

A BIBLIOGRAPHIC CLAVIS
TO THE WORKS OF PHILOXENOS
OF MABBUG

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ABSTRACT

Philoxenos of Mabbug was one of the more prolific Syriac authors of late antiquity. Since 1963 the carefully researched monograph of André de Halleux, Philoxène de Mabbog: Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie, has served as a handbook to the works of this key figure in the history of the West Syrian tradition. De Halleux's work has been so productive in opening up the riches of Philoxenos for study in a variety of fields (history, theology, New Testament studies, and the study of Syriac literature) that now, nearly half a century later, there is a need for a revised clavis to make accessible the new editions, translations, and secondary literature. This clavis is a simple supplement to the work of de Halleux.

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I. PREFACE

Philoxenos of Mabbug (d. 523) was a driven figure living in a time of ecclesiastical volatility. Over his lifetime he successfully played several different leadership roles within the churches of late-antique Syria including those of bishop, ascetic guide, theologian, exegete, patron of biblical scholarship, polemicist, and even would-be imperial counselor. In these various roles he wrote prolifically, leaving works in a wide range of genres including polemics, Biblical commentary, homilies, doctrinal theology, letters, and ascetic paranaesis.

As the Christological controversies permanently separated the Western churches from the Syriac churches, knowledge of Philoxenos or his works faded in West. If he was mentioned at all, he usually suffered condemnation in the same breath as anathemas of his “monophysite” Christology. Beginning in the nineteenth century, however, western scholars began to rediscover and publish his works (one of which had actually continued to circulate in Greek during the middle ages under the name of Isaac of Nineveh—see no. 44 below). In the first half of the twentieth century, western interest in Philoxenos flourished due to two factors. First, J. Lebon’s sympathetic and nuanced study of the one-nature Christology of Philoxenos and Severus opened the way for scholars to move beyond the narrow and caricatured categories

which the Christological controversies had left in their wake. At the same time, the work of I. Hausherr and his students made the contemplative systems of eastern Christian asceticism accessible to western theologians. As one of the most prominent voices in the West Syrian tradition for both one-nature Christology and Evagrian asceticism, Philoxenos began to enjoy increased scholarly attention.

In 1963, Philoxenos was the subject of a careful and detailed study by A. de Halleux.¹ Building on the work of E.A.W. Budge, Lebon, and others, de Halleux offered a comprehensive guide to the works of Philoxenos on several levels ranging from codicology to Christology. De Halleux's work remains today the starting point for all work on Philoxenos. At the time of its publication, however, only a little over half of the works of Philoxenos were published and the secondary literature dedicated to Philoxenos was limited (apart from textual work on the Philoxenian New Testament which had been active since the eighteenth century but was only secondarily interested in Philoxenos). In 1963 de Halleux was able to present the bibliography for his nearly six-hundred-page study in just over twenty pages. As a guide to Philoxenos since that time, de Halleux's work has been enormously successful and has opened the flood gates to the study and publishing of Philoxenian works. After nearly half a century, however, a supplement to de Halleux is needed, if only to guide students and scholars to find new editions and translations of Philoxenos' considerable corpus.

In preparing this clavis I have made use of the excellent models previously published by Dirk Kruisheer, Lucas Van Rompay, and Edward Mathews, Jr. in *Hugoye*.² I have generally followed their format with regards to structuring the clavis and to citation style. I have also followed their precedent with regard to scope, opting not to survey manuscript catalogues or present manuscript evidence in detail. Like these authors, I have also relied on the bibliographies of Moss, Brock, and now Pinggéra and Kessel. While I have personally inspected nearly all of the items in

¹ A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog: Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie* (Louvain 1963).

² D. Kruisheer and L. Van Rompay, "A Bibliographic Clavis to the Works of Jacob of Edessa," *Hugoye* 1.1 (1998) and Edward Mathews, Jr., "A Bibliographic Clavis to the Corpus of Works attributed to Isaac of Antioch," *Hugoye* 5.1 (2002).

this bibliography, I have relied on these bibliographies for a few items I was not able to access. In the cases of such items, I have only marked items as “*non videt*” when the item was sufficiently rare as to leave the citation uncertain.

In addition to the work of these aforementioned bibliographers, the greatest debt of this present *clavis* is to the work of de Halleux. *This clavis is meant to supplement, not replace, de Halleux’s monograph.* I have purposely keyed my list of Philoxenos’ works to mirror their order of presentation in De Halleux so that this *clavis* can be easily consulted in conjunction with the work of de Halleux. Moreover, while this *clavis* is the result of a few years of collecting bibliography, I have not intended it to exhaustively answer all Philoxenian-related questions.³ More modestly, this bibliography is designed to bring the reader up-to-date with regard to the scholarly questions first posed by de Halleux (primarily questions of asceticism, christology, and history).

Indeed, I would like to make an appeal to the scholarly community by pointing out that in the areas of Philoxenian scholarship where de Halleux’s monograph did not lay particularly detailed groundwork further preliminary research needs to be done before we can have a comprehensive *clavis*. For example, at the time of writing de Halleux was not able to consult many middle eastern manuscript collections and thus the question of what Philoxenian works remain to be re-discovered is still wide open. Or, as another example, due to the aims of his work de Halleux did not devote much attention to cataloging and tracing the numerous liturgical traditions which were later attached to Philoxenos’ name; this field remains another fruitful area for future research. There is enough here to occupy more than one scholar. We could use detailed studies on Philoxenos’ interaction with his contemporaries (especially Severus), on Philoxenos’ legacy in the other literatures of eastern Christianity (particularly in Armenian and Arabic literature), and on Philoxenos’ reception-history within the

³ For this reason, I have generally not included book reviews in the *clavis* except in the case of reviews making important interventions. Further monographs reviews can be located through the articles in encyclopedias and dictionaries listed in section II. B. See particularly the list in E. Kettenhofen’s “Philoxenos” in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, vol. VII (Herzberg 1994), 542–549.

intellectual and devotional life of the Syrian Orthodox Church.⁴ Accordingly these topics can only be treated in a preliminary way in the present clavis. Most importantly, readers are referred to de Halleux for detailed lists of manuscripts containing Philoxenian works. Below, I have only indicated the manuscripts of primary importance as an aide to the reader in navigating the literature or locating unpublished works. A complete manuscript tree of the Philoxenian corpus taking into account collections catalogued since de Halleux remains to be another major project which I hope to undertake at a later date (and for which I would invite readers to send me citations to corollate with the present clavis).

On a related note, I also alert the reader that this clavis has not attempted to be exhaustive with regards to the question of the Philoxenian New Testament. This decision is not due to lack of literature, but because the scope and aims of the text critical scholarship on the Philoxenian are distinct enough to merit their own treatment by scholars competent in Biblical studies. I have, nevertheless, included most of the relevant recent bibliography on the Philoxenian in the hopes that it will be useful for a Biblical scholar to prepare an addendum on the Philoxenian Biblical version. In fact, such is my aim in general for this clavis, that it would serve as a modest but useful supplement to de Halleux and in some small way follow his example and encourage further scholarship on the extensive corpus of Philoxenos.

The prospects for future scholarship are quite bright. In addition to the increasing number of monographs, dissertations, and articles appearing on Philoxenos, his works are becoming accessible in greater numbers and new formats. For example,

⁴ Some recent work is being done on these questions as documented below, but there is room for more. Specifically, see the work of Roger Akhrass on compiling a new complete corpus of Philoxenos including middle eastern MSS and liturgica; the work of Iuliana Viezure on the role of Philoxenos in the theopaschite controversies; the work of S. Peter Cowe and Karl Pingèrra on the legacy of Philoxenos in Armenia; the article in this current issue of *Hugoye* by Adam McCollum on the reception of Philoxenos in Arabic, and the work of Dan King and my own work on the place of Philoxenos in the later developments in Syriac thought and theology. Another particularly interesting question would be how the later anti-Julianist controversy affected the reception of Philoxenos.

Robert Kitchen is nearing completion of a new English translation of the “Discourses” which will ensure that the largest and most-well-known Philoxenian work will continue to be accessible to students, scholars, and the general public alike. Similarly, Roger Akhrass has undertaken to make a popular-level modern Arabic translation of nearly all of the works of Philoxenos.⁵ Akhrass’ work also includes re-editing the Syriac texts thus creating a unified corpus in Syriac. Kristian Heal, Akhrass, and I are now working to incorporate this corpus of over 500,000 words into the larger Syriac digital corpus project at Brigham Young University with the end result of creating an online searchable corpus of the works of Philoxenos. In a similar vein, I am pleased to let readers know that I plan to expand and update a version of the present *clavis* online to include Syriac incipits for the texts and more detailed manuscript schemata. I have written this *clavis* to serve as the model entry for a larger online *clavis* for all Syriac authors which will be curated by *Beth Mardutho* and hosted by several university partners. The proposed online *clavis*, *The Syriac Reference Portal*, will have an advantage over the present *clavis* in that it can be perpetually updated. To succeed in producing work similar to the three published in *Hugoye* so far (i.e. for Jacob of Edessa, Isaac of Antioch, and now Philoxenos), such an online *clavis* will need a large number of contributors and collaborators. Accordingly, I use the publication of this *clavis* as an opportunity to invite all scholars who might be interested in producing a *clavis* to consider joining this initiative. For interested scholars and institutional partners a preliminary description is available through the University of Alabama’s Syriac Research Group homepage (www.syriac.ua.edu).⁶

Such are the prospects for future work on Philoxenos. At present we do not quite yet live in a world where research on Philoxenos is so accessible and so I would like to express my gratitude to a number of people who assisted me in the preparation of this *clavis*. First, my wife Bethany and my children put up with

⁵ See above. Three volumes have appeared with a fourth in preparation according to a communication with the author.

⁶ Preliminary information (as of November 2010) is available at www.syriac.ua.edu. Further information about this project will be presented in a workshop at the 2010 North American Syriac Symposium at Duke University and will also be made available on the web.

Philoxenos' presence as a member of our family for which I am grateful beyond words. Bob Kitchen and George Kiraz both showed remarkable patience and provided assistance and encouragement as I put this together. Peter Brown also continued to remind me of the value of studying Philoxenos. Sebastian Brock and Roger Akhrass both offered a number of helpful corrections. At various points Luk Van Rompay, David Taylor, Mary Hansbury, Karl Pinggéra, Gregory Kessel, Sergey Minov, Robin Darling Young, Jack Tannous, Dan Schwartz, Scott Johnson, Thomas Carlson, Iuliana Veizure, Dan King, Kutlu Akalin, Jon Loopstra, Adam McCollum, and especially James Walters all helped me with verifying citations or making me aware of an item. Moreover, my research assistants at Princeton University and the University of Alabama also put in time ferrying books and finding articles, especially Anna Megill, Chris Sherrill, Corbin Karl, Andrew Martin, and Robert Aydin. Similarly I also owe a whole shelf-load of thanks to the interlibrary loan staff at Gorgas Library at the University of Alabama. Lastly some of my colleagues helped me with languages or scripts beyond my reach, especially Dan Riches, Margaret Peacock and Ian Chapman. All mistakes and omissions, of course, remain my own.

Finally, I would like to conclude by making an appeal for readers to send me comments, especially with items I may have overlooked. I will incorporate these items and suggestions into the searchable online version I am preparing.

II. GENERAL STUDIES AND PRESENTATIONS

A. Sections in introductory works and handbooks related to Syriac studies

J.S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* II (Rome 1719) 10b–46a, et passim.

W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London 1894) 72–76, et passim.

R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, 3rd ed. (Paris 1907) 254–256, et passim.

C. Brockelmann, “Die syrische und die christlich-arabische Litteratur,” in *Geschichte der christlichen Litteraturen des Orients* (Leipzig 1907), 27.

- A. Baumstark, *Die christlichen Literaturen des Orients, I. Einleitung, I. Das christlich-aramäische und das koptische Schrifttum* (Leipzig 1911) 47, 56, 70–75, 89.
- A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922) 141–144, et passim.
- J.-B. Chabot, *Littérature syriaque* (Paris 1934) 64–66.
- W.H.P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (Boston 1946) 59, 77, 83, see also 81, 110, 148, 149, 155, 158. [sample manuscript pages from Philoxenos' works]
- A. Baumstark, "Aramäisch und Syrisch", in *Semitistik*, Handbuch der Orientalistik III. 1–3 (Leiden 1954), 183–184.
- A.I. Barsoum, *Kitaab al-lu'lu' al-manthuur fii taariikh al-'uluum wa'l-aadaab al-suryaaniiyya* (Aleppo 1956; Glane-Losser 1987) [Eng. tr., in A.I. Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, tr., Matti Mousa, 2nd Rev. Ed. (Piscataway, N.J. 2003) 262–270].
- I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*, 2nd ed. (Rome 1965) 157–161.
- J. Assfalg and P. Krüger, *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients* (Wiesbaden 1975), 297 et passim.
- F. Winkelmann, *Die östlichen Kirchen in der Epoche der christologischen Auseinandersetzung* (5.–7. Jh.) (Berlin 1980), 53–54.
- C. Detlef G. Müller, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Nationalkirchen in Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte*, Band 1, Lieferung D2 (Göttingen 1981), 280.
- W.S. Mc Cullough, *A Short History of Syriac Christianity to the Rise of Islam* (Chicago 1982), 80–81.
- C. Sélis, *Les Syriens orthodoxes et catholiques* (Brepols 1988), 44–53, 68–69, 111–114.
- P. Bettolo, "Lineamenti di Patrologia Siriaca" in A. Quacquarelli (ed.), *Complimenti interdisciplinari di Patrologia* (Rome 1989), 552–557.
- "Philoxenos of Mabboug," in S. Beggiani, *Introduction to Eastern Christian Spirituality: The Syriac Tradition* (Cranbury, N.J. 1991), 48–53.
- L. Knezevich, "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6 (New York 1991), 1961–1962.
- M. Albert, "Langue et littérature syriaques", in M. Albert et al., eds., *Christianismes orientaux: Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures* (Paris 1993) 316, 349–50, et passim.
- R. Le Coz, *Histoire de l'Eglise d'Orient: Chrétiens d'Irak, d'Iran et de Turquie* (Paris 1995), 54.
- P. Bettolo, "VI. Letteratura Siriaca," in A. di Berardino, *Patrologia V. Dal Concilio di Calcedonia (451) a Giovanni Damasceno (†750): I Padre*

- Orientali* (Genoa 2000), 462–465. [Eng. tr.: P. Bettolo, “VI. Syriac Literature” in A. di Berardino, *Patrology V: The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus (†750)*, tr. Adrian Walford (Cambridge 2006), 458–461.]
- C. Capizzi, “Filosseno (Xenajas)” in *Dizionario enciclopedico dell’Oriente cristiano* (Rome 2000), 306.
- J.M. Fiey, “347. Philoxène” in *Saints Syriaques* (Princeton 2004), 151.
- T. Hainthaler, “Philoxenos von Mabbug” in W. Klein, ed., *Syrische Kirchenväter* (Stuttgart 2004), 180–190.
- K.M. Rajan, *Calendar of the Syrian Orthodox Church* (Kottayam 2004), 40, 64, 83.
- S.P. Brock, *An Introduction to Syriac Studies*, revised 2nd ed., Gorgias Handbooks 4 (Piscataway, NJ 2006), 5, 14.
- P. Bruns, “Philoxenos” in H. Kaufhold, *Kleines Lexikon des Christlichen Orients* (2 Auflage des Kleinen Wörterbuches des Christlichen Orients) (Weisbaden 2007), 409–410.
- S.P. Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, Moran ’Eth’o 9, 2nd ed. (Kottayam 2009) 31–34, 195–199.
- M. Tamcke, *Die Christen vom Tur Abdin* (Frankfurt am Main 2009), 98–120.
- C. Lange and K. Pinggéra, *Die altorientalischen Kirchen* (Darmstadt 2010), 79, 137.
- D.A. Michelson, “Philoxenos of Mabbug” in *The Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, N.J., forthcoming), n.p.

B. Articles in dictionaries and encyclopedias⁷

- [W.] Gass, “Philoxenos”, *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 11, 1st ed. (1859), 607–609.
- E. Venables, “Philoxenos (4) (Xenaias)” in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines* (London, 1880), 391–393.
- [W.] Gass, “Philoxenos”, *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 11, 2nd ed. (1883), 653–655.

⁷ It should be noted that in their current editions neither the *Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* nor the *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* have reached the volumes for “P”—thus there is no corresponding entry for Philoxenos. No article was written on Philoxenos in the *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*.

- J.H. Worman, "Philoxenos of Mabug or Hierapolis" in *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, vol. 8 (n.p. 1867–1887; reprint, Grand Rapids, Mich. 1981), 143.
- R. Zöpffel, "Philoxenos (Xenaia)" in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirchenwesen* (Braunschweig 1888), 846–847.
- "Philoxenos" in *Kirchliches Handlexikon*, vol. 5 (Leipzig 1897), 313.
- G. Krüger, "Philoxenos (Xenaia, Axenaja)" in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 5, 3rd ed., (Leipzig 1904) 367–70.
- V. Schmidt, "Filoxenos" in *Kirke-Leksion for Norden*, Bind II (Aarhus 1904), 56.
- A.A. Vaschalde, "Philoxenos (Akhseñāyā) of Mabbogh" in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XII (New York 1911), 40.
- M. Buchberger, "Philoxenos" in *Kirchliches Handlexikon*, vol. 2 (München 1912), 1482.
- R. Abramowski, "Philoxenos (Xenaja)" in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, zweite völlig neubearbeitete Auflage, vol. 4 (Tübingen 1930), 1236.
- E. Tisserant, "Philoxène de Mabboug" in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 12 (Paris 1933) 1509–1532.
- A. Rücker, "Philoxenos (Xenaia, Axenaja)" in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 8 (Freiburg im Breisgau 1936) 248–49.
- G. Krüger, "Philoxenos (Xenaia, Axenaja)" in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, vol. 9 (New York 1949), 43–44.
- I. Ortiz de Urbina, "Filosseno di Mabbūg" in *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. 5 (Vatican City 1950), 1367.
- B. Altaner, "8. Philoxenos of Mabbug (Heirapolis)" in *Patrology*, translated by Hilda C. Graef (Edinburgh 1960), 408. [transl. of art. in *Patrologie*, 5th German ed., 1958].
- B. Spuler, "Philoxenos (= syr. Aksenaja)" in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, dritte, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage, vol. 5 (Tübingen 1961), 357.
- O. Bardenhewer, "§71.2 Philoxenos von Mabbug" in *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur: Vierter Band, Das fünfte Jahrhundert mit Einschluß der syrischen Literatur des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Darmstadt 1962), 417–421.
- A. de Halleux, "Philoxenos (Xenajas)" in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 8, 2nd ed. (Freiburg 1963), 479.
- J. van der Ploeg, "Philoxenos van Mabboeg" in *Romen's Woordenboeken* (Roermond en Maaseik 1968), 3871–3872.

- J.G.C. Norman, "Philoxenos" in *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids, Mich. 1974), 778.
- "Philoxenos" in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (London 1974), 1086.
- F. Rilliet, "Filosseno di Mabbug" in *Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità cristiane*, vol. 1 (Casale Monferrato 1983) 1372–1374.
- F. Graffin, "Philoxène de Mabboug" in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique*, vol. 12 (Paris 1984), 1392–1397.
- "Firukusenosu" フィルクセノス (Philoxenos) in *Kirisutokyō jinmei jiten* キリスト教人名辞典 (Tokyo 1986), 1233b.
- F. Drączkowski, "Filoksen, Xenajas" in *Encyklopedia Katolicka*, vol. 5 (Lublin 1989), 232.
- T. Gregory, "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. 3 (Oxford 1991), 1664.
- F. Rilliet, "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, vol. 2 (New York 1992), 684. [transl. of art. in *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane*, 1983 ed.].
- "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *The Concise Dictionary of Early Christianity* (Collegeville 1992), 139.
- E. Kettenhofen, "Philoxenos" in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, vol. VII (Herzberg 1994), 542–549. [Bibliographic updates continue to be made to the online version of this article as of 2010: <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/philoxenos.shtml>].
- "Filoksen," in *Khristianstvo: Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'*, Tom 3 (Moskva 1995), 121.⁸
- A. de Halleux, "Philoxenos von Mabbug" in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. XXVI (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 576–580.
- "Philoxenos of Mabboug" in *Historical Dictionary of the Orthodox Church* (Lanham, Md. 1996), 262–263.
- S. Ashbrook Harvey, "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York 1997), 918.
- J. Habbi, "Filosseno" in *Enciclopedia dei santi, Le Chiese orientali*, vol. 1 (Rome 1998), 885–886.
- "Philoxenos" in *Who's Who in Christianity* (New York 1998), 245.
- J. Healey, "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity* (Oxford 1999), 381.

⁸ This article cites the following work in relation to Philoxenos, but I was unable to get access to a copy to report its contents: V. Rozhdestvenskii, *Bibleiskie Perevody, Siriiskaia Literatura* (Moskva 1878).

- J. Martikainen, "Philoxenos (Xenajas)" in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* vol. 8, 3rd ed. (Freiburg 1999) 262–263.
- J. Assfalg, 'Philoxenos v. Mabbug', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 6 (Stuttgart [1977]–1999) 2105–2106, in *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias—Lexikon des Mittelalters Online*.
- P. Bruns, "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature* (New York 2000), 486–87. [transl. of art. in *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, 1998, 505–506].
- K. Fitschen, "Philoxenos von Mabbug" in *Metzler Lexicon Christlicher Denker* (Stuttgart 2000), 556.
- "Philoxenos" in *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (New York 2001), 972.
- P. Bruns, "Philoxenos von Mabbug" in *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, vol. 3, volst neu bearb. U. erw. Aufl. (Freiburg 2002), 577–578.
- M. Tamcke, "Philoxenos von Mabbug" in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vierte, völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage, vol. 6 (Tübingen 2003), 1317.
- G.T. Dennis, "Philoxenos of Mabbugh" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 11 (Detroit 2003), 308–309.
- C. Kannengeisser, "Philoxenos of Mabbug (CA. 450 – CA. 522)" in *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis: The Bible in Ancient Christianity*, vol. 2 (Leiden 2004), 1433.
- "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *The Westminster Handbook to Patristic Theology* (Louisville 2004), 272.
- "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *Nelson's Dictionary of Christianity* (Nashville 2005), 549.
- F. Rillet, "Filosseno di Mabbug" in *Nuovo dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane*, edizione aggiornata e augmentata (Genova 2007), 1968–1970.
- R.A. Kitchen, "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *The New SCM Dictionary of Church History*, vol. 1 (London 2008), 517; [*The New Westminster Dictionary of Church History*, vol. 1 (Louisville 2008), 517.]
- D.A. Michelson, "Philoxenos of Mabbug" in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (New York forthcoming)

C. Mention in bibliographic reference works⁹

- C. Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum* (London 1962), 886–891, addenda 187–188.
- P. Peterson, ed., *Eastern Christianity: A Bibliography Selected from the ATLA Religion Database*, revised ed. (N.P. 1984), 408.
- K. Frank, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Alten Kirche* (Paderborn 1996), 424.
- S.P. Brock, *Syriac Studies: A Classified Bibliography* (1960–1990) (Kaslik, Lebanon 1996), 244–247.
- S.P. Brock, *Syriac Studies: A Classified Bibliography* (1991–1995), *Parole de l'Orient* 23 (1998), 329.
- S.P. Brock, *Syriac Studies: A Classified Bibliography* (1996–2000), *Parole de l'Orient* 29 (2004), 382.
- S.P. Brock, *Syriac Studies: A Classified Bibliography* (2001–2005), *Parole de l'Orient* 33 (2008), 415.
- F. Alpi, *La route royale: Sévère d'Antioche et les églises d'Orient (512–518) II: Sources et documents* (Beyrouth, 2009), 155.
- K. Pinggéra and G. Kessel, “Philoxenos of Mabbug” in *A Bibliography of Syriac Ascetic and Mystical Literature* (Leiden forthcoming), 183–192.¹⁰

III. VITAE AND BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

The standard work on the life, works, and theology of Philoxenos remains the magisterial monograph of A. de Halleux (*vide supra*, subsequent references to the work of de Halleux will be abbreviated as DH). De Halleux notes that biographical comments can be found in many of the works of Philoxenos and of his contemporaries (such as the letters of Severus or Simeon of Beth

⁹ Sergey Minov kindly shared with me an unpublished list of citations from his bibliography on Syriac studies which he is preparing as a database in cooperation with the Center for the Study of Christianity at the Hebrew University. I also benefitted from the fact that the bibliography in E. Kettenhofen's article “Philoxenos” in the *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, vol. VII (Herzberg 1994) has continued to be updated in its online version (<http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/p/philoxenos.shtml>).

¹⁰ I am grateful to Karl Pinggéra and Gregory Kessel for allowing me to cite an advance copy of their bibliography, a greatly needed first step toward a new clavis for Syriac literature.

(b) Elia of Qartmin, “Memra on the Saint Mar Philoxenos of Mabbug”

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Syr 377, ff. 219r–241v.

Edited text and French translation published as A. de Halleux, ed., *Éli de Qartmin: Memra sur S. Mar Philoxène de Mabbog*, CSCO 100–101 (Louvain 1963).

(c) “Qala... Concerning Mar Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbug of the East”

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Syr 165, f. 237v.

Edited text and French translation published in A. de Halleux, ed., *Éli de Qartmin: Memra sur S. Mar Philoxène de Mabbog*, CSCO 100–101 (Louvain 1963), 21.

(d) [Notice on the Man Aksnoyo]

This notice, embedded into the Anonymous Chronicle of 846, is preserved in two versions. De Halleux has proposed that they should be interpreted as a pro-chalcedonian original and an expurgated miaphysite version which portrays Philoxenos in a better light.

St. Catherine’s Monastery, Sin. Syr. 10, ff. 48r–49v. [Chalcedonian Original]

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 14,642, ff. 27v.–28r. [Expurgated miaphysite version]

Edited text and French translation of both versions published in A. de Halleux, “À la source d’une biographie expurgée de Philoxène de Mabbog,” *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6–7 (1975–1976), 253–66.

Edited text and Latin translation of BL Add. 14,642 published in E.-W. Brooks, ed. and J.-B. Chabot, trans., “Chronicon ad annum domini 846 pertinens,” in I. Guidi, ed., *Chronica Minora*, CSCO, Scriptores Syri Ser. 3, t. 4 (Paris 1903), textus 220–221, versio 168.

Edited text and French translation of BL Add. 14,642 published as F. Nau, “Notice inédite sur Philoxène, évêque de Maboug,” *Revue de l’Orient chrétien* 8 (1903), 630–633.

(e) “Mar Philoxenos Bishop of Mabug, Wise in God and Enlightened in Knowledge”

Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 155 f. 5r.

Edited text published in *Three Letters of Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbogh (485–519): Being the Letter to the Monks, the First Letter to the Monks of Beth-Gaual, and the Letter to Emperor Zeno*, edited and translated by Arthur Adolphe Vaschalde (Roma 1902), 175–176.

(f) Additional *Vitae*

A number of other manuscripts with *vitae* or biographical notices have been identified in A. Vööbus, “La biographie de Philoxène. Tradition des manuscrits,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975), 111–114. These remain as yet unpublished.

B. BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

i. Monographs

I. Yacoub III, *Mysteries in the struggle of Saint Philoxenos of Mabboug* [in Arabic], (Damascus, 1970) [*non-vid.*].

A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog: Sa vie, ses écrits, sa theologie* (Louvain 1963).

ii. Articles

Several of the longer articles listed above in section II are worth consulting as biographical studies, especially:

T. Hainthaler, “Philoxenos von Mabbug” in W. Klein, ed., *Syrische Kirchenväter* (Stuttgart 2004), 180–190.

A. de Halleux, “Philoxenos von Mabbug” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. XXVI (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1996), 576–580.

F. Graffin, “Philoxène de Mabboug” in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Ascétique et Mystique*, vol. 12 (Paris 1984), 1392–1397.

A. I. Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, tr., Matti Mousa, 2nd Rev. Ed. (Piscataway, N.J. 2003) 262–270 [Originally published in Arabic in 1956].

E. Tisserant, “Philoxène de Mabboug” in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. 12 (Paris 1933) 1509–1532.

J.S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* II (Rome 1719) 10b–46a.

IV. SURVEY OF THE WORKS

ATTRIBUTED TO PHILOXENOS

In this section I have attempted to provide standardized English titles. Already half a century ago, de Halleux had lamented that many of the works of Philoxenos are known by western names (such as the *Tractatus Tres*) that do not reflect how the work was known in the time of Philoxenos or in the manuscript traditions (e.g. The Book of Sentences). My main aim has been to aid those attempting to identify new fragments of Philoxenos in recently catalogued manuscripts. Accordingly, I have whenever possible

attempted to mirror in English the title given in the manuscripts. I also have in preparation, but not ready for publication a list of titles, incipits and variants in Syriac.¹³ In this clavis, when the title in the manuscript has been too incomplete (or occasionally when it has not accurately reflected the nature of the work) I have offered suggestions. To aid in navigating the clavis, each Philoxenian title is also sequentially numbered. Because much of the work in de Halleux's monograph remains essential the corresponding page number in de Halleux is also given with the abbreviation DH. (Unfortunately the works in de Halleux are not given a complete sequential numbering and most of the spuria and dubia are not presented systematically at all. They are offered systematically below after extant and lost works.) Finally, I have retained the order in which de Halleux has presented the works because this will most easily assist the reader in using this clavis in conjunction with de Halleux. I have, however, abandoned the thematic classification of the works as exegetical, dogmatic, and spiritual which de Halleux inherited from Tisserant. As I have argued elsewhere, this distinction adds an artificial division into the holistic vision of churchmanship in Philoxenos' works where he blended the fight against Christological error, the pursuit of asceticism, and the contemplation and interpretation of the Biblical text into a unified spiritual endeavor.

A. EXTANT WORKS AND FRAGMENTS

(1) The Philoxenian New Testament and Bible [DH 115]¹⁴

No copies survive of the translation of the New Testament commissioned by Philoxenos and undertaken by his corepiscopos Polycarp. The history of the Philoxenian has largely been eclipsed by that of the later Harklean version. Identifying fragments of the

¹³ As noted above, this current clavis is an initial draft of an interactive online clavis I am preparing that will eventually collect into a searchable database the Syriac wording for all of the incipits, attributions, and subscriptions related to Philoxenos in the manuscript tradition.

¹⁴ I reiterate my earlier statement that a comprehensive treatment of the scholarship on the Philoxenian New Testament would require a separate clavis, most likely to be done by a Biblical scholar. Instead, I have merely presented the primary and most recent works here and refer the reader to them for further orientation.

Philoxenian has been a contentious topic of scholarly debate. Indeed, references to the Philoxenian in secondary literature made prior to 1981 should be treated cautiously. Since 1981, the problem of the Philoxenian and Harklean has been successfully resolved by S.P. Brock. For which see:

Tjitze Baarda, "The Syriac Versions of the New Testament," in B.D. Ehrman and M.W. Holmes, eds., *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis* (Grand Rapids, Mich. 1995), 97–112.

S.P. Brock, "The Resolution of the Philoxenian/Harklean Problem," in E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee, eds., *New Testament Textual Criticism. Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in honor of Bruce M. Metzger* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 325–343.

Material from the Philoxenian New Testament (collected fragments and an analysis of the reception history) is available in the following works *inter alia*:

J.E. Walters, "The Philoxenian Gospels as Reconstructed from the Writings of Philoxenos of Mabbug," *Hugoye* 13:2 (2010), 57–129.

J.E. Walters, *The Philoxenian Gospels as Reconstructed from the Exegetical Writings of the Philoxenos of Mabbug*, M.A. Thesis, Abilene Christian University (Abilene 2009).

R.B. ter Haar Romeny, "A Philoxenian-Harklean Tradition? Biblical Quotations in Syriac Translations from Greek" in W.J. van Bekkum et al, eds., *Syriac Polemics: Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 170 (Leuven 2007), 59–76.

B. Aland, "Monophysitismus und Schriftauslegung. Der Kommentar zum Matthäus und Lukasevangelium des Philoxenos von Mabbug," in *Unser ganzes Leben Christus unserm Gott überantworten. Studien zur ostkirchlichen Spiritualität. Festschrift von Lilienfeld zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. P. von Hauptmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 142–66.

B. Aland, "Die Philoxenianische-Harklensische Übersetzungstradition," *Le Muséon* 94.3 (1981), 321–83.

S.P. Brock, "Syriac Euthalian Material and the Philoxenian Version of the New-Testament," *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der Älteren Kirche* 70.1 (1979), 120–130.

J. Gwynn, *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible*, 2 vols. (London 1909).

Readers are also advised that the version published as J. White, *Sacrorum evangeliorum, actorum apostolorum et epistolarum tam catholicorum quam paulinarum versio syriaca philoxeniana* (Oxford 1778–1803) is not the Philoxenian but the Harklean version.

There is slight evidence for a version of at least some Old Testament books (Genesis, Exodus, Isaiah and, possibly but less likely, Psalms) to which the name of Philoxenos could be attached, though the authenticity of this attribution remains open to question given the paucity of evidence available. Relevant material (collected fragments and an analysis of the reception history) is available in the following works *inter alia*:

- R.J.V. Heibert, “The Place of the Syriac Versions in the Textual History of the Psalter” in P.W. Flint and P.D. Miller, eds., *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* (Leiden 2005), 505–536.
- R.G. Jenkins, “Quotations from Genesis and Exodus in the Writings of Philoxenos of Mabbug,” *Studia Patristica* 18:4 (1990), 245–248.
- R.G. Jenkins, *The Old Testament Quotations of Philoxenos of Mabbug, CSCO* 514/Subs. 84 (Louvain 1989).
- R.G. Jenkins, “Some Quotations from Isaiah in the Philoxenian Version,” *Abr-Nahrain* 20 (1981–1982), 20–36.

(2) “Memra on the Theoria of the Tree of Life” [DH 126]¹⁵

This letter is preserved in citations by Moses Bar Kepha. Barsoum also reports that it is quoted in a Dayr al-Za‘faran MS (no. 223) containing the works of John of Dara.

Fragments preserved in several MSS, most notably in Moses Bar Kepha’s *On Paradise* in New Haven, Conn., Yale University, Beinecke MS Syriac 10.

¹⁵ Yonatan Moss at Yale University is preparing an edition of these fragments and kindly shared a copy of his work in progress with me. It may also be that an additional fragment is transmitted in Bar Kepha’s “On the Soul,” preserved in Birmingham, University of Birmingham, Mingana Collection, MS Syriac 9, which I was not able to inspect. I was unable to find any fragments in the version of Bar Kepha’s “On the Soul” published as *Moses Bar-Kepha und sein Buch von der Seele*, trans. Oskar Braun (Freiburg 1891). Based on the comments of Barsoum and others it seems likely that as we are able to identify further manuscripts of Bar Kepha they may hold additional Philoxenian citations.

Latin version of the fragments are published in *Commentaria de Paradiso*, ed. A. Masius in J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Graeca*, vol. 111 (Paris, 1863), cols. 479–608, reprinted from A. Masius, *De Paradiso commentarius, scriptus ante anno prope septingentos à Mose Bar-Cepha Syro, episcopo in Beth-Raman, & Beth-Ceno, ac curatorum rerum sacrarum in Moʿal, hoc est Seleucia Parthorum* (Antverpiæ 1569).

Cf. I.A. Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, 2nd Rev. Ed. (Piscataway, N.J. 2003), 269.

(3) “Commentary” [on Matthew and Luke] [DH 128]

This text has been published in two English versions. The critical edition of Watt is preferred due to being both more complete and a true edited text (as opposed to the emended facsimile edition of Fox which is unsatisfactory in its attempt to be simultaneously an accurate facsimile and a critical edition).

Fragments preserved in several MSS, most notably, London, British Library, MS BL Add. 17,126, ff. 1r–10v, 14r–38v.

Facsimile text of MS BL Add. 17,126 with conjectural emendations and English translation published in Douglas J. Fox, *The “Matthew-Luke Commentary” of Philoxenos: Text, Translation, and Critical Analysis* (Missoula, Mont. 1979).

Edited fragments from MS BL Add. 17,126 and other MSS with English translation published as *Fragments of the Commentary on Matthew and Luke*, edited by J. W. Watt, CSCO 392–93 (Louvain 1978).

Edited fragment and German translation published as “Der Sermo des Philoxenos von Mabbug De annuntiatione Dei Genetricis Mariae,” edited by Paul Krüger, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 20, 1–2 (1954), 153–165.

N.B.: Review of these editions and translations in A. de Halleux, “Le Commentaire de Philoxène sur *Matthieu* et *Luc*,” *Le Muséon* 93 (1980), 5–35.

(4) “Commentary” [on the Prologue of John] [DH 150]

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 14,534, ff. 1r–199v and possibly MS BL Add. 17,126, ff. 11–13.

Edited text and French translation of BL Add. 17,126, ff. 11–13 published in A. de Halleux, “Le Commentaire de Philoxène sur *Matthieu* et *Luc*,” *Le Muséon* 93 (1980), 5–35.

(5) “We Believe in the Trinity of One Eternal Nature”
[DH 170]

(6) “Letter to the Emperor Zeno Concerning the Embodiment and Inhomination [Ἰνσάρωσις] of God the Word” [DH 171]

Edited text based on edition of Vaschalde with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., **ܐܬܪܬ ܡܪܝܢܐ (ܡܪܝܢܐ ܡܪܝܢܐ) ܕܥܝܪܐܢ ܡܪܝܢܐ**, *ܐܬܪܬ ܡܪܝܢܐ* (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 193–218.

(7) “Reply When Someone is Asked ‘How Do You Believe?’: My Faith is in the Trinity” [DH 173]

Edited fragment and German translation based on MS BL Add. 14,670
published in P. Krüger, "Philoxeniana inedita," *Oriens Christianus*
48 (1964), 157–161.

Edited text based on MS BL Add. 14,529 published in E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519*, vol. 2 (London 1894), xcvi–xcviii.

¹⁶ While I have attempted to present the salient manuscript citations, the reader is referred to the relevant section in de Halleux for further manuscript documentation.

London, British Library, MS Add. 14,529, ff. 66v–68r (seven chapters).

Edited text and partial English translation of BL MS Add. 14,529 published in E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519*, vol. 2 (London 1894), cxx–cxxiii, xxxvii–xxxix.

(12) [Seven] “Chapters Against Those Who Say that It Is Fitting that the Evil Portion of the Doctrines of the Heretics Should Be Anathematized, But that It Is Not at All Right that They Should Be Rejected with Their Whole Doctrine” [DH 181]¹⁷

London, British Library, MS Add. 14,604, ff. 113ra–115rb.

(13) [Three] “Primary Chapters Against the Heresies that Wage War with the Church” [DH 182]

London, British Library, MS Add. 14,529, f. 69rb–vb.

(14) [Twelve] “Chapters Against Those Who Say Two Natures in Christ and One Person” [DH 183]

London, British Library, MS Add. 14,597, ff. 91rb–98vb.

Fragment in London, British Library, MS Add. 17,201, ff. 14rb–15ra.

Edited text based on MS Add. 14,597 published in E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519*, vol. 2 (London 1894), civ–cxx.

(15) “Twenty Chapters Against Nestorius” [DH 185]

London, British Library, MS Add. 14,597, ff. 98vb–105va.

Edited text and partial English translation published in E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519*, vol. 2 (London 1894), cxxiii–cxxxvi, xxxix–xliv.

(16) “Ten Chapters against those Who Divide Our Lord after His Indivisible Union” [DH 186]

London, British Library, MS Add. 14,597, ff. 105va–107va.

Edited text and summary English translation published in E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519*, vol. 2 (London 1894), c–civ, xxxvi–xxxvii.

(17) “Letter to the Monks on Faith” [DH 189]

Multiple MSS.

¹⁷ Volker Menze and I have prepared a draft edition and translation of this work which we are planning to publish at a future date.

Edited text based on editions of Vaschalde and Graffin with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *ܬܝܬܪܬܐ ܕܡܡܒܘܓܗ* (ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܡܒܘܓܗ) *ܬܝܬܪܬܐ ܕܡܡܒܘܓܗ*, (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 21–64.

Edited text and French translation published in *Sancti Philoxeni Episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo* (*Memre contre Habib*), edited and translated by M. Brière and F. Graffin, PO 41.1. (Turnhout, Belgium 1982), 38–57.

Edited text and English translation published in *Three Letters of Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbugh (485–519): Being the Letter to the Monks, the First Letter to the Monks of Beth-Gaugal, and the Letter to Emperor Zeno*, edited and translated by Arthur Adolphe Vaschalde (Roma 1902), 93–105, 127–45.

(18) [First] “Letter to the Monks of Teleda” [DH 192]¹⁸

Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 136 ff. 3ra–29rb and fragments in other MSS.

Edited text based on edition of Guidi with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *ܬܝܬܪܬܐ ܕܡܡܒܘܓܗ* (ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܡܒܘܓܗ) *ܬܝܬܪܬܐ ܕܡܡܘܨܬܐ*, (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 65–192.

Edited selections from the edition of Guidi and a facsimile of one folio published in H. Gismondi, *Linguae syriacae grammatica et chrestomathia cum glossario scholis accommodata* (Beirut 1900), 130–140, 166.

Edited text based on Vat. Syr. 136 and BL Add. 14,663 with Italian summary published as *La lettera di Filosseno: Ai monaci di Tell'addâ (Teleda)*, *Memoria del socio Ignazio Guidi*, edited by I. Guidi (Roma 1886).

Partial edited text (one folio) from Vat. Syr. 136 published in I. Guidi, “Mundhir III. und die beiden monophysitischen Bischöfe,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 35 (1881), 142–145.

(19) “Letter to the Arzonites” [DH 196]

A fragment cited in Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 135 f. 89ra–b.

¹⁸ I am currently preparing an English translation of this work.

Fragment in multiple MSS.

Edited text based on edition of Vööbus and Nau with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *ما ربيك (كشيتيك كشتا) نأوتو ماأشأله ،تو كشتأوتو* (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 74–80.

French translation based on Paris, Bibliothèque National, MS Syr. 62, f. 218v in F. Nau, "Literature canonique syriaque inédite, I," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 14 (1909), 37–38.

Cf. A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient. A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*, III, CSCO, Subsidia, 81 (Louvain 1988), 123–142, 170–172.

Cf. A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen, I. Westsyrische Originalurkunden I. B*, CSCO, Subsidia, 38 (Louvain 1970), 316–325.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 135 ff. 19vb–23vb.

Edited text based on edition of Vaschalde with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *١١٩٩٩* (١٩٩٩٩٩ ١٩٩٩) *١٩٩٩٩٩* ١٩٩٩٩٩, ١٩٩٩ ١٩٩٩٩٩, (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 219–258.

Edited text and English translation in *Three Letters of Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbogh (485–519): Being the Letter to the Monks, the First Letter to the Monks of Beth-Gaugal, and the Letter to Emperor Zeno*, edited and translated by Arthur Adolphe Vaschalde (Roma 1902), 105–118, 146–162.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 136 ff. 35vb–53rb.

Edited text based on edition of de Halleux with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *١٤١٤* (١٤١٤٠٠ ١٤١٤٠٠) *١٤١٤٠٠* ١٤١٤٠٠, *١٤١٤٠٠*, (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 259–370.

Edited text and French translation published as “La deuxième lettre de Philoxène aux monastères du Beit Gaugal,” edited and translated by André de Halleux, *Le Muséon* 96, 3–4 (1983), 5–79.

(23) “Letter to Abu Ya‘fur” [DH 203]

This text enjoys a contentious secondary literature and a complex manuscript history due to the clear interpolation of a section about the history of the Turks in the text. There are at least three main versions of the text. Given the contentious manuscript history of this text, a full listing of known MSS is given here in the hopes that further work will be done or new copies discovered.¹⁹ Some introduction to the literature and the history of the text are found in the following:

M. Dickens, *Turkāyē: Turkic Peoples in Syriac Literature prior to the Seljuks*, PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2008, 227–236.

S.P. Brock, “Alphonse Mingana and the Letter of Philoxenos to Abu ‘Afr,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 50 (1967), 199–206.

MSS which have been edited:

Beirut, Daroun Harissa, Library of the Syro-Catholic Patriarchate at Sharfeh, MS Rahmani 115 ff. 103v–123v.

Birmingham, University of Birmingham, Mingana Collection, MS Syriac 71, ff. 40r–47r.

London, British Library, MS Add. 14,529, ff. 61ra–65va.

London, British Library, MS Add. 17,134, f. 4v.

London, British Library, MS Add. 17,193, f. 83r–v.

Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS Syr. 59, ff. 105r–113v.

MSS with content unknown:

Beirut, Daroun Harissa, Library of the Syro-Catholic Patriarchate at Sharfeh, MS Rahmani 178, ff. 1v–27r.

Barsoum reports (without a citation) that a manuscript in the Syrian Orthodox patriarchal library (then at Homs) contains the work including the interpolation. He also mentions a connection to a similar Armenian account. This manuscript cannot be identified as among those presently listed in current catalogue (1994) of the patriarchal library in Damascus.

Editions and literature:

Edited text based on editions of Martin, Mingana, and Harb with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., ܠܬܝܠܬܐܝܬܐ

¹⁹ Muriel Debié announced in a presentation at the 2008 Symposium Syriacum in Grenada that she was preparing some of the texts in Sharfeh MS. 178. Mark Dickens has indicated tentative plans for editing the fragments on the Turks pending access to the MSS.

(ܡܐܪܪܝܬ ܣܝܕܢܝܐ) ܕܠܬܝܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܟܝܢܐ ܕܡܒܒܘܓ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ,
(Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 371–428.

Edited text and French translation based on MS Sharfeh 115 published as
"Lettre de Philoxène de Mabbūg au phylarque Abū Ya'fūr de
Hirtā de Bētna'mān (selon le manuscrit no 115 du fond
patriarcat de Šarfet)," edited and translated by Paul Harb, *Melto*
3, 1–2 (1967), 183–222.

Partial edition and partial English translation based on MS John Rylands
59 published in Alphonse Mingana, "The early spread of
Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East: A New
Document," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 9.2 (July, 1925),
343–367.

French translation based on edition of Martin published as "La lettre de
Philoxène à 'Abou-Niphir," translated by J. Tixeront, *Revue de
l'Orient chrétien* 8 (1903), 623–30.

Edited text based on MS British Library 14529 published in P. Martin,
*Syro-chaldaicae institutiones, seu introductio practica ad studium linguae
aramaeae* (Paris 1873), 71–78.

Cf. I.A. Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: The History of Syriac Literature and
Sciences*, 2nd Rev. Ed. (Piscataway, N.J. 2003), 269.

(24) "Letter to the Monks of Palestine on Faith" [DH 208]

London, British Library, MS Add. 14,532, ff. 178va–181vb.

Edited text based on edition of de Halleux with Arabic translation
published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., ܡܐܪܪܝܬ ܣܝܕܢܝܐ
(ܡܐܪܪܝܬ ܣܝܕܢܝܐ) ܕܠܬܝܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܟܝܢܐ ܕܡܒܒܘܓ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ,
(Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 429–456.

Edited text and French translation published in "Nouveaux textes inédits
de Philoxène de Mabbog: I. Lettre aux moines de Palestine --
Lettre Liminaire au Synodicon d'Éphèse," edited and translated
by A. de Halleux, *Le Muséon* 75, 1–2 (1962), 31–62.

(25) "Letter Placed at the Beginning of the Synodicon" [DH 208]

London, British Library, MS Add. 14,533, f. 168r.

Edited text based on edition of de Halleux with Arabic translation
published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., ܡܐܪܪܝܬ ܣܝܕܢܝܐ
(ܡܐܪܪܝܬ ܣܝܕܢܝܐ) ܕܠܬܝܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܟܝܢܐ ܕܡܒܒܘܓ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ,
(Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 457–460.

Edited text and French translation published in "Nouveaux textes inédits
de Philoxène de Mabbog: I. Lettre aux moines de Palestine—

Lettre Liminaire au Synodicon d'Éphèse," edited and translated by André de Halleux. *Le Muséon* 75, 1–2 (1962), 31–62.

(26) "Letter to Abbots Theodore, Mamas, and Severus" [DH 209]²⁰

Fragments in London, British Library, MS Add. 12,155, f. 41ra–b.

Fragments in London, British Library, MS Add. 14,532, f. 8rb.

(27) "Letter Against Flavian of Antioch" [DH 210]

Fragments in London, British Library, MS Add. 12,155, f. 41rb.

Fragments in London, British Library, MS Add. 14,532, ff. 7vb–8ra.

(28) "Letter to the Lector Maron of Anazarbus" [DH 211]

London, British Library, MS Add. 14,726, ff. 19v–24v.

Edited text based on edition of Lebon with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *ⲓⲛⲁⲣⲉⲧⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲣⲓⲃⲟⲥ* (ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲣⲓⲃⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲛⲁⲛⲁⲣⲓⲃⲟⲥ), (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 461–522.

Edited text and Latin translation published in "Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug," edited and translated by J. Lebon. *Le Muséon* 43, 1–2 (1930), 17–84.

(29) "Letter to the Scholasticus Uranius" [ⲓⲣⲁⲛⲓⲱⲥ] [DH 214]

Single fragment preserved in multiple MSS.

(30) "Letter to John the Arab" [DH 216]

Single fragment preserved in multiple MSS.

(31) "Second letter to the Monks of Teleda" [DH 217, cf. 188]

De Halleux has identified a series of fragments as a second letter to the Monks of Teleda. It should be noted that the document identified by Assemani as the Second Letter to the Monks of Teleda is in fact the Letter to the Monks on Faith (no. 17 *supra*).

Multiple fragments preserved in anti-Julianist MSS, most notably in London, British Library, MS Add. 14,529, ff. 14vb–15va.

(32) "Letter to the Monks in Defense of Dioscorus, that He Canonically Received Eutyches" [DH 220]

Fragment preserved in London, British Library, MS Add. 12,155, f. 163ra.

²⁰ I am in the process of collecting most of the smaller fragments identified in the clavis and plan to publish them with an English translation.

Edited text based on edition of Lebon with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *ܡܬܪܬܝܡܐ ܕܡܬܪܬܝܡܐ ܕܡܬܪܬܝܡܐ* (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 523–528.

Edited text and Latin translation published in “Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug,” edited and translated by J. Lebon. *Le Muséon* 43, 1–2 (1930), 57, 83–83.

(33) “Letter on the Monks of the Orient” or “Letter on the Economy of the Church” [DH 220]

Six fragments preserved with varying titles in London, British Library, MS Add. 14,533, ff. 50ra–52ra, 169vb–170ra, 184rb.

Edited text based on edition of Lebon and de Halleux with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *ܡܬܪܬܝܡܐ ܕܡܬܪܬܝܡܐ ܕܡܬܪܬܝܡܐ* (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 35–73.

3 fragments edited with French translation published as “Lettre aux moines orthodoxes d'Orient” in “Nouveaux textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug: II. Lettre aux moines d'orient,” edited and translated by André de Halleux, *Le Muséon* 76 (1963), 5–26.

3 fragments edited with Latin translation published in “Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug,” edited and translated by J. Lebon, *Le Muséon* 43, 1–2 (1930), 175–220.

(34) “Letter on Ecclesiastical Affairs to Simeon, Abbot of Teleda” [DH 222]

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 14,533, ff. 48va–50ra.

Edited text based on edition of Lebon with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *ܡܬܪܬܝܡܐ ܕܡܬܪܬܝܡܐ ܕܡܬܪܬܝܡܐ* (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 3–34.

Edited text and Latin translation published in “Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug,” edited and translated by J. Lebon, *Le Muséon* 43, 3–4 (1930), 167–193.

Partial edited text and Latin translation published in J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme Sévérien* (Louvain 1909), B1–4 [553–555].

(35) “Letter to the Monks of Senun” [DH 223]

Inter alia this text is notable for the patristic florilegium embedded in the middle of the text (see pp. 32–51 of the edition below).

Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 136, ff. 58vb–130vb.

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 14,597, ff. 35vb–91ra.

Edited text based on edition of de Halleux with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., **ܠܐ ܢܚܝܠܐ (ܢܚܝܠܐ ܢܚܝܠܐ) ܕܢܚܝܠܐ ܕܢܚܝܠܐ** (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 81–354.

Edited text and French translation based on both MSS published as *Lettre aux moines de Senoun*, edited by André de Halleux, CSCO 231–32 (Louvain 1963).

Partial French translation of MS BL 14597 published as “Lettre de Nestorius aux habitants de Constantinople, d’après Philoxène de Mabboug,” in F. Nau, ed. and trans., *Nestorius: Le Livre d’Héraclide de Damas, traduit en français, suivi du texte grec des trois homélies de Nestorius sur les tentations de Notre-Seigneur et de trois appendices: Lettre à Cosme, présents envoyés d’Alexandrie, lettre de Nestorius aux habitants de Constantinople* (Paris 1910), 370–373.

(36) “Volume” [ܠܚܝܠܐ] [against Habib] [DH 225]

This volume, preserved in multiple MSS but primarily MS BL Add. 12,164 and Vat. Syr. 138, contains several works which together document a debate between Philoxenos and a dyophysite monk, Habib. The individual works are:

(36a) [Ten Memre against Habib]

Memre against Habib (I–II): edited text and Latin translation published as *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo*, edited and translated by Maurice Brière, PO 15.4 (Turnhout, Belgium 1920).

Memre against Habib (III–V): edited text and Latin translation published as *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo*, edited and translated by M. Brière and F. Graffin, PO 38.3 (Turnhout, Belgium 1977).

Memre against Habib (VI–VIII): edited text and French translation published as *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo*, edited and translated by M. Brière and F. Graffin, PO 39.4 (Turnhout, Belgium 1979).

Memre against Habib (IX–X): edited text and French translation published as *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo*, edited and translated by M. Brière and F. Graffin, PO 40.2. (Turnhout, Belgium 1980).

(36b) [Chapters of Habib] or “Mamlla of the Adversary”

This text is a selection of quotations from Habib’s *Mamlla* compiled by Philoxenos and interspersed with critical comments.

Edited text and French translation published in *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo (Memre contre Habib)*, edited and translated by M. Brière and F. Graffin, PO 41.1.186 (Turnhout, Belgium 1982), 5–33.

(36c) [Brief Refutation]

The chapters are followed by a brief refutation by Philoxenos.

Edited text and French translation published in *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo (Memre contre Habib)*, edited and translated by M. Brière and F. Graffin, PO 41.1.186 (Turnhout, Belgium 1982), 32–37.

(36d) “Letter to the Monks on Faith” [same as no. 17 *supra*]

The volume then includes the *Letter to the Monks on Faith* as the occasion for Habib’s *Mamlla*.

Edited text and French translation published in *Sancti Philoxeni Episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo (Memre contre Habib)*, edited and translated by M. Brière and F. Graffin, PO 41.1. (Turnhout, Belgium 1982), 38–57.

(36e) “Testimonies Written by the Fathers” [Florilegium]

The volume concludes with a lengthy *Florilegium* compiled by Philoxenos.

Complete edited text and French translation published in *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo (Memre contre Habib)*, edited and translated by M. Brière and F. Graffin, PO 41.1.186 (Turnhout, Belgium 1982), 58–129.

Many of the citations of the florilegium were published in piecemeal fashion according to attribution in various earlier publications. Partial edited text and French translation (for the citations of Ephrem) published with commentary and bibliography concerning previous partial editions in F. Graffin, “Le florilège patristique de Philoxène de Mabbog,” in I. Ortiz de Urbina, ed., *Symposium Syriacum, 1972* (Roma 1974), 267–290.

(37) “Memra on the Hymn Holy Art Thou God” [On the Trisagion] [DH 238]

Three fragments preserved in multiple anti-Julianist MSS.

(38) “The Book of Sentences” [DH 240]

Primarily preserved in Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 137.

Edited fragment and German translation based on MS BL Add. 14,670 published in Edited text and German translation published in P. Krüger, “Philoxeniana inedita,” *Oriens Christianus* 48 (1964), 161–162. [The hypothesis that this fragment belongs to the Book of Sentences is that of de Halleux not Krüger.]

Short excerpt translated into English in W.A. Wigram, *The Separation of the Monophysites* (London 1923), 202–203.

Edited text and Latin translation based on MS Vat. Syr. 137 published as *Tractatus tres de trinitate et incarnatione*, edited and translated by Arthur Adolphe Vaschalde, CSCO 9–10. (Louvain 1907).

(39) “Memre on the Inhomination [ܡܡܪܐ ܕܝܢܗܘܡܝܢܐ]” [DH 246]

Thirteen fragments preserved in multiple anti-Julianist MSS.

(40) “Refutation against the Synod of Chalcedon” [249]

Three fragments preserved in four MSS.

Edited text and English translation of one fragment published in E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Discourses of Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519*, vol. 2 (London 1894), xcvi–xcix, xxxiii–xxxvi.

(41) “On Faith” [Fragment] [DH 251]

Preserved in London, British Library, MS BL Add. 17,206, ff. 30v–33r.

(42) [Fragment without Title, no. 1] [DH 251]

Preserved in London, British Library, MS BL Add. 12,155, f. 161rb.

(43) [Fragment without Title, no. 2] [DH 251]

Preserved in Birmingham, University of Birmingham, Mingana Collection, MS Syriac 37, f. 4v.

(44) “Letter to Patricius Edessene Monk” [DH 254]

This work exists in two Syriac recensions (long and short) in multiple MSS and also circulated in a Greek version (of the shorter recension) as a work attributed to Isaac of Nineveh. While the shorter Syriac version has been included in the apparatus of critical editions it remains unpublished as an integral text.²¹

²¹ Emmanuel Papoutsakis has mentioned that he may prepare an edition.

Edited Greek of shorter recension text published in A. Mai, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, vol. 8 (Rome 1871), 157–187.

Textual emendations published in T. Jansma, "Philoxenos' Letter to Abraham and Orestes Concerning Stephen Bar Sudaili: Some

(48) “Letter to a Scholasticus Having Become a Monk” [DH 266]

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 12,167, ff. 278ra–282vb.

French translation published as “Une Lettre inedite de Philoxène de Mabboug à un avocat, devenu moine, tenté par Satan,” edited and translated by François Graffin, *L'Orient Syrien* 5,2 (1960), 183–96.

(49) “Letter to Recluse Brothers” [DH 267]

Three fragments in three MS.

(50) [On Prayer] [DH 268]

Three fragments with attribution but without a title. P. Bettolo has convincingly demonstrated that the third fragment is actually from John the Solitary. S.P. Brock has suggested that the attribution of the other two fragments to Philoxenos be retained only with a measure of uncertainty.

Three fragments in London, British Library, MS BL Add. 12,167, ff. 182va–184vb.

English translation of two fragments published as “Excerpt on Prayer [Nos. 3 and 4]” in *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, translated by Sebastian Brock (Kalamazoo, Mich. 1987), 129–131. Syriac version published in S. Brock, ܠܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ (Glane-Losser, Holland 1988) [*non vid.*].

Edited text and Italian translation of all three fragments published in P. Bettolo, “Sulla preghiera: Filosseno o Giovanni?” *Le Muséon* 94 (1981), 75–89.

(51) “Memra on the Faith through Questions” [DH 276]

Fragments preserved in multiple MSS.

Edited text based on edition of Assemani and Tanghe with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., ܡܡܪܐ ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ (ܡܡܪܐ ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ) ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ, (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 295–360.

English translation based on edition of Tanghe published as “On the Indwelling of the Holy Spirit” in *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, translated by Sebastian Brock (Kalamazoo, Mich. 1987), 106–127. Syriac version published in S. Brock, ܠܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܬܝܠܥܝܬܐ (Glane/Losser 1988), [*non vid.*]. English translation partially reprinted in S.P. Brock, *Spirituality in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Kottayam 2005) 129–131.

Edition and French translation of a fragment from MS BL Add. 17,193 published as “Memra de Philoxène de Mabboug sur l’inhabitation du Saint Esprit,” edited and translated by Antoine Tanghe, *Le Muséon* 73, 3–4 (1960), 39–71.

Partial edition and Latin translation of a fragment from MS Borgia Syr. 10 published in S.-E. and J.-S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae apostolicae vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, vol. 2 (Rome 1759), 349–350.

(52) “On He Who Willingly Transgresses the Prohibition of Priests” [DH 279]

Single fragment preserved in Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 126 f. 391vb–392rc.

(53) “Discourses” [DH 280, cf. 276]²²

This work has the most extensive manuscript tree of any of Philoxenos’ works.²³ One discourse circulated in Melkite monasteries under the name of Gregory of Nyssa. It also survives in an Arabic version. De Halleux also assigns to the “Discourses” several fragments which Budge has published as fragments of separate works.²⁴

Arabic translation published in H. Aho, trans., *Ṭariq al-kamāl / Filūksīnūs al-Manbajī* (Damascus 2008) [*non vidī*].

Revised French translation published as Philoxène de Mabboug, *Homélies*, translated by Eugène Lemoine, nouvelle édition revue par René Lavenant, S.J., SC 44 bis (Paris 2007).

Partial Finnish translation published in S. Seppälä, *Kerubin silmin. Luostareissa, luolissa, erämaissa ja pylväillä kilvoitelleiden syrialaisen askeettien historiaa* (Helsinki 2002), 277–281, 294–295, 296, 300–301, 312 [*non vidī*].

²² R.A. Kitchen is nearing completion of new English translation of the Discourses.

²³ Readers are referred to de Halleux for the manuscript evidence and also to the discussion of discourse 11 in a palimpsest in S.P. Brock, “Notulae syriacae: Some Miscellaneous Identifications,” *Le Muséon* 108:1–2 (1995), 69–78.

²⁴ Pinggéra and Kessel mention in their bibliography (vide infra) a vocalized edition based on Budge’s edition: K. Budaq, et al., eds, *ܬܪܝܩ ܐܠ ܟܡܐܠ ܕܦܝܠܟܨܝܢܘܨ ܕܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܒܒܘܓ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ ܕܡܕܢܚܐ*. (2008) [*non vidī*].

An edition and translation of an abbreviated version of Discourse 9 attributed to Gregory of Nyssa published in M.F.G. Parmentier, “Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa’s Homily on Poverty,” *ARAM* 5 (1993), 401–426.

A photostatic reprint of the edition of Budge with Arabic introduction published as *Ṭariq al-kamal / allafabu bi-al-lughah al-Suryāniyah Filūksinūs al-Manbajī* (Baghdad 1978) [*non vidī*].

French translation published as Philoxène de Mabboug, *Homélies*, translated by Eugène Lemoine, SC 44 (Paris 1956).

Edited text and English translation published as *The Discourses of Philoxenos, Bishop of Mabbôgh, A.D. 485–519*, edited and translated by E.A. Wallis Budge, 2 Vols. (London 1894).

Edited text of Discourses 5 and 10 (“On Simplicity” and “On the Lust of the Belly” published in J.E. Manna, ed., *Morceaux choisis de littérature araméenne*, vol. 2 (Mosul 1901), ܡܕܬܐ–ܡܕܬܐ.

German translation of “On Faith” published in F.W.A. Baethgen, “Philoxenos von Mabug über den Glauben,” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 5.1 (1882), 122–138.

Fragments found in an Arabic manuscript of *Der-el-Sūryān*, are published in Anba Samuel, ed., *Al-’abā’ al-hādiqūn fī l-’ibāda*, vol. 1, (Egypt, 1951¹/1972²/ 2005³) [*non vidī*].

Cf. the following review articles:

R.A. Kitchen, review of Lemoine, E. and Lavenant, R., trans., *Philoxène de Mabboug. Homélies* (1956 and 2007), *Hugoye* 13:1 (2010), 65–73.

T. Jansma, review of E. Lemoine, trans., *Philoxène de Mabboug. Homélies* (1956), *Vigiliae Christianae* 12:4 (1958), 233–237.

I. Hausherr, “Spiritualité syrienne: Philoxène de Mabboug en version française,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 23.1 (1957), 171–185.

(54) “Familiar Mamlla to the Brothers Concerning Stillness which is in the Service and Order of the Monastery” [DH 288–90]

Fragments preserved in multiple MSS.

Edition and French translation published C. Moulin Paliard, *Un Mamllō sur le recueillement inédit du V^e siècle*, Diplôme l’École Pratique des Hautes Études Sciences Religieuses, Paris, 2005 [*non vidī*].

(55) [Fragments on Prayer Humility and Penance] [DH 288–290]

Two fragments preserved in multiple MSS.

Edition of one fragment from on MS BL Add. 14,582 published in S. Brock, ܠܬܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ (Glance-Losser, Holland 1988), 80 [*non vidi*].

English translation of one fragment from MS BL Add. 14,582 published as “Excerpt on Prayer” in *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life*, translated by Sebastian Brock (Kalamazoo, Mich. 1987), 128.

(56) “On the Council of Chalcedon” [no reference in DH]

Two fragments preserved in two MSS. One fragment in Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Syriac 38, ff. 111v–121v remains unpublished.

French translation in A. de Halleux, “Un fragment philoxénien inédit de polémique anti-chalcédonienne,” in W.C. Delsman et al., eds., *Von Kanaan bis Kerala: Festschrift für Prof. Mag. Dr. J.P.M. van der Ploeg O.P. zur Vollendung des siebzigsten Lebensjahres am 4. Juli 1979 überreicht von Kollegen, Freunden und Schülern* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982), 431–441.

(57) “Letter to John Sa’ara [ܝܫܥܝܐ ܫܥܝܐ] of Amida” [DH 188]

Brief quotations preserved in the *vita* by Elia of Qartamin (*vita* “b” *supra*) and the anonymous “Victory of Mar Aksnoy” (see above).

Cf. A. de Halleux, ed., *Éli de Qartmin: Memra sur S. Mar Philoxène de Mabbog*, CSCO 100–101 (Louvain 1963), textus 9–10.

Cf. S.P. Brock, “Tash’ita de-Mar Aksnaya,” *Qolo Suryoyo* 110 (July/Aug 1996), 246.

B. LOST WORKS

(58) [Letter to the Isaurian Bishops Rejecting Strictness (ܠܬܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ)] [DH 188]

Severus of Antioch, in a letter to the presbyters at Alexandria (no. 39) mentions that Philoxenos had written to the Isaurian bishops rejecting their demands for purging the names of heretics from the diptychs.

Cf. Severus of Antioch, *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch: From Numerous Syriac Manuscripts*, edited and translated by E.W. Brooks, *Patrologia Orientalis* 12 (Paris 1919), 296.

(59) “Letter to Beronikios [ܒܪܢܝܟܝܘܨ], Abbot of Beth Mar Hanina” [DH 188]

The chronicle of Pseudo-Zacharias mentions that Philoxenos wrote from exile to a certain Beronikios, Abbot of Beth Mar Hanina.

Cf. E.W. Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae rhetori vulgo adscripta*, CSCO 84 and 88 (Louvain 1921 and 1953), 81, 56.

Cf. S.P. Brock, “St Aninas/Mar Hanina and his monastery,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 124 (2006), 5–10 [non-vid].

(60) [Earlier Letter to the Monks of Beth Gogal] [DH 188]

In his Second Letter to the Monks of Beth Gogal (no. 22 *supra*), Philoxenos refers to an earlier letter which he wrote to them. Based on Philoxenos’ description, De Halleux concluded that this earlier letter is separate from the other extant letter to the monks of Beth Gogal (First Letter to the Monks of Beth Gogal, no. 21 *supra*). This third or “earlier” letter is now lost.

Cf. A. de Halleux, “La deuxième lettre de Philoxène aux monastères du Beit Gaugal,” edited and translated by André de Halleux, *Le Muséon* 96, 3–4 (1983), 9–10, 28–29.

(61) “Letter to Eustorgius [ܐܘܨܬܘܪܓܝܘܨ]” [DH 253]

Mentioned as a work of Philoxenos in the life of Simeon of Qartamin.

Cf. F. Nau, “Notice historique sur le monastère de Qartâmin” in *Actes du XIV Congrès international des Orientalistes*, vol. 2 (Paris 1906), 45, 83.

(62) [Letters to the Sons of Gurzan [ܩܘܪܙܢ] and the People of Inner Persia] [no reference in DH].

Mentioned as a work or works of Philoxenos in the “Victory of Mar Aksnoy” (see above).

Cf. S.P. Brock, “Tash’ita de-Mar Aksnaya,” *Qolo Suryoyo* 110 (July/Aug 1996), 246.

Cf. I.A. Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, 2nd Rev. Ed. (Piscataway, N.J. 2003), 268.

C. DUBIOUS AND SPURIOUS WORKS

(63*) [Iconoclastic Fragments] [DH 88]

At the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, Philoxenos and Severus of Antioch were charged as iconoclasts on the testimony of various church historians. De Halleux strongly rejected the validity of this charge on several grounds: the lack of such sentiments in Philoxenos' extant works, the prejudice of the council against miaphysites, and the fact that all of the testimonies were ultimately reliant on the now lost work of Theodore Lector. De Halleux preferred to instead attribute Philoxenos' opposition to the use of dove imagery as part of an effort to avoid syncretism with the worship of Atargatis in Syria. While admitting that the evidence from the council is suspect, Glenn Peers has subsequently argued for a more nuanced reading of Philoxenos's Christology as having a "fundamental suspicion of images." For further literature see: G. Peers, *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium* (Berkeley 2001), 71 ff.

Two of the fragments charging iconoclasm are translated in C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Toronto 1986), 43–44.

(64*) "Mamlla of Faith Concerning that Simon [Peter] Said Jesus of Nazareth was a Man from God. Spoken against Those Who Think that Jesus and Christ are the Names of a Man Who Came Down from God and Do Not Think that God Became Man" [DH 162]

A fragment of this work is reported by Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1721), 45 as being preserved on a now illegible folio of MS Vat. Syr 136. De Halleux has questioned whether it should be viewed as a separate work due to lack of manuscript evidence other than Assemani. De Halleux suggests it may have been a fragment of the Memra Against Habib.

(65*) "Disputation with One of the Learned Nestorians Concerning the Fact that the God of Our Lord Jesus Christ is the Father of Glory" [DH 163]

De Halleux questioned the authenticity of this short work on the grounds of genre and style and the anti-Julianist learnings of the text. If these elements are Philoxenian, he suggests that at the least they have been redacted.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 135 ff. 71va–77rb.

(66*) “Natural [حسّ] Disputation of Nestorians and Orthodox” [DH 164]

This anonymous work is not attributed to Philoxenos but is preserved in a manuscript composed primarily of Philoxenian texts. Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 135 ff. 77rb–80va.

(67*) “A Dialogue between the Church and Nestorius” [DH 165]

This acephalous and fragmentary text is attributed to Philoxenos but its inconsistencies with the rest of Philoxenos’ works have been noted by de Halleux.

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 14,534, ff. 9–20.

(68*) “We believe in the Confession of One True God” [DH 177]

De Halleux noted that the wide variation and anachronisms in the versions of this text indicate that it cannot be strictly attributed to Philoxenos at least in the extant versions.

Preserved in multiple MSS and recensions.

Edited text and English translation based on a Mor Gabriel MS in Edip Aydin, *The Christological Thought of Philoxenos of Mabbug in Reaction to the Council of Chalcedon* (London: Bachelor of Divinity Thesis, Heythrop College, University of London, 1995), 11–13.

(69*) “[Lost] Letter to Himyarites” [DH 188]

The anonymous “Victory of Mar Aksnoy” (see above) attributes a letter to the Himyarites to Philoxenos. De Halleux rightly points out that this is mostly likely a reference to a letter of Simeon of Beth Arsham. Barsoum’s description of the letter as “a letter to the Himyarite Christians during the adversity inflicted on them by Masruq the Jewish King because of their Christianity” fits this interpretation of de Halleux. Nevertheless, since no such letter is extant no further conclusions can be drawn. Philoxenos did, however, ordain the first two bishops of Najran, however, so the existence of a letter to the Himyarites which may have been confused with the later letter of Simeon is possible.

Cf. S.P. Brock, “Tash’ita de-Mar Aksnaya,” *Qolo Suryoyo* 110 (July/Aug 1996), 246.

Cf. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran: New Documents*, Subsidia Hagiographica (Bruxelles 1971), 238, 271, *et passim*.

Cf. I.A. Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, 2nd Rev. Ed. (Piscataway, N.J. 2003), 269.

(70*) [On the Turks] [DH 203]

In the Letter to Abu Ya‘fur (no. 23 *supra*), an interpolated section on the Turks has been attributed to Philoxenos. See discussion above.

(71*) “Mamlla against Nestorians and Eutychians” [DH 224]

A fragment of this work is reported by Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1721), 45 as being preserved on a now illegible folio of MS Vat. Syr 136. De Halleux has questioned whether it should be viewed as a separated work due to lack of manuscript evidence other than Assemani. De Halleux suggests it may have been a fragment of the Book of Sentences.

(72*) “Letter Sent to a Friend...Concerning the Three Steps” [DH 269]

This work is repeatedly attributed to Philoxenos in the manuscript tradition. A small fragment also circulated as a prayer attributed to Philoxenos (see 78j* below). In the last half century, however, scholars—led by Paul Harb—have increasingly questioned its authorship. It has now been firmly determined to be the work of Joseph of Hazzaya. While the text has become central to the study of Joseph it did not play a similar position in modern scholarship on Philoxenos and thus the reassignment of authorship has not significantly affected existing interpretations of Philoxenos’ theology. Moreover, many of the Evagrian themes of the letter have parallels in the authentic works of Philoxenos. Nevertheless, it should be noted that works before the 1960s will usually have taken this work to be Philoxenian.

Relevant information on history of interpretation of the text and a critical edition with French translation is published as Joseph Hazzaya, *Lettre sur les trois étapes de la vie monastique*, eds. P. Harb and F. Graffin, PO 45.2 (Brepols, 1992).

A significant article on the attribution is P. Harb, “Faut-il restituer à Joseph Hazzaya la *Lettre sur les trois degres de la vie monastique* attribuée à Philoxène de Mabboug?” *Melto* 4.2 (1968), 13–36.

A French translation, apparently independent of the previous edition of Olinder, published as “La Lettre de Philoxène de Mabboug à un

supérieur de monstère sur la vie monastique,” translated by F. Graffin, *L'Orient Syrien* 6.1–2 (1961), 317–352, 455–486.

A facsimile edition based on MS BL Add. 17,262 and collated with two other MSS is published as “A Letter of Philoxenos of Mabbug Sent to a Friend,” edited and translated by G. Olinder in *Acta Universitatis Gotoborgensis, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift*, vol. LVI (1950), i–63.

(73*) “Exhortation of Mar Philoxenos” [DH 275]

De Halleux has identified that this work is actually letter no. 28 in the letters of Jacob of Sarug. Cf. G. Olinder, ed. *Iacobi Sarugensis epistulae quotquot supersunt*, CSCO 110 (Louvain 1937), 229.

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 17,206, ff. 54r–59r.

(74*) [Works of Pseudo-Nilus] [DH 275]

Although no examples are extant which pseudonymously substitute Philoxenos as the author of the works of Pseudo-Nilus, de Halleux has identified at least two scribal notes which suggest that this may have been the view of some medieval readers.

(75*) [Fragments on Virgins and Tonsure] [DH 290]

De Halleux notes that these fragments are too short to be authenticated.

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 14,613, f. 141v.

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 17,193, f. 83v.

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 17,215, f. 43r.

(76*) “Concerning a Departed Brother” [DH 290]

Attributed to Philoxenos but attested only in one manuscript and considered among the *dubia* by de Halleux on stylistic grounds.

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 14,520, ff. 123v–125r.

(77*) “Commentary of Filekseyus” or “Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers” [DH 291]

Philoxenos is commemorated in the Ethiopian Church as one of three ascetic doctors. The work which circulated widely in Ge‘ez under the name of Filekseyus is actually Dadisho Qatraya’s commentary on Palladius. For further information see W. Witakowski “Filekseyus, the Ethiopic version of the Syriac Dadisho Qatraya’s Commentary on the Paradise of the Fathers,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 59:1 (2006), 281–296.

(78*) Prayers [DH 293–302]

A substantial amount of liturgical material is attributed to Philoxenos. Many of these items do not yet have a critical edition and this is an area wide open for further scholarship. The general consensus from de Halleux to the present is that these works are generally later than Philoxenos, a conclusion supported by the date of the extant copies and the fact that some of the same items can be found attributed to other authors. De Halleux concludes that while some may be drawing on Philoxenian phrases and themes, the evidence has been so heavily redacted that authentication of Philoxenian elements is no longer possible. As indicated above, a comprehensive *clavis* to the liturgical works of Philoxenos cannot be written until further manuscript research has been done. At present, Roger Akhrass is beginning to collect and edit these texts. Further work in this area is the greatest desiderata with regard to unedited material in the Philoxenian and Pseudo-Philoxenian corpus. Several of prayers attributed to Philoxenos have been published in Y.I. Çiçek, ed., *ܩܝܠܝܬܐ (ܩܝܠܝܬܐ) ܕܩܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܩܝܠܝܬܐ* (Glane-Losser, Holland 1993), 3–4, 32–34, 42–43, 61–64, 80–81, 104–118, 134–135 [*non videt*] and reprinted with an Arabic translations in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *ܩܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܩܝܠܝܬܐ (ܩܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܩܝܠܝܬܐ) ܕܩܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܩܝܠܝܬܐ*, (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007). See below for individual items.²⁵

(78a*) “To you I pray at this time in fear...” [Eucharistic Prayer I] [DH 295]

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 17,125, f. 78r.

(78b*) “I carry you, living God...” [Eucharistic Prayer II] [DH 295]

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 14,529, f. 16v–17r.

London, British Library, MS BL Add. 17,125, f. 78r.

An edition and English translation published as A. Cody, “An Instruction of Philoxenos of Mabbug on Gestures and Prayer when One Receives Communion in the Hand, with a History of the Manner of Receiving the Eucharistic Bread in the West Syrian

²⁵ I am grateful to Roger Akhrass who assisted me in preparing this section including improving my translations of the titles and who, along with Sebastian Brock, provided citations for the texts published by Çiçek to which I did not have access.

(78c*) “Great love unceasing...” [Penitential Prayer] [DH 296]

Multiple MSS, but most completely in London, British Library, MS BL Add. 14,621, f. 160vb–164rb.

Multiple MSS.

Text previously published in Y.I. Çiçek, ed., (ꠘꠞꠦꠤ) ꠕꠞꠦꠤ ꠕꠞꠦꠤ
ꠕꠞ ꠕꠞꠦ ꠕꠞꠦꠤ (Glane-Losser, Holland 1993), 61–64 [*non*
vidi].

Multiple MSS.

Text previously published in Y.I. Çiçek, ed., (ᲔᲗᲚᲘᲗ) ᲕᲗᲚᲘ ᲕᲗᲗᲗ
ᲕᲗᲗᲗ ᲕᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗᲗ (Glane-Losser, Holland 1993), 104–118
[*non vid.*].

Multiple MSS.

Text previously published in Y.I. Çiçek, ed., (Լուսա Լոսսեր Լուսա Լոսսեր) (Glane-Losser, Holland 1993), 3–4 [*non vidit*].

Multiple MSS.

Edition based on the edition of Çiçek with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bayhaqī* (Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bayhaqī) (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 374–375, 380–381.

Text previously published in Y.I. Çiçek, ed., (ꠘꠞꠦꠤ) ꠕꠞꠦꠤ ꠕꠞꠦꠤ
ꠕꠞ ꠕꠞꠦ ꠕꠞꠦꠤ (Glane-Losser, Holland 1993), 32–24, 80–
81 [*non vidi*].

Edition based on the edition of Çiçek with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *መላእክቱ ስላሴ ሥላሴ ሥላሴ (ጸሐፊዋ ጸሐፊ) ላይካላ*, (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 376–377.

Text previously published in Y.I. Çiçek, ed., (ꠘꠞꠞꠞ) ꠘꠞꠞ ꠘꠞꠞꠞ ꠘꠞꠞ ꠘꠞꠞ ꠘꠞꠞꠞꠞ (Glane-Losser, Holland 1993), 42–43 [*non
vidi*].

Edition based on the edition of Çiçek with Arabic translation published in
R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *መላእክቱ ነገሥት ሥላሴ*
(*ጸሐፊዋ ጸሐፊ*) ላይ (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 400–401.

Text previously published in Y.I. Çiçek, ed., (ꠄꠤꠌꠟ ꠘꠗꠒꠦ ꠘꠕꠁꠞꠏ ꠘꠔꠂꠊꠎ ꠘꠙꠋꠗꠚꠏ) (Glane-Losser, Holland 1993), 134–135 [non vid].

This text is actually an excerpt taken from Joseph Hazzayas' "Letter Sent to a Friend...Concerning the Three Steps" a text noted above (see no. 72*) to often have been attributed to Philoxenos.

Birmingham, University of Birmingham, Mingana Collection, MS Syriac
480, ff. 15v.

Vatican City, BAV, MS Vat. Syr. 58 f. 72r–v.

Edition based on the published editions of the “Letter Sent to a Friend...
 Concerning the Three Steps” (listed under 72* above) with
 Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans.,
 (ܡܬܬܢܐ ܠܬܝܕܒܐ) ܠܬܝܕܒܐ ܡܬܬܢܐ ܠܬܝܕܒܐ, ܬܝܕܒܐ ܬܝܕܒܐ,
 (Ma‘arret Saidnaya 2007), 402–403.

(79*) Ma'nitha on the Nativity of Our Lord [No Reference in DH]

Mentioned without citation in I.A. Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, 2nd Rev. Ed. (Piscataway, N.J. 2003), 266.

(80*) Short Baptismal *Ordo* [DH 303]

Edited text of an order of baptism based on edition of Assemani and additional manuscripts with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *ܡܬܢܗ ܕܡܬܢܗ ܕܡܬܢܗ* (ܡܬܢܗ ܕܡܬܢܗ) *ܡܬܢܗ ܕܡܬܢܗ*, (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 407–414.

The epiklesis is published based on the edition of Assemani in S.P. Brock, "The Epiklesis in the Antiochene Baptismal *Ordines*," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 197 (1974), 183–218.

Edited text of an order of baptism with and Latin translation published in J.A. Assemani, *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae*, vol. 2 (Rome 1749), 307–309 and reprinted in H. Denzinger, *Ritus orientalium*, vol. 1 (Wurzburger 1863), 318.

(81*) Anaphorae [DH 305]

Three anaphorae are attributed to Philoxenos (enumerated I, II, and III here). Only Anaphora I has been published in Syriac.

A. Raes provides manuscript details in A. Raes, ed., *Anaphorae syriacae*, I.i (Rome 1939), v–xlix and idem, *Introductio in liturgiam orientalem* (Rome 1947) [*non vid.*].

Cf. I.A. Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls: The History of Syriac Literature and Sciences*, 2nd Rev. Ed. (Piscataway, N.J. 2003), 266.

Edited text of Anaphora I based on the edition of Çiçek and Yeshu' with Arabic translation published in R.-Y. Akhrass, ed. and trans., *ܡܬܢܗ ܕܡܬܢܗ ܕܡܬܢܗ* (ܡܬܢܗ ܕܡܬܢܗ) *ܡܬܢܗ ܕܡܬܢܗ ܕܡܬܢܗ*, (Ma'arret Saidnaya 2007), 415–448.

Edited text of Anaphora I based on edition of Çiçek with English translation published in A.Y. Samuel, ed., *Anaphoras: The Book of the Divine Liturgies* (Teaneck/Lodi, N.J. 1991), 383–406 [*non vid.*]. The English translation is also online: <http://sor.cua.edu/Liturgy/Anaphora/Philoxenos.html>.

V. STUDIES AND MENTION IN SELECTED GENERAL WORKS

A. Monographs with extended treatment of Philoxenos²⁸

- J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien: Étude historique, littéraire et théologique sur la résistance monophysite au Concile de Chalcédoine jusqu'à la constitution de l'Église jacobite* (Louvain 1909).
- G. Zuntz, *The Ancestry of the Harklean New Testament*, British Academy Supplemental Papers (London 1945).
- A. Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, CSCO Subsidia (Louvain 1951).
- . *Early Versions of the New Testament, Manuscripts Studies* (Stockholm, 1954).
- A. Guillaumont, *Les 'Kephalai Gnostica' d'Évagre le Pontique et l'histoire de l'origénisme chez les Grecs et chez les Syriens* (Paris 1962).
- A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog: Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie* (Louvain 1963).
- I. Yacoub III, *Mysteries in the struggle of Saint Philoxenos of Mabboug* (Damascus 1970) [in Arabic, *non vid.*].
- W. Strothmann, *Johannes von Apamea* (Berlin 1972).
- R.C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies: Severus of Antioch, Philoxenos of Mabbug, and Jacob of Sarug* (Oxford 1976).
- D.J. Fox, *The "Matthew-Luke Commentary" of Philoxenos: Text, Translation, and Critical Analysis* (Missoula, Mont. 1979).
- J. Martikainen, *Gerechtigkeit und Güte Gottes: Studien zur Theologie von Ephraem dem Syrer und Philoxenos von Mabbug* (Wiesbaden 1981).
- G. Lardreau, *Discours philosophique et discours spirituel: autour de la philosophie spirituelle de Philoxène de Mabboug* (Paris 1985).
- S.P. Brock and M.A. Mathai, *Philoxenos of Mabbug*, Seeri Correspondence Course on Syrian Christian Heritage (Kottayam, India 1989).
- R.J.V. Hiebert, *The "Syrobexaplaric" Psalter* (Atlanta 1989).
- R.G. Jenkins, *The Old Testament Quotations of Philoxenos of Mabbug*, CSCO Subsidia (Louvain, 1989).

²⁸ The following monographs have been included because they make significant mention of Philoxenos. As the decision as to what constitutes a "significant" reference to Philoxenos is subjective, I have erred on the side of inclusion so the reference to Philoxenos in some of the works below may not be central to the main themes of the work in question.

- Anba Bishoy, *Saint Philoxenos bishop of Mabboug, His biography, Sayings and Writings*, (Egypt, 1999) [in Arabic, *non vidē*].
- J. Hatem, *La Gloire de l'Un: Philoxène de Mabboug et Laurent de la Résurrection* (Paris 2003).
- D. King, *The Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril of Alexandria: A Study in Translation Technique* (Leuven 2008).
- F. Alpi, *La route royale: Sévère d'Antioche et les églises d'Orient (512–518)*, 2 vols. (Beyrouth, 2009).

B. Monographs with mention of Philoxenos

- J.B. Chabot, *De S. Isaaci Ninivite vita, scriptis et doctrina* (Paris 1892).
- J. Gwynn, *The Apocalypse of St. John, in a Syriac version hitherto unknown* (Dublin 1897).
- . *Remnants of the Later Syriac Versions of the Bible*, 2 vols. (London 1909).
- De L. O'Leary, *The Syriac Church and Fathers* (London 1909).
- W.A. Wigram, *The Separation of the Monophysites* (London 1923).
- R. Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ. Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale, suivie des fragments dogmatiques de Julien* (Louvain 1924).
- P. Charanis, *The Religious Policy of Anastasius I: Emperor of the Later Roman Empire, 491–518* (Madison, Wisc. 1935).
- W. de Vries S.J., *Sakramententheologie bei den syrischen Monophysiten* (Rome 1940).
- R. Devreesse, *Le Patriarcat d'Antioche; Depuis la paix de l'Eglise jusqu' à la conquête arabe* (Paris 1945).
- F.S. Marsh, *The Book of the Holy Hierotheos Ascribed to Stephen Bar-Sudbaile (c500 A.D.) with Extracts from the Prolegomena and Commentary of Theodosios of Antioch and From the "Book of Excerpts" and Other Works of Gregory Bar-Hebraeus* (London 1949).
- E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire. Tome II: De la disparition de l'empire de l'occident à la mort de Justinien (467–565)* (Paris 1949).
- E. Honigsmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle*, CSCO Subsidia (Louvain 1951).
- W. de Vries S.J., *Der Kirchenbegriff der von Rom getrennten Syrer* (Rome 1955) [*non vidē*].
- A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East*, 3 vols., CSCO Subsidia (Louvain 1958).

- I. Hausherr, *Hétychisme et prière*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 176 (Rome 1966) [*non vidi*].
- I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran: New Documents*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* (Bruxelles 1971).
- E.P. Siman, *L'Expérience de l'esprit par l'Église d'après la tradition syrienne d'Antioche* (Paris 1971).
- W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement: Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries* (Cambridge 1972).
- J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Crestwood, N.Y. 1975).
- B.M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford 1977).
- P.T.R. Gray, *The defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553)* (Leiden 1979).
- E. Klum-Böhmer, *Das Trishagion als Versöhnungsformel der Christenheit: Kontroverstheologie im V. und VI. Jahrhundert* (München 1979).
- L. Sako, *Le rôle de la hiérarchie syriaque orientale dans les rapports diplomatiques entre la perse et Byzance aux V^e–VI^e siècles* (Paris, 1986).
- G. Florovsky, *The Byzantine Fathers of the Sixth to Eighth Century* (Vaduz 1987).
- P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York 1988).
- S.P. Brock, *Spirituality in the Syriac Tradition*, 1st ed. (Kottayam, India 1989).
- _____. *The Bible in the Syriac tradition*, 1st ed. (Kottayam, India 1989).
- J. Meyendorff, *Imperial Unity and Christian Divisions: The Church, 450–680 A.D.* (Crestwood, N.Y. 1989).
- I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century* (Washington, D.C. 1989).
- B. Varghese, *Les Onctions baptismales dans la tradition syrienne*, CSCO Subsidia (Louvain 1989).
- A. Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Tur Abdin* (Cambridge 1990).
- B. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge 1991).
- C. Stewart, *'Working the Earth of the Heart': The Messalian Controversy in History, Texts, and Language to AD 431* (Oxford 1991).
- T. Merton and L. Cunningham, *Thomas Merton, Spiritual Master: The Essential Writings* (New York 1992).
- S.H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia: Beginnings to 1500* ([San Francisco] 1992).

- K. McDonnell and G.T. Montague, *Christian Initiation and Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Evidence from the First Eight Centuries*, 2nd edition (Collegeville, Minnesota 1994).
- S.P. Brock, *The Holy Spirit in the Syrian Baptismal Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Pune, India 1998).
- K. Fitschen, *Messalianismus und Antimessalianismus. Ein Beispiel ostkirchlicher Ketzer Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1998).
- H. O. Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church: Volume 2, The Patristic Age* (Grand Rapids, Mich. 1998).
- P. Escolan, *Monachisme et Église. Le monachisme syrien du IV^e au VII^e siècle* (Paris 1999).
- T. Kollamparampil, *Salvation in Christ According to Jacob of Serugh* (Bangalore 2001).
- M.J. Panicker, *The Person of Jesus Christ in the Writings of Juhanon Gregorius Abu'l Faraj Commonly called Bar Ebraya* (Münster, 2002).
- K. Pinggéra, *All-Erlösung und All-Einheit. Studien zum 'Buch des heiligen Hierotheos' und seiner Rezeption in der syrisch-orthodoxen Theologie* (Würzburg, 2002) [*non-vidi*].
- J.-E. Steppa, *John Rufus and the World Vision of Anti-Chalcedonian Culture*, Gorgias Dissertations (Piscataway 2002).
- E. Kaniyamparampil, *The Spirit of Life: A Study of the Holy Spirit in the Early Syriac Tradition* (Kottayam, India 2003).
- C.A. Karim, *Symbols of the Cross in the Writings of the Early Syriac Fathers* (Piscataway N.J, 2004).
- S.P. Brock, *Spirituality in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Kottayam, India 2005).
- A.H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and Christian Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Philadelphia 2006).
- P. Blaudeau, *Alexandrie et Constantinople, 451–491: De l'histoire à la géo-ecclesiologie* (Rome 2006).
- S.P. Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd ed. (Piscataway, N.J. 2006).
- F.K. Harrer, *Anastasius I: Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World* (Cambridge 2006).
- C.B. Horn, *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian* (Oxford 2006).
- T. Merton, *Pre-Benedictine Monasticism: Initiation into the Monastic Tradition 2* (Kalamazoo, Mich. 2006).
- S.P. Brock, *Studies in Syriac Spirituality* (Bangalore 2008).

- B. Colless, *The Wisdom of the Pearlers: An Anthology of Syriac Christian Mysticism* (Kalamazoo, Mich. 2008).
- V. Menze, *Justinian and the Making of the Syrian Orthodox Church* (Oxford, 2008).
- V. Menze and K. Akalin, *John of Tella's "Profession of Faith"* (Piscataway, N.J. 2009).

C. Unpublished dissertations and theses²⁹

- E. Bergsträsser, *Monophysitismus und Paulustradition bei Philoxenos von Mabbug*, Th.D. dissertation, Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1953.
- P. Harb, *La vie spirituelle selon Philoxène de Mabbug*, Ph.D. dissertation, L'Université de Strasbourg, 1968.
- R.A. Kitchen, *The Just and Perfect in the Ascetical Homilies of Philoxenos of Mabbug and the Liber Graduum*, M.A. thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1978.
- M. Mattathil, *The Christology of Philoxenos of Mabbug Mainly Based on His Ten Discourses against Habib*, Ph.D. thesis, Pontifical Oriental Institute 1984.
- E. Sleman, *Devenir de Dieu et devenir des hommes selon Philoxène de Mabbug*, Mémoire de maîtrise en Théologie, Institut catholique de Paris, 1988 [*non vidī*].
- E.[H.E. Mor Polycarpus] Aydin, *The Christological Thought of Philoxenos of Mabbug in Reaction to the Council of Chalcedon*, Bachelor of Divinity thesis, Heythrop College, University of London, 1995.
- R.A. Kitchen, *The Development of the Status of Perfection in Early Syriac Asceticism, with Special Reference to the Liber Graduum and Philoxenos of Mabbug*, D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1997.
- A.-M. Saadi, *Mosbe bar Kepha's Commentary on Luke: A Ninth Century Apology*, Ph.D. dissertation, Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1999.
- G. Kourie, *Η τριαδολογία του Φιλόξενου Ιεραπόλεως και η χριστολογική της διάσταση* [Trinitarian Theology and its Christological Dimension, according to Philoxenos of Mabboug], master's thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2005 [*non vidī*].

²⁹ Dissertations or theses that have subsequently been published as monographs have been excluded since the monographs are cited in the preceding section.

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