THE CHRISTIAN LIBRARY FROM TURFAN: SYR HT 41-42-43 AN EARLY EXEMPLAR OF THE $\mu U D R \bar{A}_1$

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ABSTRACT

Syr HT 41-42-43 are three bifolia from the Ḥudrā (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-Preussicher 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).

Hudrā. Their text exhibits many differences from the later sixteenth century manuscripts that formed the basis of the printed editions of the Hudrā and sheds insight onto the transmission of the early East Syrian liturgical tradition at a time when the division between the Hudrā and Gazzā 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 Shuïpang, near Bulayïg, 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 TurfanCollection (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 Shuïpang 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 Estrangelo script).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 Cog 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 Shuïpang 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 Shuïpang 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 Bulayïq," 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 form 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 καλανικό "melancholy" (the Greek loan-word μελαγχολία) in the listing κδικός [κ] κόι ο κοι "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.
- $^{20}\,\mathrm{This}$ 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 Hudra, 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 Hudra 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 Meshcherskava, 226.

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

Orientalist, Eduard Sachau, already published single folios from three exemplars: B-55, B-7, B-26,²⁹ very shortly after the archive's discovery, using photographs that he had received on the 30th August, 1905 from von le Coq who sent them from Kara Khoja together with a letter dated 24th June, 1905.³⁰ In each case, Sachau transcribed the Syriac text and provided an accompanying summation of contents, over and above a full translation.³¹ Sachau's article was produced *poste haste* but nevertheless made some very important observations about the manuscripts, which later scholars have upheld.

B-26 (MIK III/45), consisting of some 61 folios, was the largest manuscript found at Bulayïq.³² On the basis of the excipit that when the solution of the Fenqitho of the orders and canons of the Hudra for the whole year" (fol. 20r l.12), Sachau identified B-26 as a Hudra with a dating from the 9th or 10th century. He added a sequel note that the manuscript could be older,³³ an opinion upheld some sixty-five years later by Hieronymous Engberding in his publication of the five opening folios.³⁴ On the basis of comparison with British Library Add. 12138 (with a colophon date of 899), he proferred, "Ich bin sogar geneigt, sie für noch älter zu halten" (I

²⁹ The B designation indicated Bulayiq. See Sachau, 964.

³⁰ E. Sachau, "Litteratur-Bruchstücke aus Chinesisch-Turkistan," Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Sitzung der philosophisch-historischen Classe von 23. November) XLVII (1905), 964-973. The fourth fragment, B-49, which Sachau published was Sogdian written in Syriac script.

³¹ Full English translations were given by P.Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (Tokyo: Maruzen, 1937) ch. 15.

³² The repository of MIK III/45 is the *Museum für Asiatische Kunst*, Dahlem. It is complemented by 5 further fragments, also given the signature number MIK III/45 that are glassed together under one plate. Another 21 dislocated, small fragments, also identified as coming from the same manuscript are in the *Staatsbibliothek*, Potsdamer Platz, Berlin. These are: Syr HT 89, 130, 132, 133, 134, 147, 162, 163, 165, 178, 205, 214, 288, 301, 303, 305, 306, 376, 384, 394 and 395.

³³ Sachau, 964.

³⁴ Hieronymus Engberding, "Fünf Blätter eines alten ostsyrischen Bitt- und Bussgottesdienstes aus Innerasien," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 14 (1965) 121-48.

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 Ḥudarā (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 Ḥudarā 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. Sachau pointed out the similarities between B-55 and Ms. Orient. fol. 620, a codex in the Königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin with the title hat was written in the Upper Monastery of Mar Gabriel, near Mosul in 1537. 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. 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, *Ktaba da-Qdam wad-Batar wad-Hudra wad-Kashkol wad-Gazza w-Qala d-Udrane 'am Ktaba 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-Tahira 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 Ḥud̪rā 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 Ḥud̪rā 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.

published in 1937 by Saeki who described the contents as part of a hymn to be sung on the Feast day commemorating St. Mary, on the Friday after Christmas.⁵² Discussing B-7, Sachau drew attention to the fact that some of the *lemmata* (indicating the melody), were also found in Ms. Or. Fol. 620⁵³ and provided a listing occurring in both sources. Additionally pointing out text common to the two works, Sachau noted that the text of B-7 (fol. 41(b) left folio ll. 17-20) commencing with hair hair hard matched Ms. Orient. fol. 620 fol. 16b l. 16 – fol. 17a l. 1 and reconstructed the final line of B-7, on the basis of the contents of Ms. Orient. fol. 620 fol. 17a.⁵⁴ Several small fragments (Syr HT 208, 253, 371 and n 446) whose palaeography indicates that they belong to B-7 have been subsequently identified during the cataloguing of the Syriac manuscripts, but to date remain unpublished.

In his valuable 1965 checklist of known manuscripts of the Chaldaean Ḥudārā, Macomber endorsed Sachau's conclusion that B-7 was another example of a nointing out: "[o]nly one of the chants is found in the printed edition of the Ḥudārā, whereas five out of the eight on the leaf are found together in the first nocturn of the office for Christmas in a MS. of the Gazzā, namely Vat. Borgia Syr. 86 pp. 23-4, under the rubric qālā d-ġazzā, i.e. "a hymn of the Gazzā".55

Discussing the Gazzā, Macomber noted that these offices might be wanting in some manuscripts of the Ḥudarā, thus pointing out again the difficulty of distinguishing these two great liturgical works. ⁵⁶ He upheld Sachau's dating of B-7 to the 11th or 12th centuries which was made, partly on the basis of the contents common with Ms. Or. fol. 620, but also on palaeographic considerations, specifically the form of the character He. ⁵⁷ In this vein, Sachau opined, "[d]ie Schrift ist eine sehr junge Form des

 $^{^{52}}$ Saeki, 334-5. The translation and reproduction of the Syriac text is on 340-3.

⁵³ Sachau, 969-970 noted that the metrical form of the songs was complicated and varied; ranging from four to eight syllables, with the eight syllable line forming, as a general rule, the strophe's ending.

^{*} שנסלה כבסל. מבד'ה הבלחם. לם נבים, הנון אם הלה בבסל. מבד'ה הבלחם. לה בכב מהה. מביה נולל. בכב מהה. מביה נולל. בכב מהה. מביה נולל.

⁵⁵ Macomber, 124 n. 1.

⁵⁶ Macomber, 124 n. 1.

⁵⁷ Macomber, 124 n. 1, referring to Sachau, 969.

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 Ḥud̪rā.

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
= rubric Syriac text	$\underline{\text{but}} = \text{translation of rubrics}$
[] = hiatus in Syriac text	[] = hiatus in translation
[👊] = reconstructed Syriac	[but] = reconstructed text
text	
{iw} = Syriac text out of	{but} = text out of sequence
sequence	
	<but> = extrapolation of text</but>
	but? = uncertain translation
	(but) = text indicated to be
	deleted

⁵⁸ Sachau, 969.

⁵⁹ All references are to the 1960 'Darmoo edition of the Ḥudarā that is entitled, בלביא המגם המבים אום אום אינים מבים המשמה המגם מבים המשמה "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.

SYR HT 41-42-43 (B-7)

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

- 1 منه خ [حص] خ سه ج [] مع حلصر [خ]
- אביאם הגטלים מיזף ו] אמנים אביסס 5
 - שובים אושביו ל מבת לם מושבת סיום 3
 - حنت حديد حماية حمله عند حديد معنا
 - حعزيه حيته صلاه دحزه مصحنه لحد
 - 6 معمزمت لحد حجيم عدس لحز حم معمد.
 - 7 حزمه معنى بحصم ملته هرات احتمام على المارة والمارة و
 - 8 علعہ معنی محمد محنع کات 8
- 9 <u>المعدد.</u> حبله عنهام <u>حزه المها محرد و محمد المعدد</u>
 - 10 تهزدحه محتمعيم هم المحتسمية عدد العلم
 - 11 بومده حويمه مده مده حده
 - - 13 لحنسحته مهرسته برها به الاستهام 13
 - 14 محمده ودسترام درقته لحمل مهديد
 - 15 لىدىمە مەزد كىمى مەدىم لىپ ₆₀ موندىم ل

⁶⁰ Read حمنة

⁶¹ Read حملتهم

⁶² Read [حمر] ?

⁶³ Read Lold

⁶⁵ Abbreviation for حنت

⁶⁶ Ḥudrā, v. I או last line אוויסי

⁶⁷ Ḥudౖrā, v. I مله 1. 1 محالح

⁶⁸ Ḥudrā, v. I ملاء 1. 1 منتخب

- 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.
- 1. 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.
- 1. 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. <u>Proclamation</u>. 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,
- 1. 14 you established us in the honoured image and, at the last, clothed us and restored us

⁶⁹ $\mu u dr \bar{a}$, v. I l l l l l l - 22 [English pagination: 155] = Syr HT 41 (a), right side, ll. 16 – 19.

⁷⁰ Ḥu<u>d</u>rā, v. I كله اا. 18 + ها محصه،

⁷¹ Ḥud̞rā, v. I كله ال. 21 محدح

⁷² Ḥudrā, v. I אום ll. 22 משכשה

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.

- 1. 15 to your knowledge. He magnifies our race. Praise to you
 Come let us kneel down.
- 1. 16 May we profess and worship the one concealed Eternal being, without beginning,
- l. 17 who when the time was fully come revealed for us the power of His Godhead through
- l. 18 our body and in it He taught us the glorious persons of the Father
- 1. 19 the Son and the Holy Spirit because of His great love

II: Syr HT 41 side (a), left folio:

[]+i[]_nabx[x] 1

case |] c

 $^{^{74}}$ Cf. Ḥudౖrā v. I معمه ll. 9-15 [English pagination 601] = Syr HT 41 (a), left side, ll. 3-10.

⁷⁵ Read حنح Scribe has written Dalath instead of Resh.

سم 1. 11 معمه ا. 41 معمه ا. 41

⁷⁷ Ḥudrā v. I πασα l. 12 + 200

⁷⁸ Seyame is written below the word but is smudged.

موه و الله الله و 79 Hudrā v. I موه الله عند 12 الموهم الله الله 19

⁸⁰ Ḥudౖrā v. I هموه ا.. 13 حتمك

⁸² Seyvame omitted.

- 11 حدال مرده هندي محدور هناك 11 مردور هناك 11
- 12 השטנה אשליד ל-₈₈ הנטסף בביקאי שטרו (ביי
- - 14 لحسمه بل محامد بل عادمه على عمدت 14
 - 89 Kira ara Kura Krik dra 15
 - 16 במסעי ביסוסה. אל באבא את שפטיי ביסוסה...
 - "אלאה באמא אוא אין אוא
- - 19 حةر⁹ مه بعدسه <u>بعد مي همه ه</u>ه ديا ترجيع به 19
- 1. 1 confess...
- 1. 2 by His kingdom... * by the same <tune> *
- 1. 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.
- 1. 5 Now cherubs and seraphs are escorting him.
- 1. 6 He was suckling from the paps, giving life to the whole world.

⁸³ Read حم لمحم

⁸⁴ Read Cf.حبه لبيح

⁸⁵ Supralinear word erased.

⁸⁶ Possibly read ar?

⁸⁷ Read KEALS

⁸⁸ Read אבים Scribe has written Dalath instead of Resh.

⁸⁹ Dittography- scribe has written the opening character of the first word on l. 16 حدماله to justify the margin.

⁹⁰ Cf. Psalm 82: 1 incipit معر حماء

⁹¹ Read Kino

ون،[هم] ⁹² Read

⁹³ Abbreviation for حصمتنه

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

- 1. 7 The shepherds rejoice, the Magi present offerings.
- l. 8 The angels, incessantly, in chants of thanksgiving, say,
- 1. 9 'Glory to God in the highest and peace upon
- 1. 10 earth and good hope to mankind * Canon. Tune *
- 1. 11 From error * Oh Lord, you desired * Today in Bethlehem
- 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 \diamond May you minister \diamond They are insufficient \diamond The proclamation
- l. 17 Oh Lord, you are alive! The third Sitting. Minister (from)
- l. 18 God rose ***** up to ***** 'Blessed are they' ***** Anthem. <u>Tune</u> ***** The {blessed} martyrs
- l. 19 Come, let us praiseMay the poor hear <and rejoice>

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

المعادة حباء درفة عناء المعادة مناء المعادة عناء المعادة المعادة عناء المعادة المعادة

 $^{^{95}}$ Cf. Ḥu \underline{d} rā v. I محمه 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: سکر ... حر مه مهدمه - in effect combining ll. 1 – 2.

⁹⁷ Sachau, 967 محمده

⁹⁸ Sachau, 967 حمد معلم المحمد المحم

⁹⁹ Sachau, 967 omitted the latter part of l. 2, i.e. المحده الماء [م]

- Mer reproper in the same of th
- و يمهوق بومده دوره دوره دوره ومديره ومديره
- * Try vocis There will a serve 4
- 103 ے حکے مر 101 حکتے مرہ حکم 103 ہے ہمرہ خانہ 102 ہمرہ کے مرہ ا
 - 105 د سه 104 بدطه 104 محمترسه محمترسه 104
 - 10 عدله حسم حل حجب بهدير وممت علمس
 - ال دمن ب ما مربع مربع مربع مربع مربع مربع الم
 - 12 אינ אוא אבעשונאי לדא סגיא טאטרשונש
 - 13 و المراجع ا
- ¹⁰⁹مههر عاء حدم عام ¹⁰⁸ مهرد 107 معدم (14
 - 15 הבכא אהם לשם אמם אחר משבין אבי
 - תמון זשמשתי משמבי אשלם 16 השמל זשמשל אמשל 16
 - را ترجمه محدبه مودبه بها المارية الما
 - אם מבט ממם השבים ואלוא הבשא ממה משה 18
 - 19 دونتیک همستنی هیا دورهای دستک

¹⁰⁰ Sachau, 968 محمحم

المعجد Sachau, 968 معجد 101 Sachau

¹⁰² Abbreviation of אבאבאס

 $^{^{103}}$ Scribe has written the initial character of the opening word on l. 9 to fill the line.

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

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

¹⁰⁶ Sachau, 968 عبل سبح (؟).

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

¹⁰⁸ Read ≺hä≥i

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

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

- l. 1 ... the redeemer. He turned
- 1. 2 the nation from error to the truth of His faith lest
- 1. 3 the image of honour should perish.
 God sent
 to Nazareth
- l. 4 a watcher was sent to proclaim the conception of our redeemer.
- 1. 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 <u>Come, hear and I will tell...</u> * 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
- 1. 11 in Nazareth, the city of Galilee. Blessed is the Father who sent him
- 1. 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.
- 1. 20 by Christ who was born from them. * The light shone forth

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

IV: Syr HT 41 Side (b), left folio:

- ا112 امر[..] م
- בא שאמשורז רידים 114[ראן שאיז הירה ביל עלי 3
 - 4 eff. orden brokom & ho veign & colum
 - 5 بصحه، لم ليلته جم 115 حديم حموله مديمه
 - ל בינוד האבין בלהמי בינונים האלו האבין
- 7 حەمەلە ھەلى¹¹⁷ مەمەلە مىمىخ «خىمە كىرىسى» كىرىسى كىرى
 - 8 هزهم جلسے دیمہ مصنع * حصاع ۱۱۱۶
 - אוזה בן הבם השלב השסו בש שוז אוזה 9
 - مع المام من المام المام
 - רו מברגם בארש בארש בארשי אין בארשים 11 מברגם און בארשים בארשים בארשים בארשים בארשים בארשים בארשים בארשים בארשים
- 12 نعب محنه المالية العلم المالية الم

¹¹² Sachau 968 omitted l. 1.

¹¹³ Sachau 96, omitted a

¹¹⁴ Sachau 968 interpolated [תש].

does not indicate the lower diacritical point.

¹¹⁶ Sachau 968 בא corrected the scribal error.

 $^{^{118}}$ Cf. Ḥudarā v. I יֹבה ll. 23-6 [English pagination 240] = Syr HT 41 (b), left side ll. 8-12.

أده 1. 23 أخم 1. 1. 14 Hudrā v. I

¹²⁰ Hudrā v. I عنه المناس 120 Hudrā v. انحد المناس

¹²¹ Ḥudrā v. I במבו 1. 25

¹²² Hudrā v. I نحم انحم المنابع المنا

¹²³ Hudrā v. I عنه المحة 1. 26

¹²⁴ Sachau 968 omitted 3

- 13 بعديم معدون بدول لدمولم مدور
- 14 تحرب حمسه دوم المالة وحودة عمله دوم
 - 15 ہمر حکزہ مدیجہ کے محتب مدیدہ
 - العصي تعدة حام محنت المعدة المعدة المعدد الم
- ¹²⁷حرنجام حديد ¹²⁶حماء حمامي 17
 - 18 دیلیم وجیم میلیم. ستاه کی محب موه حد
 - ר אכים האסם. שבבשל ביסאר 19
- 1. 1...
- l. 2 of all. And by the example of...shining of His dominion.
- 1. 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
- 1. 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,
- 1. 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'
- 1. 11 And He made it one with himself in the sharing of his honour,

الاعتم Read حمادة

¹²⁶ Sachau 968 interpolated 🗸 کمه

¹²⁷ Sachau 968 حعنم

¹²⁸ Sachau 968 אבסיישף

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 ממסלה לבשלה 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. 12 so as to make us worthy <of> His hope that is eternal. The hope of all.
- 1. 13 Gabriel declared the tidings of peace to the virgin Mary,
- 1. 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
- 1. 16 He remits debts. Blessed is the Father who sent His beloved.
- 1. 17 Joy in everything * Great joy in heaven and on earth
- 1. 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

V: Syr HT 42 Side (a), right folio:

ر معد حلعہ ...حلع عدم 1 معدد معدد المعدد ال

¹³⁰ Sachau, 969 states that he reconstructed this final line on the basis of parallel text found in Ms. Or. Fol. 620.

 $^{^{131}}$ Cf. Ḥudrā v. I לסבג [English pagination 570], ll. 22-23 = Syr HT 42 (a), right side ll. 2-3.

¹³² Ḥud̞rā v. I ممعد l. 22 حب

 $^{^{133}}$ Cf. Ḥud̪rā v. I לסבה [English pagination 570], ll. 20-22 = Syr HT 42 (a), right side ll. 3-5.

سرى 1.20 مىيە 1. 20 مىد. ا مصد ا

محنحه 1. 20 محدد Hudrā v. I محنحه

سى 1. 20 مىد. ا مصد 1. 20 مىد

المحيد 137 Cf. Ḥudarā v. I. محيد [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 באבע to fill the line.

- المريع به معدمه اند حدنه المارحكم همولي 8
- \sim ഗുര പ്രാപ്പു 144 am മൂപ് പുതവ 143 am മൂപ് പുത 9
- 10 ومعه حسم به برسته ۱۹۶ همتن ما به ۱۵ به ۱۵ به ۱۵ به ۱۵ به ۱۵ به ۱۵ به این ما به این
 - 11 سحملم * <u>مل</u> خم صعمد خ مه تعدد...
- רשמים הישם אבר אבל היה הלארל של היום מל 12
 - 13 בשפתה מובבלה בנו ארם ביום ביום מובבלה
 - 14 مرحمه حب حدم محمد وزمام المحمد
 - معم حمتم معتدم ملعبة من المعتب المعمد معمد معتمر معتدم معتمر 15
 - - 17 ححضت متوهر وهور لحنولهم حتر المشنع
 - 18 مدسلم محدده معادد المعادد ا
 - 19 محمله.. محدتسحه مردية تقريم على عولم 19
 - 20 محبح: معمة لحزه حز محمومه، ولجد حجز عام 153

 $^{^{139}}$ Cf. Ḥudarā v. I לסנה [English pagination 570], ll. 23-28 = Syr HT 42 (a), right side ll. 7 – 11.

¹⁴⁰ Hudrā v. I هميد 1. 23 + مهرج

¹⁴³ Ḥudrā v. I ممعد 1. 25 ممحة

¹⁴⁴ Hudrā v. I مصد 1. 25 omits م

¹⁴⁵ Ḥudrā v. I مصد 1. 26 مصد المصدة

¹⁴⁶ Ḥudrā v. I לסבנ l. 27 אוניכסו

¹⁴⁷ Orthographic error. Scribe has crossed out the Aleph באסה

¹⁴⁸ Orthographic error, Nun omitted. Cf. סניבריים

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

¹⁵⁰ בה אֹשֹּׁה בֹּם Dittography of l. 16, with the supralinear lines indicating deletion of text.

¹⁵¹ Read حنع. Dalath written instead of Resh.

¹⁵² Read , no Dest

- 1. 1 holy is the king...the world is full
- 1. 2 of His praises. David gave you the title, 'fount' by which
- 1. 3 the offspring of Adam are washed. Ezekiel saw <you> upon
- l. 4 the throne, that the flame of fire encircled you. Daniel
- 1. 5 saw <you> coming upon the clouds to judge all.
- l. 6 Malachi named you 'Sun' that by {illuminated Creation} by its rays.
- 1. 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.
- 1. 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
- 1. 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
- 1. 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 commandment, 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:

امر[] ر[] 1 امرة <u>∻معده</u> 2

- 3 سلمہ ۱۵۰ کستہ جمعور کے ایم حقعہ سور ہونے کے دعم حقعہ ہے 4 کینے کہ دعم حقعہ ہے 4
 - و دیا محل میدمی دستمی دمایی کی میری کی کرانی
- و سعد ۱₂₂ حنور من المرابع و ۱₂₂ من المرابع و الم
 - وسو سهرميه دعخه دمونه عهجهده ١
 - Raper of the results
- - رسحه برسعد معلت لم مانعهد حصية 10
 - 11 محب بلعم محمة على حذه معدد مسخلم
 - رعم عصاعه 162 مريم حسعة حماح 12
 - 13 محرور المناهم لحباء المعامدة المعرورة المعرور
 - 14 زده همه جسم <u>هه بدنه ۱</u>۹ به به حلم وبعدس

سلام الله 154 Read

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

^{1.6} ملح l. 6 ملح ¹⁵⁶ Ḥud̞rā v. I

¹⁵⁷ Ḥudarā v. I محمد l. 7; Ḥudarā v. I المحمد l. 7; Ḥudarā v. I المحمد l. 16 +

^{1.} א אָם א ווי אָם 1. א אָם ווי א ווי אין ווי איז א ווי א וויי א וויי א וויי א וויי א וויי א ווייט וו

¹⁶⁰ The omitted word has been written vertically in the outer (left) margin, at end of l. 9. The place for the word's insertion within the text is indicated by rubric signs V and ^ above and below line.

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

^{1. 19} محد المحم 1. 14 أ¹⁶² Ḥudౖrā v. I محد

عم 1. 20 محم 1. 1. 20 محم

- 15 كىمى جەھى دۇمە دەمەلىر ادىم لىدىم
- 16 حملة المناهب من محمد المناهب المناه
- 17 حمل میک حصل حدیم میلامه ۱۲ میلام ۱۲
 - الا حسبه معالم الما معدم مسام 18
 - 19 לייביא בסביא אי גבל זנסגא בי בשיבא
- מים אבא ¹⁶⁹ כם מים אבא בא¹⁶⁹ כם מים אבא 20
- l. 1 ...your ...
- 1. 2 Praise * Blessed is...
- l. 4 <u>He revealed the sight of the people</u> ***** The great mystery that was hidden from
- l. 5 the ages and from the generations, was revealed to us at the renewal of the world
- l. 6 He, the Only Begotten, who is in the womb of the Begetter, came
- 1. 7 and assumed the likeness of a servant. And He
- l. 8 expounded and revealed to us the perfect faith

محه محر [English pagination 162-3] final line (محه) -1...20 16 (محه) = Syr HT 42 (a) left side ll. 9-14.

^{1.1} محر 1.1 محر ¹⁶⁵ Ḥudrā v. I محد

ال محر 1. 1 محر 1. 1 محر 1. 1 محر 1. 1 محر

رلخ لم اً 1.2 محر ¹⁶⁷ Ḥudౖrā v. I محر

ا محر ¹⁶⁸ Ḥudౖrā v. I محر

¹⁶⁹ Hudrā v. I מבע 1. 5 אזמא

¹⁷⁰ For the variant אבר see, Tetraeungelium snctum 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. Lelois, L'Évangile d'Éphrem d'après les oeuvres èditées (Louvain: Secrétariat du CoprusCSO, 1958) 21, #132. Cf. Matthew 10:32

- l. 9 of the Trinity. < Come, let us praise > 171 The good news of peace and of love
- l. 10 through compassion was proclaimed to us at the glorious birth of Christ.
- l. 11 By it we have learnt that the Creator is reconciled with us, has restored and given to us
- 1. 12 the glorious image which we lost in that He took from us
- l. 13 the 'first fruits'. But He conjoined our nature with the honour that was with
- l. 15 the essence <that> sets creation in order, who at the end of time clothed us
- l. 16 by the birth which He took from our kind .By it, He redeemed us from
- 1. 17 death and Satan and destruction. We beseech you, 'Protect us
- l. 18 by your clemency and deem all of us worthy <of> the goodness which you promised
- l. 19 to your 'friends' in your gospel: 'whoever professes in me in everlasting faith
- l. 20 before men, also I <will confess> (in) him before the Father', 172

VII: Syr HT 42 Side (b), right folio:

 $^{^{171}}$ Marginal – omitted from text but indicated by rubric $^{\smallfrown}$ and v.

¹⁷² Cf. Matthew 10:32.

This passage occurs in several places in the Ḥudarā. (1) Ḥudarā v. I عدد [English pagination 143] ll. 20-25 = ll. 2 – 9; (2) Ḥudarā v. I ملك [English pagination 149] ll. 10-16; (3) Ḥudarā v. I مد [English pagination 157]ll. 2 - 7 = Syr HT 42 (b), right side ll. 2 – 9.

but penned Qoph rather than Waw, so crossed out these two letters before recommencing the word afresh.

- 4 بەدەن مىكى خىلىم كىلىم بىرىسىلىلىمىسى 4
- 2 משלים שטט טרלים ביין ארהים שטט צשטים מכדא 2112
- رساء و بار المناهد عد حقد المناهد المناهد المناهدة المنا
 - 7 סזמ גוא גשט לאכר בארא 179 טיט עני איי איי
 - 8 בלל מהא מליידול פי אביר אבי אריי אל מייא לא פי ווון
 - 9 حدّ مر 183 من معن بالمرابع معمر بيلوبلد هنه 184
 - 10 هزوم حدمة جا حيل دوية حلم حيل لحوله
 - 11 מצברה מסא סלשל נולמ האבל סלא בהען
- 12 مەنع خىدى لىەدى بىل[ىك بىد]كىسىك 185 بىدىكى كەدەب كىدىك كىدىك
 - באבה האחם ביונה בענה ביונה הבים האחה הבבים האחה ו

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

¹⁷⁶ Ḥudarā v. I محم l. 22; Ḥudarā v. I محم l. 13; Ḥudarā v. I مدم المحمد المحم

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

 $^{^{178}}$ Ḥu
drā v. I סבר l. 23; Ḥu
drā v. I שלה l. 14; Ḥu
drā v. I המל וו היא l. 5 read

¹⁷⁹ Ḥudarā v. I סבר l. 24; Ḥudarā v. I שלה l. 14; Ḥudarā v. I מר l. 6 read בארבה

¹⁸⁰ Ḥudarā v. I מבע l. 25; Ḥudarā v. I أملك l. 15; Ḥudarā v. I مدد l. 4 read

¹⁸¹ Ḥudarā v. I ישם l. 25; Ḥudarā v. I באם l. 15; Ḥudarā v. I ישם l. 7 read

¹⁸² Ḥudarā v. I בים l. 25; Ḥudarā v. I בים l. 16; Ḥudarā v. I מגם l. 7 read בים בר

¹⁸³ Upper diacritic of Resh is wanting.

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

¹⁸⁵ Dittography

¹⁸⁶ Dittography ~6~3 commences the next line (l. 13).

- אר בצר השמים בשנה שתבים בשום בשום בשום 14
 - 15 אבון מאמי מגע הגא מן באמל אויא מן באמל באמל מגע
 - 16 جوفراد حجده ۲۰ داد مناه دوسه ۱۹۵۰ میرود ۱۹۵۰
 - - 18 بطحه خطهاء مزهره حم حمدمه معم

 - 20 مسكمة حطحت لمسلم بدن حم لممتح
- 1.1 that from...in heaven¹⁹² .
- 1. 2 in Him? * He is raised up ... and God promised
- l. 3 to Abraham previously, 'through your seed
- l. 4 all the nations shall be blessed'. The sinners who, by their sins
- 1. 5 died and perished in error, i.e. He gathers
- l. 6 them in and also healed their diseases as the prophet saw
- l. 7 long ago that He would take away our pains and bear our illnesses.
- l. 8 Because of this we worship whilst saying, 'praise to you
- 1.9 Lord of all" * by the same <tune> * The light tends me.

 Before Our Redeemer was born
- l. 10 in flesh from the house of David, our entire nature was enslaved to death
- l. 11 and we were subjugated beneath the yoke of the Slanderer
- l. 12 until the day of [the birth of Christ] Christ who came
- l. 13 who came and redeemed us by His compassion , strengthened us by His grace and made us $\,$
- l. 14 heirs in His kingdom * Then He spoke * The prophet of the spirit, Isaiah

Dittography = is the initial character of the following word

אר Scribal dittography, writes באסל then recommenced to write באסלא באסב

¹⁸⁹ Orthographic error. Cf. 2302033

¹⁹⁰ Read حسحلح

נסגע אבסת, 2:52 Psalm פהע אבסת, 191 Cf. Psalm

¹⁹² Possibly a paraphrase of Matthew 10:33 which concludes הכצמבא

- l. 15 proclaimed, saying before the generations, 'Immanuel will be born
- l. 16 from a virgin, 193 without seed, by the power of the Holy Spirit
- l. 17 and in Him the nature that was worn out with corruption was renewed for the Hero.
- l. 18 of the worlds would be born and would pacify the height with the abyss
- l. 19 at His holy birth ***** by the same <tune> ***** Let us come into His presence ***** Let us profess
- 1. 20 and worship at all times the essence who created us before

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

- 1 [] حسن ا ا
- Land Land []mr Lyan fran 5
- לבל עבשט אידם ھ[] שט אטטשט אנדם 3
 - Adam dam Amel mar pomo cais 4
- رح ¹⁹⁵منزهری مسلم حسب ۱94ممراه، معتمل 5
 - 6 شر حديمه برحمه معلى معنه معنى بن 6
 - ر مهری کا عبری ایمار میرند کا میرند کا
 - 8 معم لم حصفة الم عمدسه يمتم محمصر
 - و درح صعقف لمهدمه لحرحة معدشمه
 - 10 הכלבה מציעה מוס הבינ דעמסמה, פוֹם,
 - וו בא ליששי בירש בן ידא משים בימף און
- 12 كىمىمە عدىسە، 198 مىلكى دەھىنى بون نحزەش

¹⁹³ Paraphrase of Isaiah 7:14.

¹⁹⁴ Read حمكة م

¹⁹⁵ Read aimbro

¹⁹⁶ Read Kiix

¹⁹⁷ Read حنحه

¹⁹⁸ Read ~hwar

- 13 محصر حش رمس محب محس منصم ليسم
- شمعے معنے کے خلتہ مناتے کے عدم 14
 - 15 وسلمام معرفه حزوجه حديد والمحلمه
 - 16 رحم منے که ده، له حد محزيم مديده
 - תלוסים השמי שהיים הוצה עבור אשור 17
- 18 مامع حلب * ²⁰¹ هده بعده بدلوني المرابع عدد المرابع عدد المرابع ا
 - 19 محیوم کاب بادی دحون العیتمی تادید روز
 - حمقصحا نبلس مملك حمومهم حمومهم 20
- 1.1 ...
- 1. 2 the vanity of...our race, the destruction
- 1. 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. <u>Let us come into His presence.</u>
- 1. 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
- 1. 12 His glorious inner self, His will wove the vestment of the flesh
- 1. 13 and concealed His fair brightness in it. With it, He redeemed our race

¹⁹⁹ Read וכיום

²⁰⁰ Scribe wrote בסבא, possibly בסבא, then realising his error crossed it out, correcting it to מאבהאלה

 $^{^{201}}$ Ḥudrā v. I مصد [English pagination 570] ll. 13-15 = ll. 18 – 20.

אותבים הכיביא 1. 13 למנה l. אישבי של אות ²⁰² Hudrā v. I

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

- l. 14 and reconciled the upper beings with us and freed us from the slavery
- 1. 15 of sin. He made us heirs on high and unto His kingdom
- l. 16 he invited <and> summoned us. Come, let us profess him whilst saying, 'Holy are You
- 1. 17 God, Father of truth, Holy are You spirit, the Paraclete'.
- l. 18 And he had mercy upon us. Who is able to recount, who will relate
- 1. 19 your wise acts, O great treasure who enriched the needy;
- 1. 20 who in partial likeness has revealed your power for healings

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

ארשר בארשר אונדער אונד

²⁰⁴ Cf. Ḥudrā v. I معده [English pagination 571] ll. 14-16 = ll. 1 – 4.

²⁰⁵ Hudrā v. I השנה 1. 16 א האומשה זא זיי

²⁰⁶ Read حسب

²⁰⁷ Read Ashra

²⁰⁸ Cf. Isaiah 7:14 حنه مديك محالمه حس

²⁰⁹ Read حمة

- 1. 1 [on the day of His birth and saying, Glory] ...
- 1. 2 to God in [the highest and peace and harmony] upon earth
- 1. 3 the good hope for [mankind]. Christ, the offspring of the wondrous,
- l. 5 about the Son, Christ whom He brought forth in flesh. The prophets proclaimed, 'Behold
- l. 6 a Virgin shall conceive and bear'. ²¹⁹ And according to the time of the prophecy,

 $^{^{210}}$ Cf. Ḥudarā v. I محيد [English pagination 614] ll. 11-15 = ll. 13 – 18.

²¹² Ḥudౖrā v. I مصه الله 1. 12 كمعده

ير 1. 12 مصر 1. ا مصرد المصرد 1. 12 مصرد المصرد المصرد المصرد المصرد المصرد المصرد المصرد المصرد المصرد المصرد

²¹⁵ Cf. Ḥu \underline{d} rā v. I \longrightarrow [English pagination 139] Il. 4-8 = Il. 18 – 22.

²¹⁶ Ḥudrā v. I كله ا. 4 روزها

²¹⁷ Ḥudrā v. I ملك 1. 5 عنصمة

²¹⁸ Ḥudrā v. I ملك 1. 6 عدة

²¹⁹ Paraphrase of Isaiah 7:14.

- 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
- 1. 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.
- 1. 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
- I. 18 upon us. * And praise * By the example of Aaron's staff
- l. 19 which budded, thus the virgin conceived. Oh, unbelieving
- 1. 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:

[]

]

]

]

1

حمد [الم] شأم حمد in عاد 2

3 لج سدم معد 200 علم [

عة معدسم كا منخةم مملك عمدسم 5

סששבם שישטר עבותי עולשםי 6

בא Word crossed out and corrected to בא

²²¹ Read حمنمه

²²² Read 1

²²³ Read Zunaz

- <u>Lo</u> 4 224 Kuronz Lo Kiso trisoku truszs 7
- مساءمر <u>* 227 منت</u> 226 ممساءمر 225 * حامد مل مر 8
 - و بدونه حملت ۱۲۵ منه مرابعه منه ۱۲۵ منه و ۱۲ منه و ۱۲۵ منه و ۱۲ منه و ۱۲۵ منه و ۱۲ منه و ۱
 - 10 تقب ون محمد بالمحمد بالمحمد المحمد المحمد
- - 12 وام حيام عياب جي حيام جو حيام الحيام المعارب ميام
 - משחתדי אף ביי שרבי ביי ארבי דערביי 13
 - 14 הכבובא סואו 236 נטעבא כבהם 237 מה בכו
 - מפה באישה מבל הבשם שבל באי 238 מהם 15
 - 16 دهنه همک محبیره وسیدلی ²⁴¹ محبیره محمد محبیره محبیره
 - 17 برحل حەزىمى ھەدىكى بەد بىكىلىكىك

²²⁴ Read

²²⁶ Ḥuḍrā v. I סבן l. 20; Ḥuḍrā v. I סבר l. 21 אם l. 21 אסוישל א

²²⁷ Ḥudarā v. I מבן l. 20; Ḥudarā v. Ì מבן l. 21 + מהע Cf. Psalm 25.4 מבן איייטא פון אייטא פון איייטא פון אייטא פון איייטא פון אייטא פון איייטא פון איייטא פון איי

علمه 1. 21 محم 1. 21; Ḥudarā v. I محم المحدد 21 امحم المطابقة إلى المحدد المحد

ي ا منم السلام الكانة الكانة

²³⁰ Ḥuḍrā v. I مم ا مم ا. 22; Ḥuḍrā v. I مم ا. 22 مم الم

عدلکہ 1. 23 محم اللہ 1. 22; Ḥud̪rā v. I عدم 1. 23 حدلکہ 231 طحم 1. 24

يا كوهي 1. 23 إلى الموسى 232 Hudrā v. I

 $^{^{234}}$ Scribe began to write كمحك but with insufficient space, recommenced on the next line.

عربية, 24 .l. عبر 1. 24; Ḥudrā v. I مدم 1. 24

مرور 25 l. مدم l. 25; Ḥudrā v. I مدم l. 25 أمدم l. 25

حجم 1. 25; Ḥudarā v. I معم 1. 25; Ḥudarā v. I عجم 1. 25

²³⁸ Ḥudrā v. I مم l. 25; Ḥudrā v. I مصد l. 26 حبح

²³⁹ Ḥudౖrā v. I סבר l. 26; Ḥud॒rā v. I סבר l. 26

ير ا محم المورد 1. 27 من ا محم المورد 1. 26; Ḥudrā v. I عن المورد ا محم المورد ا

مسطح، 1. 27 معم المطابع الـ 24 إلى المطلح، 24 إلى المطلح،

- 1. 1 ...
- 1. 2 punishment. God...the nation
- 1. 3 Indeed all...rejoice at our returning
- l. 4 and are professing with us on the day of retribution to the Lord of all,
- 1. 5 whilst praising God and saying, 'Praise to you
- l. 6 who has appeared in the body of men'. And with them
- 1. 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
- 1. 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
- 1. 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

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<sup>242</sup> Ḥud̪rā v. I سمه l. 27; Ḥud̪rā v. I حمه l. 1 كرحبة
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²⁴³ Hudrā v. I معدلا 1. 1; Ḥudrā v. I معدلا 1. 1 معدا المعدد ا

²⁴⁴ Ḥudౖrā v. I معد 1. 1; Ḥud॒rā v. I معد 1. 1 deletes عد

²⁴⁵ Ḥudౖrā v. I محمد l. 2 محنه المرك المعلك المحلك المحلك

²⁴⁶ Ḥud̪rā v. I סבים 1. 1; Ḥud̪rā v. I מבים 1. 2

ر ا معند محمد معنده المعادي بالمعادي المعادي المعادي

كنتىم 1. ك مىك 1. 4 مىل 1. 3; Ḥudٍrā v. I مىل 1. 3

²⁴⁹ Ḥudౖrā v. I معدل المعدل 1. 3; Ḥudౖrā v. I عدد المعدل المعد

²⁵⁰ Reference to Ezekiel's vision: Ezekiel 1.4-28.

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:

- **→**022 | 3 | 1
- جهد الحامون المالية عند المالية عند المالية عند المالية عند المالية المالية عند المالية المال
- אואק באיד בשם מבים אראמ האומ 3 סוביביו בשם מ
- 4 سحمه، لهرم جم حده لله وحد
- זיבים שמא בבד עיא בבים למה המא וכינים 5
 - م الم معدم حقامة مح حليات ²⁵³ حديد ما 6
- Kesado Kala Kosiso Kalal 7
 - 8 تعن حاديم هونا معادمه الماء محر حلم
- و حملیه مه عمدیه و مدید دسته دسته و
 - حيات المرابعة المرابعة المرابعة المرابعة 10 مرابعة المرابعة المرا
 - רשבי השל השי הייה הייה שמשר 11
 - 12 مركم مرم ليحيل مرم حيد محمدلهم
 - 13 وجم معلم محمد عمد معلم مفلوله عمام
 - 14 בשנה בשלה שנת בשלה אבלה
 - ك محمد عتب حيل عمل الله المحمد 255 معمد 15
 - 16 אבבמשלא לאנשא בתנימנא הבישתבמח, אהי

²⁵² Reconstruct Seyame.

²⁵³ Read حيتم

²⁵⁴Read (?)

²⁵⁵ Orthographic error حعده

- 17 ליידי היסוציים היאול ביו אומ אוביא לאי
- ²⁶⁰ من نامحکم حمدمت ²⁵⁸ حمد ²⁵⁶ .. * همله <u>* مام</u> 18
 - 19 <u>۱۳ مه ۱۵ ۵۲۵ مده ۲۵ مه ۲۵ مه ۲۵ مه ۲۵ مه</u>
 - ריזא אלא היו אים היא מו אי <u>* איי</u> 20
 - 21 كاحدم 261 مادمد 262 ك ماده وحديث وحميد
- 1. 1 good...over our mankind
- 1. 2 He sent to creation...that from Him. He might come
- 1. 3 and dwell with those? mortals...that through Adam
- l. 4 he might raise Adam from the fall that befell <him> in Eden
- 1. 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
- 1. 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.

 $^{^{257}}$ Ḥudrā v. I \sim [English pagination 167] l. 20 - 1 = ll. 18-19.

²⁵⁸ Ḥudrā v. I مدے 1. 20 تعبہ

²⁵⁹ Ḥudrā v. I סכשבונא 1. 20

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

אבות or אבות Scribal error, read

 $^{^{262}}$ Ḥu \underline{d} rā v. I ملح [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,
- 1. 17 His only one to restore Adam through Adam. Praise to you.
- l. 18 <u>Come</u> His tune The prophet of truth and the messenger
- l. 19 of righteousness & <u>Canon</u> & Tune & Come, my brothers & The Lord
- l. 20 <u>has remembered</u> For the duration before the generations, O Lord, remember
- 1. 21 Abraham and David about the birth of the future Christ.

XII: Syr HT 43 Side (b), left folio:

سے [مع][] معامر 1

263مر بسمهماد []عدمامه، بالمرابعة 2

of are when wis of know . Kriels 3

א אבד א ששוז המוצה בתישה שבים א בדי 4

ל אשלא כל מש בל בל אוא הפעא לא זכנה 5

معلعه معلع ²⁶⁵مر منع معلعد ²⁶⁴ مرسوع 6

ppyco troiso opr coins pros of consor 1

8 مسحم حمدنه عددته له ومجم حدده

همامند ما برا محاور عبر عامل مرازم معامره 9

10 ديدودسي. في التحر عجب لمل المام عدودسي 10

11 له تعتنه نوسخ. فنمها مد الملحنة من 11 مهالحنو

معصريه محلحه مرحيه ورهيه لحلحه مجم معم

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

²⁶⁴ Read میرم

²⁶⁵ Read viva

²⁶⁶ Read حعمصم

²⁶⁷ Read مملحته ?

- 13 سے برلطم و مصلیہ سے، هنگ محمد برکام ہوں ہے۔ 14 ہے۔ اور ہے۔ اور برکام میں میں میں میں ہے۔ 14 ہے۔ اور ہے۔ او

 - 15 מד יבי במבישף משחא שיש מישה שא
- 270 كى مەمىي كىھىرى سىمەسى كەسىمى بىرىمىيى 16
 - .000 بعد ²⁷²دهم محله تحسم ²⁷²د تصحب 17
- 276 حمده حد مهری مدههه، 275 هج هدسه هر 276
- - 21 محمة م محمد محمد محمد محمد معموم كا
 - 22 لم 280 محم حجز حك وقد من المرابع على من المرابع على المرابع المرابع
 - ساموه کنونی تحمیلی دین دین المین مین المین مین المین مین المین مین المین المین المین المین المین المین المین ا

 $^{^{268}}$ Ḥu \underline{d} rā v. I שמנה [English pagination 570-71] last line – l. 5, ll. 6-9= ll. 13-23.

وروع Hudrā v. I معدم ا. 1 کارا

²⁷⁰ Ḥudౖrā v. I معده الله الله 270 إ

عحبة 1. 3 Hudrā v. I معمة

²⁷² Ḥudrā v. I معده 1. 3 معده

²⁷³ Ḥudrā v. I معدم 1. 4 مده

علمه: 4. 4 المعدم 274 Hudrā v. I

 $^{^{275}}$ Hudrā v. I مسل المحمد حموللتم معدمه المحمد ممالتم محمد ما ممم

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

حجمتر l. 6 معده 277 Ḥudrā v. I

عەة دىسى 1. 6 مىسات مەت المعدى 278 Ḥudrā v. I

²⁷⁹ Ḥudౖrā v. I سعمه ا. 7 مهمره میکه

Dittography of the final word of previous line \mathbf{a} and omitting introducing the next clause.

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

²⁸² Hudrā v. I معمه 1. 9 حجة حم

- 1. 1 Man? ... Praise to you.
- 1. 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. 14 was celebrated by the birth of Jesus, our king. He came for our
- 1. 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
- 1. 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 Estrangela 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 Sertâ 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 Estrangela. However, the Aleph shows a mixed pattern, with both the Sertâ and Estrangela variants being used, although the former is more prevalent than the latter.²⁸⁵ The angular Qoph, was preferred over the rounded Sertâ type.²⁸⁶ Similarly Beth is written angular. In keeping with East Syrian scribal conventions, the Shin maintained the familiar Estrangela shape, rather than the rounded type that emerged in Serțâ. The Serțâ 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 Sertâ 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 מֻבְּבֶּס; l. 5 מְזָבִּבּר, side (a), left folio, l. 6 איבב, i. 12 איבב, side (b), right folio, l. 3 געבין, l. 20 געבין, l. 18 איבבן, l. 10 געבין, l. 14 איבבן, l. 18 איבבן, 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 ~ and penultimate line for examples of the Estrangela form of Aleph.

²⁸⁶ Hatch, op. cit., 35.

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

علمانة; side (b), left folio, l. 6 المحمدة; l. 7 محنيمة; l. 12 محمدة; l. 15 محتمة; l. 16 محتمة المحتمة المحتم

Fol. 42: side (a), right l. 5 كيا; l. 7 كيغ; l. 8 كينه; l. 19 كردي، ; l. 20 عيام; side (a), left l. 4 حصمة; l. 5 كيامي; l. 10 كالمناء; l. 18 كالمنة; l. 18 كالمنة; side (b), right l. 6 حصمة، إلى المناء; side (b), left l. 11 كالمناء; l. 18 كالمناء

Fol. 43: side (a) right l. 6 בּלְנֵה ; il. 14, 21 בּלְנֵה ; side (a) left l. 20 בּבּלֵה, side (b) right l. 13 בּלְנֵה ; side (b) left l. 4 בּלְנֵה ; side (b) left l. 4 בּבֹּה ; side (b) left l. 4 בּבֹה ; side (b) left l. 4 בּבֹּה ; side (b) left l. 4 בּבֹה ; side (b) left l. 4 בבּבה ; side (b) left l. 4 בבבה ; side (b) left l. 5 בבבה ; side (b) left l. 5 בבבה ; side (b) left l. 5 בבבבה ; side (b) left l. 5 בבבבבה ; side (b) left l. 5 בבבבבבה ; side (b)

Rhasa was the preferred vocalisation, principally differentiating verbal conjugations. Ptaha was used sporadically, usually to denote the Aphel rather than the Pa'el participle viz: مخصية and مخطوع 288 Zqapa was written on one occasion to indicate a present participle rather than the conjunction Waw, viz: عقرة Proper nouns viz: المعنية 'Nazareth' and معنية 'Persia' were also vocalised, although inconsistently.290 Thus Nazareth is written as and معنية 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 viz: במסאל / אניסאל / Hezekiah' and 'Daniel' respectively. 293 The scribe sometimes has confused Resh and Dalath, even in proper names viz: ארבים in the standard expression (sic) ארבים 'Mary, the mother of the Messiah'. 294 'Abraham' is spelt ארבים. 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, viz:

ەخەھە Fol. 42 (a) left l. 15 خەھىم fol. 42 (a) right l. 6 مخەھە

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

'your Paschal sacrifice' and رحنے 'your body'. 296 His inconsistency extends to basic diacritical points; often omitting Seyame, viz: '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 in the text. 302 Likewise and show the place of whom 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 Hudrā from the monastery library, or may have been produced

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

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

²⁹⁸ Fol. 42 (b), right l. 9 ois, l. 12 docs; fol. 42 (b), left line l. 14: - ox

لم has been corrected to المامير Fol. 42 (b), right l. 3

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

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

³⁰² Fol. 42 (a), left left margin مه 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. These were, without exception, made from Syriac originals, but to date none have been found amongst the Syriac fragments from Bulayïq, 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 Hudra 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 Hudrā 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 Borgia Syr. 86, also dated to the $16^{\rm th}$ 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 Ḥudarā. 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)