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Six Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts

by Cyrus of Edessa

An East Syrian Theologian
of the Mid Sixth Century

EDITED

BY

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FOREWORD

A number of years ago, I was searching for a suitable topic for a doctoral dissertation in Chaldean theology. I was, at the time, destined to be professor of theology at Al-Hikma University in Baghdad, where the Chaldeans form the largest Christian community, and I was looking for a subject that would introduce me into their traditional understanding of Christian revelation. My rector, the Rev. Alphonse Raes, S. J., suggested that I edit a theological text, and I had the good fortune of stumbling on the collection of sixth century treatises, *Explanations of the Feasts of the Economy*. I could scarcely have made a happier discovery, for these treatises, especially those of Cyrus of Edessa that I am here editing, present the full sweep of the Chaldean theological synthesis in the context of the principal liturgical feasts that celebrate the great mysteries of human redemption.

More than any other of the Oriental Churches, the Chaldean Church has its own, well-defined, characteristic theology. The reason for this is that its theology is the creation of a single genius, Theodore of Mopsuestia. Nonetheless, I call it « Chaldean theology », for it is the theology, not only of the Orthodox branch of this venerable Church, but also, in its essential features, of the Catholic branch as well. In fact, the questionable theses of the Bishop of Mopsuestia in christology and the theology of grace and the Eucharist are marginal to his central soteriological synthesis, and the authorities responsible for the correction of the liturgical books at the time of the different reunions of the Chaldeans with Rome were able to preserve intact or with very slight modifications the vast bulk of the liturgical texts that enshrine Chaldean theology and preserve it as a living force in the Church, not only for the benefit of the modern Chaldeans themselves, but also for that of the entire Church Universal.

And now to the pleasant task of gratefully acknowledging the contributions of at least some of the many persons whose assistance and encouragement have made it possible for me to bring this labour to a successful conclusion. In the first place come my superiors, above all the Revs. Alphonse Raes and Ivan Žužek, S. J., whose encouragement has been altogether essential to me. In the second place come

those who have helped me acquire microfilms or have provided the possibility of direct consultation of the different manuscripts of my text. Above all, there are the monks of Notre-Dame des Semences and their Superior General of the time, the Very Rev. Ablaḥad Rabban, who, besides affording me generous hospitality and the chance to work in their library, allowed the oldest surviving copy of the text to be carried to Mosul, where the Revs. Jean Fiey, O. P., and Robert Büttler, S. J., spent long hours in photographing it for me. Then, I would like to thank the staffs at the British Museum and the Selly Oak Colleges Library, who, in addition to providing microfilms of their copies of the text, have been extremely kind and helpful to me in all my dealings with them. The same has been true of the Görresgesellschaft at the Collegio Teutonico in Vatican City in allowing me to consult many times their sole Syriac manuscript. Belatedly, too, I would like to acknowledge the assistance rendered me by the late Mlle. N. V. Pigulevskaya of the Oriental Institute of Leningrad, who furnished me important information on their manuscript. Especial thanks are due to Mgr. Patrick Skehan of the Catholic University of America, who not only sent me an excellent microfilm of their copy of my text, but also entrusted to me the material prepared for publication by the late Prof. Arthur Vaschalde. Last, but certainly not least, I owe a great debt of gratitude to Prof. René Draguet for accepting my text and translation for publication in CSCO and for the innumerable suggestions he has so patiently given me for improving what I had prepared.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- A see below, MSS.
- (A)^{a, b} written above a letter designating a manuscript, ^a and ^b indicate the original and the corrected reading, respectively.
- (A)^w written above a letter designating a manuscript, ^w indicates a corrected reading made in a western hand.
- antic. = written erroneously by anticipation.
- Asc = CYRUS EDESSEUS, *Explanation of the Ascension*, in A, ff. 152v-163r.
- B see below, MSS.
- BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte* = A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Anschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*. Bonn, 1922.
- BAUMSTARK, *Schriften* = A. BAUMSTARK, *Die nestorianischen Schriften «de causis festorum»*, in *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901), 320-342.
- btw. = between.
- cancl. = cancelled.
- CARR, *Thomas* = S. J. CARR, *Thomas Edesseni tractatus de nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. Rome, 1898.
- co (*codices omnes*) = all six MSS. (ABLNTW) of *EFE* used for the edition.
- corr. = corrected.
- D see below, MSS.
- del. = deleted.
- diacr. pt(s). = diacritical point(s).
- DIETRICH, *Bericht* = G. DIETRICH, *Bericht über neuentdeckte handschriftliche Urkunden zur Geschichte der Gottesdienstes in der nestorianischen Kirche*, in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philologisch-historische Klasse, 1909, 160-218.
- ditt. = dittography.
- div. = divided.
- ed. = edited by.
- EFE* = *Explanations of the Feasts of the Economy*.
- Epi* = THOMAS EDESSEUS, *Explanation of the Epiphany*, in A, ff. 46r-67r.
- f(f). = leaf (leaves) of a manuscript.
- f(inis) = last letter of a Syriac word.
- Fst* = CYRUS EDESSEUS, *Explanation of the Fast*, in A, ff. 76r-96r.
- Gol* = HNANA ADIABENUS, *Explanation of the Friday of Gold*, ed. A. SCHER, in PO VII, 53-67.
- hapl. = haplography.
- hom. = homoeoteleuton.
- IC = index of chapters.
- illeg. = illegible.
- i(nitium) = first letter of a Syriac word (i variant, i <), or before it (i + variant).
- interl. = interline.
- intr. = introduction.

- L see below, MSS.
 l(l). = line(s).
 let(s). = letter(s).
 lin. occ. = *linea occultans*.
 MINGANA, *Catalogue* = A. MINGANA, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham*. 4 vols. Cambridge, 1933-1948.
 mtg. = margin.
 Mrt = IŠAI, *Explanation of (the Commemoration of) the Martyrs*, ed. A. SCHER, in PO VII, 15-52.
 Mry = *Explanation of the Commemoration of Blessed Mari Maryam*, by « one of the teaching brethren of the School of Nisibis », in A, ff. 25r-46r.
 MS(S). = manuscript(s).
 N see below, MSS.
 n(n). = note(s).
 Nat = THOMAS EDESSENUM, *Explanation of the Nativity*, ed. CABR, *Thomasae*.
 nr(s). = number(s).
 p(p). = page(s).
 parens. = parentheses.
 perh. = perhaps.
 Pesh. = Peshitta Bible, ed. *Biblia sacra juxta versionem simplicem quae dicitur Peshitta*. 3 vols. Beirut, 1951.
 FIGULEVSKAYA, *Katalog* = N. V. FIGULEVSKAYA, *Katalog sirijskikh rukopisej Lenin-grada (Palestinskij Sbornik 6 [69])*. Moscow/Leningrad, 1960 (in Russian).
 pl = *plurale genus*, plural.
 Pnt = CYRUS EDESSENUM, *Explanation of Pentecost Sunday*, in A, ff. 163r-175v.
 PO = R. GRAFFIN and F. NAU, *Patrologia Orientalis*. Paris, 1907-.
 POSI = POSI, *Explanation of the Fast*, in A, ff. 67r-76r.
 prob. = probably.
 prol. = prologue.
 pronunc. ptng. = pronunciation pointing.
 Psc = CYRUS EDESSENUM, *Explanation of the Pasch*, in A, ff. 96r-108v.
 Psn = CYRUS EDESSENUM, *Explanation of the Passion*, in A, ff. 108v-122v.
 pt(s). = point(s).
 Rog = HANANA ADIABENUS, *Explanation of the Rogation*, ed. A. SCHER, in PO VII, 68-82.
 Rsr = CYRUS EDESSENUM, *Explanation of the Resurrection*, in A, ff. 122v-140v.
 S see below, MSS.
 SCHER, *Catalogue* = A. SCHER, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque épiscopale de Séert. Mosul*, 1905.
 SCHER, *Halwan* = A. SCHER, *Mar Barḥaḏbšabba 'Arbaya, évêque de Halwan (VI^e siècle). Cause de la fondation des écoles*, in PO IV, 315-404.
 SCHER, *Notice* = A. SCHER, *Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque du couvent des Chaldéens de Notre-Dame-des Semences*, in *Journal Asiatique sér.* 10, vol. 7 (1906), 479-512; vol. 8 (1906), 55-82.
 scrd. = scratched (out).
 sg = *singulare genus*, singular.

- SMITH, *Thesaurus* = R. P. SMITH, *Thesaurus syriacus*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1879-1901.
- sqzd. = squeezed (in).
- T see below, MSS.
- transl. = translation.
- VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Inventaire* = A. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques des fonds Vatican (490-631), Barberini Oriental et Neofiti* (Studi e Testi, 243). Vatican City, 1965.
- VOSTÉ, *Catalogue* = J.-M. VOSTÉ, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Syro-Chaldéenne du Couvent de Notre-Dame des Semences près d'Alqôš (Iraq)*. Rome, 1929 (reprinted from *Angelicum* 5 [1929], 3-36, 161-194, 325-358, 481-498).
- VOSTÉ, *Notes* = J. VOSTÉ, *Notes sur les manuscrits syriaques de Diarbêkir et autres localités d'Orient*, in *Le Muséon* 50 (1937), 345-351.
- W see below, MSS.
- wr. (ov.) = written (over).
- + = add(s).
- < = omit(s).
- ~ = inversion.
- [...] = lacuna in the text, whether indicated by a blank or not.

SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS

- A = Alqôš, Notre-Dame des Semences, Syriac MS. 155 (1886) = *EFE*.
- B = Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Library, Mingana Syriac MS. 195 (1923) = *EFE*.
- D = Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, Oriental Institute, Dietrich MS. 7 (1894) = *EFE*.
- L = London, British Museum, Oriental MS. 9360A (1894) = *EFE*.
- N = Alqôš, Notre-Dame des Semences, Syriac MS. 156 (1887) = *EFE*.
- S = Séert, Chaldean Archiepiscopal Residence, MS. 82 (16th c.) = *EFE*.
- T = Vatican City, Collegio Teutonico, MS. 44 (1897) = *EFE*.
- W = Washington, Catholic University of America, Hyvernat Syriac MS. 8 (1889) = *EFE*.

INTRODUCTION

The six treatises of Cyrus of Edessa that I edit here are part of a larger collection known as *Explanations of the Feasts of the Economy* (= *EFE*). It will be my task in this introduction to list and describe the manuscripts of the collection known to exist, establish the relationships among them and indicate the criteria that I have followed for the edition.

§ 1. THE MANUSCRIPTS

We have knowledge of eight manuscripts of the complete collection (ABDLNSTW). Baumstark supposes the existence of two others¹, but unjustifiably. The evidence for one of them is provided by the colophon of W (copied from A), that Carr quotes in the introduction to his edition of one of the treatises of the collection². The colophon relates how the Chaldean hieromonk, Samuel Jamil, discovered a copy of *EFE* at the Monastery of Mar Ya'qob near Séert and arranged to have it copied for his own monastery, Notre-Dame des Semences, « on the 26th of the western (Gregorian) month of Tammuz (July) of the year 1885 A. D. »³ Baumstark concludes from this to the existence of a manuscript of *EFE* at the Monastery of Mar Ya'qob, distinct from S, the one kept at Séert. However, the manuscripts of Mar Ya'qob were, in fact, transferred to Séert some time after 1885 and were deposited at the Chaldean archiepiscopal residence, as Scher notes in his catalogue⁴. The other manuscript was supposed to be an ancient one, representing an independent textual tradition, kept at the Chaldean village of Tell-Kef, where D was copied. That the source of D was ancient and independent of the other witnesses is an unjustified assumption that seems based on a curious error of Dietrich, who reports that the order of the treatises in D is different

¹ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte*, 121, n. 11. The date he gives for A, 1885, is also erroneous. This is the date mentioned in the colophon of W, but it apparently represents the date on which Jamil contracted to have S copied, not the date when A was completed.

² CARR, *Thomae*, 11.

³ I quote this colophon more completely in the intr. to the transl.

⁴ SCHER, *Catalogue*, 35.

from that found in MSS. derived from A ⁵. In fact, the order of treatises that Diettrich indicates is completely identical with that of A, and, as will be shown, D was copied either directly or indirectly from A.

Before proceeding to a presentation in chronological order of the eight witnesses, we may note in passing the existence of four partial copies of *EFE*, none of which has been of direct utility for the establishment of our text. One was made by A. Vaschalde, professor at the Catholic University of America, who copied the six treatises of Cyrus from W in view of their publication in CSCO. His untimely death prevented him from putting his project into execution ⁶. Another copy was to be made around 1930 of seven treatises of the collection, the one on Mart Maryam and the six of Cyrus (the reference to the one on the Fast, however, is ambiguous, for *EFE* contains two on this subject, and the author of the one to be copied is not specified), by a certain Deacon Pawlos ⁷, according to an undated letter of Rabban Gabriel Jamil ⁸ to Pawlos that is preserved loose at the beginning of A. Unfortunately, the present location of this manuscript is unknown to me, but, in any case, since it was presumably copied directly from A, it would be valueless for the edition. The other two partial copies do not contain any of the treatises of Cyrus: Séert, Chaldean Archiepiscopal Residence, MS. 109 (Mar Ya'qob, 1609 A. D.) ⁹, which contained the treatise on the Rogation, and Vatican Library, Syriac MS. 521 (Alqoš, 1931 A. D.), which contains, ff. 74-79r, the third chapter of the treatise on Mart Maryam ¹⁰.

⁵ DIETRICH, *Bericht*, 192s. His error may perhaps be due to a careless reading of BAUMSTARK, *Schriften*, 324-335, where the treatises are presented in the chronological order of composition.

⁶ His text for all but the latter part of *Fst* and his translation for all but *Fst* were very kindly sent to me from Catholic University in Washington, but, in the event, the material has proved virtually useless for me — the text, because it is based uniquely on W, of which I have an excellent microfilm, and the translation, because it is in Latin.

⁷ I wonder whether Deacon Pawlos Qaša may not be meant, the last professional scribe of Alqoš, whom I saw still at work in January 1966.

⁸ 1930 was indicated to me as his *floruit* by the monks at Notre-Dame des Semences.

⁹ Cfr. SCHERB, *Catalogue*, 77ss.

¹⁰ Cfr. VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Inventaire*, 49. The MS. erroneously attributes the chapter to Thomas and Cyrus of Edessa, presumably because only these two are indicated in the title heading to the entire collection.

S = Séert, Chaldean Archiepiscopal Residence, MS. 82 (16th c.).

It was presumably destroyed in 1915, when the residence was sacked¹¹. It was thus described in 1905 by Scher¹²: « Volume en papier de 20 cent. sur 15, composé de 33 cahiers; les derniers cahiers manquent. 22 lignes à la page ... Sans date. Écriture du XVI^e siècle ». Besides *EFE*, the codex also contained histories of Zachary, father of John the Baptist, the discovery of the head of the Baptist and two findings of the Cross, plus *Explanation of the Foundation of Schools*, by Barḥadbšabba of Ḥalwan (incomplete)¹³.

Scher used the codex for the edition of three treatises of *EFE*, on the Martyrs, the Friday of Gold and the Rogation¹⁴. As for the treatises of Cyrus, the text of S is known to us only indirectly through A.

A = Alqoš, Monastery of Notre-Dame des Semences, Syriac MS. 155 (1886 A. D.).

Vosté described it in 1929¹⁵: « Manuscrit mesurant 25 cm. sur 17.5, composé de 19 cahiers, 25 lignes la page. Dans les premiers cahiers il y a quelques lacunes (i.e. blank spaces left by the copyist where his model was lacunose or illegible). — Copié sur le codex 82 de Séert (S) à la demande du père Samuel Giamil. Achevé le 6 février 1886 à Séert par le diacre Šeleimon, fils de Ḥanna Adamo ».

Paper; 186 ff., numbered with Syriac numbers on the *verso*. The script is an East Syrian *serto*. More than one scribe took part in the copying. The fine, elegant hand of Deacon Šleymon prevails, but a coarser, more angular hand appears on ff. 64r, 67v, 68r, 69v, 70r, 71v, 72r, 75v, 79v and parts of 34r, 64v and 67r. Other pages seem to display a third hand, and there were probably others, but these hands resemble that of the principal scribe too closely to be distinguished with certainty.

The text is only occasionally vowelled. The pointing in general conforms to modern East Syrian usage, but it also exhibits some singular features worthy of note here since they affect the reading of some words. The double point (*syame*) that normally designates the plural in reality distinguishes words that end in *-ê* and *-âtâ*, whether

¹¹ Cf. VOSTÉ, *Notes*, 347.

¹² SCHER, *Catalogue*, 62.

¹³ Its variants are indicated in the apparatus of SCHER, *Ḥalwan*.

¹⁴ PO VII, 15-82.

¹⁵ VOSTÉ, *Catalogue*, 57a.

they are grammatically plural or not. Thus, Cyrus' name is often written with plural points because it is to be pronounced *Qiyōrē*, and the same is true of «testament», *dyātēqē*. On the contrary, «testaments», *dyātēqōs*, and other plurals of words of foreign origin that do not end in *-ē* are usually written without plural points. Something similar can be noted with words whose pronunciation resembles that of feminine plural nouns, e.g. *huhātā*, «itching», *qātā*, «shouting», and *armyātēh*, «she threw it», all of which are written with plural points. One may also mention the two points that are normally placed beneath a final *-at* to distinguish the third person feminine singular of the perfect tense of verbs, but which in A are also used to indicate any final *-at*, e.g. the construct form of feminine nouns, whether singular or plural (their pronunciation is identical in modern East Syrian usage).

Corrections are numerous and in different hands. Particularly to be noted here are the marginal additions on ff. 23v^o, 30v^o, 32r^o, 37r^o, 47r^o, 64v^o, 65v^o, 68r^o, 83v^o, 84v^o, 94r^o, 97v^o, 102r^o, 110v^o, 134r^o, 140r^o, 152v^o, 156v^o, 166r^o, 172r^o and 173v^o. Most of these, according to Père Jean Fiey, O. P., are written in purple ink and are to be attributed to Samuel Jamil, who seems to have proofread A against S. There are ink blots and smudges on a few pages, but only on ff. 134r^o and 138r^o do they render a few letters illegible. All of them can be restored with certainty from the context and from the other copies.

Besides the lacunae mentioned by Vosté, one should note two others in the treatises of Cyrus, a large blank space of 15 lines on f. 97r^o and a small blank of some 3 letters on f. 161r^o. In the former case, there is no corresponding lacuna in the meaning, so that it is clearly a false lacuna. From Scher's edition of three treatises of *EFE* it can be calculated that 15 lines of text in A correspond to an entire page in S. I conclude, therefore, that one side of a leaf in S was inadvertently left blank and that Deacon Šleymon misinterpreted it as a real lacuna. In the other case, a word does seem to be missing, but rather after the following word. In addition, there are several other breaks in the meaning of the text where no blank space appears. Most of these seem to be of a few words or, at most, of one or two lines, but one at the end of f. 91v^o must be of an entire leaf or page. All of these defects in the text are noted in their proper places.

Also to be noted here is a textual inversion at f. 84r^o:19. The segment of text that ought to follow is found on ff. 85r^o:9-85v^o:22, and this should be followed in turn by ff. 84r^o:19-85r^o:9; the text then con-

tinues at f. 85v^o:22 and proceeds thence in normal sequence. The two segments of inverted text are of 38 and 39 lines, respectively. Hence, since these are not multiples of 15, one may conclude that the irregularity was found already in the exemplar of S. Three explanations are possible: the inner conjugate pair of leaves of a gathering may have been inadvertently turned inside out when they were bound; a single leaf may have come loose from its gathering and was rebound in the wrong place; or a single large leaf may have come loose and was rebound backwards to.

The contents of the codex are as follows:

1. Thomas of Edessa, *Explanation of the Nativity* (= *Nat*), ff. 1v^o-25r^o.
 2. *Explanation of the Commemoration of Blessed Mari Maryam*, by « one of the teaching bretheren of the School of Nisibis » (= *Mry*), ff. 25r^o-46r^o.
 3. Thomas of Edessa, *Explanation of the Epiphany* (= *Epi*), ff. 46r^o-67r^o.
 4. Posi, doctor, *Explanation of the Fast* (= *Posi*), ff. 67r^o-76r^o.
 5. Cyrus of Edessa, « another » (*Explanation*) of the Fast (= *Fst*), ff. 76r-96r.
 6. Idem, *Explanation of the Pasch* (= *Psc*), ff. 96r-108v.
 7. Idem, *Explanation of the Passion* (= *Psn*), ff. 108v-122v.
 8. Idem, *Explanation of the Resurrection* (= *Rsr*), ff. 122v-140v.
 9. Išai, priest and doctor, *Explanation of (the Commemoration of) the Martyrs* (= *Mrt*), ff. 140v-152v.
 10. Cyrus of Edessa, *Explanation of the Ascension* (= *Asc*), ff. 152v^o-163r^o.
 11. Idem, *Explanation of Pentecost Sunday* (= *Pnt*), ff. 163r^o-175v^o.
 12. Hnana of Adiabene, *Explanation of the Friday of Gold* (= *Gol*), ff. 175v^o-180v^o.
 13. Idem, *Explanation of the Rogation* (= *Rog*), ff. 180v^o-184v^o.
- Colophon, ff. 184v^o-185v^o.
Ornamental cross, f. 186r^o.

The microfilm was made for me by the Revs. Jean Fiey, O. P., and Robert Bütler, S. J. It embraces ff. 1v^o, 15v^o-141r^o, 152v^o-176r^o and 184v^o-186r^o. Unfortunately, the camera lens was not perfectly clean. As a result, there is an area of diminished legibility in a large part of lines 1 to 20, more or less, of the *verso* of many leaves, especially

from f. 135v^o on. In most cases, the diminution is not so serious as to render the reading of the film unsure, but in a few leaves between ff. 161v^o and 175v^o legibility is quite seriously compromised. A small completely blank spot, caused probably by a grain of dust, can also be noted near the beginning of line 24 of the *recto* from f. 89r^o on, but this rarely affects more than part of a single letter. In 1965, during a visit to the Monastery of St. George near Mosul, where the codex was temporarily deposited for safekeeping, I was able to consult A directly and clarify those places where the reading of the film is uncertain. I have been told that A has since been transferred to the Chaldean Patriarchate in Baghdad.

N = Alqoš, Monastery of Notre-Dame des Semences, Syriac MS. 156 (1887 A. D.).

Also described by Vosté in 1929¹⁶ : « Copie du volume précédent. Manuscrit mesurant 31 cm. sur 20.5, composé de 19 cahiers, 25 lignes la page. — Achevé le 22 avril 1887 à N.-D. des Semences, par le moine Ešaiia, fils de Pierre du pays de Djalou ». Vosté identifies N with MS. 38 of the catalogue of Scher (A seems to have been absent when Scher made his catalogue)¹⁷.

Known to me only through direct consultation during my visit to Alqoš in January 1966. Time did not permit me to do more than collate enough of its text with A to establish its relationship. It is written on paper. I failed to note whether it is fully vowelled or not. Except for the first few leaves, it follows, as exactly as possible, the pagination of A and even its arrangement by lines. This explains why there are no substantial omissions of text, at least in the treatises of Cyrus. It also explains why N has introduced numerous arbitrary modifications by way of abbreviation, so as to maintain the exact correspondence with A. The feat must have been difficult in some cases, because the leaves of A are far from uniform on account of the multiplicity of scribes and the occasional marginal additions. There are occasional notes in the margin made by the copyist to explain rare words or obscurities in the text. I have heard that at least some of the manuscripts of Notre-Dame des Semences have also been transferred to the Chaldean Patriarchate in Baghdad.

¹⁶ VOSTÉ, *Catalogue*, 58.

¹⁷ SCHER, *Notice*, 494a.

W = Washington, Catholic University of America, Hyvernat Syriac MS. 8 (1889 A. D.).

Inadequately described by Carr¹⁸ : « Our Ms. (marked Syr. VIII, in Prof. Hyvernat's collection of oriental mss.) is a transcript, made in 1889, from the copy in this library (i.e. Notre-Dame des Semences) under the supervision of Abbot Samuel Djamil, and for the use of Prof. Hyvernat who was then a visitor there. It is written in the modern Nestorian character, and furnished with vowel-points ».

Rt. Rev. Prof. Patrick Skehan of Catholic University informs me that W measures 34 by 23 cm., numbers 177 leaves in 18 gatherings and has 27 lines to the page. Leaves are numbered with Syriac numbers on the *verso*, while pages are numbered in a western hand. Written on paper. Finished at Alqoš on 29 June 1889 A. D., by Deacon 'Isa, son of Eša'ya, son of Deacon Quryaqos of Eqrar. The margins contain the supplies, *la manu*, of four omission, numerous suggested emendations in an occidental hand (Vaschalde?) and various notes in Latin concerning scriptural citations, cross-references, divisions of the argumentation and so on. Unfortunately, except for the *la manu* supplies, a large part of these notations are illegible in the film.

Microfilm furnished by Mgr. Skehan.

L = London, British Museum, Oriental MS. 9360A (1894 A. D.).

No description has ever been published. It measures 34 by 23 cm., numbers 179 leaves in 18 gatherings and has 28 lines to the page. Leaves are numbered with Syriac letters on the *verso*. Written on paper. Text fully vowelled. Finished at Alqoš, 9 April 1894 A. D., by the same Deacon 'Isa who copied W; he copied this MS. for Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. There are *la manu* supplies of three omissions in the margins. It is now bound with a copy of the *Ktaba d-Sammāne*¹⁹.

Microfilmed furnished by the British Museum.

D = Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, Oriental Institute, Diettrich MS. 7 (1894 A. D.).

Described by Diettrich in 1909²⁰ : « Ms. besteht aus 179 gut gebundenen Papierblättern mittlerer Stärke. Grösse 33 cm. × 22 cm. Auf jeder Seite 28 Zeilen. Die Tinte ist im Texte tiefschwarz, in den

¹⁸ CARR, *Thomas*, 11s.

¹⁹ Cfr. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte*, 229s.

²⁰ DIETRICH, *Bericht*, 196-202.

Ueber- und Unterschriften der grösseren Abschnitte hellrot». Finished at Tell-Kef, 25 July 1894 A. D., by Deacon Pransi, son of Giwargis, son of Pransi, son of Joseph of the family of Mere. Described also by Pigulevskaya (in Russian) ²¹.

Text not accessible to me. However, the late Mlle. Pigulevskaya communicated to me an extremely important reading of *Gol*, and Diettrich has published an extract from *Epi* ²², both of which help to establish the relationship of D to the other witnesses.

T = Vatican City, Collegio Teutonico, MS. 44 (1897 A. D.).

Described by Baumstark in 1901 ²³: « Eine ... Abschrift des Exemplares von Alqoš, die am 8 September 1897 vollendet wurde, hatte ... ich selbst durch Vermittelung Giamils erworben ... Meine Abschrift umfasst 22 Blattlagen zu je 20 Seiten im Formate von 34 × 23 cm., die Seite zu 25 Zeilen. Der Text füllt 431 und eine halbe Seite, die Subscriptio 2 und eine halbe ... Die Schrift ist die moderne « chaldäische », durchgängig vokalisiert ».

Written on paper. Copied by the same Deacon 'Isa who copied W and L. The leaves are numbered with Syriac numbers on the *verso* side from 1 to 217. Ff. 155 and 156 are bound in reverse order, and ff. 82 and 88 are loose. The margins contain occasional corrections, some by Deacon 'Isa, one by another oriental hand (Jamil?) in purple ink and others in pencil in an occidental hand (Baumstark?). This last has indicated as well scriptural references, the divisions of the argumentation and has underlined passages here and there. Another occidental hand has added other scriptural references in ink.

The MS. is the property of the Görresgesellschaft, whose representative kindly allowed me to consult it directly.

B = Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Library, Mingana Syriac MS. 195 (1928 A. D.).

Described by Mingana in 1933 ²⁴: « 357 × 237 mm. 184 leaves, twenty-eight lines to the page ... Dated (fol. 183b) 24 December, A. D. 1928, and written in the small town of Alkoshi, situated near the monastery of Rabban Hormizd the Persian, by the deacon Joseph, son of Thomas, son of the deacon Sipa, son of the priest Peter of the

²¹ FIGULEVSKAYA, *Katalog*, 110-113.

²² DIETRICH, *Bericht*, 200.

²³ BAUMSTARK, *Schriften*, 321, with n. 2.

²⁴ MINGANA, *Catalogue I*, 424-428.

family of Abuna ... Here and there are blanks denoting sentences that had disappeared from the original MS. or were illegible in it. The title page (fol. 1*b*) contains the name of the copyist in Estrangela characters surrounded by ornamental patterns. The MS. was written for the Chaldean priest Gabriel Na'mo (fol. 184*a*). Handsome and bold East Syrian hand. Headings in red. Broad margins. Fully vowelled».

Written on paper. Leaves numbered with Syriac numbers on the verso. Besides three supplies of his own omissions and a correction, the scribe has written in the margins numerous notes on rare words and obscure passages such as are found in N.

Microfilm furnished by Selly Oak Colleges Library.

§ 2. RELATIONSHIPS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

I. **ABDLNTW** derive from **S**.

The first thing that becomes clear from the most cursory examination of the available witnesses is that all are closely related, for all have exactly the same apparent and hidden lacunae, including the false lacuna of 15 lines and the same inversion of text mentioned in the description of A²⁵. One may conclude, therefore, that all depend from a single common source not far removed from A, the oldest of the remaining witnesses, and the strong presumption is that this common source is to be identified with S, especially since the false lacuna probably originated with S. The presumption is a virtual certainty when we consider that S is the only complete copy of *EFE* known to have existed in the region of Séert, where A was copied in 1886, and that all the other witnesses, as we shall prove, derive directly or indirectly from A.

II. **BDLNTW** derive from **A**.

We may direct our attention next to the places of copying, which are known, save for S itself. A was copied at Séert, in the near vicinity of the Monastery of Mar Ya'qob, where S was found, whereas all of our other witnesses were copied either at Alqoš (BLNTW), where A was kept, or at Tell-Kef (D), which is about 25 miles distant from

²⁵ Regarding D, I can only judge by the tiny lacuna in DIETRICH's extract, *Bericht*, 200, which corresponds exactly to what is found in A.

Algoš. This, taken together with the fact that A is the oldest of our remaining witnesses, creates an almost overwhelming presumption that A is the link between S and all the other manuscripts.

The presumption is amply confirmed by a collation of the manuscripts. With the exception of N (and D, which I have been unable to collate), all the witnesses show omissions of text with respect to A, but the reverse is never the case, despite the fact that the copyists of A did make several omissions, later corrected, with respect to S. Thus W makes 8 large omissions, correcting only one ²⁶, L has 4 large omissions, again correcting one ²⁷, T has 6 large omissions ²⁸ and B has 2 small ones of three words each ²⁹. In addition, most of our witnesses have particular errors, which we shall examine in discussing each individual witness, that derive from material defects in A or from the concrete disposition of its text.

There is, however, a decisive piece of evidence that should be considered at once. The microfilm of A fortunately embraces on ff. 175v-176r 36 lines of *Gol*, that can be collated with Seher's edition in PO VII, 53ss, which is based on S. On p. 54, l. 13, of his text, there is a phrase of four words, *אלו קראו אלכס אלכו*, that is missing from A and all the other known copies. By «all» I mean not only BLTW, which I have collated with A completely for the treatises of Cyrus from microfilms that include this section of *Gol* or by direct consultation, but also N, which I have examined particularly for this omission, and D, concerning which I have a communication on the point from the late Mlle. Pigulevskaya. Since A was copied directly from S, it is evident that the omission in question was made by the copyist of A, and if other manuscripts have the same omission, their copyists must have made it because they were copying A itself or a manuscript derived from A.

III. N was copied from A.

Not having collated N completely, I can only say that the presumption that it was copied from A directly is overwhelming, for it was

²⁶ *Fst* II, 3, n. 1; IV, 8, n. 1; IV, 9, n. 1; VIII, 3, n. 2; *Psc* I, 5, n. 2; *Asc* IV, 7, n. 1; VI, 5, n. 3; *Pnt* I, 2, n. 3.

²⁷ *Rsr* X, 7, n. 1; *Asc* IV, 8, n. 2; V, 6, n. 2; *Pnt* VII, 2, n. 1.

²⁸ *Fst* IV, 8, n. 2; *Psc* III, 5, n. 1; *Psa* VIII, 2, n. 2; *Rsr* X, 2, n. 1; *Asc* III, 4, n. 2; *Pnt* VI, 9, n. 2.

²⁹ *Fst* III, 5, n. 2; *Rsr* IX, 5, n. 3.

copied at Alqoš, at the Monastery of Notre-Dame des Semences where A was kept, within 15 months of the date when A was finished. Furthermore, it follows the material disposition of the text of A, page by page and line by line, for the greater part of the entire collection. Moreover, there is the omission of a single word in B at *Fst* IV, 9, n. 4, which must have been first made by the copyist of N because, as we shall see, B was copied from N, not from A; the omission is clearly due to the material disposition of A, for the word in question appears only in the lower margin of one page as the *incipit* of the following page, where the copyist inadvertently omitted it ³⁰.

In order to maintain the page by page and line by line correspondence with the text of A, the copyist of N has been obliged to introduce numerous arbitrary modifications of the text by way of abbreviation, especially the substitution of the absolute for the emphatic form of nouns, the construct form for a genitive construction and shorter synonyms for some of the more common particles ³¹. This is important because it makes it possible to distinguish at once manuscripts copied from N and those that were copied from A.

IV. W was copied from A.

W was copied at Alqoš two years after the copying of N, and it lacks the arbitrary modifications of N. There can be little doubt, therefore, that it was copied directly from A. This conclusion is confirmed by one copying error that depends from the material appearance of A. At *Fst* prol. 2, n. 2, the scribe of A first wrote ~~ⲁⲃⲓⲗ~~, but then at once corrected himself to ~~ⲁⲓⲃⲓⲗ~~. However, since he wrote the ⲓ over the original ~~ⲁ~~, the result gives the impression that the underlying letters have merely been cancelled, and so W has the original reading, ~~ⲁⲃⲓⲗ~~. This is surely a *la manu* correction in A that was already made when W was copied, for space has been left for it without any crowding of the letters, and it has been correctly read by other copyists. Besides this, there are several other cases of corrections in A not being made in W, but since they

³⁰ Other errors of B that are most probably to be explained by material defects of A and that tend to confirm, in consequence, N's direct dependence from A, are found at: *Fst* IV, 15, n. 1; *Pnt* intr. 2, n. 1.

³¹ Typical examples of these modifications are found at: *Fst* IV, 11, n. 4; IX, 6, n. 1; *Psc* I, 3, nn. 1, 4; III, 2, n. 2; III, 3, nn. 1, 3ss.

do not seem to be *Ia manu*, it is difficult to be certain that they were made before 1889, the date when W was copied³².

V. L was copied from A.

L was copied at Alqoš in 1894, and it, too, lacks the peculiarities of N. It also lacks the omissions of W. Since, as far as we can know, A and N were the only copies of *EFE* present at Alqoš at this time, we may safely presume that L was copied directly from A. Some confirmation of this conclusion is found at *Psc* VII, 7, n. 1, where the scribe of A wrote a plural that was afterwards corrected to a singular by turning one of the plural points into a vowel point. This was presumably done before L was copied, for N and W both have the singular, whereas L has the plural. A little later at *Psc* VIII, 3, n. 3, moreover, the scribe of A wrote the final *dalat* of دالط a bit too far from the rest of the word, and, as a result, L has combined it with the following word, as well as retaining it in its own word, and has دالط دالط . There are several other examples of similar errors in L that can be pointed out, but none seems to be completely decisive³³.

VI. D is derived from A.

Since D was copied only four months later than L at Tell-Kef and not at Alqoš, we may have doubts about its immediate origin that could only be resolved by a full collation of its text. The omitted phrase from *Gol*, mentioned above, makes sure its ultimate derivation from A, but leaves open the question of an indirect dependence. A mediate derivation through N can, however, be excluded by a comparison of the short excerpt of *Epi* that Dietrich has published with the corresponding passages in A and B. The latter, as we shall see, displays all of the characteristic peculiarities of N. Two of these peculiarities are, in fact, found in this passage of B, but are absent from A and Dietrich's excerpt³⁴. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that some other copy of A had been made and that

³² *Fst* V, 6, n. 2; *Rsr* I, 2, n. 5; II, 4, n. 2; V, 5, n. 3; X, 3, n. 1; XI, 5, n. 1; *Asc* V, 4, n. 1; V, 8, n. 5; *Pnt* III, 10, nn. 4, 8.

³³ *Pec* VI, 2, n. 1; *Pem* VII, 9, n. 4; *Rsr* I, 2, n. 5; II, 4, n. 2; IV, 5, n. 1; X, 3, n. 1; XI, 5, n. 1.

³⁴ DIETRICH, *Bericht*, 200. دالط in l. 14 is دالط in B, and دالط دالط دالط in l. 16 is دالط دالط in B.

this was the one used at Tell-Kef. It is even conceivable that L could have been taken there for copying before being consigned to Budge.

VII. **T** was copied from **A**.

T was copied at Alqoš in 1897 and lacks the peculiarities of N. It also lacks the omissions of W and L. Since, as far as we know, A and N were the only copies of *EFE* present at Alqoš at this time, we may presume that T was copied directly from A. This is confirmed by the omission at *Rsr* X, 2, n. 1, of an entire line of A that cannot be explained as a homoeoteleuton, but only as the skipping of a line in passing from the end of one line to the beginning of the next. Moreover, at *Fst* prol. 2, n. 2, the scribe has been guilty of the same misreading that we have mentioned above for W (the scribe of the two MSS. is the same Deacon 'Isa). These examples can be supplemented by others³⁵, so that the direct dependence from A may be considered practically certain.

VIII. **B** was copied from **N**.

B was copied at Alqoš in 1928 and does display the characteristic peculiarities of N³⁶, which may, therefore, be safely presumed to be its immediate source. A hypothetical mediate derivation cannot be excluded on the basis of the evidence available to me, but it seems scarcely probable.

IX. **N** was consulted in the copying of **LTW**.

Since A and N were both presumably present at Alqoš when W, L and T were copied there, the possibility suggests itself that N may have been consulted in particular cases. The possibility, indeed, seems rather probable *a priori*, for the text of A is, in general, not vowelled, whereas N presumably is. That this was effectively the case is suggested by two unanimous corrections of A at *Pnt* II, 2, n. 1, and VI, 7, n. 1, that I reject. It might also explain the unanimity at *Psn* III, 3, n. 1, of BLTW against A in the spelling of a fairly rare word.

Before concluding this section on the relationships of the manuscripts, two agreements of LW against ABT in omissions not ex-

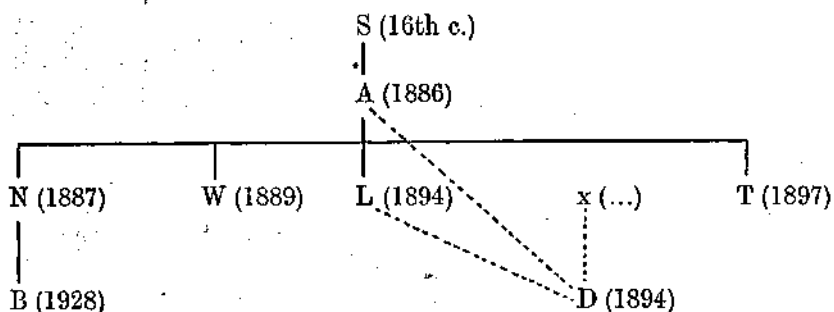
³⁵ *Psc* VI, 2, n. 1; VI, 6, n. 2; VIII, 4, n. 1; *Rsr* II, 4, n. 2; X, 3, n. 1; *Asc* II, 4, n. 1; III, 5, n. 1; *Pnt* V, 5, n. 2.

³⁶ Cfr. the examples given above, p. XXI, n. 31. To these may be added: *Fst* IV, 11, n. 3; IV, 12, n. 1; IX, 5, n. 3.

plainable by reason of the context should be noted at *Fst* VII, 12, n. 2, and *Asc* IV, 3, n. 1. However, since the omissions are of one small word and one letter, respectively, sheer coincidence might not unreasonably be invoked, but it should also be pointed out that the copyist of L and W is the same Deacon 'Isa.

X. The stemma.

We may thus summarize our conclusions : BDLNTW all derive from S through A; LNTW were copied directly from A, whereas B was copied from N and derives only indirectly from A; D derives from A either directly, or through L, or through an unknown copy, but not through N. This gives us the following stemma :



§ 3. The Edition of the Text.

Since all the witnesses that are known still to exist derive from A, its text is alone critically valid. Therefore, my edition reproduces the text of A as is, with all of its errors. Modifications of the original reading of A that appear in the manuscript itself are, in general, indicated only in the notes to the text, even when these corrections were clearly made *la manu* (as a rule, I do not distinguish *la* and *2a manu*). Exceptions to this policy concern supplied omissions, which, since they derive presumably from S, I incorporate directly into the text with due notation of the fact, and cases in which the primitive reading of A is no longer decipherable with certainty, such that I am obliged to put the corrected reading in the text and indicate my conjectures as to the primitive reading in the notes. My own conjectured emendations of the text are indicated in the notes by *lege*, with or without a question mark, depending on the case. Those

manuscripts that happen to support my emendations are also indicated. As for the other variant readings of the derived copies, I note only those that have some probability as valid emendations of the text, that have some special value for establishing the stemma, or that are of interest for some other reason. The variants of N that appear in the notes are rare because my collation of its text was limited to a small number of places of greater interest.

The division of the treatises into chapters and the index of chapters that precedes each is taken from the text itself. The division into numbered paragraphs, however, is my own, to facilitate reading and reference.

The pointing of words conforms to the editorial policy of CSCO, being limited to the « necessary » points. The presence or absence of plural points, however, follows what is found in A, even where A is inconsistent. Departures from the pointing of A are only indicated when the original pointing would suggest a different translation.

The punctuation of the text is my own, as that of A is chaotic. ❖ marks the end of chapters and other important divisions; a period marks the end of sentences and paragraphs; : sets off the major clausal divisions; ; indicates clauses of lesser import; " marks the beginning of quotations, sets off paranthetical phrases and indicates pauses within clauses.

The few abbreviations of A are everywhere expanded. These are limited to ⲛⲓ for ⲕⲁⲙⲉⲛⲛ , ⲙ for ⲡⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲓ ; ⲁⲗ , for ⲕⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲁⲛⲗⲁ , for ⲕⲁⲃⲁⲗⲁⲛⲗⲁ ; ⲁⲃⲟⲓ , or ⲓⲁⲃⲟⲓ for ⲕⲗⲓⲁⲃⲟⲓ , and ⲁ for ⲕⲁ , as in ⲕⲁⲁⲛⲛⲓⲛ , or for ⲙⲁ , as in ⲙⲁⲛⲗⲁ and ⲙⲁⲛⲕ . In the division or non-division of words, I follow the inconsistent practice of A, especially with regard to the attachment of ⲓⲛ to the following word and in the joining of ⲕⲁⲙⲉⲛⲛⲁⲗ .

In the apparatus, notes are marked with a simple number when they concern a single word of the text, with a number and half bracket when they concern several words; a number and asterisk is used when two notes overlap.



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SCRIPTORES SYRI

TOMUS 156

Six Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts
by Cyrus of Edessa
An East Syrian Theologian
of the Mid Sixth Century

TRANSLATED

BY

WILLIAM F. MACOMBER, S.J.



LOUVAIN
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INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The Collection *Explanations of the Feasts of the Economy*

I. Its discovery

The six treatises of Cyrus of Edessa that form the object of this edition are part of a larger collection of thirteen treatises entitled *Explanations of the Feasts of the Economy* (= *EFE*). All known manuscripts of the collection derive from Séert 82 (= S), a 16th century codex that was discovered in 1885 by the hieromonk Samuel Jamil, whose discovery is thus narrated in the colophon of Notre-Dame des Semences 155 (= A), the oldest known copy¹: « The Chaldean priest, Samuel Jamil, of the Monastery of Rabban Hormizd the Persian, on his return here from the apostolate among the Nestorians in the highlands, found this unique manuscript in the library of Mar Ya'qob, the Recluse, in the diocese of Se'erd (Séert or Siirt). When he realized that no other manuscript like this one was found in the *vilayet* of Mosul nor elsewhere, he made arrangements for its transcription for the library of the Chaldean monks in the Monastery of Notre-Dame des Semences in the vicinity of Algoš, the town of the Prophet Naḥum, for the price of ten silver *mejidiés*² at his own expense. This occurred on the 26th of the western month of July of the year 1885 A.D. »

During the twelve years that followed this discovery, three occidental orientalist, Henri Hyvernat (1889), E. A. Wallis Budge (1894) and Anton Baumstark (1897), had copies made and sent to the West. In 1898, the text and a Latin translation of the first treatise of the collection by Thomas of Edessa was published by S. J. Carr on the basis of Hyvernat's copy³. In 1901, Baumstark published a detailed analysis of the collection⁴. Finally, in 1909, the treatise by Išai and the two by Ḥnana of Adiabene were edited from S and were translated into French by Archbishop Addai Scher⁵.

¹ A, ff. 184v-185r.

² Said to be worth about 3s. 9d. (before 1914). Cfr. WIGRAM, *Cradle*, 418.

³ CARR, *Thomas*.

⁴ BAUMSTARK, *Schriften*.

⁵ PO VII, 15-82.

II. Its nature

The collection consists today of thirteen treatises, called « explanations » or « causes »⁶. An « explanation » seems to represent a literary *genre* peculiar to the Nestorian theological schools of the 6th to the 8th centuries. It was a lengthy theological discourse that explained both the reasons for some liturgical or other celebration and different aspects of the theological mystery that lay behind it. Our collection is the largest group of « explanations » that has survived; it explains the principal feasts of the liturgical year. The only other « explanation » that remains is that of Barḥadḥšabba of Ḥalwan, which explains the opening of the scholastic year⁷. However 'Abdišo' of Nisibis informs us of the composition of numerous others that have perished⁸. Cyrus of Edessa indicates that his « explanations » were originally delivered orally by his masters at the famous School of Nisibis⁹ and notes that the students were accustomed to copy them down¹⁰; Thomas of Edessa seems to imply that they would even commit them to memory¹¹. Hence the public delivery of an « explanation » seems to have had the character of a scholastic exercise. On the other hand, the fact that an exhortation to virtuous conduct was

⁶ In Syr. *'ella*, a difficult word to translate. SCHER, *Halwan*, 327, translates it quite literally by « cause », but his editors, *ibid.*, 326, suggest « introduction » or « prologue », which seem preferable; « Begründung », proposed by DIETRICH, *Bericht*, 196, would also be acceptable.

⁷ ḤALWAN, *Fundationis* (FO IV, 327-397).

⁸ Cfr. 'ABDIŠO', *Catalogus*, LV (Abraham of Beth Rabban, early 6th c.), LIX (Ḥnana of Adiabene, † 610), LXVI (Babai the Great, † ca. 628), LXVIII (Joseph Ḥazzaya, 7th c.), LXXIX (Elias of Merv, mid 7th c.), XC (Eliša' the Interpreter, 5/6th c.), XCIII (Barḥadḥšabba 'Arbaya, 6th c.?), XCIV (Mikha, 7th c.), XCIX (Abraham of Maḥoze, date unknown), CXLV (Cyriacus of Nisibis, early 7th c.) and CLXIII (Gregory of Sužter, late 8th c.) [BO III, 71, 83s, 95ss, 103, 148, 167, 169, 170, 172, 215, 229]; these are all « explanations » of feasts or of the opening of school sessions. 'Abdišo' also mentions more vaguely other « explanations » without indicating their object : *ibid.*, LXXXIX (Išo' barnum, † 828), CIX (Šallīṭa of Reš 'Ayna, 8th c.) and CXXXIV ('Abdišo' Bar 'Aqre, † 986) [BO III, 166, 176, 201].

⁹ *Pac* I, 6. There are also numerous allusions in Cyrus' treatises to his « hearers » and to « the solemnity that holy Church is celebrating today », which imply that Cyrus, too, delivered his « explanations » orally before writing them down : e.g. *Fst* intr. 4; II, 6; *Pen* I, 4; II, 2.

¹⁰ *Rer* intr. 2.

¹¹ *Nat* I (CARR, *Thomae*, text 7s/transl. 15).

customarily added at the end ¹² shows that the purpose of an « explanation » was not limited to intellectual instruction, but included religious edification as well.

III. Its contents

The thirteen « explanations » of our collection are as follows :

1. *Explanation of the Nativity* (= *Nat*), by Thomas of Edessa.
2. *Explanation of the Commemoration of Mart Maryam* (= *Mry*), by one of the teaching bretheren of the School of Nisibis.
3. *Explanation of the Epiphany* (= *Epi*), by Thomas of Edessa.
4. *Explanation of the Fast* (= *Posi*), by Posi.
5. Another (*Explanation*) of the *Fast* (= *Fst*), by Cyrus of Edessa.
6. *Explanation of the Pasch* (= *Psc*), by Cyrus of Edessa.
7. *Explanation of the Passion* (= *Psn*), by Cyrus of Edessa.
8. *Explanation of the Resurrection* (= *Rsr*), by Cyrus of Edessa.
9. *Explanation of (the Commemoration of) the Martyrs* (= *Mrt*), by Iṣai.
10. *Explanation of the Ascension* (= *Asc*), by Cyrus of Edessa.
11. *Explanation of Pentecost Sunday* (= *Pnt*), by Cyrus of Edessa.
12. *Explanation of the Friday of Gold* (= *Gol*), by Ḥnana of Adiabene.
13. *Explanation of the Rogation* (= *Rog*), by Ḥnana of Adiabene.

IV. Its history

The collection of « explanations » is the result of a period of growth. The oldest nucleus is constituted by the eight treatises of Thomas and Cyrus of Edessa, for Cyrus indicates that Thomas had been commissioned to compose « explanations » for all eight feasts and that he himself had been asked to finish those that Thomas had been prevented from writing ¹³. Even before this, the future Patriarch, Mar Aba I (540-552), had delivered orally at least two « explanations », *Nat* and *Epi*, according to Thomas ¹⁴, and one suspects that he had also delivered the other six.

I would estimate the date when Thomas began to compose his « explanations » as between 538 and 543, with a higher probability for 538 or 539, but the chain of reasoning I use to arrive at this

¹² Cfr. *Fst* I, 2.

¹³ *Fst* prol. 1.

¹⁴ *Nat* I (CARR, *Thomae*, text 5:7ss/transl. 14); *Epi* I (A, f. 46r).

estimate is a bit complicated. In the first place, the very scholastic nature of the treatises suggests that they were composed at a theological school. In Cyrus' case, this seems to have been the School of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, where he is known to have been active¹⁵, not that of Nisibis, for he indicates that he intends to say what he remembers to have been said before him by the professors of the School of Nisibis¹⁶, which implies that he is no longer there¹⁷. Both Thomas and Cyrus were disciples at Nisibis of Mar Aba¹⁸, who moved to the School of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, according to 'Amr, a few years before his election as Patriarch in 540¹⁹. On the other hand, Mar Aba's anonymous biographer reports that he remained a long time in the office of doctor at Nisibis after his return there from his long sojourn in the Byzantine Empire²⁰, which Peeters assigns to 533²¹. It would date Mar Aba's removal to Seleucia-Ctesiphon, therefore, around 538, and, since Thomas of Edessa had been his constant companion during his trip through the Byzantine Empire, he most probably accompanied him at this time. This provides us with a *terminus a quo*.

The *terminus ad quem* is fixed by Thomas' death, which Cosmas Indicopleustes reports as having occurred recently (*vivi*) in Constantinople²². Cosmas is usually thought to have written his *Topographia Christiana* between 547 and 549, for he makes mention in Book Six of two eclipses that can be identified with certainty with two of 547²³. However, these dates are only valid for this book, which is indicated as supplementary in at least two manuscripts²⁴. Book Two, on the other hand, in which Thomas' death is reported, was composed « 25 years, more or less » from the beginning of the reign of Emperor Justin (518), at which time the King of Ethiopia was preparing an expedition against the Himyarite King, Dhu Nuwas, on behalf of the

¹⁵ CS II, 29 (PO VII, 170:1a).

¹⁶ *Psc* I, 6.

¹⁷ SCHER, PO VII, 171, n. 4, draws from this same text the opposite conclusion, but quite unjustifiably, it seems to me. If Cyrus were speaking at Nisibis, he either would not have mentioned the School at all or would have spoken of « this school ».

¹⁸ CS II, 30 (PO VII, 171:3aa).

¹⁹ 'AMR, « Mar Aba » (GISMONDI, *De Patriarchis* II, text 40:11-18/transl. 23s).

²⁰ BEDJAN, *Histoire*, 223:13.

²¹ PETERS, *Observations*, 86. I would not exclude a somewhat earlier date.

²² COSMAS II, 2 (WOLSKA-CONUS, *Cosmas* I, 307:6-12).

²³ WOLSKA-CONUS, *Cosmas* I, 16.

²⁴ Cfr. WINSTEDT, *Cosmas*, 231.

persecuted Christians of Najran ²⁵. The two persecutions of the Himyarites are usually dated 522 and 523 ²⁶, but the Bollandist, Paul Devos, in a paper delivered at the Fourth International Congress of Ethiopic Studies held at Rome in 1972, presented powerful arguments for dating them in 518 and 519 ²⁷, which is surely much nearer the beginning of Justin's reign. Cosmas' Book Two, therefore should be dated about 544, and Thomas' death about 543.

The period of five years thus delimited can, with some probability, be further limited to the years 538 and 539. In both of his treatises Thomas refers to Mar Aba as « Interpreter » ²⁸, which would be rather strange if he had already been elected Patriarch. Consequently, our *terminus ad quem* can be advanced to February 540, at which date Mar Aba was already surely elected ²⁹. The title « Interpreter », moreover, confirms that it was at the School of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, where Mar Aba exercised this office ³⁰, that Thomas composed his treatises.

The six « explanations » of Cyrus of Edessa should be dated not too long after those of Thomas. I would propose Thomas' death around 543 as the *terminus a quo*, for Cyrus' designation of him as a « saint of God » ³¹, suggests that he is no longer living and that it was his death that prevented him from finishing all eight treatises. For the *terminus ad quem* I would propose 551, when Mar Aba returned from exile ³². It seems to me most significant that, whereas Thomas speaks openly of his master, Mar Aba, Cyrus refers only anonymously to his masters at the School of Nisibis; it implies that Mar Aba was still *persona non grata* in the eyes of the Shah, Chosroes I Anuširwan (531-579). It is an argument from silence, but, considering the closeness of the relationship between Mar Aba and his disciple, his silence is eloquent.

As for the subsequent history of the collection, *Mrt* was probably

²⁵ COSMAS, II, 56 (WOLSKA-CONUS, *Cosmas* I, 369:1-5).

²⁶ Cfr. *ASs octobris* X, 700.

²⁷ E.g. the second letter of Simeon of Beth Arsham, that is dated 830 of the Greeks (A.D. 518/9), and a letter of James of Sarug († 521) to the persecuted Himyarite Christians.

²⁸ *Nat* I (CARR, *Thomae*, text 5:8/transl. 14) : *Epi* I (A, f. 46v).

²⁹ Cfr. CHABOT, *Synodicon*, text 74:28-33/transl. 326.

³⁰ His near-contemporary biographer says that he remained a long time there in the rank of doctor : BEDJAN, *Histoire*, 223:13. Furthermore, he does not appear in the sequence of directors-interpreters of the School of Nisibis given by HALWAN, *Fundationis* (PO IV, 389s).

³¹ *Fst* prol. 1.

³² Cfr. PEETERS, *Observations*, 104-108.

the next « explanation » added. The collection was formed, as we have seen, at the School of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, where Išai, the author of *Mrt*, was Interpreter³³. Later, the collection seems to have won acceptance at the parent School of Nisibis, for the next additions were « explanations » by professors there. Hnana of Adiabene, Director from 572 to 610, composed four « explanations », for Palm Sunday and the feast of the Cross³⁴, as well as *Gol* and *Rog*. One would suppose that the reason why the first two have not survived is that they were tainted with Hnana's « heretical » views in christology, but this is far from clear³⁵. The next addition was probably *Mry*, composed by « one of the teaching bretheren (*ahe badoqe*) of the School of Nisibis », who is tentatively identified with Michael Badoqa, a pupil of Hnana who did not accept his Chalcedonian christology³⁶. The last addition would be the « explanation » of Posi, about whom nothing is known³⁷. Since his treatise is little more than a condensation of *Fst*, Cyrus' treatise on the same subject³⁸, it was probably added as its alternate, seeing that *Fst* is twice as long and hence less adapted for public reading.

§ 2. Cyrus of Edessa

I. His life

Concerning the author of our six treatises, Cyrus of Edessa³⁹, the sources available to us⁴⁰ have little to tell us, that is, that he was a disciple of Mar Aba, that, after the latter's death, he carried his body to Al-Hira for burial, building a monastery over the tomb, and that he

³³ Cfr. *CS* II, 27, 32 (PO VII, 157s, 187). Išai may have composed *Mrt* at Nisibis (cfr. *Mrt* I, PO VII, 17:8-12), but, if so, it would presumably have been added to *EFE* at Seleucia-Ctesiphon.

³⁴ 'ABDIŠO', *Catologus*, LIX (BO III¹, 83s).

³⁵ Cfr. BAUMSTARK, *Schriften*, 331, against *Geschichte*, 127.

³⁶ BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte*, 129.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 122.

³⁸ Cfr. BAUMSTARK, *Schriften*, 334s.

³⁹ Not to be confused with three others of the same name known to history. One is said to have directed the School of Edessa from the death of St. Ephrem in 373 to 437 ! Cfr. HAYES, *École*, 154s. The other two were Bishops of Edessa, 387-396 and 471-498. Cfr. DUVAL, *Histoire*, 138, 149s, 168, 176-179.

⁴⁰ *CS* II, 29s (PO VII, 170:1s, 171:3); MARI, « Mar Aba » (GISMONDI, *De Patriarchis* I, text 52:5s/transl. 45); AMR, « Mar Aba » (*ibid.* II, text 40:14s, 41:10ss/transl. 24).

was founder of a school there doubtlessly in his monastery. His name suggests that he was born at Edessa and that he may have followed Mar Aba in his travels like his compatriot, Thomas. He certainly studied at the School of Nisibis, according to his own testimony ⁴¹, presumably during Mar Aba's second period of teaching there, roughly between 533 and 538. He then moved from Nisibis to the School of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, either accompanying Mar Aba, who refounded the school or at least took over its direction at about this time ⁴², or following him there two or three years later, when the School of Nisibis was closed, it is said, by order of Chosroes I, causing a mass exodus of the disciples to Seleucia-Ctesiphon ⁴³. It was probably here that Cyrus attained the rank of doctor (*mallpana*), perhaps in succession to Thomas of Edessa, who went to Constantinople and died there about 543; at any rate, in the titles of many of his « explanations » composed at Seleucia-Ctesiphon he is named « doctor » ⁴⁴, which seems to have been the equivalent of professor of theology. The report that Cyrus buried the mortal remains of Mar Aba at Al-Hira and built a monastery over his tomb seems to contradict the near-contemporary biography of the Patriarch, which describes in some detail how the body was taken to the monastery of Seleucia, presumably for burial ⁴⁵. Perhaps, however, Cyrus did transfer the relics of his saintly master to Al-Hira at a later date, especially if the report that Mar Aba had asked to be buried there be true. The fact that 'Amr calls Cyrus « the doctor of Al-Hira » ⁴⁶, would seem to give some confirmation to the report of his founding a school there. Thereafter he disappears from history.

II. His works

'Abdišo' of Nisibis attributes to Cyrus « explanations, expositions (*puššage*) and interpretations (*turgame*) » ⁴⁷, but only the six « expla-

⁴¹ *Psc* I, 6.

⁴² *CS* II, 28 (PO VII, 166); MARI, « Mar Aba » (Gismondi, *De Patriarchis* I, text 51/transl. 45).

⁴³ According to a fragment published by MINGANA, *Narsai* I, 38:12-15 (transl. in CHABOT, *Narsai*, 170s).

⁴⁴ The titles of *Pen*, *Rsr*, *Asc* and *Pnt*.

⁴⁵ BEDJAN, *Histoire*, 271:13-16. The biography actually says nothing about his burial.

⁴⁶ *CS* II, 29 (PO VII, 170:3s), reporting a lost panegyric by Išo'barnun († 828).

⁴⁷ 'ABDIŠO', *Catalogus*, XCV (BO III¹, 170).

nations» have survived under his name. The «expositions» I would understand as commentaries on Scripture. As for the «interpretations», they would surely not have been the metrical introductions that are chanted today before the epistle and gospel of the East Syrian Mass, for these are all medieval compositions of the 13th and subsequent centuries⁴⁸ and are unknown to the earlier commentators of the liturgy. They may well have been sermons, but they may also have been translations. Mar Aba, in fact, seems to have gathered about himself a team of translators to translate from Greek into Syriac the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius which he had collected during his trip through the Roman Empire⁴⁹. Thomas of Edessa is known to have been one member of the team⁵⁰, another is said to have been Šem'on Bar Ṭabbaḥe of Edessa⁵¹, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Cyrus was a third. Indeed, certain similarities of style in the prologue of the translation of Nestorius' *The Book of Heracleides*, which is dedicated to Mar Aba⁵² and was translated in the time of Patriarch Paul I (Febr.-Apr. 537)⁵³, suggest that this may have been one of the «interpretations» of Cyrus of Edessa⁵⁴.

§ 3. The Six Treatises

I. Their authenticity

Turning to Cyrus' «explanations», in his prologue to *Fst*⁵⁵ he himself gives a list of the six that he has been asked to compose, and they

⁴⁸ Cfr. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte*, 303.

⁴⁹ *CS* II, 27 (PO VII, 155s). In the title of the Anaphora of Nestorius, KELAITA, *Liturgy*, 76:7-11, Mar Aba is said, on the authority of Patriarch Yoannia, to have translated all of the works of Nestorius from Greek into Syriac. This is evidently to be understood in the sense that he organized their translation; *The Book of Heracleides* was certainly not translated by him.

⁵⁰ Thomas is said to have helped Mar Aba translate the Anaphora of Theodore of Mopsuestia: KELAITA, *Liturgy*, 59:3-9.

⁵¹ According to a note at the beginning of the Anaphora of Nestorius in Chaldean Patriarchate MS. 209 (16th c.), pp. 61s, he, not Mar Aba, translated this anaphora. 'ABDIŠO', *Catalogus*, XX (BO III¹, 36), on the other hand, attributes it to Mar Aba and Thomas of Edessa.

⁵² Cfr. NAU, *Nestorius*, I, n. 8.

⁵³ Cfr. 'ABDIŠO', *Catalogus*, XX (BO III¹, 36).

⁵⁴ BEDJAN, *Nestorius*, 5;4s, compared with *Rer* intr. 2.

⁵⁵ *Fst* prol. 1.

are identical with the present six; there is no reason for supposing that he composed others. Similarly, there is likewise no reason for doubting their attribution to Cyrus. A basic homogeneity of style can be noted in all six treatises. As for the extrinsic evidence, while there is nothing against the attribution, it must be recognized that the two witnesses that antedate 'Abdišo' are both defective: the biography of Bar 'Etta, on the one hand, mentions *EFE* without indicating any authors⁵⁶, while Thomas of Marga in *The Book of Governors*, on the other, refers to the doctrine of Cyrus by which Babai of Gbilta had been illumined, but fails to identify the works of Cyrus in question⁵⁷.

II. Their actual form

It seems unlikely that Cyrus' six « explanations » were composed in exactly the form in which they appear today. It is clear from Cyrus' prologue that he composed all six as a unified group and intended that they should be joined to the two « explanations » composed by his compatriot and master, Thomas of Edessa⁵⁸. Furthermore, it was clearly he who divided his treatises into chapters, for there is an indication and a justification of this division in the text of each⁵⁹. The numbering of the chapters, however, and even their titles seem to be the work of a later, rather unskilful editor, and it is presumably to him or to a still later editor that we should attribute the tables of contents that precede each treatise. In *Rsr*, in fact, there is a noteworthy contradiction between the text and the numbering of the chapters, for what the editor has numbered the second chapter is called the first in the text⁶⁰. There is also another irregularity in *Fst* that is not likely to have been caused by Cyrus, in that both the introduction and the first chapter are entitled « chapter one »⁶¹. Finally, there is the added irregularity that, whereas the introductions to the last three treatises are entitled such and are considered to be outside the series of chapters, they are entitled « chapter one » in both *Psc* and *Psn*.

⁵⁶ Bar 'Etta, 324^{ss} (BUDGE, *Histories* I, 126 / II¹, 185).

⁵⁷ MARGA III, 3 (BUDGE, *Governors* I, 145:17^{ss} / II, 300^s).

⁵⁸ *Fst* prol. 1.

⁵⁹ E.g. *Fst* intr. 4; I, 2; *Psc* II, 2.

⁶⁰ *Rsr* II, 1, 2.

⁶¹ *Fst* intr. 1; I, 1.

As for the text itself, there is no evidence that subsequent editors have tampered with it, although it may be presumed that scribes will have introduced various emendations such as can be found in every one of the copies made from my basic manuscript. A large textual inversion and other lacunae are discussed in the introduction to the text, where the description and filiation of known manuscripts are indicated.

§ 4. An Analysis of the Six Treatises

I. The theology

A. The sources.

Except in the case of Sacred Scripture, Cyrus does not identify the sources of his doctrine. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that his principal source is none other than the commentaries and other writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. This could be expected *a priori*, for it is well known in what supreme esteem and authority the Bishop of Mopsuestia was held in the Nestorian Church. Furthermore, Mar Aba, who had delivered the « explanations » before Cyrus, had spent years in the Byzantine Empire for the purpose of gathering the works of the Interpreter and translating them into Syriac. He can surely be expected to have filled his treatises with Theodore's doctrine, and Cyrus just as surely must have followed faithfully in the footsteps of his master.

The dependence on Theodore can, however, be confirmed *a posteriori*. Besides the fact that the doctrine of Cyrus' treatises can be explained in terms of that of Theodore, as is clear from my notes to the translation, and that, *vice versa*, the latter's doctrine can occasionally be completed or illumined by that of Cyrus, there are long passages of Cyrus that are mere paraphrases of corresponding passages in Theodore. Thus, *Psc* I, 3, 5 and III, 2 are clearly taken from Theodore's *Catechetical Homilies* XII, 1ss. Similarly, *Rsr* IX is evidently inspired by Theodore's *Adversus eos qui dicunt peccatum in natura insitum esse*. In *Psc* V, 10, furthermore, Cyrus puts into the mouth of Christ a prayer that is also found in versified form in the *Homily on the Mysteries* that is attributed to Narsai; in the latter, this prayer is explicitly said to have been taken from the Interpreter⁶². We can

⁶² MINGANA, *Narsai* I, 284:21-285:11 (transl. in CONNOLLY, *Liturgical*, 16s).

be sure, therefore, that if the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia had been preserved for us in their entirety, we could multiply these parallelisms very considerably.

The only other possible source that can be pointed out is Nestorius' homilies on the temptations of Christ. In *Fst* VII, 14, in fact, Cyrus seems to follow an opinion of Nestorius against that of Theodore of Mopsuestia. As for *The Book of Heraclides*, which Cyrus may have translated, it is nowhere clearly reflected in Cyrus, except, possibly, in the parallelism between Eucharist and christology in *Psc* III, 6⁶³.

B. The doctrine.

Having already presented the theological synthesis of the six treatises of Cyrus⁶⁴, I have little to add here except to touch on a few particular questions not directly included in the synthesis. First among these, since Cyrus is a theologian of the Nestorian Church, must naturally be his christology. This Cyrus does not treat *ex professo*, but only as a parallel to his doctrine on the Eucharist and in a few occasional remarks.

For the most part, when speaking of Christ, Cyrus avoids the technical terms of the classical formulation of later Nestorian christology: two natures, two hypostases (*gnome*) and one person (*πρόσωπον*) of sonship⁶⁵. When interpreting the angels' discourse to the Apostles after the ascension, however, he does say that the Apostles were not to « imagine concerning (Christ) that his *gnoma* » was « being decomposed », but I would understand this a referring to the *substance* of Christ's humanity; in fact, he thus continues: « or that he is losing his corporeality, or that he is undergoing some sort of mixture or confusion. Rather, he is thus going to appear with great glory, complete with all his features and with all his lineaments stored up in him »⁶⁶. On the other hand, Cyrus does speak of both the humanity and the divinity of Christ⁶⁷. How the two natures are united, Cyrus does not explain more than to say that God (the Word) assumed a perfect

⁶³ Cfr. NESTORIUS, *Liber* II, 1 (BEDJAN, *Nestorius*, 449:16-450:9; transl. in NAV, *Nestorius*, 288).

⁶⁴ MACOMBER, *Synthesis*.

⁶⁵ Cfr. SCHER, *Profession*, 84:6s, and 'ABDIŠO', *Margaritae* III, 5 (KELAITA, *Margaritae*, 29:7s).

⁶⁶ *Asc* VI, 5.

⁶⁷ E.g. *Fst* VI, 4; *Psc* V, 5s.

hypothesis : Cyrus was using a Gospel harmony different from the Diatesseron — based on the Peshitta, perhaps, but at least influenced by the Old Syriac Gospels — that was incorporated into a Gospel lectionary for liturgical use. In support of my hypothesis, I can point to the harmonized Gospel lessons that are still read on Holy Thursday and Good Friday¹⁰⁸. In any case, it is clear to me that the biblical citations of *EFE* deserve a more thorough study than has hitherto been devoted to them.

§ 5. The Translation

The aim of my translation has been to adhere as closely to the literal sense of the Syriac as is consistent with English idiom and intelligibility. Occasionally, therefore, slightly archaic expressions that reflect the original better have been preferred. Recognized Syriac idioms, on the other hand, are translated idiomatically, and excess «ands» are suppressed without any notation. Only notable departures from the literal sense are noted. Passages whose translation or restitution is doubtful are likewise noted. Words included in parentheses are those that I have added to complete the sense of the Syriac, while those in square brackets represent corrections or restitutions of the text, those that appear in A, whether *prima* or *secunda manu*, those suggested in the derived copies, or my own.

I have limited the footnotes to the above-mentioned notes, scriptural references and such explanations and references as may help for an understanding of Cyrus' text and thought. Included among the latter are source passages from the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, wherever known; indications of mere parallel passages have been kept to a minimum. These latter include not only the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, but also those of two other disciples of Mar Aba, Thomas of Edessa and Cosmas Indicopleustes.

¹⁰⁸ Cfr. *Ruśma*, 44s; *MACLEAN, Offices*, 272s.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A = Alqoš, Notre-Dame des Semences, Syriac MS. 155 (1836) = *EFE*.
- 'ADDIŠO', *Catalogus* = 'ADDIŠO' NISIBENUS, *Catalogus librorum omnium ecclesiasticorum*, ed. J. S. ASSEMANI, in BO III¹, 3-362.
- 'ADDIŠO', *Margaritae* = 'ADDIŠO' NISIBENUS, *Liber margaritae de veritate Christianismi*, ed. KELAITA, *Marganita*.
- ABRAMOWSKI, *Unbekanntes* = L. ABRAMOWSKI, *Ein unbekanntes Zitat aus Contra Eunomium des Theodor von Mopsuestia*, in *Le Muséon* 71 (1958), 97-104.
- Ac = Acts of the Apostles.
- ACO = E. SCHWARTZ and J. STRAUB, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*. 4 tt. Berlin, 1927-1971.
- 'AMR = 'AMR IBN MATTA IBN BAHNAM, *Memoriale Patriarcharum cathedrae Orientis* (= *Liber turris* V, II, I), ed. GISMONDI, *De Patriarchis* II.
- anacol. = anacoluthon.
- Anonymus* = *Anonymi auctoris expositio officiorum Ecclesiae*, ed. CONNOLLY, *Anonymi*.
- APHRAATES = APHRAATES, *Demonstrationes*, ed. J. PARISOT, in PS I, II.
- 'ARBAYA, *Historia* = BARHADĒŠĀBBA 'ARBAYA, *Historia Sanctorum Patrum qui persecuti sunt propter veritatem*, ed. NAU, *Histoire*.
- Asc = CYRUS EDESSEUS, *Explanation of the Ascension*.
- ASs = *Acta Sanctorum*, edited by the Bollandists.
- B = Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Library, Mingana Syriac MS. 195 (1928) = *EFE*.
- BABAI, *Adversus* = BABAI MAGNUS, *Tractatus adversus eos qui dicunt: Quemadmodum anima et corpus sunt una hypostasis, ita Deus Verbum et homo sunt una hypostasis*, ed. VASCHALDE, *Babai*, text 291-307/transl. 235-247.
- Bar 'Etta = *Historia Bar 'Etta*, ed. BUDGE, *Histories* I, 111-202; II¹, 161-304.
- BAR KONI = THEODORUS BAR KONI, *Liber Scholiorum*, ed. SCHER, *Bar Kōnī*.
- BAR LIPHEH = ABRAHAM BAR LIPHEH, *Interpretatio officiorum*, ed. CONNOLLY, *Anonymi* II, text 163-180/transl. 161-166.
- BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte* = A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte*. Bonn, 1922.
- BAUMSTARK, *Griechische* = A. BAUMSTARK, *Griechische und hebräische Bibelzitate in der Pentateucherklärung Išō'dāds von Merv*, in *Oriens Christianus*, neue Serie 1 (1911), 1-19.
- BAUMSTARK, *Schriften* = A. BAUMSTARK, *Die nestorianischen Schriften «de causis fectorum»*, in *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901), 320-342.
- BC = *Breviarium iuxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium, id est, Chaldaeorum*. 3 parts. Paris, 1886-1887 (reprinted, Rome, 1938).
- BEDJAN, *Histoire* = P. BEDJAN, *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha, de trois autres patriarches, d'un prêtre et de deux laïques nestoriens*. Paris, 1895.
- BEDJAN, *Nestorius* = P. BEDJAN, *Nestorius. Le livre d'Héracleide de Damas*. Paris, 1910.
- BMAdd 7177 = British Museum, Additional MS. 7177 (1484) = *Hudra*.
- BO = J. S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*. 3 tt. Rome, 1719-1728.

- BOTTE, *Vocabulaire* = B. BOTTE, *Le vocabulaire ancien de la Confirmation*, in *La Maison-Dieu* 54 (avril-juin 1958), 5-22.
- BRAUN, *Timothei* = O. BRAUN, *Timothei Patriarchae I epistulae*, t. I (CSCO 74, 75/Syr. 30, 31). Paris, Rome, 1914-1915.
- BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies* = F. E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. I, *Eastern Liturgies*. Oxford, 1896.
- BT = Nestorian breviary: *Ktaba da-gdam wa-d-batar, wa-d-hudra, wa-d-kaškol, wa-d-gazza, w-gula d-'udrane, 'am Ktaba d-mazmore*. 3 vols. Trichur, 1960-1962.
- BUDGE, *Bea* = E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Book of the Bee* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic series, I, 2). Oxford, 1886.
- BUDGE, *Governors* = E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Book of Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Margā, A.D. 840*. 2 vols. London, 1893.
- BUDGE, *Histories* = E. A. W. BUDGE, *The Histories of Rabban Hōrmīzd the Persian and Rabban Bar-'Idā*. 2 vols. London, 1902.
- c. = century.
- CARR, *Thomae* = S.J. CARR, *Thomae Edesseni tractatus de nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. Rome, 1898.
- I, 2 Ch = 1st, 2nd Book of Paralipomena (Chronicles).
- CHABOT, *Narsai* = J.-B. CHABOT, *Narsai le docteur et les origines de l'École de Nisibe d'après la Chronique de Barhadbešabba*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 10^e série 6 (1905), 157-177.
- CHABOT, *Synodicon* = J.-B. CHABOT, *Synodicon orientale, ou recueil de synodes nestoriens*. Paris, 1902.
- I, 2 Co = 1st, 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians.
- Col = Epistle to the Colossians.
- CONNOLLY, *Anonymi* = R. H. CONNOLLY, *Anonymi auctoris expositio officiorum Ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta*. 2 tt. (CSCO 64, 71, 72, 76/Syr. 25, 28, 29, 32). Paris, Rome, 1911-1915.
- CONNOLLY, *Liturgical* = R. H. CONNOLLY, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Texts and Studies, VIII, 1). Cambridge, 1909.
- Const. Ap.* = *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, ed. FUNK, *Didascalia I*.
- COBMAŠ = COSMAŠ INDICOPLEUSTES, *Topographia Christiana*, edd. WOLSKA-COŠUS, *Cosmas*, and WINSTEDT, *Cosmas*.
- CS = *Chronique de Séert*, ed. A. SCHER, J. PÉRIER, P. DIE and R. GRIVEAU, *Histoire nestorienne inédite (Chronique de Séert)*, in PO IV, 211-313; V, 217-344; VII, 93-203; XIII, 435-639.
- D = Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, Oriental Institute, Dietrich MS. 7 (1894) = *EFE*.
- DENZINGER, *Ritus* = H. DENZINGER, *Ritus Orientalium, Coptorum, Syrorum et Armenorum, in administrandis sacramentis*. 2 tt. Würzburg, 1863-1864.
- DEVREESSE, *Commentaire* = R. DEVREESSE, *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I-LXXX)* (ST 93). Vatican City, 1939.
- DE VRIES, *Erwachsenentaufe* = W. DE VRIES, *Zur Liturgie der Erwachsenentaufe bei den Nestorianern*, in OCP 9 (1943), 460-473.
- DE VRIES, *Nestorianismus* = W. DE VRIES, *Der « Nestorianismus » Theodors von Mopsuestia in seiner Sakramentenlehre*, in OCP 7 (1941), 91-148.
- DE VRIES, *Sakramententheologie* = W. DE VRIES, *Sakramententheologie bei den Nestorianern* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 133). Rome, 1947.

- DIEKAMP, *Mönch* = F. DIEKAMP, *Der Mönch und Presbyter Georgios, ein unbekannter Schriftsteller des 7. Jahrhunderts*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 9 (1900), 14-51.
- DIETRICH, *Bericht* = G. DIETRICH, *Bericht über neuentdeckte handschriftliche Urkunden zur Geschichte des Gottesdienstes in der nestorianischen Kirche*, in *Nachrichten von der Königlich Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1909, 160-218.
- ditt. = dittography.
- Dn = Daniel.
- Dt = Deuteronomy.
- DUVAL, *Histoire* = R. DUVAL, *Histoire politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première croisade*. PARIS, 1892.
- EFE = *Explanations of the Feasts of the Economy*.
- Ep = Epistle to the Ephesians.
- Epi = THOMAS EDESSEUS, *Explanation of the Epiphany*, in A, ff. 46r-67r.
- EUSEBIUS, *Hist. Eccl.* = EUSEBIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. SCHWARTZ, *Kirchengeschichte*.
- Ex = Exodus.
- Ezk = Ezekiel.
- fem. = feminine.
- Fst = CYRUS EDESSEUS, *Explanation of the Fast*.
- FUNK, *Didascalia* = F. X. FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*. 2 vols. Paderborn, 1905.
- Ga = Epistle to the Galatians.
- GEORGIUS MONACHUS, *Capitula* = GEORGIUS MONACHUS, *Capitula in Epiphaniï De haeresibus*, ed. DIEKAMP, *Mönch*.
- GISMONDI, *De Patriarchis* = H. GISMONDI, *Maris, Amri et Slibae de Patriarchis Nestorianorum commentaria*. 2 parts. Rome, 1896-1899.
- Gn = Genesis.
- Gol = HĀNANA ADIABENUS, *Explanation of the Friday of Gold*, ed. A. SCHER, in PO VII, 53-67.
- Grk. = Greek.
- HALWAN, *Fundationis* = BARĤADEŠĀBBA HALVANENSIS, *Causa foundationis scholarum*, ed. SCHER, *Halwan*.
- HAYES, *École* = E. R. HAYES, *L'École d'Édesse*. Paris, 1930.
- Heb = Epistle to the Hebrews.
- HENRY, *Bibliothèque* = R. HENRY, *Photius. Bibliothèque*. 6 tt. Paris, 1959-1971.
- hom. = homoeoteleuton.
- IC = index of chapters.
- intr. = introduction.
- Is = Isaiah.
- IŠO'DAD, *In Gn, Ex, etc.* = IŠO'DAD MERVENSIS, *Commentarius in Genesim, Exodum, etc.*, ed. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Commentaire*.
- Jb = Job.
- Jdt = Judith.
- Jg = Judges.
- Jn = Gospel of St. John.
- 1 Jn = 1st Epistle of St. John.

- Jon* = Jonah.
Jos = Joshua.
Jr = Jeremiah.
1, 2, 3, 4 K = 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th Book of Kings.
KELAITA, *Liturgy* = J. E. Y. KELAITA, *The Liturgy of the Church of the East*. Mosul, 1928.
KELAITA, *Marganita* = J. E. Y. KELAITA, *Ktaba d-metqre Marganita d-'al brava d-Kreatyanuta*. Mosul, 1924.
L = London, British Museum, Oriental MS. 9360A (1894) = *EFE*.
LEWIS, *Gospels* = A. S. LEWIS, *The Old Syriac Gospels, or Evangelion da-Mepharreshê*. London, 1910.
lit. = literally.
Lk = Gospel of St. Luke.
Lv = Leviticus.
MACLEAN, *Catholicos* = A. J. MACLEAN and W. H. BROWNE, *The Catholicos of the East and his People*. London, 1892.
MACLEAN, *Offices* = A. J. MACLEAN, *East Syrian Daily Offices*. London, 1894.
MACOMBER, *Oldest* = W. F. MACOMBER, *The Oldest Known Text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, in OCP 32 (1966), 335-371.
MACOMBER, *Synthesis* = W. F. MACOMBER, *The Theological Synthesis of Cyrus of Edessa, an East Syrian Theologian of the Mid Sixth Century*, in OCP 30 (1964), 5-38, 363-384.
MARGA = THOMAS MARGENSIS, *Liber praefectorum*, ed. BUDGE, *Governors*.
MARI = MARI IBN SULAYMAN, *Nomina Patriarcharum orientalium* (= *Liber turris* V, 5), ed. GISMONDI, *De Patriarchis* I.
maec. = masculine.
MATEOS, *Semaines* = J. MATEOS, *Les « Semaines de Mystères » du Carême chaldéen*, in *L'Orient syrien* 4 (1959), 449-458.
MERCATOR, *Excerpta* = MARIUS MERCATOR, *Theodori Mopsuesteni excerpta*, edd. J. GARNERIUS, in PL 48, 1051-1060 and E. SCHWARTZ, in ACO I, v, 1, 173-177.
MINGANA, *Narsai* = A. MINGANA, *Narsai doctoris syri homiliae et carmina*. 2 vols. Mosul, 1905.
Mk = Gospel of St. Mark.
Ml = Malachi.
MOPSUESTENUS, *Adversus* = THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS, *Adversus eos qui dicunt peccatum in natura insitum esse*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, in ACO I, v, 1, 173-176.
MOPSUESTENUS, *Contra Eunomium* = THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS, *Contra Eunomium*, ed. ABRAMOWSKI, *Unbekanntes*.
MOPSUESTENUS, *Contra Julianum* = THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS, *Contra Julianum*, ed. O. F. FRITZSCHE, in PG 66, 715-728.
MOPSUESTENUS, *De incarnatione* = THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS, *De incarnatione*, ed. SWETE, *Theodori* II, 290-312.
MOPSUESTENUS, *Hom. Cat.* = THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS, *Homiliae catecheticae*, ed. TONNEAU, *Homélie*.
MOPSUESTENUS, *In Gn, Jon, etc.* = THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS, *Commentarius in Genesisim, Jonam prophetam, etc.*, in various editions.
Mrt = ISAL, *Explanation of (the Commemoration of) the Martyrs*, ed. A. SCHER, in PO VII, 15-52.
Mry = *Explanation of the Commemoration of Blessed Mart Maryam*, by « one of the teaching bretheren of the School of Nisibis », in A, ff. 25r-46r.

MS(S). = manuscript(s).

Mt = Gospel of St. Matthew.

N = Alqoṣ, Notre-Dame des Semences, Syriac MS. 156 (1887) = *EFE*.

n(n). = note(s).

NARSAI = NARSAL, *Homiliae*, ed. MINGANA, *Narsai*.

Nat = THOMAS EDESSENUM, *Explanation of the Nativity*, ed. CARR, *Thomae*.

NAU, *Histoire* = F. NAU, *L'histoire de Barhadbešabba 'Arbaia*, in PO IX, 491-631; XXIII, 177-343.

NAU, *Nestorius* = F. NAU, P. BEDJAN and M. BRIÈRE, *Nestorius. Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas*. Paris, 1910.

Nb = Numbers.

NESTLE = E. NESTLE, E. NESTLE and K. ALAND, *Novum Testamentum graece et latine*, 20th ed. Stuttgart, 1961.

NESTORIUS, *Homiliae* = NESTORIUS, *Homiliae in tentationes Domini*, ed. NAU, *Nestorius*, 333-358.

NESTORIUS, *Liber* = NESTORIUS, *Liber Heraclideanos*, ed. BEDJAN, *Nestorius*.

OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*.

ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Vetus* = I. ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum et exinde excerptum Dialesseron Totiani* (Biblia Polyglotta Matritensis, VI). Madrid, 1987.

IP = 1st Epistle of St. Peter.

PEETERS, *Observations* = P. PEETERS, *Observations sur la vie syriaque de Mār Abā, catholico de l'Église Perse (540-552)*, in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. V, *Storia ecclesiastica — diritto* (ST 125). Vatican City, 1946, 69-112.

Pesh. = Peshitta Bible, ed. *Biblia Sacra juxta versionem simplicem quas dicitur Peshitta*. 3 vols. Beirut, 1951.

PG = J.-P. MIGNÉ, *Patrologia graeca*.

Ph = Epistle to the Philippians.

PHILOPONUS = JOANNES PHILOPONUS, *De opificio mundi*, ed. REICHARDT, *Philoponi*.

Phm = Epistle to Philemon.

PHOTIUS, *Myrobiblon* = PHOTIUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, *Myrobiblon, sive Bibliotheca*, ed. HENRY, *Bibliothèque*.

PL = J.-P. MIGNÉ, *Patrologia latina*.

pl. = plural.

Pnt = CYRUS EDESSENUM, *Explanation of Pentecost Sunday*.

PO = R. GEAFFIN and F. NAU, *Patrologia orientalis*.

POSI = POSI, *Explanation of the Fast*, in A, ff. 67r-78r.

Pr = Proverbs.

prol. = prologue.

PS = R. GEAFFIN, *Patrologia syriaca*. 3 tt. Paris, 1894-1926.

Ps(s) = Psalm(s).

Psc = CYRUS EDESSENUM, *Explanation of the Pasch*.

Psn = CYRUS EDESSENUM, *Explanation of the Passion*.

RAES, *Confirmation* = A. RAES, *Où se trouve la Confirmation dans le rite syro-oriental?* in *L'Orient syrien* 1 (1956), 239-254.

RAHLFS = A. RAHLFS, *Septuaginta*, 5th ed. Stuttgart, 1952.

REICHARDT, *Philoponi* = W. REICHARDT, *Joannis Philoponi, De opificio mundi, libri VII* (Scriptores sacri et profani, 1). Leipzig, 1897.

- REUSS, *Matthäus-Kom.* = J. REUSS, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Texte und Untersuchungen, 61). Berlin, 1957.
- Rm = Epistle to the Romans.
- Rog = HĪNANA ADIABENUS, *Explanation of the Rogation*, ed. A. SCHERR, in PO VII, 68-82.
- Rsr = CYRUS EDESSEUS, *Explanation of the Resurrection*.
- RUDOLPH, *Mandäer* = K. RUDOLPH, *Die Mandäer*. 2 vols. Göttingen, 1960-1961.
- Ruṣma = Ruṣma d-qeryane w-surraya wa-šūḥa w-zummarā w-wangaliyon, d-metqreyn b-ḥadḥābbābe wa-b-'e'de maranaye wa-b-dukranē, ak faksa d-Dayra 'Ellayta. Mosul, 1924.
- S = Séart, Chaldean Archiepiscopal Residence, MS. 82 (16th c.) = EFE.
- 1, 2 S = 1st, 2nd Book of Samuel (Kings).
- SACHAU, *Fragmenta* = E. SACHAU, *Theodori Mopsuesteni fragmenta syriaca*. Leipzig, 1869.
- SALOMON, *Apis* = SALOMON BASSORENSIS, *Liber apis*, ed. BUDGE, *Bee*.
- SCHAEFER, *Kantäer* = H. H. SCHAEFER, *Die Kantäer*, in *Die Welt des Orients* 1 (1947-1952), 288-298 (reprinted in H. H. SCHAEFER, *Studien zur orientalischen Religionsgeschichte*. Darmstadt, 1968, 242-252).
- SCHER, *Bar Kōnī* = A. SCHER, *Theodorus Bar Kōnī. Liber scholiorum*. 2 tt. (CSCO 55, 69/Syr. 19, 26). Paris, 1910-1912.
- SCHER, *École* = A. SCHER, *École de Nisibe, son origine, ses règlements et ses hommes célèbres* (in Arabic). Beirut, 1905.
- SCHER, *Halwan* = A. SCHER, *Mar Barḥadḥābbāba 'Arbaya, évêque de Halwan (VI^e siècle). Cause de la fondation des écoles*, in PO IV, 315-404.
- SCHER, *Profession* = A. SCHER, *La profession de foi à réciter par les évêques (avant l'ordination)*, in PO VII, 82-87.
- SCHWARTZ, *Kirchengeschichte* = E. SCHWARTZ and T. MOMMSEN, *Eusebius Werke* vol. II, *Die Kirchengeschichte*. 3 parts. Leipzig, 1903-1909.
- Sept. = Septuagint version of the Old Testament, ed. RAHLFS.
- sg. = singular.
- Si = Sirach (Ecclesiasticus).
- ST = *Studi e Testi*.
- STAAB, *Pauluskom.* = K. STAAB, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, 15). Münster, 1933.
- SWETE, *Theodori* = H. B. SWETE, *Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1880-1882.
- Syr. = Syriac.
- T = Vatican City, Collegio Teutonico, MS. 44 (1897) = EFE.
- 1, 2 Th = 1st, 2nd Epistle to the Thessalonians.
- THEODORETUS, *In Canticum* = THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum*, ed. J. L. SCHULZE, in PG 81, 27-214.
- THEODORETUS, *Questiones* = THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *In loca difficilia Scripturae Sacrae quaestiones selectae*, ed. J. L. SCHULZE, in PG 80, 75-858.
- TIMOTHEUS I, *Epistulae*, ed. BRAUN, *Timothei*.
- 1, 2 Tm = 1st, 2nd Epistle to Timothy.
- TORNEAU, *Homélie* = R. TORNEAU and R. DEVRESSE, *Les homélie catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* (ST 145). Vatican City, 1949.

- TONNEAU, *Interprétation* = R. TONNEAU, *Théodore de Mopsueste. Interprétation (du Livre) de la Genèse*, in *Le Muséon* 66 (1953), 45-64.
- transl. = translation.
- Tt = Epistle to Titus.
- VAN DEN EYNDE, *Commentaire* = J.-M. VOSTÉ and C. VAN DEN EYNDE, *Commentaire d'Isô'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament*. 5 tt. (CSCO 126, 156, 176, 179, 229, 230, 303, 304, 328, 329 / Syr. 67, 75, 80, 81, 96, 97, 128, 129, 146, 147). Louvain, 1950-1972.
- VASCHALDE, *Babai* = A. VASCHALDE, *Babai Magni Liber de unione* (CSCO 79, 80/ Syr. 34, 35). Paris, Rome, 1916.
- VÖÖBUS, *Nisibis* = A. VÖÖBUS, *History of the School of Nisibis* (CSCO 266/Subsidia 26). Louvain, 1965.
- VOLZ, *Eschatologie* = P. VOLZ, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde in neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 2nd ed. Tübingen, 1934.
- VON DOBSCHÜTZ, *Prologue* = E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ, *A Hitherto Unpublished Prologue to the Acts of the Apostles (probably by Theodore of Mopsuestia)*, in *The American Journal of Theology* 2 (1898), 353-387.
- VOSTÉ, *Theodori* = J.-M. VOSTÉ, *Theodori Mopsuesteni commentarius in Evangelium Johannis Apostoli* (CSCO 115, 116/Syr. 62, 63). Paris, Louvain, 1940.
- W = Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America, Hyvernat Syriac MS. 8 (1889) = *EFE*.
- WIGRAM, *Cradle* = W. A. WIGRAM and E. T. A. WIGRAM, *The Cradle of Mankind: Life in Eastern Kurdistan*, 2nd ed. London, 1922.
- WINSTEDT, *Cosmas* = E. O. WINSTEDT, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*. Cambridge, 1909.
- WOLSKA-CONUS, *Cosmas* = W. WOLSKA-CONUS, *Cosmas Indicopleustes. Topographie chrétienne*. 2 tt. (Sources chrétiennes, 141, 159). Paris, 1968-1970.
- WRIGHT, *Ecclesiastical* = W. WRIGHT and N. MCLERAN, *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in Syriac*. Cambridge, 1898.
- Zc = Zechariah.