

Some Early Witnesses to the East Syriac Liturgical Tradition

Professor Sebastian Brock, Oxford University

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1. Introduction

The rich liturgical heritage of the Church of the East (today represented by the Assyrian Church of the East, the Ancient Church of the East, the Chaldean Catholic Church and, in India, the Syro-Malabar Church) includes a number of texts which can be traced back to the early centuries of Christianity. These can be identified in various different ways. As is well known, the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari constitutes the earliest surviving Anaphora, and in this case there are two factors which point to its archaic core:¹ firstly, the close parallels with the Maronite Anaphora known as the ‘Sharrar’ (after its opening word) indicate that their shared elements must go back to a very early date.² Secondly, some of the phraseology in the most ancient sections of the Anaphora have close parallels with very early texts such as the Acts of Thomas.³

The most ancient layers of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari go back before the time of the earliest surviving manuscripts. Although for the most part the liturgical manuscripts of the Church of the East are usually quite late, from the early second millennium AD onwards,⁴ there are two important exceptions: the first is a fragment of an otherwise unknown Anaphora preserved in a sixth-century manuscript in the British Library (Add. 14669, ff.20-21), which was

¹ See most recently S. Jammo, ‘The Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari: a study of structure and historical background’, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 68 (2002), pp.5-35 (also reprinted in B. Puthur (ed.), *Studies on the Anaphora of Addai and Mari* (Kochi, 2004), pp.1-35).

² W. Macomber, ‘The Maronite and Chaldean versions of the Anaphora of the Apostles’, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 (1971), p.84, writes ‘Elements that are common to the two anaphoras ... must, in all probability, antedate the Chaldean Synod of the Catholicos Isaac of 410 and be very ancient indeed’.

³ E.g. ‘you put on our humanity’, ‘you resurrected our dead state’, both in the Post Sanctus, for which compare Acts of Thomas (ed. W. Wright), pp.250, 281-2.

⁴ By far the earliest manuscript of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari is Mar Esha`ya (Mosul) Ḥudra of the 10th/11th century: W.F. Macomber, ‘The oldest known text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari’, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966), pp.335-371.

published, with an English translation, by R.H. Connolly;⁵ the second consists of two folios of an eighth-century manuscript containing *teshbhatha* by Giwargis of Nisibis and Emmanuel of Doqa (Vatican Syr. 527; for the text, see Section 3). The great significance of the first of these two manuscripts is that it dates from before the extensive liturgical reforms of the Catholicos Isho`yahb III (649-659). Also of great importance in this respect are the liturgical commentaries by Narsai, who died around 500,⁶ and of Gabriel Qatraya, who must have flourished in the early years of the seventh century, a little before the time of Isho`yahb.⁷

As far as the annual liturgical cycles in the *Hudra* and the *Gazza*⁸ are concerned, the earliest surviving manuscripts are two fragmentary manuscripts in Berlin, originating from the ruins of a monastery near Turfan (in Central Asia) which date from the ninth/tenth century.⁹ If the text of the Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari consists of layers dating from different periods, this is even more the case with the *Hudra*, where the constituent elements of the printed

⁵ 'Sixth-century fragments of an East Syrian Anaphora', *Oriens Christianus* ns 12/14 (1925), pp.99-129.

⁶ Tr. R.H. Connolly, *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* (Texts and Studies VIII.1; Cambridge, 1909).

⁷ For the date of Gabriel, as well as an edition and translation of the section on the Eucharist, see my 'Gabriel of Qatar's Commentary on the Liturgy', *Hugoye* 6:2 (2003).

⁸ The distinction between the two is not always clear in the earliest manuscripts.

⁹ See W.F. Macomber, 'A list of the known manuscripts of the Chaldean *Hudra*', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 36 (1970), pp.120-134, esp. 123-4. Samples of these were published by E.Sachau, *Literatur-Bruchstücke aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* (Sitzungsberichte der kön. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1905: 2), pp.964-967, 970-973; an English translation is given in P.Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (Tokyo, 1951), pp.337-347. (Earlier, on pp.320-333, Saeki gives the translation, with (poor) photographs, of a Syriac fragment of 12th/13th century in Peking /Beijing). For some fragments of the 13th/14th century, all (it seems) from the Cairo Genizah (where they must have been reused in a binding), see W.F. Macomber, 'An interesting fragment of an East Syrian Festal Hymnary of the 14th(?) century', *Oriens Christianus* 57 (1973), pp.72-78, and my 'East Syrian liturgical fragments from the Cairo Genizah', and 'Further East Syrian Liturgical fragments from the Cairo Genizah', in *Oriens Christianus* 68 (1983), pp.58-79, and 74 (1990), pp.44-61. Fragments of two Syriac liturgical manuscripts from Dunhuang (western China) have recently been identified (a Pauline Lectionary and a collection of Psalm verses): see W. Klein and J.Tubach, 'Ein syrisch-Christliches Fragment aus Dunhuang/China', *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 144 (1994), pp.1-13 (and H. Kaufhold, in 146 (1996), pp.49-60); and D.Qing, 'Bericht über ein neuentdecktes syrisches Dokument aus Dunhuang/China', *Oriens Christianus* 85 (2001), pp.84-93. Both probably date from the 13th/14th century.

editions, by P. Bedjan and T. Darmo,¹⁰ may date from up to a millennium apart: thus, one finds stanzas extracted from *madrashē* that are genuinely by Ephrem (d. 373)¹¹ as well as poems by Giwargis Warda (13th century) and `Abdisho' of Soba (d.1318). Darmo's edition usually preserves the attribution of certain texts to specific authors, many of whom can be approximately dated; this applies, for example, to many of those named as authors of *teshbhatha*, some of which were taken over (and left anonymous) in the Maronite liturgical tradition (see Section 4, below). Stanzas taken from *madrashē* are usually old, even if only some of these are from genuine Ephrem; the antiquity of such pieces is sometimes confirmed by their being shared with the Syrian Orthodox liturgical tradition (which normally implies they are likely to antedate the ecclesiastical divisions of the fifth and sixth centuries).¹²

2. An ostrakon from Iraq with a text from the Ḥudra

The paucity of East Syriac liturgical texts that definitely date from the first millennium renders every scrap of new evidence all the more valuable. Such a piece of new evidence comes from a Japanese archaeological excavation undertaken in the 1980s at Ain Sha'ia, a site some 20 kilometres WNW of al-Ḥira (Ḥirta in Syriac). Besides a couple of short Syriac inscriptions found in the remains of a church, a nearby cave produced an ostrakon with writing in ink on both sides. The ostrakon (along with the other inscriptions) was published, with photographs and a tentative reading and translation, by E.C.D. Hunter.¹³ Since the texts on the two sides can in fact be identified as quotations from the Ḥudra for the season of Epiphany, a considerably improved reading can now be

¹⁰ P. Bedjan, *Breviarium iuxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium id est Chaldaeorum* I-III (Leipzig, 1886-7; repr. Rome, 1938), henceforth quoted as BC; T. Darmo, *Ktaba da-Qdam wad-Batar wad-Ḥudra wad-Kashkol wad-Gazza w-Qala d-`Udrane `am Ktaba d-Mazmure* I-III (Trichur, 1960-1962), henceforth quoted as H. Bedjan's edition has now been reprinted in a single volume, with some abbreviations and corrections by P. Yousif (Rome, 2002); the pagination remains the same. For the correspondences between the two editions, H and BC, see my 'A concordance to Bedjan's Breviarium Chaldaicum and Darmo's Ḥudra', in a forthcoming number of *The Harp* (Festschrift for J. Madey). On Bedjan, see J. Vosté, 'Paul Bedjan, le lazariste persan', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 11 (1945), 45-102; and on Darmo, see Mar Aprem, *Mar Thoma Darmo - a Biography* (Trichur, 1974).

¹¹ For a list of those that have so far been identified, see the Appendix.

¹² An exceptional case of borrowing which must date from the sixth century at the earliest is provided by the re-use, in the Ḥudra, of a prose *turgama* on the Resurrection, by Jacob of Serugh (d. 521): see my 'An extract from Jacob of Serugh in the East Syrian Ḥudra', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 55 (1989), 339-343. Another surprising example is given at the end of the Appendix.

¹³ 'Syriac inscriptions from al-Ḥira', *Oriens Christianus* 80 (1996), pp.66-81, esp. 74-78; she dates it to 7th/8th century. Plates III and IV give photographs of the ostrakon.

ܠܐ ܡܚܘܒܐ ܕܠܘܗܐ ܘܥܘܢܐ
 ܡܚܘܒܐ ܕܠܘܗܐ ܡܚܘܒܐ ܘܥܘܢܐ
 ܡܚܘܒܐ ܕܠܘܗܐ ܡܚܘܒܐ
 ܡܚܘܒܐ ܕܠܘܗܐ ܡܚܘܒܐ
 .[ܡܚܘܒܐ ܕܠܘܗܐ]

[‘Put on incorruption, from the water and the Spirit renewal, O faithful, and from then, once our Saviour had been baptized in Jordan, the nature of fountains was filled with holiness; and no longer is creation corrupted by means of the waters of the Flood, for there has appeared in the midst of the Jordan He who undoes the transgression, and no longer are sinners submerged in the sea, but are baptized in the font]

and are deliv[ered. Put on]
 incorrup[tion, by means of]
 the water¹⁷ ren[ewal, O faithful, as]
 y[ou] cry out, [O Christ]
 the one who aids¹⁸ [our souls]

[praise to you’.]

2. Fragments from an early collection of *teshbħatha*

Vatican Syr. 527 consists of two parchment folios which had been rescued from the binding of a Greek manuscript, Vatican Greek 781. They were described by the then Scriptor of the Vatican Library, M. Ugolini, in an article in *Oriens Christianus* (1902).¹⁹ The subsequent entry for Vatican Syr. 527 in A. van Lantschoot’s *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques des fonds Vatican (490 [in fact 460] - 631) Barberini oriental et neofiti* (1965) simply refers the reader to Ugolini’s article for information concerning the manuscript.

The first folio is missing some lines at the top, and the second some at the bottom; the two folios are evidently not adjacent (though see below). The text is in two columns, each of c.8cms (the scribe has managed to justify the left side of each column very successfully); although the columns are not complete, on the basis of those places where the text can be restored from other sources (see below), it is certain that the columns consisted of 19 lines. The lines are 12.5 mm apart (i.e. from the base of one line to the base of the next). The manuscript is written in a large and bold estrangelo, whose letters (especially *pe* and *tau*) are

¹⁷ BC and H: + and the Spirit.

¹⁸ BC and H: enricher (*ma`trana*).

¹⁹ M. Ugolini, ‘Due frammenti di un antichissimo salterio nestoriano’, *Oriens Christianus* 2 (1902), pp.179-186. Although the fragment contains no psalms, psalm manuscripts often contain a selection of *teshbħatha* (the earliest surviving example is British Library Add. 17219, of the 13th century).

somewhat sloping to the left; notable features are the tall *dalath*, *heth* and *resh* (the uprights of the *heth* are unusually close together). On the basis of the script Ugolini suggested a date of about AD 750, and this seems plausible (note especially the central bar of *he* which is here vertical: to judge from Hatch's *Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* this does not appear before the eighth century, whereas in earlier manuscripts it always slants down to the left). A photograph illustrating the script was included by Ugolini.

The surviving text consists of parts of three *teshbhatha* and the very end of a fourth; for two of the *teshbhatha* the author's name is given. As Ugolini recognized, the *teshbohta* attributed to Giwargis the Persian, bishop of Nisibis (f.1b1-1a2), is to be found in Bedjan's edition of the *Hudra* (III, p.396); it also turns up in the Maronite *Shehimto* (Weekday Office) as a *sughitho* for Sapro on Thursdays. The second named author is Emmanuel of Dawqa (f.2b2-2a2), but Ugolini was unable to identify this *teshbohta*, and indeed it does not appear to be preserved elsewhere in the liturgical tradition of the Church of the East; it does, however, survive - but anonymously - in the Maronite *Shehimto*, where it features as a *sughitho* for Sapro on Saturday, as both Rücker and Breydy noted.²⁰ Only the last part of a third *teshbohta* is preserved (f.2b1), but it has not been possible to identify it with any surviving *teshbohta* in the *Hudra* (or *sughitho* in the Maronite *Shehimto*).²¹ For the fourth, all that remains are the final words 'for eternal ages, amen and amen' (f.1b1), which happen to found at the end of several different *teshbhatha*.

Since Ugolini did not publish the complete texts, I give them here, setting them out line by line, as in the manuscript. The identification of two of the texts indicates that folio 1b belongs before 1a, and 2b before 2a. Folio 2 does not follow on from folio 1, though it is just possible that f.2 in fact belongs immediately before f.1, in which case the lost ending of a *teshbohta*, before that by Giwargis, will be the ending of the *teshbohta* by Emmanuel; if this were so, it would mean that the ending in the Maronite text will have been altered, removing the conventional 'for ever and ever, amen and amen', with which the *teshbohta* before that of George ends.

f.1b

[ܕܢܬܝܢ ܫܘܚܬܐ]	[]
[ܡܢ ܚܝܢܐ ܠܚܐ]	[]
[ܡܢ ܚܝܢܐ ܠܚܐ]	[]
[ܕܠܠܐ ܫܘܚܬܐ]	[]

²⁰ A. Rücker, 'Die liturgische Poesie der Ostsyrier', *Görries-Gesellschaft*, Dritte Vereinschrift (Köln, 1914), pp.54-77 [non vidi] and M. Breydy, *Kult, Dichtung und Musik bei den Syro-Maroniten*, III (Kobayath, 1979), p.458. For the correspondences, see the references given in Section 4, for nos 6 and 14.

²¹ Where I cite page numbers for the Maronite *Shehimto*, I use the following edition: *Officium Feriale juxta ritum Ecclesiae Syrorum Maronitarum* (Beirut, 1876).

Translation:

f.1b col. 1

[6 lines lost] for eternal ages, amen and amen.

Another, of the Quddasha, composed by Mar Giwargis, bishop of Nisibis.

Praise to your mercies, O Christ our king, Son of God and worshipped by all,
for you are our Lord and you are our God,

head of

(col.2)

[]

we acknowledge you, that you are the Hidden One
who was revealed in our body at the end of times.
when your compassion stirred you were pleased in your love
and came for our salvation and liberated our race.
You healed our sicknesses, you forgave our sins,
and our dead state you raised up in your mercies;
and you set up on earth

(f.1a, col.1)

[]

and you perfected her with suffering.
See how the enemy of humankind is perturbing her
with his brazen impudence, by means of his ministers.
Do not, O Lord, neglect the holy Church,
and let not the promise of your words prove false;
let her delightful beauty not be disfigured,
and let her great wealth not be impoverished.

(col. 2)

[]

exalt her horn, and raise up her walls;
bless her children, preserve her offspring,
give peace to her priests, and put her enemies to shame.
Cause the peace of your arm to reside in her midst,
and rid her of divisive schisms.
Grant us that we may live in a peaceful abode,
without disturbance, in awe of truth.

(f.2b col.1)

blessed,

for she was betrothed to you from within the water.
And subdue before her those who despise her,
who have not been terrified at your dominion.
And grant to us that we may be yours through grace,
through the might of your aid which gives us assistance.
And cast off from us the hateful wrongdoing
by which we have been disfigured from (the time of) the head of our race.
And [may we be held worthy] to see you []

(col.2)

for to you be glory and to your just Father
 and to the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete;
 and may we give thanks and worship your divinity,
 O Hidden Nature without beginning -
 to whom be glory at all times
 for eternal ages, amen and amen.

Another, composed by Emmanuel of Dawqa.
 On all mornings let us give thanks and worship
 the Good One who has set in order all luminaries
 for through [your bidding darkness has fled,
 and there has shone out]

(f.2a, col.1)

his light over creation.
 See how all created beings in their (various) natures
 raise up praise from every mouth;
 and we, along with them, give thanks to you,
 for you have caused [us] to come to this light;²²
 and on that great morning of yours may we receive
 your glorious radiance and your great light - or glorious.²³
 Hold us worthy, O our Lord, of the epiphany of your light²⁴
 [and of the morning that has no limit.
 And as] (col.2) you have delivered us²⁵ from darkness,
 rescue us, O our Lord, from torment.²⁶
 And just as you have preserved us through all the nights
 when we were lying asleep, now you have resurrected us,
 and now you have invited us at the time of morning
 to a state of wakefulness from sleep;
 and on that morning hold us all²⁷ worthy
 to be resurrected once again from our dead state,
 and let not [that resurrection be to us
 a (source of) shame, confusion
 and mockery,] (end of f.2a, col.2)

²² give thanks - this light] Maronite Sheḥimto: worship you for you have invited us to this morning. (The next two lines are absent).

²³ The words 'or glorious' must have started out as a marginal variant, but here it has been put into the text itself.

²⁴ your light] Maronite Sheḥimto: the morning.

²⁵ delivered us] Maronite Sheḥimto: brought us out.

²⁶ torment] Maronite Sheḥimto: Gehenna.

²⁷ us all] Maronite Sheḥimto: O our Lord.

[but rather (a source of) mercy and forgiveness,
and of that position at your right hand.
And hold us all worthy with a single clear
and pure heart to come before you,
and in harmony to raise up praise
to you and to your Father and to the Holy Spirit.]²⁸

4. East Syriac *teshbḥatha* borrowed by the Maronite rite

A number of East Syriac *teshbḥatha* are also to be found as *sughyotho* in the Maronite Sheḥimto, or Weekday Office, and an example of this has already been seen from the previous section. The only detailed study of this phenomenon seems to be that by M. Breydy in his *Kult, Dichtung und Musik bei den Syro-Maroniten*, III (Kobayath, 1979), Appendix II, pp.434-459, where he sets out the texts in parallel, indicating the differences. Here I give, first, a listing of the *teshbḥatha* in question, set out in alphabetical order of their opening words, giving their occurrence in both liturgical traditions and some other basic information;²⁹ following this are translations of each text, along with an indication of the main differences in wording between the two traditions. Several of these *teshbḥatha* are of considerable beauty, and worth presenting in English in their own right.

The following abbreviations are used:

Assemani = P. Mobarak and S.E. Assemani, *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia .. Syriace III* (Rome, 1746).

BC = Breviarium Chaldaicum (ed. Bedjan) [see note 10, above].

Breydy = M. Breydy, *Kult, Dichtung und Musik bei den Syro-Maroniten*, III, *Rishaiqole* (Kobayath, Lebanon, 1979).

Chediath = G. Chediath, *The Christology of Mar Babai the Great* (Kottayam, 1982).

Ḥ = Ḥudra (ed. Darmo) [see note 10].

Maclean = A.J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices* (London, 1894; repr. Farnborough, 1969).

Mateos = J. Mateos, *Lelya - Sapra. Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 156, 1959).

MS = Maronite Sheḥimto (Beirut, 1876).

Paul and Mookken = K.A. Paul and G. Mookken, *The Liturgy of the Holy*

²⁸ The supplements in square brackets are taken from the Maronite text. The last four lines also appear in the *sughyotho* for Lilyo on Tuesday (p.178). The opening of Emmanuel's poem is the model for the *sughyotho* for Ramsho on Tuesday (p.152).

²⁹ The following Maronite Offices of the Sheḥimto have texts of East Syriac origin (numbers refer to the list of *teshbḥatha* below): Sun. Lilyo (15); Mon. Lilyo (12); Tu. Lilyo (11); Wed. Ramsho (9+8), Lilyo (2); Th. Ramsho (3), Lilyo (1), Sapro (14); Fri. Ramsho (13), Lilyo (5); Sat. Lilyo (4), Sapro (6).

Apostles Adai and Mari (Trichur, 1967).

QB = Ktaba da-qdam wad-Bathar 'a(y)k Ṭaksa d-dayra `elayta (ed. Daniel David d-Beth Benyamin; Chicago, 2003).

Sako = L.R.M. Sako, *Lettre christologique du patriarche syro-orientale Isho`yahb II de Gdala (628-646)* (Rome, 1983).

1. 'Our Father who is in heaven, holy in His nature'

ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ

- (a) H II, p.188 = BC II, p.116 (Lelya, 2nd Sunday in Lent) = QB, p.195. MS p.325f. (Lilyo, Thursday).
- (b) Attributed variously to Babai the Great, Catholicos Sabrisho`, Catholicos Isho`yahb II of Gdala.³⁰
- (c) ET Maclean, p.206f; FT (and text) Sako, p.61f; Chediath, p.40; Mateos, p.184; Breydy, p.96.

2. 'Alas for you, O soul, who has slept in wickedness'

ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ

- (a) H III, p.296f. = BC III, p.195f. (Lelya, 3rd Sunday of Qayta) = QB, p.200. MS p.247f. (Lilyo, Wednesday).
- (b) Alphabetic acrostic.
- (c) Mateos, p.269f. (with French tr.); Breydy pp.440-442. Assemani III, col.537f. (Parainesis 67).

3. 'Alas for you, O soul, who has grown old in iniquity'

ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ

- (a) H III, p.284f = BC III, p.185 (Lelya, 2nd Sunday of Qayta) = QB, p.199. MS pp.290-292 (Ramsho, Thursday).
- (b) Alphabetic acrostic.
- (c) Mateos, pp.265-267 (with French tr.); Breydy, pp.438-440. Assemani III, col.539f. (Parainesis 69).

4. 'With suffering and tears and in supplication'

ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ ܕܘܢܝܢܐ

- (a) H I, p.308 = BC I, p.183 (Monday, *Ba`otha d-Ninwe*) and II, p.172 = BC II, p.99f. (1st Friday in Lent) = QB, p.193. MS p.455f (Lilyo, Saturday).
- (b) Attributed variously to Barsauma bishop of Nisibis, Babai bar Nsibnaye, and

³⁰ Babai (d.628): Add. 17219 [Breydy, p.96, gives Isho`yahb, but this is incorrect]. Isho`yahb (d.646): Add. 14675. Sabrisho` (I, d.604): Maclean. Mateos, *Lelya-Sapra* (p.184 note) thinks that the 5+5 metre indicates that Balai (5th cent.) is the real author, and that 'Babai' is thus an alteration or corruption (similarly Breydy, p.96). If this were the case (which seems to me unlikely), it would be the only instance among the *teshbhatha* of borrowing in this direction; note also that forced forms of the Lord's Prayer seem to be a characteristic of the East Syriac liturgical tradition.

John.³¹

(c) ET Maclean p.226; Breydy, p.442f.³²

5. ‘With suffering and tears it is befitting for everyone’

ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ

(a) H I, p.437 (Wednesday, Ba`otha d-Ninwe [here BC I, p.228 refers back to p.183. evidently confusing this with the previous *teshbohta* with a similar opening]) = QB, p.194. MS p.387 (Lilyo, Friday).

(b) No attribution.

(c) ET Maclean p.227. Assemani III, col.517 (Parainesis 52).

6. ‘On all mornings let us give thanks and worship’

ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ

(a) In the East Syriac tradition this is only known from Vatican Syr. 527 (see Section 3, above). MS p.475-6 (Sapro, Saturday).

(b) Emmanuel of Dawqa.

(c) Breydy, p.458f.

7. ‘Blessed is the Compassionate One who in His grace..’

ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ

(a) H I, p.118 = BC I, p.57f. (1st Sunday of Subbara) = QB, p.190. Maronite: ed. M. Breydy, *Jean Maron. Exposé de la foi et autres opuscules* (CSCO Scr. Syri 209-210, 1988), p.127f. (text), p.70f. (tr.).³³

(b) Babai the Great; Isaac.³⁴

(c) ET Maclean p.156-7. Chediath, p.39; Mateos, p.114f. (with French tr.); Breydy, p.460.

8. ‘Strengthen, O our Lord, the hands that have stretched out’

ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ ܘܥܠ

(a) H I, p.584, II, p.454, III, p.119f. (Postcommunion, Dominical Feasts).³⁵ MS pp.219-221 (Ramsho, Wednesday; incorporated at end of *Moran Yeshu` malko sgido*, for which, see below).

³¹ Barsauma bishop of Nisibis (d.491): Add. 17219, Maclean (‘some say’). Babai bar Nsibnaye (fl. c.600): London Add.7156, Mingana syr. 25 and 507, Cambridge Add.1966 and Oo.1.22. Yuhannan: Maclean, Urmi edition of *Ba`ota d-Ninwe*, I, p.116. (No attribution is given in Add.14675).

³² Breydy, evidently confusing this with the following *teshbohta* (with a similar opening), states that this is found in Assemani III, col.517 (Parainesis 52).

³³ In the beautifully printed edition of the Maronite Fenqitho published in Rome in 1656 this is found for Lilyo on the Sunday before the Nativity (I, p.513f).

³⁴ The attribution to Babai is found in Add.17219 and later East Syriac sources; Breydy’s source for the Maronite attribution to Isaac (no doubt, of Antioch) is unclear.

- (b) Yazdin.³⁶
- (c) ET Paul and Mooken, p.58f.; also in F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, I (Oxford, 1896), p.300 (surprisingly, lines 5ff of no.9 are attached at the end of no.8: normally no.9 is used just before no.8). Breydy, pp.443-445. Assemani III, col. 541 (incorporated at end of *Moran Yeshu` malko sgido*). A versified English translation is to be found in the *English Hymnal*, Hymn no. 329.

9. 'Our Lord Jesus, King that is worshipped'

ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

- (a) H I, p.204 = BC I 186, 346* (Lelya, Monday *Ba`otha d-Ninwe*); II, p.484 = BC II 357, 346* (Ramsha, Friday of Passion); III, p.119 (Sundays, post-Communion). MS pp.219-221 (Ramsho, Wednesday).
- (b) Ephrem, or John of Beth Rabban.³⁷
- (c) ET Paul and Mooken, p.58. Breydy, pp.443-445. Assemani III, col. 540f (Parainesis 70).

10. 'Light has shone out to the righteous'

ܠܘܫܢܐ ܘܫܢܐ ܠܘܫܢܐ ܘܫܢܐ

- (a) H I, II, III, p.104f = BC I-III, p.35 (Sapra, Sundays and Feasts) = QB, p.282. MS Appendix, p.16f. (Sapra).
- (b) Ephrem, or Theodore of Mopsuestia.³⁸ Acrostic YSW`MSYH`.
- (c) ET Maclean pp.167-8, and *apud* F. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, 1905), p.382f.; ET of Maronite text in *Prayer of the Faithful according to the Maronite Liturgical Year*, I (Brooklyn NY, 1982), pp.16, 193 etc. The text was also edited from British Library Add. 17219 by E. Sachau, *Theodori Mopsuesteni Fragmenta Syriaca* (Leipzig, 1869), pp.58-59 (Latin tr.), 94-96 (Syr.); Mateos, pp.72-74 (French tr.), 84-86; J. Tabet, *L'Office commun maronite; étude du Lilyo et du Safro* (Kaslik, 1972), pp.240-243 (French tr., taken from Mateos).

³⁵ BC does not include it since it features in editions of the Anaphoras; e.g. Eshay Sh. Joseph (ed.), *Taksa d-Quddasha da-Shlihe* (Milpitas CA, 1995), p.66f.

³⁶ He is variously termed 'the Great' or 'the Interpreter'. Nothing is further is known of him, though a sixth- or seventh-century date seems likely.

³⁷ The attribution to Ephrem is found in Add.17219 and most later East Syriac sources, including H II and III; H I, however, gives 'Ephrem, but some say John of Beth Rabban' (likewise Cambridge Oo.1.22). John was evidently a relative of Narsai, and was associated with the School of Nisibis in the first half of the sixth century; on him, see A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (CSCO 266, Subs.26; 1965), pp.211-22.

³⁸ This is most frequently attributed to Ephrem (e.g. H and Maclean), but Add. 17219 gives Theodore as the author, and hence E. Sachau included it (from this ms) in his collection of Syriac fragments of Theodore's works.

11. 'Receive, O our Lord, the supplication of us all'

ܡܠܟܢܢ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܢܢ ܡܠܟܢܢ

- (a) H I, II, III, p.54f = BC I, II, III, p.44 (Lelya, Thursday). Compare MS p.178f. (Lilyo, Tuesday), though most of the text is different.
- (b) Ephrem.
- (c) ET Maclean p.99f. Breydy p.446. Assemani III, col.536f. (Parainesis 66). A versified English translation of the Maronite form of the text (by the famous Syriac scholar F.C. Burkitt) is to be found in the English Hymnal, Hymn no. 194.

12. 'Praise to the Good One, who through His love'

ܡܠܟܢܢ ܠܠܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܢܢ

- (a) H I, II, III, p.55 (Lelya, Friday) = BC I, II, III, p.28 (Lelya, Commemorations); cp I p.277 (Friday of Departed; text not given). MS p.111f. (Lilyo, Monday).³⁹
- (b) John of Beth Rabban, or Abraham of Nathpar.⁴⁰
- (c) ET Maclean p.100. Breydy p.447f. Assemani III, col. 532f (Parainesis 63).

13. 'Praise to the mercy which has sent You'

ܡܠܟܢܢ ܠܠܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܢܢ

- (a) H I, p.189f. = BC I, p.120 (Lelya, Week of Epiphany) = QB, p.191. MS p.362f. (Ramsho, Friday).
- (b) Babai bar Nsibnaye.
- (c) ET Maclean p.157f.; also E.A.W. Budge, *Book of the Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas Bishop of Marga AD 840* (London, 1893) II, p.300 (text). Breydy p.449f. Assemani III. col.516 (Parainesis 51).

14. 'Praise to Your mercy, O Christ our King'

ܡܠܟܢܢ ܠܠܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܢܢ

- (a) H III, p.568f. = BC III, p.396f. (Lelya, Ist Sunday of Quddash `Edta) = QB, p.202. MS pp.337-339 (Sapro, Thursday).
- (b) Giwargis bishop of Nisibis.⁴¹
- (c) ET Maclean p.158f. Breydy pp.451-453. Assemani III, col.532f. (Parainesis 62).
Already present in Vatican Syr. 527 (see above, Section 3).

³⁹ It also features in a Syrian Orthodox collection of liturgical and other poetry, edited by Josef bar Qashisho Habip Önder, *Gebete der Kirchlichen Feiertage, kirchliche und kulturelle Lieder* (Göppingen, 2001), p.255.

⁴⁰ Abraham belongs to the sixth century; some of his monastic writings survive (these have recently been edited by Ch. Chahine, in a dissertation submitted to the Augustinianum, Rome, 2004).

⁴¹ Mid seventh century; on him, see J.M. Fiey, *Nisibe, metropole syriaque orientale* (CSCO Subs. 54, 1977), pp.68-9.

line 6: who will harm us] who harms You (sic!, clearly a misprint).

lines 10-11, the East Syriac texts follow Matthew with *ḥawbayn* (lit. ‘our debts’), *ḥabnan*, whereas the Maronite version follows Luke (*ḥṭahayn*, *ḥṭaynan*).

line 17 glory] dominion (*shulṭana*).

line 18 grant us... Your Beloved] hold us worthy, Lord, to become heirs of (lit. with) Your promises.

line 19 for eternal ages, amen⁴³] for ever, yea and amen.

2. *Aw lek(y) naphsha d-demkat b-`awla*

Metre: 4+4 4+4 syllables.

alaph Alas for you, O soul, who has slept in iniquity,
arise, shake off your sleep.

beth In repentance run and take refuge
for maybe the Upright One will be reconciled by your tears.

gamal Uncover from your mind the veil
over your shameful deeds, and look firmly.

dalath Pour forth tears of suffering at every moment
before the Judge over your wrongdoing.

he A pit of darkness is in readiness for your works,
in repayment for your shameful deeds.

waw Accord a double woe to yourself
so that the Upright One may hear and be reconciled with you.

zayin Stir in great terror, O wretch,
at Gehenna that has been prepared for you.

ḥeth O companion of the angels, weep for yourself,
for your iniquity has made light of your honourable state.

ṭeth You are sunk down, brought low by lusts,
having failed to shake off your torpor.

yodh Thistles and thorns have stifled your thoughts cp Mt 13:7
and they have not produced the fruits of repentance.

kaph The passions, like waves, have surrounded you
and sunk your vessel in the sea of sins.

lamad You have never brought to your recollection
the day that will examine all your hidden (faults).

mim What will you do when the voice of the Bridegroom Mt 25:6
hurries you to come out to meet Him?

nun The light of your labours has been quenched and gone out, Mt 25:8
and along with the foolish (virgins) you will be in torment outside..

semkath Take for yourself oil, O wretch, Mt 25:9
while there is still a place to be provided (with it).

`e With the harlot, ask for forgiveness, Lk 7:37
and through your tears, bandage up your fractured state. Lk 10:34

⁴³ Add.17219 and 14675 omit ‘amen’; the Maronite version adapts the presence of ‘amen’ to the metre.

- pe* The door to repentance is open:
knock with compunction as you groan.
- ṣadhe* O You who desire the salvation of humankind,
have pity on the soul whom the Evil One has taken captive!
- qoph* Receive my supplication, and have pity on my life;
to You do I call, O Lover of humankind.
- resh* Let Your compassion be persuasive in the case of my guilty state,
and may it deliver me from torment.
- shin* O Remitter of debts whose compassion is free,
forgive my wrongdoings at Your upright judgement.
- tau* Thanks be to Your mercy, O Son of the Compassionate,
from sinners whom Your compassion has converted.
- tau* Thanksgiving to You, and to the Father who sent You,
and to the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete.
to whom be glory from those who worship Him,
to eternal ages, amen and amen.

The Maronite version has a number of differences; that in stanza *ḥeth* is instructive: the Maronite alteration is clearly due to a failure to identify *azzel* as the af`el of *zll*.

- gamal* your shameful deeds] *om* your.
- dalath* your wrongdoing] your hateful deeds.
- he* of darkness...in readiness] of sufferings...reserved.
- zayin* Gehenna that has been prepared for you] torment which you have prepared for yourself.
- ḥeth* has made light of your honourable state (*azel l-yaqirutek(y)*)] for your burning (*az(l)a yaqodutek(y)*) will go with you.
- ṭeth* having failed to shake off] and you have not been delivered from.
- yodh* they have not] you have not.
- kaph* The passions] your passions.
- nun* labours (*amlayk(y)*)] eyes (*aynayk(y)*).
be in torment (*meshtanqat(y)*)] be abandoned (*meshtabqat(y)*).
- `e* harlot H MS] sinful woman BC (= Lk).
- pe* knock with compunction as you groan] enter and be purified of your hateful deeds.
- ṣadhe* whom the Evil One has taken captive] which has separated from you.
- qoph* my supplication...humankind] it, O Lord, as You are wont, in upright judgement of rectitude.
- resh* be persuasive] be.
- shin* my wrongdoings at Your] its defects in.
- tau* to Your mercy...converted] to You from those who are lost, whom You gathered and brought to repentance.
- tau* Thanksgiving...amen] *om*.

3. Aw lek(y) napsha d-`etqat b-`awla

Metre: 4+4 4+4 syllables.

- alaph** Alas for you, O soul, who has grown old in iniquity,
arise and be renewed in repentance.
- beth** In suffering and tears prepare a medicine,
bind up the broken state of your image which has fallen. Lk 10:34
- gamal** Groan out from your heart and disclose your iniquity,
so that the Good One may have pity on your fallen state.
- dalath** Because you have loved a borrowed beauty that is transient
you have lost your (true) beauty, O daughter of light.
- he** The temple of your body has become corrupted 1 Cor 3:16
through the laxity to which you have become enslaved.
- waw** Alas, O wretch, how long
will you take protection in things that are transient?
- zayin** Stir in great terror at that fire
which is fiercely burning for you with the wood of your iniquity.
- ḥeth** All kinds of sins have passed over your head
like water, ever since your childhood.
- ṭeth** They have drowned you in the pit of despair
because you have neglected turning to repentance.
- yodh** O you who have been captivated by lusts,
remember your mother (Eve), whom desire slew. Gen 3:1-6
- kaph** How patient with you has the Good One been,
whereas you are sunk in a sea of sins.
- lamadh** Are you not in terror of that day
which will reveal your stains and your hidden (sins)?
- mim** Who will make defence on your behalf,
for there each person will be concerned with himself.
- nun** The passions have poured you out (molten) like a ball⁴⁴
and made you a desolation - and then departed from you.
- Semkath** O Good Hope that has shone out for our salvation,
have pity on the soul that has got lost from you. Lk 15:4
- `e** I am Your sheep, and the Evil One has taken me captive
for a lengthy time in the service of iniquity.
- pe** Go out in search of me, Lord, and search for what is yours,
for I have scattered Your wealth in empty pursuits. Lk 15:13
- ṣadhe** You endured the Cross on behalf of sinners,
of whom I am one: do not neglect me!

⁴⁴ The meaning is obscure; the verb *nsak* is normally used of liquids (here evidently in a metallurgical sense). Mateos renders “Les douleurs se sont déversées sur toi comme une armée” (taking *espira* as from *speira*, rather than *sphaira*); “on you”, however, does not seem possible here. The Maronite *estira* (*stater*, a coin) likewise points to a metallurgical image.

- qoph** I am Your property and the Evil One has plundered me;
rebuke him, and remove from him what belongs to You.
- resh** O Lover of humanity, have mercy on me,
for I have no hope apart from You.
- shin** Praise to Your mercies, O Son of the Compassionate,
for You have patience with sinners.
- tau** Thanks giving to You from those who were lost
for You found them and rescued them from perdition.
- tau** Thanksgiving to You, and to Your Father be praise,
and to the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete.

The poem echoes the previous one at several points (e.g., stanzas ‘, z, t, k). The very unusual occurrence of the Arabic *ya* in stanza *yodh* is avoided in the Maronite version, but in a very artificial way. There are the following variations in the Maronite text:

- waw** will you take protection in] will you be concerned with.
- ḥeth** All kinds of sins] Shameful sins.
like water ever since your childhood] from your childhood until now.
- teth** drowned you (*tab`uk(y)*)] covered you over (*tamruk(y)*).
- yodh** O you who (*ya d-*)] recollect (*i`had(y)*) that you.
your mother whom desire slew] that desire slew your mother.
- mim** with himself] with his (own) judgement.
- nun** ball (*espira*)] coin (*estira*).
- Semkath** for our salvation (*l-ḥayyayn*)] at the end (*l-ḥarta*).
got lost] separated.
- `e** and the Evil One has taken me captive] and I have gone astray from You.
- qoph** plundered me] plundered it.
from him what belongs to You] Your captive from him.
- tau** and to Your Father praise] from those lost.
and to the Holy Spirit the Paraclete] whom you have gathered and
brought to repentance. (= stanza *tau* of the previous *teshboḥta*).

4. *b-ḥasha wab-dem`e wab-taḥmanta*

Metre: 4+4 4+4.

- With suffering and tears and in supplication
we call to You, good Lord,
be to us a physician and also a guide,
for bitter is our suffering and our pain is grievous,
- 5 and there are no upright people among us to bring reconciliation with You,
for our iniquity has grown strong, and our sins have multiplied,
stirring up and troubling both sea and dry land,
as well as all that is in them, because of our evil deeds.
In our time that which was written has come to pass,
- 10 for the end of the ages/worlds has come upon us. Heb 9:26
Deliver us in Your mercy from the tempests

that have confused and shaken both height and depth.

O Good Shepherd, pasture Your flock
because of which You endured suffering.

- 15 Hold worthy together both priests and kings
so that we may live a life that is peaceful and quiet,
and may we be Yours in accordance with Your will,
O Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,
for eternal ages, amen and amen.

The Maronite version has a longer ending, as well as the following variations: line

1 in supplication] with sighs.

4 suffering...pain] pain...suffering.

6 (the two half lines are transposed).

7 both sea and dry land are stirred up and troubled.

11 Deliver me...from the tempests] Deliver us...from the one who takes captive.

12 that have] who has.

16 we] they.

18-19 O Father...amen] and may we be pleasing before You in accordance with Your commandment, and may we sing praise in every night, and at all times 'holy' to Your name. And may we go out to meet You along with Your saints, and may we inherit salvation along with Your beloved ones, and in harmony raise up praise to You, Lord, and to Your Father, and to the Holy Spirit.

5. *b-ḥasha wab-dem`e wale l-kulnash*

Metre: 4+4 4+4.

With suffering and tears it is befitting for everyone
to weep and bewail his low estate,
and more than everyone else, this befits me
that I should weep and bewail without any limits,

- 5 for both Watchers and human beings have recoiled from my foul state,
and I am not able to disclose my wounds: cp Aphrahat, *Dem.* 7:4-6
body and soul have grown foul and putrid
with the scars of lusts.

I have desired the world with its foul state

- 10 and over me its ruler has reigned. Jn 14:30

He has overthrown me and cast me down without any mercy,
like a lion crouched for the kill.

He has stripped me, abused me and mocked at me
- like Adam among the trees. Gen 3:7

- 15 He saw that I am lax, like Eve, Gen 3:6
and (so) the slayer of mankind did not spare me. Jn 8:44
To You I cry out, O Good One who fashioned me,

- cover up my naked state, and bind up my wounds. Lk 10:34
 Go in search of my lost condition and take hold of my life, Lk 15:4
- 20 for You alone freely show pity.
 On the day of Your revelation grant me joy, O our Lord,
 so that I may behold Your face unashamed.
 Show sorrow for me both here and there,
 for You alone are the lover of humanity.
- 25 Blessed is the Compassionate One who abounds in mercy,
 who shows pity, in grace, on those who are not worthy.
 Let us all utter praise to Him
 for eternal ages, amen and amen.
- line 2 low estate (*shapluteh*)] folly (*sakluteh*)
 4 bewail] lament.
 6 wounds] defects.
 11-13 without any mercy - abused me] (omitted through homoioteleuton).
 17 (the two half lines are transposed).
 21 Your revelation grant me joy] the Resurrection hold me worthy.
 23-29 Show sorrow - amen] May Your mercy be stirred at my guilty state
 and rescue me from Gehenna; and along with the saints and the upright who
 have loved You, may I sing to You, Lord, songs of praise. And in the choirs
 of heavenly beings and children of light mingle me, Lord; and hold us all
 worthy to raise up praise to You, Lord, and to Your Father and to the Holy
 Spirit.

6. *bkolhon sapre nawde wnesgod*

Metre: 4+4 4+4.

For a translation, see Section 3, above.

7. *brik hannana dab-tuybuteh*

Metre: 4+4 4+4.

- Blessed is the Compassionate One who in His grace
 has provided our life with prophecy.
 With the eye of the spirit did Isaiah see Is 7:14
 the wondrous Child of virginity:
- 5 without intercourse did Mary give birth
 to Emmanuel, the Son of God, Mt 1:23
 for from her the Holy Spirit fashioned
 His body that was united (with Him), as it is written,
 to be an abode and temple that is worshipped cp Jn 2:19
- 10 for the Radiance of the Father in a single Sonship; Heb 1:3
 and at the very beginning of His wonderful conception
 He united it with Himself with a single honour,
 so that in it He might fulfil all things that belong to it
 for the common salvation, just as it pleased Him.

- 15 On the day of His Nativity [or: Annunciation] the Watchers praised Him
with their halleluiahs in the height above; Lk 2:13-14
beings on earth, too, offered worship
with their gifts in a single (act of) honour: Mt 1:11
One is Christ, the Son of God,
- 20 worshipped by all in two natures,
for in His divinity He is born from the Father,
without beginning, beyond (all) times,
and in His humanity He is born from Mary
at the end of times in a body that is united (with Him).
- 25 His divinity is not from the nature of the mother,
and His humanity is not from the nature of the Father:
the natures are preserved with their *qnome*
in a single *prosopon* of the single Sonship.
And just as the Divinity is
- 30 three *qnome* but one Essence,
so the Sonship of the Son is,
in two natures, a single *prosopon*.
Thus has the holy Church learnt
to confess the Son who is Christ.
- 35 We worship Your divinity, Lord,
and Your humanity, without division:
one is the Power, one is the Lordship,
one is the Will, one is the Glory,
to the Father and Son and Holy Spirit,
- 40 for eternal ages, amen and amen.
- line 6 Son of God] in Bethlehem.
8 as it is written] as He willed.
9 (Bedjan altered this line to ‘to be united in perfection’; the Maronite
version is identical with H).
10 for the Radiance of the Father] for the image of the Son.
12 with a single honour] (Bedjan has altered this to ‘in a single *qnoma*
only’; the Maronite text is identical with H).
14 common salvation] salvation of all.
18 with their gifts] to the adorable Son.
27 with their *qnome*] without confusion (Bedjan has altered to ‘with their
properties’, which in fact approaches the sense of *qnome* in a
christological context in the East Syriac tradition;⁴⁵ the same alteration
is already found in British Library Add.7156; Cambridge Oo.1.12 alters
to ‘in their oneness’).
28 in a single *prosopon*] (Bedjan alters to ‘in a single *qnoma*’, i.e. in the
Chalcedonian sense of ‘hypostasis’).

⁴⁵ See PRO ORIENTE, *Syriac Dialogue II* (Vienna, 1996), p.193.

- 30 one Essence] one Lordship.
 31 Sonship] *qnoma* (i.e. adapting to the Chalcedonian formula of one
 'hypostasis/*qnoma*).
 32 in a single *prosopon*] (Bedjan again alters to '*qnoma*', as in line 27).
 37-38 Lordship...Glory] Glory...Lordship.
 39-40 (omitted).

8. *Hayyel Maran ide da-pshaṭ*

Metre: 4+4 4+4 syllables.

- Strengthen, O our Lord, the hands that have stretched out
 and taken what is Consecrated for the forgiveness of sins:
 hold them worthy at all times
 to give forth fruits to Your divinity.
- 5 The mouths which have cried halleluiah within the sanctuary,
 hold worthy to sing (Your) praise.
 The ears which have heard the sound of your praises,
 let them not, O Lord, hear the sound of terror.
 The eyes which have seen Your great compassion,
 10 may they again see, Lord, Your blessed hope.
 The tongues, too, which cried out 'Holy',
 dispose them to utter truth.
 The feet that have walked within the churches,
 cause them to walk in the Place of Light.
- 15 The bodies which have consumed Your living Body,
 Renew them in the New Life.
 Our gathering which worships Your divinity,
 multiply for it all kinds of help,
 and may Your great love remain with us,
 20 and may we abound in it so as to render up praise,
 and open the door for the supplication of us all,
 and may our service, too, enter Your presence.
- In the Maronite Sheḥimto this *teshboḥta* has been attached at the end of
Maran Isho` Malkan sgida (= no. 9 below), and the verses have been
 considerably rearranged and altered or expanded; the text reads as follows:
- The eyes which have seen here Your glory,
 may they see there Your great compassion.
 The ears which have heard the sound of Your words,
 may they not, O Lord, hear the sounds of suffering.
 The mouths which have cried halleluiah within the churches,
 hold them worthy to sing praise.
 The tongues, too, which have cried out 'Holy',
 fashion them for Your praise.
 The hands which have treated with honour Your Body and Your Blood,
 may they receive from You forgiveness of sins.

The feet which have trod the holy sanctuary,
 cause them to walk in the Place of Life.
 And our gathering which worships Your divinity,
 multiply for it all kinds of help,
 and may Your great love remain with us,
 and may we abound in it so as to render up Your praise.
 And open up Your door to the supplication of us all,
 and may our service, too, enter Your presence.
 Turn to us, O Good One in Your mercy
 and cause to pass from us all kinds of harm,
 and may we unceasingly render up praise
 to You, Lord, and to Your Father, and to Your Holy Spirit.

19-20 British Library Add.7156 has *b-ḥubbak*, which requires the translation
 ‘and may our people remain in Your great love, and may they abound in it...’.

9. *Maran Isho` malkan sgida*

Metre: 4+4 4+4 syllables.

Our Lord Jesus, King that is worshipped,
 who conquered by His Passion death the tyrant.
 O Son of God who has promised to us
 New Life in the Kingdom on high,
 5 cause to cease from us all kinds of harm,
 and cause to reside in our country peace and compassion,
 so that on the day of Your Epiphany we may come to life in Your presence,
 and may we go out to meet You in accordance with Your will:
 with Hosannas may we laud Your name
 10 for Your graciousness towards our race,
 for Your mercies have multiplied towards our human condition,
 and Your love has shone out over our dead state;
 You have wiped out our debts through Your act of forgiveness: Col 2:14
 praise to Your name for Your gift!
 15 Blessed is Your honour from within Your (holy) place, Ezek 3:12
 - the One who forgives sins out of his mercy.
 And in Your grace hold us all worthy
 to give thanks to and worship Your divinity,
 and to Your Lordship at all times
 20 may we raise up praise, amen and amen.
 Line 4: in the Kingdom] and the Kingdom.
 7 we may come to life (*neḥe*) in Your presence] we may go out to meet
 You.
 8 we may go out to meet You] we may be seen (*netḥze*) in Your
 presence.
 11 towards our human condition] over our mortal state.

- 12 mortal state] souls.
 13 You have wiped out our debts] Wipe out our sins.
 14 praise] so that we may give thanks.
 gifts] benefits.
 15-16, 19-20 omitted. The Maronite *sughitho* runs straight on with the
 adaptation of 'Strengthen the hands', no.8, quoted above.

10. *Nuhra dnaḥl-zaddiqe*

Metre: 7+7 7+7 (apart from opening words, taken from Ps. 96(97):11).⁴⁶ The acrostic spells Jesus Christ (y'šw` mšyḥ'), where the sequence *yodh* + *alaph* points to the antiquity of the East Syriac convention of placing a supralinear *alaph* over initial *yodh* where this serves as a vowel.

Light has shone out for the righteous and for the upright of heart, joy.
 Ps 96:11

Y Jesus our Lord Christ has shone out for us from the womb of His Father,
 Jn 1:18

He has come and brought us out of darkness and illumined us with His
 glorious light.

' Daytime has shone out over human beings and the dominion of darkness has
 fled;

5 light has shone out for us from His light and given light to our darkened
 eyes.

Š His glory has shone out in the midst of the universe and given light to the
 depths below:

Death is extinguished and darkness has fled and the gates of Sheol have
 been shattered, Ps 106(107):16, Is 45:2

W And He has illumined all creatures that had previously been in darkness; the
 dead who had slept in the dust have arisen and given praise for salvation had
 reached them.

` 10 He has effected salvation and given us life and been raised to His Father on
 high; Acts 1:9

He will come again in His great glory and give light to the eyes of all who
 have awaited Him.

M Our King will come in His great glory, let us illumine our lamps and go out
 to meet Him; Mt 25:6

let us rejoice in Him as He has rejoiced in us - and He will give joy to us in
 His glorious light.

Š Let us raise up praise to His majesty and let us all give thanks to His exalted
 Father

⁴⁶ Mateos, p.72 gives the metre as 7 + 7 8 + 7; though a few stanzas have 8 syllables
 in one or other stichos, the majority have only 7.

15 whose mercies have abounded and He sent Him to us, effecting for us hope and salvation.

Y His day will shine out of a sudden and His saints will go forth to meet Him, their lamps alighted, all who have laboured, toiled and been in readiness.

Mt 25:7

H The angels and watchers of heaven rejoice at the glory of the upright and just:

they place crowns on their heads and together in jubilation they sing halleluiah.

'20 My brethren, stand in readiness so that we may give thanks to our King and our Saviour who is coming in glory and will give us joy with His glorious light in His Kingdom.

The Maronite version has only minor variants:

Line 2 Jesus our Lord] Our Lord Jesus (breaking the acrostic!).

9 salvation had reached them] they had a Saviour.

1, 12 His] *om.*

16 His day] The day when He.
and His] *om.*

21 in glory] in His glory.

11. *Qabbel Maran ba`ut kollan*

Metre: 4+4 4+4.

Accept, our Lord, the petition of us all
which we offer to you with supplication;

Hear, O God, the voice of Your servants
and the entreaty of those who praise You,

5 for Your are our King and in Your great name
we have hope to feel pride. Rom 5:11

Grant us to acquire a single mind,
having no doubt in the faith,

as we confess that it was by Your will

10 that everything was established out of nothing, 2 Mac 7:28

and the nature of Your Essence is not to be investigated
by created beings, O Hidden Being

who dwells in light without comparison, 1 Tim 6:16
and no one is able to come near to it.

15 Through what You have created, Lord, there is known
to the work of Your hands the vastness of Your riches,
for You are Lord, and Maker too,
all powerful and Provisioner of all.

It is forgiveness of sins that we yearn for:

20 bestow this for us, as is Your wont,

and grant that we, from our own selves,

may apply medicines to our wounds. cp Aphrahat, *Dem* 7:4-6

We are people asking for mercy, O Lord of all,
 provide for our neediness with Your wealth.
 25 And as for the stubbornness of those who go astray,
 led into error by the craft of the Adversary,
 may Your compassion be for them a guide,
 treading out a path for their minds,
 so that they may know that You are the one through whose care
 30 our captive race has gained freedom.
 And with a single heart, perfect and pure,
 may we serve before You according to Your will,
 and whatever is pleasing to Your Godhead
 may we carry out at all times with eagerness;
 35 and in harmony may we raise up praise
 to Father, Son and Holy Spirit,
 for by the Firstfruits which were from us He has saved us, 1 Cor 15:20
 and not taken into account our ingratitude.
 To Him be praise from those who worship Him,
 40 for eternal ages, amen and amen.
 Apart from lines 1, and 35-6, the Maronite text (= Assemani) is very different:
 Accept, our Lord, the petition of us all,
 also our service and our prayers.
 Grant us a heart that is full of love
 and a mind that carries suffering.
 May the mouths that have become lyres for You,
 and the tongues that have sung praise
 not cry out to You, Lord from torment,
 for You have held them worthy to sing Your praise.
 May the eyes which have carried the heaviness of sleep
 and the feet which have toiled and laboured before You,
 not be deprived of that hope
 or lose their wages on the day of retribution. Mt 20:8
 Lord, let not the songs from our mouths
 and our lyres turn into lamentation and weeping,
 but through Your mercy and Your compassion,
 and also Your grace, accept our vigil,
 and hold us all worthy that with a heart
 that is clear and pure we may stand before You,
 and in harmony may we raise up praise
 to You, Lord, and to Your Father, and to the Holy Spirit.

12. *Shubḥa l-ṭaba dab-yad ḥubbeh*

Metre: 4+4 4+4.

Praise to the Good One who through His love
 has revealed His glory to human beings:

- He has created from the dust a dumb nature
and adorned it with a soul that is endowed with treasures.
- 5 He placed (the ability) to confess Him in a lowly body,
so that the whole of creation might sing His praise.
Come, (all) who are endowed with speech, sing praise to Him
before we slumber in the sleep of death.
In the night that is long let us remember our death
- 10 which will muzzle our mouth and put us to silence.
The upright who have praised Him during the night time
are alive though dead,
while the wicked who were ungrateful to His great glory,
even though alive are dead.
- 15 Let us arouse our body with prayers
and halleluiahs of the Hidden Might,
so that we may become companions of the virgins,
- the wise ones whom our Lord applauded. Mt 25:1-12
And on that night which causes the worlds to tremble
- 20 may we be awake to see the Son,
and not be drowned in lusts:
may we see His glory on the day that He shines forth,
and may we be in his presence as wakeful servants Lk 12:37
at the hour when He leads off the children of His bridal chamber, Mt 9:15
- 25 whereas the wicked remain in torment.
and the door of mercy is shut all of a sudden. cp Mt 25:11
While we are alive let us labour a little,
for after death is the day of retribution:
the body that labours with prayers
- 30 on the day of resurrection shall fly in the air
and behold our Lord without feeling any shame:
it will enter with him into the Kingdom;
the Watchers and the upright who have kept vigil and laboured
with prayers will embrace it.
- 35 Blessed is He who has made us vessels of His glory,
and place (the ability) to confess Him in the mouth of dust.
Praise to His mercy for He has associated
with spiritual beings beings made of dust,
so that they might be singing all the nights
- 40 and at every moment 'Holy' to His name.
And let us all utter praise to Him
for eternal ages, amen and amen.
As well as the Maronite text, the Syrian Orthodox version in Önder also has a
number of variants.
- Line 3 dumb] Önder: rational.
5 the (ability to) confess Him] Önder: knowledge.

in a lowly body] in a mouth of dust (Önder: in a human body).
 13-14 (omitted in Önder).
 15 body] Önder: mind.
 prayers] songs.
 16 halleluiahs of the Hidden Might] spiritual halleluiahs; Önder: songs
 of the Holy Spirit.
 20 the Son] Önder: the Bridegroom.
 22 see] Önder: sing.
 23-42 (omitted in Önder).
 24 children of His bridal chamber] human beings.
 25 torment] Gehenna.
 27 labour] take care.
 31 our Lord] his Lord.
 32 the Kingdom] the Bridal Chamber of Light.
 33 the upright] humans.
 35 of His glory] for His glory.
 36 mouth of dust] lowly mouth.
 41-42 (omitted).

13. *Shubḥa l-raḥmayk d-shalḥuk ṣe'dayn*

Metre: 4+4 4+4.

Praise to the Mercy which has sent You to us,
 O Christ, Sun of Righteousness! Mal 4:2
 Radiance, which has shone forth from the House of David Jer 33:15
 and summoned the peoples to repentance.
 5 Approach, O repentant, and ask for mercy
 while there is still room for repentance.
 Let everyone abandon what is in his heart
 and ask for mercy with open face.
 Hear our petition and grant our requests,
 10 O Christ who loves the voice of the repentant;
 do not turn away, Lord, from our supplication
 which we offer You with contrition of soul.
 You know, Lord, that our iniquity is great,
 extend to us a hand that is full of mercy.
 15 We are compared by You with the younger son Lk 15:11-32
 who squandered the money from his father's house;
 we have sinned and provoked You to anger: take pity and have mercy,
 O Good Lord who is merciful.
 May Your mercy be moved in the face of our wrongdoings,
 20 for we have been bought by You with Your living Blood. 1 Cor 6:20
 With the widow we supplicate You, Lk 18:3
 the Judge whose mercy abounds.
 Forgive our debts and wipe out our sins,

O Good One who carries the weight of our iniquity.
 25 Let Your cross be for us a place of refuge,
 and may it drive away from us the power of the Evil One.
 And on that day when the children of Adam
 will be shaken awake from the dust
 and everyone will be aroused from the sleep
 30 of mortality to be questioned
 at that tribunal where the good and the bad
 will be requited in accordance with what they have done,
 may Your compassion be for us an advocate,
 and may we not be held guilty in Your upright judgement;
 35 and at that moment when Your mercy shines out
 may we go forth to meet You in accordance with Your will,
 and along with the saints and the upright who have loved You
 may we sing praise to Your divinity,
 and may we all together raise up praise
 40 to Father and Son and Holy Spirit
 to whom be glory from those who worship Him,
 for eternal ages, amen and amen.

The Maronite text has a number of transpositions and omissions, as well as verbal differences.

Line 1 to us] to our earth.
 3 House] Daughter.
 5 Approach ... ask] Come ... seek.
 8 with open face] from God.
 9-10 (omitted, but 10 replaces 20: see below).
 11-12 (placed after 14).
 12 which - of soul] for by Your living blood we have been bought by
 You (cp 20, below).
 20 for we - living blood] O Christ who loves the voice of the repentant
 (cp 10, above).
 23 sins] defects.
 25-26 (placed after 28).
 25 a place of refuge] an advocate (cp 33, below).
 29-30 (omitted).
 32 what they have done] their actions.
 33-34 (omitted).
 36 go forth to meet You] see Your compassion.
 in accordance with Your will] when You come.
 39-42 (omitted).

14. *Shubḥa l-raḥmayk Mshiḥa Malkan*

Metre: 4+4 4+4.

Praise to Your mercies, O Christ our King,

- Son of God, worshipped by all,
 for You are our Lord and You are our God,
 the Head of our salvation and our blessed hope. Acts 3:15
- 5 It is to You that ranks on high give praise,
 as do the assemblies below, with one accord,
 acknowledging You, that You are the Hidden One
 who was revealed in our body at the end of times
 when Your compassion stirred and You were pleased in Your love
- 10 to come for our salvation and You liberated our race.
 Our sicknesses You healed, our sins You forgave,
 and our dead state in Your mercies You raised (to life).
 You set up on earth the holy Church
 as a type of that one which is above in heaven;
- 15 You marked her as a type, you betrothed her in love,
 You took her in mercy and perfected her with suffering.
 See how the enemy of humankind is perturbing her
 with his brazen impudence, by means of his ministers.
 Do not neglect, Lord, the holy Church,
- 20 let not the promise of Your words prove false,
 let not her delightful beauty be disfigured,
 and let not her great wealth be impoverished.
 Remember Your promise which (You made) to Peter, Mt 16:18
 complete in reality what You have spoken:
- 25 make firm her gates and strengthen her bolts,
 exalt her horn and raise up her walls;
 bless her children and preserve her offspring,
 establish her priests and put her enemies to shame.
 Cause the peace that comes from You to reside in her midst,
- 30 and rid her of divisive schisms.
 Grant us that we may live in a peaceful abode
 without disturbance, in awe of the truth (or: in true religion),
 as we preserve our faith
 in fair hope and perfect love;
- 35 and may our conduct be pleasing before You,
 and may we find mercy on the day of requital.
 And without ceasing may we offer up praise
 to Your Father, through You, and to the Holy Spirit,
 to whom be glory in all generations
- 40 of eternal ages, amen and amen.

The Maronite variant in line 27 preserves the reading of Vatican Syr. 527 and the two earliest psalter manuscripts, which is likely to be original (no doubt reflecting disputes among the clergy at the time). The variants in lines 15-16 and 32 reflect aural, rather than written, corruptions.

Line 3 Lord] King.

4 blessed (= Add. 17219)] great (= Add. 14675).
 5-6 ranks ... assemblies] assemblies ... ranks.
 14 that one which is above in heaven] the Kingdom which is above.
 15 marked her as a type] perfected her in love.
 betrothed her in love] planted (*nṣabtah*) in mercy.
 16 took her (*nṣabtah*) in mercy] betrothed her in a type.
 perfected] acquired.
 21 delightful] fair.
 23 Remember] Complete.
 complete] seal.
 26 exalt ... raise up] raise up ... exalt.
 27 Establish] Give peace to (= Vat. Syr. 527, Add. 17219 (vid.),
 14675).
 put her enemies to shame] overthrow her enemies.
 30 divisive] evil.
 32 the truth (*qushta*) (= Add. 14675)] what is holy (*quḏsha*) (= Add.
 17219).
 34 fair] great.
 38 to Your Father, through You (= Add. 14675)] to You, Lord, and to
 Your Father; to the Father and to the Son Add. 17219.
 39-40 (omitted).

15. *Tawdi l-taba d-ḥarrar gengan*

Metre: 4+4 4+4.

Thanks be to the Good One who has liberated our race
 from the slavery of the Evil One and of Death.
 He has made peace for us with the assemblies on high
 who were in a state of anger because of our iniquity.
 5 Blessed is the Compassionate One who, without our asking Him,
 came out in search for us and rejoiced in our salvation.
 He depicted likenesses of our lost state
 and our return in the sheep that went astray; Lk 15:4-6
 'heir' and 'son' has he called our (human) nature Lk 15:11-32
 10 which had gone astray and returned, died and was revived. Lk 15:24
 He gave joy to the assemblies of spirits at our repentance and revival.
 Lk 15:7
 Ineffable is the great love which the Lover of our race has shown to us;
 for from our race He has made a mediator 1 Tim 2:5, Heb 12:24
 and reconciled the world with His majestic state. 2 Cor 5:19
 15 Far greater and beyond us and beyond all creation
 is the new act which He has performed for our human nature,
 for He made our body a holy temple Jn 2:21
 so as to fill within it the worship of all. Col 2:9
 Come, O (inhabitants) of both earth and heaven,

- 20 marvel and wonder at the exalted rank,
 seeing how our race has reached the great heights
 of divinity that cannot be attained.
 Let heaven and earth, and all that is in them,
 give thanks with us to Him who magnifies our race,
 25 for He has renewed our image and wiped out our iniquity,
 called us by His name and made subject to us everything.
 Worthy of praise from every mouth
 is He who has exalted us above everything.
 And let us all utter glory to Him
 30 for eternal ages, amen and amen.
- Line 2 slavery] servitude.
 11 revival] return.
 12 our race] humankind.
 22 divinity] Add. 17219 has 'Your divinity'.
 27 from every mouth] from all His worshippers.
 30 for eternal - amen] and to the Father who sent Him and to the Holy Spirit.

In a few cases, such as 'Light has shone out for the righteous' (no.10) both the East Syriac and the Maronite tradition will be common heirs to a very early text; this will also apply to no.1 if Balai were really the original author.

The majority of the authors to whom these East Syriac *teshbhatha* are attributed, however, belong to the sixth and seventh century, and this will provide a *terminus post quem* for their subsequent borrowing by the Maronite tradition. Could this have taken place in the eighth or early ninth century, when we know from a letter (no, 41) of Patriarch Timothy I (d.823), that there were contacts between the Church of the East and the monks of the monastery of St Maron.^{47?}

Finally, it is worth listing those *teshbhatha* with a named author which were not taken over in the Maronite tradition. In alphabetical order, the opening words of these are:⁴⁸

ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܫܬܐ

'The Mysteries we have received...': H I, p.182; II, p.434; III, p.120. Attributed to Timothy I is H II and III, as well as in many psalter manuscripts (but not Add.17219, where it is without attribution).

ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܫܬܐ ܕܡܝܫܬܐ

⁴⁷ Edited by the late Chaldean Patriarch, R. Bidawid, in his *Les lettres du patriarche nestorien Timothée I* (Studi e Testi 187, 1956). According to this letter, earlier contact had been made in the time of Catholicos Slibazkha (713-29). (For the uncertainty over the identity of the recipients of Timothy's letter, see H. Suermann, *Die Grundungsgeschichte der Maronitischen Kirche* (Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 10; Wiesbaden, 1998), pp.246-8).

⁴⁸ I only include here those to be found in H and BC; others can be found in the manuscript tradition.

‘Turn to the prayer of Your servants...’. H I-III, p.51; BC I-III, p.42. Attributed in H to Abraham Malpana (the third Director of the School of Nisibis).⁴⁹

ܘܥܡ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ

‘With suffering and tears come, let us draw close...’. H I, pp.209 and 369; II, p.223; BC I, pp.183 and 204; II, p.99; Maclean p.226. Though it is left anonymous in H, it is attributed to Hnana in Maclean and in the Urmi edition of the *Qdam wad-Batar* (1892), p.181. A different attribution is given in some psalter manuscripts: thus British Library Add.7156 and Mingana Syr. 507 attribute it to Babai bar Nsibnaye.

ܘܒܪܟܬܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ

‘Blessed is the Being...’. H I-III, p.56; BC I-III, p.45; Maclean p.101. Attributed to Ephrem in H and Maclean, as well as in many psalter manuscripts including Add. 17219; Cambridge Oo.1.22, however, has erased Ephrem, and substituted the Catholicos Abba (Abba I, d.552; Abba II d.751).

ܘܥܘܡܐ ܕܥܘܡܐ ܕܥܘܡܐ

‘Height and depth are not sufficient’. H I-III, p.52; BC I-III, p.43; Maclean p.98. Attributed to either Abba or Thomas (of Edessa) in H and Maclean. Add.17219 (and some other psalter manuscripts, e.g. Mingana Syr. 25) attribute it to Barsauma, bishop of Nisibis (late 5th cent.), though the attribution to Thomas of Edessa (6th cent.) is found in other manuscripts (e.g. Cambridge Add. 1966, Mingana Syr. 507).

ܘܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

‘To You be praise, our God,...’ H I-III, p.63; BC I-III, p.50; Maclean p.105. Both H and Maclean give ‘Ephrem or Abba’. It is without attribution in Add. 17219.

ܘܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

‘You are praised, O our Lord...’. H II, p.143. Although it is anonymous in H, Mingana Syr. 25 attributes it to Mar Abba.

ܘܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

‘Light of the Epiphany of Christ’. H I-III, p.105; BC I-III, p.35; Maclean p.168. This is regularly attributed to Narsai (though the name is erased in some Chaldean psalter manuscripts).

ܘܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

‘Let your mercy be upon our wrongdoings’. H I-III, p.53; BC I-III, p.43; Maclean p.99. Attributed to Abimelek in H and Maclean (the name is sometimes given as Ahimelek in psalter manuscripts); a different attribution, to Thomas of Edessa, is found in Mingana Syr. 25.

ܘܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

‘Praise to You, O God, praise to You, O God...’. H I, p.201; II, p.130; BC II, p.67; Maclean p.215. Without attribution in H, but ‘Abraham of Izla’ in Maclean. Some psalter manuscripts, however, attribute it to Babai (the Great), e.g. Br.Lib. Add. 7156 and Mingana Syr. 25).

⁴⁹ See Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, pp.134-210.

course.

H I, 118 = BC I, 58 = F II, 89 (= Lamy IV, 711).

H II, 476 stanzas 2-3 = BC II, 351 = F VI, 374-5.

H II, 501 = BC II, 368 = F V, 212 (= Lamy IV, 737).

H II, 522 = BC II, 384 = *soghitha* in early Syrian Orthodox manuscripts, e.g. British Library, Add. 14506, 12147 etc.

H III, 586 = BC III, 411 = F II, 38.⁵³

H III, 597 stanza 1 = BC III, 421 = F II, 16.

H III, 612-3 stanza 3 = BC III, 433 = F II, 17.

Whereas these *madrashé* in common are likely to date from before the ecclesiastical divisions had finally hardened, the following short text, found in both traditions (H III, 565 = BC III, 393 = F II, 50) clearly points to a date well into the Arab period, given its use of rhyme and recherché Greek words (Brockelmann's *Lexicon* records *ouranos*, 'heaven', only from this passage):

The Church resembles Ouranos

and the sanctuary altar the Thronos,

the priests the ranks of Archos (i.e. Greek *archas*, 'principalities', Eph 1:21) who minister to Kristos.

She is built with stones of Iaspon,

and sapphire and qrustellos (chrystal);

the architects are Petros and Paulos,

and Theodoros and Nestoris (= H; BC Mar John and Andrew; F Mar Ephrem and Mar Qurillos).

How did this late piece get into both the East and West Syriac liturgical traditions? Which way did it travel?⁵⁴ Clearly the *Ḥudra* and the *Fenqitho* contain many intriguing riddles that remain to be solved!

⁵³ In both the text is considerably abbreviated: for a much more complete text, see my 'An anonymous hymn for Epiphany', *Parole de l'Orient* 15 (1988/9), pp.169-200.

⁵⁴ If the stones are taken from Rev. 21:11, then the East Syriac will be the borrower, since Revelation of John was not part of the East Syriac canon; but since the combination of the three stones mentioned here is only found in Ezek. 28:13 (on Tyre!), the source may well be the Peshitta Old Testament (both Rev. 21:11 and its inspiration, Is. 54:12, lack mention of 'sapphire').