

THE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY FROM TURFAN: SYR HT 41-42-43 AN EARLY EXEMPLAR OF THE *HUDRĀ*¹

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ABSTRACT

Syr HT 41-42-43 are three bifolia from the Hudrā (on the Annunciation and the Nativity) that are part of the archive of Syriac fragments forming the Christian Library at Turfan. Dated to the twelfth century, the bifolia are amongst the earliest exemplars of the

¹ The author extends particular thanks to Dr. Sebastian Brock and Mr. Steven Ring for their advice and assistance in reading the translations and supplying information on the biblical quotations. She also thanks His Grace, Mar Awa Royel of the Assyrian Church of the East (Modesto, California) for his identification of the contents of MIK III/45. Any shortcomings in this article are entirely the author's responsibility.

² The author is grateful to the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz for access and permission to reproduce images of the relevant fragments. All images are copyright *Depositum der Berlin Brandenburgischer Akademie der Wissenschaften in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung*. Low resolution images of the Syr HT signature numbers are available on the International Dunhuang Project website (<http://id.bl.uk/> enter the signature number in the search box).

Ḥudrā. Their text exhibits many differences from the later sixteenth century manuscripts that formed the basis of the printed editions of the Ḥudrā and sheds insight onto the transmission of the early East Syrian liturgical tradition at a time when the division between the Ḥudrā and Gaṣṣā had not yet taken place.

The first decades of the twentieth century saw the ‘great cultural game’ played out by various European powers at Turfan, an oasis located approximately 150 km SE of Urumqi, now in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Province, western China. N.N. Krotkov, the Russian consul at Urumqi, sent back 97 Syriac-script fragments that are currently housed in the *Institute for Oriental Studies* at St. Petersburg.³ The *German Turfan Expedition* made the largest acquisitions between 1902-1914 when four campaigns, led by Albert von le Coq and Albert Grünwedel, gathered manuscripts, wall paintings and artefacts. These expeditions brought back more than 40,000 manuscripts in an astonishing range of languages and scripts to Berlin, where they are still housed in various repositories.⁴ The majority of the fragments were either Manichaean or Buddhist in content, reflecting the two major religions practised during the Uighur kingdom at Qocho that was established in the Turfan oasis (c. 860-1284).⁵ However, over a thousand fragments found during the 2nd season (November 1904-December 1905) at the monastery site of Shuipang, near Bulayiq, also attest a Christian presence.

³ For further details see E. N. Mescherskaya, “The Syriac Fragments in the N. N. Krotkov Collection” in *Turfan, Khotan Und Dunhuang* (Berlin, Akademie Verlag: 1996) ed. Ronald E. Emmerick *et al.*, 221-7.

⁴ For further details about these expeditions see Albert von le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan*, trans. Anna Barwell (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd: 1928) also Mary Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichaean Script in the German Turfan Collection* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 45), (Berlin, Akademie Verlag: 1960): ix-xxvii.

⁵ The manuscripts have been divided between various repositories in Berlin: the *Staatsbibliothek* (Potsdamer Platz); the *Museum für Asiatische Kunst* in Dahlem and the *Turfanforschung*, which is in the headquarters of the BBAW (*Berlin-Brandenburg Akademie der Wissenschaften*).

Von le Coq had visited the site at Shuipang but Theodor Bartus made the actual manuscript discoveries. Commenting on these, von le Coq wrote in *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturken*: “er hat...in dem schauerlich zerstörten Gemäuer eine fabelhafte Ausbeute christlicher Handschriften ausbegraben” (he excavated... in the extremely ruined walls an amazing Christian manuscript”).⁶ No further details were supplied; von le Coq documented various interesting manuscripts that Bartus had unearthed. These included a complete Psalter written in Pahlavi, a Middle Turkic translation of the George legend and a Sogdian account of the visit of the Magi to Christ. The latter, like many of the Sogdian fragments which were found, was written in “einer Abart der nestorianischen Estrangeloschrift” (a derivation of the Nestorian Estrangeloscript).⁷ Other Christian texts in Sogdian included: a fragment of the Nicene creed, part of the Gospel of Matthew and excerpts from the finding of the ‘true’ cross by Empress Helena.⁸ Von le Coq also made special mention of a leaf, written in Sogdian, with a line of Greek, that he claimed dated from the 9th century.⁹ In contrast to these details regarding the Sogdian material, his only comment about the hundreds of Syriac fragments that were unearthed was: “[e]ndlich wurden zahlreiche liturgische und andere Handschriften der Nestorianer in syrischer Sprache und Schrift gefunden” (finally numerous liturgical and other manuscripts of the Nestorians in Syriac speech and script were found).¹⁰

The more than a thousand fragments written in Syriac-script span various language families and in doing so reflect the linguistic diversity of the Sogdian and Turkic-speaking communities that

⁶ Albert von le Coq, *Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan* (Leipzig: 1926), 88.

⁷ Von le Coq, 88.

⁸ Von le Coq, 88. See Nicholas Sims-Williams, *Iranian Manuscripts in Syriac Script in the Berlin Turfan Collection* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2012) (Mitteliranische Handschriften Teil IV) in the series, *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* [Band XVIII.4] 59 for E17 (Nicene Creed), 22-3 for E1 (Gospel of Matthew) and 74-5 for E24 (cross legend).

⁹ Von le Coq, 88. This will be published in the forthcoming catalogue of fragments in Sogdian script by Christiane Reck.

¹⁰ Von le Coq, 88.

were settled at Turfan.¹¹ 519 fragments are Syriac; 550 are Sogdian, with smaller quantities of Uighur (52), New Persian (3) and Middle Persian/Pahlavi (1) fragments. A few Syriac fragments were also found at several other sites in the Turfan oasis (Astana, Qocho, Qurutqa and Toyoq) as well as at Dunhuang and at Kara-khoto. Collectively assembled, the fragments provide graphic testimony of the Church of the East's widespread dissemination throughout western China and Mongolia.¹² The quantity of fragments—ranging in size from postage stamps to complete bifolia—that was found at Shuipang can be considered to be exceptional. Although there are no complete Syriac manuscripts, with a consequent absence of colophon information, the fragments may be given an overall dating between the 9th–13th centuries, corresponding to the period of the Uighur kingdom of Qocho.¹³

The quantity of material that was found at Shuipang indicates a significant monastic library belonging to the East Syrian tradition. A handful of fragments may have been Melkite in origin (a community arrived in Transoxiana in 762, establishing their base at Tashkent), but the overwhelming majority of the 519 Syriac fragments clearly pertain to the Church of the East.¹⁴ The

¹¹ Nicholas Sims-Williams, "Sogdian and Turkish Christians in the Turfan and Tun-huang manuscripts," in *Turfan and Tun-huang, the Texts. Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route*. (Firenze, Leo S. Olschki: 1992). Ed. A. Cadonna, 43–58.

¹² For Christian materials from Dunhuang, see Nicholas Sims-Williams and James Hamilton, *Documents Turco-Sogdiens du IXe-Xe siècle de Touen-houang* (Corpus Inscriptorum Iranicarum, Part II, Vol. III) (London, School of Oriental and African Studies: 1990), 51–61, 63–76. On the Christian finds from Kara-khoto, see N. Pigoulewsky, "Fragments Syriaques et Syro-turcs de Hara-Hoto et de Tourfan," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 30 (1935–1936): 3–46; Peter Zieme, "A Cup of Cold Water," in Jingjiao: *The Church of the East in China and Central Asia* (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 2006) eds. Roman Malek and Peter Hofrichter, 341–45.

¹³ Dating issues re the Turfan fragments are still being determined, however this period corresponds to the Uighur kingdom of Qocho when it is thought that the majority were produced. Meshcherskaya 226 considers that the Krotkov manuscripts can be confidently placed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

¹⁴ Nicholas Sims-Williams, "Christianity iii. In Central Asia and Chinese Turkestan," *Encyclopedia Iranica* (Cose Mesa, California: Mazda),

fragments embrace a broad range of genres. Much of the Syriac material is either liturgical or biblical,¹⁵ the former including many texts from the *Hudrā*, the latter including bilingual Psalters with alternating Syriac-Sogdian text.¹⁶ There are smaller numbers of prayer-amulets, some naming specific saints, including Mar Tamsis,¹⁷ as well as calendrical texts, which were used to calculate the dates of Lent and Easter.¹⁸ A few miscellaneous fragments

ed. Ehsan Yarshater, vol. V, 531.. Sims-Williams suggests that two fragments: a Sogdian Psalter with Greek headlines and the draft letter mentioning Byzantine dignitaries might have emanated from the Melkite communities or, at least contact with them. See also Werner Sundermann, "Byzanz und Bulayiq," in *Iranian and Indo-European Studies: Memorial Volume of Otakar Klima* (Praha: Enigma Corp., 1994) ed. Petr Vavroušek, 255-64 for possible connections between Turfan and Byzantine Christianity.

¹⁵ Some of the Syriac liturgical fragments include rubric instructions in Sogdian to the priest. See Sebastian P. Brock and Nicholas Sims-Williams, "An early fragment from the East Syriac baptismal service from Turfan," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 77:1 (2011) 81-92.

¹⁶ Mark Dickens, "The Importance of the Psalter at Turfan." *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, University of Salzburg, June 7-9, 2009. Münster et. al.: Lit. Verlag, Ed. D.W. Winkler and Li Tang (forthcoming).

¹⁷ The prayer-amulets address disease and illness generically, but more specific terms are cited: Syr HT 206 (T II B66 No. 58 = 1779) includes ܡܠܚܢܐ "melancholy" (the Greek loan-word μελαγχολία) in the listing ܐܒܪܗܡܐ ܐܕܡܐ ܐܕܡܐ ܐܕܡܐ ܐܕܡܐ "illnesses, diseases, fevers and seizures" which were to be removed from the person on whose behalf the text was written. Occasionally, the appellation of the saint in whose name the prayer-amulet was written has survived, viz: Mar Tamsis. See the forthcoming article by Erica C D Hunter, "Traversing Time and Location: A Prayer-Amulet to Mar Tamsis from Turfan" in "The Importance of the Psalter at Turfan." *Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Church of the East in China and Central Asia*, University of Salzburg, June 7-9, 2009. Münster et. al.: Lit. Verlag, Ed. D.W. Winkler and Li Tang (forthcoming). The physical size of the fragments indicates that many came from pocket-sized handbooks.

¹⁸ See the article on the Syriac and Sogdian calendrical fragments by Mark Dickens and Nicholas Sims Williams, with contributions by Thomas A, Carlson and Christiane Reck, "Christian Calendrical Fragments from Turfan" in *Living the Lunar Calendar. Proceedings of the Conference at the Bible*

include pharma-ceutical recipes for the restoration of hair loss,¹⁹ a draft letter to a Byzantine official as well as a dialogue between a Christian and a Jew that discusses the Trinity.²⁰ Surprisingly, only a couple of hagiographies are written in Syriac; notably of Bar Shabba, who brought Christianity to Merv from Mesopotamia and an unknown legend of Mar George.²¹ This small number contrasts with the many extant Sogdian exemplars, all of which were translations from Syriac originals that include the lives of Serapion and John of Dailam.²² Distinguished by their known provenance, the 519 Syriac fragments from a unique archive from ‘the easternmost library of the Church of the East’.

The Turfan oasis, on the northern edge of the Tarim basin, was on the middle branch of the Silk Route that led to the Tang imperial capital where Alopen introduced Christianity in 635.²³ The monastery might have been just one of a concatenation of institutions belonging to the Church of the East that spanned the vast distance from the patriarchate in Baghdad to Chang’an (Xian). Whether it supported large-scale proselytising programmes as happened at Merv and other important centres such as Samarkand and Kashgar, or merely served the local populations is difficult to

Lands Museum Jerusalem (Calendars and Years 3; Oxford: Oxbow Books), eds. J. Ben-Dov *et. al.*, 269-96.

¹⁹ See Miklós Maróth, ‘Ein Fragment eines syrischen pharmazeutischen Rezeptbuches,’ in *Altorientalische Forschungen* (1984) v. 11, 115-125; also Nicholas Sims-Williams, ‘Early New Persian in Syriac script: Two texts from Turfan’ in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 74/3 (2011) 353-74. Another new fragment has recently been identified: Syr HT 388 forms an exact join with the upper part of Syr HT 1.

²⁰ This fragment is currently being prepared for publication by Miklós Maróth.

²¹ Miklós Maróth, ‘Eine unbekannte Version der Georgios-Legende aus Turfan,’ *Altorientalische Forschungen* 18 (1985) 86-108.

²² For the lives of John of Dailam and Serapion, see the E26 entries (formerly known as C3) in Sims-Williams, *Iranian Manuscripts in Syriac Script in the Berlin Turfan Collection*, 80 sqq. Syriac counterparts to the Sogdian text include a West Syrian prose life (Harvard syr. 38 ff. 175a-186b) and an East Syrian panegyric (Cambridge Add. 2020).

²³ Glen L. Thompson, ‘Was Alopen a “Missionary”?’ in *Hidden Treasures and Intercultural Encounters. Studies on East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia*, (Mayr-Melnhof Institut für den Christlichen Osten, Salzburg; 2009) edited by Dietmar W. Winkler and Li Tang, 267-78.

ascertain.²⁴ Likewise, the dates for the monastery's foundation remain elusive, as are the reasons for its decline and eventual closure, although archaeological excavation of the site might yield some answers to these questions. The monastery may still have been functioning in the mid-13th century, in spite of the Mongol advances.²⁵ The 14th century might be considered to be the *terminus ad quem*²⁶ for, as Meshcherskaya has pointed out; “[w]ith the rise of Chinese nationalism and the ascendancy of the Ming dynasty, Christianity declined”.²⁷ Whatever the circumstances surrounding the monastery's demise in the medieval period, the fragments from Turfan show that the heritage of the ‘mother church’ in Mesopotamia was robustly upheld, not the least through the Syriac liturgy.

THE SYRIAC LITURGICAL FRAGMENTS FROM TURFAN: THE FINDINGS OF SACHAU AND ENGBERDING

An estimated 190 of the 519 Syriac fragments come from the Hudrā, the principal liturgical book of the Church of the East that contained “the variable chants of the choir for the divine office and the Mass for the entire cycle of the liturgical year”.²⁸ Regrettably no complete version of the Hudrā has survived at Turfan, but more than 21 individual exemplars have been identified on the basis of palaeographic and text-formatting criteria. Whilst many are only represented by dislocated fragments, others consist of complete bifolia. Since the discoveries in 1905, publication of the fragments has been very sparse and sporadic. However the distinguished

²⁴ Erica C.D. Hunter, “The Church of the East in Central Asia” in *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 78:3 (1996) 135-40 for activities at Samarkand and Kashgar.

²⁵ The Church of the East counted adherents amongst female members of the Mongol royal family and some senior military figures in the Mongol army, including General Kitbuqa. See Erica C.D. Hunter, “The conversion of the Kerait to Christianity in A.D. 1007”, *Zentralasiatische Studien* 22 (1989/1991) 146-7.

²⁶ Several Mongol loan-words that occur in Uighur manuscripts are considered to indicate 14th century usage. The author thanks Peter Zieme (Berlin) for this information.

²⁷ Meshcherskaya, 226.

²⁸ W. Macomber, “A List of the Known Manuscripts of the Chaldean Hudra,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* XXXVI:1 (1970) 120.

am inclined to maintain that it is older).³⁵ Noting the palaeographic similarities that B-26 exhibited with British Library Add. 12138, described by William Wright as ‘Nestorian’, Engberding discretely drew attention, in a footnote, to Sachau’s divergent designation,³⁶ which stated, “Estrangelo mittlerer Zeit, ohne irgendwelche Besonderheiten” (Estrangelo from the middle period, without any particular characteristics).³⁷ Engberding released a translation of the five opening leaves, together with a physical description that noted details such as the no. of lines (28-29), the restricted use of diacritics and the occurrence of marginalia, but did not transcribe the Syriac text.³⁸ Discussing the contents of fol. 1v-6v, that came from an old East Syrian ‘Request and Atonement Liturgy’ but one that was not identical with the Rogation of the Ninevites, Engberding wrote “[i]ch kenne keinen Ritus in der ostsyrischen Liturgie, welcher sich mit unserem Ritus vergleichen liesse” (I know of no rite in the East Syrian liturgy that permits comparison with our rite).³⁹

Recent cataloguing by the ‘Christian Library from Turfan’ project has now identified the following contents of MIK III/45:

- fol. 7r-13r = anomalous Office for Mar Barshabba, Mart Shir and Mart Zarwandokht
- fol. 13r = anomalous Office for Mar Sergius and Mar Bacchus
- fol. 18r = reference to an anomalous Commemoration of the Catholicoi
- fol. 19r = reference to four offices with liturgical anomalies: 1) Common Vigil of all the Saints; 2) Feast of our Lady Mary; 3) Feast of St. John the Baptist; 4) Commemoration of the Solitaries
- fol. 21r = excipit of material that is specifically from the Ḥudrā (here called the penqīthō)

³⁵ Engberding, 123. For details of B.L. Add 12138 see, William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum: acquired since 1838*, 3 vols. (London, Trustees of the British Museum: 1870-2), v. I, 101-108.

³⁶ Engberding 123, n. 8 where he stated, “Eduard Sachau dem in Anm.2 angeführten Aufsatz beigegeben hat, einen ganz anderen Charakter auf” (Eduard Sachau gave...an entirely different description).


³⁷ Sachau, 973.

³⁸ Engberding, 122.

³⁹ Engberding, 144.

- fol. 21r-27v = rite for the consecration of an altar (now found in the Priest's Manual)
- fol. 33r-43v = rite of burial for laymen, clergy and monastics
- fol. 43v-51v = metrical homilies to be used for the burial office
- fol. 52v = catalogue of priestly collects to be recited during the burial office

Engberding already pointed out the uniqueness of some of the contents of B-26 (MIK III/45) and also noted that the five folios that he published included significant variant readings and textual discrepancies with the printed editions of the *Ḥudrā* that are based on sixteenth century exemplars.⁴⁰

B-55, a manuscript that consisted of 18 bifolia, was also published by Sachau in his 1905 article. He transliterated the text of 1 folio, noting that it was “ein Stück eines nestorianischen Kirchenbuchs” (a piece of a Nestorian churchbook) and identified the contents as comprising the end of the Eucharistic chants for Christmas and the beginning of the vesper chants for the feast of Mary.⁴¹ Sachau pointed out the similarities between B-55 and Ms. Orient.fol. 620, a codex in the *Königlichen Bibliothek* in Berlin with the title  that was written in the Upper Monastery of Mar Gabriel, near Mosul in 1537.⁴² On this basis, he effectively identified B-55 as coming from the Beth Gazzā ‘Thesaurus’, i.e. the chants for the nocturnal offices of commemorations and feast days.⁴³ However, Sachau commented, quoting George Percy Badger, in his catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts in the erstwhile *Königlichen Bibliothek* in Berlin, that Ms. Or. Fol. 620 “[l]ike the

⁴⁰ Notably the editions by P. Bedjan, *Breviarium iuxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium id est Chaldaeorum*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1886-7; repr. Rome: 1938), T. Darmo, *Ktāba dā-Qdam wad-Batar wad-Ḥudra wad-Kashkol wad-Gazza w-Qala d-Udrane ‘am Ktāba d-Mazmure*, 3 vols. (Trichur: 1960-1962).

⁴¹ Sachau, 966.

⁴² Sachau, 967. E. Sachau, *Verzeichniss der Syrischen handschriften der königlichen bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, Asher: 1899) 159-163 for the entry of this manuscript, with colophon details on 163. For further information on the monastery, see Joseph Habbi, *The Upper Monastery and the al-Tabira Church* [Arabic] (Mosul: 1969) 8. My thanks extend to His Grace, Mar Awa for this reference.

⁴³ Sachau, 966.

Khudhra...comprises anthems, hymns and collects".⁴⁴ In doing so, he indicated the difficulty of distinguishing between the Ḥudrā and the Beth Gazzā that only become separate entities sometime in the medieval period. With this in mind, Anton Baumstark considered that that leaf of B-55 might be from the Ḥudrā which also included the chants for feast-days.⁴⁵ Engberding also expressed this opinion, but regrettably could not examine B-55 for by his time the manuscript had already been lost, presumably in the vicissitudes which befell Berlin during WWII.⁴⁶ Sachau's publication, together with the translation of Saeki who described the work as "a sheet detached from a Nestorian Church Service Book, and contains a part of the Church Hymnal to be sung on Christmas Day",⁴⁷ now provide the only record of this manuscript, dated to the 9th or 10th century.⁴⁸

The Annunciation and Nativity also formed the subject-matter of B-7, the third Syriac text, published by Sachau.⁴⁹ Comprising 6 leaves (3 bifolia; each folio measures approx. 20.2 cm x 14.5 cm), B-7 is housed in the *Staatsbibliothek* under the allocated signature numbers Syr HT 41, Syr HT 42 and Syr HT 43.⁵⁰ Sachau provided a full transcription of the Syriac text of the two leaves on Syr HT 41, side (b), together with translations of excerpts of text which he described as forming part of a collection of 'Kirchenlieder' (church-songs) for Christmas.⁵¹ An English translation was

⁴⁴ Sachau (1899), 159 quoting G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their rituals*, 2 vols. (London, J. Masters: 1852) v. II, 23.

⁴⁵ A. Baumstark, "Die christlich-literarischen Turfan-Funde," *Oriens Christianus* n.S., 3 (1913) 330. As an example, he cited Add. 1981, in the University Library, Cambridge. See William Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts preserved in the library of the University Library, Cambridge, with an introduction and appendix by Stanley Arthur Cook*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 1901) v. 1, 163-193.

⁴⁶ Engberding, 124 and A. Baumstark, "Die christlich-literarischen Turfan-Funde," *Oriens Christianus* n.S., 3 (1913) 330. He drew attention to Add. 1981 in the University Library, Cambridge.

⁴⁷ Saeki, 334.

⁴⁸ Sachau, 966.

⁴⁹ Sachau, 967-970.

⁵⁰ The individual signature numbers were allocated when each bifolium was glassed up.

⁵¹ Sachau, 969-970 corresponding to Syr HT 41 side (b), right ll. 4 – 7, ll. 16-20; Syr HT 41 side (b), left ll. 4-16.

Estrangelo, jünger als in Blatt I und Blat III” (the script is a very young form of Estrangelo, younger than in Leaf 1 and Leaf III (i.e. B-5 and B-26 respectively).⁵⁸

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF SYR HT 41-42-43 (B-7)

A full transcription and translation of Syr HT 41-42-43 (B-7) is now offered; highlighted grey text indicates parallels with volume 1 of the 1960 Darmoo edition of the *Ḥudrā*.

Textual variants are given in the footnotes that supply references both to the Syriac pagination in the header and the English pagination in the lower margin of the *Ḥudrā*.⁵⁹

Loss and tearing of the upper parts of the bifolia has resulted in the loss of the upper margin and upper lines of each leaf as well as internal textual lacunae.

Parallels to the Peshitta text and ancient readings of the New Testament quotations are supplied in the footnotes.

SIGLA:

Syriac Transliteration	English Translation
<u>ⲓⲛ</u> = rubric Syriac text	<u>but</u> = translation of rubrics
[...] = hiatus in Syriac text	[...] = hiatus in translation
[ⲓⲛ] = reconstructed Syriac text	[but] = reconstructed text
{ⲓⲛ} = Syriac text out of sequence	{but} = text out of sequence
	<but> = extrapolation of text
	but? = uncertain translation
	(but) = text indicated to be deleted

⁵⁸ Sachau, 969.

⁵⁹ All references are to the 1960 ‘Darmoo edition of the *Ḥudrā* that is entitled, ܬܒܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܐ “The Book of Before and After and the Hudra and the Kashkul (prayers) and the Gazza and the tunes of the collects, together with the Psalter.” Pages are cited according to the Syriac numerals (that appear in the upper header), accompanied by the English pagination (which occurs in the footer) in square brackets.

I: Syr HT 41 side (a), right folio

1 מִלֵּוֹ * [מִלֵּוֹ] * שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר [וְ] חֵטְא, [וְ] *
2 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים [] וְלִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ הָיָה
3 הַיְיָ לְפָנָיו הָיָה לֵב הָאֵל לִפְנֵי הָאֵל וְלִפְנֵי הָאֵל
4 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים
5 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים
6 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים
7 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים⁶⁰
8 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים⁶¹
9 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים⁶²
10 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים⁶³
11 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים
12 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים⁶⁴ חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים⁶⁶ חֲכָמִים
13 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים⁶⁷ חֲכָמִים⁶⁸
14 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים
15 חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים חֲכָמִים⁶⁹ חֲכָמִים⁷⁰

⁶⁰ Read *κθις*

⁶¹ Read **ጸሐፊው**

⁶² Read [ʔɑ]-~~ʔɑ~~?

⁶³ Read *الحلم*

⁶⁴ Cf. *Ḥudrā*, v. I **ملأ ملأ** ll. 1 – 3 [English pagination: 149-50] =

Syr HT 41 (a), right side, ll. 12 – 15.

⁶⁵ Abbreviation for κis

⁶⁶ Hudrā, v. I last line

⁶⁷ Hudrā, v. I **ملح** l. 1 **صالح**

⁶⁸ Hudrā, v. I هذرا l. 1 هذرا

ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ 16

ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ 17

ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ 18

ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ 19

- l. 1 they possess ❖ [In it] ❖ He manifested...
- l. 2 your star on high...of your birth. The Magi on earth
- l. 3 worshipped your honour. And as for us, may we hold you honourably.
- l. 4 Oh Lord, Our God. Peace on high and harmony in the depth.
- l. 5 The watchers proclaimed at the birth of the Son and the good hope
- l. 6 and the salvation for every nation. ❖ Praise the Lord from the end.
- l. 7 Blessed is Christ who on the day of His birth, filled Creation <with>
- l. 8 peace and harmony, bestowing hope unto the highest and the lowest.
- l. 9 May you praise. Blessed is the Eternal One. Proclamation. Our adored? God.
- l. 10 The fourth Sitting.⁷³ They minister. From 'Blessed are they' ❖ up to ❖ forever.
- l. 11 David ❖ Anthem. Chant ❖ We profess you ❖ Who is he?
- l. 12 Who is like you? Who suffices to thank you, Our Creator, on account of ourselves
- l. 13 for your loving kindness. In the beginning,
- l. 14 you established us in the honoured image and, at the last, clothed us and restored us

⁶⁹ Ḥudrā, v. I ܠܗ ll. 18 – 22 [English pagination: 155] = Syr HT 41 (a), right side, ll. 16 – 19.

⁷⁰ Ḥudrā, v. I ܠܗ ll. 18 + ܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ

⁷¹ Ḥudrā, v. I ܠܗ ll. 21 ܠܗ ܕܠܗ

⁷² Ḥudrā, v. I ܠܗ ll. 22 ܠܗ ܕܠܗ

⁷³ Arthur John Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices* rpt. (Piscataway, Gorgias: 2003)296 lists the term, Motwa as (1) an anthem at the night service, sung sitting.

l. 1 confess...

l. 2 by His kingdom... ❖ by the same <tune> ❖

l. 3 And praise ❖ He was manifested to us from Mary. She bore
Christ,

l. 4 the hope of the whole world. At first the crib carried him.

l. 5 Now cherubs and seraphs are escorting him.

l. 6 He was suckling from the paps, giving life to the whole world.

⁹⁴ Cf. Hudrā v. I ܡܠܟ penultimate line [English pagination 140]; also Hudrā v. I ܡܠܟ l. 11 [English pagination 140] = Syr HT 41 (a), left side l. 19.

- l. 7 The shepherds rejoice, the Magi present offerings.
 l. 8 The angels, incessantly, in chants of thanksgiving, say,
 l. 9 'Glory to God in the highest and peace upon
 l. 10 earth and good hope to mankind ❖ Canon. Tune ❖
 l. 11 From error ❖ Oh Lord, you desired ❖ Today in Bethlehem
 l. 12 of Judea the Saviour of Creation was born for us. ❖ Come, let
 us praise.
 l. 13 Come, all of us, with the watchers, the Magi and the
 shepherds. Let us worship
 l. 14 Christ ❖ It is good to sing ❖ To you glory to you and to us
 hope.
 l. 15 Peace and harmony upon earth. The watchers cried aloud
 l. 16 at your birth ❖ May you minister ❖ They are insufficient ❖
 The proclamation
 l. 17 Oh Lord, you are alive! ❖ The third Sitting. Minister (from)
 l. 18 God rose ❖ up to ❖ 'Blessed are they' ❖ Anthem. Tune ❖
 The {blessed} martyrs
 l. 19 ❖ Come, let us praise ❖ May the poor hear <and rejoice>
 ❖ The nature of the mortals

III: Syr HT 41 side (b), right folio:

- ⁹⁷ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ [ܡܠܟܐ] ... ⁹⁶ 95 1
⁹⁹ ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ [ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ] ⁹⁸ ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ 2
 3 ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ
 4 ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ

⁹⁵ Cf. Hudrā v. I ܡܠܟܐ ll.4-6 [English pagination 141] = Syr HT 41 (b), right side ll. 1-3.

⁹⁶ Sachau, 967 combined the fragmentary beginning of line 2 and the fragmentary end of line 1 to form his line 1, viz: ܡܠܟܐ ... ܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܬܐ - in effect combining ll. 1 – 2.

⁹⁷ Sachau, 967 ܡܠܟܐ

⁹⁸ Sachau, 967 ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ

⁹⁹ Sachau, 967 omitted the latter part of l. 2, i.e. ܠܚܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ [ܡܠܟܐ]

- 5 ህሩ አብዕቲ ጠቅሙ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 6 ሕጻኑ አብዕቲ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 7 ¹⁰⁰ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 8 ¹⁰³ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ¹⁰² ሕጻኑ ¹⁰¹ ሕጻኑ
 9 ¹⁰⁵ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ¹⁰⁴ ሕጻኑ
 10 ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 11 ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 12 ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 13 ¹⁰⁶ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 14 ¹⁰⁹ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ¹⁰⁸ ሕጻኑ ¹⁰⁷ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 15 ¹¹⁰ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 16 ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 17 ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 18 ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ
 19 ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ ሕጻኑ

¹⁰⁰ Sachau, 968 ሕጻኑ

¹⁰¹ Sachau, 968 ሕጻኑ

¹⁰² Abbreviation of ሕጻኑ

¹⁰³ Scribe has written the initial character of the opening word on l. 9 ሕጻኑ to fill the line.

¹⁰⁴ Upper diacritical point indicating 3 s.f. suffix is wanting. Sachau, 968 supplied the diacritic ሕጻኑ

¹⁰⁵ Scribe has written the initial character of the opening word on l. 10 ሕጻኑ to fill the line.

¹⁰⁶ Sachau, 968 ሕጻኑ (?).

¹⁰⁷ Sachau, 968 ሕጻኑ does not indicate the *rbasa*.

¹⁰⁸ Read ሕጻኑ

¹⁰⁹ Sachau, 968: (?), scribal error, with initial character amended to Dalath, but which may also have been struck out.

¹¹⁰ ሕጻኑ is split between the end of l. 15 and the beginning of l. 16.

..כִּימֹל נָא ❖ הַלֵּל מַלְאָכָא קִדְשָׁא 20

- l. 1 ... the redeemer. He turned
- l. 2 the nation from error to the truth of His faith lest
- l. 3 the image of honour should perish. ❖ God sent ❖ to Nazareth
- l. 4 a watcher was sent to proclaim the conception of our redeemer.
- l. 5 And he delivered greetings of mercy to the virgin as
- l. 6 he had been commanded, 'You shall have a marvellous conception and you shall bear
- l. 7 a wondrous child. And He shall have dominion on high and in the abyss.
- l. 8 Come, hear and I will tell... ❖ The spiritual ones <implanted> the seed of the Most High
- l. 9 in the ears of the virgin and the ear of grain sprouted from His proclamation
- l. 10 giving life to all nations, for he proclaimed the bidding of his sender
- l. 11 in Nazareth, the city of Galilee. Blessed is the Father who sent him
- l. 12 unto our race. ❖ Hear this ❖ The daughter of David bore
- l. 13 the holy child and the glory of our race. Herod was offended and plotted.
- l. 14 In his heart he deliberated guile. The shepherds and Magi {who} saw
- l. 15 how much he was honoured. And behold they were offering up praise to
- l. 16 His dominion. ❖ The Lord shall give ❖ On the day that the race
- l. 17 of mortals received the tidings of goodwill, the angels
- l. 18 stood in wonder for they learnt the mystery which was concealed
- l. 19 – that men were being freed from the slavery of destruction.
- l. 20 by Christ who was born from them. ❖ The light shone forth

¹¹¹ Sachau, 96: 𐤊 does not indicate the lower diacritical point.

1 112] 12[12
2 113] 12[12
3 114] 12[12
4 12
5 115] 12[12
6 12
7 116] 12[12
8 117] 12[12
9 12
10 121] 12[12
11 122] 12[12
12 123] 12[12

¹²⁴ Sachau 968 omitted.

- 13 $\text{ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ}$
- 14 $\text{ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ}$
- 15 $\text{ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ}^{125}$
- 16 $\text{ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ}$
- 17 $\text{ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ}^{126}$
- 18 $\text{ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ}$
- 19 $\text{ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ}^{127}$
- 20 $\text{ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ}^{128}$

l. 1...

l. 2 of all. And by the example of...shining of His dominion.

l. 3 Because it is impossible that He should appear in the nature of his Godhead, He clothed <himself with>

l. 4 our body and joined it to His essence. ❖ Come, let us kneel ❖

At His birth

l. 5 let us worship the child from Mary, the holy virgin.

l. 6 The herald who proclaimed about the proclamation of truth, 'Behold

l. 7 a virgin shall conceive and bear and we will call His name Immanuel,

l. 8 the redeemer of all Creation. ❖ Great is Our Lord. ❖ Great is

l. 9 the mystery that shone from high. The messenger cried out to us,

l. 10 'For He is the divine mystery that chose our body and dwelt in it'

l. 11 And He made it one with himself in the sharing of his honour,

¹²⁵ Read ܕܡܠܟܐ

¹²⁶ Sachau 968 interpolated ܕܡܠܟܐ

¹²⁷ Sachau 968 ܕܡܠܟܐ

¹²⁸ Sachau 968 ܕܡܠܟܐ

¹²⁹ Reconstruction on the basis of Ms. or. fol. 620 fol. 17 a l. 1. Sachau, 969 states that he found textual parallels from l. 17 ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ to Ms. or. fol. 620 fol 16 b l. 16 – fol. 17 a l. 1. Saeki, 343 supplied the translation, "On earth for mortals, the Saviour of the world has been born!"

l. 13 Gabriel declared the tidings of peace to the virgin Mary,
l. 14 that Christ, the king, would be born in the despised habitation
l. 15 of Adam. With His body He purifies all blemishes and by His
blood
l. 16 He remits debts. Blessed is the Father who sent His beloved.
l. 17 Joy in everything ❖ Great joy in heaven and on earth
l. 18 at the birth of Christ. The highest powers are crying out,
l. 19 saying, ‘Glory to the Father on high, hope
l. 20 [on earth to the mortals. The Saviour of the world has been
born].¹³⁰

1. م.م. حلک ... حلک حلک

2 جہ اہل حق سے ملے۔ ¹³¹ [اور اہل حق] ¹³² مبرا کا دھماکا

[illegible]

4 කුඩා කුඩා 135 හි කුඩා කුඩා

[illegible]

6. **כלכלה קטנה** .. כלכלה קטנה

7. ¹³⁹ אִנִּי חַיָּה ¹⁴⁰ מִלֵּב בְּחַיָּה גִּיל

¹³¹ Cf. Hūdṛā v. I ܚܘܕܪܐ [English pagination 570], ll. 22-23 = Syr HT 42 (a), right side ll. 2-3.

¹³² Hūdrā v. I ܡܡܢܝܠ. 22 ܡܚܝܠ

¹³³ Cf. Hūdṛā v. I ܚܘܕܪܐ [English pagination 570], ll. 20-22 = Syr HT 42 (a), right side ll. 3-5.

¹³⁴ Hūdrā v. I ܡܠܚ l. 20 ܢܐ

¹³⁵ Hudrā v. I ܡܡܗ l. 20 ܠܚܝܬܐ

¹³⁶ Hudrā v. I ܡܕܚܐ l. 20 ܡܕܚܐ

¹³⁷ Cf. Hūdṛā v. I. 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩪 [English pagination 575] l. 24 = Syr HT 42 (a), right side l. 6.

¹³⁸ Scribe has written the initial character of the opening word on l. 6 **حله** to fill the line.

8 ¹⁴² **ܣܠܡܬܐ ܕܚܠܝܬܐ**. ¹⁴¹ **ܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܐ ܕܚܠܝܬܐ**

9 ¹⁴⁴ **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** ¹⁴³ **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

10 ¹⁴⁶ **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** ¹⁴⁵ **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

11 **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

12 **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

13 **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

14 **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

15 **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** ¹⁴⁷ **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

16 ¹⁴⁹ **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** ¹⁴⁸ **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

17 **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

18 **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** ¹⁵¹ **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

19 **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** ¹⁵² **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

20 **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** ¹⁵³ **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

¹³⁹ Cf. Ḥudrā v. I **ܕܡܢ** [English pagination 570], ll. 23-28 = Syr HT 42 (a), right side ll. 7 – 11.

¹⁴⁰ Ḥudrā v. I **ܕܡܢ** l. 23 + **ܕܡܢ**

¹⁴¹ Ḥudrā v. I **ܕܡܢ** l. 24 + **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

¹⁴² Ḥudrā v. I **ܕܡܢ** l. 25 read **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** for **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

¹⁴³ Ḥudrā v. I **ܕܡܢ** l. 25 **ܕܡܢ**

¹⁴⁴ Ḥudrā v. I **ܕܡܢ** l. 25 omits **ܕܡܢ**

¹⁴⁵ Ḥudrā v. I **ܕܡܢ** l. 26 **ܕܡܢ**

¹⁴⁶ Ḥudrā v. I **ܕܡܢ** l. 27 **ܕܡܢ**

¹⁴⁷ Orthographic error. Scribe has crossed out the Aleph **ܕܡܢ**

¹⁴⁸ Orthographic error, Nun omitted. Cf. **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

¹⁴⁹ Dittography- **ܕܡܢ**, repeating characters of opening word on l. 17 **ܕܡܢ**

¹⁵⁰ **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** Dittography of l. 16, with the supralinear lines indicating deletion of text.

¹⁵¹ Read **ܕܡܢ**. Dalath written instead of Resh.

¹⁵² Read **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**

- l. 1 holy is the king...the world is full
 l. 2 of His praises. David gave you the title, 'fount' by which
 l. 3 the offspring of Adam are washed. Ezekiel saw <you> upon
 l. 4 the throne, that the flame of fire encircled you. Daniel
 l. 5 saw <you> coming upon the clouds to judge all.
 l. 6 Malachi named you 'Sun' that by {illuminated Creation} by its
 rays.
 l. 7 John gave you the title, 'Lamb, He bears
 l. 8 the sin of the world'. Zechariah, was explaining the mystery of
 your lowly state.
 l. 9 'You are the light and you are the splendour.'
 l. 10 We should supplicate to you in love. Oh, we should affirm
 Christ, the child, the wonder
 l. 11 Have mercy upon us. Tune. Who is able? ❖ Come let us praise
 l. 12 Come, may we profess the essence that is eternal. The Father,
 Son and Spirit
 l. 13 everlasting who, when He wished by his love, wisdom
 l. 14 and goodness, brought creation from nothing into being
 l. 15 and adorned it in all beauty. And He held the watchers and
 men worthy
 l. 16 to know Him and worship His godhead whilst marvelling at
 l. 17 at the work of His hands. And professing His lordship (whilst
 marvelling)
 l. 18 And because we had sinned and transgressed the command-
 ment, we were enslaved to evil
 l. 19 and death. Yet, through his many mercies, He had mercy upon
 the wretchedness
 l. 20 of our nature. And He sent His Son, the consubstantial Son,
 and He put on the body

VI: Syr HT 42 Side (a), left folio:

ⲕ[]ⲙ[] 1
 ⲕ[]ⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲓⲁⲃⲉⲃⲓ 2

¹⁵³ *Sancti Philoxeni episcopi Mabbugensis dissertations decem et uno et sancta trinitate incorporato et passo*, critical edition of an unedited Syriac text, French translation by M. Brière and F. Graffin (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982) 143, l. 1 where Philoxenus states that he was quoting Ephrem ⲕⲓⲁⲃⲉⲃⲓ ⲛⲓⲁⲃⲉⲃⲓ. Cf. John 1:14 ⲕⲁⲙ ⲕⲓⲁⲃⲉⲃⲓ ⲕⲓⲁⲃⲉⲃⲓ

[illegible]

¹⁵⁵ This passage occurs in several places in the *Hudrā*. (1) *Hudrā* v. I ܡܠܐ [English pagination 143] ll. 5-9; (2) *Hudrā* v. I ܡܠܐ [English pagination 149] ll. 5-9 (3) *Hudrā* v. I ܡܠܐ [English pagination 572] ll. 15-18 = Syr HT 42 (a), left side ll. 4 – 9.

¹⁵⁷ Ḥudrā v. I **محذ** l. 7; Ḥudrā v. I **ملا** l. 7; Ḥudrā v. I **محمذ** l. 16 +

¹⁵⁹ Ḥudrā v. I 𐭠𐭣 l. 8; Ḥudrā v. I 𐭠𐭣 l. 7, Ḥudrā v. I 𐭠𐭣 l. 16

¹⁶¹ Cf. Ḥudrā v. I ܡܚܐ [English pagination 162] ll. 20 16 = Syr HT 42 (a) left side ll. 9-14.

¹⁶³ Hudrā v. I حم 1. 20 محه

¹⁷⁰ For the variant **ܐܪ** see, *Tetraevangelium sntum juxt simplicem Syrorum versionem ad fidem codicum, Massorae*, edited by P. Pusey and G. Gwilliam (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901) 66. For the occurrence of this term in the writings of Ephrem see, C. McCarthy, *Saint Ephrem's commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron: an English translation of Chester Beatty Syriac MS 709* (Oxford: Oxford University Press on behalf of the University of Manchester, 1993) 152; L. Lelouis, *L'Évangile d'Éphrem d'après les oeuvres éditées* (Louvain: Secrétariat du CoprusCSO, 1958) 21, #132. Cf. Matthew 10:32 **ܠܗܘ ܡܨܝܚ ܕܢܥܡܪ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܥܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ**

- 4 ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ
- 5 ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁷⁷ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁷⁶ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ
- 6 ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁷⁸ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ
- 7 ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁷⁹ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ
- 8 ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁸⁰ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁸¹ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ
- 9 ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁸² ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁸³ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁸⁴ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ
- 10 ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ
- 11 ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ
- 12 ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁸⁵ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁸⁶ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ
- 13 ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ¹⁸⁷ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ ܩܠܡܐ

¹⁷⁵ Scribe has started to write ܩܠܡܐ but with insufficient space, recommenced on the next line.

¹⁷⁶ ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 22; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 13; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 4 read ܩܠܡܐ.

¹⁷⁷ The scribe has squashed the letter Shin, in order to accommodate ܩܠܡܐ at the end of the line.

¹⁷⁸ ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 23; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 14; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 5 read

ܩܠܡܐ

¹⁷⁹ ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 24; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 14; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 6 read

ܩܠܡܐ

¹⁸⁰ ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 25; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 15; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 4 read

ܩܠܡܐ

¹⁸¹ ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 25; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 15; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 7 read ܩܠܡܐ

¹⁸² ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 25; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 16; ܩܠܡܐ v. I ܩܠܡܐ l. 7 read

ܩܠܡܐ

¹⁸³ Upper diacritic of Resh is wanting.

¹⁸⁴ Scribe began to write ܩܠܡܐ crossed it out and wrote the word at the beginning of the next line.

¹⁸⁵ Dittography ܩܠܡܐ

¹⁸⁶ Dittography ܩܠܡܐ commences the next line (l. 13).

- VIII: Syr HT 42 Side (b), left folio:

- ¹⁹³ Paraphrase of Isaiah 7:14.

194 Read **ملاحظہ**

195 Read **၁၅၁၈၈၈**

196 Read *Kiwi*

197 Read **قراءة**

198 Read *Ḳḏḙḙḙ*

13 13
 14 14
 15 15
 16 16
 17 17
 18 18
 19 19
 20 20

l. 1 ...

l. 2 the vanity of...our race, the destruction

l. 3 of evil and death and...calling out. But now

l. 4 the Creator has elected us and taken us up with Him to heaven.

Joy was

l. 5 unto the gatherings of the angels and men, all of whom were freed from

l. 6 the servitude of death and Satan. And they obtained renewal

l. 7 and hope and truth. Blessed is He who made renewal for us

l. 8 and reconciled us by His tidings. To him praise. Let us come into His presence.

l. 9 Let us stir our lips unto thanksgiving to sing the canticles

l. 10 of the king, Christ who through his mercy redeemed us

l. 11 from error. But because it was impossible that Creation might see

l. 12 His glorious inner self, His will wove the vestment of the flesh

l. 13 and concealed His fair brightness in it. With it, He redeemed our race

¹⁹⁹ Read 13

²⁰⁰ Scribe wrote 14, possibly 15, then realising his error crossed it out, correcting it to 16

²⁰¹ Hūdṛā v. I 17 [English pagination 570] ll. 13-15 = ll. 18 – 20.

²⁰² Hūdṛā v. I 18 l. 13 19

²⁰³ Scribe has started to write 20 but having insufficient room, recommenced on the next line.

- IX: Syr HT 43 Side (a), right folio:

12 لکھو کہ اے اللہ! یہ شخص میرا دوست ہے

209 Read ብሔር

- l. 7 Gabriel was sent to the virgin who was from the house of David who was betrothed
 l. 8 to her kinsman. And the watcher proclaimed to her, 'from you will be born
 l. 9 the Redeemer of all those steeped in sins. And by Him is being opened
 l. 10 the door of Paradise which was shut on account of Adam's transgression
 l. 11 of the commandment. And by His birth is joy
 l. 12 to all earthly and heavenly beings. To Him, praise from
 l. 13 all our mouths. ❖ Introit. Let the heavens rejoice. All creation rejoices and exalts,
 l. 14 with praise, the birth of the marvel she conceived.
 l. 15 And the virgin Mary bore purely, without coition, from
 l. 16 the power of the Holy Spirit: the Son of God, the redeemer
 l. 17 of all, the Lord of the angels and of the race of mankind. Have mercy
 l. 18 upon us. ❖ And praise ❖ By the example of Aaron's staff
 l. 19 which budded, thus the virgin conceived. Oh, unbelieving
 l. 20 Jew! For it sprouted, when it was not planted
 l. 21 and without irrigation. Likewise, the virgin
 l. 22 conceived, without a man and without seed, by the commandment of God.

X: Syr HT 43 Side (a), left folio:

- [] ܠܗܘܐ [] 1
 ܠܗܘܐ [] [ܠܗܘܐ] ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ 2
 ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ 220 3
 222 ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ 221 ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ 4
 223 ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ 5
 ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ 6

²²⁰ Word crossed out and corrected to ܠܗܘܐ

²²¹ Read ܠܗܘܐ

²²² Read ܠܗܘܐ

²²³ Read ܠܗܘܐ

7 לֵךְ ²²⁴ תַּחֲסֹב לְיָמֶיךָ כִּי אַתָּה חַיִּים
8 אֵל לֵךְ חַיִּים * יְהוֹשֻׁעַ ²²⁶ כִּי ²²⁵ מָוִי
9 יָמֶיךָ ²²⁹ חַיִּים חַיִּים ²²⁸ חַיִּים
10 חַיִּים חַיִּים ²³¹ חַיִּים חַיִּים ²³⁰ חַיִּים
11 חַיִּים ²³² חַיִּים
12 חַיִּים ²³⁴ חַיִּים חַיִּים ²³³ חַיִּים
13 חַיִּים ²³⁵ חַיִּים חַיִּים ²³⁶ חַיִּים
14 חַיִּים ²³⁷ חַיִּים חַיִּים ²³⁸ חַיִּים
15 חַיִּים ²³⁹ חַיִּים חַיִּים ²⁴⁰ חַיִּים
16 חַיִּים ²⁴¹ חַיִּים חַיִּים ²⁴² חַיִּים
17 חַיִּים ²⁴³ חַיִּים חַיִּים ²⁴⁴ חַיִּים

²²⁵ Ḥudrā v. I **هذرا هذرا** [English pagination 574-75] ll. 20-27, 1-3; **هذرا - هذرا** [English pagination 166 – 7] ll. 21-27, 1 – 4.

²²⁷ Hūdṛā v. I ܡܡܕܪܐ l. 20; Hūdṛā v. I ܡܡܕܪܐ l. 21 + ܡܡܕܪܐ Cf. Psalm 25.4 ܡܡܕܪܐ ܡܡܕܪܐ ܡܡܕܪܐ

²³⁴ Scribe began to write **סמך** but with insufficient space, commenced on the next line.

²⁴¹ Ḥudrā v. I **هجره** l. 26; Ḥudrā v. I **من** l. 27 **مسلمه**

l. 1 ...
 l. 2 punishment. God...the nation
 l. 3 Indeed all...rejoice at our returning
 l. 4 and are professing with us on the day of retribution to the Lord
 of all,
 l. 5 whilst praising God and saying, 'Praise to you
 l. 6 who has appeared in the body of men'. And with them
 l. 7 we are praising and saying, 'Lord of all, praise to you. Tune
 l. 8 Oh to you, womb ❖ Your ways, oh Lord ❖ The way
 l. 9 of the Son was proclaimed through all those generations and
 the upright
 l. 10 prophets proceeded in it. And, as in a mystery, it was revealed
 to them
 l. 11 through the marvel. The Babylonians saw his likeness:
 l. 12 two true? heralds upon the chariot of the cherubs.
 l. 13 Ezekiel saw,²⁵⁰ whilst seated, the image of His glory
 l. 14 of the Blessed One. And He was indicating the mystery of the
 resurrection, but the people
 l. 15 of Israel rejected <it> who were sunk in despair,
 l. 16 in mortality and destruction. And in the likeness of the
 Ancient of Days.
 l. 17 He sat upon the glorious throne. Daniel said,²⁵¹

²⁵¹ Reference to Daniel's vision: Daniel 7.10.

l. 18 'I beheld Him and ten thousand angels were ministering to Him. Also

l. 19 myriads were sanctifying His name whilst crying out, 'holy are You, holy are You

l. 20 holy are You, Lord'. Likewise His authority reigns over all men.

XI: Syr HT 43 side (b), right folio:

- 1 ܠܬܠܝܬ ܕܠܬܠܝܬ
- 2 ܕܝܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 3 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ²⁵²ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 4 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 5 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 6 ܕܠܬܝܬ ²⁵³ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 7 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 8 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 9 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 10 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ²⁵⁴ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 11 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 12 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 13 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 14 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 15 ܕܠܬܝܬ ²⁵⁵ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ
- 16 ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ ܕܠܬܝܬ

²⁵² Reconstruct Seyame.

²⁵³ Read ܕܠܬܝܬ

²⁵⁴ Read ܕܠܬܝܬ (?)

²⁵⁵ Orthographic error ܕܠܬܝܬ

17 לַסְּנוֹת וְנִסְחָמָה, לְדֹג כֵּן אֶדְגַּם בְּחַסֵּל לֵי

18 חֵל * מַלְחָה * .. * 256 257 258 259 260 חֲמִיּוֹת אֶדְמַעֲלֵה אֶחְמַמְכֶּם הִי

19 הוֹדִיעֵהוּ * מִנְּכֶם * מֶלֶךְ * חֵל * אֵל * אֶתְּ * אֶחְדָּהּ

20 חֲכָמָה * חֵל * לֵב * לֵב * מִן * הָאֵל * מֶלֶךְ * חֵל

21 לְכֹהֵן * 261 חֲלָמָה * 262 חֵל * מִלֵּךְ * חֲמִיּוֹת * חֲבָלָה

- l. 1 good...over our mankind
- l. 2 He sent to creation...that from Him. He might come
- l. 3 and dwell with those? mortals...that through Adam
- l. 4 he might raise Adam from the fall that befell <him> in Eden
- l. 5 He died in Eden, he revived in Bethlehem. Behold,
- l. 6 the rational natures, together with the silent ones, are singing, 'Glory
- l. 7 to God on High and to the divine nature, the everlasting essence
- l. 8 who has redeemed us, by the second Adam, praise to you' ❖
For ever and ever.
- l. 9 By His tune ❖ Come, hear ❖ This is the terrible event that was in Eden within
- l. 10 Paradise through the stratagems of the Slanderer. Satan beckoned
- l. 11 by means of the serpent's flute, by the ears of Eve, the feeble rib,
- l. 12 and led the house of Adam astray through the food,
- l. 13 which was from the tree. She heard the advice, plucked the fruit
- l. 14 and bore death for the house of Adam. In the morning, (Adam) reigned

²⁵⁶ Scribe appears to have amended text at this point. Illegible.

²⁵⁷ Hudrā v. I מֶלֶךְ [English pagination 167] l. 20 – 1 = ll. 18-19.

²⁵⁸ Hudrā v. I מֶלֶךְ l. 20 נֶחֱלָה

²⁵⁹ Hudrā v. I מֶלֶךְ l. 20 חֲמִיּוֹת

²⁶⁰ Scribe crossed out beginning of word due to inadequate space at end of line and wrote full word חֲמִיּוֹת on the next line.

²⁶¹ Scribal error, read אֶחְדָּהּ or אֶחְדָּהּ

²⁶² Hudrā v. I מֶלֶךְ [English pagination 148] l. 2 = l. 21.

- l. 15 and at the ninth hour his authority ceased for he had transgressed the commandment.
- l. 16 Glory to God on high who sent, through His mercy,
- l. 17 His only one to restore Adam through Adam. Praise to you.
- l. 18 Come ❖ His tune ❖??❖ The prophet of truth and the messenger
- l. 19 of righteousness ❖ Canon ❖ Tune ❖ Come, my brothers ❖ The Lord
- l. 20 has remembered ❖ For the duration before the generations, O Lord, remember
- l. 21 Abraham and David about the birth of the future Christ.

1. $\text{K}^{\circ} \text{K} [\text{H}] [\text{H}]$

²⁶³ ၂ , ကမ္ဘာ့ကဏ္ဍ [] . ဘေ့ နှစ်ကလေး ၂

3. حلقہ۔ اعجاز لی حی کتاب۔ مکہ لی

4 יצאנו מן המדבר ונאמר לנו

5 תיקן כלל מלך חזק. אבסא לך חסד.

6 قسک ی. 264 کعلجہ فزک ی 265 طسک سسک

[illegible]

8. משהו מבין. אהבתי לך ומבין את משהו

9. **අනුමත කිරීමේ ක්‍රියා** කළ යුතුය. අනුමත කිරීමේ ක්‍රියා

10. كساره. ²⁶⁶ لقد كسره دال مضارع.

[illegible]

12 **הַחֲבֵרָה הַשְּׂמֵרָה הַיִּשְׂרָאֵלִית לְהוֹצֵא לַחַיִּים**

²⁶³ Scribe commenced to write **לחלופיך** continuing the word on l. 3.

264 Read **فہرست**

265 Read *فلا*

266 Read **كُتِبَ**

267 Read **ገጽ ፩** ?

268 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ [English pagination 570-71] last line – l.
5, ll. 6 – 9 = ll. 13 – 23.

269 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 1 ܕܝܢܐ

270 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 3 ܡܚܪܥܐ

271 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 3 ܡܚܪܥܐ

272 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 3 ܡܚܪܥܐ

273 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 4 ܡܚܪܥܐ

274 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 4 ܡܚܪܥܐ

275 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 5 + ܡܚܪܥܐ ܡܚܪܥܐ ܡܚܪܥܐ ܡܚܪܥܐ ܡܚܪܥܐ
ܡܠ ܡܚܪܥܐ

276 Scribe began to write ܡܚܪܥܐ, but recommenced on next line.

277 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 6 ܡܚܪܥܐ

278 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 6 ܡܚܪܥܐ ܡܚܪܥܐ

279 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 7 ܡܚܪܥܐ ܡܚܪܥܐ

280 Dittography of the final word of previous line ܡܠ and omitting ܡܚܪܥܐ introducing the next clause.

281 Black signs v and ^ above & below line indicate that the next line (23) is to be inserted here, after ܡܠ. The scribe has overlooked the opening word of this clause ܡܚܪܥܐ

282 Ḥudrā v. I ܡܠܬܐ l. 9 ܡܚܪܥܐ

- l. 1 Man? ...Praise to you.
- l. 2 Praise to you, who through...shamed
- l. 3 the Slanderer. Praise to you. Blessed is your advent. {The children}
- l. 4 in the temple of Zion cried out to you. And the church which celebrates your festival day.
- l. 5 May you cause your blessed peace to reside within her. Praise to You who through
- l. 6 your paschal sacrifice delivered your body in the bread and wine.
- l. 7 Praise to You who suffered through the cross for the sake of our redemption and You were
- l. 8 laid in the grave. Praise to You who rose from the grave
- l. 9 and raised up, by the mystery, all our nature. Praise to You who ascended
- l. 10 in glory to the heavens of heaven, to His sender. Praise
- l. 11 to You who sent the spirit, the Paraclete, upon your disciples. And they taught
- l. 12 and baptised and instructed. And they invited the world, in its (full) extent
- l. 13 <to> life that is forever. ❖ By its tune ❖ The Lord makes manifest <His salvation> ❖ The great marvel
- l. 14 was celebrated by the birth of Jesus, our king. He came for our
- l. 15 redemption. Who, when He appeared in a cave, caused
- l. 16 all creation to hasten, so that all those might come to His honour for He is the Redeemer.
- l. 17 Heaven and earth, and all that was therein, were hastening
- l. 18 to render the praise that was due. Each one from them,
- l. 19 in his person, whilst they were worshipping before him. From the east,
- l. 20 the Magi of Persia were bringing their offerings to him – gold,
- l. 21 myrrh and incense. They were approaching him as <if> to a king.
- l. 22 { } From the west, the sharers of the promise, by their prophecy.

Lower margin {<From> the north, the shepherds were praising Him, with their hallelujahs.

COMMENTS ON THE PRODUCTION OF SYR HT 41-42-43:

The palaeography of the three bifolia is typical of the cursive traditions of Eṣṭrangela that Church of the East scribes adopted in the mid-thirteenth century. As William Hatch wrote, “[t]his newer Nestorian style of writing which resembles the Serṭâ in some respects, became popular and never went out of fashion”.²⁸⁴ The individual characters of Syr HT 41-42-43 exhibit many of the hallmarks of the adapted script. Both Dalath and Resh display the rounded ‘comma’ form. He, Waw and Mem are always written closed rather than open as in Eṣṭrangela. However, the Aleph shows a mixed pattern, with both the Serṭâ and Eṣṭrangela variants being used, although the former is more prevalent than the latter.²⁸⁵ The angular Qoph, was preferred over the rounded Serṭâ type.²⁸⁶ Similarly Beth is written angular. In keeping with East Syrian scribal conventions, the Shin maintained the familiar Eṣṭrangela shape, rather than the rounded type that emerged in Serṭâ. The Serṭâ Tau was adopted, connected to letters at the right by an oblique stroke reaching the apex of the upright stroke. On those occasions where the Tau is unattached to the preceding letter, or commences a new word, the oblique stroke is not written; contrary to Hatch’s comment re the Serṭâ Tau that “it has the oblique stroke when it is not connected with the preceding letter and when it stands at the beginning of a word”.²⁸⁷

The three bifolia are sporadically vocalised:

Fol. 41: side (a), right folio, l. 3 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ; l. 5 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ, side (a), left folio, l. 6 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ; l. 12 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ; side (b), right folio, l. 3 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ, ܐܠܗܝܬܐ; l. 4 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ; l. 6 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ; l. 10 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ; l. 14 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ; l. 18 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ; l. 20

²⁸⁴ William Henry Paine Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts, with a new foreword by Lucas van Rompay*, rpt. (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2002) 28 and n. 21 referring to Plate CLXXIII, Berlin Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Syr. 88 (Petermann I, 9) that was written in 1259-1260.

²⁸⁵ See Syr HT 41 (b), right side l. 3 ܐܠ and penultimate line ܐܠܗܝܬܐ for examples of the Eṣṭrangela form of Aleph.

²⁸⁶ Hatch, *op. cit.*, 35.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 37. See fol. 41 (b) right l. 14 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ fol. 41 (b) left l. 7 ܐܠܗܝܬܐ

ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; side (b), left folio, l. 6 ܝܚܝܬܐ; l. 7 ܠܥܝܬܐ; l. 12 ܠܥܝܬܐ; l. 15 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 16 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ

Fol. 42: side (a), right l. 5 ܠܝܠܝܬܐ; l. 7 ܠܝܠܝܬܐ; l. 8 ܠܝܠܝܬܐ; l. 19 ܠܝܠܝܬܐ; l. 20 ܠܝܠܝܬܐ; side (a), left l. 4 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 5 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 10 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 15 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 18 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; side (b), right l. 6 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 9 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; side (b), left l. 11 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 18 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ

Fol. 43: side (a) right l. 6 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; ll. 14, 21 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 19 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; side (a) left l. 20 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; side (b) right l. 13 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 15 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; side (b) left l. 4 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 12 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 15 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ; l. 20 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ .

Rbasa was the preferred vocalisation, principally differentiating verbal conjugations. *Ptaha* was used sporadically, usually to denote the Aphel rather than the Pa'el participle *viṣ*: ܡܚܕܝܬܐ and ܡܚܕܝܬܐ.²⁸⁸ *Zqapa* was written on one occasion to indicate a present participle rather than the conjunction Waw, *viṣ*: ܡܚܕܝܬܐ.²⁸⁹ Proper nouns *viṣ*: ܡܚܕܝܬܐ 'Nazareth' and ܡܚܕܝܬܐ 'Persia' were also vocalised, although inconsistently.²⁹⁰ Thus Nazareth is written as ܡܚܕܝܬܐ and ܡܚܕܝܬܐ on the same leaf; the latter possibly indicating the Rukkaka in keeping with the soft pronunciation of the town's name.²⁹¹

The three bifolia display numerous orthographic errors; in particular intermediate Yodh is often not indicated; leading to the inconsistent spelling of the proper names *viṣ*: ܡܚܕܝܬܐ / ܡܚܕܝܬܐ²⁹² and ܡܚܕܝܬܐ / ܡܚܕܝܬܐ 'Hezekiah' and 'Daniel' respectively.²⁹³ The scribe sometimes has confused Resh and Dalath, even in proper names *viṣ*: ܡܚܕܝܬܐ in the standard expression ܡܚܕܝܬܐ ܡܚܕܝܬܐ (*sic*) ܡܚܕܝܬܐ 'Mary, the mother of the Messiah'.²⁹⁴ 'Abraham' is spelt ܡܚܕܝܬܐ.²⁹⁵ The scribe's orthography displays many errors, suggesting that he was either ill-trained or ill-disciplined, on occasion even appending the pronominal suffix to the emphatic noun, *viṣ*:

²⁸⁸ Fol. 42 (a) left l. 15 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ fol. 42 (a) right l. 6 ܡܚܕܝܬܐ

²⁸⁹ Fol. 43 (a) left l. 14.

²⁹⁰ For Nazareth cf. fol. 41 (b) right ll. 3, for Persia cf. fol. 43 (b) left l. 20.

²⁹¹ Cf. fol. 41 (b) right ll. 3 and 11.

²⁹² Cf. fol. 42 (a) right l.3 and fol. 43 (a) left l. 13.

²⁹³ Cf. fol. 42 (a) right l. 4 and fol. 43 (a) left l. 17.

²⁹⁴ Fol. 41 (a) left: l. 3.

²⁹⁵ Fol. 43 (b) right: l. 21

ܐܪܝܬܐ ‘your Paschal sacrifice’ and ܐܪܝܬܐ ‘your body’.²⁹⁶ His inconsistency extends to basic diacritical points; often omitting Seyame, *viz.* ܡܠܟܐ ‘Magi’.²⁹⁷ The scribe made many corrections to the text, not hesitating to cross out mistakes, when he realised them or when there was a lack of space at the end of a line.²⁹⁸ Some errors remained uncorrected; the correct word being simply written anew.²⁹⁹ Words were commenced at the end of the line, but then written *plene* at the beginning of the next line; in some instances this indicated that the scribe was attempting to maintain a justified margin.³⁰⁰ For the same reason, the scribe used, on occasion, space fillers.³⁰¹ Omitted words were written in the margins with the place of their insertion being indicated by ^ and ˇ in the text.³⁰² Likewise ^ and ˇ show the place of ܐܪܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ written in the lower margin.³⁰³

The identity of the scribe who wrote the three bifolia remains unknown, but he shows himself to be trained in the East Syrian scribal traditions. The vocalisation patterns, in particular the application of the *Rbasa*, are consistent with the trends that have emerged in other Syriac fragments from Turfan. The vocalisation indicates some knowledge of grammatical issues, but the high incidence of errors and the orthographic irregularities that pepper Syr HT 41-42-43 suggest at best, carelessness on the scribe’s part. One wonders whether a highly-trained, native speaker, despatched from Mesopotamia, from one of the distinguished institutions such as the renowned Upper Monastery, northeast of Mosul, would have produced such bifolia.³⁰⁴ The bifolia may have been written at Turfan (of course as part of a much longer work), using another Hūdṛā from the monastery library, or may have been produced

²⁹⁶ Fol. 43 (b), left l. 6 ܐܪܝܬܐ and ܐܪܝܬܐ

²⁹⁷ ܡܠܟܐ cf. fol. 41 (a), right l. 2; fol. 41 (b), right l. 14 and fol. 43 (b), l.20; ܡܠܟܐ cf. fol. 41 (a), left ll. 7, 13.

²⁹⁸ Fol. 42 (b), right l. 9 ܐܪܝܬܐ, l. 12 ܐܪܝܬܐ; fol. 42 (b), left line l. 14: ܐܪܝܬܐ

²⁹⁹ Fol. 42 (b), right l. 3 ܐܪܝܬܐ has been corrected to ܐܪܝܬܐ

³⁰⁰ Fol. 42 (b), right l. 3 ܐܪܝܬܐ written *plene* l. 4.

³⁰¹ Fol. 41 (b), right, third line from the bottom.

³⁰² Fol. 42 (a), left left margin ܐܪܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ is written in rubric, with its placement in l. 9 indicated.

³⁰³ Fol. 43 (b) left l. 23.

³⁰⁴ The colophon details of Ms. Or. fol. 620 indicate that it was produced at this monastery.

elsewhere. This seems to be the case with bilingual Sogdian-Syriac lectionaries, Sogdian ascetical texts and hagiographical works that were translated from Syriac in response to the needs of the monks who were largely drawn from the Sogdian and Turkic speaking populations.³⁰⁵ These were, without exception, made from Syriac originals, but to date none have been found amongst the Syriac fragments from Bulayīq, posing the question of where the translations took place.³⁰⁶

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The contents of Syr HT 41-42-43 principally address the First Friday of the Annunciation, the Second Sunday and Monday of the Annunciation to Christmas (aka The Great Feast of Our Lord's Nativity). They show numerous parallels, as well as textual variants and differences in the sequencing of episodes, with the later printed editions of the Ḥudrā that have emanated primarily from sixteenth century manuscript sources. The inclusion of ancient biblical quotations, over and above the Peshitta, intimates the retention of early material that pre-dated the initial compilation of the Ḥudrā by Patriarch Išo'yabh III (649-659). In an on-going history of transmission, the work underwent several revisions between the tenth and the mid-thirteenth centuries, one of the most notable being during the patriarchate of Mar Elia I (1028-1049). Sachau and Engberding, in their respective studies, noted similarities between Syr HT 41-42-43 and sixteenth century manuscripts of the Beth Gazzā.³⁰⁷ However, by virtue of their dating in the mid-thirteenth century, Syr HT 41-42-43 may precede the division between the Ḥudrā and the Beth Gazzā into separate volumes that only took place sometime during the medieval period.³⁰⁸ As such, the three bifolia provide extremely valuable contemporary witness to the development of the East Syrian liturgy during a time about which

³⁰⁵ See n. 11 for details of the Turkic and Sogdian communities.

³⁰⁶ Samarkand, located in Sogdiana, and a major metropolitanate of the Church of the East or Balkh in Tokharistan which maintained direct connections with China (presumably through Turfan) might be considered as locations.

³⁰⁷ Ms. Orient. fol. 620, written in Mosul in 1537 and Vatican Borgias Syr. 86, also dated to the 16th century.

³⁰⁸ Sebastian Brock, "Some early witnesses to the East Syriac liturgical tradition," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies*, 18 no. 1 (2004) 10, n. 8.

very little is currently known. Mindful of Baumstark's premise that "missionary outposts distant from the mother territory of the particular rite tend to preserve more ancient usages", further work on exemplars from Turfan would yield fresh insight upon the complex questions surrounding the evolution of the Ḥudrā.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁹ Mar Awa Royel, "From Mosul to Turfan: The Ḥudrā in the Liturgy of the Assyrian Church of the East. A Survey of its Historical Development and its Liturgical Anomalies at Turfan," a paper read at the *Christianity in Iraq VIII Seminar Day* (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London) May 28th, 2011.

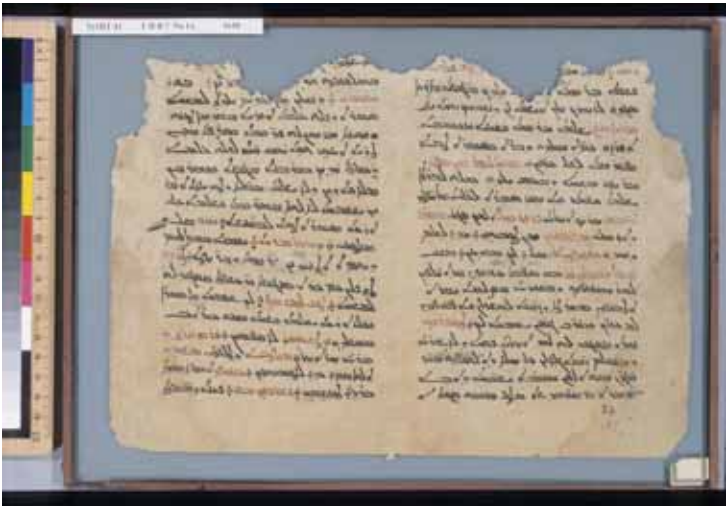


Plate I: Syr HT 41 side (a)

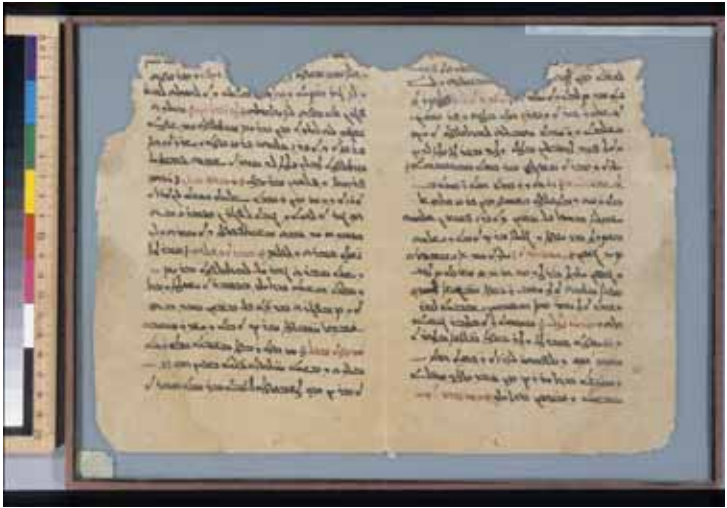


Plate II: Syr HT 41 side (b)

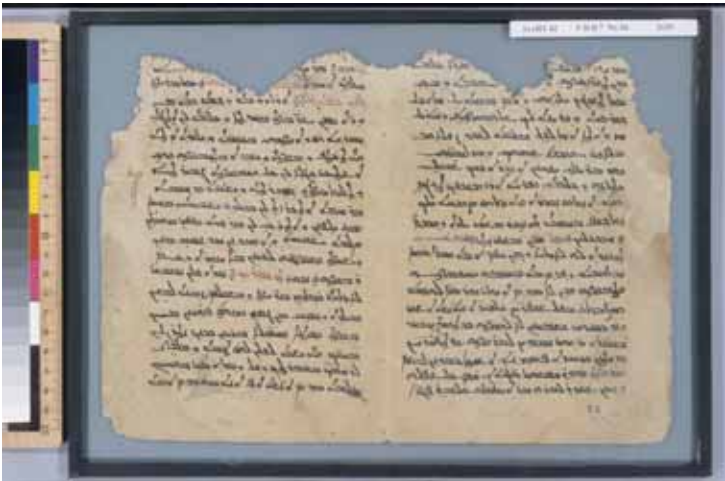


Plate III: Syr HT 42 side (a)



Plate IV: Syr HT 42 side (b)



Plate V: Syr HT 43 side (a)



Plate VI: Syr HT 43 side (b)