم منافه، لبد دنه للحديم، هدم تهديم لم عجمه، وحل لدم تهدم لم ملم. وحل

- <sup>1</sup> M: omit.
- <sup>2</sup> M: add "to stand with the sheep"; Matt 25:31–46.
- <sup>3</sup> M: "may call out."
- <sup>4</sup> M: "with hosannas to you, the one who resurrects the dead."
- <sup>5</sup> Luke 23:45.
- <sup>6</sup> Luke 23:44.
- <sup>7</sup> Matt 27:51.
- <sup>8</sup> M: "this."
- <sup>9</sup> M: "enlighten the ends of the world."
- <sup>10</sup> M: add "rightly."
- <sup>11</sup> Ezek 1:15–18.
- <sup>12</sup> M: "that heavenly bridal chamber."

Lord, on the day of your appearance)<sup>1</sup> find your servants who fell asleep in your hope worthy<sup>2</sup> so that they may not be driven out from your divine presence, O most loving one, but (may send up)<sup>3</sup> to you a new glory (when you come, lover of humankind.)<sup>4</sup>

# Supplication I.11: On the Resurrection

My Lord, you were fastened with nails on the cross by iniquitous ones, and by the spreading out of your two hands [OB 248] you renewed the four corners (of the earth). The sun became dark<sup>5</sup> in the firmament when it saw you naked, my Lord; in the middle of the noon of day, night entered and remained upon his authority.<sup>6</sup> The voice that cried out on the wood shook earth and heaven.<sup>7</sup> In your mercy you were numbered among the dead. You rose from the grave as you willed, and you raised up Adam with you. You returned him to Eden, from where he had left. Lord, good is your goodness. Lord of all, glory to you.

End of the first [tone] by Bishop Rabbula

[OB 362]

#### Tone IV

The Fourth Tone of Supplications of My Lord Rabbula

# Supplication IV.1: First on the Birthgiver of God

How can we extol you, O venerable one, who alone are most holy, you who pour forth both healing and strength to all the faithful? For all of us who are in the<sup>8</sup> world look and await the hope that is from you, O venerable one. Confirm our faith and (grant all the world peace.)<sup>9</sup> For this we the faithful<sup>10</sup> extol you, who are like that cherubic throne<sup>11</sup> and (that Edenic bridal chamber.)<sup>12</sup> Beseech and make supplication (on behalf of us all)<sup>13</sup> so that he might save the souls of us all from anger.

# Supplication IV.2: On the Martyrs in the Same [Melody]

How comely is the banquet that the Father on high made for his Only Begotten! He<sup>14</sup> invited and called to his banquet the apostles, prophets, and martyrs. The Father provided his mercy, something the eye did not see. The son provided his invitations, something

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> M: "unceasingly."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> M: "who."

שה אלישט [OB 363] מבל איפינה אלידים. בה אלידים בה אלידים בה אלידים בה אלידים בה האלידים בה ה

#### אמבים :Supplication IV.3

لسلمله المرتبعة على المراجات وهماني المنول مرح والمحدة على المدادة المحدة المحدة المحددة المح

# אמבים איז:Supplication IV.4

#### אמיביה במיביה:Supplication IV.5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> M: "cry out."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> M: "to him."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> M: "O [you who] invite your beloved ones to the bridal chamber of light and joys, invite us with your saints, and save and rescue the souls of us all."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M: "fortified."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> M: "blessed pillars."

<sup>6</sup> M: add "holy."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> M: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Matt 7:8; Luke 11:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Luke 18:10–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Luke 15:11–31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Gen 3:1–24.

the ear did not hear and that did not go up into the human heart. Wherefore, we call out<sup>1</sup> to them,<sup>2</sup> saying, (O [you who are] invited to the chamber **[OB 363]** of light! Intercede and make supplication on our behalf, so that the souls of us all may be saved from anger!)<sup>3</sup>

# Supplication IV.3: [On the Martyrs] in the Same [Melody]

To the banquet of your heroic deeds we assembled and came to receive from your bones aid and every healing. Peace be with you, prophets and apostles, stonemasons of the faith. Peace be with you, strong citadels, by whom our souls are strengthened.<sup>4</sup> Peace be with you, spiritual symbols, who ascended to the height of heights. Peace be with you, splendid sojourners,<sup>5</sup> who hold up the earth that it not fall because of the iniquity of its inhabitants. Behold, the<sup>6</sup> church and its children celebrate the day of your festivals, (so that)<sup>7</sup> by your prayers the souls of us all may be saved from anger.

### **Supplication IV.4:** On Repentance in the Same [Melody]

My thoughts disturbed me and troubled me. I cut off all hope for my life, because my debts grew great as the sea, and greater than its waves, my faults. Then I heard your grace, which calls and says to sinners, "Call, and I will answer; knock, and I will open." As a sinner I cry out to you, and like the publican I make supplication. And like that son who squandered his riches, [I say,] I have sinned in heaven and before you. My Lord, there is no servant who does not sin, but the good Lord is not one who does not forgive. I, who have sinned and provoked you to anger, spare me, save me in your compassion, and have mercy on me.

# Supplication IV.5: On the Departed in the Same [Melody]

Adam removed his glory and went out from the paradise of delights because he ate the fruit in which was concealed the drug of death.<sup>11</sup> The angels were eaten up over the fall of the beautiful one [and said], "Go in peace, chief of creation<sup>12</sup> and (father of all nations)."<sup>13</sup> Wherefore, my Lord, give rest to your servants who have fallen asleep (and have been comforted)<sup>14</sup> in your hope.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> M: "of the races."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> M: "king of all creation."

<sup>14</sup> M. omit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> M: add "in your mercy, you who are good and the lover of humanity."

#### **Supplication IV.6**

مدم من عصص تخده المركب المعلى المعلى

# ארא בחשבא בא בחשבעה:Supplication IV.7

# אמאר איזף ערשים ערדים איזייע עדי יציה Supplication IV.8

تعدد لحر که محدلای حقلی تبلید حدیثی میموری می مورد شه کلی. محد دند من محدد دند من محدد المحدد مراد می حلیک می محدد دند من محدد المحدد المحدد

#### Supplication IV.9: כמיבנים אל

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For Overbeck حديد.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In Overbeck's edition this hymn is mistakenly printed as a continuation of the previous hymn.

# Supplication IV.6<sup>2</sup>

How bitter is the cup of death that Adam mixed for creation, so that we die in infirmity and our lives depart in agony. Christ, **[OB 364]** our hope and our resurrection, come console our distress, you whose arrival every generation and nation awaits. Wherefore, my Lord, in your mercy give rest to your servants who have fallen asleep in your hope, you [who are] the lover of humanity.

Supplication IV.7: On the Resurrection in the Same [Melody] The women had prepared for your body sweet spices as for a king,<sup>3</sup> but they heard the voice of an angel from within the silence that said, "Cease from mourning and tears! Go quickly while rejoicing and proclaim to the world, crying out and giving glory, because the savior and the giver of life has risen from within the tomb." It is he whom we praise and whose resurrection we glorify with joy.

**Supplication IV.8:** Another Standard of the Fourth [Melody], The First [Hymn], concerning the Birthgiver of God

I praise you, O pure one, with sweet melodies, with the harps of the spirit of holiness. David, the divine one, said, "Hear O daughter and see; give heed<sup>4</sup> to the message of the head of the angels, who was sent from on high," [for] behold, he announces to you inexpressible joy.<sup>5</sup>

**Supplication IV.9:** [On the Birthgiver of God] in the Same [Melody] Who is able to extol your Edenic qualities, <sup>6</sup> pure and holy Virgin? Who can speak of your conception and of your wondrous birthgiving, pure and holy Virgin, you who received the living fire in your womb of flesh but were not consumed by it? Make intercession on behalf of us all so that by your prayers and petitions the souls of us all may be saved from wrath.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mark 16:1; Luke 24:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ps 44:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Luke 1:28–38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Overbeck: 'adīdayky, "festivals."

#### אמשביה איז :Supplication IV.10

#### אמשבים אונים אונים Supplication IV.11

حجةه مهتر مهر المامه مهمه عتر هتدر ملم بانده لر تدم لده م المسبح لر سلام حل الده به محله محله المامه محل المامه محل المامه محل المامه محل المامه محل المامه محل حمد المامه بالمامه بالم

#### Supplication IV.12: تحنيّ א כמיביטא

محلم على حدملا عديد. على تعديد محمدتا محر فالمعلى ما عديد محمدت محمدت موريد كالمعرف من المعديد محمدت محمد المعرب المحديد محرب المعرب المحديد محلات المحرب المحديد الم

# אמלא איז איזייע איזייע איזייע איזייע איזייע Supplication IV.13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1 Cor 2:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Matt 25:1–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Reading with M second masc. sg. for OB, second fem. sg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M: add "but you have become dark through your deeds! Light is prepared for the righteous."

M: "on that day so that I may see your compassion and confess your name."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gen 3:1–26.

<sup>7</sup> Gen 3:19; ച്ചപ്പ് പ്രമാനം (tehpuk w<sup>e</sup>tē<sup>)</sup>zel), lit. "return and go."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Exod 3:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 1 Chr 6:3; 23:13.

### **Supplication IV.10:** On the Martyrs in the Same [Melody]

To that banquet to which nothing compares, Christ the bridegroom invites his servants, while saying in the message to the sons of the mystery of his liturgy, "Do not fear the fire or the threats of persecutors. If you endure sufferings on my account, I shall bequeath to you the kingdom on high. I shall weave for you resplendent crowns, [OB 365] and you will enter into and inherit that blessing that the eye has not seen and the ear of flesh has not heard."

# Supplication IV.11: On Repentance in the Same [Melody]

My days passed by like a shadow, and my hours and my seasons came to an end. Water for the fire that threatens me I did not prepare. The bridegroom happened to arrive, but there was no oil in my lamp.<sup>2</sup> Woe to me, then, if the gate is closed in my face when the angels rebuke me, "Go away, demon, do not approach!<sup>3</sup> For our place is luminous,<sup>4</sup> but fire is kept for the evil ones!" Woe to me, then, if I am punished with the evil ones. My Lord, shine your light on my path so that I will not be food for the flames. O my Savior, sprinkle on me the dew of your mercy and compassion (in that hour and have mercy on me.)<sup>5</sup>

# Supplication IV.12: On the Departed in the Same [Melody]

Greedy death ruled over us because we transgressed the commandment and we became exiles from that Edenic paradise. The sentence you decreed was death [and] we heard from you, the upright judge: "You who are dust, to dust you shall again return." Wherefore, my Lord, give rest in your mercy to your servants who laid down in your hope, you lover of humanity.

# **Supplication IV.13:** Another Standard, the First of the Birthgiver of God

In the bush that was not burned,<sup>8</sup> Moses the son of Amiram<sup>9</sup> depicted you, who gave birth to the stag as well as to the fawn. And the stag is Christ, as Solomon called him.<sup>10</sup> For the bush was inflamed with fire, but its leaves were comely and beautiful, and they were not singed. You, O Virgin, your womb<sup>11</sup> was not destroyed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Song 2:9, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> M: "body."

تمللاه لحملة. لحر ص, بونه صفح تبلته مصر لودسه بمباله لبحمه من محمله المحملة ا

#### אמיביה בחיביה:Supplication IV.14

الته تسعه حتر للملاه . حساحه بهذاهم حلامالي هذه لبنا هلهم محبب خلاهم محبب خلامه والمحتم المحتم المحتم المحتم المحتم مهنوم مانحر مي و مهنوب عيمة معرفه المحتم مهنوم مي و مهنوب مي ماتوب مي ماتوب مالا معرفه و مالا معرفه الماله المعرفي مي ماتوب مي ماتوب مي ماتوب مي الماله المناسب و ماله و ماله

#### אמביה איז :Supplication IV.15

حبه بهه مهنه مرد مرد المائه و المائه و المائه و المائه المدان و المائه و ا

# イシュ イロンベ かたい:Supplication IV.16

# イから イカシス :Supplication IV.17 [OB 367]

בית לסוף המיציא חוב יו הרידי ארים בים אין האף איני במטאל ודים במחאלי

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1 Sam 17:49–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Luke 10:19 or Rev 12:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dan 3:19–25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dan 3:25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Lit. "fear."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Num 20:28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> M: "the priest and Levite."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Dan 2:35, 45; 11:45.

by that burning fire. And from the sling of David a rock went forth that killed Goliath. At that time this depicted you, who gave birth to the radiance who killed death and who crushed the asp **[OB 366]** by his cross, and the basilisk was overcome and fell. With joy we shout, "Heaven and earth, bless the Lord with the pure and holy Virgin, forever and ever!"

# Supplication IV.14: On the Saints in the Same [Melody]

The beloved youths,<sup>3</sup> children of the exile, were set aflame in the love of their Lord, the hidden God and the mighty king, who having judged them made ready the sentence at the gate, bound them as unknowing and pure lambs, and cast them into the furnace, aglow with the heat of the Babylonian [king]. The furnace blazed, but the three were standing as shoots, and there was a fourth among them.<sup>4</sup> The furnace dripped dew, and they cried out with joy. Heavens and earth, bless the Lord with the youths, the beautiful ones of the faith,<sup>5</sup> forever and ever.

# Supplication IV.15: On the Departed in the Same [Melody]

Aaron died atop the mountain, and Eliezer and Moses enshrouded him. The assembly of the watchers descended toward them with the tumultuous voices of the trumpet. The fiery ones along with those [made of] dust ministered there to Aaron the priest and Levite, and the Lord was standing with them. Moses, who was weeping and groaning, and Eliezer with his laments made the mountain shake. The Lord and his angels performed the funerary rites of Aaron (the splendid priest,) and they transported his soul to the storehouse of life and the place of rest. Heaven and earth, bless the Lord, the Lord of death and of the departed and the bringer of joy to our race, forever and ever.

**Supplication IV.16:** A Greek [Hymn] on the Birthgiver of God You surpass reason, you are higher than the earth, and you are more glorious than the orders of the many-eyed cherubim, brilliant mother of God. For in glory you rule over all creation, because you held the Creator in your womb. Wherefore, Birthgiver of God, we all magnify you.

[OB 367] Supplication IV.17: Another Greek [Hymn] Daniel called you by the name of "noetic mountain," and Isaiah,

# べから べかかべ:Supplication IV.18

#### אראים במיביטא:Supplication IV.19

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#### Supplication IV.20: כבבניא גבעה

# んなべ:Supplication IV.21

که ترب مولا لر لحم حتیک، مفاده مخم صفح حقور حلحک، نیامه عقومه برجه مدتک نویم حسندگ مفرحک نویم برخید مفرحک الم

- <sup>1</sup> Isa 7:14.
- <sup>2</sup> Cf. Judg 6:37–40.
- <sup>3</sup> See Ps 131(132).
- <sup>4</sup> Ezek 44:1–4.
- <sup>5</sup> Luke 1:28.
- <sup>6</sup> Luke 1:26–38.
- <sup>7</sup> Lazarus (John 11:38–44), the centurion's daughter (Matt 9:18–26), also called Jairus's daughter (Mark 5:21–43; Luke 8:40–56), and the widow's son at Nain (Luke 7:11–17).

"the virgin birthgiver of Immanuel." Gideon, the memorable judge, saw you as fleece. David called you "the ark," and Ezekiel called you "the gate." Gabriel, the head of the angels, cried out, "Peace be with you, O full of grace; the Lord is with you, O blessed one."

# Supplication IV.18: Another Greek [Hymn]

"O pure Virgin," said the fiery one, "Receive the words of your messenger. Gaze upon and see the true thought of the Most High: he prepared your body and also your soul for your fashioner that it be fitting for the deathless one to become flesh and enlighten creation." I cry out in joy: Bless the Lord, the Lord of existence, all his servants and creatures. Magnify, praise, and bless him, forever and ever.

# Supplication IV.19: On the Departed in the Same [Melody]

O King and Lord and Father of the world to come, in which there is life by your will, you descended to the world of the dead to ransom Adam. You plundered the treasures of wretched Sheol by your power, and you overcame the warlike strength of death and Satan with the power of your might. I cry out in joy: Bless the Lord all the servants and creatures of the Lord, the Lord of existence, and magnify him, forever and ever.

# Supplication IV.20: The Crossing Over of the Departed

[Said Sheol,] "Vanity is more pleasing to me than honey, but the taste of Jesus is most sour, he who while he was alive snatched from me three who had died,<sup>7</sup> and now that he is dead he raises the throngs." Who from among the dead in all generations could have shaken Sheol? Yet behold, I see the dead going out to meet him, the rocks torn asunder, the graves ripped open, and the dead rising.<sup>8</sup> Woe to you, wretched<sup>9</sup> Sheol, whom he dislodged from [OB 368] the (heights on which)<sup>10</sup> you stood!

# **Supplication IV.21:** Another [Hymn on the Departed]

I was on the way to the house of the departed. I approached and stood in the streets of [that] world. I saw the generations inside the graves, laid low with corruption. I saw the maggot gnawing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Matt 27:52–53.

<sup>9</sup> M: add "and ignorant."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> M: "rank where."

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# אבים איז:Supplication IV.22

به می محترد، معنوب می بین تبخینه محترد، می محترد، محترد،

# איישרעז איישרעז

# Supplication IV.24 ديم المادية المادي

من المرائم عندسه. المرائد مرائد مر

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> M: "disgusting cobwebs."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> M: add "from hearing and reason, and the articulate tongue that was restrained."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> M: "the voice of the throat."

<sup>4</sup> M: "comely."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> M: omit.

them and the tapeworm and the *remtā*-worm stuck to them. They turned into smoke from the pyre and were trampled [into] the mud in the streets. And greedy death reveled in these things. I saw the eyes that were darkened and encrusted by (cobwebs of rot,)¹ and the ears that became deaf and stopped up,² and (the audible voice that ceased,)³ and the face ugly⁴ in appearance, and his beautiful countenance that was carried off. (I saw the hands that were bound, neither giving nor receiving. I saw the legs that were crippled and no longer swift running, and the mouth and its sweet melodies muzzled and silenced, and the scattered and dispersed bones, and the joints that were twisted.)⁵ I said, "Lord, in your mercy, spare the creature that your hands have formed. You, the Son of the good one, resurrect them from the graves into paradise. Lord of all, glory to you."

## Supplication IV.22: A Greek [Hymn] on the Resurrection

The guards, those who provoked their Lord, were blinded from the brilliance that shone forth at the grave. Death and the Slanderer, when they saw their treasures plundered, shrieked and said, "Glory to the power of your essence, Lord of all!"

**Supplication IV.23:** Another, to the Tune "You Caused Your Light to Shine"

You, who suffered and were crucified and were buried, despoiled death and Sheol, and in three days you were raised. Glory to you, Jesus, the Word [and] only [begotten] son.

**Supplication IV.24:** Glory in the Fourth [Melody], the Body [of Christ]

This is the heavenly mystery that was revealed and declared to the nations and the races and the tribes. This is the atoning sacrifice that was sacrificed on the top of the wood, and by which the offspring of the Adam of dust were absolved. This is the holy one, [OB 369] the hallower of all, by which are made holy those worthy of the spiritual holy things. Above, the watchers up in heaven serve him, and those of dust below on earth carry him. Rejoice in your betrothal, bride, daughter of the nations, for behold, food and drink are prepared for you and your children. Cry out and say, "Christ, who saved us by his blood, Lord of all, glory to you!"

#### んかべ:Supplication IV.25

[OB 370]

[Tone VII]

אסיוסאיז אפססספא אלסין איזייז אאפייז אייייד אמשל

#### スペンペッション :Supplication VII.1

<sup>1</sup> Syr.: Khim (gammortā), lit. "one who perfects," referring either to the bread of oblation used in the Eucharist or to the consecrated Eucharist itself. This word also means "effector," a metaphor for the priest, through whom the sacraments, especially the Eucharist, are "transformed."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Isa 27:1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> John 19:34.

### **Supplication IV.25:** Another [on the Body of Christ]

From the heavens of the heavens was ordained the "coal," which today is sanctified, which is fearfully carried in procession by the priests, who resemble the service of the watchers dwelling in heaven, they who in the unity of their voices cry out fearfully before him. But we who are entangled in sins call out like [the watchers] and say, "Holy are you, God; give holy things to the holy; through your heavenly mysteries sanctify us who call on you. Holy are you, mighty one, who in the strength of your might laid bare the deceit of the basilisk and gave us the armor by which we conquer him and are set free from his artifices. Holy are you, immortal one, who were crucified for us; we confess that by the opening in your side on the wood you sanctified the world that was cursed through Adam's transgression of your commandment. Lord of all, glory to you."

End of the fourth in the supplication of our Lord. Pray for the sinner who wrote these lines.

#### [OB 370]

#### Tone VII

Seventh Tone of Supplications by the Holy Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa

# Supplication VII.1: First [Hymn] of the Birthgiver of God

Pure mother, as you have been accustomed to help our poverty, when you see that our end has arrived and that we the earthly ones are perishing, have pity on us through your intercession. Virgin pure and holy, constantly making supplication that we may not completely perish on account of our evil, entreat and make supplication, O blessed one, to the Only Begotten, who sprang forth from you, so that he might work for us compassion through your prayers, O holy one.

# **Supplication VII.2:** In the Same [Melody]

Come in peace, vessel bearing new life for humanity. Come in peace, pure<sup>4</sup> palace, (where the King of kings came down and in you dwelled.)<sup>5</sup> Come in peace, O venerable one, (virgin Birthgiver

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M: "new."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> M: "into which the King of kings came down and dwelled."

علحک حجم لموسلام. حمالات فإجر سلف على. ليستانک تابس هنم المحتد علم السحک، حبر بالالام ما بعلام

#### אמיבישה אבינהן:Supplication VII.3

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# ארא יבמיערטא:Supplication VII.4

# אמביטא במעבטא Supplication VII.5

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# Supplication VII.6 כמעבעטאל

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reading for مجحلاه.

M: "pure and holy Virgin."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Read with M, pl. for sg.

<sup>4</sup> M: "of the Son."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Reading with M s<sup>e</sup>baltōn for s<sup>e</sup>ba<sup>c</sup>tōn.

of God.)<sup>2</sup> Peace be with you, O blessed one. Peace be with you, O favored one. Present the petition on behalf of us all to the Only Begotten, who shone forth from you so that he might work for us compassion through your prayers, O holy one.

# **Supplication VII.3:** On the Saints in the Same [Melody]

Come in peace, prophets of the Spirit, who prophesied<sup>3</sup> concerning our Savior. Come in peace, chosen apostles, who preached the good news [OB 371] of the Only Begotten. Come in peace, martyrs, beloved ones of the heavenly bridegroom. Peace be with you, O holy ones. Peace be with you, beloved ones (of the Father.)<sup>4</sup> Offer intercession for us all to him for whose sake you suffered<sup>5</sup> pains, so that he might work mercy on us through your prayers, O holy ones.

# **Supplication VII.4:** In the Same [Melody]

The saints passed on to the great banquet. He invited them individually, and in whichever [way] they were invited, thus they followed the bridegroom wholly, the heavenly one who called them. My Lord, invite us with them to the heavenly kingdom. When you come in the glory of your Father, may you gladden them on account of their crowns. With them, my Lord, may we enter the bridal chamber, and may we sing glory to your goodness.

# **Supplication VII.5:** On Repentance in the Same [Melody]

O our Lord, (in your love,)<sup>6</sup> receive the entreaty of us all, as well as our liturgy and our prayers. Give us a heart full of love and a tongue that sings glory. O my Lord, may the voices of our mouths and our tongues not contain lamentation and weeping, but through the mercy of your tenderness spare the sins of my wretched soul so that I may confess you and give glory to you, to your Father, and to the Holy Spirit.

# **Supplication VII.6:** In the Same [Melody]

You are good, you are good, and good you are, my Lord and merciful, (O good one whose gates are opened to evil ones and sinners who come to you<sup>7</sup>).<sup>8</sup> My Lord, do not be unmerciful, our God

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Matt 7:7–8; Luke 11:9–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> M: "whose gate is opened to the one who knocks on it and whose ear is inclined to those who call to you."

فهر تسحه. حاسم مدلا جه محاسم مدلا تركم الغالم العدم. ولا به والمراجع المراجع المراجع

#### אמביה :Supplication VII.7

#### Supplication VII.8 במיביה לאמיביה א במיביה

لى المونى لحى عديد حونى على المولى المارتدى العربي المارك المارك

# אמיביסה אבשלים:Supplication VII.9

# Supplication VII.10 במבלא כמעבטא:

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<sup>1</sup> Syr.: منافس عل (merappeḥān 'al), lit. "the one hovering over."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> M: "to sinners who come to you."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Luke 17:11–19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Matt 9:1–8; Mark 2:1–12; Luke 5:17–26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M: "to your Father, and to the Holy Spirit."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> John 14:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Read with M; OB: omit.

great in mercy, you who are merciful and take care of 1 (sinners who ask for mercy). 2 Open to us, O Lord, the door of your mercy, O Christ, the lover of penitents.

# **Supplication VII.7:** In the Same [Melody]

Your love brought you down from the high habitations of your Father toward our wickedness. The race of humanity could never attain to ascend toward you to the place of your Father. You brought all assistance to us; in the likeness of a healer bearing medicines you healed the infirm and purified the lepers.<sup>3</sup> To the paralytics you gave healing,<sup>4</sup> [OB 372] and you remitted the debts and sins of the sinful woman who drew near to you.<sup>5</sup> So too I, my Lord, who call to you, spare the sins of my wretched soul so that I may confess you and give glory to you, (O Christ, the lover of penitents.)<sup>6</sup>

# **Supplication VII.8:** On the Departed in the Same [Melody]

May he not forget you who lay down in the dust, on account of the corruption of your limbs; because he, the living body that you ate and the forgiving blood that you drank, he has the power to resuscitate you and to clothe your bodies in glory. He is your way<sup>7</sup> and your bridge on which you may pass to<sup>8</sup> the place of refuge. O Messiah, who came and by his running blood reconciled heights, depths, (and all the regions,)<sup>9</sup> give rest, (my Lord,)<sup>10</sup> to the souls of your servants in the promised life eternal.

# Supplication VII.9: On the Cross in the Same [Melody]

By the banner of life that Emperor Constantine saw up in the heavens he waged war with error, conquered [it], and put idolatry to shame. By it, the church and all her children conquer all those on the side of the left [hand]. The cross appeared up in the heavens, the cross was elevated upon Golgotha, and may the cross be a wall for Christians who believe in it.

**Supplication VII.10:** On the Resurrection in the Same [Melody] My Lord, in your resurrection the church rejoices, and her children inside it sing your glory, to you who rose in glory from the grave and did not see corruption in the dwelling of Sheol. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> M: "that were at enmity."

<sup>10</sup> M: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Matt 25:33.

#### ペロス がエュ マコロ いかん イギン :Supplication VII.11

که متعدی، حخر لسترد. حل تبای بیمی حدر هدر که که بیدی هذر که محب بیدی مخرکه بیدی مخرکه بیدی که منافعه که بیدی مجله، محب هدای متن می هیک عیده مجله، مخبه هم همت هدیدی مخبله مخبه مخبه مخبه که الله می بیدی مخبه بیدی منافع منافع

# ארא במיביסה:Supplication VII.12

که ستسک تسه همهر ترونی تخیک مقالسک مهشتی متعکی حجه میدنده که ستسکی المحللده می برین متعلی حجه میدنده کی مختلف کا مختلف

# രചചാനാ പ്രവാധ്യ :Supplication VII.13

حد نیاب عفعه تخمع تخمع تخرع تخر هذبه لنیاب. هسته هغیت سه هر حدت . تسوه مبده لر بعده تنیابه. مهسته تدههای لی المهل لن المعیم تدهدی، مدحب محمد می مدانی در به مدانی در به تدهدی تدهدی مدخی مددنی در به در به مددنی در به مددنی در به مددنی در به مددنی در به در به

- <sup>1</sup> The meaning of this number is not clear.
- 2 lit. "rods."
- <sup>3</sup> Reading with M; OB: omit.
- <sup>4</sup> M: omit.
- M: "his sword drawn and thoroughly sharp sets its edge against us, as against Jerusalem. Again behold, his bow is drawn out and full, and his arrow is readied on the bowstring in order to shoot."
  - <sup>6</sup> M: omit.
  - <sup>7</sup> M: "portents of all kinds appear to us."
  - <sup>8</sup> M: "may we who take refuge in your prayer."
  - 9 Lit. "rods."
  - <sup>10</sup> M: add "may you be a protection for the earth and."
  - M: add "and watchers and humans rejoice in your feasts."
  - <sup>12</sup> M: add "and spare [me]."

ancestors bowed to you there, and the chiefs of the orders and the dominions, all the ranks of the house of Gabriel, descended in your honor. All the blessed ones whom death had imprisoned in the habitation of Sheol lauded your presence and began to sing glory to your resurrection from the house of the dead.

**Supplication VII.11:** Another Order, the Sixth;<sup>1</sup> First [Hymn], concerning the Birthgiver of God

O holy one, beseech your Only Begotten Son on behalf of the sinners who seek refuge in you. For the plagues<sup>2</sup> by which (evil ones)<sup>3</sup> have been plagued from generation [OB 373] to generation: behold, now<sup>4</sup> they have befallen us and have arrived. Behold the Corruptor, (his bow drawn and his arrow readied upon the string, in order to shoot.)<sup>5</sup> Again,<sup>6</sup> behold, in the heavens and on earth (are portents of all categories, as well as afflictions)<sup>7</sup> that grip the heart. Wherefore, (may we who take refuge in you)<sup>8</sup> cry out to your offspring and say, "O chastiser of the follies of heart, lifegiving and healing Messiah, continue unto us with compassion, and restore to us mercy. Spare [me] and have mercy on me."

# Supplication VII.12: On the Saints in the Same [Melody]

O heroes, lovers of the Son, prophets, apostles, and holy martyrs: entreat and supplicate the one who crowns you that he may remove from us plagues<sup>9</sup> and afflictions. For behold, battles and trials surround the earth and civilization with pain;<sup>10</sup> may it be delivered by you from every harm. For behold, glorious [both] in the heavens and on earth is the day of your remembrance.<sup>11</sup> Wherefore, while fleeing to you we cry out and say to your Lord, the chastiser of the follies of the heart, "[O] Messiah, the hope of his athletes, continue unto us with compassion and endow us with mercy,<sup>12</sup> and have mercy on me."<sup>13</sup>

 $\textbf{Supplication VII.13:} \ On \ Repentance \ in \ the \ Same \ [Melody]$ 

Concerning the sinner (you have heard me say),<sup>14</sup> that when the Lord judges the sinner, at once he sends one of the watchers, [saying]: "Go down, bring me the soul of the sinner, and as soon as you arrive, do not allow his soul to weep and beg forgiveness."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> M: "on us."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> M: "it compels me to say."

حة فنحب ستك دس علحك. كالمك تقلب الأحم لشرك تكالمن ويدهم. أقب وتسحك علب دستك مكالأسر علم

#### Supplication VII.14: גבייג א כמיביטאלי

# Supplication VII.15: כעבונא האבסא

حد لتولمه رحم حصد مبام ولحفة و حتم دهخه دند مبام هر حمده المرام و و حمده المرام و و المده و و المده و و المده و و و المده و و و المده و و و المده و المده و و المده و

- <sup>1</sup> M: "life remains to you in this world."
- <sup>2</sup> M: "to good ones and evil ones equally."
- <sup>3</sup> M: "me."
- <sup>4</sup> M: "me."
- <sup>5</sup> M: add "spare [me]."
- <sup>6</sup> M: "bodies."
- <sup>7</sup> M: "high."
- <sup>8</sup> M: "light."
- <sup>9</sup> Read with M; OB: omit; Matt 24:30; 26:64; Mark 14:62.
- <sup>10</sup> Ps 103:5.
- <sup>11</sup> M: "with him will tremble in fear and shuddering."
- <sup>12</sup> M: "and say."
- <sup>13</sup> Read with M; OB: bryh<sup>3</sup>.
- <sup>14</sup> M: add "on us."

Sinner, turn from your way, and take the yoke of repentance while (the life of this world remains.)<sup>1</sup> God, whose door is opened (to the sinners who come to him),<sup>2</sup> chasten us<sup>3</sup> with compassion and endow us<sup>4</sup> with mercy,<sup>5</sup> and have mercy on me.

**Supplication VII.14:** Concerning Those Who Have Departed in the Faith in the Same [Melody]

O departed ones, do not be sad because the beauty of your faces is corrupted, for the Messiah is coming in peace, and by his command he shall renew your images. For behold, [OB 374] he will establish his fearsome throne and will stir himself to come on the clouds of heaven, and all the orders [of] fire and spirit [with him will tremble and be terrified.] For behold, in the heavens and on earth they will proclaim the glory of his greatness, and the watchers and humans will tremble because of him. Wherefore, we implore you: do not burn up your likeness in the fire, but renew the icons that are faded, and at your right hand they will cry out to you, [my Lord]: O renewer, the Son of the living one, spare the souls of your servants, resurrect them by your goodness, and spare [us] and have mercy."

**Supplication VII.15:** On the Passing [of the Departed], on Repentance

When I recall my sins, and the evil deeds I have committed, I fear justice, because of the sight [of] my blemishes and my wound[s]. I cannot look to heaven, to where my sins have gone up. The earth beneath me cries out [for help], for my transgressions have become great upon it. Woe to me, when the just and the righteous will enter before God, and the good deeds they did will radiate [with] beauty like the sun! But I, my Lord, who have become dark through my deeds, what will I do at that hour? Woe to me, when the priests will enter and offer the talents that they received; whereas I, my Lord, buried them in the earth. What reply will I give? May I not become food for the fire, I whose food was your body and your blood. May I not be hurled into Gehenna, I who was clothed in your baptism. Spread over me the shadow of your goodness [and] remit my debts in your compassion. Lord of all, glory to you.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Matt 25:14–30.

# スロス カルス たいかく :Supplication VII.16

# Supplication VII.17: ححدة به تحبية

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ps 62:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dan 7:9, 13, 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Syr.: באבם (qaššīš men kul); this expression is a synonym to Syr. באבם כי (<sup>c</sup>attīq men kul), found in Dan 7:9, 13, 22; see Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, 2:3766.

Supplication VII.16: Another concerning the Birthgiver of God Mary is the arch of the dawn, in whom are kept the treasures of the heights. From her God shone forth to us, and the prophets prophesied concerning her. David named her the thirsty land; Daniel [named her] both the ancient of days and also the ancient of all; Ezekiel, the door [OB 375] through which the Only Begotten of God entered. Isaiah proclaimed and said that a virgin will conceive and give birth to Immanuel, who for our sake became flesh: the Messiah, who came at the renewal of time and fulfilled all prophecies; blessed be the one who sent him.

# Supplication VII.17: The Passing of the Departed

The tidings of the [last] judgment make me tremble, my brethren, and [the tidings of] Gehenna make my limbs shake. By [all] the springs that flowed in the wilderness the thirst of my tortures is not quenched. Like the rich man I ask for water, in pain imploring Abraham, "My father Abraham, have mercy on me!<sup>6</sup> The prophets called to me, but I did not answer<sup>7</sup> them. As for the apostles, I spurned their words." Let us pray and beseech him who is judge, (who through his compassion)<sup>8</sup> spares our race. Glorified<sup>9</sup> are you, Lord, the king of all the ages, the renewer of our race.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ezek 44:1–4; see Supplication IV.17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Isa 7:14; see Supplication IV.17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Luke 16:24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> M: "heed."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> M: "who alone."

<sup>9</sup> M: "blessed."

### んiwイ:Supplication VII.18

لعده له هم تخهه و فاحده بنه همه مفسون لن و تدهه همه مهدون لن و تدهه همه هم و تدهه و معتال و تدهه و تدهم و

## んかべ:Supplication VII.19

۶۸۶٬۵۶۸ کالم مهرد لنده ده و که دره بالم بخده بالله بخده بالله بالم بالله بال

## んなべ:Supplication VII.20

<sup>1</sup> Reading with M for OB خد.

<sup>2</sup> Syr.: Kannak (emmā dgawwā), lit. "mother of the inside"; this may also be translated "common metropolis," in reference to the fate of all humans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Ps 87:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ps 48:8.

Reading with M 'ābar for OB 'ābed.

<sup>6</sup> M: "singing."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> M: pl.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pss 48:15; 89:6–7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Pss 108:24; 89:6–7.

M: "the evening comes, will fade away, and wither"; cf. Pss 36:3; 102:16.

# Supplication VII.18: Another [Hymn on the Departed]

To Sheol, the Metropolis of the inner [earth],<sup>2</sup> the Son of the Kingdom descended [and] cast down that desolate one, and he brought out the dead who were inside her. The good one dissolved the dominion of death and put to the ban its treasures and its palaces. He called to the departed, "Come, go out to me, I who have come on account of Adam, who transgressed the commandment." All of us, the faithful, along with him who is the prophet, answer with joy and say, "Behold, you worker of wonders for the dead, the heroes rise and give thanks to you!"<sup>3</sup>

# **Supplication VII.19:** Another [Hymn on the Departed]

I remembered God, and I feared the great day of the resurrection. The shadows of death encompassed me when I heard the prophet who spoke, "He did not redeem the brother and is a man who does not give to God his ransom." What shall I do, I whose deeds are not virtuous, that God should redeem my soul and rescue me from the hand of Sheol?

# **Supplication VII.20:** Another [Hymn on the Departed]

As I passed through the gates of the cities [of the dead],<sup>5</sup> I heard a voice." I drew near, stood, and listened to that voice filled with sighs. I saw **[OB 376]** old and young, women beautiful in body, free women and slave women, who were softly murmuring<sup>6</sup> tunes of mourning. With sadness I asked them, "Handsome ones, for whom do you weep? And why do you sing lamentations, you whose beauties are so lovely?" They said to me, "Be silent, idiot! For these beauties that you see will become rot in Sheol! The purple garment<sup>7</sup> we have put on and the ornaments that we wear: death will corrupt their beauty. Our beauty is like the sun that came and dawned in the morning.<sup>8</sup> Our beauty is like the shade that descends and stays upon the grass.<sup>9</sup> Our beauty is like the flower that (when the heat comes will be dried up).<sup>10</sup> (Woe, the eventide of death comes and rules over us and makes us mournful.")<sup>11</sup> My Lord, lament, lament over (our beauty)<sup>12</sup> that is corrupted in

 $<sup>^{11}\,</sup>$  M: "my brethren, the eventide of death draws near and rules over our countenances."

<sup>12</sup> M: "your image."

مهم وويه موسمه مد معلم مد مدنه مدنه ما عدد ما عدد مدنه ما مدنه ما عدد ما مدنه ما مدن ما مدنه ما مدنه ما مدنه ما مدنه ما مدن ما مدن

## んかべ:Supplication VII.21

هم تاحمه مذبه دوهه ما منده و منده المعدون المحدد و مند و المدر و المد

## んかん:Supplication VII.22

ا تن کا تحدد کر تاریخ کا تحدد کر تحد کر تحدد کر تحدد

## んかん:Supplication VII.23

ا حدر الحاد وغولم و مسلام لحد حدید و منوسر لاحل ولحد المحدد فروند و الحدد المحدد فروند و الحدد المحدد و المحدد

<sup>1</sup> Read with M for مصلعة.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Read with M for incom.

<sup>3</sup> Read with M for ≺⇒≺i.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I.e., "our beauty."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> M: "and renew your images."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M: "comfort him."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Rev 9:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> M: add "Lord, glory to you."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> M: add "for this world."

Sheol! Resurrect, (revive it,<sup>4</sup> and raise me; restore your images anew;)<sup>5</sup> and at the resurrection may you, my Lord, (revive it)<sup>6</sup> so that we may send up to you voices of glory. Lord of all, glory to you!

## **Supplication VII.21:** Another [Hymn on the Departed]

When the horn on high blares, and the voice of the trumpet resounds, and the watchers on high cause the four faces of creation to tremble, and they gather the dusts of Adam from the four corners of the earth, and the standard of the cross appears before you, the upright judge, the one who repaid each person according to his labors and according to his deeds that he has done: in that season, O our Savior, take pity on those who worship your cross. 8

# Supplication VII.22: Another [Hymn on the Departed]

I tremble whenever I recall the great judgment, 9 especially when the just will receive the wage that they earned before you. I made my sins known to you, and I did not hide my transgressions from you. 10 What will I do, O my brethren, when I enter into judgment? The prophets called to me, but I did not turn back. And again the apostles [called], but I treated their words 11 with contempt. Now, Lord, I am afraid [OB 377] of your great judgment, which makes me tremble and terrifies 12 the dissolute ones such as me; I who am not able to call out 13 and say, "Fortunate is he whose iniquity is forgiven and whose sins are hidden on the day of the resurrection."

# Supplication VII.23: Another [Hymn on the Departed]

Shepherd me, guide me, take me, and bring me down into the house of the departed. Show me there the likeness of Adam, that beautiful one, who was formed of detestable, putrid dust, in the habitation of Sheol. With suffering and sadness I called out to death and asked him, "O you covetous death, why is the wine press overturned in the habitation of Sheol, with which you trampled out the choice grapes of the children of Adam?" Death answered me, saying, "Wherefore am I guilty, that I am cast down? I carried out the commandment from the Lord to corrupt the children of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Ps 50:4.

<sup>11</sup> Read with M mellawhy for camlawhy, "their efforts."

Read with M  $m^e$  sarred for  $m^e$  saddar.

Read with M  $d^{9}eq^{6}e$  for  $d^{9}m^{9}$ .

معانبده محر ادلای موندر موندر ماندار عمدسی لیمدی ملدای ماندسماری

## べかべ:Supplication VII.24

## んかべ:Supplication VII.25

نعلم المعالم محتری المعالم ال

# אליביז איים:Supplication VII.26

# イめしょったこと :Supplication VII.27

حاسم بازی من برخیا می مین مین مین مین من برخیال حل دیمی برخیال مین مین برخیال مین برخیا

بدعلين عد مازه دلاهقعه، دميعه علم يعامد

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1 Cor 15:52 or 1 Thess 4:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I.e., the angels; cf. Matt 16:27; Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26; or Matt 25:31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This and the following hymn are likely sung in connection with Holy Thursday.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ps 50:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. Ps 50:3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John 13:1–14.

Adam. Suddenly with the voice of the trumpet<sup>1</sup> he startled me: by him was cast down the great place of the dead, and the dead rose while singing, 'Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.'"

# **Supplication VII.24:** Another [Hymn on the Departed]

With great suffering and sadness Adam said to Eve, "Woe! What have you done to me? You have cast me from paradise and from that garden of delights into the earth filled with curses! Yesterday kings and today paupers! Yesterday heirs and today those who are driven out! Remain in peace, paradise, the garden who hates its gardener." We have hope in God that we will return inside to our inheritance. Lord, all glory to you!

# **Supplication VII.25:** Another [Hymn on the Departed]

Chief of the living and Lord of the dead, remember your own servants who ate your body and drank your blood, those who have fallen asleep and have been comforted with your hope. When you come in glory on the glorious wings of your messengers, resurrect them from their graves, shake from them the dust, and clothe them with the robe of glory. [OB 378] Raise them up by your right hand, so that they may enter with you into the bridal chamber and may send up glory to your goodness.

# **Supplication VII.26:** A Greek [Hymn] for the Washing [of the Feet] $^3$

Together we wash, cleanse, and purify with this outer ablution the thought that is within, so that a clean heart be created in us.<sup>4</sup> And with the great prophet David we cry out and say, "Thoroughly wash away my transgressions and cleanse me from my sins."<sup>5</sup>

# **Supplication VII.27:** Another Greek [Hymn] of the Washing [of the Feet]

The holy apostles were bound with the bond of true love; they committed their souls into the hands of the Messiah their chief, who rules over all creation. They stretched out their own comely feet for washing,<sup>6</sup> bringing to humanity tidings of peace and tranquility.

End of the seventh order of supplications; pray for the sinner.

# 3.6.2.2. Hymns in the Syrian Liturgical Tradition (Mosul *Breviarium*)<sup>1</sup>

#### الاحعقلاكم

تصمر کمس متح لحن احداد میمومه تهداد . تحد کمد تر دسته که تداده آب مداد کم محمد کم در الله مله در الله مله در الله ماد در الله

## אישישי סניביע) (I

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- <sup>1</sup> Text: Mosul (*Breviarium juxta ritum ecclesiae antiochenae syrorum*, 1:77–126). These supplications are part of the Syrian liturgical hymns. For the introduction, see above, §2.5.4. In the footnotes, the Mosul edition (= M) is compared with Overbeck's edition of the hymns attributed to Rabbula (= OB; see above, §3.6.2.1).
  - <sup>2</sup> Lit. "wrappings."
- According to Payne Smith, Compendious Syriac Dictionary, 424, "In Jacobite Offices an  $\leftarrow$  [('eqb\bar{a}), "heel, end,"] was a variable termination of a prayer, also [it could refer to] a short form of prayer at the conclusion of an Office" (italics original).
- <sup>4</sup> The present edition and translation presents the supplications arranged according to the eight tones (octoechos), from the first tone through to the eighth tone.
- <sup>5</sup> We number according to the following system: roman numeral for tone or order; first arabic numeral for alphabetical group within a given tone or

# 3.6.2.2. Hymns in the Syrian Liturgical Tradition (Mosul *Breviarium*)

Supplications, the greater part of which are attributed to My Lord Rabbula, bishop of Edessa, which are said at the conclusion of the night service, instead of the petition, and also instead of the concluding prayers<sup>2</sup> and the termination prayers<sup>3</sup> of the psalms, any time the choirmaster desires.<sup>4</sup>

I.5 First Tone6

## **I.1.** Olaf<sup>7</sup>

- **I.1.1.** Peace be with you, most holy one, Mary, Birthgiver of God, glorious and honored treasury of all habitation; splendid, blazing lamp, incomprehensible abode, pure temple of the Creator of all creation. Peace to you by whom the Lamb was named,<sup>8</sup> the one who takes away the sin of the world and saves it.
- **I.1.2.** Blessed martyrs, you appeared as rational grapes, and from the wine of your love<sup>9</sup> the church (is gladdened.)<sup>10</sup> O brilliant and divine lights who readily showed battle against all (sufferings, tortures, and)<sup>11</sup> all afflictions, (and put to shame the tyrants by your athleticism,)<sup>12</sup> glory to the power of your strength in your contests! God, (who crowns his beloved ones,)<sup>13</sup> have mercy on us.
- **I.1.3.** If he who is righteous is saved with difficulty, I, who am a sinner—what will I do?<sup>14</sup> I did not endure the burden of the day and the burning of the sun, but count me with the workers at the eleventh hour,<sup>15</sup> save me, and have mercy on me.

order; second arabic numeral for number of the supplication within the given alphabetical group.

- <sup>6</sup> The word could also be translated as "order."
- Within a given tone or order, groups of supplications are ordered according to letters of the Syriac alphabet. The number of supplications within an alphabetical group varies.
  - <sup>8</sup> Matt 1:25; Luke 2:21.
  - OB: "your very wine."
  - <sup>10</sup> OB: "has become gladdened."
  - OB: omit.
- OB: "conquered ferocious tyrants by your victorious athleticism, and they were put to shame."
  - OB: "who came for the salvation of his creation."
  - OB: "what will I do, I who am a sinner."
  - <sup>15</sup> Matt 20:9.

#### 二 (I.2

## $\angle$ (I.3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hos 5:7–9; 1 Cor 15:52; 1 Thess 4:16; Rev 8:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> M: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> M: this word is misprinted.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ps 35:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Allusion to Gen 3:20 LXX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Gen 27:27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 1 Kgs 18:44; Isa 18:4; or Isa 6:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Song 4:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Heb 9:2.

Syr.:  $(y\bar{o}n\bar{a}k\bar{\imath}r)$ ; see, e.g., Protoevangelium of James 1.1 et passim.

**I.1.4.** Lord, the departed ones who clothed themselves in you by baptism: clothe their bodies with the robe of glory when you come, when with the sound of the horn and of the trumpet<sup>1</sup> you will resurrect and renew our entire race (of humanity.)<sup>2</sup> My Lord, forgive their debts, and pass over the sins in the multitude of your goodness. Glory to the power of your presence, Lord of lords! God, who came for the salvation of his creation, (give life to your servants)<sup>3</sup> and have mercy on us.<sup>4</sup>

### I.2. Beth

**I.2.1.** At the beauty of Mary I marveled, my brethren, how much greater [it is] than [that of] earthly women, than [that of] all females. For she was the fountain of life that is higher than the watchers; she who was called with [the word] "Creation" by the seventy-two tongues. She is the blessed field; she is the little cloud; she is the fountain of delights; she is the lamp stand of lights. She who was called and named Mary, the daughter of Joachim, She who gave birth for us to the fruit of life, he whom we glorify, and her, his birthgiver, we call blessed.

## I.3. Gomal

**I.3.1.** On the mountains of Horeb the prophet Moses saw you in a miracle, holy Virgin. The fire dwelled within the bush, and it blazed in it, but the bush was not burned. Again, the ladder that the righteous Jacob saw in the open country on which the watchers ascended and descended to [and from] heaven depicted you. David, the son of Jesse, took his spiritual harp and began to say with it, "Like gentle rain that falls upon the earth," so did (the son of the king) shine forth and lodge in (your womb.) Thus may the (Hebrew maidens) come to you, clapping their tambourines

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Exod 3:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Gen 28:12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> OB: "likewise."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ps 71:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> OB: "God."

OB: "come down."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> OB: "the Virgin."

<sup>19</sup> OB: "young maidens and virgins."

هدی. ماهم کے لم بامصر بعثر الحدی ملام کی بدنی ملامی مرسوبی مفعد سنای بعثر کے جمع کا عمدسی کمن

(1.3.2) نع برد له به سه سه به مهر هم المعدم المعدد المعدد

1.3.3) على مة بالمهر فحك كالك محداد المعالي على المحداد المعالي . محل مقدر ستر فلسلا حقل معمة سكر متم كحداه المعالي معمة المحداد المعالي معرف محداد المعالي المعالية ال

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Exod 15:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> OB: "in the spirit of holiness."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Note again the use of athletic imagery for martyrs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Luke 23:42.

in their hands<sup>1</sup> in joy<sup>2</sup> before the son of the king and say to you, "Blessed are you, Mary, on account of the one to whom you gave birth, (the stately one, the warrior, the valiant one, and the miracle worker. Omnipotent Lord, glory to you!)"<sup>3</sup>

- **I.3.2.** On the top of Golgotha the martyrs saw Christ suspended on the wood, and his hands were stretched out, calling to the peoples and the nations to come worship him. They were given courage and said, "Come, let us die for our Lord, just as he died for us." So they endured sufferings and severe tortures and afflictions on account of their faith. Blessed is our Savior, who strengthened his athletes, they [who] were victorious and triumphant. Behold, today they have become a wall for the church and her children. May their prayer help us.
- **I.3.3.** I weep and lament over the days of my youth, which have passed without profit. I have committed iniquities and crimes all the days of my life and as many evil deeds as I was able. Now my days are completed, and compunction is far from me. Woe to me if I do not repent! Now I beseech and make supplication to your goodness, like the sinful woman<sup>5</sup> and like that thief who confessed you on top of the wood:<sup>6</sup> spare [me] and have mercy on me.
- **I.3.4.** Jesus the Savior will come in great glory on chariots of fire when he comes to make a new resurrection for the departed (who confessed and believed in you.) He will sit in judgment, and before him will enter the generations for the sentence of justice. Then he will open his books: he good will rejoice and be glad in life eternal. Find your servants who fell asleep in your hope worthy (to stand with the sheep,) so that they may not be driven out from your divine presence, O most loving one, but (may call out) to you a new glory, (with hosannas to you, the one who resurrects the dead.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Isa 66:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> OB: "who fell asleep in his hope."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Rev 20:12.

Rev 22:22–27; OB: add "My Lord, on the day of your appearance."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Matt 25:31–46; OB: omit.

<sup>12</sup> OB: "may send up."

OB: "when you come, lover of humankind."

#### **5. (I.4**

1.4.3) في كه يحك حل سةده، ويحك حجم لتحديد. في كه يعلل على
تسلك، ويوحه لمة كه حعلم، حي تعلى تمؤك لسندك، وحدلات حم
حتمك، ورحك تلاعك من حملات متحيث شوه، ورحك تسل شو
تنك، تستنو لم يهتك، ورجم كهجة حضر عجلاك، تحقير لك عهنو،
حن حسوده تعلمته ومهلكه تشر تعليده وحجل ولحدوله لاحسماك،
كم الملات لرحل تسليلا، كملك سمع علر هنومر حضر، عجلاك وكملانسر علن

1.4.4) حومده سامه هدهه زهم بازمه مختب المحمد المحم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ezek 1:10–21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I.e., martyria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Syr.  $b\bar{e}ma$ , from Gk. βημα, meaning a raised platform from which orators addressed a crowd or a court of law and later referring to a court of law or place of judgment.

#### I.4. Dolath

- **I.4.1.** Who will not extol your memory, pure and holy Virgin? Who will not honor your feast day, Mary, mother of God, you who are higher than the heavens? The earth is less than your honor; the chariot of the cherubim<sup>1</sup> is not comparable to your sublime graces. The one by whom the cherubim are burned: [him] you bore on your arms. Now entreat and petition him, that he act [with] mercy toward us all; on the day of judgment let down your wings. [You who are] full of mercy and compassion, may your prayer be a wall for us.
- **I.4.2.** Who will not magnify your memory, prophets, apostles, and martyrs? Who will not laud your feasts and take refuge in your resting places, you who have become high walls and secure and strong fortresses? Blessed be the one who seeks refuge in you, that he may be rescued from afflictions. Blessed be the one who keeps vigil on the day[s] of your feasts and prostrates himself before your urns, so that he may receive healing for his pains and acts of aid for his infirmity. All of us, the assembly of the faithful, call out to you to help us. Petition and entreat on behalf of us all. May your prayers be for us a wall.
- **I.4.3.** Who does not weep over his debts, and the heights [of heaven] do not weep with him? Who does not wail because he has sinned, and the mountain[s] do not shake from his voice, on account of the judgment that will come at the end, by which creation will be judged? Woe, when that platform<sup>3</sup> is set up, before which the trial will take place! Woe, how fearsome is that judge whom the fiery ones surround! Woe, what will I do at that hour, [I] whose deeds are not virtuous? Our Lord, in the love of her who begot you and the prayers of her who bore you, and through your wondrous cross, do not remember me for all that I have sinned, but spare me, save me at that hour, and have mercy on me.
- **I.4.4.** In the broad valley I saw a wonder: the scattered and dried up bones that had become mire in Sheol and the worms gnawing their bodies, which became food for the maggot and the worms. I heard the voice of the prophet that declared life for the dead, to the scattered and dried-up bones. Blessed is he by whose voice was resurrected the progeny of Adam, the one from dust.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ezek 37:1-2.

#### თ (I.5

- I.5.1) exerts out yet L es  $\dot{\omega}$ , with refer heavy obsert, as L or extension of the L or extension L or expositely o
- (I.5.2) למלץ כין א הביע איז בינ. פוסם, כמס נסכא. לא אמלא לבא לבאר האסוג כל פיסם, האיז האסוג לבא השלא האסוג בל ביטה האיז האסוג בא היסוג אובם סאכין. למלץ כין איז נפין איז בכא האסוג אובם סאכין. למלץ כין איז נפין איז בכא האסוג לא אכמהל:
- (I.5.3) Ly unto L, where eight constant extremination of the standard of the constant and L units. In the law end L units, and L units L units, and L units, a

## اII) مىدلاك برانىدى (II

## < (II.1

CH.1.2) علملم ومن المله ملام مواهد المحمل المحامل الماركة الماركة المحمل المحم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pss 41:3; 62:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ps 122:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ps 24:2–3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Pss 39:14; 69:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ps 24:2–3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ezek 1:15–21.

#### **I.5.** He

# **I.5.1.** [Hymns on] the Departed.

I am afraid of that fire which is kept for the evil ones and the workers of iniquity. While lamenting, I implore you, who with your baptism clothed me from within the waters, and who fed me your body and your blood from [your] holy altar, that the fire be extinguished from my limbs. How fragrant to me is the fragrance of your body and your blood! With the prophet David I cry out, "My soul thirsts for you, the living God. How long until I come and see your face?" 1

- **I.5.2.** To you, O Lord, I lift up my eyes,<sup>2</sup> my Savior, on that day. Good one, do not despise my cry, I who confess you [as] my Savior, but by your goodness make me worthy, O most merciful one, so that with the great prophet David I may cry out and say, "I lifted up my soul to you, Lord, my God, in whom I have hoped; I will not be ashamed."<sup>3</sup>
- **I.5.3.** May those who look askance at me not exult over me,<sup>4</sup> my Savior, on that day. May [my] enemy who seeks that I perish not boast. May I who ate your holy body and who drank your forgiving blood not approach the fire. Remit my debts, and with the great prophet David I will call out and say, "I lifted up my soul to you Lord, my God, in whom I have hoped; I will not be ashamed."<sup>5</sup>

#### II. Second Tone

#### II.1. Olaf

- **II.1.1.** Pure and exalted one who did not yield to marriage, fleshly chariot<sup>6</sup> and throne of crystal!<sup>7</sup> For the one whose power is from on high descended and dwelled within you, and the one, the intensity of whose conflagration heaven [can]not contain, through his mercy was enclosed for nine months in your pure womb. You bore him on your pure arms, while he sucked milk from your breasts, the one who in wonder is borne on the back[s] of the cherubim,<sup>8</sup> the one who came to save the world from [its] error.
- **II.1.2.** Peace to you, who gave birth in the flesh to God the Word, the Most High; unwed mother, pure and holy Virgin, Mary, the mother of Christ, full of mercy and goodness. Peace to you, who became a second heaven for the eternal Word of the Father. Peace

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ezek 1:26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Pss 79:2; 98:2; Isa 37:16.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1 Kgs 18:44; Isa 18:4; or Isa 6:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gen 2:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Matt 5:13.

Syr.:  $(p^e l \bar{a} n)$ , lit. "so-and-so." The name of the saint to be commemorated is inserted here.

I.e., to the protection of the saint.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The pronominal suffix for "his" and "her" in this instance is left unpointed, perhaps intentionally, given that the hymn may be used for a confessor of either gender.

to you, who became a little cloud<sup>1</sup> for the Creator of all creation. Now, holy one, we beseech you to entreat your only begotten [son], God who is over all, that he give peace to creation because of the multitude of his mercy.

- II.1.3. O Edenic rushing streams<sup>2</sup> that draw from the fountain of life, a course of thoughts and divine dogmas, the beauty of the religion of correct theology! You are the salt of creation,<sup>3</sup> O apostles full of truth! You are the light of the church and the preachers of the faith. Now, O apostles, we beseech you to entreat on our behalf the Lord, who magnified you, that we be confirmed in your teaching and become worthy of the remission of debts, through the multitude of his mercy and his kindness.
- **II.1.4.** The human mouth cannot recount the sufferings of the martyrs, and a tongue of flesh cannot declare the praises of [those] who endured tortures and afflictions and received fire and the sword. They inherit blessings from God in exchange for what is fleeting. They are delighted with blessings in heaven because they forsook family and lineage. Now, we beseech you, Lord of all, give us the portion that is with your holy ones in the promised life that is eternal, because of the multitude of your mercy.
- **II.1.5.** Glorious, exalted, and desirable is your memorial, my lord [name],<sup>4</sup> so great among the afflicted and the boast of the confessors, beloved of the heavenly bridegroom and edifier of the churches. Glory to the one who entrusted [to] the house of your hands<sup>5</sup> authority over height and the depth! Glory to the one who pours forth from your bones help to all who are in need! Now, Lord of all, we beseech you, remit our debts through his (her)<sup>6</sup> prayers, because of the multitude of your mercy.
- **II.1.6.** She, who was blameworthy because of her practice but afterwards was praised because of her transformation, <sup>7</sup> carrying the aromatic oil poured it forth upon you, <sup>8</sup> saying, "My Lord, do not reject me, a whore." You who were born from a virgin, my Lord, do not reject the tears of my eyes, you [who are] the joy of the angels; but receive me who turns toward you, and forgive me all that I have sinned against you, because of the multitude of your mercy. **II.1.7.** Where is the opulence and embellishment of this passing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Luke 7:38.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ezek 1:15–26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lit. "limbs."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Matt 25:1–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Matt 25:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Matt 25:32.

world? Where is the desirable beauty that in Sheol wears off and becomes corrupted? Where is the teaching that is brought to nothing by the wise? Come, enter, and look into the graves, the meeting place of kings and beggars. Come, enter, and see that in Sheol the rich are together with the poor. Now, Lord of all, we beseech you, give rest to the souls of your servants in the promised life that is eternal, because of the multitude of your mercy.

#### II.2. Beth

- **II.2.1.** [To the tune] "The women supposed." You, my Lord, grant me that I may announce the generation of the one who gave you birth, and I will give the good [news] to the blessed woman, as I am able. Blessed is she who came to be like the chariot of the cherubim<sup>1</sup> and carried [and] bore the mighty one who carries creation. Blessed is she who gave drops of milk from her breasts<sup>2</sup> to the one who by his sign governs the ages and all creation. So, then, let us say, blessed is the blessed one; by her prayers may mercy be upon us all.
- **II.2.2.** You, my Lord, grant me that while I am rejoicing in the memory of the apostles, I may weave a crown full of the praises of their victories. Arrange on my tongue meters fitting for their praises, they [who] went out to creation like springs that irrigate the world. Come, let us refresh ourselves with their divine teaching, they who enlightened all our souls. Come, let us raise up glory to the Lord who crowned them, the one who is good and the lover of humanity.
- II.2.3. Judgment is at hand, O my beloved ones. Look and understand: the world comes to an end. Alas, compunction is far from us! Life and that which is desirable of the world and its pleasures have flickered out. May we not sleep like those foolish virgins, and the gate[s] be closed and not open up for [any]one when we knock.<sup>3</sup> Come, let us unceasingly take refuge in repentance, and through it let us diligently make supplication from within our heart. Lord of all, forgive [us], and have mercy on us.
- **II.2.4.** When you, Son of God, come in the glory of your Father, the horn will sound out that the bridegroom has arrived, "Rise, go out to meet him!" Your sign will order those lying down [in] the dust to assemble. And the watchers will swoop in the air like eagles, dividing the sheep from the goats. The good ones will as-

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(II.4.2) متعط مالم، المحتمد مصمل محتمد المالك متعط مالم المالك ا

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is an instruction to the choirmaster, perhaps an indication of tempo.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Again, an instruction to the choirmaster.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> An instruction to the choirmaster.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I.e., during the celebration of the Eucharist.

 $<sup>^{5}</sup>$  I.e., the flock of your church. The Syriac word for "flock" is feminine with regard to grammatical gender.

cend to the bridal chamber of light, but the evil ones will remain in hateful darkness. At that time, when there are neither entreaties nor persuasion, spare, O Savior, your servants, and do not enter into judgment with them, you who are the lover of humanity.

#### II.3. Gomal

- II.3.1. Promptly. While cleaving to the truth we magnify the mother of God, she who is filled with holiness. For if the angel was kindled by your praises, how can a tongue of clay praise you? Inasmuch as you are, so we have learned through the mercy of your son. Beseech [him] on our behalf that we may be delivered from our evil deeds, and accept, O our lady, the gifts we offer you.
- II.3.2. Promptly.<sup>2</sup> While cleaving to the truth we magnify the holy martyrs, who endured the contest and the harsh tortures of the persecutors, so that they might take delight in everlasting life with Christ their Lord. Now, O blessed martyrs, intercede on our behalf that we may be delivered from our evil deeds, and accept from us the gifts we offer you.
- II.3.3. Promptly.<sup>3</sup> While cleaving to the truth let us all, my brothers, intercede on behalf of the departed, who have left us. For as much as we commemorate them in the offerings,<sup>4</sup> so will they take delight in everlasting life with Christ their Lord. Now, Lord, give rest to your servants who have gone before [us] and have laid down in your hope, and receive their spirits unto you, that they go up to you [in] glory.

#### II.4. Dolath

- II.4.1. Merciful Father, your flock<sup>5</sup> implores you, and she and her children make supplication. In your compassion answer her, my Lord, and save her by your grace; the Son, who for our salvation willed and became [one] of us, suffered condemnation for our sake, and by whose death gave us life, and again by whose resurrection saved us; and the Spirit, the Paraclete, the third of the Godhead, who is the pardoner of all sinners who with groaning call upon him, holy Trinity, spare us and have mercy on us.
- **II.4.2.** Holy are you, God; may the orders of the angels and the assemblies of the seraphim implore you, my Lord, on our behalf. Holy are you, mighty one; do not shake the earth because of our sins, O [you who are] full of mercy, and do not bring us with our

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#### a (II.6

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Matt 22:11–12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Luke 13:27.

lives into the grave, O our Creator. Holy are you, immortal one; calm your anger, my Lord, and the menace of your reproach; you who abide in your compassion and heal by your grace. One God triune, spare [us], and have mercy on us.

II.4.3. Awaken my heart from [its] sleep, my Lord, to your holy glory. O my Lord, may thinking not desist from the mind, and may the spiritual impulses not be negated by the bodily senses. My Lord, may the musing of my mind not desist from the glory that is about you, O glorious God. May I have your diurnal light, my Lord, in the still of the night, as I pray before you at this hour, though I am unworthy. Make me holy, O holy one, that I may become for you a holy temple. My Lord, give heed to the assembly of your worshipers who are bowed down before you. May their lives be protected in wakefulness and in sleep by you, the ne[ver]-sleeping watcher, to whom be glory and blessings and thanksgiving for ever and ever.

#### II.5. He

**II.5.1.** The gates of the spiritual bridal chamber are opened for the forgiveness of humanity. Now the gift of the Spirit from heaven is given to all persons in mercy and compassion. Therefore enter, you who are called to that banquet prepared for you, and with a pure and humble heart give thanks to Christ our king.

#### II.6. Waw

**II.6.1.** Behold, our days pass like a shadow; the months and years pass away like a dream in the night. Periods, seasons, times, ages, and generations run with speed, and one presses the other to pass it by. Behold, the end and conclusion arrives, and the judge stands at the door. Like a powerful lion he inspects the garment of each person, with regard to the tears from their eyes, with regard to fasting and to prayer, and with regard to love and to faith. When the coming of the Son of God is revealed in glory, may he not find us defiled with vile deeds and angrily say to us, "I do not know you!"

# **II.7.** Zay

[Hymns on] the Departed

**II.7.1.** The trumpet is very dreadful for the sinners who resemble me, and the voice of the judge is powerful; who can stand before him? I heard the voice of the dreadful judgment, and trembling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> M: pl.

<sup>2</sup> Syr.: خند (rā<sup>c</sup>el), lit. "making the hair stand on end."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gen 3:24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Matt 7:7 or Luke 11:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Qoh 1:2; 12:8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Isa 66:24; Mark 9:44, 46, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> M: "thieves"; Luke 23:42.

began in my limbs. Who will be the advocate on my behalf when secrets are revealed, except he who rent asunder the heaven[s], descended, clothed [himself in] our body, and in it [became] our Savior? It is he who will come with the resurrection and raise the children of Adam [to life], he [who] is good and the lover of humankind.

- II.7.2. I tremble and I shake from that dreadful passage and from that sea of fire through which I will cross. The frightening<sup>2</sup> passage, the pathways through which are difficult, and the bridge of terrors—how can a wretch like me cross over it? Should I advance and cross unlawfully, a legion is standing there around paradise,<sup>3</sup> and when they see me they will drive me away and not let me approach the pure place and that lover of the pure ones. How bitter is that moment [when one is] seized by a sword of fire, killing the body and inflicting pain on the soul! How it grieves the sinner in his heart at that hour, when he calls and is not answered, and knocks on the door and it is not opened to him!<sup>4</sup> Petitions are cut off, and entreaties are not accepted. In that moment, spare your servants who ate your body and drank your blood and died in your hope; make them worthy to enter your bridal chamber.
- II.7.3. In truth, all that is in the world is vanity.<sup>5</sup> For all human beings are troubled in vain, storing up treasures, garbage for the fire! Let us all remember death, which is determined for our race; we quickly become dust and ashes. Let us consider in our mind the blaze that is not extinguished and also the worm, we believe, that eats and does not die,<sup>6</sup> and let us call out in pain, saying, "Our Savior, spare your servants whom you took to yourself, and with the thief<sup>7</sup> on your right hand, raise them in your mercy."
- **II.7.4.** Because of the lines of the writings I read, my eyes shed forth tears in sighing. Just like Jeremiah, who lamented over Jerusalem, so are sinners like me in groans, pains of the heart, and in fear, because I have sinned greatly against justice. And I behold the victory of the saints with the hidden eye, and a veil blurs my mind, so that I am pushed down into the darkness. And like Josaphat I call to you, when I arrive at that hour; in the love of your Father I shall confess you; may Gehenna not look upon me.

<sup>8</sup> See Lamentations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> 2 Chr 20:6–12.

## ペア・アプタ ペタア (III

#### ⟨III.1

- 1.1.11) Lacokh T.T.dea, Touk, LT.K hloh. This on on and Trouth.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Heb 9:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A reference to the veil of the temple.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Exod 3:5.

Matt 10:28.

III. Third Tone

III.1. Olaf

- III.1.1. You resemble the ark of the covenant, Birthgiver of God, in which were the jar of manna and the rod of Aaron that bloomed, and [you resemble] the Solomonic robe. They depicted the mystery that was in your womb, all the prophets by their mysteries, the apostles by their revelations. For this we glorify Christ, who dawned from you, for he is glorified.
- III.1.2. Moses the prophet saw a great wonder atop the mountain: while fire dwelled in the bush but the bush was not burned by it, he heard a voice saying to him, "Remove your sandals from your feet, for this place is holy." With the bush he depicted the Virgin, in that at the end of time the bush would blossom and sprout forth, as it is written. For this we glorify him, the fruit that dawned from her womb, for he is glorified.
- **III.1.3.** Who does not extol your memory, prophets, apostles, and martyrs? Who does not praise your feasts, athletes of the faith, those who obeyed the commandment of your Lord when he taught his disciples and said to them thus, "Whoever does not take up his cross on his shoulder and come after me is not worthy to be my disciple." Because of this we glorify him, the crowner of his beloved ones, for he is glorified.
- III.1.4. When the blessed martyrs saw the fire and the sword of the soldiers, they cried out, saying in exultation, "We do not worship idols, the work of mortal hands. We have the Lord in heaven, and we worship him alone! Neither fire nor sword nor tortures nor afflictions can separate us from the love of him<sup>5</sup> who suffered for us and was crucified on top of the wood at Golgotha!" For this we glorify him who grants victory to his athletes, for he is glorified.
- III.1.5. There was a sinful woman in the world, her debts without limit, yet grace stirred within her to go out to meet him who is the Christ. She sold all that she possessed and bought oil for the head. She entered Simon's house [and went up] to him, the heavenly healer, who heals for free and does not take a fee. With the oil she anointed his feet and wiped them with her hair. Our Lord saw

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Rom 8:35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Luke 7:37–38.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Luke 7:50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Matt 25:1–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ps 118:60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Ps 50:19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Gen 27:27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Allusion to the showbread of the temple; Exod 25:30; 1 Kgs 7:48.

her faith and said to her, "Your debts are remitted, and all your transgression[s] are blotted out." For this we glorify him, Christ the remitter of debts, for he is glorified.

- **III.1.6.** My Lord, do not hold back your gift from the sinners who call upon you, and do not close the door of your mercy on the penitents who knock thereon. Rather, in your mercy answer them their fitting requests, so that with their lamps blazing they may enter with you into the bridal chamber<sup>2</sup> and raise glory to your dominion. For this we glorify him, Christ the remitter of debts, for he is glorified.
- III.1.7. Woe to me, because my time has come to an end, and the span of my years was cut short. I go with the multitude of my debts; my sins precede me to the house of judgment, and I know not how I will be acquitted in the house of judgment before the just judge. Your body, my Lord, and your living blood, which I received from the holy altar, may it be for me for the remission of my debts, may I pass through the place of the house of fear, and with the upright ones and the righteous ones may I sing glory to your grace, for you are glorified.
- III.1.8. In the middle of the night the voice of the Son of the good one thundered over the son of Jesse. He called and aroused him from sleep for the work of righteousness. "I am ready and I did not delay," the prophet said to his Lord, "Do good to your servant, my Lord, our Savior, as you promised, and forgive me all that I sinned against you in the multitude of your compassion, you who alone are good, merciful, and the lover of humankind."

## III.2. Beth

- **III.2.1.** As [you are the] one who became the cause of the salvation of our believing race, and the bestower of our benefits, and the restorer of our original status, likewise with sounds of praise we [come] before you, O serene [woman], and we say with praises: Peace to you, ark of mysteries; peace to you, blessed field;<sup>5</sup> peace to you, animate table on which the bread of life is arranged for the faithful.<sup>6</sup> Intercede, O holy one, constantly for all of us who rightly praise you.
- **III.2.2.** As [you are] those who are the refuge of the whole world, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, and a fountain and treasure of help and healing for all who are in need, with praises and songs we praise you, holy ones, while crying out, saying, Peace to you,

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## $\angle$ (III.3

See Matt 7:7 or Luke 11:9.

ambassadors of tranquility; peace to you, blessed athletes; peace to you, who became a rational and spiritual sacrifice to God. O holy ones, intercede constantly for us all, those who rightly praise you. III.2.3. As [you are] the one who promised your salvific refreshment, Christ our God, [saying,] "Call and I will answer, knock and I will open," behold, we poor ones are knocking on the door of your abundant compassion and are saying with groans: Forgive us, merciful Father, and take pity on us all, merciful one. Answer our request from the house of your treasure filled with all good [things], and put to end and make pass from us the rods of anger and all [acts of] chastisement, that we might confess you for your grace.

#### III.3. Gomal

- III.3.1. [To the tune] "The melodies of Adam." Who [among us] is sufficient to praise your virginity, O pure Virgin Mary, [you who are] full of all virtues? Who is able to speak about that fruit that descended and dwelled inside your belly, mother of God? You became for him a second heaven, and he dwelled in your womb and resided in you nine months as he desired in his mercy. This is a wonder: that he left his throne on high and came down and dwelled in you. With the orders of angels we glorify him, and you, virgin mother Mary, we all magnify.
- III.3.2. The warlike strong men went down to battle and endured tortures and deprivations but did not renounce Christ, and put to shame the iniquitous kings. They conquered and were victorious unto the four quarters [of the earth]. Behold the blessed athletes! The kingdom and the bridal chamber of light are kept for them, and the fire that is not extinguished is kept for the persecutors. This is a wonder: that the holy ones endured such severe deprivations, and with the orders of angels we glorify him, and we all praise the chosen martyrs of his compassion.
- III.3.3. The melodies of Adam in Eden were very beautiful when his habitation in that place of delights had been created. Because he coveted the fruit, plucked [it], and ate [it], he was stripped of the glory in which his Creator had clothed him. His Lord had pity on his comeliness, and it grieved him much, so he descended and saved him from the hands of the Evil One, who had led him astray. This is a wonder: that he descended, saved him by his cross, and restored to him his inheritance.

#### **5 (III.4**

11.4.11) حددته ختر صدر لعه تمید، ملحه حته ۱۱۲.مه هی، هی حتر دیگ می میملد مهما حقی محتر به محت

EILAND WI, NIG CEN NUCKON. ONSLIKON LE CIG. ION LOCK LO EILANN. NKIN I LYN OSELIN. IKONN NEL CHENON. OKKEOR CHELONG. NUON THE ENOILN. OLIN OLE LE ENOILN. ONON LILIN CHENN. LUKN. LO TUCON, ILLIN. OLUK EILO CHENN. ONON LILIN CHENN.

4.4.III) وعقد محقوله تهماند، مصعة محدد محدد المدهد المسمد للمهند معدد محدد محدد المدهد المالات المالا

Perhaps a conflation of Pss 62:4 and 118:123.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Syr.: באז (kattar), lit. "delay."

### III.4. Dolath

## III.4.1. [Hymn on] the Departed.

My eyes have waited for your salvation<sup>1</sup> and the proclamation of your righteousness. Come quickly, my Lord, and lighten the dust from my eyes. For behold, death has tied me up for eternity and has raised a bridle to my lips, and my harp is mute and is silenced. Compassionate Lord, at that time when I cross over, may I then not drown in the sea of fire. Rather, in the wings of your grace, my Lord, shelter me. When you sit on your terrible and fearsome bema to separate the good ones from the evil ones, my Savior, spare me, I who confess you, and have mercy on me.

- III.4.2. My brethren, I saw that my days had come to an end and that the end of my time had drawn near. And those leading me away made haste and came like dexterous hunters. The angel of death sprung upon me with a sword of fire in his hand. I saw him, and my limbs quaked, and the joints of my back were loosened. I beseeched him and made supplication to him, "Grant me a moment's delay,<sup>2</sup> that I might go up and be satisfied with some air and see my brethren and my kin." While my mind was agitated with fear I cried out to you saying, "Your compassion, my Lord, makes me remember that the darkness of death has killed and destroyed me."
- III.4.3. "See, Adam, how I loved you and gave you authority over everything, such that behold, I gave you paradise, the place of delight and beauty, so that you should eat of its fruits and be refreshed by its produce, if you keep the commandment." He dared to transgress the commandment and was stripped of [his] glory, and became an outcast from the garden. The mercy of the Only Begotten was revealed; he came down and saved him by his cross, and he returned him to the place of his inheritance.
- **III.4.4.** On the path [with its] hardships of road, and along the treacherous places by which was shown to us the way of the house of destruction, darkness, and gloom, with the proclamation of loud voices that seizes the habitations on high, the Lord shines forth from his place, and the clouds of light are arrayed. He calls at once to those buried, bringing them before him in fear, hastening the terrified watchers. Those who confessed and believed in his name he receives into the delight of the life that does not pass away, but those who renounced [him] and did not believe in him he drives

זים האשמעים. ואשם סואמי האמשף מילא לשבעל . איף פבידא מינה הבמנה האמ מס מפנה בל אלאה. סלבה המכידה בה אומי

- 1.4.11) مى دىدى دەلىك. مەسىد لالى . تەخلاك مەمى كى كىتى . تىدى كى دەلىك مەسىك مىلىك . تەخلاك مەسىك مىلىك مەسىك مىلىك دەلىك دەلىك دەلىك كىتىك مەسىك مەسەك دىلى كىتىك مەسىدى. مەتلىك تىلام دەلىك كىلىك دىلىك كىلىك دىلىك كىلىك كىلىك
- 6.4.III) curty ich ocionaty. And lusty met won, o, won serty and the control of t

### က (III.5

## איז) מיזא א ביראא (IV

## ⟨IV.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ps 125:5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ps 108:23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gen 3:1–7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> OB: omit.

away and casts them out from his sheepfold of life. But we who remain cry out and say, "Lord, return [us from] our captivity like the streams in the south, 1 you who answer every request and bind up the heart that is wounded."<sup>2</sup>

**III.4.5.** Behold: death is mournful, and his diadem is cast down, he who exalted himself over Adam, who transgressed the commandment. The watchers mourned him his inheritance that was cast away by the counsel of the snake and of Eve.<sup>3</sup> His Lord descended and helped him in Sheol, and gave him [his] hand and raised him. The dead who saw his resurrection cried out with rejoicing and said, "Glorify, glorify, glorify, O nations, that joyous one, that strong man, and the resurrecter of those who passed away, because he is glorified."

III.4.6. In great suffering and distress Adam said to Eve, "O Eve, what did you do to me, that you cast me out from paradise and from that garden of delights into the earth that is full of curses? Yesterday we were kings, but today, paupers. Yesterday, we were highly placed, but today, [we are] lowly. Yesterday we were heirs, but today, outcasts. Paradise, remain in peace, delightful and pleasant fruits. Paradise, pray for me." The watchers answered and said, "Go in peace, heirs of paradise, beloved kin whose days are not yet fulfilled!" We have hope in God, that the outcasts will return to their inheritance, that the Son who will be the sacrifice will save all by his sacrifice. May he turn back our destruction and console our mourning. Glorify, glorify, glorify him; glorify and profess him, that majestic one, that strong man and the resurrecter of those who have passed away, because he is glorified.

#### III.5. He

**III.5.1.** Full of graces, virgin Birthgiver of God, entreat and intercede with your Only Begotten on behalf of us your servants, so that he ransom all of us from all debts, help us, and spare us, so that we not do anything in which there is injury. Our lady, do not turn away [from us].

## IV. Fourth Tone

## IV.1. Olaf

**IV.1.1.** How can we extol you, O venerable one, who alone are most holy, you who pour forth both healing and strength to all the faithful? For all of us who are in this world look and await the hope that is from you, O venerable one. Confirm our faith and (enligh-

حے محص میں ، محللہ ہم سے محست المعدل محمد کر مماد محمد محمد محمد کی مارد کی علم حر مماد محمد محمد کی مارد کی علم حر مماد محمد محمد کی المار کی مارد کی کی مارد کی مار

(IV.1.2) لسلملک تاستنده کی کروندی، میران الادی کرونده کی حمدید محالی الادی کا برای کرونده کی حمدید کرونده کی معالله معتبات الاقتلامی معالله کی معالله کی معالله معتبات الادی معالله کی معالله کی معالله کی معالله کی معالله کا محالت معالله کی معالله کا محالله المحالله کی محالت محالله محالله محالله محالله محالله محالله محالت محالله م

1V.1.4 عرب السادر سامعرد وهموه هدن مل سند المحده سامد همه مدن مهم مال المدال عرب السادر مرد المرد والمدال وال

OB: "grant all the world peace."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ezek 1:15–18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> OB: "that Edenic bridal chamber."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> OB: "on behalf of us all."

<sup>6</sup> OB: "strengthened."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> OB: "splendid sojourners."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> OB: add "so that."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> OB: "he."

<sup>11</sup> OB: "call out."

OB: "to them."

OB: "O [you who are] invited to the chamber of the light! Intercede and make supplication on our behalf, so that the souls of us all may be saved from anger."

ten the ends of the world.)<sup>1</sup> For this we the faithful rightfully<sup>2</sup> extol you, who are like that cherubic throne<sup>3</sup> and (that heavenly bridal chamber).<sup>4</sup> Beseech and make supplication (unceasingly)<sup>5</sup> so that he might save the souls of us all from anger.

IV.1.2. To the banquet of your heroic deeds we assembled and came to receive from your bones aid and every healing. Peace be with you, prophets and apostles, stonemasons of the faith. Peace be with you, strong citadels, by whom our souls are fortified.<sup>6</sup> Peace be with you, spiritual symbols, who ascended to the height of heights. Peace be with you, blessed pillars, who hold up the earth that it not fall because of the iniquity of its inhabitants. Wherefore the holy<sup>8</sup> church and its children celebrate the day of your festivals; by your prayers may the souls of us all be saved from anger. **IV.1.3.** How comely is the banquet that the Father on high made for his Only Begotten, who 10 invited and called to his banquet the apostles, prophets, and martyrs. The Father provided his mercy, something the eye did not see. The Son provided his invitations, something the ear did not hear and that did not go up into the human heart. Wherefore, we cry out 11 to him, 12 saying, [O [you whol invite your beloved ones to the bridal chamber of light and joys; invite us with your saints, and save and rescue the souls of us all!<sup>13</sup>

**IV.1.4.** My thoughts disturbed me and troubled me. I cut off all hope for my life, because my debts grew great as the sea, and greater than its waves, my faults. Then I heard your grace that calls and says to sinners, "Call, and I will answer; knock, and I will open." As a sinner I cry out to you, and like the publican I make supplication. And like that son who squandered his riches, [I say,] I have sinned in heaven and before you. My Lord, there is no servant who does not sin, but the good Lord is not one who does not forgive. I who have sinned and provoked you to anger: spare me, save me in your compassion, and have mercy on me.

IV.1.5. Great and eternal king, heavenly one and almighty, my

Matt 7:8; Luke 11:10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Luke 18:10–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Luke 15:11–31.

متر تدر الكرما عدل من دن من السيم لحدد المدري لنوري مدنى من مسلم «ب. محسب اسم علم. منوح ملم ملم ملم المعنام الملام مقدعم. مة من من من من المنام وص تخلك لك محدثس. متعدد سلمك. شه דמשהוב ל כן בו דים אול בישא לא מבישאא. אוליעם בל בבי דומא cholps. Ach oct notou aores. eole lierd rech eocus foi ווע. בל האבל שחבת הופם כן פור. שא הכהמבא. בל האבל מים כן ווע.1.6 כן אונה אהת שחבת שחבת הוא הבהמבא. فهام الحمد حم هدكم الحدولية والمراجع المحدث مام بحداله مام المحدث تعویزی ال دعلمی نع باقصدی محلمی تحلمی دیمی محل شر مدنر راV.1.7 حدة مة مر مهم بالله مهم محتد مام بحة مناعد (IV.1.7 لنه ז הל ער היא בל לש ביא ויסר ביצי אין ישרא ביצי איץ ישרא ישרא ישרא ישרא ישרא ישרא אין ישרא אין ישרא אין ישרא درم مل الم الما الما الما الما المحتاج مع المحتاج مع المحتاج الما الما المحتاج مع المحتاج الم لك لامناهد. بكلان يسن مكلا سعم كلا وحقيدلال. بمسن كالتبيار للمناهد الكرية Kruit Lt Kital Klook Kook Klo . Herik Le winow is ه ترسل نامه علر فاهم حقه محلا، تهشه سبه مهم العدد

## IV.2) د

1V.2.1) حد ور حصیت شه که مه بنده بنده بنده و محاص و الادی و الادی الادی می مدارد و الادی که محمد می مدارد و مدارد و

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gen 3:1–24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> OB: "of creation."

OB: "father of all nations."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> OB: add "and have been comforted."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Matt 25:1–13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> OB: "in that hour and have mercy on me."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Exod 3:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 1 Chr 6:3; 23:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Song 2:9, 17.

Lord in whom we take refuge before the rod of anger comes, which threatens our destruction: my Lord, cause your anger to subside from us, and in your compassion have mercy on us, and may we cry out to you, our God, the thrice-holy hymn: holy are you, God, the one on whom the angels dare not gaze; holy are you, mighty one, you who save us from the hand of anger; holy are you, immortal one, have mercy on your people who are cast down with affliction. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, rescue the souls of us all. Glory to you.

**IV.1.6.** Adam removed his glory and went out from the paradise of delights because he ate the fruit in which was concealed the drug of death. The angels were eaten up over the fall of the beautiful one [and said], "Go in peace, chief of the nations and (king of all creation)." Wherefore, my Lord, give rest to your servants who have fallen asleep in your hope, (in your mercy, you who are good and the lover of humanity).

**IV.1.7.** My days passed by like a shadow, and my hours and my seasons came to an end. Water for the fire that threatens me I did not prepare. The bridegroom happened to arrive, but there was no oil in my lamp. Woe to me, then, if the gate is closed in my face when the angels rebuke me, "Go away, demon, do not approach! For our place is luminous, (but you have become dark through your deeds! Light is prepared for the righteous,) but fire is kept for the evil ones!" Woe to me, then, if I am punished with the evil ones. My Lord, shine your light on my path so that I not become food for the flames. O my Savior, sprinkle on me the dew of your mercy and compassion on that day so that I may see your compassion and confess your name.

## IV.2. Beth

**IV.2.1.** In the bush that was not burned Moses the son of Amiram depicted you, who gave birth to the stag as well as to the fawn. And the stag is Christ, as Solomon called him. For the bush was inflamed with fire, but its leaves were comely and beautiful, and they were not singed. You, O Virgin, your body was not destroyed by that burning fire. And from the sling of David a rock went forth that killed Goliath. At that time this depicted

<sup>12</sup> OB: "womb."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> 1 Sam 17:49–50.

# $\angle$ (IV.3

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الا.3.2) موند موند با الموند با ال

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Luke 10:19 or Rev 12:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dan 3:19–25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dan 3:25.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. "fear."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Num 20:28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> OB: "the splendid priest."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Lazarus (John 11:38–44), the centurion's daughter (Matt 9:18–26), Jairus's daughter (Mark 5:21–43; Luke 8:40–56), and the widow's son at Nain (Luke 7:11–17).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Matt 27:52–53.

OB: omit.

you, who gave birth to the radiance who killed death and who crushed the asp by his cross, and the basilisk<sup>1</sup> was overcome and fell. With joy we shout, "Heaven and earth, bless the Lord with the pure and holy Virgin, forever and ever!"

- **IV.2.2.** The beloved youths, <sup>2</sup> children of the exile, were set aflame in the love of their Lord, the hidden God and the mighty king, who having judged them made ready the sentence at the gate, bound them as unknowing and pure lambs, and cast them into the furnace, aglow with the heat of the Babylonian [king]. The furnace blazed, but the three were standing as shoots, and there was a fourth among them. <sup>3</sup> The furnace dripped dew, and they cried out with joy. Heavens and earth, bless the Lord with the youths, the beautiful ones of the faith, <sup>4</sup> forever and ever.
- **IV.2.3.** Aaron died atop the mountain, and Eliezer and Moses enshrouded him.<sup>5</sup> The assembly of the watchers descended toward them with the tumultuous voices of the trumpet. The fiery ones along with those [made of] dust ministered there to Aaron the priest and Levite, and the Lord was standing with them. Moses, who was weeping and groaning, and Eliezer with his laments made the mountain shake. The Lord and his angels performed the funerary rites of Aaron (the priest and Levite,)<sup>6</sup> and they transported his soul to the storehouse of life and the place of rest. Heaven and earth, bless the Lord, the Lord of death and of the departed, and the bringer of joy to our race, forever and ever.

#### IV.3. Gomal

- **IV.3.1.** [Said Sheol,] "Vanity is more pleasing to me than honey, but the taste of Jesus is most sour, he who while he was alive snatched from me three who had died,<sup>7</sup> and now that he is dead he raises the throngs." Who from among the dead in all generations could have shaken Sheol? Yet behold, I see the dead going out to meet him, the rocks torn asunder, the graves ripped open, and the dead rising.<sup>8</sup> Woe to you, wretched and ignorant<sup>9</sup> Sheol, whom he dislodged from the (rank where)<sup>10</sup> you stood!
- **IV.3.2.** I was on the way to the house of the departed. I approached and stood in the streets of [that] world. I saw the generations inside the graves, laid low with corruption. I saw the maggot gnawing

OB: "heights on which."

oice hy raich cano. Occur, ur menin. Only any reson rest. Occur cano contra contra cano contra contra

#### 5 (IV.4

#### က (IV.5

OB: "cobwebs of rot."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> OB: "the audible voice that ceased."

<sup>4</sup> OB: "ugly."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> OB: add "I saw the hands that were bound, neither giving nor receiving. I saw the legs that were crippled and no longer swift running, and the mouth and its sweet melodies muzzled and silenced, and the scattered and dispersed bones, and the joints that were twisted."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Isa 6:3.

them and the tapeworm and the *remtā*-worm stuck to them. They turned into smoke from the pyre and were trampled [into] the mud in the streets. And greedy death reveled in these things. I saw the eyes that were darkened and encrusted by (disgusting cobwebs,)¹ and the ears that became deaf and stopped up (from hearing and reason, and the articulate tongue that was restrained,)² and (the voice of the throat,)³ and the face comely⁴ in appearance, and his beautiful countenance that was carried off.⁵ I said, "Lord, in your mercy spare the creature that your hands have formed. You, the Son of the good one, resurrect them from the graves into paradise. Lord of all, glory to you."

## IV.4. Dolath

**IV.4.1.** Conceal us, Birthgiver of God, under the wings of your prayers, from all destruction. You who are our place of refuge and our great hope and the sustainer of us all, assuage and suppress the opponents contending with us through our wickedness. Blessed one, guide us to the blessed completion [of life that is] with you.

## **IV.5.** He

- **IV.5.1.** The seraphim with their wings sanctify you [singing], "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord!" but the holy woman encompassed the one whom they sanctify. The one whom the cherubim bless with their pinions, the one blessed among women blessed and bore. The one whom the angels serve with fear, she bore to creation, the house of mortals. Those of dust and the orders of heaven worship him, and creation magnifies you, Birthgiver of God.
- **IV.5.2.** He whose mysteries the just and the righteous searched out, and whose revelations the prophets and seers depicted, and whose good news the apostles preached: on account of his love the holy martyrs died, whose religion they confirmed before kings and tyrants, who by the tortures that they endured were guided to the heights. We the servants of the Most High petition you: beseech and make supplication on our behalf to the Lord, who crowned you.
- **IV.5.3.** The kingdom and Gehenna were readied for the trial, that all should receive recompense according to what they did. <sup>8</sup> For the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Or "knelt down," that is, delivered the child in a squatting position.

<sup>8</sup> Matt 16:27.

حتیده می ستر حک کمدیک دردی کی ترکمته در مسترک در ستر کی ستر کی در کردی در کرد

## א שיזיץ איזים (V

## ⟨ (V.1)

(V.1.2) صدر حله هشته لحدلا تدبه، مدر تذنه حداله، الدله تدمن هذاب هما المدروله هدانی من مرم تردیم المدروله هدانی من مرم تردیم المدروله هدانی مرم تردیم می المدروله می المدروله می مرکب المدروله می مرکب المدروله می مرکب المدروله می مرکب المدروله الم

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Matt 25:31–46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ezek 1:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ezek 1:4–28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Matt 16:27; 25:31; Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Exod 3:2.

<sup>6 1</sup> Kgs 18:44; Isa 18:4; or Isa 6:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Isa 6:4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Luke 18:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Luke 7:38.

kingdom rejoices in those who do good, and Gehenna threatens those who do evil. On one side are the lambs in luxurious meadows, and on the other side, the goats on the left. On one side is set up a booth for the righteous, and on the other side, a chasm for the evil ones. Wherefore, all of us the faithful ask of you that in your mercy you make all of us worthy of the right-hand side.

**IV.5.4.** Christ at his revelation will appear on fiery clouds,<sup>2</sup> that appearance for which my soul longs. With fearsome wheels and yoked cherubim<sup>3</sup> the son of God will appear, he who will come in glory,<sup>4</sup> by whom the heavens will be shaken, and of whom the orders will be terrified. Consternation will fall upon Sheol, and it will belch forth the departed. He whose appearance the just await and whom those of dust and the orders of heaven worship, my Lord, make me worthy that I be added to their company. The church remembers you, the faithful departed.

#### V. Fifth Tone

#### **V.1.** Olaf

- **V.1.1.** Peace to you from us, Birthgiver of God! Peace to you, mother of the illustrious one! Peace to you, who were prefigured in the bush that Moses saw.<sup>5</sup> Peace to you, little cloud,<sup>6</sup> that which Isaiah called glorious.<sup>7</sup> Peace to you, ark of the covenant! Peace to you, O modest one! Peace to you, full of grace! Peace to you from whom was born the everlasting Word of the Father! Peace to you, who carried life and joy to the world!
- **V.1.2.** When the martyrs entered the house of judgment before the iniquitous judges, they were clothed with the belt of the Spirit from him who was crucified, and their thoughts were confirmed in the upright faith, and they saw the [iron] combs and the nails and the afflictions and did not waver, nor were they struck with terror. They conquered earth and were victorious in heaven. Behold, they have made walls for our souls. May we be sheltered under their wings, and may we enter with them the bridal chamber of great joy.
- **V.1.3.** Lord, I did not resemble that tax collector, asking for forgiveness.<sup>8</sup> And I did not imitate the prostitute who shed tears in repentance.<sup>9</sup> And I did not raise my voice like that blind man: "Son of David, have mercy on me," but I did abide in evil things.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Matt 15:22; Mark 10:47; Luke 18:38.

Ark cei, Akiuz ale. Ark cei, ain lhecoka. coop An rinceno orcoacoko.

V.1.4) مرتب محک ترتب کے حقیق کی المعملان کے محصل معصب معصب کہ حمد حقومی کی محمد کی مح

#### っ(V.2

(V.2.1) JELI CHICAMO. ORZĘ CHIMONMO. RELAMO INCH ICENDEM MON CIENN. JCH CHIMONMO. OIRIN OCH JEINL IS RELAMON. ORZEN LEINL IS RELAMON. ORZEN LEIN JEIN CHIMONMON. ORZEN LEIN JEIN CIENN. ORZEN LEIN JEIN OIOU ÓN, CIN TOLI. WIÓ CI OLAN CALONNO TICH JENN. OLAN TICLE, TRELE, TRELE CIENNO OCIONN ICH ONACIN. CIEN MO CETONN ICH ONACIN. CIEN MO

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Luke 1:35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Rom 8:35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Ps 88:13–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Luke 7:37–38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Luke 7:50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Matt 6:12.

Being immortal, may you, my Lord, have mercy on me; you, my Lord, call me to repentance in the multitude of your compassion and kindness.

**V.1.4.** Then when all creation is shaken and is loosened of its structure, the sun and moon with the stars will be transformed into darkness, and at the command of the Creator the world shall reach the end. Moreover, with a tremor the graves will be opened, and the dead in them will be raised, and the house of the judge will be prepared, and they will receive their payment by your equitable, straight, and unswerving judgment.

#### V.2. Beth

V.2.1. Hidden in his existence and exalted in his divinity is the Word of the Father, who in his mercy became human and willed by his grace to come down and to save his likeness. Gabriel, the head of the angels, received the sign, and he stepped beyond the ranks and passed by the fiery orders and reached Nazareth, unto Mary, that daughter of David. He saw her while [she was] standing in prayer before God, and he gave to her peace, and the spirit of holiness hovered over her temple. "Peace to you, Mary, mother of our Lord Jesus! Peace to you from whom dawns the savior of all creation!" And Mary answered in joy and in great exultation and said, "Blessed is Christ, who helps us and frees us from the curse!" V.2.2. The athletes, the servants of the king, with groaning called out, "We do not forsake him who was crucified on our account, and now we endure sufferings and afflictions for his sake. We offer him suffering, the blood of our necks. And fire and sword cannot separate us from the love of him<sup>2</sup> who promised us the kingdom and the bridal chamber of light!" And we too cry out with the songs of David, saying, "We call to you, God, come to our aid!"<sup>3</sup> V.2.3. Hidden in his existence and exalted in his divinity is the Word of the Father who went about with humanity. He was present in the house of Simon the Pharisee and had pity and forgave the sins of the sinful woman. 4 With oil she anointed his head, and with her tears she wiped his feet, 5 and he said to her, "Your debts are forgiven, and all your transgression is blotted out." In groaning and in tears, in pain and mourning, we call out to you, good and kind Lord, forgive us our debts and our sins, and have mercy on our souls, and blot out the multitude of our transgressions with the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Matt 22:1–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ps 103:4.

abundant sea of your mercy, so that we may cry out and say, "Glory to you for your grace, O Lord, who desires those who repent; to you be glory!"

**V.2.4.** Hidden in his existence and exalted in his divinity is the Word of the Father who descended to the house of the departed, and all the dead from eternity perceiving him worshiped him and rejoiced in him who helped them. He called out to Adam, that image of his divinity, "Depart from there, you on whose account I have lowered myself! Return to your inheritance, to paradise, whence you went out; enter and inherit it, so that the deceased may rejoice in your return!" And Adam answered in joy and in great exultation and said, "Blessed are you, Christ, who raised me from the dust!"

#### V.3. Gomal

- V.3.1. Christ the bridegroom moved down from on high to come to earth, to descend, and to save the image of Adam that was worn out in Sheol. He straightened his path toward the daughter of David and took for himself a body from her womb. He lodged in her lap nine months like all infants and dawned from her but did not loose the seals of her virginity. O, to the daughter of Adam! For she was so worthy and carried for all creation led astray; she also gave him to suck the pure milk from her breasts. To him who by his sign makes the waves of the great sea rush forth: behold, all the nations praise the glorious day of her memorial, and sing, "Glory to the Lord, her only begotten child, who willed through her to remove by her prayers the rods of anger." May we find compassion and forgiveness of sins on the day of judgment and say, "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit!"
- **V.3.2.** Christ the bridegroom made a marriage feast for the holy church and prepared and called the beloved wedding guests to that banquet<sup>1</sup>—that wedding banquet at which a wonder was wrought at the banquet that was full of wonder. And instead of wine, flowing blood was the offering. The true wedding guests heeded the bridegroom, so that as he had done, they imitated him and shed their blood because of his love kindled in their heart. And while they were being murdered by the iniquitous ones, they did not renounce him. Behold, the kingdom is kept for them and the bridal chamber of light, full of joy, and in it they take delight with the angels of fire and spirit,<sup>2</sup> and the wedding guests exult at that ban-

Find and seems like the six times are in his of the colors of the colors. The color of the colors of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Matt 10:32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 4 Macc 8:3–18:24.

Syr.: همت  $(y\bar{a}b\bar{u}s)$ ; Heb.:  $y^eb\hat{u}s$ ; the name of Jerusalem in Judg 19:10, 11; 1 Chr 11:4.

quet that never ceases. But I, what will I do, my brethren, whose works are not sufficient? Under their wings, my Lord, shelter me from Gehenna, that I may sing glory in the house of their assemblies when you come.

V.3.3. Christ the bridegroom wrote in the good news that "all who confess me before humanity I will confess before the Father."1 And his true friends heard him, and they went down to stand for him in the contest. They were worthy, the blessed martyrs, beloved of their Lord. They stood within the house of judgment of the tyrannical kings, and they were not overcome by tortures, and they were not outmatched by sufferings. Rather, they cried out, "Come to our aid, Jesus our king! As we do not forsake you, do not forsake us before your begetter. For your sake we are put to death; do not let go [your] hands of us, so that evil and the tyrannical kings as well as the iniquitous ones may be shamed, and so that they may become an example and a reproach, they and their gods." May our Lord shelter us with the Holy Spirit, who in the likeness of a mother plaited crowns for the heads [of the martyrs], 2 saying, "Come in peace, warriors, chosen workers, sons of the right hand, who have conquered and have become victorious! And may we rejoice with them in your bridal chamber and become guests at that banquet that is kept for them, and when they are raised up on the pinions of fire may we rejoice with them and sing, "Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit!"

**V.3.4.** Christ the bridegroom, who calls the just to rejoice with him, invited them to that banquet that was prepared for them; he will straighten his path through the mountains of Jebus,<sup>3</sup> and in Jerusalem he shall establish his throne, bringing with him that legion of Gabriel and the blazing assembly of fire and spirit of the house of Michael. The ocean, the sea shall fail, and the fish that are within it shall die, and the earth shall melt and pass away, and heaven shall shake, and the stars that were arrayed in it shall drop. The son of the king shall roar in Sheol, and the Lord shall awake like from sleep, and like a man who is putting off his wine,<sup>4</sup> beating and killing and burning the enemy with light, and with the spirit of his mouth putting to the sword evil ones who do not be-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ps 78:65.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Gen 2:21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Judg 15:15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gen 28:12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Luke 23:42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Matt 21:31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Ps 50:2–3.

lieve in him. And I, what shall I do, my brethren, whose works are not worthy? O our Lord, be my brother and friend, as well as my kin, and may the blaze not attack me and fall suddenly upon me. Almighty God, glory to you!

## V.4. Dolath

- **V.4.1.** Virgin Birthgiver of God, by you all debaters become silenced and the lips of the iniquitous ones become closed concerning the child that shone forth from you, who were without husband. Behold, the witnesses: the great Adam with the rib that was taken from him,<sup>1</sup> the jawbone of the ass that let forth water for Samson the warrior,<sup>2</sup> the ladder on which Jacob saw the watchers ascending to heaven;<sup>3</sup> they depicted you, holy Virgin. Entreat, supplicate, and intercede for the sake of all of us who rightly praise you.
- **V.4.2.** I entered and beheld the banquet of the martyrs, my beloved, and wonder seized me when I saw their pains and the afflictions that were in their bodies while they were rejoicing. The flame was kindled, and menaces were readied, but the martyrs were radiant in the face of all tortures. They drank from the wine of the crucifixion, the victorious ones became drunk, and they trampled death that was feared by all humans. O their endurance as they endured afflictions! O their love as they did not forsake Christ! By their prayers, our Lord, make us worthy to see their crowns and to take delight with them, and to hear their voices while we sing in their shade, glory to your dominion!
- **V.4.3.** I know that all my days I spent in sins. Behold, now the day of retribution for the prosperous has drawn near and arrived. What wage will you give me, I who spent my days in vanity? Do not count me with the lazy, I who sang from my youth your glory. And do not raise me up with the renouncers, I who possessed your cross [as] a refuge. I am a sinner and weak, and your mercy has overflowed beyond measure. Have pity on me as on the thief,<sup>4</sup> and forgive me like the prostitute,<sup>5</sup> and pardon me the sins I have committed, like the tax collector<sup>6</sup> and the sinful woman,<sup>7</sup> and I will confess you and glorify you, God most merciful.
- **V.4.4.** Have mercy on me, O God, have mercy on me, and cleanse me thoroughly from the iniquity<sup>8</sup> of the works of my hands, [committed] through my weak will and not by compulsion. David the king, for the two sins he committed, wept to himself and said, "Woe

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 2 Sam 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 2 Sam 12:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ps 128:1–2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 10:11.

to me! The Evil One led me captive through the flattery of a woman and made me fall into his net! Woe to me! I killed Uriah, that hero, and I fell from my throne!" The Lord exhorted him through Nathan the prophet, "Behold, the Lord will cause your foolishness to pass; you will not die, King of Israel." I too, my Savior, who am drowning in sins, drag me out from them like David the king and have mercy on me.

#### **V.5.** He

- **V.5.1.** Compassionate Lord, have mercy on your people who are cast down in need. Open the treasury of your compassion, and return our petition. From the abundance of your refreshment give to us times of rejoicing, in your pity make pass from us scourges and the rods of anger. Forgive the sins of your flock that makes supplication to you with voices of groaning. For you are our hope and our help in need, and we have no other Father but you, from whose hands we seek forgiveness. Answer us, O God, hear the voice of our supplication through the prayers of your mother and your saints, and have mercy on us.
- **V.5.2.** Our hope of life was cut off from us because of our many sins, and the harsh and bitter sentence surrounded all of us. Many deprivations encircled me on all sides,<sup>3</sup> but there was no anxiety for the end of our lives in our thoughts. Restore to us the good, and return to us salvation, and in our feeble souls infuse the fear that is from you, and give us your grace, times filled with joy, I beseech you.
- **V.5.3.** Lord, do not desert your hopeless people, and do not remove your face from your servants who call to you, the Good Shepherd.<sup>4</sup> Have mercy on your flock, and by your grace save it that thus cries out to you: Holy are you, God, who sits on the cherubim in the exalted heights! Holy are you, mighty one, whose authority is almighty and whose commandment is feared by all! Holy are you, immortal one, you whom the orders of the angels worship with trembling; have mercy on your people, you who are the lover of humanity.

## VI. Sixth Tone

## VI.1. Olaf

**VI.1.1.** O pure one, sublime is your generation, and among the watchers it is a wonder, because you gave birth for us in your virgi-

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1.1.14) מדי, דלב מש במדיאה דעה בא במדיאה דמביא ל דנעאא לאשאה בל באד באדא בסמה. המא אכיה דלב בעם ב. בכופב מהי באלא במה האה אכיה דלב בעם ב. בכופב מהי בהא במה האה של בינ בא בבא בא במה בא בינ בא בבא בא בינ בא בבא בא בינ בא בבא בא בינ בא בבא בא בבע א בבע א

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Luke 1:28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Luke 18:9–14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

nity to that offspring who resembles his Father, he who takes away the sin of the world through the body he took from you, and who took form from your purity to redeem Adam and his children. In the likeness of Gabriel let us cry out, Peace to you, blessed among women, O boast of the faithful and the exaltation of our race!

- VI.1.2. Through the pains that the saints bore and the amazing deprivations they endured, all the world learned that the next world belongs to God. They who hated parents and family and possessions but loved the fear of God and took up the living cross, and with the doleful blood of their necks their limbs were crowned: by their prayers, Lord of all, and by the righteousness of the holy ones, make us worthy of the portion that is with them and of the part that falls to them. And when they receive their reward and the good wage of their toils, make us worthy that we may enter with them into the heavenly kingdom.
- VI.1.3. Prophets, apostles, and martyrs, beloved of the heavenly bridegroom: do not be silent from entreating for the church and for her inhabitants, who honor your bones and celebrate the day of your festivals, so that peace may dwell in her, and on the day of your festivals may she cry out, glory to the one who magnifies you, holy ones, sons of the kingdom! Pray for mercy for the souls!
- **VI.1.4.** My Lord, drag me out from the whirlpools of debts and sins that I committed, I who have gone down to the bottom of the pit that closes its mouth over me. Heal the wound of my heart and bind (it) up, and whiten my stains with hyssop. And like the tax collector<sup>2</sup> and the sinful woman<sup>3</sup> accept me in repentance. Illumine the eyes of my intellect so that I may see your forgiveness of my transgressions and may confess you and glorify you, God most merciful.
- VI.1.5. I tremble on account of justice, and I quiver from the heat; I am scared of Gehenna, and I fear the judge. Toward whom shall I go to take refuge? And whom shall I convince to help me, if your compassion does not help me? We worship the king whom the kings worship. If I go before justice I fear that it will rebuke me. If it rebukes me, I will perish, because my deeds are not fitting. I betake myself to grace, that merciful mother, and beneath her wings may she shelter me from the fire, from Gehenna, and may I confess you because of your grace, God most merciful.
- VI.1.6. Resurrecter and vivifier of the dead, raise the dead who

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> John 11:43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jer 31:26.

are in the graves, who are without your glory in their mouths and without your hymn on their tongues. With a voice, my Lord, you called to Lazarus inside the grave; by the same voice call out and raise all the departed faithful in the likeness of Jonah. With my sighs I groan; pull me out from drowning by your compassion, so that I not be in doubt. You, my Lord, are the sea of compassion; take pity on me, and have mercy on me.

VI.1.7. O shepherd who ascended the cross for your flock in order to gather it, gather us from error into the enclosure of your holy church. Remove from us contentions, evil schisms, and destruction. Keep us from the battles of the Evil One and the conflicts of the enemy, that all our tongues may confess your name, by whose cross is our salvation. O Son, who was crucified for us, be merciful on our souls.

VI.1.8. Jeremiah, why do you sleep,<sup>2</sup> and why do you not perceive the destruction that has entered the cities with death and has emptied them? A great marvel and wonder! Death has visited the country; the bow of the tyrant is drawn out, shooting his arrows on all sides. Behold! The swift ones have been bound by him, and the heroes are felled by him and are made dust in the gloomy depths of Sheol. Alas, from you, greedy death, whither will all flee from before you? From the devastation into the mountains we fled, and from hunger, into the [rural] areas. Who will descend and touch in Sheol the filth that is stuck to it? Who will descend to take back tidings and messages from the virtuous ones as to whether their noble deeds endure, and [concerning] the sight of their countenances, or whether the melodies of the resplendent priests and the deacons endure, or whether the crown of kings and the nuptial crowns endure? Therefore, come, let us cry to him, Glory to you, raiser of the dead!

VI.1.9. When I crossed over to death I saw the gates open, and all the heroes entering it, and all the strong ones dwelling in it, and their portion cast down to corruption, and decay and worms bestowed upon them. In pain and suffering I wept to myself; I said, "If this is our end, why did kings gather silver? If this is our end, why did the priests neglect the commandments? If this is our end, why did the heroes become haughty?" Come, David, and bring with you your divine harp and sing and show to us, chosen prophet of Israel, why humanity is like mist and his days like a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ps 102:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Luke 18:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Luke 23:42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Luke 7:36-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Luke 5:8.

wildflower. Therefore, come, let us cry out to him, to that stately one, to that hero and resurrecter of the departed: Glory to you, resurrecter of the dead!

#### VI.2. Beth

- VI.2.1. Like a message written by the king for assistance to the weak is your entreaty to your Son and your God, O venerable one. May your prayers strengthen the weak and heal the sick and the infirm, and by it may those be given rest who are mourning, saddened, in distress, and beaten down. And by it may our prayers be received, and may our petitions be returned to us, and by it may our distresses be blotted out. Crying out to your Son we say, "Lord of all, glory to you!"
- VI.2.2. Our Savior sent you out like lamps into creation, O apostles, and you caused the darkness of error to flee through the power you received. Shades fled from before you, demons perished by your words, and the church rose to high honor by your preaching. Behold, she glorifies the one who crowns you and asks from him forgiveness and remission for all sinners who on your feasts cry out, "Lord of all, glory to you!"
- VI.2.3. Like prosperous merchants, the martyrs went down to the contest of martyrdom and shed blood from their necks, so that they might gain spiritual inheritances. They exchanged life for death and comfort for privations. They loved death instead of the life that does not last. Behold, they dwell in the bridal chamber, they are the guests of the son of the king, and the wedding guests are dipped in blood. We cry out on their feasts and say, Lord of all, glory to you!
- VI.2.4. Like the publican<sup>2</sup> and the thief<sup>3</sup> and the sinful woman<sup>4</sup> I cry out, our Savior, and like Simon the Pharisee<sup>5</sup> and the Samaritan woman<sup>6</sup> I ask for forgiveness. Open to me your gates of mercy, and accept the tears that I cry. Forgive my debts and my sins, my failings and my transgressions, by your grace. You who receive those who repent, Lord of all, glory to you.
- VI.2.5. Like roots buried in the fields and corrupted in the dust, buried in Sheol are the bodies of the departed, and behold, their beauty has been corrupted. Behold, they are longing for your appearance and waiting for your arrival, when their bodies will be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> John 4:19.

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resurrected and their beauty restored, and they will rise from their graves. The dew of compassion and mercy sprinkle on the faces of your worshipers and give rest to them in your bridal chamber so that they may call out to you, Lord of all, glory to you!

## VI.3. Gomal

- VI.3.1. O holy one, beseech your son for mercy on us all, that he be reconciled to us through your prayers, so that he may deliver us from anger. By your wings may he protect us, in his bridal chamber may he place us, and by your intercession may he bestow on us peace and tranquility and ransom us from those who hate [us], so that we who extol your memory and honor your festival in every corner of creation may cry out through you to your Only Begotten, the Lord: Blessed is he who protects us by your intercession!
- VI.3.2. O holy ones, beseech Christ for compassion on us all, he whom you love and for whose sake you endured all pains and all tortures and all deprivations, so that he may make us worthy of the portion that is with you, so that we be refreshed among you, and so that we may rejoice and exult in the place of the orders of your choirs and in the shelters of your assemblies. And may we raise up glory to the one who chose you, gave honor to the day of your feasts, and made his power dwell in the resting place of your bones; blessed is he who protects us by your intercession!
- VI.3.3. Behold, in the graves as though in trenches the children of Adam are buried, but the resonance of life shall become strong in them. By the raised right hand of the Lord the dead will rip up the earth and go out from within it, and death will become impoverished. And the belly of Sheol will be emptied, and the spirit of the resurrection will blow; life will be proclaimed to the dead, and he shall shake off of their bodies the decay of the cobwebs. At that time, for one there will be rejoicing and cheer, but for the other, mourning. And everyone according to his deeds will be repaid with a sentence that is just. There the righteous will rejoice, and the holy ones will be glad. There the evildoers will mourn and shall lament their lives, those who were separated from the good ones. Our Lord, on that day, spare us and have mercy on the souls of your servants who laid down and have taken rest in your hope.

## VI.4. Dolath

VI.4.1. Glory to the good one, who in his love forsook the throne

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 1 Cor 2:9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Matt 25:6.

of the cherubim and in infirmity descended unto Mary and took a body from her purity, in order to save Adam, who through the advice of the Slanderer fell from on high. He sucked milk from her breasts, he who feeds the heights and the depths. The house of the highest ones greets those below who were at enmity, and it rejoiced and was glad on the day of his birth to the race of Adam, that one of dust. Come, angels, sing to him glory, to the Lord, who shone from the daughter of David. She whose day of remembrance is honored and exalted to the four corners: may her prayers be with us.

**VI.4.2.** Glory to the good one, who in his love descended with the martyrs to their contests and sent forth the power of his divinity into the bones of the righteous, those children of the kingdom, and made them fountains flowing with all aid for the children of man. In the midst of them he placed the desirable blessings that the eye has not seen, as it is written, and he set upon their heads a crown of glory, plaited by the Spirit, the Paraclete. We profess the bridegroom, who invited them to the wedding banquet of spiritual life. And let us sing on their memorials glory to you, my Lord, and to your Father and the Holy Spirit.

VI.4.3. Glory to the good one, who in his love revealed his glory to humans. He created from the dust, which is a speechless nature, and you adorned him with a spirit; you supplied him with treasures, and you gave knowledge to the body of humanity, so that all creation might sing his glory. The angels came to sing glory to him, while he did not yet sleep the sleep of death. In the long night let us remember death, which muzzles our mouth and silences it. The righteous ones who keep vigil in the nights, even though they are dead, they are alive, but the evil ones who deny the glory of their Lord, even though they are alive, they are dead. Let our souls be watchful with prayers and hymns of the Holy Spirit, and may we be friends of the wise virgins<sup>2</sup> whom our Lord praised. On that night when he shall cause the worlds to tremble, while we are watching may we see the bridegroom, and may we not be plunged into desires, but may we sing glory on the day when you shall dawn.

## VII. Seventh Tone

VII.1. Olaf

VII.1.1. Pure mother, as you are accustomed to give aid to our po-

אוֹ בניא. הכלן פתא המא אכונים. עמנן לן בבבה אבן. באסלא הביאא הסתיאלא. המיא, האלי באבאא, אפינים אל אונים אל היו לא ביו ביום אל היים אלי ביו ביום אלי ביו הלהאבי מבילאי.

۷.۱.1.2) هر دفاحک کمیده ستی ستیه کو احتر کیدی هر دفاحک دینه مینه که در دفاحک سده معنی در دفاحک که در دفاحک که در دفاحک در دواحک در دور که دور که در دور که در دور که دور که

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منه محمد کو کا کا مختل می می کا می

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> OB: "pure."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> OB: "where the King of kings came down and in you dwelled."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> OB: "virgin Birthgiver of God."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> OB: "of the Father."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> OB: add "in your love."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Luke 17:11–19.

verty, when you see us, the earthly ones, that the end has arrived and we are perishing, have pity on us through your intercession. Virgin pure and holy, constantly making supplication that we may not completely perish on account of our evil, entreat and make supplication, O blessed one, to the Only Begotten, who sprang forth from you, so that he might work for us compassion through your prayers, O holy one.

- VII.1.2. Come in peace, vessel bearing new life for humanity. Come in peace, new<sup>1</sup> palace, (into which the King of kings came down and dwelled.)<sup>2</sup> Come in peace, O venerable one, (pure and holy Virgin.)<sup>3</sup> Peace be with you, blessed one. Peace be with you, O favored one. Present the petition on behalf of us all to the Only Begotten, who shone forth from you, so that he might work for us compassion through your prayers, O holy one.
- VII.1.3. Come in peace, prophets of the Spirit, who prophesied concerning our Savior. Come in peace, chosen apostles, who preached the good news of the Only Begotten. Come in peace, martyrs, beloved ones of the heavenly bridegroom. Peace be with you, O holy ones. Peace be with you, beloved ones [of the Son.]<sup>4</sup> Offer intercession for us all to him for whose sake you suffered pains, so that he might work mercy on us through your prayers, O holy ones.
- VII.1.4. Blessed martyrs who endured tortures and afflictions for Christ, who put on the armor of the Spirit in which they did battle with Satan, intercede for mercy on our behalf. Chosen and holy martyrs, supplicate God for us, so that he might deliver us from harm. Entreat and intercede with the one who crowned you, for whose sake you accepted pains, so that he might work mercy for us through your prayers, O holy ones.
- VII.1.5. O our Lord,<sup>5</sup> accept the entreaty of us all, as well as our liturgy and our prayers. Give us a heart full of love and a tongue that sings glory. O my Lord, may the voices of our mouths and our tongues not contain lamentation and weeping, but through the mercy of your tenderness spare the sins of my wretched soul so that I may confess you and give glory to you, to your Father, and to the Holy Spirit.
- VII.1.6. Your love brought you down from the high habitations of your Father toward our wickedness. The race of humanity could never attain to ascend toward you to the place of your Father. You brought all assistance to us; in the likeness of a healer bearing medicines you healed the infirm and purified the lepers. <sup>6</sup> To the

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## ر (VII.2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Matt 9:1–8; Mark 2:1–12; Luke 5:17–26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> OB: "O Christ, the lover of penitents."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Matt 7:7–8; Luke 11:9–10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> OB: "O good one whose gates are opened to evil ones and sinners who come to you."

Syr.: مخافس کل ( $m^e rapp^e h \bar{a} n^{-\epsilon} al$ ), lit. "the one hovering over."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> OB: "on sinners who ask for mercy."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> John 14:6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> OB: "and all the regions."

OB: add "my Lord."

OB: omit.

paralytics you gave healing,<sup>1</sup> and you remitted the debts and sins of the sinful woman who drew near to you.<sup>2</sup> So too me, my Lord, who call to you, spare the sins of my wretched soul so that I may confess you and give glory to you, (to your Father and to the Holy Spirit.)<sup>3</sup>

- **VII.1.7.** You are good, you are good, and good you are, my Lord, and merciful, (whose gate is opened to the one who knocks on it<sup>4</sup> and whose ear is inclined to those who call to you.)<sup>5</sup> My Lord, do not be unmerciful, our God great in mercy, you who are merciful and take care of<sup>6</sup> (sinners who come to you.)<sup>7</sup> Open to us, O Lord, the door of your mercy, O Christ, the lover of penitents.
- VII.1.8. May he not forget you who lay down in the dust, on account of the corruption of your limbs; because he, the living body that you ate and the forgiving blood that you drank, he has the power to resuscitate you and to clothe your bodies in glory. He is your way<sup>8</sup> and your bridge, on which you may pass to the place of refuge. O Messiah, who came and by his running blood reconciled heights and depths (that were at enmity,)<sup>9</sup> give rest<sup>10</sup> to the souls of your servants in the promised life eternal.

# VII.2. Beth

- VII.2.1. I tremble whenever I recall the great judgment (for this world,)<sup>11</sup> especially when the just will receive the wage that they earned before you. I made my sins known to you, and I did not hide my transgressions from you.<sup>12</sup> What will I do, O my brethren, when I enter into judgment? The prophets called to me, but I did not turn back. And again the apostles [called], but I treated their words with contempt. Now, Lord, I am afraid of your great judgment, which makes me tremble and terrifies the dissolute ones such as me, I who am not able to call out and say, "Fortunate is he whose iniquity is forgiven and whose sins are hidden on the day of the resurrection."
- VII.2.2. The tidings of the [last] judgment make me tremble, my brothers, and [the tidings of] Gehenna make my limbs shake. By [all] the springs that flowed in the wilderness the thirst of my tortures is not quenched. Like the rich man I ask for water, in pain

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Luke 16:24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> OB: "answer."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> OB: "who through his compassion."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> OB: "glorified."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> One cannot help but recall the ruins of ziggurats and villages entombed in mounds of dust in the plains of Mesopotamia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Rev 9:13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> OB: "softly murmuring."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> OB: sg.

imploring Abraham, "My father Abraham, have mercy on me!<sup>1</sup> The prophets called to me but I did not heed<sup>2</sup> them; as for the apostles, I spurned their words." Let us pray and entreat him who is judge, (who alone)<sup>3</sup> spares our race. Blessed<sup>4</sup> are you, Lord, the king of all the ages, the renewer of our race.

VII.2.3. I surveyed all the earth, the cities and the villages, my brethren, and I saw one city buried in a mound of dust. Death the tyrant guarded it and exulted in its palaces. "O death, open to me the gate so I can enter and see your city!" Death answered me and said, "This city that you see, over which the powerful warriors will not prevail: in it are the kings of the earth; in it are all the warriors; in it are all the mighty ones; in it are all the commanders; in it are all the chaste priests; in it are all the deacons and the comely bridegrooms, and the crowns of all the brides. They did not defeat me, and they will not defeat me. But one king called out on the cross, and I heard his voice, and it made me tremble. It was he who is coming for the resurrection and who will resurrect the children of Adam." Lord of all, glory to you!

VII.2.4. When the horn on high blares and the voice of the trumpet resounds, and the watchers on high cause the four faces of creation to tremble, and they gather the dusts of Adam from the four corners of the earth, and the standard of the cross appears, before you, the upright judge, the one who repaid each person according to his labors and according to his deeds that he has done: in that season, O our Savior, take pity on those who worship your cross. (Lord, glory to you!)

VII.2.5. As I passed through the gates of the cities [of the dead], I heard a voice. I drew near, stood, and listened to that voice filled with sighs. I saw old and young, women beautiful in body, free women and slaves, who were singing<sup>8</sup> with tunes of mourning. With sadness I asked them, "Handsome ones, for whom do you weep? And why do you sing lamentations, you whose beauties are so lovely?" They said to me, "Be silent, idiot! These beauties that you see will become rot in Sheol! The purple garments<sup>9</sup> we have put on and the ornaments that we wear: death will corrupt their beauty. Our beauty is like the sun that came and dawned in the morning.<sup>10</sup> Our beauty is like the shade that descends and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Pss 48:15; 89:6–7.

## ∠(VII.3

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ps 108:24; 89:6–7.

OB: "when the heat comes will be dried up"; see Pss 36:3; 102:16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> OB: "woe, the eventide of death comes and rules over us and makes us mournful."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> OB: "our beauty."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> OB: "resurrect, revive it, and raise me; restore your images anew."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> OB: "revive it."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Lit. "rods."

<sup>8</sup> OB: "behold now."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> OB: omit.

OB: "again, behold."

OB: "are portents of all categories, as well as afflictions."

OB: "may we who take refuge in you."

<sup>14</sup> Lit. "rods."

stays upon the grass.<sup>1</sup> Our beauty is like the flower that (when the evening comes will fade away and wither).<sup>2</sup> (My brethren, the eventide of death draws near and comes to rule over our countenances)."<sup>3</sup> My lord, lament, lament your image<sup>4</sup> that is corrupted in Sheol. (Resurrect and renew your images.)<sup>5</sup> You, my Lord, comfort him<sup>6</sup> at the resurrection so that we may send up to you voices of glory. Lord of all, glory to you!

#### VII.3. Gomal

VII.3.1. O holy one, beseech your only begotten son on behalf of the sinners who seek refuge in you. For the plagues<sup>7</sup> by which evil ones have been plagued from generation to generation: behold,<sup>8</sup> they have befallen us and have arrived. Behold the Corruptor, (his sword drawn and thoroughly sharp sets its edge against us, as against Jerusalem.)<sup>9</sup> Behold,<sup>10</sup> his bow is drawn out and full, and his arrow is readied on the bowstring in order to shoot. Behold,<sup>11</sup> in the heavens and on earth (portents of all kinds appear to us)<sup>12</sup> that grip the heart. Wherefore, (may we who take refuge in your prayer)<sup>13</sup> cry out to your offspring and say: "O chastiser of the follies of heart, life-giving and healing Messiah, continue unto us with compassion, and restore to us mercy. Spare (me) and have mercy on me."

VII.3.2. O heroes, lovers of the Son, prophets, apostles, and holy martyrs: entreat and supplicate the one who crowns you that he may remove from us plagues<sup>14</sup> and afflictions. For behold, battles and trials surround the earth and civilization with pain; (may you be a protection for the earth, and)<sup>15</sup> may it be delivered by you from all harm. For behold, glorious [both] in the heavens and on earth is the day of your remembrance, (and watchers and humans rejoice in your feasts.)<sup>16</sup> Wherefore, while fleeing to you, we cry out and say to your Lord, the chastiser of the follies of heart, "(O) Messiah, the hope of his athletes, continue unto us with compassion, and endow us with mercy; (spare [us,])<sup>17</sup> and have mercy on us."<sup>18</sup>

VII.3.3. Concerning the sinner (it compels me to say)<sup>19</sup> that when

OB: "you have heard me say."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> OB: omit.

OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> OB: "on me."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> OB: "you have heard me say."

#### 5 (VII.4

# לביל זישא בת ממהדא כו מלבחלא (VII.4.2

سلامه معمده معمده لتوریخ باتوریخ براه معمده مهمد برهم میس محده براه محده براه محده براه محدد منه محدد برای محدد برا

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OB: "the life of this world remains."
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OB: "to the sinners that come to him."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> OB: "us."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> OB: "us."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> OB: "images."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> OB: "fearsome."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> OB: "heaven."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ps 103:5.

OB: "with him will tremble and be terrified."

<sup>11</sup> OB: "my Lord."

OB: "by spices."

<sup>13</sup> OB: omit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Luke 1:28.

the Lord judges the sinner, at once he sends one of the watchers, [saying,] "Go down, bring me the soul of the sinner, and as soon as you arrive, do not allow his soul to weep and beg forgiveness." Sinner, turn from your way, and take the yoke of repentance while (life remains to you in this world.) God, whose door is opened (to good and evil alike), chasten me in compassion, and endow me with mercy. (Spare [me,]) and have mercy on me.

VII.3.4. O departed ones, be not sad because the beauty of your faces is corrupted, for the Messiah is coming in peace, and by his command he shall renew your bodies. For behold, he will establish his high throne and will stir himself to come on the clouds of light. All the orders of fire and spirit (with him will tremble in fear and shuddering). For behold, in the heavens and on earth they will proclaim the glory of his greatness, and the watchers and humans will tremble because of him. Wherefore, we implore you: do not burn up your likeness in the fire, but renew the icons that are faded, and at your right hand they will cry out to you (and say:) O renewer, the Son of the living one, spare the souls of your servants, resurrect them by your goodness, and spare [us] and have mercy (on us.) and spare [us] and have

#### VII.4. Dolath

VII.4.1. [To the tune] "To Sheol, the Metropolis of the inner [earth]." The son of the kingdom descended into the womb of the daughter of David. He lifted up that head of our race who by transgressing the commandment had been cast down. The good one dissolved the curse of Eve, and he was born from the daughter of David. He called to Gabriel, and he brought down to her tidings, "Peace be with you, blessed one, my Lord is with you and will shine forth from you. Let all of us the faithful with rejoicing answer and say with him, "Daughter of the king, you stand in glory, and the queen is at your right hand." 15

VII.4.2. The son of the kingdom went down with the martyrs to the house of judgment, and they cast down the tyrant kings who sentenced them to tortures. The good one removed from them trembling, and their heart was filled with courage. He called and said to them, "Blessed martyrs, come inherit the kingdom that does not pass away and does not end." Let all of us the faithful

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ps 44:10.

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#### ארידישא אראידי (VIII

#### ⟨VIII.1

1.1.III) لتحدور لحر حطاح نلده بمله بهديمور درهوتم بوته به دعلى الم المالاي للمحتور وقد به المالاي للمالاي المالاي المالاي والمالاي المالاي المالاي والمالاي المالاي ا

VIII.1.2) عل دیده تریک خدهٔ میمدد. محققهٔ که هدومک میمدد. در لحعیسک هجایی دیدهید کندیک میدید کارگذاید در بازی عدمی میددد که بازیک میدید در بازی مدید که در بازی میدید در بازی در بازی در بازی میدید در بازی در با

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ps 43:25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See note 778.

with rejoicing respond and say with the prophet, "Do not remove your face from us, and do not disregard our humiliation and affliction."

VII.4.3. To Sheol, the Metropolis of the inner [earth,]<sup>2</sup> the son of the kingdom descended and cast down her who became desolate, and he brought out the dead from within her. The good one loosened the power of death, and the treasures of the desolate one he put to the ban. He called to Adam, "Come out from there, for I have come because of you who transgressed the commandment!" Let all of us the faithful with rejoicing answer and say with the prophet, "Behold, you have worked wonders for the dead, and the warriors will rise to praise you."

VII.4.4. The son of the kingdom pulled me out from the abyss of sins, the sinful whirlpool down into which the Slanderer had cast me. The good one loosened me from the bonds of the rebel Slanderer. My Lord, call to me in your mercy, and I will become yours. Stretch out to me your right hand, and lift me up toward your begetter. Let all of us the faithful with rejoicing respond and say with the prophet, "My God, in you have I put my hope. Save me, and deliver me from all who persecute me."<sup>4</sup>

# VIII. Eighth Tone

#### VIII.1. Olaf

VIII.1.1. Make supplication for those who magnify you at all times, Birthgiver of God, so that the souls of all of us may be saved. May the mouths that sing glory to the one who shone forth from your womb, God Almighty, not be found guilty. We thrice-glorify him who is one in his nature, and we confess the Father, who begot, and the Son, who was begotten in the flesh, and the Holy Spirit, who will go forth and come at the end [of time] to give rest and renew those who cry out unceasingly. Wherefore, virgin Birthgiver of God, intercede with your only begotten son so that the souls of us all may be saved from wrath.

VIII.1.2. I passed by the house of judgment, and I observed the martyrs while they were saying to the Messiah in their true endurance, "Come to us, our helper and savior of our souls, with whom our soul is nailed. Rather than the world and all its de-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ps 87:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ps 7:2.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lit. "take anyone's face."

Syr.: כבאל (bêt bawtā), lit. "house for passing the night," a reference to Paradise.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Matt 5:5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Rev 8:11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Isa 66:24; Mark 9:48.

sires, we obeyed your words and kept your commandments, carried your cross, and followed you!" Wherefore, my Lord, do not put to shame the hope of your worshipers when you are revealed in glory, O good one and lover of humanity.

**VIII.1.3.** O physician who comes in his love to heal our infirmity, heal my wretched soul, which is defiled with sins, drowning in the sea of evil things and unaware. Send me your salvation; prescribe life that heals me. Shed your light on my path so that I may be enlightened by your illuminations, and I will confess your grace, which has mercy on sinners, for you alone are the merciful one and the lover of humanity.

VIII.1.4. I passed by the house of judgment, and I saw one of the rich cast into an abyss of fire and all his wealth put to shame. I approached him and asked him if there is any compassion in that place. He said to me, "Woe to you, man, if your deeds are not virtuous, because here they do not sow seed, and there is no rain that makes it grow, and not even for the blink of an eye is there mercy for us sinners! Here they do not accept bribes, and they do not play favorites. According to their deeds is each one requited with upright judgment." Wherefore, my Lord, do not put to shame the hope of your worshipers when you are revealed in glory, O good one and lover of humanity.

VIII.1.5. Who will not weep with pain when he sees his verdicts that will be decided at the fullness of time? In the year of the departure, there will be some [headed] upward and some [headed] downward. They will have their caravanserai, 2 and it will be fitting for the good ones, but [the rest] will be reduced to woes. Grace will say to one, "Blessed are you!" and justice will reprove another and say to him, "Do not approach!" Wherefore we weep for our bitter sins, because we shall stand before the fearsome bema, and justice will open the fearsome books, will pronounce judgment on them, and will give to each his recompense according to his labor. VIII.1.6. When I hear these things that justice says, that a great shaking will occur at the end of days, I remember our Savior saving in his good news, "Blessed are the poor, for they shall inherit the earth." Some will shine like the sun, some will be radiant like the moon, and some will be like night, in which there is no illumination. 4 I heard another [passage] saying that the end of the evil ones is destruction and anguish and the worm that does not die.<sup>5</sup> There is no compassion at the time of judgment, and there is no place for

۱۱.۱.۱۸ بدت حل لحملاک، شه تران حل ربعی، ملعمی تحسدا، ملاملک تلک هندی، بدت کا ربعی، مالعمی تحسدا، مالاه لحک تلک هندی، بدت که میدک بریج مالک تسخی، کردی محمله، مساحه تیدی کردی مستحی بریج مالیحی، مین که تدری کردی در کردی برید کردی برید کردی برید کردی برید کردی برید کردی برید کردی ترک کردی برید کردی برید کردی برید کردی برید کردی برید کردی ترک کردی برید کردی

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Isa 66:24; Mark 9:48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Matt 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30; Luke 13:28.

Syr.: ఉప్పుడు ( $b^e t \bar{u} l w \bar{a} t \bar{a} h$ ), lit. "her virginities."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Same seven-syllable first line as the first hymn in the series.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Syr.:  $(p^e l \bar{a} n)$ , lit. "so-and-so." This hymn was composed to honor any saint, whose name would be inserted here.

repentance, and tears that the pupils of the eye shed forth are not accepted. Rather, with the compassion that is from you, spare, pardon, and forgive the sins of all of us your servants, and make us and our departed worthy of that resurrection that is at your right hand, O good one and lover of humanity.

VIII.1.7. Let us all remember death, which is apportioned to our race, and the maggot that corrupts and the worm that does not die.<sup>2</sup> Let us remember that bitter and merciless torment where weeping reigns and the gnashing of teeth is heard.<sup>3</sup> Threatening and menacing darkness, the sharpened sword of fire, and great woe is there for sinners like me. My Lord, do not cast me from your bridal chamber because of my evil deeds. Rather, through your body and your blood take pity on my weakness and my resting place. [O you] who does not pass away, when you are revealed make me worthy of your bridal chamber that does not pass away, O good one and lover of humanity!

# VIII.2. Beth

**VIII.2.1.** [To the tune] "We come to your house." Mary became a mother to you, my Lord, and gave birth virginally at the entering of the Word, but she did not destroy her [marks of] virginity. You who are the King of kings, in the womb of the flesh of the Virgin you put off your greatness, the supernal birth. O material Word, exalted one who made us sons for his heavenly Father so that our race not be taken captive by the gloom of error, being God, you are magnified for your birth.

VIII.2.2. How fitting and desirable and pleasant,<sup>5</sup> like a rose when it gives its blossom in the days of Nisan, is the aroma of the murders of the holy martyrs. When they went down and stood in the contest they lifted up their eyes to heaven and said with great exultation, "We do not worship the idols, which are mute and false images, the works of [human] hands, the carvings of craftsmen. We worship Christ, who is the hope of refuge to those calling to him." God, through their prayers, forgive us our debts.

VIII.2.3. Peace to you, star adorned with splendor! Peace to you, censer filled with the aroma of incense, chosen one, my lord [name]!<sup>6</sup> For see, the nations from all corners [of the earth] come to attend your festival, O victorious one full of all beauty, so that they may receive through you help from that power that flows from your limbs. Ask your Lord on our behalf for peace, health, and remission of debts. God, through his prayers have mercy on us.

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<sup>1</sup> Breviarium: mri.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The setting of this hymn locates it in the context of Vespers, rather than at the Midnight office.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Luke 7:36–50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> John 6:46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ps 71:7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ps 102:20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Syr.: دعه (neqquš kappā), lit. "let us knock the palm of the hand."

- VIII.2.4. We have come to your house, Lord, and we have prepared to offer you a supplication with the setting of the sun.<sup>2</sup> Make the light of your commandments dawn in our hearts. May our souls become illuminated by you, giver of life. Loosen the noose of the deceitful one, the enemy who is eager to destroy us. By the sign of your cross do away with his artifices, O God, you who are the harbor of those who are weary.
- **VIII.2.5.** When the sinful woman heard the good news of Jesus, as he was reclining in Simon's house and was taking rest with his disciples she took oil for [anointing] the head, her faith, and the pain of her conscience. With courage of the soul she went and poured the oil on his head, and in his compassion he forgave her her debts and sins.<sup>3</sup> So too, Lord of all, forgive us like her, O God, you who are the harbor of those who are weary.
- **VIII.2.6.** Give rest, Lord, to the departed ones who ate your body and drank your blood, the cup of salvation, and laid down in your hope. Bring them into your bridal chamber according to the promise that you promised them with your good news when you said, "All who eat of my body and drink of my living blood will never taste death, but he is alive in me and I in him, and I will give him delight with me in the heavenly kingdom."

#### VIII.3. Gomal

- VIII.3.1. David! Stand, take your harp, proclaim, and interpret in your songs the history full of marvel, how you saw Christ your Lord and your God, so that I who am lacking may learn from you the history full of wonder. You saw him as rain that comes down on the earth and as fine showers that come down on the grass;<sup>5</sup> in the heaven of heavens is his throne, and his authority reaches the ends of the earth.<sup>6</sup> The Virgin Mary became a mother by a miracle, conceived without seed, and gave birth without defilement. Trembling fell upon the company of the maidens: "Who is this, and from where is that virgin who conceived in her virginity?" Let us clap<sup>7</sup> with joy, and let us give blessing to the one who gave birth to that pilot, the one who redeems the world.
- VIII.3.2. David! Stand, take your harp, proclaim, and interpret in your songs concerning the holy bones. Tell me what the blessed athletes confessed, who endured tortures and affliction but did

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ps 85:9; Isa 46:9.

not renounce Christ. They confessed their Lord, who was suspended on the wood. They gave their necks over to tortures and deprivation. They raised their gaze to the heaven of heavens, and they saw Christ the Son, who wove their crowns, and they became drunk with his love. Their thoughts rejoiced in the blood from his side, and the afflictions and bitter tortures were forgotten. Now their reward is kept with Christ their Lord, whom we glorify, and we praise them.

VIII.3.3. David! Stand, take your harp, proclaim, and interpret in your songs concerning the day of the resurrection. Tell me how the dead will rise without corruption, for I am in need to learn from you concerning the marvel of that day. The ram's horn will blast, and the horns will blare, and the grave will be opened with quaking and violent shocks. Some will be raised on high, and some will be tormented with fire. The righteous will rejoice and sing glory; the evil ones will be mourning, for they will be cast into darkness. Take pity, my Lord, on the bodies of your servants who partook of your body and drank your blood. Make us as well as them worthy to stand at your right hand and send up glory to you at your second coming.

#### VIII.4. Dolath

**VIII.4.1.** You are the exalted heavens, virgin mother of him who cannot be contained. With wonder you are called mother as well as handmaid of the Lord God, the fashioner of infants, the establisher and Creator of all creatures. With prophetic expression we all say there is none like you, Lord God, majestic one and champion, who is glorified for ever and ever.

VIII.4.2. The son of the king made a large wedding banquet and called out to the martyrs to delight with him in the meal that he set out for them. The watchers were amazed by how beautiful it was. He gave them his body to eat and be refreshed, and his living blood he mixed and poured for the beloved guests who entered the banquet. Each exalted guest who entered the banquet had received pains and sufferings. Who will not magnify your memorial, and who will not praise your feasts? Let us all give them praise, those who did not renounce Christ, and to the Father, who crowns them, let us send up glory, and his Son, who chose them, let us all worship.

VIII.4.3. How doleful was the death of the martyrs! When they

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Acts 7:58–60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Acts 12:2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea, *Hist. eccl.* 2.23 (Schwartz, Mommsen, and Winkelmann, 2.1:164–74; Williamson, 58–82; Wright, McLean, and Merx, 100–106 [Syr.]); Eusebius quotes from sources he identifies as Clement, Hegesippus, and Flavius Josephus (the latter being from *Jewish Antiquities* 20.9.1 [Feldman, LCL 490, 494–97]).

accepted the faith with love, they heeded the expression of our Lord in his good news, "All who die for me before humanity I will confess before the Father, and he will be refreshed in my kingdom with me." Stephen was the first, the one who was killed by stones. After him was James the son of Zebedee, whom King Agrippa killed, and then my lord James, the brother of our Lord, whom they killed with the fuller's club. Some were roasted by fire; others endured tyrannical tortures. Some were crowned with the sword; others became food for the beasts. Some were drowned in the sea and became fodder for the fish, while others completed the race of their lives on mountains and in caves. My lord George the victorious, who was more victorious than all of them, through your prayers and the prayer of your friends, work compassion for our souls. Lord of all, glory to you.

VIII.4.4. O compassionate one who is the likeness of the Father, Lord of the watchers who serve him, have pity on the bodies of your departed, who have fallen into corruption in Sheol. On that day, sprinkle the dew of your compassion and mercy on the faces of those who ate your body and drank your blood. My Lord, at that time, do not bring them near to Gehenna, those whose limbs held you; O our Savior, have pity on those who worship your cross.

#### VIII.5. He

**VIII.5.1.** Unceasingly entreat and beseech on our behalf, Mary, Birthgiver of God, you who are for the faithful a wall and a house of refuge and the hope in which we trust. Wherefore, we supplicate you: beseech him who was born of you that he might have mercy on us.

VIII.5.2. O beasts of the four likenesses, O awesome cherubim, incline the ear and listen! With the leaders of the bodiless powers of angels and the ranks of the watchers on high, with the mother of God and the prophets and apostles and martyrs, intercede and make supplication; hasten to entreat on behalf of the human race. Holy are you, God; arise in your compassion for your humanity instead of with the rod of your chastisement. Holy are you, mighty one; may your power avert the anger that threatens to destroy us. Holy are you, immortal one, who sits on the cherubim in the exalted heights; redeem and save your people who are laid low with tribulation, you who are the lover of humanity.

VIII.5.3. Fearsome is the way, my beloved, on which we must tra-

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vel. When we are released from this life, we leave behind those known to us and all our relatives. In pain and affliction when the fearsome angel comes down and leads us away and separates the soul from the body, so that [the soul] may go and give account of its hateful [deeds], then maggots and worms take possession of the limbs, the eyes are darkened and full of fright, the ears become deaf and have ceased from hearing, and the mouth becomes bridled and filled with silence, unable to say, "Halleluia."

VIII.5.4. The tree of paradise gave death to Eve and Adam; because they ate from the fruit they were cast out of paradise. The trees bent down their heads, and the seraphim beat their wings and began to say to one another, "Woe to the one on high who fell from his rank and became cast out from his inheritance! Woe to the beautiful one who became corrupted and became odious in the dwelling of Sheol! Woe to the fashioned one who was exalted but who by a suggestion was reduced to corruption! Woe to the warrior who was defeated because he forgot the commandment of his Lord! Where is your beauty that was taken off from you, the stole of your glory? Where is your delight, now that your way is made straight to the land of curses? Why did the snake and Eve lead you astray and rob you and make you fall from your rank?" My Lord, be sad, be sad for your image that grows old and is worn out. Raise up, revive, and make him stand at your right hand so that he may say, "Glory to your grace!" Lord of all, glory to you.

# Appendix

# CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN HYMNS IN OVERBECK'S EDITION AND IN THE SYRIAN LITURGICAL TRADITION (MOSUL BREVIARIUM)

Table 1: Hymns Edited in Overbeck in Relation to Those Edited in the Mosul Prayer Book

Tone I			
Supplication	Overbeck Location	Topic	Mosul Number
I.1	OB 245,5-10	Birthgiver of God	I.1.1
I.2	OB 245,10–246,3	Birthgiver of God	I.3.1
I.3	OB 246,3-10	To the Martyrs	I.1.2
I.4	OB 246,10–15	To the Saints	not in Mosul
I.5	OB 246,15-21	Repentance	not in Mosul
I.6	OB 246,21–25	Repentance	I.1.3
I.7	OB 246,25–247,4	Repentance	not in Mosul
1.8	OB 247,4-11	Departed	I.1.4
I.9	OB 247,11–17	Departed	not in Mosul
I.10	OB 247,17–26	Departed	I.3.4
I.11	OB 247,26–248,8	Resurrection	not in Mosul

Tone IV			
Supplication	Overbeck Location	Topic	Mosul Number
IV.1	OB 362,3-11	Birthgiver of God	IV.1.1
IV.2	OB 362,11–363,2	Martyrs	IV.1.3
IV.3	OB 363,2-11	Martyrs	IV.1.2
IV.4	OB 363,11-20	Repentance	IV.1.4
IV.5	OB 363,20-25	Departed	IV.1.6
IV.6	OB 363,21-364,4	Departed	not in Mosul
IV.7	OB 364,4-10	Resurrection	not in Mosul
IV.8	OB 364,11–16	Birthgiver of God	not in Mosul
IV.9	OB 364,16-21	Birthgiver of God	not in Mosul
IV.10	OB 364,21–365,2	Martyrs	not in Mosul
IV. 1 1	OB 365,2-12	Repentance	IV.1.7
IV.12	OB 365,12-18	Departed	not in Mosul
IV.13	OB 365,19–366,3	Birthgiver of God	IV.2.1
IV.14	OB 366,3-12	Saints	IV.2.2
IV.15	OB 366,12-22	Departed	IV.2.3
IV.16	OB 366,23-27	Birthgiver of God	not in Mosul
IV.17	OB 367,1–6	Birthgiver of God (Greek)	not in Mosul
IV.18	ОВ 367,6-13	Birthgiver of God (Greek)	not in Mosul
IV.19	OB 367,13-20	Departed	not in Mosul
IV.20	OB 367,20–368,1	Passage of Departed	IV.3.1

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IV.21	OB 368,1–16	Passage of Departed	IV.3.2
IV.22	OB 368,16–20	Resurrection (Greek)	not in Mosul
IV.23	OB 368,20–23	Death and Resurrection of Christ	not in Mosul
IV.24	OB 368,23–369,6	Glory; Body of Christ	not in Mosul
IV.25	ОВ 369,6–18	Glory; Body of Christ	not in Mosul

Tone VII			
Supplication	Overbeck Location	Topic	Mosul Number
VII.1	OB 370,4-10	Birthgiver of God	VII.1.1
VII.2	OB 370,10–16	Birthgiver of God	VII.1.2
VII.3	OB 370,16–371,5	Saints	VII.1.3
VII.4	OB 371,5-11	Saints	not in Mosul
VII.5	OB 371,11-17	Repentance	VII.1.5
VII.6	OB 371,17-22	Repentance	VII.1.7
VII.7	OB 371,23-372,4	Repentance	VII.1.6
VII.8	OB 372,4-11	Departed	VII.1.8
VII.9	OB 372,11-17	Of the Cross	not in Mosul
VII.10	OB 372,17-25	Resurrection	not in Mosul
VII.11	OB 372,25-373,8	Birthgiver of God	VII.3.1
VII.12	OB 373,8-17	Saints	VII.3.2
VII.13	OB 373,17-24	Repentance	VII.3.3

VII.14	OB	Departed	VII.3.4
VII.15	373,25 <sup>-</sup> 374,9 OB 374,9 <sup>-</sup> 23	Passing, Repentance	not in Mosul
VII.16	OB 374,23 <sup>-</sup> 375,4	Birthgiver of God	not in Mosul
VII.17	OB 375,4-12	Passing of Departed	VII.2.2
VII.18	OB 375,13-20	Passing of Departed	not in Mosul
VII.19	OB 375,20–25	Passing of Departed	not in Mosul
VII.20	OB 375,25-376,15	Passing of Departed	VII.2.5
VII.21	OB 376,15-21	Passing of Departed	VII.2.4
VII.22	OB 376,22-377,4	Passing of Departed	VII.2.1
VII.23	OB 377,4-15	Passing of Departed	not in Mosul
VII.24	OB 377,16–22	Passing of Departed	not in Mosul
VII.25	OB 377,22–378,2	Passing of Departed	not in Mosul
VII.26	OB 378,2-7	Washing of Feet (Greek)	not in Mosul
VII.27	OB 378,7-12	Washing of Feet (Greek)	not in Mosul

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Table 2: Hymns Edited in the Mosul Prayer Book in Relation to Those Edited in Overbeck

Tone I		
Mosul Number	Topic	Overbeck Number
I.1.1	Birthgiver of God	І. 1
I.1.2	Martyrs	I.3
I.1.3	Repentance	I.6
I.1.4	Departed	I.8
I.2	Birthgiver of God	not in Overbeck
I.3.1	Birthgiver of God	I.2
I.3.2	Martyrs	not in Overbeck
I.3.3	Repentance	not in Overbeck
I.3.4	Departed	I.10
I.4.1	Birthgiver of God	not in Overbeck
I.4.2	Martyrs	not in Overbeck
I.4.3	Repentance	not in Overbeck
I.4.4	Departed	not in Overbeck
I.5.1	Repentance	not in Overbeck
I.5.2	Repentance	not in Overbeck
I.5.3	Repentance	not in Overbeck

Tone II	not in Overbeck
Tone III	not in Overbeck

Tone IV		
Mosul Number	Topic	Overbeck Number
IV.1.1	Birthgiver of God	IV. 1
IV.1.2	Martyrs	IV.3
IV.1.3	Martyrs	IV.2
IV.1.4	Repentance	IV.4

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IV.1.5	Repentance	not in Overbeck
IV.1.6	Departed	IV.5
IV.1.7	Departed	IV. 1 1
IV.2.1	Birthgiver of God	IV.13
IV.2.2	Saints	IV.14
IV.2.3	Departed	IV.15
IV.3.1	Passage of Departed	IV.20
IV.3.2	Passage of Departed	IV.21
IV.4	Resurrection/Mary	not in Overbeck
IV.5.1	Birthgiver of God	not in Overbeck
IV.5.2	Saints	not in Overbeck
IV.5.3	Repentance	not in Overbeck
IV.5.4	Departed	not in Overbeck

Tone V	not in Overbeck
Tone VI	not in Overbeck

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Tone	VII

Mosul Number	Topic	Overbeck Number		
VII.1.1	Birthgiver of God	VII.1		
VII.1.2	Birthgiver of God	VII.2		
VII.1.3	Saints	VII.3		
VII.1.4	Repentance	not in Overbeck		
VII.1.5	Repentance	VII.5		
VII.1.6	Repentance	VII.7		
VII.1.7	Repentance	VII.6		
VII.1.8	Departed	VII.8		
VII.2.1	Departed	VII.22		
VII.2.2	Departed	VII.17		
VII.2.3	Departed	not in Overbeck		

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VII.2.4	Departed	VII.21
VII.2.5	Departed	VII.20
VII.3.1	Birthgiver of God	VII.11
VII.3.2	Saints	VII.12
VII.3.3	Repentance	VII.13
VII.3.4	Departed	VII.14
VII.4.1	Repentance	not in Overbeck
VII.4.2	Repentance	not in Overbeck
VII.4.3	Repentance	not in Overbeck
VII.4.4	Repentance	not in Overbeck

## Table 3: Table of Canons

Admonitions 1 ~ Commandments 15

Admonitions 2 = Canons 1

Admonitions 3 = Canons 2

Admonitions 4 = Canons 3

Admonitions 9 = Canons 4

Admonitions 10 = Canons 5

Admonitions 12  $\sim$  Commandments 24

Admonitions 13  $\sim$  Canons 18

Admonitions 15 ~ Commandments 26

Admonitions 16  $\sim$  Commandments 27

Admonitions 17 = Canons 6

Admonitions 25a = Commandments 17

Admonitions 25b = Commandments 48

Commandments 27  $\sim$  Canons 24

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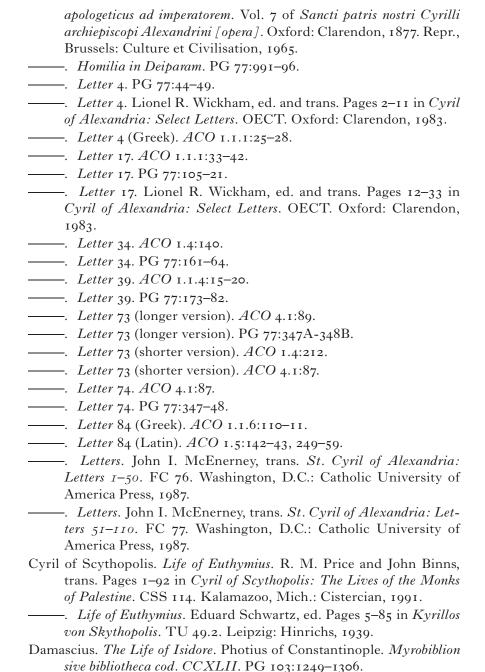
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principissas, de recta fide ad augustas, quod unus Christus dialogos,

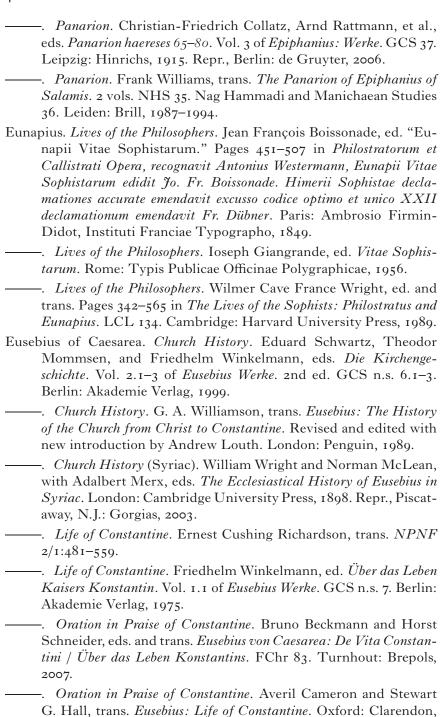


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