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By

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Cyrillona: A Critical Study and Commentary

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Comparatively little Syriac literature predating the Council of Chalcedon (451) has survived to the present, but many believe Syriac poetry reached its apogee in the works of these early authors, the most illustrious being Ephrem the Syrian. Cyrillona (ca. 396) was Ephrem's younger contemporary, and his nineteenth-century discoverer, editor and translator, Gustav Bickell, hailed him as "the most important Syriac poet after Ephrem." Scholars East and West have concurred that Cyrillona certainly stands among the first rank of Syriac poets. Yet in the 150 years since his rediscovery, the study of his work has not been commensurate with this high opinion.

There survives no ancient testimony of Cyrillona or his poetry, and he is known to us only through his works. They are preserved in a single sixth-century British Library manuscript (BL Add. 14,591), a miscellany of poetic homilies (*memre*) by both named and anonymous authors. Two poems are attributed to Cyrillona by

name, and based on style and content, three further anonymous works in the same manuscript appear to come from his pen.

This dissertation is the first full and systematic study of Cyrillona. It examines and reassesses conventional claims about the author: name and identity, date, place of writing, and the constitution of his corpus, specifically rejecting the authenticity of an anonymous *memra On the Grain of Wheat,* attributed to Cyrillona by Bickell. I have reedited all the Syriac texts in a critical edition and provide their first complete translation into English, together with a study and commentary on the five genuine poems. This study introduces each poem and examines its poetic form and genre, structure and rhetorical features, and critical questions of text, interpretation, and milieu. Its goal is to enhance our appreciation and our understanding of the contribution of Cyrillona to literature and thought, and to provide a firm textual and critical foundation for future research. Cyrillona emerges as a daring expositor, a loving pastor, an engaging homilist, and a poet of great originality and unique gifts.

This dissertation by Carl W. Griffin fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in Early Christian Studies approved by Sidney H. Griffith, S.T., Ph.D., as Director, and by Monica Blanchard, Ph.D., and Janet Timbie, Ph.D., as Readers.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

General

ANF	*The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (ed. Roberts and Donaldson)
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
C	Codex Curetonianus
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CPG	Clavis Patrum Graecorum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
Diat.	Diatessaron
OS	Old Syriac
Pesh.	Peshitta
PG	Patrologia Graeca
S	Codex Palimpsestus Sinaiticus
Syr.	Syriac
TS	*Thesaurus Syriacus* (ed. Payne Smith)

Works of Cyrillona

Euch.	*On the Institution of the Eucharist*
Wash.	*On the Washing of the Feet*
Pasch	*On the Pasch of Our Lord*
Scourges	*On the Scourges*
Zacch.	*On Zacchaeus*

Works of Ephrem the Syrian

Arm.	*Armenian Hymns* (ed. Mariès and Mercier, *Hymnes conservées en version arménienne*)
Azym.	*Hymns on Unleavened Bread* (ed. Beck, *Paschahymnen*)
Cruc.	*Hymns on the Crucifixion* (ed. Beck, *Paschahymnen*)
Diat.	*Commentary on the Diatessaron* (ed. Leloir, *Commentaire de l'Évangile*, 1963 and 1990)
Dom. Nost.	*Sermon on Our Lord* (ed. Beck, *Sermo de Domino Nostro*)

Eccl.	*Hymns on the Church* (ed. Beck, *Hymnen de Ecclesia*)
Epiph.	*Hymns on Epiphany* (ed. Beck, *Hymnen de Nativitate*)
HFid.	*Hymns on Faith* (ed. Beck, *Hymnen de Fide*)
Haer.	*Hymns against Heresies* (ed. Beck, *Hymnen contra Haereses*)
Ieiun.	*Hymns on the Fast* (ed. Beck, *Hymnen de Ieiunio*)
Jul. eccl.	*On the Church* (ed. Beck, *Hymnen de Paradiso und Contra Julianum*)
Nat.	*Hymns on the Nativity* (ed. Beck, *Hymnen de Nativitate*)
Nic.	*Hymns on Nicomedia* (ed. Renoux, *Mēmrē sur Nicomédie*)
Nis.	*Hymns on Nisibis* (ed. Beck, *Carmina Nisibena*, 1961 and 1963)
Par.	*Hymns on Paradise* (ed. Beck, *Hymnen de Paradiso und Contra Julianum*)
Pub.	*Letter to Publius* (ed. Brock, "Ephrem's Letter to Publius")
Serm.	*Sermones* (ed. Beck, *Sermones I-IV*)
Virg.	*Hymns on Virginity* (ed. Beck, *Hymnen de Virginitate*)

Other Syriac Texts

Dem.	Aphrahat, *Demonstrations* (ed. Parisot, *Aphraatis*)
Heb. Sanc.	Ps. Ephrem, *Sermons on the Holy Week* (ed. Beck, *Sermones in Hebdomadam Sanctam*)
Mens.	Ps. Ephrem, *Sermons on the Blessing of the Table* (ed. Mariès, Froman and Graffin, "Mimré de Saint Éphrem")
Sogh.	*Soghyatha* (ed. Brock, *Soghyatha mgabyatha*)
Wheat	*On the Grain of Wheat* (BL Add. 14,591, fols. 79r-83r)

CHAPTER ONE

Cyrillona: The Author and His Works

INTRODUCTION

Syriac Christianity has been described as "essentially Semitic in its outlook and thought patterns."[1] Like authors of the Hebrew Bible, early Syriac writers favored teaching theology through poetry, extravagant in symbolism and lavish in trope, and a stark contrast to the systematic and philosophical prose of the Greek East and Latin West. Because of this and other singular features, early Syriac Christianity has become of ever-increasing interest to church historians.

It is unfortunate that comparatively little early Syriac literature has been preserved. Most Syriac literature postdates the Council of Chalcedon (451), when theological controversy precipitated the split of the Syriac church into eastern and western communions, each of which developed its own literary tradition. Cyrillona and his works are in the same lamentable position as so much of early Syriac literature, which Lucas Van Rompay has described well:

> Writings antedating the split [of the East and West Syrian churches, following Chalcedon,] and representing the common heritage of all Syrian Christians have in part been incorporated into one or both of the two later traditions. Others just happen to have been preserved, totally cut off from their original

[1] Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation," 17; see also Brock, *Luminous Eye*, 14-15.

> context, without any indication of when and where they originated. Many more have simply disappeared. And yet, it is this pre-fifth-century stage of Syriac culture, which is sometimes seen as "essentially semitic in its outlook and thought patterns" and less hellenized, which has such a strong appeal today. Judging by the titles, more than half of the papers read at the present symposium [i.e., Syriac Symposium III, Notre Dame, 1999] deal with this period. There is no common denominator for this early literature: it consists of individual authors and anonymous works, each with its own characteristics, with very few connections between them. Much of this period soon must have fallen into oblivion.[2]

Cyrillona is precisely one of these valuable early authors, all but anonymous, whose surviving works are preserved by happenstance, severed from their original context, with evident merits but uncertain historical, literary and theological connections.

Cyrillona has been celebrated as one of the foremost early Syriac poets since almost the moment of his discovery by Western scholars in the mid-19th century. An important factor in establishing his high reputation was the publication of a translation of his works by the eminent German semitist Gustav Bickell in the popular series, *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*.[3] Bickell lavished upon Cyrillona the highest praise: "Ich halte ihn für den bedeutendsten syrischen Dichter nach Ephräm."[4]

In 1912 a reviser of Bickell's translation, Simon Landersdorfer, would note Bickell's praise, and while not disagreeing, is careful to specify that this is Bickell's

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[2] Van Rompay, "Past and Present Perceptions," par. 9.
[3] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 9-63.
[4] Ibid., 14.

opinion.[5] Nevertheless, Bickell's superlative praise influenced many scholars of his generation, who at times repeated his declaration, in substance or even verbatim, either with attribution to Bickell or simply as their own opinion.[6] Clearly many of these writers had no direct acquaintance with Cyrillona, but Syriac scholars have repeatedly affirmed his importance. Aphram Barsoum ranked Cyrillona among the highest tier of Syriac poets, "famous for their illuminating introductions, clear expression and exquisite style," and found him in no way inferior to his predecessors.[7] Murray regards him as the last great theological poet before Syriac poetry lapsed into "a monotonous and facile fluency which only a few writers of genius will transcend."[8]

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[5] Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 1, 8. Landersdorfer made very minimal revisions to Bickell, and therefore in the following study, I rarely find cause to cite this as an independent translation. See p. 409n3 below.

[6] E.g., Bardenhewer: "Bickell erklärt den Verfasser für den bedeutendsten syrischen Dichter nach Ephräm" (*Geschichte*, 4:397); "Den Verfasser bezeichnet Bickell als den bedeutendsten syrischen Dichter nach Ephräm" (*Patrologie*, 342); Danglard: "Cyrillonas, que le traducteur considère comme le poëte syriaque le plus considérable après S. Ephrem" ("Courrier allemand," 265); Hurter: "Porro horum [editorum apud Bickell] primus Cyrillonas diaconus, ipso judice praecipuus est post s. Ephraemum Syrorum poeta" (*Nomenclator*, 1:202-3); Kurtz: "Am nächsten steht ihm [i.e., Ephrem] Cyrillonas" (*Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 296); Leitner: "So erwähnt Cyrillonas, der bedeutendste syrische Dichter nach Ephräm (etc.)" (*Gottesdienstliche Volkgesang*, 102); Nirschl: "Cyrillonas dürfte als der bedeutendste syrische Dichter nach Ephräm auszusehen sein" (*Lehrbuch*, 277); Rump: "Cyrillonas, den der Uebersetzer für den bedeutendsten syr. Dichter nach Ephräm hält" ("Neuere Publicationen," 138); Streber: "Von den sechs erhaltenen Liedern dieses Dichters, der an Erhabenheit und Kraft dem hl. Ephräm gleichkommt" (etc.) ("Cyrillonas," 3:1282).

[7] Barsoum, *Scattered Pearls*, 36, 239-40.

[8] Murray, *Symbols*, 340.

DISCOVERY AND PUBLICATION

The first publication of a text now attributed to Cyrillona appeared in fact under the name of Isaac of Antioch, a long excerpt from *On the Institution of the Eucharist* (95-239), published by Overbeck in 1865.[9] While the title of this text is given in the manuscript as simply ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܩܘ̈ܕܫܐ, without any authorial attribution,[10] it is preceded there by twelve homilies which are explicitly attributed to Isaac (ܡܐܡܪ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܣܒܪܝܐ or simply ܣܒܪܝܐ ܡܐܡܪ). Overbeck made an understandable assumption concerning its authorship, one later made as well by Wright in his catalog.[11]

In 1869 Gustav Bickell announced that there was in London a manuscript containing "einige Gedichte" of a "bisher ganz unbekannte Cyrillonas," one of which was a homily on the invasion of the Huns.[12] He speculated that this author was perhaps identical with Absamya, a nephew of Ephrem who was reported to

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[9] Overbeck, *Opera selecta,* 379-81. I reference all works of Cyrillona according to the titles and title abbreviations I have assigned them. See the Table of Abbreviations, and the table of manuscript titles and incipits on p. 10 below.

[10] Overbeck gives the title as ܣܒܪܝܐ ܡܐܡܪ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܩܘ̈ܕܫܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ, but this is an editorial expansion. He does, however, correctly observe of the heading to this section, ܡܐܡܪ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ: "metrum potius quam originem significare puto pro ܡܐܡܪ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܫܬܐ" (Overbeck, *Opera selecta,* ix).

[11] Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:670. Wright, uncharacteristically, fails to note Overbeck's publication, so this may well represent his independent judgment. Bickell does not note Overbeck either, but Nestle does, observing: "Overbeck 379/81 Isaaco tribuuntur, quae sec. Bickell p. 57 [*sic*] Cyrillonae sunt" (*Syrische Grammatik*, Litteratura 39). Nestle here refers to Bickell's introductory note to his translation of *Euch.* (corr. p. 37), where Bickell asserts Cyrillona's authorship but makes no mention of Overbeck's edition and attribution (Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte,* 37n1). As an editor of Isaac, it would be surprising if Bickell were not aware of this fact.

[12] I.e., *Scourges*.

have also composed "hymns and sermons on the invasion of the Huns."[13] Bickell further announced his intention to publish these poems together with those of Isaac of Antioch.[14]

In 1871 Bickell published a second notice concerning "tres Cyrillonae hymni . . . a me descripti," from which he provided some short extracts in Latin translation of "nonnulla ad res historicas pertinentia."[15] He again suggested the identity of Cyrillona with Absamya, and in another place noted that Cyrillona was an early witness to Bel and the Dragon in the Syriac tradition.[16]

In 1872 Bickell published his German prose translation of six homilies which he attributed to Cyrillona,[17] and in 1874 he published an experimental retranslation into verse of two passages.[18] In 1873 he also published an edition of the Syriac texts,[19] with corrections following some years later, in 1881.[20] Bickell's final, more modest,

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[13] See Assemani, *Bibliotheca,* 1:169-70, 401.
[14] Bickell, "Syrisches für deutsche Theologen," 150.
[15] Bickell, *Conspectus*, 21, 34-36. The three hymns he references are *Pasch*, *Scourges,* and *Zacch*. The extracts are of *Scourges* 1-26, 96-106, 194-201, 245-339, and 570-633, and of *Zacch.* 21-46 and 53-56. While the extracts from *Scourges* are, as Bickell indicates, historical in character, the passages from *Zacch.* are on Mary.
[16] Bickell, *Conspectus*, 7n7 (Bel) and 21 (Absamya). Bickell does not specify such, but the allusion to Bel and the Dragon he references must be that found in *Scourges* 54 (cf. Bel 27).
[17] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 9-63.
[18] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 410-11, 414-21.
[19] Bickell, "Gedichte," 566-98.
[20] Bickell, "Berichtigungen."

mention of our author was in his great work on Hebrew poetics, where he notes in passing that Cyrillona preferred 4+4 meter.[21]

AUTHOR'S NAME

The manuscript containing the sole surviving copy of these texts is BL Add. 14,591, a vellum codex of 151 folios written in a fine Estrangela hand which Wright dates to the end of the sixth century.[22] It contains a number of homilies and hymns by Isaac of Antioch, and in addition: Balai's hymns on the dedication of the church at Qenneshrin and on the bishop Acacius; a homily on the Crucifixion by Peter of Callinicus; five anonymous texts; and two homilies attributed to "Mar Qurlokha" (ܡܪܝ ܩܘܪܠܘܟܐ) and "Qurilokha" (ܩܘܪܝܠܘܟܐ), the second followed by an associated *soghitha* (ܣܘܓܝܬܐ ܕܡܪ ܩܘܪܝܠܘܟܐ).[23]

There is no known historical author named Qurlokha or Qurilokha, and the derivation of this name is unclear. In his initial notice, Bickell names the author as "Cyrillonas" without further explanation.[24] Wright in his catalog, referencing Bickell, further explains: "The name seems distinctly written, but it may possibly be a

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[21] Bickell, *Carmina,* 231. Bickell's observations about Cyrillona and Hebrew poetry were also repeated (inaccurately) by J. Maas ("Scripture Poetry," 58).
[22] Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:669. Overbeck also dates it to the sixth century (*Opera selecta,* xx).
[23] For a full description, see Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:669-73.
[24] Bickell, "Syrisches für deutsche Theologen," 150.

mistake for ܩܘܪܠܘܢܐ, a Syriac diminutive from Cyrillus, as ܩܘܪܝܠ̈ܘܣ and ܩܘܣܒܝܘܣ from Sergius and Eusebius."[25] Martin likewise says the author is "*Kourlouca*, dans lequel il faudrait peut-être voir Cyrillonas," again referencing Bickell.[26] In his edition of the Syriac text Bickell renders the apparent *kaph* as *nun,* noting that it does indeed appear to be a *kaph* but not explaining the basis of his emendation.[27] It is only in 1881, as a parenthetical note to his corrections, that Bickell offers any further qualification: "An den beiden Stellen, wo in dem rothgeschriebenen Ueberschriften der Name des Dichters vorkommt, sieht er fast wie ܩܘܪܠܘܟܐ aus. Ein solches dem Kaf sehr ähnliches Nun findet sich aber auch sonst in den Rubris dieser Handschrift."[28]

I cannot see for myself any tendency in the manuscript to write *kaph* and *nun* alike, either in text or rubrics. However, it is the unfortunate case that both instances of this name are written badly:

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[25] Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:670n. Bardenhewer affirms too, "In dem Manuskript heißt es freilich beide Male 'Cyrilloka,' קורלוכא statt קורלונא" (*Geschichte,* 4:395n1).

[26] Martin, *Saint-Pierre*, 22, citing *Pasch* 119-22 and referencing Bickell, *Conspectus*, 7, 21, 34-36. His reading of the name certainly represents an independent judgment, since Martin cites both *Pasch* and *Wash.* 119-25 directly from the manuscript (the latter as a work of Isaac) and shows no awareness of Bickell's edition (Martin, *Saint-Pierre*, 21-22).

[27] Bickell, "Gedichte," 576n3, 583n1.

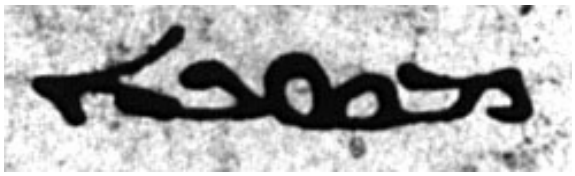
[28] Bickell, "Berichtigungen," 531n1. He would repeat this argument in 1874: "Der Name Cyrillonas ist der richtige, wie sich bei abermaliger Vergleichung der Handschrift ergeben hat, obgleich das Nun einem Kaph sehr ähnlich sieht; denn in den Rubris dieser Handschrift findet sich auch sonst dieselbe Gestalt des Nun" (Bickell, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 410).

fol. 62r, col. 1, ln. 2

fol. 72r, col. 1, ln. 26

In both examples the character in question has the pronounced hook at the top of the down stroke that is usual with *kaph* and absent from *nun.* But neither is written exactly as either *kaph* or *nun* is regularly, as may be seen in these examples:

fol. 62v, col. 2, ln. 2



fol. 62v, col. 1, ln. 2o

On balance, however, I must agree with the majority view that the problematic character certainly appears to be a *kaph,* not a *nun.* The inclusion/exclusion of the *yudh* is a discrepancy that no one has addressed. Nor has anyone identified an actual

occurrence of the name Cyrillona in extant literature, as far as I can determine,[29] though the above-cited "diminutive thesis" makes excellent sense.[30]

I have chosen here to take the conservative course and continue to call our author Cyrillona. This is out of deference to history and convention, but also because Wright's etymological argument is reasonable, and because the name's orthography is inconsistent and even perhaps unclear. But I do not adopt this position to decide the issue as much as to avoid unnecessary revisionism or pedantry.

CORPUS

The traditional canon of Cyrillona's writings, as established by Bickell, is as follows:[31]

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[29] Perles remarks, "Der Name Cyrill und Cyrillonas ist bei den Griechen und Syrern viel verbreitet," but he adduces our Cyrillona as the only example of the latter ("Jüdisch-byzantinische Beziehungen," 582-83). As Bardenhewer says, "Den literarhistorischen Quellenschriften, ja der gesamten späteren Literatur syrischer Zunge ist der Name Cyrillonas völlig fremd" (*Geschichte,* 4:397).

[30] Of course, Κύριλλος is a diminutive already (of Κύρος), making ܩܘܪܝܠܠܝܐ a double-diminutive from both Greek and Syriac. But that likely was unknown to namers or named. There is, in fact, some evidence for a cultural practice of semitizing Greek names with the semitic diminutive in this period, at least in Syrian monasteries (see Canivet, *Monachisme syrien*, 252). In addition to ܩܘܪܝܩ and ܩܘܫܡܢ, another notable example from this same period is ܩܘܠܚ, a heretical disciple of Ephrem (see Brock, *Hymns on Paradise*, 20, on Gennadius's description; Budge, *Book of Governors,* 2:354n4, on the Paulonians).

[31] On the ordering of the texts in various translations, see p. 413 below. Titling is discussed below and in the chapter introductions to each text. Edition and translation found in Appendices A-C.

BL Add. 14,591 fols.	Syriac title	Incipit	English title	Abbv.
54r-59r	ܡܠܬܐ ܕܣܝܡܘܬ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	ܡܠܠ ܕܣܝܡ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ. ܟܡ ܫܦܝܪ ܘܫܦܝܪ ܗܘܐ	*On the Institution of the Eucharist*	*Euch.*
59v-61v	ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܚܘܫܒܢ ܪܓܠܐ	ܒܟ ܫܒܝܩܬ ܒܪ ܐ. ܐ ܕܚܘܫܒܢ ܪܓܠܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ	*On the Washing of the Feet*	*Wash.*
62r-67r	ܡܠܬܐ ܕܣܝܡܘܬ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܘܕܝܠܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܐ	ܐܢ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܟܕ ܫܪܝ ܢܫܬܟ ܠܐ ܢܫܬ	*On the Pasch of Our Lord*	*Pasch*
72r-77v	ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܡܪ ܫܒܝܩ ܒܟ ܕܡܬܐ ܕܡܪ ܐ. ܒܟ ܫܒܝܩ ܕܡܬܐ. ܕܚܘܫܒܢ ܕܡܪ ܐ	ܐܢ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܟܕ ܫܪܝ ܢܫܬܟ ܠܐ ܢܫܬ.	*On the Scourges*	*Scourges*
77v-79r	ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܚܘܫܒܢ ܪܓܠܐ ܕܝܣܟܐ	ܡܢ ܣܟ ܣܟ ܐ ܡܢ ܣܟ ܐ ܒܟ ܫܒܝܩ ܐ. ܡܫܝ ܐ ܒܟ ܫܒܝ	*On Zacchaeus*	*Zacch.*
79r-83r	ܡܠܬܐ ܕܣܝܡܘܬ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܚܢܛܐ	ܒܟ ܫܒ ܐ ܒܟ ܫܒ ܐ. ܫܒ ܐ ܒܟ ܫܒ ܐ ܒܟ ܫܒ ܐ	*On the Grain of Wheat*	*Wheat*

As previously noted, BL Add. 14,591 contains three texts attributed to Cyrillona, two homilies being directly attributed to him and the second having an associated *soghitha*. In their manuscript order, they are *On the Pasch of Our Lord* (*Pasch*), *On the Scourges* (*Scourges*), and *On Zacchaeus* (*Zacch.*). These are the "three poems" Bickell references in his 1871 *Conspectus*,[32] and here as in his other work he simply accepts, without defense or argument, that all three proceeded from the same pen. This has been the judgment of all subsequent scholars, too, based both on attribution and stylistic affinity, and is a judgment which I also accept. While *Zacch.*

[32] Bickell, *Conspectus*, 21.

does exhibit some stylistic differences from the other two poems, the correspondences seem more compelling, and I agree with Cerbelaud that "il ne faudrait pas se hâter de modifier l'attribution de ce texte."[33]

However, in 1872 Bickell published *six* homilies which he ascribed to Cyrillona. Whence the additional three? Following the manuscript order, the first of these is a homily titled *On the Crucifixion* (ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ). Because it does not discuss the crucifixion at all, I follow Cerbelaud in titling it more accurately, *On the Institution of the Eucharist* (*Euch.*).[34] In the manuscript it follows a series of homilies by Isaac of Antioch and, as noted previously, a portion was published by Overbeck as a work of Isaac.[35] While it is not included in any of the standard catalogs or handlists of Isaac's works,[36] Bou Mansour apparently considers the first section of this homily (fols. 54r-55v) to be a genuine work of Isaac.[37] Bou Mansour seems unaware of Overbeck's publication and does not indicate why he regards only the first section as by Isaac. There can be no doubt about the literary unity of the entire work. He also does not engage or even acknowledge the issue that it has long been

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[33] Cerbelaud, *Agneau,* 21.
[34] See ibid., 15. Cerbelaud gives a double title to each text, a descriptive title followed by the manuscript title in parentheses. Other translators have likewise adopted descriptive titles for these texts.
[35] Overbeck, *Opera selecta,* 379-81.
[36] See Assemani, *Bibliotheca,* 1:207-34; Bickell, *Opera omnia,* iv-vii; Brock, "Published Verse Homilies"; Mathews, "Bibliographical Clavis."
[37] Bou Mansour, "Distinction des écrits," 2n5, 16. For more on his criteria for determining authenticity, see Bou Mansour, "Clé pour la distinction."

attributed to Cyrillona. In the absence of specific argument, it is difficult to be persuaded by Bou Mansour's suggestion.

Bickell was an editor and translator of Isaac, and in fact was editing and translating both Isaac and Cyrillona at the same time. He discovered Cyrillona through his study of BL Add. 14,591, an important manuscript witness to Isaac, and presumably his comparative reading of *Euch.* against the works attributed to Isaac and Cyrillona led him to conclude that this was in fact a work of Cyrillona.[38] But all we have from Bickell is the simple explanation, "Cyrillonas wird zwar nicht als Verfasser [von *Euch.*] genannt, aber die Zusammengehörigkeit dieser Homilie mit der folgenden, ihm ausdrücklich zugeschriebenen, ist unzweifelhaft."[39] This has been the unanimous opinion of subsequent scholars as well.

Immediately following *Euch.* in the manuscript is a *soghitha* associated with it by title (ܪܝܫܝܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܪܚܨܐ) on the washing of the disciples' feet at the Last Supper (*On the Washing of the Feet* [*Wash.*]). The thematic and stylistic affinity which

[38] There is also the possibility, perhaps slight, that Wright first suggested to Bickell that both *Euch.* and its associated *soghitha* were the work of Cyrillona. Bickell's translation of Cyrillona, which included these two works, was published in 1872. In the 1872 index to his catalog, under "Isaac," Wright also references these homilies and asks parenthetically, "(by Cyrillonas?)" (*Catalogue,* 3:1289). This question is not raised in the catalog entry (published in 1871), where these works are attributed to Isaac (see ibid, 2:669-273), but only in his index. Bickell and Wright were preparing their publications at precisely the same time, so who influenced whom? Or are these independent judgments?

[39] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 37n1.

this shares with *Euch.* is pronounced and all scholars to date have affirmed their common authorship.

Authenticity of *On the Grain of Wheat*

It is the last of the six homilies which Bickell attributes to Cyrillona that is of debatable authorship. An anonymous homily *On the Grain of Wheat* (*Wheat*) follows *Zacch.* in the manuscript, and is itself followed by two more anonymous homilies, one on the Crucifixion and the other on perfection. These last two homilies Bickell thought to be by Isaac.[40] *Wheat*, however, he published as a work of Cyrillona, though he acknowledged that its authorship was less certain than for the other five texts.

> Für den ungenannten Verfasser halten wir Cyrillonas, der auch im vorhergehenden Gedicht in ähnlichen Weise über den Weizen redet, verkennen aber nicht, daß hier nicht die gleiche Sicherheit vorliegt, wie bei den drei anderen anonymen Gedichten, welche wir dem Cyrillonas zugeschrieben haben. Nicht ganz unmöglich wäre, daß Isaac von Antiochen es gedichtet haben könnte. Wir nehmen es jedoch in unsere Sammlung auf, nicht nur um die Gedichte des Cyrillonas in absoluter Vollständigkeit zu bieten, sondern auch, weil es mehrere wichtige Stellen über das allerheiligste Altarsakrament enthält.[41]

[40] Bickell, *Opera omnia,* nos. 89 and 112; likewise, Brock, "Published Verse Homilies," nos. 270 and 331, and Mathews, "Bibliographical Clavis," nos. 102 and 130.
[41] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 56.

From this it is clear that Bickell knew very well that this text was at best dubiously Cyrillonan, but found its eucharistic theology (which is in fact practically nonexistent) compelling enough to merit including it in the collection. Bickell also edited and translated works by Isaac of Antioch.[42] He says here of *Wheat*, "Nicht ganz unmöglich wäre, daß Isaac von Antiochen es gedichtet haben könnte,"[43] which seems to me teutonic understatement. I suspect he believed that Isaac was more likely the author, or he would not even have suggested the possibility. He may even have edited this text originally as a work of Isaac, along with two other Isaac texts from this manuscript.[44]

Bickell speaks both here and elsewhere about the importance of Cyrillona as a witness to Roman Catholic teaching, and specifically Catholic eucharistic theology.[45] Bickell was an enthusiastic convert to Roman Catholicism and certain apologetic

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[42] Bickell, *Opera omnia* (edition), and *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 109-89 (translation).
[43] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 56.
[44] *De vigiliis Antiochenis et de eo, quod bonum est confiteri Domino,* and *Contra eos, qui ad hariolos vadunt* (see Bickell, *Opera omnia,* 1:294-306 and 2:204-20).
[45] "Noch wichtiger wird [Cyrillonas] aber für uns durch das bestimmte Zeugniß, welches er für so viele von den Reformatoren angegriffene katholische Lehren auf den wenigen Seiten seiner Dichtungen ablegt, namentlich für das heilige Meßopfer, für die wahre Gegenwart Christi in der hl. Eucharistie, für die Sündlosigkeit der hl. Jungfrau, die Anrufung der Märtyrer und die Verehrung ihrer Reliquien" (Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 14). This observation was promoted by some other subsequent Catholic authors (e.g., Hurter, *Nomenclator*, 1:202-3; Nirschl, *Lehrbuch,* 2:277-79), though actual acquaintance with the texts is not always in evidence, so that, for example, Cyrillona is numbered among authors of "Mariendichtungen" (Kolb, *Wegweiser*, 202).

biases in his work are transparent.[46] Given his very high claims for Cyrillona,[47] and the early date Cyrillonan authorship would imply for *Wheat*, Bickell appears to have included it in his corpus to enhance the work's apologetic value.

The only philological reason Bickell forwards for authenticity is that "Cyrillonas . . . auch im vorhergehenden Gedicht [i.e., *Pasch,* in Bickell's translation] in ähnlichen Weise über den Weizen redet."[48] Vona, accepting this attribution, published a list of correlations between *Pasch* and *Wheat,* which I reproduce here, with the texts:[49]

[46] This was noted by a contemporary reviewer (*Methodist Quarterly Review* 54 [1872]: 666-67), and also by a more recent scholar, who pointedly suggested that apologetic bias undermined Bickell's judgment (Lohse, "Fußwaschung," 1:45).
[47] I.e., "Ich halte ihn für den bedeutendsten syrischen Dichter nach Ephräm" (Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 14).
[48] Ibid., 56.
[49] See Vona, *Carmi,* 33.

	Pasch	*Wheat*
1	ּכִּי־אֶת־הַכֶּבֶשׂ וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־הַבָּשָׂר בַּלַּיְלָה צְלִי־אֵשׁ וּמַצּוֹת עַל־מְרֹרִים יֹאכְלֻהוּ׃ (233-38)	וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה הַגָּדֵל אַגְדִּיל עִצְּבוֹנֵךְ וְהֵרֹנֵךְ בְּעֶצֶב תֵּלְדִי בָנִים וְאֶל־אִישֵׁךְ תְּשׁוּקָתֵךְ וְהוּא יִמְשָׁל־בָּךְ וּלְאָדָם אָמַר כִּי שָׁמַעְתָּ לְקוֹל אִשְׁתֶּךָ וַתֹּאכַל מִן־הָעֵץ (53-58) אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִיךָ לֵאמֹר לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ אָרוּרָה הָאֲדָמָה בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ בְּעִצָּבוֹן תֹּאכְלֶנָּה כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ (216-19) וְקוֹץ וְדַרְדַּר תַּצְמִיחַ לָךְ וְאָכַלְתָּ אֶת־עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה בְּזֵעַת אַפֶּיךָ תֹּאכַל לֶחֶם (244-47) עַד שׁוּבְךָ אֶל־הָאֲדָמָה כִּי מִמֶּנָּה לֻקָּחְתָּ כִּי־עָפָר אַתָּה וְאֶל־עָפָר תָּשׁוּב׃ (250-52)
2	וְשָׁחֲטוּ אֹתוֹ כֹּל קְהַל עֲדַת־יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּין הָעַרְבָּיִם׃ וְלָקְחוּ מִן־הַדָּם וְנָתְנוּ עַל־שְׁתֵּי הַמְּזוּזֹת וְעַל־הַמַּשְׁקוֹף עַל־הַבָּתִּים אֲשֶׁר יֹאכְלוּ אֹתוֹ בָּהֶם׃ (239-42)	כִּי־אָרוּר הָאֲדָמָה בַּעֲבוּרֶךָ בְּעִצָּבוֹן תֹּאכְלֶנָּה כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ׃ וְקוֹץ וְדַרְדַּר תַּצְמִיחַ לָךְ וְאָכַלְתָּ אֶת־עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה׃ בְּזֵעַת אַפֶּיךָ תֹּאכַל לֶחֶם עַד שׁוּבְךָ אֶל־הָאֲדָמָה כִּי מִמֶּנָּה לֻקָּחְתָּ כִּי־עָפָר אַתָּה וְאֶל־עָפָר תָּשׁוּב׃ (4-6) וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לְאָדָם וּלְאִשְׁתּוֹ כָּתְנוֹת עוֹר וַיַּלְבִּשֵׁם׃ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים הֵן הָאָדָם הָיָה כְּאַחַד מִמֶּנּוּ לָדַעַת טוֹב וָרָע וְעַתָּה פֶּן־יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ וְלָקַח גַּם מֵעֵץ הַחַיִּים וְאָכַל וָחַי לְעֹלָם׃ וַיְשַׁלְּחֵהוּ יְהוָה מִגַּן־עֵדֶן לַעֲבֹד אֶת־הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר לֻקַּח מִשָּׁם׃ (11-14) וַיְגָרֶשׁ אֶת־הָאָדָם וַיַּשְׁכֵּן מִקֶּדֶם לְגַן־עֵדֶן אֶת־הַכְּרֻבִים וְאֵת לַהַט הַחֶרֶב הַמִּתְהַפֶּכֶת לִשְׁמֹר אֶת־דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים׃ (21-28)

	Pasch	*Wheat*
3	ܡܕܡ ܬܚܬ ܪܥܝ. ܫܡܝ ܒܝܬ ܐܒ. ܘܒܥܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܡ. ܐܝܟ ܠܬܚܬ ܫܡܝ. (243-46)	ܒܪܝܫ ܚܩܠܐ ܚܛܬܐ ܕܡܝ. ܫܡܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܐܒ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡ ܒܪܬ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ. ܕܐܡ ܠܐ ܒܪܝܫ ܠܥܠ ܕܡ ܘܐܝܟ. (99-196)
4	ܚܛܐ ܫܠܡ ܐܡ. (247)	ܐܝܟ ܕܡ ܫܠܡ ܐܢ ܒܪܝܫ ܐܒ. ܒܪܝܫ ܐܒ ܫܠܡ ܒܪ ܐܢ. (52-151)
5	ܫܠܡ ܒܪܝܫ ܐܒ. ܐܢ ܒܪ ܐܢ ܒܪ ܐܝ. ܫܠܡ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܝ ܒܪ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܝ. (54-251)	ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܒܪ ܐܢ ܐܝ. (38) ܐܢ ܐܒ ܒܪ ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܒ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܒܪ ܐܝ ܐܢ. ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܒ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. (48-43) ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. (66-59)
6	ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ❖ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. (58-255)	ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. (75-274)
7	ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. (74-273)	ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ ܐܒ ܐܢ. (106)

I have reproduced Vona's full list, though some of these parallels (especially the fourth and seventh) seem to be of little substance.[50] The most striking parallel is the fifth, wheat bearing up its fruit upon its head, but the referents in either case are

[50] I reference "parallels" here of necessity, but with reluctance, recognizing that a "parallel" is a very problematic signifier (see, classically, Sandmel, "Parallelomania"). I bear in mind the anecdote, perhaps apocryphal, that Erwin R. Goodenough used to remind his students regularly and drily that a parallel is two lines that meet at a point only in infinity.

completely different.[51] Still, both poems appear to draw at least on some common fond of nature imagery for the grain of wheat.

But these two texts are much more striking, in broader comparison, for their typological dissimilarity than their modest verbal similarity. *Wheat* is principally an agricultural paean to the "queen of grains" and "most beloved of seeds,"[52] a strikingly non-religious text in contrast with Cyrillona's undisputed works. It is only toward the end of *Wheat* that the author begins to develop religious typology from the symbol of the grain of wheat, principally in connection with the resurrection[53]—though not the resurrection of Christ, as in *Pasch,* but the hope of the resurrection of the just.[54] Likewise in *Wheat*, the grain of wheat is not depicted as a type of Christ or the Eucharist, except perhaps in passing,[55] whereas this is central to *Pasch*'s symbolism.[56] And while *Wheat* appears to associate (awkwardly) the sprouting of the seed with the piercing of Jesus's side upon the cross,[57] *Pasch* associates the piercing with the harvesting of the grape vine.[58]

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[51] *Pasch* 251-54; *Wheat* 38, 43-48, 59-66. See pp. 208-9 below.
[52] *Wheat* 121, 129.
[53] See *Wheat* 244-77.
[54] This connection with the resurrection of the dead is almost certainly due to *Wheat*'s sources; see below.
[55] See *Wheat* 240-41.
[56] See *Pasch* 259-86.
[57] See *Wheat* 234-42.
[58] See *Pasch* 363-66.

There is, then, substantial ground for disagreement with Bickell's assertion that the two poems speak "in ähnlichen Weise über den Weizen."[59] The typological employment of any common elements they share is quite different, and I agree with Cerbelaud that it is precisely the rough commonalities between *Pasch* and *Wheat* that militate most against the latter's authenticity. "Le remploi des ces éléments [parallèles] dans l'homélie VI (=*Wheat*) est caractérisé par une lourdeur et la maladresse qui imprègnent l'ensemble du texte. On imagine mal Cyrillonas utilisant d'aussi piètre façon l'un de ses propres textes."[60]

These differences are not just confined to typology or the use of these common elements, but also are manifest in *Wheat*'s verbal and rhetorical style generally. Says Cerbelaud, "Son style est nettement différent de celui des autres textes. Le développement de allégorie est artificiel, et son caractère systématique entraîne une certaine lourdeur."[61] Indeed, *Wheat* is a prolix and lumbering composition, wanting the lively and spare style of the genuine works. The Ephremian style of the other texts, rich with a symbolic theology of antithesis and paradox, is absent here as well. Some of the specific stylistic incongruities in *Wheat*

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[59] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 56.
[60] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 23.
[61] Ibid., 21. See also Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 67.

that may be noted are the use of ethical datives for meter;[62] use of pleonastic pronouns for meter;[63] use of *yotho* and the simple personal pronoun for the reflexive;[64] clumsy metaphors;[65] and occasional solecisms.[66] There is also an instance of strikingly Chalcedonian language, when the author says of Christ: ܡܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܫܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܚܙܝ.[67] This parallels a phrase of Jacob of Serugh: ܒܫܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܒܒܫܪܐ.[68] Such technical theological expressions are absent from Cyrillona and typical of a later period.

Moreover, Vona showed the almost certain dependency of *Wheat* upon a discourse on the resurrection attributed to Gregory of Nyssa.[69] It seems doubtful, judging from his other work, that Cyrillona would have made such free use of this Greek text, and whether he even knew Greek is an open question.[70] His undisputed

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[62] See *Wheat* 4, 14, etc.
[63] E.g., *Wheat* 80 and 184.
[64] E.g., respectively, *Wheat* 81 and 5.
[65] See *Wheat* 104-5, 228-29, 234-35.
[66] See *Wheat* 16, 64, 220-21, 226-27.
[67] *Wheat* 268-69.
[68] Assemani, *Bibliotheca,* 1:326. See TS 1277-78 for the Christological usage of ܐܠܗܐ.
[69] See Vona, *Carmi,* 115 and passim. This work of Gregory (CPG 3174) is found under the titles, *In sanctum Pascha,* and, *In Christi resurrectionem oratio iii*; text in PG 46:652-81 and Heil, *Sermones*, 245-70.
[70] It is of course possible that this work was translated into Syriac, as very many of Gregory's works were. There is no surviving translation, though Martin Parmentier believes a translation of the general collection to which it belongs may be referenced in both Abdisho and the Chronicle of Se'ert (see Parmentier, "Syriac Translations," 145). That it would have been translated at this early date is less likely.

works, at least, do not evidence any direct dependence on Greek sources. I reproduce here the parallels between Gregory of Nyssa's text and *Wheat*:[71]

Gregory of Nyssa, *In sanctum Pascha*[72]	*Wheat*
εἶτα γίνεται πόα καὶ κόμη τῶν βώλων, ἐφαπλωθεῖσα δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ σκεδασθεῖσα μετρίως πολυσκιδῆ κάτωθεν ὑποτρέφει τὴν ῥίζαν τῷ μέλλοντι βάρει τὴν ὑποβάθραν προευτρεπίζουσα. (260:2-4 [46:669b])	ܚܕ ܟܕ ܫܒܫܐ ܟܝܢ ܠ. ܫܡܐ ܕܥܒ ܕܒ ܫܥ ܟܝܢ. ܫܒܫܟܒܟ ܟܡܐ ܟ. . . ܫܡܠܠ ܟܢ ܠܡ. ܟܒܢ ܫܒܝܩ. ܟܒ ܒܢ ܠܡ ܟܫܒ. ܟܩ ܒܢ ܠܡ ܟ. ܟܫܠ ܫܒ ܫܒ. ܟ ܠܡ ܟ. ܠܡ ܟ ܫܒ ܟ. (5-8, 11-16) ܟ ܫ ܫ ܟ ܠ ܟ.
ὁ σῖτος ῥίπτεται εἰς τὴ γῆν, διασαπεὶς δὲ ἐν τῇ νοτίδι καὶ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τελευτήσας ἀπολήγει εἴς τινα γαλακτώδη οὐσίαν, ἥτις παγεῖσα μικρὸν ὀξὺ καὶ λευκὸν γίνεται κέντρον, αὐξηθεῖσα δὲ ὅσον προκύψαι τῆς γῆς ἐκ τοῦ λευκοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἠρέμα χλοαινόμενον μεταβάλλεται (259:24-260:2 [46:669ab])	ܟ ܫ ܫ ܟ. ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ. ܟ ܫ ܟ ܠ ܟ. ܫ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ. [73](26-30) ܟ ܟ ܟ ܠ ܟ.
ἐπειδὰν δὲ εἰς κάλαμον ὁ σῖτος διαναστῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος ἐπείγηται, γόνασιν αὐτὸν καὶ κόμβοις ὁ θεὸς ὑπερείδει οἷον οἰκίαν τινὰ συνδέσμοις ἀσφαλιζόμενος διὰ τὴν προσδοκωμένην τῆς κόμης βαρύτητα. (260:10-13 [46:669b])	ܫ ܟ ܟ ܟ. ܟ ܟ ܠ ܟ ܫ. ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ. ܟ ܫ ܟ ܟ ܟ. ܟ ܫ ܟ ܟ ܟ. ܫ ܠ ܟ ܠ. ܫ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ. (31-38) ܫ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ.
εἶτα τῆς ἰσχύος ἑτοιμασθείσης τὴν κάλυκα σχίσας προάγει τὸν ἄσταχυν. (260:13-14 [46:669bc])	ܫ ܫ ܫ ܟ ܟ. ܫ ܟ ܫ ܟ. ܫ ܫ ܫ ܟ. (49-52) ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ

[71] Vona adduces one additional analog (*Carmi*, 121, note to vv. 184-85) that does not seem valid to me.

[72] Primary references are to page and line numbers in Heil, *Sermones*, which is the edition cited here; references in brackets are to volume and column in PG.

[73] Cf. also *Wheat* 49-52.

Gregory of Nyssa, *In sanctum Pascha*	*Wheat*
στοιχηδὸν γὰρ ὁ σῖτος αὐτῷ περιφύεται καὶ τῶν κόκκων ἕκαστος ἐξαίρετον ἔχει τὴν ἀποθήκην καὶ τελευταῖοι προβέβληνται οἱ ἀνθέρικες ὀξεῖς καὶ λεπτοί, ὅπλα οἶμαι κατὰ τῶν σπερμολόγων ὀρνίθων, ἵνα ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀκμαῖς νυττόμενοι τῷ καρπῷ μὴ λυμαίνωνται. (260:15-19 [46:669c])	ܟܬܒ ܟܠܡܠܝ ܟܚܠܩ ܒܕܪ. ܟܚܠܩ ܩܒܠ ܟܝܬ ܒܗܕܐ. ܕܟܒܫ ܒܕܟ ܠܟܢܫ ܟܡܐ. ܒܟܝܒܗ ܟܠܒ ܒ ܟܒܗܝ. ܒܟܒ ܒܟܝ ܠܐ ܟܒܝ ܟܚܠܩ. ܒܟܒ ܒܗ ܒܗܐ ܒܗܐ ܒܟܒ. ܒܟ ܐܝ ܒܗ ܟܒܗ ܐܒ. ܒܟܡܟܐ ܟ ܒܟܡ. (71-78)
(ὁ σῖτος) ἀπολήγει εἴς τινα γαλακτώδη οὐσίαν (259:25-26 [46:669a])	ܟܒ ܠܟܢܐ ܟܡܐ ܠܟ. ܒܟ ܟܒ ܠ ܟܒ ܟܒ. ܟܒ ܟܠ ܒܠܟܒ. ܟܒ ܟܠ ܒܠܟ. (150-53)
καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ ἱστοὶ τῶν πλοίων πλείστοις πανταχόθεν διατείνονται κάλοις, ἵνα πάγιοι μένωσιν ἰσορρόποις ταῖς ὁλκαῖς ἀντισπώμενοι, οὕτως αἱ σχοινοειδεῖς ἀποφύσεις τῆς ῥίζης ἀντιλαβαὶ τῶν ἀσταχύων γίνονται καὶ ἐρείσματα. (260:6-9 [46:669b])	ܒܟܒ ܟܒ ܟܒ ܒܒ. ܒܟܒ ܟ ܟܒ. ܟ ܟ ܒܟ ܒ. ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ. ܟ ܒ ܟ ܒ. ܟ ܟ ܟ ܟ. (172-77)
ὁρᾷς, ὅσην εἷς κόκκος διασαπεὶς θαυματουργίαν ἔχει καὶ μόνος πεσὼν μεθ’ ὅσων ἐγείρεται. (260:19-21 [46:669c])	ܒ ,ܒ ܟ ܒ ܒ. ܒ ܟ ܒ ܒ. (218-19)

Cerbelaud regards *Wheat* as, while not a translation, perhaps a “libre transposition” and compilation by a later author drawing from this Greek text and from Cyrillona.[74] A textual connection between *Wheat* and Gregory of Nyssa does indeed seem possible, if not likely, based not only on these explicit parallels, but also on the broader thematic connections made in their mutual treatments of the symbol of the wheat and the resurrection of the dead. I am not, however, convinced that the parallels between *Wheat* and *Pasch* are close enough that any kind of derivation or

[74] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 22-23. So also Camplani, “Cirillona (Qurillona),” 1054.

direct connection need be assumed. Both could be drawing, directly or indirectly, from the same text or fond of tropes, but their use of these common elements is entirely different.

As noted, Bickell states his case for the Cyrillonan authorship of *Wheat* in the preface to his translation, but in his subsequent edition of the Syriac text he does not discuss authenticity any further. Landersdorfer simply repeats Bickell in his revision of Bickell's translation, though deleting Bickell's shallow argument for including *Wheat* among the works of Cyrillona for the sake of completeness ("um die Gedichte des Cyrillonas in absoluter Vollständigkeit zu bieten"), thus making the basis for inclusion even more exclusively theological.[75] If *Wheat* had been found in another manuscript, or even a different place in this manuscript, I do not believe Cyrillonan authorship would have ever come into consideration, based on style or content. I believe even Cerbelaud's recommendation that *Wheat* be ranked among Cyrillonan *dubia* goes too far.[76] There is no manuscript ascription to Cyrillona, which would seem a minimum requirement for asserting "dubious" authenticity. Bickell simply made a false conjecture, informed by apologetic bias, about its authorship. I can see no reason to seriously consider this a work of Cyrillona.

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[75] Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften,* 47; cf. Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 41.
[76] Cerbelaud, *Agneau,* 23. Elsewhere he says simply, "Die Authentizität der Homilie über das Weizenkorn wird bestritten" (Cerbelaud, "Kyrillonas," 557).

Anonymous Homily on the Effusion of the Holy Spirit

There is a series of short prose homilies, labeled in the manuscript as *turgome* (commentaries), found in BL Add. 17,189 (5th/6th cent.). At page heads the manuscript attributes them to Ephrem (as does Overbeck), but the manuscript title seems to imply that the scribe thought they were by Basil or John Chrysostom.[77] While not by Ephrem, Jansma would date the first text quite early, to the late 4th or early 5th cent., a *turgomo* on the effusion of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost as recorded in Acts 2.[78] Based on this dating and the text's "bien curieuses proximités" with Cyrillona, Cerbelaud suggests, "Peut-être faudra-t-il ranger un jour ce texte dans le 'corpus cyrillonien'!"[79] This opinion has been subsequently repeated by Peter Bruns.[80]

But while this text shares a few modest parallels with *Pasch*, in particular, the style and content are very different from the genuine works of Cyrillona. To cite just one stark difference, this is in prose. Also, Cyrillona's works are full of scriptural allusions and imaginative paraphrase and elaboration, but direct scriptural citations are almost entirely lacking. The opposite is the case here. Further, at least two

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[77] See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:407. Two, in fact, are translations from Greek.
[78] BL Add. 17,189, fols. 1-16. Published in Overbeck, *Opera selecta,* 95-98; French translation in Jansma, "Homélie anonyme," 157-78. On dating, see below.
[79] Cerbelaud, *Agneau,* 25.
[80] Bruns, "Cyrillonas (Qûrillônâ)," 159.

citations from the *turgomo* conform to the Peshitta;[81] Cyrillona contains no Peshitta readings.[82] Another serious objection is the use of technical theological terminology and formulas, some of which may have been aimed at pneumatomachians.[83] This terminology includes the phrase, ܡܢ ܚܕ ܐܝܬܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܚܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ,[84] apparently a translation of the homoousian formula. Jansma notes that this formula is absent from Ephrem, who in fact does not use ܚܕ at all in this technical sense.[85] Such technical vocabulary is likewise absent from Cyrillona, as is any employment of controversial rhetoric aimed at heretical opponents. I find little ground to argue that this *turgomo* might have come from his pen and cannot regard it as authentic.

IDENTITY OF CYRILLONA

As is the wont of scholars, there have been efforts made from the time of his discovery to identify the otherwise unknown author Cyrillona with a known historical figure. Some deductions may be made concerning his location and date of writing (discussed below). Otherwise, his writings reveal almost no other personal data, though from them we clearly see that he was a caring pastor, perhaps even a

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[81] See Jansma, "Homélie anonyme,"175.
[82] See pp. 48-57 below.
[83] See Jansma, "Homélie anonyme," 169-73. This forms the basis for Jansma's dating.
[84] Overbeck, *Opera selecta*, 98.19-20.
[85] Jansma, "Homélie anonyme," 170-71.

bishop. The manuscript in one place ascribes to him the title "Mar" (ܡܪ),[86] an honorific used with bishops, but also more generally for ecclesiastical superiors and the holy.[87] Opinions about his ecclesiastical office in prior literature have often been conflated with speculation about his possible identification with known historical figures.

Unfortunately, the very name Cyrillona, as already noted, is entirely unattested outside of his writings. The inconsistent spelling of his name in the manuscript may indicate he was not even known to scribes working just two or three generations later. That this should be the case with a writer of such great talent is dissatisfying and perplexing, and has therefore provoked speculation about his identity from his first discovery.

The Cyrillona-Absamya Hypothesis

In his first published notice on Cyrillona, Bickell observed that one homily concerned the invasion of the Huns in 395, which led him to observe, "Da Absamja, ein Neffe des h. Ephrem, ebenfalls hierüber gedichtet hat, so sind Beide vielleicht identisch."[88] Bickell then references the *Chronicle of Edessa* for the date of the Hunnic

[86] BL Add. 14,591, fol. 62r, col. 1, ln. 2.
[87] See Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 9.
[88] Bickell, "Syrisches für deutsche Theologen," 150.

invasion, but his information on Absamya comes from the same source, where the lemma for 715 Sel. (403/4 CE) reads: "Absamya (ܐܒܣܡܝܐ) the priest, the son of blessed Mar Ephrem's sister, composed madrashe and memre on the invasion of the Huns into Roman territory."[89]

Bickell repeats this basic hypothesis again in his *Conspectus*,[90] but then in his translation of Cyrillona he expands upon his reasoning. In the volume introduction, he proposes that the 495 invasion of the Huns provides both the likely dating and probable locale of our author, Edessa. He continues,

> Wenn unsere Vermuthung, daß Cyrillonas ein Edessener war, sich empfehlen sollte, so dürfte es vielleicht nicht zu kühn sein, ihn mit dem edessenischen Priester Absamias, einem Schwestersohn des hl. Ephräm, zu identificiren, welcher nach dem Zeugniß der Chronik von Edessa um das Jahr 404 Oden und metrische Homilien (Madrasche und Mimre) über den Einfall der Hunnen in das römische Gebiet aufgezeichnet hat. Denn auch Cyrillonas hat sich nachweisbar in beiden Arten von Dichtungen über den Hunnenkrieg versucht.[91]

Bickell also notes a report in the *Vita Ephraemi* about the siege of Edessa by the Huns, about which event the biographer claims Ephrem wrote, though in fact Ephrem died more than 30 years previous to the invasion.[92] Bickell deduces from this: "Letzteres

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[89] *Chron. Edessa* 47 (Guidi, *Chronica minora I*, 6.13-16). See below for the Syriac text.
[90] See Bickell, *Conspectus*, 21: "Cyrillonas . . . fortasse non diversus est ab Absamya, filio sororis S. Ephraemi, qui et ipse de Hunnorum irruptione carmen composuit."
[91] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 13.
[92] See *Vita Ephraemi* 36 (Amar, *Syriac* Vita *Tradition*, T. 84).

beruht offenbar auf einer Verwechslung des längst vor dem Hunneneinfall verstorbenen Heiligen mit seinem Neffen Absamias."[93]

In his introduction to *Scourges*, Bickell further explains his claim that, like Absamya, Cyrillona too wrote "nachweisbar in beiden Arten von Dichtungen über den Hunnenkrieg" (i.e., in *madrashe* and *memre*). *Scourges* is titled in the manuscript, ܡܕܪܫܐ ܘܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܥܠ ܕܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܥܠ ܕܚܘܢܐ. The employment here of the pl. ܡܐܡܪܐ is puzzling, since this work consists of what may be, at best, a single short introductory *madrasha* (26 lines) followed by a *memra* (663 lines). Bickell explains this structure, and continues,

> Es fragt sich nun, ob diese beiden Bestandtheile unseres Gedichtes ursprünglich zusammengehörten. Offenbar sind beide bei derselben Feier gesungen worden; denn sowohl in dem Madrascha, als in dem Mimra finden sich deutliche Beziehungen auf ein damals gefeiertes Fest aller Martyrer und Heiligen. Sie folgten sich also wohl unmittelbar und stehen in enger Beziehung zu einander; doch muß anfangs jedes ein selbständiges Gedicht gewesen sein. Das Madrascha hat jedenfalls noch viele folgende Strophen enthalten, welche der Abschreiber, der, wie wir sehen werden, noch ein anderes Gedicht des Cyrillonas verkürzte, weggelassen hat.
>
> Hieraus ergibt sich ein starkes Argument für die Identität unseres Cyrillonas mit Absamias, dem Neffen des hl. Ephräm, welcher Madrasche und Mimre über den Hunneneinfall gedichtet hat. Denn auch Cyrillonas spricht in seinem Mimra ausdrücklich von den Hunnen; daß er aber auch in seinem Madrascha, von welchem uns leider nur die beiden ersten Strophen erhalten sind, diese wilden Horden erwähnt habe, ergibt sich aus dessen Ueberschrift. Auch Cyrillonas hat also Madrasche und Mimre über den Hunneneinfall verfaßt.[94]

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[93] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 13.

[94] Ibid., 16.

Bickell's entire argument therefore rests fundamentally on a single correspondence between Absamya and Cyrillona. Absamya is said to have written *madrashe* and *memre* on the invasion of the Huns, and from Cyrillona we have a work, part *madrasha* and part *memra* (on Bickell's thesis), that has to do with an invasion of the Huns. But does his argument bridging the differences succeed?

First we must examine all the witnesses to Absamya and his work. Bickell cites only the *Chronicle of Edessa*, but there are in addition other testimonia in various chronicles (ordered here chronologically):

Chron. Edessa 47[95]	Ps. Dionysius, *Chron.* 1.188-89[96]	*Chron. ad a. 819 pert.* 6.2-4[97]	*Chron. ad a. 846 pert.* 207.29-208.3[98]	Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 8.1 (169.7-9)[99]	Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. eccl.* 1.133.4-8[100]
ܒܫܢ ܐܚܕ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܨܠܘ ܒܬܪ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ ܥܠ ܩܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܩܒܪܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܒܫܠܡ ܩܪܝܘ.	[ܒ]ܫܢ ܐܚܕ [ܒ]ܫܒܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܨܠܘ ܒܬܪ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ [. . .] ܒܝܘܡ ܐܚܕ ܥܠ ܩܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܩܪܝܘ.	ܒܫܢ ܫܬܐ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܨܠܘ ܒܬܪ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ ܥܠ ܩܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܩܪܝܘ.	ܒ[ܫ]ܢ ܐܚܕ ܒ[ܫ]ܒܬܐ ܩ[ܕ]ܡ ܨ[ܠ]ܘ ܒ[ܬ]ܪ ܡ[ܨ]ܠ[ܝ]ܢ ܒ[ܫ]ܥ[ܬ]ܐ ܬ[ܫ]ܥ[ܝ]ܬ[ܐ] ܒ[ܝ]ܘ[ܡ] ܫ[ܒ]ܬ[ܐ] ܥ[ܠ] ܩ[ܒ]ܪ ܫ[ܡ]ܥ[ܘ]ܢ ܟ[ܐ]ܦ[ܐ] ܕ[ܫ]ܠ[ܝ]ܚ[ܐ] ܩ[ܪ]ܝ[ܘ].	ܒܫܢ ܫܬܐ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܩ[101]ܕܡ ܨܠܘ ܒܬܪ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ ܥܠ ܩܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܩܪܝܘ. ܒܫ ܒܝܘ ܫܒ ܩܕܡ ܨܠܘ ܒܬܪ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܩܪܝܘ.	ܒܫܢ ܫܬ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܨܠܘ ܒܬܪ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ ܥܠ ܩܒܪ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܩܪܝܘ. ܒܫ ܒܝܘ ܫܒ ܩܕܡ ܨܠܘ ܒܬܪ ܡܨܠܝܢ ܒܫܥܬܐ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܩܪܝܘ.

[95] Guidi, *Chronica minora I*, 6 lns. 13-16.

[96] Chabot, *Chronicon*, 188-89.

[97] Barsaum, *Chronicon anonymum*, 6.

[98] Brooks, *Chronica minora II*, 207-8.

[99] Chabot, *Chronique*, 4:169.

[100] Abbeloos and Lamy, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 1:133.

[101] Witakowski ("Chronicles of Edessa," 495) reads this as ܩܫܡܥ, but the *yod* appears to me clearly written, and is also reflected in both Bar Hebraeus, which derives from Michael, and also the translation of Chabot (*Chronique*, 2:9).

Chron. Edessa 47[102]	Ps. Dionysius, *Chron.* 1.188-89[103]	*Chron. ad a. 819 pert.* 6.2-4[104]	*Chron. ad a. 846 pert.* 207.29-208.3[105]	Michael the Syrian, *Chron.* 8.1 (169.7-9)[106]	Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. eccl.* 1.133.4-8[107]
The year 715 (403/4 CE), Absamya the priest, the son of blessed Mar Ephrem's sister, composed *madrashe* and *memre* on the invasion of the Huns into Roman territory.	[At that time (i.e., 708 Sel. = 396/97 CE)] the doctor Absamya flourished, the son of Mar Ephrem's sister [. . .],[108] and composed *madrashe* on the invasion of the Huns.	And in that time (i.e., 714 Sel. = 402/3 CE) also Apsamya the priest, the son of Mar Ephrem the Syrian's sister, flourished, (who was) a doctor and composed *madrashe* on the invasion of the Huns.	And also in these times (i.e., 711 Sel. = 399/400 CE) flourished Epiphanius of Cyprus and Severian of Gabala; also Apsima, the son of Mar Ephrem the Syrian's sister, who composed *madrashe* on the invasion of the Huns.	And in that time Absimya the priest flourished, the son of Mar Ephrem the doctor's sister, who was a writer. He composed many *memre* on the incursion of the Huns, who invaded at that time, and he composed them in the meter of Mar Ephrem.	And Absimya the priest flourished then, the son of Mar Ephrem the doctor's sister. He composed many *memre* in the meter of Mar Ephrem on the incursion of the Huns, who invaded at that time.

[102] Guidi, *Chronica minora I*, 6 lns. 13-16.
[103] Chabot, *Chronicon*, 188-89.
[104] Barsaum, *Chronicon anonymum*, 6.
[105] Brooks, *Chronica minora II*, 207-8.
[106] Chabot, *Chronique*, 4:169.
[107] Abbeloos and Lamy, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, 1:133.
[108] Based on the other witnesses, the word that has been lost here is most likely ܡܠܦܢܐ; i.e., "Ephrem the doctor."

Bar Hebraeus has as his source Michael the Syrian, so that testimony has no independent value. But there are a number of discrepancies between the remaining five which must be considered, all of which seem to derive from a single urtext.[109]

The first discrepancy is dating. In the first four witnesses, where Absamya is mentioned in connection with dated lemmas, the dates all disagree, ranging from 708 Sel. (396/97 CE) to 715 Sel. (403/4 CE). The only date specifically assigned to his compositional activity is the latest, in lemma 715 of the *Chronicle of Edessa*. Michael the Syrian mentions him at a chapter's end with some other incidental items, including the fire set by rioters to Hagia Sophia at the banishment of Chrysostom (20 June 404) and the appearance of a great comet (probably 400).[110]

The second discrepancy between the chronicles is in the spelling of Absamya's name, variously given as ܐܒܣܡܝܐ, ܐܒܣܡܝܐ, ܐܒܣܡܝܐ and ܐܒܣܡܝܐ. The spelling ܐܒܣܡܝܐ, found in Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus, seems to derive from the earliest sources for the Absamya tradition and is likely the original.[111] This is important for the only other evidence-based argument adduced in favor of Bickell's hypothesis. Czeglédy observed that, based on early inscriptions published

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[109] I follow here the analysis and conclusions of Witakowski, "Chronicles of Edessa."

[110] Michael's description appears to draw on the language of Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 6.6, describing the comet C/400 F1 which appeared in 400, "reaching from heaven even to the earth." See Cameron, "Earthquake," 352.

[111] See on this point the following discussion and note on Segal, and on the title ܡܠܦܢܐ.

by Segal,[112] "the word *Absamya* appears as a theophoric name of heathen origin. Thus it is almost certain that Absamya also had another—Christian—name."[113] The argument that Cyrillona was the priest-name of Absamya was not advanced by Bickell (*pace* Sauget),[114] but it was soon suggested and often repeated, and may be implicit in Bickell's reasoning.[115]

Segal was somewhat less declarative than Czeglédy that the name Absamya is a pagan theophoric,[116] though even assuming it is (very likely), the degree to which this datum makes it "almost certain" that Absamya took a Christian name would need to be argued. Amir Harrak has shown that pagan theophoric names are found in Syriac Christian use throughout the 4th and 5th centuries, and even later, as seen even with such luminaries as Rabbula ("Bel is great") and Rabban

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[112] See Segal, "Some Syriac Inscriptions," 21-22. The reference in Czeglédy is incorrect.
[113] Czeglédy, "Syriac Legend," 239.
[114] See Sauget, "Cyrillona," 214.
[115] The first mention of it that I can find is in Wright, *Short History*, 42, who rejects Bickell's thesis. Landersdorfer introduces the priest-name hypothesis into his revision of Bickell's translation, at the end of his introductory discussion (*Ausgewählte Schriften*, 8), to which he adds the misleading note: "Diese Hypothese, die Bickell in der ersten Auflage vorliegender Übersetzung zum ersten Male vorgetragen hat, ist in sich durchaus wahrscheinlich und hat auch Zustimmung gefunden, vergl. Duval, Lit. Syr. S.336." Landersdorfer must be referring to Bickell's general Cyrillona-Absamya hypothesis, not specifically the priest-name hypothesis.
[116] Segal says specifically: "These names (i.e., Absamya, Barsamya, et var.) have been associated with a deity Seimios, who is probably mentioned by Lucian, *De dea Syria*, as Σημήιον . . . . But Seimios would doubtless be rendered in these texts as ܫܡܝܡܐ or ܥܫܡܝܡܐ; cf. ܫܡܫ, Cureton, *Spic.*, 45 (= ܚܡ 1. 20). *Samyā*, the blind one, may be an epithet of Mars, as among the pagans of Harran according to our late Arab sources" ("Some Syriac Inscriptions," 21). His supposition is supported by the reading of Michael the Syrian.

Hormuzd.[117] Hormuzd was the supreme god of Mazdaism, and "this Mazdean divine name is still borne almost exclusively by members of the Christian community of Iraq."[118] While there were at times attempts to alter the pagan theophoric names of historical figures, or at least reinterpret them through creative etymology, their continued use seems to indicate (along with common sense) that "names do not necessarily reflect the belief of their holders."[119]

A related question is just how common (and therefore plausible here) a change of name was at ordination or upon entering a monastic order. Phillipe Escolan, citing Cerbelaud, invokes Absamya/Cyrillona as his only example of monks changing their names to indicate separation from their former, secular lives. But Escolan acknowledges that even this sole specific instance "n'en reste pas moins une hypothèse," and that "nos connaissances sur ce sujet sont assez limitées."[120] In fact, propositions regarding such name changes appear mostly theoretical.

A third discrepancy between the chronicles is whether the significant title ܚܠܦܝܐ belongs to Absamya (Ps. Dionysius, *Chron.* 819) or to Ephrem (Michael the

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[117] Harrak, "Pagan Traces."
[118] Ibid., 1-2.
[119] Ibid., 4.
[120] Escolan, *Monachisme et église*, 163 and 163n2. Cf. Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 8, who says (inaccurately), "il est généralement admis qu'il faut identifier Cyrillonas avec un certain Absamya." Cerbelaud observes that a change of name makes sense upon entering a monastic order, yet Cyrillona's preoccupation with the mystery of the Eucharist is most befitting a priest—"il est difficile de dépasser ici le stade de la conjecture . . ."

Syrian/Bar Hebraeus). That such an honorific would be applied to an otherwise unknown author is surprising, though of course it is regularly used of Ephrem. Witold Witakowski finds this variant especially significant:

> In this lemma two qualifications of Abhsamia appear: "priest" (*qaššīšā*) and Doctor *(malləpānā).* It seems as if [*Chronicle of Edessa*], [Ps. Dionysius], [*Chron.* 819] and [*Chron.* 846] did different extracts of the lemma of [the "original" *Chronicle of Edessa*], which they, for one reason or another, did not fully understand. Thanks to [Michael the Syrian's] more exhaustive information and his better understanding of the apparently corrupted text of ["original" *Chronicle of Edessa*], we learn that Ephrem, not Abhsamia, was called *malləpānā*—'teacher, master, doctor', a title the Syriac writers, not unlike their medieval contemporaries in Western Europe, reserved for those of their Fathers who were kept in especially high esteem.[121]

From his analysis of this and other important variants, Witakowski concludes that Michael the Syrian is in fact drawing upon a source prior to the "original" *Chronicle of Edessa* (OXE), apparently corrupt here, which he designates the Primeval *Chronicle of Edessa* (PXE).[122] There is, then, reason to think that the more coherent reading of Michael the Syrian here, as well as his orthography for the name Absamya, is due to more detailed and accurate source material.

Michael the Syrian's unique and valuable testimony is also significant for a final and most crucial discrepancy, the conflicting data on Absamya's literary production. All witnesses agree that Absamya wrote on the Huns, but he is

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[121] Witakowski, "Chronicles of Edessa," 494-95.

[122] See ibid., 494-96, for fuller discussion and his proposed stemma.

variously said to have written "*madrashe* and *memre*," just "*madrashe*," or "many *memre*." Michael the Syrian is the witness to the latter, and he also adds the singular detail, "and he composed them in the meter of Mar Ephrem." This would be the 7+7 meter employed by Ephrem in his *memre*. This datum seems unique to Michael's source (PXE). All the other witnesses, per Witakowski's analysis, are based upon OXE (=PXE + other sources), which apparently included the "*madrashe*" datum but omitted the detail concerning them being in Ephrem's meter. Thus the collective early tradition, apparently from two somewhat differing sources, was that Absamya wrote *madrashe* and "many *memre*" in 7+7 meter on the invasion of the Huns.

This brings us back to Bickell's principal argument, that Absamya is reported to have written *madrashe* and *memre* on the invasion of the Huns, to which Cyrillona's work *Scourges* corresponds. First, it should be noted that this poem only deals with the Huns and other conflicts, East and West, briefly and as one of several themes. The Huns are mentioned just once by name (*Scourges* 264) and are treated—and in only a general way—for just forty lines (out of 689). The discussion of the plague of locusts is several times that length, and the barbarian invasions are just one of several scourges discussed. So while it is accurate to say that "Cyrillonas spricht in seinem Mimra ausdrücklich von den Hunnen,"[123] one could nevertheless

[123] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 16.

not rightly say that this is a work *on* the Huns. While the Huns are indeed mentioned, and even feature in the poem's title, a more properly descriptive title for this poem would be, as Cerbelaud suggests, *On the Scourges*.[124]

Bickell argues that we may suppose that the prefatory *madrasha* (*Scourges* 1-26) is only a fragment, abridged by the copyist, and which originally "diese wilden Horden erwähnt habe." That the *madrasha* originally treated the Huns, he says, "ergibt sich aus dessen Ueberschrift,"[125] namely, because it refers to ܡܕܪܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܚ ܗܘܢܐ. But construing this as evidence of omitted content is overly imaginative and entirely unnecessary. Even Landersdorfer, who shows a very light hand in his revision of Bickell, seems less certain about Bickell's line of argumentation here. He emends Bickell's assertion that the wording of the title presents "ein starkes Argument" for redaction to rather "ein wichtiges Argument,"[126] and deletes entirely an earlier reference to Cyrillona authoring, like Absamya, both *madrashe* and *memre* on the Huns.[127]

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[124] See Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 15, 72: "Les fléaux."
[125] Ibid.
[126] Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 10.
[127] Cf. Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 13, and Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 7. The deleted sentence is, "Denn auch Cyrillonas hat sich nachweisbar in beiden Arten von Dichtungen über den Hunnenkrieg versucht." Quite inconsistently, however, Landersdorfer allows to stand the far more objectionable conclusion, "Auch Cyrillonas hat also Madrasche und Mimre [*sic!*] über den Hunneneinfall verfaßt" (Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 16; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 10).

However, as shown, two independent witnesses do indeed certify that Absamya wrote *memre* on the invasion of the Huns, which may suggest a correspondence with this *memra* of Cyrillona. But the primitive testimony preserved in Michael the Syrian is that Absamya's *memre* were "in the meter of Mar Ephrem," or 7+7. Cyrillona's *memra* is in 4+4.

Bickell's Cyrillona-Absamya hypothesis was repeated, especially, by other early scholars, usually as fact and without further comment.[128] But very early on, Wright raised an obvious objection: "That 'Absamyā may have taken the name of Cyrillōnā at his ordination is of course possible, but it seems strange that none of these three writers should have mentioned it, if such were the case."[129] Wright's objection has several times been noted by subsequent scholars,[130] and the Cyrillona-Absamya hypothesis has found little critical approval.[131] One still regularly finds, up to the present, statements that Cyrillona may have been Absamya or, more simply

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[128] See, e.g., Cayrè, *Manual of Patrology,* 1:385, and Tixeront, *Handbook of Patrology*, 220. More critical, and impressive for a general treatment, is Bardenhewer, *Geschichte,* 4:398.
[129] Wright, *Short History*, 42. The three writers he refers to are the author of the *Chronicle of Edessa*, Ps. Dionysius, and Bar Hebraeus. Duval in an early article approvingly notes Wright's "arguments probants" against Bickell ("Histoire politique,"436), but would later say of Bickell's thesis, "ce n'est qu'une hypothèse, mais une hypothèse vraisemblable" (*Littérature syriaque,* 338).
[130] See Duval, "Histoire politique,"436, and *Littérature syriaque,* 338; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 8n1; Baumstark, *Geschichte,* 67n10.
[131] See, e.g., Brock, *Brief Outline,* 30, and "Qurillona;" Chabot, "Syriac Language and Literature," 409; Luther, *Syrische Chronik*, 115; and Murray, *Symbols,* 34.

and ambiguously, the nephew of Ephrem.[132] Often this is presented as "obviously just a hypothesis,"[133] but I think it must be judged more severely as a very unlikely hypothesis.

The Cyrillona-Qiyore Hypothesis

A second hypothesis is that Cyrillona may be Qiyore (ܩܝܘܪܫ; Cyrus), who is said by Barḥadbšabba of Ḥalwan to have been Narsai's immediate predecessor as head of the School of the Persians at Edessa.[134] This was first suggested tentatively ("serait") by Addai Scher in a 1906 article on East Syrian authors.[135] Scher again raised the possibility in his subsequent edition of Barḥadbšabba's history of the Persian schools.[136] In neither place does he state the precise grounds for his conjecture, but his initial article rehearses what is known of both authors and apparently leaves it to the reader to weigh the possibility of their identity. The merits implied by Scher for this thesis seem to be:

(1) There is some similarity between the two names. In Scher's initial article he transliterates them as "Cyoré ou Kyoré" (ܩܝܘܪܫ) and "Cyrollona," which

[132] See Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 8; Vona, *Carmi*, 19; Podskalsky, "Tod des Judas," 512.
[133] Sauget, "Cyrillona," 214.
[134] See Scher, *Cause de la fondation,* 382, for Barḥadbšabba's description of Qiyore.
[135] Scher, "Étude supplémentaire," 3-4.
[136] Scher, *Cause de la fondation*, 382n2.

seems to presuppose the orthographic variant, ܩܘܠܝܢܐ. In his edition of Barḥadbšabba he employs the more normative spelling, Cyrillona.

(2) The dating for both is roughly complementary. Scher suggests a death date of 437 of Qiyore, which has been conventionally accepted.[137]

(3) Scher summarizes the Cyrillona-Absamya hypothesis, noting that Absamya was the nephew of Ephrem. There is likewise some connection of Qiyore to Ephrem in that Qiyore was a close successor to Ephrem as head of the school at Edessa. Barḥadbšabba also notes that Qiyore regretted that the writings of the Interpreter (i.e., Theodore of Mopsuestia) had not yet been translated, but he based his exegesis for the time being on the commentaries of Ephrem.[138]

These suggested similarities between Cyrillona and Qiyore are even more modest than they might appear:

(1) It is very difficult to see how one might get from ܩܝܘܪܐ to ܩܘܠܝܢܐ/ܩܘܠܝܪܐ, or vice versa. Scher's eccentric (initial) transliterations, Cyoré and Cyrollona, seem calculated to imply slightly more visual similarity that actually exists.

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[137] See Vööbus, *History*, 11.

[138] ܩܕܡ ܡܦܩܕ ܡܝܩܪ ܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܬܐ ܕܠ ܩܕܫ ܘܠ (Scher, *Cause de la fondation,* 382.8-9).

> As discussed above, the consensus view is that Cyrillona is a diminutive form of Cyril. Scher's logic may be that the names Cyrus/Cyril/ Cyrillona were used interchangeably, but that would demand argumentation.
>
> (2) The dates for our authors may overlap, but absent other evidence, this is no more than a coincidence.
>
> (3) Scher seems to imply here that Cyrillona is somehow both Absamya, Ephrem's nephew, and Qiyore, Ephrem's successor at the School. But that would mean rather than having to reconcile two different names for one author, without any literary evidence or testimonia, we would now have to reconcile three.

It is questionable whether Barḥadbšabba of Ḥalwan's Qiyore was even who he records him to be. The *Ecclesiastical History* of (perhaps) another Barḥadbšabba[139] records Rabbula as Narsai's predecessor as head of the school.[140] Which is correct? Vööbus laments,

> It is impossible to unravel the situation. It may well be that this question is not an either-or choice at all. Perhaps we have here to do with the emergence of two leaders of the School of Edessa from the sands of time—the school may have had even other school-masters whose names as well as order of service

[139] See the discussion of Becker, *Sources*, 11-16. There are strong correlations between the two Barḥadbšabbas, but their identification is far from certain.
[140] Nau, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 598.11

> had become blurred in the memory of the tradition. In any case, the tradition is no longer sure who the last head of the school was prior to Narsai.[141]

Becker agrees that the early history of the school by this time "had become obscure," and also points out the curious fact that "both of these names [Rabbula and Qiroye] belonged to renowned enemies of the school."[142] The other Qiyore/Cyrus (ܩܝܪܐ or ܣܝܪܐ), later reviled as "a doctor of falsehood," was the bishop of Edessa who secured the expulsion of the school in 489.[143] To even attempt to correlate one entirely unknown figure, Qiyore, to another of whom we know nothing certain, Cyrillona, is not useful.

Scher's Cyrillona-Qiyore hypothesis has been occasionally repeated, usually in conjunction with Bickell's Cyrillona-Absamya hypothesis.[144] But I agree with Brock that Scher's proposal is "even more unlikely" than Bickell's.[145] Scholars have dissented from Scher at times expressly,[146] but more often, it seems, by simply ignoring his proposal.[147]

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[141] Vööbus, *History*, 61-62.
[142] Becker, *Fear of God*, 59.
[143] Vööbus, *History*, 32.
[144] E.g., Segal, *Edessa*, 160.
[145] Brock, *Brief Outline,* 30.
[146] See Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 67; Diettrich, "Bericht," 196n2; Maas, *Exegesis and Empire*, 106n448; Murray, *Symbols,* 34.
[147] See Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 8, and Vona, *Carmi*, 19n3, both of whom cite Scher with respect to his discussion of Cyrillona-Absamya, but without any mention of his own Cyrillona-Qiyore thesis.

However much we may wish otherwise, it is an unfortunate fact that, at the present state of research, Cyrillona remains entirely unknown to us except through the witness of his work.

Date of Writing

Cyrillona has traditionally been dated to the end of the fourth century, primarily based on his reference in *Scourges* to an invasion of the Huns, which Bickell and subsequent scholars have concluded must refer to the great Hunnic invasion of the eastern Roman Empire in 395. No one has ever comprehensively examined the question of Cyrillona's dating, but a careful consideration of evidence makes this early date even more certain.

Unable to equate Cyrillona with any known historical figure, only internal textual data can assist us in dating the author and his work. A primary point of reference might be his citation of other Syriac authors, but no direct citation has thus far been confidently identified. While definite thematic and stylistic parallels to Ephrem may be observed, Cyrillona never cites or betrays exact knowledge of Ephrem or any other early Syriac author, to my knowledge. Likewise Cyrillona abstains from polemical engagement with theological opponents and from controversy. This is most unlike Ephrem and, indeed, as Cerbelaud muses, "Le fait

est assez rare, à l'époque patristique, pour mériter d'être noté . . ."[148] Cyrillona does attack the Jews as a whole, but not specific communities of Jews or Judaizers, as do Aphrahat and Ephrem. In common with many other early authors, his language is grounded in biblical anti-Judaism (and for Cyrillona, particularly Johannine) and in a classical supercessionist typology, but unlike Aphrahat and Ephrem, Cyrillona's rhetoric seems more a formal and theological exercise than actual response to a perceived threat.[149] With this apparent absence of immediate influences and adversaries, the most useful data available to us for dating appears to reside in Cyrillona's use of the Bible and in certain potentially datable references to contemporary catastrophes in *On the Scourges*.

Cyrillona, the Bible, and Dating

The contours of Cyrillona's usage of the Bible have been well summarized by Cerbelaud:

> Si, chez Aphraate, la citation [de l'Écriture] est toujours soigneusement 'signalée'; si chez Éphrem elle est beaucoup plus intégrée au tissu textuel, on peut dire que chez Cyrillonas elle y est entièrement fondue. L'Écriture est omniprésente dans son texte, mais plus sur le mode de l'allusion ou de la réminiscence que de la citation proprement dite. Il en devient parfois difficile

[148] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 27.
[149] On the New Testament and supercessionism in Ephrem, see Shepherdson, *Anti-Judaism*, 26-29, 95-105; on the Nation/Nations supercessionist typology in Ephrem and early Syriac literature, see Darling, "'Church from the Nations,'" and Murray, *Symbols*, 41-68.

> de démêler et d'isoler toutes les références scripturaires, qui se combinent en de véritables entrelacs.[150]

Direct citation of scripture by Cyrillona is rare; even "direct allusion" is relatively uncommon; and reminiscence may be intuited but is difficult to prove. But because of his presumed early date, Cyrillona's witness to the biblical text has been regarded as especially valuable, often motivating a too optimistic identification of citations. Many biblical references documented by previous researchers, on close examination, prove inconclusive or unlikely, and their significance is at times overinterpreted.

For example, Bickell notes in his translation a probable reference in Cyrillona to Bel and the Dragon[151] and concludes from this, "Aus dieser Stelle geht hervor, daß Cyrillonas die deuterokanonischen Bestandtheile des Buches Daniel in seiner syrischen Bibel vorfand und als kanonisch anerkannte."[152] Bickell had also noted this previously in his *Conspectus,* when documenting early Syriac use of the deuterocanonicals (with transparent apologetic intent).[153] Caspar Julius objected that this passing reference falls short of evidence for canonicity.[154] This passage does in fact seem to be an unusually clear allusion, and it is perhaps not surprising, since the

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[150] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 26.
[151] Compare *Scourges* 153-54: "Shatter its teeth / and tear out its belly, / as (with) the dragon / among the Babylonians;" and Bel 27, where Daniel feeds the dragon cakes of pitch, fat, and hair which cause it to rupture.
[152] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 18n3; also, Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 13.
[153] Bickell, *Conspectus*, 7n7.
[154] Julius, *Danielzusätze*, 98.

evidence is good for the early and regular transmission of Bel in the Syriac tradition.[155] But substantial variability in the transmission of the deuterocanonicals generally would caution against overreading a reference like this as evidence that early Syriac authors knew "keinen Unterschied zwischen protocanonischen und deuterocanonischen Büchern."[156]

An examination of Cyrillona's use of Paul demonstrates the problem of identifying citations and illusions. Kerschensteiner adduces five passages of Cyrillona[157] as witnesses to the Old Syriac text of Paul:

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[155] Murray, *Symbols*, 20, 108-9, notes another possible reference to Bel and the Song of the Three Young Men in Ephrem. However, while Polychronius (d. ca. 430) commented on Bel and Susanna, he refused to do so for the Song of the Three Young Men because, he says, it was not found in the Hebrew or Syriac Bibles (see Mai, *Scriptorum veterum collectio nova*, 1.2:113).

[156] So Kaulen (referencing Bickell): "In der syrischen Kirche kennen Aphraates, hl. Ephräm, Cyrillonas, Isaak von Antiochien keinen Unterschied zwischen protocanonischen und deuterocanonischen Büchern" (*Einleitung*, 26-27). On the Syriac transmission of the deuterocanonicals, see Brock, *Bible*, 114-16.

[157] I exclude his two references to *Wheat* which, as argued above, is not by Cyrillona. See Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 58, 101.

Cyrillona			Pauline text(s) (Kerschensteiner lemma number)
1	*Zacch.* 59	ܕܚܛܗ ܡܢ ܕܟܬ ܫܘܒܚܐ.	Rom 5:20 (16)
2	*Scourges* 29-30	ܠܒܫ ܕܟ. ܕܚܛܝܬܐ.	Eph 6:11, 13, 16 (453). Cf. 1 Thess 5:8
3	*Pasch* 373-76	ܚܢܐ ܠܐܠܬܝܢ. ܡܢ ܕܟ ܠܡ. ܚܠܐ ܫܘܚܕ. ܡܚܝܢ ܕܚܛܗ ܠܗ.	Eph 6:17; Heb 4:12 (463)
4	*Pasch* 52-54	ܕܝܐ ܐܡ. ܚܒܠ ܕܚܛܗ ܕܚܛܝܬܐ. ܕܚܛ ܕܚܛܝ.	Col 2:14 (521)
5	*Euch.* 350-51	ܫܒ ܗܘ ܕܚܛ. ܡܐ ܠܡܚܛ.	Heb 9:14 (637)

The first and fifth parallels of Kerschensteiner do not seem sufficiently close to any extant version of Paul to be considered allusions or even, I think, "reminiscences." Jesus's compassion and self-sacrifice are both discussed at length in the poems cited. Thematic overlap with Paul on that topic may be seen as unavoidable and more than explains any slight coincidence of language. The fourth parallel is more certainly an allusion. *Pasch* 52-54 is speaking of the abolition of the curse of the Fall and Col 2:14 more generically of the bond of sin abolished by the cross of Christ, but the core ideas are the same. Col 2:14 was also a favorite Pauline text of Ephrem, so the trope becomes current very early.[158] The second and third parallels are certainly references

[158] See Ephrem, *Virg*. 7.11; 25.3; *Eccl.* 32.2; *Nat*. 5.12; 22.9; *Cruc*. 9.2; *Dom. Nost.* 16.1; *Nic.* 54; 123; *Pub.* 24; cf. *Serm.* I.5.25; I.7.324.

to famous Pauline metaphors, the breastplate of faith, the armor of God, and the sharp sword of God's word.

This acquaintance with Paul or Pauline tropes is not helpful for dating,[159] our primary concern, but what we find here is typical of Cyrillona's use of the Bible throughout. With few exceptions, even the clearest allusions are only loose construals of the biblical text. The use of patristic authors for textual criticism of the Bible is a highly uncertain endeavor. With respect to Paul, for example, even Kerschensteiner's extensive collection, with hundreds of references, does not present clear enough evidence to answer the very basic question of whether the Old Syriac text of Paul was adopted directly into the Peshitta or not.[160]

With suitable caution, then, we now examine Cyrillona's use of the Gospels. This is useful for dating because his use of the Peshitta (Pesh.) would indicate at least a mid-fifth or sixth century date (the *terminus ante quem* based on the ms. date) while use of the Old Syriac (C and S) or Diatessaron (Diat.) would better suggest a fourth or early fifth century date. There is no question that Cyrillona and his church

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[159] The Pauline Epistles, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John likely existed in an Old Syriac version from the 3rd cent. No manuscripts have survived, but as Kerschensteiner documents, citations and allusions are numerous from Aphrahat onwards, and evidence points to pre-Peshitta collections of the Epistles and Acts (see Lange, "Ephrem," 163-66). Not surprisingly, there is no evidence for the use of the General Epistles or Revelation in Cyrillona (see Bauer, *Apostolos der Syrer*, 53, 73; Leipoldt, *Geschichte*, 1:168).

[160] See Brock, "Use of the Syriac Fathers," 229; Brock provides an excellent overview of the entire problem of using the early Syriac fathers for textual criticism.

knew and used the Separated Gospels. He states as much explicitly at the opening of *Pasch*:

> The proclamation of John
> has greeted me and caused me to marvel greatly.
> John and his colleagues
> have become the well-springs of creation.
> Humanity has drunk from them
> new and perfect life.
> A thirsty world has been slaked by them
> and men have become intoxicated with their words. (*Pasch* 5-12)

As will be seen, Cyrillona's poems contain dramatic reimaginings of gospel episodes, and *Euch., Wash.* and *Pasch* are based specifically upon the Last Supper and Last Discourse of the Gospel of John (John 13-18). But with the hundreds of lines he dedicates to these episodes, his aversion to citation is revealed in that fact that a bare handful of specific verbal parallels to John and the other gospels are evident.

While translators like Cerbelaud and Vona have noted a large number of scriptural parallels, they rarely give any indication of whether a particular instance represents, in their judgment, a citation, allusion, reminiscence or mere coincidence. We will therefore examine here the more specific base of gospel citations established by Ortiz de Urbina (O), supplemented by the previous lists of Burkitt (B) and Lewis (L):[161]

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[161] Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus evangelium*; Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*; and Lewis, *Old Syriac Gospels*. Citations of Ortiz de Urbina are according to his citation numbers, and of Burkitt and Lewis by page

Cyrillona			Gospel text(s)
1	*Euch.* 51	ܠܫܚܪ ܐܡ ܪܥܝܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ.	John 6:33, 41, 50-51 (O 1103)
2	*Pasch* 119-20	ܐܦ ܒܚܝ ܠܟ̈ ܡܢ ܡܫܚܪܝܢ ܐܢܐ.	Matt 16:19 (O 1291)
3	*Pasch* 439-40	ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܒܝܕ ܟܗܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܩܛܠ̈ ܢܗܘܐ ܩܡ ܒܗ.	Matt 16:21; 17:22-23; Mark 8:31; 9:31; Luke 9:22 (O 1297)
4	*Zacch.* 67-68	ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ̈ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܚܕ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܥܠ ܬܫܥܝܢ ܘܬܫܥܐ ܙܕܝܩܝܢ.	Luke 15:10 (O 1372)
5	*Pasch* 25	ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܨܥܕ ܠܘܬ ܝܪܘܫܠܡ.	Matt 20:18; Mark 10:33; Luke 18:31 (O 1526)
6	*Wash.* 117-18	ܡܢ ܠܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܚܠܩ ܥܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ.	John 13:8 (O 2107)
7	*Wash.* 129-30	ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܫܠܡ ܓܫܡ ܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܪܐܫ ܘܝܕ̈ܝ.	John 13:9 (O 2108)
8	*Euch.* 183-86	ܒܚܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܚܕ ܡܢܟܘܢ ܢܫܠܡ. ܟܠ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܕܡܣܥܕ ܥܡܝ ܐܝܕܗ ܒܬܪ ܠܝ.	Matt 26:21, 24; Mark 14:18, 21; John 13:21 (O 2130)
9	*Euch.* 360-63	ܒܚܕ ܫܗܪܬ ܚܕܝ ܒܗ ܒܚܒܪܘܬܝ. ܥܡ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܐܚܪ ܠܐ.	Luke 22:15 (O 2156; B 150; L 321)
10	*Pasch* 289-90	ܐܢ ܒܪܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܓܦܢܐ ܕܐܡܬ.	John 15:1 (O 2223; B 143-45, 151)
11	*Pasch* 147-48	ܕ ܒܒܥܐ. ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ	John 15:7 (O 2225)
12	*Pasch* 395-96	ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܒܪ ܐܢ ܒܚܕ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܒܪ ܐܢ

Ortiz de Urbina's method of collecting citations has been criticized as lacking discrimination.[162] All but one of the citations adduced by him for Cyrillona are either not true citations or, unfortunately, not useful as versional evidence:

1. This is certainly a strong allusion to the Bread of Life discourse, though not technically a citation, being transposed into the third person. Cyrillona uses ܐܟܠ and ܚܝܐ rather than ܐܟܘ and ܚܝܐ (all versions), but the unanimous contrary readings suggest this is a poetic rather than biblical variant.

2. This is a poetic rephrasing of Matt 16:19, but clearly not a citation and revealing no versional distinctives.

3. This is a paraphrase Matt 16:21, etc., revealing no versional distinctives.

4. A paraphrase of Luke 15:10 but revealing no versional distinctives.

5. This is a direct citation. The contraction ܗܠܨܡ agrees with Pesh. Luke 18:31 only; both C and S, and Pesh. in the other synoptics, otherwise use

[162] Petersen (*Tatian's Diatessaron*, 138-40) details the problems, noting pointedly: "Any experienced researcher knows how difficult it is to decide what is a quotation, what is an allusion, and what is an echo or paraphrase. The experienced researcher also knows that a Patristic writer sometimes has to alter a quotation because of the context in which he presents it. . . . Nowhere does Ortiz de Urbina display awareness of these issues" (339).

uncontracted forms. But this minor orthographic variant does not seem to be a versional distinctive.

7. A slightly expanded citation of John 13:9 that contains no versional distinctives.

8. *Euch.* 183-84 is a citation of Matt 26:21/Mark 14:18/John 13:21, with minor orthographical variants that agree with no single version. *Euch.* 185-86 is a paraphrase of Matt 26:24/Mark 14:21 but departs strongly in wording from known versions.

11. Another slightly expanded citation (John 15:7), but again, revealing no versional distinctives.

The remaining five citations, however, do contain versional distinctives, as follows:

6. To a close paraphrase of John 13:8b—"If I do not wash you, you have no part with me"—*Wash.* 118 adds the phrase, "on the throne" (ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ). This addition is not found in S (C not extant) or Pesh. However, in several western witnesses to Diat. we find added some variant of the phrase, "in the kingdom

of heaven," "in my Father's kingdom," or "in heaven."[163] A citation in the Ps.-Ephremian *memre* on Holy Week also adds the phrase ܒܫܡܝܐ.[164] Van den Broek says, "We do not know what Tatian actually wrote . . . But in view of the fact that the addition to 'parte mecum' occurs both in eastern and western texts, we should not exclude the possibility that it was Tatian himself who gave this Johannine saying of Jesus a more synoptic flavor."[165] None of the variants corresponds precisely with *Wash.* 118, but all these additions approach it closely in sense.

9. Here we have a clear citation Luke 22:15, in strong agreement with the OS against Pesh.:

Euch. 360-63	ܒܥܝܬ ܐܟܠ ܥܡ ܟܘܢ ܦܨܚܐ ܗܕܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܐܠܡ ܠܡ.
C	ܒܥܝܬ ܐܟܠ ܥܡ ܟܘܢ ܦܨܚܐ ܗܕܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܐܠܡ.
S	ܒܥܝܬ ܐܟܠ ܥܡ ܟܘܢ ܦܨܚܐ ܗܕܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܐܠܡ ܠܝ.
Pesh.	ܒܥܝܬ ܥܡ ܟܘܢ ܦܨܚܐ ܗܕܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܬܐܠܡ ܠܟܘܢ.

As Burkitt explains, the minor disagreements of Cyrillona with C and S may be explained by metrical requirements, but the major disagreements with

[163] See the full discussion of van den Broek, "Latin Diatessaron," 118-19; cf. Quispel, *Tatian*, 171.
[164] *Heb. Sanc.* 3.134.
[165] Van den Broek, "Latin Diatessaron," 118-19.

Pesh. cannot, "so that in these points there is a true agreement with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*."[166]

10. This is a direct citation of John 15:1, but in a form at variance with S (C not extant) and Pesh.:

Pasch 289-90	ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܒܐ ܕܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܓܦܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ.
S	ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܒܐ ܕܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܓܦܢܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ.
Pesh.	ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܒܐ ܕܟܪܡܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܓܦܢܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ.

The addition of ܗܘ ܓܦܬܐ is for meter, but the use of ܓܦܬܐ instead of ܓܦܢܐ is in fact "one of the famous readings of the Diatessaron."[167] It is attested in Aphrahat, Ephrem, and the Ps.-Ephremian *Exposition of the Gospel*, leaving traces as well in several later vernacular witnesses to Diat.[168]

12. Again we have a clear citation of the OS (only S is extant here). Pesh. does not include the verb ܐܡܪ. This exact citation (also lacking ܐܢܐ ܗܘ) is also found in Ephrem.[169]

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[166] Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 150-51.
[167] Plooij, *Primitive Text*, 58.
[168] See the review of witnesses in Murray, *Symbols,* 95n2. While Murray is correct that the Arabic Diat. does not seem to reflect ܓܦܬܐ, at least directly, Baarda has shown through the examination of other variants that this was most likely the reading before the translator. See Baarda, "Archaic Element," and the approving discussion of Baarda's analysis in Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron*, 310-12.
[169] Ephrem, *HFid.* 63.11.

Pasch 395-96	ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܚܐ ܕܡܝ ܕܥܡܕ ܒܗ ܐܝܬ

rûmḥâ in Simeon's prophecy [Luke 2:35] faces both ways, forward to the *rûmḥâ* piercing Christ's side (and Mary's heart in sympathy) and backward to the fiery *rûmḥâ* [of the cherubim in the Garden; Gen 3:24] which is removed by the merits of the second Adam (the second Eve playing her part)."[172] Brock has subsequently explored this significant typology, repeatedly, even suggesting that "this single verse, John 19:34, could be described as the focal point of Early Syriac exegesis, looking back, as it does, to the Paradise narrative of Genesis, and forward to the new Paradise, the sacramental life of the Church."[173]

The origin of this reading is far from certain, since it is preserved only indirectly. Murray reasons, "This translator/midrashist cannot have been a remote monolingual provincial such as Aphrahat. It can only have been Tatian himself who used the same word at Lk 2,35 and Jn 14,34 and set going a tradition whose traces remain, clear or obscured, in several vernacular Diatessarons."[174] Brock also notes of John 14:34, "the Old Syriac does not survive here, but it may have had *rumḥa*, 'sword', and *seṭra* ['side'] (cp. John 20: 27)."[175] Whether found in one or both versions, this reading is nevertheless inarguably pre-Peshitta.

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[172] Murray, "Lance," 231.
[173] Brock, "Mysteries," 462. See additionally by Brock: "Baptismal Themes," 329-32; "Epiklesis," 211-13; *Harp of the Spirit*, 11-12; *Holy Spirit*, 88-93; and "Wedding Feast."
[174] Murray, "Lance," 230; cf. *Symbols,* 126.
[175] Brock, "Baptismal Themes,"331n33; see also, *Holy Spirit*, 113n89.

These five gospel citations containing versional distinctives, and his striking use of ܕܝܐܬܣܪܘܢ, all witness to Cyrillona's use of the Old Syriac Gospels and the influence of the Diatessaron. At the same time, he attests no Peshitta readings. Cyrillona's gospel text, therefore, strongly suggests for him a late-fourth or early-fifth century date.

Dating *Scourges*

Four specific historical events are mentioned in *Scourges*: a drought, a plague of locusts, conflicts and invasions which included Huns, and an earthquake. The primary focus of Cyrillona is upon the concurrent and related events of the drought and the locusts, which had directly affected and afflicted his auditors. Such afflictions have been common events in the greater Mediterranean right up to the present, and are attested in numerous ancient histories and chronicles, sermons, hagiographies, and of course in the Bible.

The Drought

Cyrillona gives a clear and vivid description of a drought they had suffered:

For two years
        you impoverished winter
and the milk of the breasts
        of heaven failed.

> The seeds were doubled,
> but the sprouts withered,
> for you brought upon us
> July in March. (*Scourges* 336-43)

Cyrillona then details the suffering caused by the two-year drought, with men wandering about with sacks of jugs, begging for water, which became very costly.[176] He seems to describe a crop failure ("the sprouts withered"), though apparently for the first year only, since he describes the maturation of a successful crop just before the locust invasion.[177] Cyrillona's reference to the story of Elijah and the widow of Zarephath may suggest a food shortage, but he also alludes to a bread distribution, and no famine is described.[178] His petitions are that God preserve the crop for offerings, and "that the fruits be revived, / and let men rejoice / in their abundance."[179] Such statements seem to reflect with certainty only scarcity, or in Garnsey's terminology, a "subsistence crisis," a regular occurrence in antiquity, rather than the much rarer crisis of famine.[180] This would be consistent with research

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[176] *Scourges* 344-59. His lamentation that a drink of water cost a *mina* is certainly an exaggeration, but communicates the severity of the drought (*Scourges* 358-59).
[177] *Scourges* 380-97.
[178] On Elijah and the widow: *Scourges* 364-75; on bread distribution: *Scourges* 356-57.
[179] *Scourges* 12-13, 659-61.
[180] "It is a categorical error, committed frequently in the literature, to describe every food crisis as a famine. . . . Each food crisis occupies a place on the continuum leading from mild shortage to disastrous famine. The proposition for which I will argue is that famines were rare, but that subsistence crises falling short of famine were common" (Garnsey, *Famine*, 6).

that suggests famine in antiquity only became a threat if shortages persisted for two or more annual cycles.[181]

Droughts in the Roman Empire, says Stathakopoulos, "constituted an extremely common phenomenon. As such they must have often escaped the attention of our sources or would have been considered too usual or regular phenomena to be worth recording."[182] They were also principally a concern for rural communities, which were of lesser interest to most ancient historiographers. There appears to be no firmly datable drought in Syriac-speaking regions before the 7th century.[183] Cyrillona may be our only source for the one he describes.

The only other recorded drought that correlates to Cyrillona's time and general region is one mentioned in Mark the Deacon's *Life of Porphyry of Gaza*.[184] He describes how Porphyry was forcibly ordained bishop of heavily-pagan Gaza. A severe drought coincided with his arrival, of which the pagans said: "It was

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[181] Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 82; cf. Stathakopoulos, *Famine*, 37. Garnsey describes the mitigating "normal surplus" that was consistently produced against frequent and unpredictable food crises (Garnsey, *Famine*, 53-55).
[182] Stathakopoulos, *Famine*, 37.
[183] See ibid., 360-62 (no. 194). From the 6th century onwards the documentation for droughts and infestations improves, perhaps reflecting increasing frequency due to climate change (Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 75).
[184] See *Vita Porphyrii* 16-21 (Grégoire and Kugener, *Vie de Porphyre*, 14-19); also, Stathakopoulos, "Rain Miracles," 75, and *Famine*, 215-16 (no. 35), whose analysis and dating, however, is accurate (see below).

prophesied to us by Marnas that Porphyry would bring bad luck to the city."[185] After the pagans' entreaties to Marnas failed to bring rain, the Christians persuaded Porphyry to join them in a fast and vigil, "for already there was a famine."[186] When they went out in a solemn procession the following morning, storm clouds suddenly blew in and thick rain began to fall, not relenting for three days.

Mark the Deacon records the precise dates of the rainfall: January 3-5, 396.[187] This would be a mid-winter rainfall. The fact that the pagans began petitioning for rain in the month of Dios (Oct. 28-Nov. 26), when the rains customarily begin,[188] and that there was a preexisting famine, indicates that rains had failed the previous year. Two rainless months would hardly cause a drought and famine. If, as other evidence indicates, *Scourges* was delivered in the spring of 396, this drought in Gaza would correspond to the same two years described by Cyrillona. A mid-winter rain could explain how Cyrillona might describe two preceding years of drought, as it seems,

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[185] *Vita Porphyrii* 19 (Grégoire and Kugener, *Vie de Porphyre*, 16; trans. Rapp, "*Life of St. Porphyry*," 61).
[186] Ibid.
[187] Month and days: *Vita Porphyrii* 21 (Grégoire and Kugener, *Vie de Porphyre*, 18); year: *Vita Porphyrii* 103 (Grégoire and Kugener, *Vie de Porphyre*, 79).
[188] *Vita Porphyrii* 19 (Grégoire and Kugener, *Vie de Porphyre*, 16). "Les pluies commencent généralement à Gaza vers le 15 novembre, pour finir vers la fin d'avril. Mais il arrive fréquemment que les mois de novembre et de décembre se passent sans pluie, et qu'il ne commence à pleuvoir qu'au commencement de janvier" (Grégoire and Kugener, *Vie de Porphyre*, 96).

but yet also the irrigation of a spring crop that was threatened by a locust infestation.[189]

The Locusts

Locust infestations were (and are) quite regular in the Mediterranean, but severe locust plagues were not common and, as with the drought, there are few references to them in early Syriac sources.[190] The first relevant locust infestation for which we have a clear date is that at Edessa in 500-502.[191] However, Jerome speaks of a terrific plague of locusts in Palestine during his day (*nostris temporibus*) in a commentary dated to 406.

> We have also seen in our time an army of locusts cover the Judean earth, which afterwards, by the mercy of God, when the priests and the people, "between the porch and the altar"—that is, the place of the cross and the resurrection—had prayed to the Lord and said, "Spare your people" (Joel 2:17), and a wind arose, were cast into "the nearest and the utmost sea" (Joel 2:20 LXX). The "nearest sea," which is almost desolate, and oriented to the east, you should understand as the one in which formerly were Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim, which now is called the Dead (Sea), because nothing alive lives there. And (you should understand) the "utmost sea" as

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[189] See *Scourges* 380-97.

[190] Stathakopoulos catalogs eleven locust infestations between 284-750 CE that attended or resulted in a famine or epidemic, but he notes there are "other, numerous cases where locusts are mentioned" in less catastrophic connections (*Famine*, 41). Unfortunately, his promised fuller study has not yet appeared (see ibid., 41n20). On datable locust infestations for this period, see also Graßl, "Heuschreckenplagen," 441-42. See generally, in addition, Beyer, "Sie legten," 57-59, 73-83; Patlagean, *Pauvreté*, 75-78; and Weber, "Heuschrecke."

[191] Ps. Joshua, *Chron.* 33, 38 (Chabot, *Chronicon*, 259, 263-65); see the discussions of Beyer, "Sie legten," 59-73, and Stathakopoulos, *Famine*, 250-55 (no. 80).

> that one which is to the west, and which leads to Egypt, on whose shore are located Gaza and Ascalon, and Azotus and Joppa, and Caesarea, and other port cities. And when the shores of both seas were filled up with mounds of dead locusts which the waters had spewed up, their putridity and stench were so noxious that it even tainted the air, and disease arose among both beasts and men.[192]

We cannot know the precise date of Jerome's plague, only that it occurred between the time he settled in Palestine (388) and 406. Locust invasions often attend drought and, though perhaps just coincidently, the only known drought in Palestine between 388 and 406 is that just discussed from the *Life of Porphyry*. A single locust infestation could extend from Syria to Palestine, as Ps. Joshua attests of the infestation he witnessed: "When they could (only) crawl, they devoured and laid waste to the entire 'Arab and the territories of Resh'aina, Tella, and Edessa, but when they could fly, their range was from the border of Assyria to the Mediterranean, and on the north they went up to the border of the territory of the Ortaye [i.e., Armenia IV]."[193] But while a connection between the infestations described by Cyrillona and Jerome is possible, it is no more than that, and thus of no clear utility for dating.

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[192] Jerome, *Comm. Ioel.* 2.18/20.404-21 (CCSL 76:187).

[193] Ps. Joshua, *Chron.* 38 (Chabot, *Chronicon*, 264; trans. Trombley and Watt, *Chronicle*, 37-38). Nevo says that, even today, "the 'invasion area' of the desert locust includes most of Africa north of the Equator, the Near East, and invades even India and South Asia (29 million km^2 in all), affecting 60 countries. . . . This constitutes more than 20% of the total land surface of the world. During plagues the desert locust has the potential to undermine the livelihood of one tenth of the world's population" (Nevo, "Desert Locust," 27-28; see 22-28).

The Invasion of the Huns

In *Scourges*, Cyrillona also describes with great emotion the violent conflicts of his day at all points of the compass. He speaks of the North in particular connection with his own land.

> The North is in distress
> and full of wars,
> and if you turn away, O Lord,
> again (ܬܘܒ) they shall lay waste to me.
> If the Huns (ܗܘܢܐ)
> conquer me, O Lord,
> then why take refuge
> with the martyrs? . . .
> Not yet a year
> has passed
> since they came out to lay waste to me
> and take captive my children,
> and see now,
> a second time
> they have assaulted our country
> to vanquish it. (*Scourges* 260-67, 276-83)

Cyrillona names the Huns as invaders of the North and threatening his own land yet again (ܬܘܒ). We have a variety of eastern and western sources on the invasion of the Huns into the eastern Roman Empire, though the Syriac sources are the most detailed.[194] While the dates given vary slightly,[195] the *Chronicle of Edessa* says

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[194] Most of these sources are collected, in translation, in Greatrex and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*, 17-19; a few others, mostly derivative, are cited in Luther, *Syrische Chronik*, 115-16. For analysis, see Greatrex and Greatrex, "Hunnic Invasion," and Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*, 52-59, which are the best general discussions of this event.

simply and precisely, "In the month of Tammuz (July) that year (395) the Huns crossed over into the territory of the Romans."[196] The Huns crossed the Caucasus through the Caspian Gates (i.e., the Darial Pass), overran the Armenias, and pushed into the wealthy Roman provinces of Syria, Cilicia, Cappadocia and even Galatia. As Jerome describes it, "Antioch was besieged; so too the other cities which lie on the Halys, Cydnus, Orontes, and Euphrates. Prisoners were hauled off in throngs; Arabia and Phoenicia, Palestine and Egypt were held captive by fear."[197] Antioch was probably not attacked,[198] but Jerome elaborates elsewhere on the widespread panic—how Antioch prepared its defenses, Tyre looked for her island of old, and in Jerusalem people prepared ships for escape.[199]

While our information on the spoiling of Greek provinces is only general, Syriac sources preserve more detail on the Huns' invasion of Mesopotamia. The *Chronicle of 724* says the Huns "went down to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, in the province of the Persians, and reached the Persians' royal city (Ctesiphon); they

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[195] Sources give the dates variously as 706 or 707 Sel. (=394/95 or 395/96 CE) (Bar Hebraeus's 708 Sel. is anomalous). This might be explained by the duration of the incursion into the Fall—New Year in the Seleucid calendar was Oct. 1—though even this may not account for all contradictory evidence. But the prefect Rufinus, whom several sources blame for the success of the attack, died Nov. 27, 395, so this must have been the year of the incursion. See the discussion of dating in Luther, *Syrische Chronik*, 115-16.

[196] *Chron. Edessa* 40 (Guidi, *Chronica minora I*, 6.1-2).

[197] Jerome, *Epist.* 60.16.5 (CSEL 54²:571.13-15; trans. Scourfield, *Consoling Heliodorus*, 71).

[198] See Downey, *History of Antioch*, 438n151.

[199] Jerome, *Epist.* 77.8.3 (CSEL 55²:46.2-5).

did no damage there, but laid waste many villages of the Euphrates and Tigris, and killed (many) and took a great number of captives."[200] The *Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius* is even more specific, naming several cities in southern Armenia and northern Mesopotamia that were reduced, and describing in detail the siege of the fortress at Ziatha the Greater, located at the confluence of the Tigris and the Deba.[201] Finally, we have a unique record of the Huns' threat to Edessa in the tale of *Euphemia and the Goth*:

> In the year 707, by the reckoning of the Greeks, the Huns had come forth, and they captured many captives and laid waste the country and they came as far as Edessa. And Addai, the Military Governor at that time, did not give permission for the *Foederati* to go out against them because of treachery in the midst, and for this cause the armies of the Romans came down and lived in Edessa for a time.[202]

Several sources blame the praetorian prefect Rufinus for the unchallenged invasion of the Huns, but this account and the *Chronicle of Ps. Joshua* both lay the blame as well at the feet of the *stratelates* Addaeus.[203] There was likely little that the Romans could do; most eastern forces had gone west with Theodosius in his campaign

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[200] *Chron. ad a. 724 pert.* 136.24-28 (Brooks, *Chronica minora II*, 136; trans. Greatrex and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier*, 17).
[201] Ps. Dionysius, *Chron.* 1.187.17-188.14 (Chabot, *Chronicon*, 187-88). See the thorough discussion of this account in Greatrex and Greatrex, "Hunnic Invasion,"69-75.
[202] *Euphemia and the Goth* 4 (Burkitt, *Euphemia*, محه; trans. ibid., 130-31, slightly edited).
[203] See Ps. Joshua, *Chron.* 9 (Chabot, *Chronicon*, 243). The Goths in Addaeus's charge (and the antagonists of *Euphemia*) were notorious for their violent and brutish behavior, in addition to which, they were Arians. Cf. Ps. Joshua concerning the behavior of Gothic troops billeted at Edessa in 816-17 Sel. (504/5-505/6 CE) (*Chron.* 76-96 [Chabot, *Chronicon*, 299-313]).

against Eugenius (394). But the Persians rallied and drove back the Huns, even taking back 18,000 prisoners and much of their loot.[204] They saved the eastern Roman provinces, and almost a century later the Persian king Peroz would still use his status as Rome's rampart against the Huns to raise money for defense against the "White Huns" (Hephthalites).[205]

The invasion of 395 was the only major incursion of Huns south of the Caucasus. Clearly they were a continued threat to the south, but appear never again to have pushed further south into Roman territory than Armenia.[206] Subsequently the Hunnic tribes migrated west to the Danube frontier, established themselves in Pannonia, and from thence raided and campaigned against the western Roman empire.[207] Their major Balkan campaigns of 422, 434, 441-43 and 447 sowed chaos from Thrace to the Hellespont, but failed to take Constantinople or penetrate further to its east. A story in Priscus concerning a raid into Persia by two Hunnic leaders, Basich and Cursich, has often been construed as referring to a fifth-century

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[204] *Chron. ad a. 724 pert.* 136.30-137.5 (Brooks, *Chronica minora II*, 136-37).
[205] Ps. Joshua, *Chron.* 9 (Chabot, *Chronicon*, 243). Segal's reference (*Edessa*, 160) to further Hunnic invasions into Byzantine Mesopotamia in 515 and 531 must refer to incursions by the Hephthalites. He identifies these with the Huns of 395, but the Hephthalites were a completely different ethnic group.
[206] Claudian references a victorious campaign by Eutropius against the Huns in Armenia, probably in 397 (*In Eutr.* 2.pr55-56), but "the fact that these subsequent attacks and counter-attacks are not reported by Syriac sources may in itself be significant, indicating that the events probably did not affect Mesopotamia" (Greatrex and Greatrex, "Hunnic Invasion," 73). See also Claudian, *In Eutr.* 1.245-54; 2.114-15, 569-70.
[207] Huns may have been present on the Danube previous to this time, but not in the great numbers often assumed, and their migration was gradual. See Heather, "Huns," 8-11.

incursion, but this account may in fact belong to the raids of 395.[208] Priscus's story, in any event, does not describe a general and wide-spread invasion, but a single raid specifically into Persia.

While the memory of 395 long persisted in the memory of Syriac writers, the era of Hunnic power lasted just 60 years. Attila died in 453. In 454 the Gepids and Ostrogoths defeated the Huns under Ellac, eldest son of Attila, at a battle on the Nedao River, after which the Huns ceased to be a power. In 469 the head of Attila's son Dinzic was brought to Constantinople and hung from a pole at the Wooden Circus. After this the Huns disappear from history as a separate ethnic identity.

Cyrillona says in his sermon that "not yet a year has passed" since the invasion of the Huns, and that, "see now, a second time they have assaulted (ܠܚܡܗ) our country to vanquish it."[209] Recall that the *Chronicle of Edessa* dated the invasion to July of 395.[210] It seems certain that *Scourges* was composed for a feast of All Saints, given the author's direct statement that the day was "a commemoration for the just"

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[208] Priscus Panita, *Exc. leg.* 8.139-42 (Carolla, *Excerpta*, 41.5-24). See the argument of Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*, 53-55, whom, however, Heather critiques as perhaps "too confident" in assigning this raid to 395 ("Huns," 8n1). Others have dated it between 415 and 422, but Priscus gives no indication of date, saying only that it happened formerly (πάλαι) (*Exc. leg.* 8.139 [Carolla, *Excerpta*, 41.8]). Certainly, as Thompson notes, "This is one of the obscurest incidents in the history of the Huns" (*Huns*, 35), but as Maenchen-Helfen shows, Priscus's account corresponds in important details with accounts of 395 (cf. *Chron. ad a. 724 pert.* 136.30-137.5 [Brooks, *Chronica minora II*, 136-37]; Jerome, *Epist.* 77.8.2 [CSEL 55²:45.20-21]).

[209] See *Scourges* 276-83.

[210] *Chron. Edessa* 40 (Guidi, *Chronica minora I*, 6.1-2).

and "a feast for your saints."[211] Bickell adduced evidence for three feasts of All Saints in the fourth century Syrian church, or at least three different dates for such a feast, all in the spring.[212] Since "not yet a year (had) passed" since the initial invasion of the Huns, Bickell believed that a spring feast in 396 was certainly the occasion for it.[213] The precise date cannot be determined from the poem itself, but this is a plausible thesis and again points to a date for *Scourges* of spring or early summer 396.

The Earthquake

Cyrillona describes at some length[214] an earthquake which struck unspecified cities (ܡܕܝܢܬܐ).[215] He describes its physical destruction and, interestingly, some kind of atmospheric occlusion: "In daytime the radiant light / grew dark / and night became / a tenebrous tomb."[216] The earthquake description follows that of the drought and plague of locusts, and Cyrillona indicates it was contemporary with those scourges. But his description gives no indication that the earthquake was something his auditors themselves experienced. Cyrillona's depiction of the king

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[211] *Scourges* 14-16.
[212] See Bickell, review of *Contributions*, 467-68, and *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 12-13.
[213] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 13.
[214] 66 lines; see *Scourges* 448-513, with an additional passing reference to earthquakes at *Scourges* 655.
[215] *Scourges* 449.
[216] *Scourges* 472-75; see also 506-9.

abasing himself in supplication, and thereby averting God's wrath, must refer to a Roman emperor, indicating that one of the cities affected was the imperial residence.[217]

Earthquakes were frequently attested in antiquity, and in fact, nowhere more so than the capital of the eastern empire, Constantinople, during the period under consideration. One recent study documents thirteen earthquakes there from 363 to 447.[218] Such events are regularly mentioned by chroniclers, homilists, and others, though descriptions and dates are often in conflict. In our case, the few distinctives we may draw from Cyrillona, triangulated with the dating of the Hunnic invasion of the East, point to an earthquake described in various accounts as occurring in 396.[219]

Our potential sources are not completely in harmony, but, says Cameron, "Given the usual poverty and imprecision of our documentation for earthquakes, the evidence for 395/6 is unusually clear, abundant and unanimous."[220] Many sources discuss the impact of the 396 earthquake on Constantinople, though it may have been more widespread. Marcellinus specifies no single location for it and Michael Glycas says it was "great and universal" (μέγας τε καὶ πάγκοσμος).[221] Downey

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[217] See *Scourges* 496-505.
[218] See Guidoboni, *Catalogue*, 263-95.
[219] Ibid., 280-81 (no. 161).
[220] Cameron, "Earthquake," 354.
[221] Marcellinus, *Chron.* 396 (Mommsen, *Chronica minora II*, 64); Michael Glycas, *Annales* 478.20-21 (Bekker and Leunclavius, *Michaelis Glycae Annales*, 478).

argues that this quake even shook Antioch and was the basis of two sermons on an earthquake preached there by John Chrysostom in 396.[222]

However wide its effects, Constantinople was the earthquake's primary locus, and the brief reports concerning it correlate with Cyrillona in certain particulars. As in Cyrillona,[223] the 396 quake was said to have been attended by a mysterious atmospheric disturbance. It was described by Augustine as a "fiery cloud" that "hung fearfully over the whole city as a terrible threat," attended by a sulfurous odor and, at one point, "much smoke" (*magnum fumum*).[224] Claudian speaks similarly of a "bloody cloud."[225] Marcellinus says that "the sky seemed to burn;" the *Gallic Chronicle of 452* speaks of "the wrath of God rising up (as) fire above a cloud, flashing terribly;" and Orosius says "flames filled the sky and hung over the city."[226]

Cameron speculates that "the tremors at Constantinople were linked to a volcanic eruption somewhere perhaps quite distant whence wind-borne ash created

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[222] Downey, *History of Antioch*, 438n152; cf. Downey, "Earthquakes," 597. The two sermons by Chrysostom are *De Lazaro concio VI* (CPG 4329; PG 48:1027-43) and *Homilia post terrae motum* (CPG 4366; PG 50:713-16), but neither may be dated with certainty (see Guidoboni, *Catalogue*, 283). Another mention may perhaps be found in John Chrysostom, *In Eph.* 10 (PG 62:79) (see Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 92).

[223] See *Scourges* 472-75 (cited above) and 506-9.

[224] Augustine, *De excidio urbis Romae* VI.7 (CCSL 46:259; trans. O'Reilly, *De excidio*, 69, 71). That this sermon is describing the earthquake of 396 has been argued independently by Cameron ("Earthquake," 352-55), Grattanarola ("Terremoto"), and Woods ("Earthquake").

[225] Claudian, *In Eutr.* I.4-5 (Platnauer, *Claudian I*, 138). Claudian's list of portents may be derivative of other sources (see Cameron, "Earthquake," 353-54).

[226] Marcellinus, *Chron.* 396 (Mommsen, *Chroninca minora II*, 64); *Gallic Chronicle of 452* (Mommsen, *Chronica minora I*, 650); Orosius, *Hist. adv. pag.* 3.3.2 (CSEL 5:146).

(as it often does) weird celestial phenomena."[227] But it is impossible to know now to what these authors were referring precisely, and we must allow for embellishment in the transmission of the story. The coincidence of this with Cyrillona's report of "mists" and "gloom" during the earthquake may be significant, but Cyrillona says nothing about fire in the sky.[228] His description might be thought to describe a solar eclipse, but it seems even the moon and stars ceased to give their light.[229] It is of course possible that Cyrillona is misreporting these celestial phenomena, or embellishing or conflating his account of the earthquake with another actual or fictional portent.

As noted, Cyrillona reports that the king himself petitioned God for mercy, and these accounts likewise report that, "God, being entreated by the prayers of the Emperor Arcadius and the Christian people, turned away the imminent destruction."[230] Augustine also describes in language like Cyrillona's how, "All fled to the church; the place could not hold the multitude. Everyone, almost with violence, demanded Baptism from whom he could. Not only in the church but also in their homes and throughout the streets and squares there was a cry for the saving

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[227] Cameron, "Earthquake," 353. Another theory connects this with the aurora borealis (see Grattanarola, "Terremoto," 239-43).
[228] See *Scourges* 506-9.
[229] *Scourges* 474-75: "night became a tenebrous tomb."
[230] Orosius, *Hist. adv. pag.* 3.3.2 (CSEL 5:146). See similarly Augustine, *De excidio urbis Romae* VI.7 (CCSL 46:259), and *Gallic Chronicle of 452* (Mommsen, *Chronica minora I*, 650); cf. *Scourges* 496-505.

Sacrament, that they might escape wrath."[231] Both Augustine and Cyrillona imply that this earthquake (quake and aftershocks?) lasted an extended length of time; two other sources confirm that it lasted a number of days.[232]

Based on available evidence, the earthquake described by Cyrillona seems to have been the same one described in these accounts. This was the conviction of Bickell.[233] No other earthquake of this period was so significant or reported so widely, and Cyrillona's account corresponds with other sources in some unique details, such as its extended length and the intercession of the king. All this offers us a reasonable basis to equate the two events, even if only in hypothesis. Because the precise dating of this earthquake is not completely without question,[234] this correlation can only serve as corroborative to the dating of *Scourges*. But Woods argues a specific date—April 1, 396—that, if accepted, would correspond perfectly with other evidence for the date Cyrillona's *memra*.[235]

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[231] Augustine, *De excidio urbis Romae* VI.7 (CCSL 46:259; trans. O'Reilly, *De excidio*, 69); cf. *Scourges* 480-95.

[232] Marcellinus says it lasted several days (*Chron.* 396 [Mommsen, *Chronica minora II*, 64]); Glycas says it lasted seven (*Annales* 478.20 [Bekker and Leunclavius, *Michaelis Glycae Annales,* 478]).

[233] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 11-13.

[234] See the discussions of Cameron, "Earthquake," 351-54, Grattanarola, "Terremoto," and Woods, "Earthquake." Guidoboni, speaking of another earthquake in 402—its evidence entangled with that for others of the same period—admonishes that "historians and textual scholars should proceed with greater caution. The period concerned presents too many problems of interpretation for satisfactory conclusions to be reached. The language of the times was such that earthquake tremors described as 'terrible' or 'terrifying' were not necessarily destructive, and it was fairly easy for a historian or writer of apologetics to conflate or confuse his sources" (*Catalogue*, 283).

[235] Woods, "Earthquake,"335-36.

In summary, the 395/96 drought described by Mark the Deacon, the 396 earthquake affecting (at least) Constantinople, and most definitively, the invasion of the Huns in 395 all find correspondences with the events described in *Scourges*. Cyrillona's use of the Old Syriac Gospels and the influence upon him of the Diatessaron likewise place him in the late fourth century. No other internal evidence, stylistic, polemical, or theological, would appear to contradict this. All evidence for dating in fact confirms the original thesis of Gustav Bickell, that *Scourges* was written for a feast of All Saints in the spring or early summer of 396, and that Cyrillona was therefore one of that generation of Syriac authors immediately succeeding Ephrem.

Place of Writing

Cyrillona's texts are found in a West Syrian manuscript, and his vivid account of the locust infestation and crop failures indicate the importance of local wheat production, which together point to the Roman East. But the most specific evidence for our author's probable locale is found in his famous reference to the Huns, discussed above. Cyrillona describes the East, captive to the Persians; the cities held by the Goths in the West; the North "in distress and full of wars" with the Huns, which would seem to at least describe Armenia; and the South, the Holy Land, from

which the "fragrance of [Christ's] footsteps spreads."[236] This rough triangulation would place Cyrillona in Roman Mesopotamia or Syria—precisely as we would expect.[237] Certainly his several references to Christian kings and the prosperity of a Christian kingdom leave no doubt he is Roman.

Context makes clear that a second Hunnic invasion has not yet touched his own land, but is regarded as a serious threat.[238] This would certainly have been the case in Northern Mesopotamia. One might imagine for Cyrillona something like the circumstances noted above of *Euphemia and the Goth*, set in 396, with Roman and federate troops billeted in Edessa in preparation for a defense or a campaign against the Huns.[239] A miracle story based on *Euphemia*, only found in some Greek versions of the acts of the Edessene martyrs,[240] adds further details: "For since the Huns had done battle with the Persians, and still were making incursions into places around Edessa, an army was also sent to the Edessenes from the Romans in aid, one soldier of which was moreover a most depraved Goth (etc.)."[241] However, this account is

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[236] See *Scourges* 248-331.
[237] So Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 10, who, however, understands Cyrillona to be designating the North as his own homeland. This is a less likely but not impossible reading of the text.
[238] See *Scourges* 260-87.
[239] *Euphemia and the Goth* 4 (Burkitt, *Euphemia*, ٥٦).
[240] See BHG 738-39, cited here as *Miraculum*.
[241] *Miraculum* 35 (Gebhardt and Dobschütz, *Akten*, 186-87).

late, and a conflation earlier in it of *Euphemia*'s Huns with the later Hephthalites ("White Huns") inspires no confidence in its historical value.[242]

Yet another account of the Huns' attack on Edessa is found in the late Syriac *Life of Ephrem*:

> Now the Huns came to Edessa during his time (139v) and the city was taken. No one opposed them, so they captured and destroyed the entire citadel of the city. They went up to the mountain above the city where there were many dwellings of Covenanters, both men and women. They attacked the men who were there; some escaped, others were led into captivity. They advanced against the Daughters of the Covenant and pillaged their dwellings. They attacked them, and some of them raped them. They did not leave anything outside the city that they did not destroy. Then holy Mar Ephrem wrote about everything these savages did.[243]

This chapter is preserved only in Paris 235 (13th cent.) and, abbreviated, in some related versions, and its source is unknown.[244] Like the descriptions in the Greek *Miraculum de puella*, this cannot be trusted as historically reliable, and as discussed above, the invasion of the Huns postdates Ephrem's death by more than thirty years. We have seen Bickell proposed that the author has confused Ephrem with his "nephew" Absamya/Cyrillona, to whose work this would presumably correspond.

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[242] See *Miraculum* 4 (Gebhardt and Dobschütz, *Akten*, 150-51).
[243] *Vita Ephraemi* 36 (Amar, *Syriac* Vita *Tradition*, T. 84; trans. ibid., V. 92).
[244] The episode is not found in the sources discussed by Amar (see "Syriac 'Vita' Tradition," 9-38; *Syriac* Vita *Tradition*, V. XIV-XXIX). The textual development of the *Vita* between the time of its early (and largely Greek) sources and its literary emergence in about the 10th century cannot be traced, leaving "an enormous gap in the formative period of the textual tradition" (Amar, "Syriac 'Vita' Tradition," 38).

But Cyrillona relates none of these details. In fact, he gives no details about the Huns predations beyond a few generalities,[245] and says nothing about Edessa.

Bickell suggested that Cyrillona was "perhaps" (*vielleicht*) located in Edessa, but also allows that his home may have been elsewhere.[246] These descriptions may illustrate, with more or less imagination, the anxiety of his day, but provide nothing more. The only other indication of Cyrillona's locale—very slight and tentative—may be an orthographic peculiarity. In two instances, at *Wash.* 13 (ܚܨܢܗ) and 120 (ܒܥܠܚܗ), Cyrillona uses the vocalic *yudh* for *revotzo*.[247] Sachau notes that this occurs as "almost a rule" in 1s perf. verbs in the literature from the region of Damascus, and is also attested in CPA.[248] All evidence taken together, it seems very likely that Cyrillona was writing in Syria or northern Mesopotamia, under the shadow of the Hunnic threat, but we have no basis for any more specific conjecture on his location.

About This Study

The remainder of this study is devoted to analysis and commentary on the works of Cyrillona. Chapters Two through Six will examine each of the five genuine

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[245] Of their actions he says only, "they came out to lay waste to us / and take captive my children" (*Scourges* 278-79).
[246] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 10, 16.
[247] See the note of Bickell, "Gedichte," 616.
[248] Sachau, "Studien," 509.

poems in turn. Each chapter is divided into three main sections: a general introduction to the poem; a discussion of its literary genre and form, including its meter, literary integrity, and similar matters; and then analysis and commentary on the poem's content. Chapter Seven offers a final consideration of both past and potential future research on Cyrillona, and summarizes briefly the present state of our knowledge about him, as based on the present research.

This study includes three textual appendices. Appendix A contains a new edition of the Syriac texts of Cyrillona, edited from their sole manuscript witness (BL Add. 14,591), each with an accompanying critical apparatus. I have included references to the corresponding page numbers in Bickell's edition.[249] Appendix B contains a complete translation of Cyrillona, the first in English. Appendix C contains an edition and translation of the anonymous homily *On the Grain of Wheat*, discussed above,[250] that is attributed by Bickell and most subsequent scholars to Cyrillona. While I reject this attribution, it seems prudent to provide it to readers of this study for their own evaluation; and it indeed possesses its own charms and merits.

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[249] I.e., Bickell, "Gedichte," 566-98. See the introductions to the appendices for further information on their contents.

[250] See pp. 13-23.

In previous translations, every translator has ordered and titled these texts according to his own preferences, with disappointingly few commonalities.[251] I have chosen to follow the manuscript order of the texts and have provided them with appropriate and suitably descriptive English titles. It should be noted that in the following chapters, any citation references consisting of line numbers only refer to the poem of Cyrillona under discussion in that chapter. The repetition of poem names, often several times in a single sentence, would be too intrusive and seems unnecessary. Works of Ephrem and other works and authors listed in the Table of Abbreviations are cited according to the editions given there. All translations not my own of Ephrem and other ancient authors are so noted. Translations of the Bible are generally taken from the New Revised Standard Version, unless reference to an ancient version required an alternate rendering for accuracy and clarity.

[251] On text ordering, see the table and discussion on p. 413 below.

CHAPTER TWO

On the Institution of the Eucharist (*Euch.*)

INTRODUCTION

Three poems of Cyrillona all share the same basic narrative context, the Last Supper, and more specifically, the Johannine Last Supper and Last Discourse. Cyrillona has a special fondness for the Gospel of John. Whenever he meditates upon the Gospel, he says, "the gospel of life greets me. / The proclamation of John / has met me and caused me to marvel greatly. / John and his colleagues / have become the well-springs of creation."[1]

This first *memra* has as its central subject the Institution of the Eucharist. Pierre Yousif observes that for Ephrem, the Last Supper was comprised of three acts: the Passover meal, the washing of the feet, and the Eucharist.[2] Cyrillona similarly devotes substantial attention to all three of those acts in this *memra* and its accompanying *soghitha* (*Wash.*). Cyrillona's *memra On the Pasch* will return again to the Upper Room for further reflection on the Passion and Jesus's Last Discourse.

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[1] *Pasch* 3-8.

[2] Yousif, *Eucharistie*, 204.

But while *Euch.*, *Wash.* and *Pasch* share the same scriptural setting and a similarity of style, the number of direct thematic and verbal parallels between them is modest. They treat successive texts and largely separate themes, and borrow little language from each other or, for that matter, the gospel text. Even the Johannine narrative, in fact, provides less a text for exegesis than a context for the exposition of Cyrillona's own "sacramental iconology."[3]

While these poems are not formally exegetical in any conventional sense, and rarely cite scripture, they are far from insensitive to the gospel narrative and, in particular, the Johannine "gospel of life." Raymond Brown discerned in the Gospel of John two main divisions: the Book of Signs (John 1-12) and the Book of Glory (John 13-20).[4] Whereas the first "book" describes Jesus's public ministry, the rest of John is devoted to his glorification, and ultimately that of his disciples, in the salvific events of passion, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension. Altogether these events constitute Jesus's "hour" of glorification,[5] and "the Last Supper and the Discourse that precede the action of glorification serve to interpret that action."[6]

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[3] Griffith's term, used of Ephrem: "his thought is not so much theology as a sacramental iconology" ("'Spirit in the Bread,'" 228).
[4] See Brown, *Gospel According to John,* 1:cxxxviii-cxliv; 2:541-52. His specific divisions are: The Prologue (1:1-18); the Book of Signs (1:19-12:50); the Book of Glory (13:1-20:31); and the Epilogue (21:1-25).
[5] See John 13:1.
[6] Brown, *Gospel According to John,* 2:542.

Cyrillona apprehends well the essential characteristics of John's Last Supper and Discourse as the glorification of Jesus and an exegesis of salvific events. While Cyrillona glorifies Christ in psalmic flights and provides an exegesis of symbols through direct exposition, he also dramatically reimagines and expands the Last Supper and Discourse themselves to serve as psalm and exegesis, too. While the events of the gospel—suffering and crucifixion, resurrection, ascension—are touched upon, Cyrillona uses this dramatic dialogue to fill vital theological and liturgical lacunas (from his perspective) in the scriptural narrative, and in *Euch*., particularly on the subject of Christ and the Eucharist. This is prompted in large part, we might suppose, by the theological significance of the Last Supper to the Holy Mysteries at the center of Christian life.

As with so many theologians both before and since, Cyrillona's worldview was fundamentally sacramental.[7] But in Cyrillona and other early Syriac authors, history exhibits a certain atemporality at the points where it transects liturgy. Celebration of the sacraments transports the participants into sacred or liturgical time, as it is often called, reifying and merging history with the sacramental

[7] This worldview, foundational to the classical Christian hermeneutic, is perhaps too well known to need explanation, but see succinctly, Kreeft, *Shorter Summa,* 42n9.

symbols. This is typical of Syriac Christianity, and found also in other Christian and world religious traditions.[8] As Brock describes it, with specific reference to Ephrem:

> Christ's baptism in the Jordan, together with the Nativity and Passion and Resurrection, form a single salvific unit, a single moment as it were in sacred time, which can be localized as a whole at any of these points in historical time—Nativity, Baptism, Passion or Resurrection. . . . An analogous entry into sacred time is to be found very obviously in the eucharistic liturgy, again effected by the working of the Holy Spirit. Whereas in baptism the chain of salvific events wrought by the Incarnation as a whole are all focused on Christ's baptism, in the Eucharist the focus shifts to the Last Supper and Passion. Each celebration of the liturgy is thus a representation of the meal in the Upper Room, and at the same time of the Passion itself—something very much more than just a memorial of it.[9]

That Cyrillona viewed the events of the Last Supper and the Last Discourse from this perspective is seen in the immediacy of his narrative, but I believe also in the freedom with which he elaborates. As a participant in the Last Supper through his participation in the Eucharist, Cyrillona cannot do other than describe his own perceptions of that most holy event. While in *Wash.* he recounts the Last Supper as he sees it in vision, here in *Euch.* there is no self-reference and he does not cast himself into the text in the first person. It is a free and even mystical reimagining of biblical narrative, particularly so with the epic 217 line oration Cyrillona places in the mouth of Jesus himself. But this is not apocrypha, for none of this is presented as

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[8] In overview, see Sproul, "Sacred Time."

[9] Brock, "Poet as Theologian," 246. See also Brock, *Holy Spirit*, 10-12, and *Luminous Eye*, 29-30.

agrapha or gnosis. And this is not what Jesus *said*, but rather what he is *saying*. This poem is a marvelous demonstration of the freedom which early Syriac poets felt to "live into scripture" as if they were present.

But these poems also seem to have had a specific occasional setting. Given their subject matter alone, which parallels other holy week sermons,[10] it is highly probable that these *memre* and the *soghitha* were also composed for and delivered during Holy Week. More specifically, Bickell proposed that *Euch.* and *Wash.* were delivered on Holy Thursday: "[*Euch.*] folgte jedenfalls auf das Evangelium des Tages, wahrscheinlich des Gründonnerstags, welchem der Hymnus über die Fußwaschung vorhergegangen zu sein scheint."[11] This proposed Holy Thursday delivery of *Euch.* and *Wash.* makes eminent sense, though the ordering he proposes is free speculation.[12] Holy Thursday is the night on which the scriptural events they address are traditionally believed to have taken place. On this feast day was (and is) celebrated the Mass of the Lord's Supper, inaugurating the Easter Triduum, with its emphasis on the Institution of the Eucharist and, at least in later tradition, also the

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[10] E.g., note the extensive parallels in this chapter to Ephrem's Easter hymns, especially *Azym.* and *Cruc.*, and the later (ca. 6th cent.) Ps-Ephremian *Sermons on the Holy Week* (*Heb. Sanc.*).
[11] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 37n1.
[12] *Pasch* will be discussed in Chapter Four, but it too appears to be a Holy Thursday *memra*.

rite of the Washing of Feet.[13] Striking is the mention of baptism on "this day" (see 508-25), since in the early Syriac church baptism was associated with Christ's washing of the disciples' feet, and hence baptism took place on Holy Thursday.[14]

In the manuscript this poem carries the title ܥܠ ܨܠܝܒܐ ܘܥܠ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ.[15] It is interesting to note that Ephrem's *On the Crucifixion* treats similar themes, and perhaps in titling there is some relationship here.[16] But this title has been found unsatisfactory to all editors and translators, as the poem is not on the Crucifixion, but on the Last Supper and the Institution of the Eucharist. Manna emended the Syriac title to read: ܥܠ ܡܫܬܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܥܠ ܨܠܝܒܐ ܘܥܠ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ.[17] Bickell retitled it, *Erste Homilie über das Pascha Christi*, since he collocated it with his *Zweite Homilie über das Pascha Christi* (=*Pasch*).[18] Along with the manuscript title, Vona gave it two different

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[13] The Washing of Feet was a part of the baptismal rite in some of the primitive churches, but became a separate Holy Thursday rite in later tradition. See Yarnold, *Awe-Inspiring Rites,* 30-31, and Chapter Three of this work.

[14] See Aphrahat, *Dem.* 12.10 (Parisot, *Aphraatis*, 1:528-29, 531), and the very helpful note by James M. Quigley in Cantalamessa, *Easter*, 184n. As Quigley shows, Duncan's conclusion that Aphrahat's church baptized on the 14th of Nisan is due to a misunderstanding of Aphrahat's complex casuistry in *Dem.* 12 (see Duncan, *Baptism,* 104-7).

[15] BL Add. 14,591, fol. 54r.

[16] Bickell suggests, "Diese sonderbare Ueberschrift ist wohl dadurch veranlaßt, daß im Anfang das Verhältniß des Kreuzesopfers zu dem eucharistischen besprochen wird" (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 37n1). He is certainly referring to the lines, "Our Lord first sacrificed his body / and then, in the end, men sacrificed him. / He pressed himself into the cup of salvation / and then the People pressed him on the wood" (*Euch.* 19-22). This is a creative suggestion, but perhaps not compelling.

[17] Manna, *Morceaux*, 1:177.

[18] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 37, 47. See p. 173 for additional discussion.

descriptive titles: *La Cena pasquale* and *La Cena eucaristica*.[19] Cerbelaud likewise maintains a double title, his descriptive title being, *L'institution de l'Eucharistie*. I have preferred to follow Cerbelaud's title over other suggestions since it seems most properly descriptive of the poem's content.

Form and Genre

Euch. is a rare example (as too is *Pasch*) of mixed-meter Syriac poetry. It is composed in three different meters: lns. 1-94=7+7; 95-238=5+5; 239-576=4+4. In terms of sense units, it is primarily composed of couplets (predominant in the first section) and quatrains (predominant in the remainder), but in a few instances are found triplets (e.g., 521-23), cinquains (e.g., 448-52) and sestets (e.g., 147-52; 239-44).

The question of genre is somewhat more complex. *Euch.* is typically called simply a *memra*, which is not incorrect. But Sebastian Brock has also proposed the term "dramatic dialogue poem" for a broad genre of early Syriac texts and derivative works exhibiting certain shared topical and rhetorical characteristics, some of which are found here in *Euch*.[20] In particular these poems make extensive

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[19] See, e.g., Vona, *Carmi*, 25 and 73 respectively. He uses the first title throughout his introduction and the second in his translation. One might regard this unexplained variation as simply an editorial inconsistency, and we find a similar discrepancy in his titling of *Pasch*.

[20] See especially Brock, "Dramatic Dialogue Poems" and "Syriac Dialogue Poems." Further discussion and bibliography will be provided in the next chapter.

use of creatively imagined discourse placed in the mouths of principal characters, either biblical figures or cosmic personifications (heaven, earth, sin, death, etc.). "Dramatic dialogue" is Brock's term for this whole category of imagined discourse, even though, as he recognizes, at times this "dialogue" may (as generally found in this poem) take the form of monologue.[21]

Here in *Euch.,* the entire final third of the poem is a long monologue placed in the mouth of Jesus (358-576), and it contains as well one section of dialogue proper (159-214). Nevertheless, unlike *Wash.*,[22] Brock does not include this work of Cyrillona in his typological analysis. Since his reference to *Wash.* is only passing, I have no reason to think *Euch.* was deliberately excluded. Certainly its inclusion in this broad genre is arguable.

Brock separates all dramatic dialogue poems into five types. This poem may be classed as Type IV or V. Type IV dramatic dialogue poems are *memre* composed of "a narrative framework which also contains speeches. The topic is invariably biblical (this was not the case with Types I-III). Since the author is basically telling a story rather than preaching a sermon, homiletic material is entirely absent outside

[21] Brock, "Dramatic Dialogue Poems," 141n20.
[22] See Brock, ibid., 144n24, and the discussion in the next chapter.

the prologue and epilogue."[23] At the outset of his study, Brock refers to the Type IV poem more succinctly as a "narrative *memra* containing dramatic dialogue."[24] Type V poems (which in fact include certain prose works) are "characterized by the introduction into the dramatized narrative of homiletic material, where the author may offer moralizing and exegetical comment, or he may himself address one of the characters directly."[25]

It is clear that for Brock the employment of direct speech by itself does not place a work in his proposed genre. He notes, for example, that "Ephrem has many *madrashe* of homiletic character where biblical persons (or places) are allocated direct speech, but the narrative element is absent," and which he therefore excludes.[26] A dramatic dialogue poem is composed first of all of dramatic dialogue or other direct speech, either primarily or exclusively (Types I-III), but also of a dramatic narrative framing the speech (Type IV), though with increasing introduction of homiletic material as one moves from *madrashe* to *memre,* and as we progress later into the tradition (Types IV and V). *Memre* lacking either dialogue or the narrative framework simply fall outside this genre.[27]

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[23] Brock, "Dramatic Dialogue Poems," 137.
[24] Ibid., 135.
[25] Ibid., 137.
[26] Ibid., 144n24.
[27] Ibid., 138.

As we shall see, *Euch.* contains some dialogue and is strongly narrative in character. Its non-narrative elements are principally typological exposition or exegesis, not unknown in Type IV works, but it is not formally homiletic, as I understand Brock's meaning for that term.[28] The preacher and his audience are strikingly absent from this poem. Brock gives examples of each type of dramatic dialogue poem, focusing especially on the Type IV, and comparison leads me to expect that Brock would, as he did *Wash.*, classify *Euch.* as Type IV or at least "verging on" Type IV.[29] If *Euch.* falls into this typology's gray space, it perhaps demonstrates Brock's qualification that "this is a topic which amply illustrates the problems of classification and demarcation between one genre and another."[30] It should be noted, too, that in more recent studies Brock has come to prefer two broader and simpler genres within which to group these works—dialogue poems (*soghyatha*) and narrative *memre* or poems (i.e., chiefly, his Type IV dialogue

[28] Brock briefly describes but also illustrates his understanding of "homiletic material" with reference to an anonymous homily on Abraham, which he has edited and translated ("Anonymous Syriac Homily"). He notes that it is a Type V dramatic dialogue poem, with a "combination of dramatized narrative and (sparse) homiletic material" ("Dramatic Dialogue Poems," 137), but one finds it relatively thick with homiletic conventions like exhortation, moralizing, apostrophe, curses upon heretics and appeals to auditors, etc., all lacking in *Euch.*

[29] Brock, "Dramatic Dialogue Poems," 144n24.

[30] Ibid., 135.

poems).[31] This *memra* may, then, also be classified more precisely as either a Type IV dramatic dialogue poem or a narrative *memra*.

Analysis and Commentary

This poem may be divided into three main sections, each corresponding to very roughly one third of the text, with further topical subsections as follows:

I. Exegesis of the Symbols

A. The Paschal Sacrifice (1-34)

B. Two Nations, Two Breads, Two Veils (35-78)

C. Two Rooms, Two Realms, Two Paschs (79-126)

D. *Quis umquam vidit aliquid huiusmodi?* (127-56)

II. Narrative of the Institution

A. "One of You Shall Betray Me" (157-214)

B. The Dipping of the Sop (215-38)

C. The Departure of Judas (239-89)

D. The Victory and Sacrifice of Christ (290-353)

III. Dominical Discourse on the Eucharist

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[31] See Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography,"662-65, and "Ephrem and the Syriac Tradition," 367-69. Brock also treated these genres separately in a double contribution to the second "Patrimoine Syriaque" colloquium in 1994 (Brock, "Poèmes dialogués" and "Poésie et bible").

A. "Eat of Me, for That Is My Wish" (354-411)

B. "Drink My Blood, Which Is a New Testament" (412-67)

C. "May This Memorial Not Be Neglected" (468-532)

D. The Great Commission (533-76)

I. Exegesis of the Symbols

Cyrillona begins his *memra* by placing his auditors immediately in the Upper Room as Jesus and his disciples are eating the Jewish Passover. Unlike *Wash.* or *Pasch*, Cyrillona provides no prologue or introduction for his audience. The Passover meal is not even here described. Neither does he enter into the text, as he will in other works, in the first person as preacher or participant. Here he is solely narrator, mystagogue, and exegete.

He begins with Jesus preparing to disclose to his disciples the meaning of the mystery in which they are participating:

> The Lamb of Truth spoke
> joyfully with those eating him,
> and the Firstborn revealed to his disciples
> the pasch[32] which (took place) in the upper room. (1-4)

[32] Cyrillona uses the term ܦܨܚܐ in several related senses, as did early Christians generally, and I have chosen to simply employ *pasch* for it throughout. On this term, see pp. 177-78 below.

Cyrillona immediately turns from the anticipated discourse, however, returning to it only at line 159. But in these first two couplets he introduces the main theme of his *memra*'s first section—the fulfillment in Christ, the new pasch, of the old pasch of the Law. The identity of old and new is such that Jesus's disciples are, even in eating the old pasch, "eating him" (2). But just when the Lamb of Truth would reveal to his disciples the true nature and symbolism of the pasch, instead Cyrillona begins to explain this himself to his auditors.

I.A. The Paschal Sacrifice (1-34)

Though he sent his disciples to prepare the Passover meal (see 85-86), in fact "our Savior prepared himself / for the sacrifice and the libation" (5-6). With this we first encounter a type that Cyrillona will revisit, and which Ephrem elaborates,[33] of Christ the High Priest offering himself as a sacrifice in the stead of levitical priests. For the bread of the Law, he became the "living bread" (7) whose doughy body was leavened with the leaven of divinity (9-10). For the wine, his mercy and love gushed forth and flowed (11-12). Our author then introduces one of his principal themes: Christ took the sheaf from the Jews to give to the church, his bride, and to "the sons of his house" (13-18).

[33] See Ephrem, *Azym.* 2.2-8.

But first Cyrillona expands his successionist typology with two more tropes. He first invokes a series of antitheses, very Ephremian in character. "Our Lord first sacrificed his body," "pressed himself into the cup of salvation" and "administered himself;"[34] but though men would then sacrifice him and press him on the cross, they could not minister or act as priests (ܟܗܢ) in his place (19-24). Cyrillona constructs a second comparison series, this time of similes, in which Christ adorns himself as a sacrificial victim with every variety of symbol. As jewels and beryls, a chalcedony[35] and a crown, he adorned himself with mysteries (ܪܙܐ), parables (ܡܬܠܐ), figures (ܨܒܘܬܐ), and prophecy (ܢܒܝܐ), and sharpened himself "the knife of the law / that he might slay with it the ram of his body" (25-34). The fulfillment of prophecy and the law of Moses in Christ is of course a Christian commonplace. While Cyrillona rarely cites biblical testimonia, the importance of prophecy to him will become evident in *Wash*.[36] Here he is more strictly concerned with Christ fulfilling the law, typified in his fulfillment of the pasch.

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[34] Cf. *Pasch* 315-18.

[35] Syr. ܨܒܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܝ; i.e., "of types." A "chalcedony" here may refer to the carnelian intaglios and cameos bearing portraits which were popular jewelry among the very wealthy in antiquity.

[36] See also lns. 533-36 below.

I.B. Two Nations, Two Breads, Two Veils (35-78)

Cyrillona now returns to a theme earlier introduced (viz. 13-18), the election of the Nations (the Gentiles/"the church") over the Nation (the Jews/"the synagogue"), found again in the symbol of a feast. His referent here is clearly the Parable of the Great Supper,[37] a *locus classicus* for Jewish rejection, but also associating that gospel feast with the eucharistic feast. We may assume he has in mind specifically the Lucan version which begins with the beatitude, "Blessed is anyone who will eat bread in the kingdom of God."[38] But Cyrillona is purely allusive, in fact, citing no scriptural language here at all. As in so much of his writing, the scriptural text is his dramatic context, though it is not directly referenced or explicated. Perhaps scripture simply cannot be cited without rhetorical incongruity, because Cyrillona and his auditors are themselves present *within* the text, actually "living into scripture."[39]

We find here Cyrillona's first use of dramatic dialogue in this poem, as he rehearses the words of the King's heralds inviting the Nations to his feast (39-46), which meal is his own body (39; cf. 34). But this heraldic recitation draws his mind

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[37] Matt 22:1-14; Luke 14:15-24.
[38] Luke 14:15; cf. ln. 40.
[39] This is the apt phrase used by Kristian Heal, following Austin Farrar, to describe this form of exegesis ("Tradition," 12).

to the proto-heralds, the prophets, and he allows himself a rare proof-text. He names Isaiah, who "cried out earnestly / in the zeal of his prophecy," and cites a conflation of Isa 55:1 and Prov 9:5: "Without money or payment, / eat the bread and drink the wine" (47-50).[40] This bread Cyrillona then connects with the heavenly bread of John 6 (51), which "took root in the earth, though not sown" (52). This is a well-attested early Christian metaphor for the conception,[41] but also alludes to a second Johannine type, Christ as a grain of wheat (John 12:24), which Cyrillona elaborates in *Pasch*,[42] as well as, perhaps less directly, to the grain of mustard seed.[43] More uniquely, he connects this image of Christ the heavenly bread with the levitical grain offering of semolina flour,[44] again typifying Christ as the high priest who both offers and is the offering (53-54).

Our author now takes up the symbol of the unleavened bread, as one might expect here, given the natural connection between the Passover matzo and the eucharistic host. Ephrem has a collection of hymns on the unleavened bread in

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[40] In his *Commentary on the Diatessaron*, Ephrem also cites these two scriptures together, though without conflation (*Diat.* 16.25).

[41] In the Syriac tradition, for example, we find in the Ps. Ephremian *Hymns on Mary*: "I am the land and You are the Farmer: sow Your voice in the voice of me, a useless man, for it was You who sowed Yourself in the pure girl as a Child, without flux, who shone forth from the Father and came from Mary who, without being sown, gave forth fruit" (10.2; trans. Brock, *Bride of Light,* 49). See Vona, *Carmi*, 75n, for further examples.

[42] See *Pasch* 205, 215-86.

[43] Matt 13:31; Luke 13:19-20; cf. Ephrem, *Diat.* 11.20.

[44] Lev 2:1-3.

which he describes the two breads as type and reality.[45] He states directly, "The azyme is a symbol of the Bread of Life—the ancients ate the new symbol;"[46] and elsewhere, "[Jesus] ate the azyme. In the azyme his body became for us the true azyme. The symbol came to an end there, which had endured from the days of Moses to that time."[47] But Ephrem devotes most of his attention on this point to condemnation of the Jewish azyme, and of the Jews generally. This was at least in part due, it seems, to Christian adoption of the practice of eating of unleavened bread during Nisan, under direct Jewish influence.[48] His attacks are direct and disturbing, and his hymns include as refrains, "Thanks be to the Son who gave us his body in place of the azyme he gave to the nation!" and, "Glory be to Christ, through whose body the azyme of the nation was made defunct, along with the nation itself!"[49]

Cyrillona likewise condemns the Jews in his discussion of the Jewish azyme, but his typology is fundamentally different from Ephrem's. In fact, he does not even

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[45] Specifically, *Azym.* 17-19. On these *madrashe*, see especially Botha, "Antithesis and Argument" (*Azym.* 18); Rouwhorst, *Hymnes pascales,* 1:221-31; Shepherdson, *Anti-Judaism,* 29-36 (*Azym.* 19); and Yousif, *Eucharistie*, 82-85.

[46] Ephrem, *Azym.* 17.5.

[47] Ibid., 19.3-4.

[48] Ephrem says, for example, "My brothers, do not accept that bread from the nation who soiled their hands with blood! Something of that defilement of which their hands are full certainly clings to that azyme!" (*Azym.* 19.16-17).

[49] Ephrem, *Azym.* 18 and 19. Shepherdson invokes *Azym.* 19 at the beginning of her study as a most graphic example of Ephrem's anti-Jewish polemic (Shepherdson, *Anti-Judaism*, 1-2; see also ibid., 29-36).

equate the Passover bread with the eucharistic host, except perhaps subtly in the latent symbolism of the veil:

> In a veil the people took
> unleavened bread from Egypt.
> It was cold, like a corpse,
> and was bread entirely lacking leaven.
> The synagogue received in veils
> the unleavened bread, at the time of your Passover.
> The church, in a new veil,
> received the leaven of God. (55-62)

The term rendered "veil" here (ܟܣܝܐ) has a broad range of meanings, including the veil for the eucharistic chalice. The veils in which the Jews received the unleavened bread, in literal terms, reference the towels or cloaks in which the Israelites wrapped the kneading-bowls of their matzo.[50] But perhaps this old veil is also the proleptic eucharistic symbolism in which the matzo is swathed. The church receives the reality in a "new veil" (61), by anti-type, that leaven which the Passover bread was "entirely lacking" (58), namely, "the leaven of God" (62).

The leaven of God here is certainly metonymy for the bread from on high (51), and this bread received in a veil may call to mind the veiled chalice. But Cyrillona immediately leaves that image behind for another, that of Mary the chosen vessel, typologically weaving the Eucharist and the Incarnation into "single salvific

[50] Exod 12:34.

unit."[51] "Mary was as a veil / and our Lord hot leaven," whose immortal divinity produces deathless heat (63-66), unlike that unleavened bread, "cold, like a corpse" (57). The Nation was as dead as its unleavened bread—"the corpse bore away the corpse" and the ܚܠܝܢ (departing ones) the ܚܠܝܢ (unleavened bread) (67-72). The leaven, says Cyrillona, was "bound up and hidden / in the veil, which was the womb of Mary" (73-74), perhaps an allusion to Prov 30:4, which another Syriac Marian text employs in like fashion: "As water is held back within a veil, so the Virgin is with child, having known no man."[52] As in this passage, so in our text the veil is not just Mary (63) or her womb (74), but also associated with her perpetual virginity (75-78).

I.C. Two Rooms, Two Realms, Two Paschs (79-126)

We now return to the Upper Room and Jesus's preparation of the Eucharist. We note that Cyrillona refers consistently throughout to Christ's "body" (ܦܓܪܐ) rather than his "flesh" (ܒܣܪܐ), both for the Eucharist and Incarnation. This preference is common in the Syriac fathers and derives not only from the Words of

[51] Brock, "Poet as Theologian," 242; see my introduction above.
[52] Ps. Ephrem, *Hymns on Mary* 6.9 (trans. Brock, *Bride of Light,* 43). This argument is forcefully made by Vona, quite clearly in one place ("Alcune osservazioni," 382-83) and less clearly in another (*Carmi*, 756-76n; his reference to Bickell should be corrected to: Bickell, *Conspectus,* 39n13). Similarly, Ephrem equates the veil of Prov 30:4 with the "bosom of Mary" (ܚܕܟܬ ܕܡܪܝܡ) (*HFid*. 10.15). Compare also *Zacch.* 45-46.

Institution, but also the unique Diatessaronic rendering of John 1:4 as, "the Word became body."[53] We see the eucharistic host consecrated at the Institution here identified with the union of humanity and divinity in the body of Christ at the Incarnation. Jesus's preparation of the Eucharist in the Cenacle is portrayed in a striking image as compounding[54] our bodies with his divinity:

> He stayed in the upper room as a kneading-bowl,[55]
> that he might prepare the dough of our body.
> He kneaded our body with his leaven,
> that it might not taste of death,
> and he seasoned it with the salt of his divinity,
> that the serpent might be blinded. (79-84)

Cyrillona had said previously, "The dough of *his* body was leavened / with the leaven of his divinity" (9-10), but here this becomes "*our* body," the Incarnation vivifying through the Eucharist. This typology of leavening used for the bodily redemption of humanity was of course not unique to Cyrillona. It was derived scripturally from the Parable of the Leaven, in which the kingdom of heaven is

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[53] On this reading, see Murray, *Symbols*, 71n2, and his extensive discussion of this typology in his chapter, "The Body of Christ" (69-94).

[54] Murray notes that Ephrem prefers Syr. ܚܒܪ for both "the union of natures in Christ as well as our union with him in faith or [in the Eucharist]" (Murray, *Symbols*, 77n2). Cyrillona uses ܚܒܪ elsewhere, but here he employs ܚܡܥ, for the simple fact that ܚܒܪ is used specifically for the mixing of liquids and ܚܡܥ of compounding dry ingredients or seasoning. This semantic range cannot be felicitously expressed by any single verb in English (cf. 9, 80 and 83).

[55] Syr. ܚܛܐ, which Bickell, Cerbelaud and Vona all read as ܚܢܐ ("sheep") rather than ܚܝܢܐ ("kneading-bowl"), doubtless having the paschal lamb in mind. But the image of a sheep making bread strikes a note of absurdity; sense would dictate ܚܝܢܐ.

compared to a woman kneading leaven "with three measures of flour until all of it was leavened."[56] The symbol of leaven was a favorite of Ephrem, who found in it a variety of types. He, too, associates it with our bodily redemption in Christ, through incarnation, resurrection, baptism and gospel, though he does not seem to associate this divine leaven with the Eucharist.[57]

Cyrillona is now led to meditate on the symbolic significance of the Upper Room, precipitating a temporal jump back to Jesus's request of Peter and John:

> "Go, prepare for us the pasch
> in the upper (room), and not in the lower,"[58]
> for the Firstborn desired to raise
> his church upwards to heaven. (85-88)

This is our second instance of dramatic dialogue, even if, as seems the case, its extent is not indisputably clear.[59] But there is no question about Cyrillona's exegesis of the symbolism. Most simply, the Upper Room is heaven and the lower room earth (89-90). He therefore correlates the ascent of Jesus to the Upper Room with the ascension of Christ, "in our humanity," to his Father (91-94). Strikingly, at this point the meter

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[56] See Matt 13:33; Luke 13:20-21.

[57] On Ephrem's symbolism of leaven, see Beck, "Bild vom Sauerteig," esp. 3-7 on Christ as "physical" leaven; see also Yousif, *Eucharistie,* 84-85. Even if Ephrem does not associate the divine leaven, by that name, with the Eucharist, he certainly believes in the sacramental presence of Christ within it. On Ephrem's eucharistic theology, see generally Beck, "Eucharistie;" Griffith, "'Spirit in the Bread;'" and Yousif, *Eucharistie.*

[58] See Luke 22:8-12; cf. Matt 26:17-18; Mark 14:12-15.

[59] I follow Vona (*Carmi,* 77) in reading ܡܫܐ (86) as a participle, as meter seems to require, suggesting this entire couplet is dramatic dialogue.

changes from 7+7 to 5+5. Is this intended to punctuate the bodily ascension of Christ and redemption of humanity?

Cyrillona also correlates the reception of Christ by the Cenacle/heaven, prepared to receive him, with the redemption of Adam (humanity) and his heavenly reception (95-102). This merging of the institution of the Eucharist, the ascension of Christ, and the eschatological redemption of humanity into a "single salvific unit" is, again, striking but not surprising. Here this typology is very compressed. But in *Pasch*, in a further reimagining of the Last Supper discourse, Jesus speaks at greater length and in similar language about his passion, his ascension, and the redemption of Adam:

> Heaven awaits me,
> that I might go up and bring up with me
> the base body
> which became divine by grace.
> A throne awaits me,
> that I might go up and sit upon it,
> and cause Adam to sit with me,
> the one prostrate who was raised up.[60]

Cyrillona then offers a second typology of the Cenacle, in which it remains a figure of heaven, but becomes more precisely the sacramental space in which Christ

[60] *Pasch* 63-70.

offers himself in eucharistic sacrifice.[61] The lower room becomes a specific lower realm,[62] Egypt, "the tomb of the Hebrews" (103-6), providing the necessary staging for a comparison of the two paschs:

> The lamb was slain in Egypt
> and our Lord in the upper room,
> the lamb in the lower
> and the Firstborn in the upper. (111-14)

We find here a rare instance of near identical language shared by Ephrem and Cyrillona, when the latter says: "The Lamb ate the lamb / and the Pasch devoured the pasch" (121-22).[63] But where Ephrem compares the two paschs most unfavorably, and indeed argues (with Aphrahat) that the Jewish celebration of Passover was both invalid and a sin, Cyrillona does not enter into polemic.[64] He certainly sees Christ's eating of the ancient pasch as both "perform[ing] his Father's work" (123) and "abolish[ing] the Law" (125) in order to begin his own work of reconciliation (124, 126). However, Cyrillona's concern is not the Jewish Passover, but the miracle of the eucharistic feast, where he marvels at the disciples "dining and gazing upon him / who was eating and was transfigured" (119-20).

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[61] Cf. Ephrem, *Cruc.* 3.12, where the Cenacle is the first church and first altar.
[62] In all cases here, the Syr. simply uses the substantives ܥܠܝܐ (the upper) and ܬܚܬܝܐ (the lower).
[63] Cf. Ephrem, *Azym.* 6.9-10.
[64] See ibid., 21, and the discussion Ephrem and Aphrahat on this point in Botha, "Comparison." Ephrem speaks in several other places about the two paschs, but see esp. *Azym.* 5 and 6.

I.D. Quis umquam vidit aliquid huiusmodi? *(127-56)*

Confronting this scene, Cyrillona is transported into a long parenthesis, a breathless expression of wonder at these men who "ascend and dine / with their maker" (129-30). But this is also a carefully crafted *exuscitatio* to rouse his auditors. He poses five rhetorical questions in five couplets, which describe the feast using four different adjectival phrases, with "wondrous" (ܪܗܝܛܢܝܐ) employed twice, first and last, as an *inclusio* (128, 144). Likewise, he ascribes to Jesus and his disciples each five different titles. Thus we see men who dine with their maker (ܪܥܝܐ) (129-30), solitary[65] fishermen who dine with the ocean (ܝܡܐ) (133-34), and eleven doves who dine with a hawk (ܨܦܪܐ) (141-42).[66] Or, directly stated, "Men went up and dined / with God" (153-54).

But Cyrillona also describes the incongruous marvel of a serpent[67] dining with its destroyer (ܚܠܡܐ) (137-38) and a mole[68] with an eagle (ܢܫܪܐ) (145-46), thus

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[65] Syr. ܚܝܫܐ, which Bickell renders, "einfache" (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 40). ܚܝܫܐ is occasionally used in the sense of "simple" by Ephrem, but its common meaning, which I follow here, is not necessarily incongruous. This term is also applied to monks ("solitaries") both by Ephrem and later authors (TS 1587-88), perhaps an intended overtone here. Vona chooses to have it modify "ocean" ("solitario mare"), a neat solution, but must ignore both the *seyame* and the syntax to do it (*Carmi,* 79).

[66] Doves: "The origin of the symbolism is doubtless in Matt 10:16, but perhaps also in the Apostles' special share of the Spirit" (Murray, *Symbols*, 170n1).

[67] A later hand adds ܐܝܟܪ, "lamb," above ܚܝܐ, "serpent," apparently misunderstanding the referent (cf. ln. 209). In the margin next to ܚܠܡܐ is also added the mistaken gloss, ܪܥܝܐ ܫ. This title is also, however, employed with reference to Judas elsewhere (see *Euch.* 209; *Wash.* 82). Cerbelaud (*Agneau*, 107n10) is mislead by the text gloss; Bickell ("Gedichte," 572n2) and Kollamparampil (*Symbol*, 128-29)

communicating to his auditors both the delight and alarm of this dramatic event. The introduction of Judas Iscariot here also enhances the utility of this pericope as a bridge between his exegesis of paschal types and symbols, and the following narrative of the Institution, in which the betrayal of Judas plays such a commanding role.

II. Narrative of the Institution

II.A. "One of You Shall Betray Me" (157-214)

Following Cyrillona's exclamation over the wonder of this event, Christ also now comments upon the great honor and blessedness granted the disciples: "'See now in what manner / and how much I have honored you'" (159-60). At this point we find a thematic overlap with *Wash.*, the *soghitha* associated with this *memra*. Both here (161) and there we have mention of the washing, but in both texts there is also a comparative discussion of the great blessedness of the disciples, who see Christ and experience the fellowship and love of their Creator and Lord in a way the prophets

misunderstand the marginal gloss, but the latter at least arrives at the correct understanding of the text.

[68] In the ms. margin next to ܐܬܠܡ is added the gloss, ܐܬܝܡ ܒ.

could not and the angels dare not.[69] The prophets will be discussed later,[70] but here the disciples are contrasted with "my servants / in heaven and on high" (165-66).

Here, while the disciples have been seated in the very bosom of their Lord (173-74), the angels have never even "opened their wings / and beheld and looked at me, / whose righteousness surrounds them / and whose majesty terrifies them" (169-72).[71] In *Wash.*, while the disciples have their feet washed by their Creator, "The feet of the watchers, out of fear, / are covered in heaven lest they be burned."[72] Here Christ's condescension is emphasized (175-76), there his humility and service.[73] Here the disciples are given the kingdom (180), there a throne, keys, and power.[74]

Likewise, in both *Euch.* and *Wash.* Judas has a prominent role, but his role in each somewhat differs. Cyrillona portrays Judas in *Wash.* as the antitype of Christ, as one with a "heart . . . full of murder and treachery" in contrast to the one "full of mercy."[75] Here Judas represents more transparently the Jewish people. In *Wash.*,

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[69] See Matt 13:17; Luke 10:23-24; 24:25-27, 44; John 8:56; Heb 11:13 (the prophets); and 1 Pet 1:10-12 (the prophets and the angels).
[70] See *Euch.* 468-75 and *Wash.* 53-56.
[71] See Isa 6:2; cf. *Wash.* 39-40 and *Euch.* 372-83, below.
[72] *Wash.* 89-90; cf. *Wash.* 97-98; 105-6.
[73] See *Wash.* 91-94; 135-36; 149-50.
[74] See *Wash.* 117-22. We shall see several of these themes also in *Pasch*.
[75] *Wash.* 79-81.

"Our Lord did not reveal his wickedness."[76] But in *Euch.,* following the gospel, Jesus reveals straightaway the presence of a traitor in their midst.

Somewhat unusually for Cyrillona, the author hews closely here to the language of scripture: "Truly I say to you / that one of you shall betray me, / and it were better for him[77] if / he had not gone forth from the womb" (183-86).[78] But Cyrillona does not pass by the opportunity to psychologize the disciples' horrified reaction to this revelation (187-94) and their subsequent introspection: "Each one, in his mind, / examined himself" (195-96). In this Cyrillona departs from Matthew and Mark, and likewise, none of the eleven asks if it is himself.[79] Instead he follows his favorite evangelist, John, but places the beloved disciple's query collectively in the mouth of all: "Tell us, who is the one?" (199).[80] Jesus assures his sheep that the goat is being turned out of the fold[81] and that the serpent is being banished (207-10; cf. 137), and he concludes with a biting image: "He goes to the cave of Jerusalem, / to his companions; / he leads and guides to me / the viper of the Jews" (211-14).

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[76] *Wash.* 85.
[77] Syr. ܥܕܐ ܠܗ̇ܘ; on which see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik,* 483n1.
[78] See Matt 26:21, 24; Mark 14:18, 21; cf. Luke 22:21-22; John 13:21.
[79] See Matt 26:22; Mark 14:19.
[80] See John 13:22-25; cf. Luke 22:23.
[81] See also ln. 252; an image derived from Matt 25:22-23. On the striking parallel found in Ephrem, *Cruc.* 3.14, see below; Cerbelaud (*Agneau*, 108n18) believes Cyrillona is in fact dependent on Ephrem.

This exchange between Jesus and the disciples is one of only two instances in Cyrillona of "dramatic dialogue" as dialogue proper, as opposed to the monologues he otherwise prefers.[82] The other instance is the dialogue between Jesus and Peter found in *Wash.* 87-132. Similarly in *Wash.*, we find an analog to the anguish expressed here by the disciples about the betrayer. There it is the stones of the room and the earth itself which give voice and publish "sounds of lamentation" at the sight of Jesus laving the feet of his murderer,[83] a vivid anthropomorphism, just as later in this poem the Cenacle rejoices at the betrayer's departure (249).

II.B. The Dipping of the Sop (215-38)

With the following passage on the dipping of the sop, it seems necessary to contextualize it within the preceding Syriac tradition, since there is potential here for confusion. Ephrem discusses this action in at least three different places: *Azym.* 14.15-23, *Azym.* 18.15-17, and *Diat.* 19.3.[84] In these first two passages, he employs very similar language:

> He dipped the bread, he gave it to him,
> to the concealed dead man,

[82] See the discussion of dramatic dialogue in my introduction to this chapter.
[83] See *Wash.* 69-74.
[84] The composition of *Diat*. is a very difficult question that I need not enter into (see now Lange, *Portrayal of Christ*, 36-38). I assume, as most scholars do, that if *Diat*. in the form we have it was not written by Ephrem himself (unlikely), its contents are nevertheless essentially Ephremian.

bread washed of
the medicine of life.

The Enlivener of All had put a blessing
on that food,
and it became the medicine of life,
right in front of its eaters.

Bread washed
of blessings,
that accursed man took,
the second serpent.[85]

. . .

Moses had hidden
the mystery-symbol of the Son
in that unleavened bread
as the medicine of life.

He (i.e., Jesus) washed the unleavened bread
of the medicine of life;
He gave it to Judas
as the medicine of death.[86]

In both passages, Jesus washes from the bread "the medicine of life" before giving it to Judas. The title "medicine of life" may of course refer to the Eucharist itself, and this may therefore refer to a removal of the eucharistic blessing from the

[85] Ephrem, *Azym.* 14.15-17 (trans. Griffith, "'Spirit in the Bread,'" 236).
[86] Ephrem, *Azym.* 18.15-16 (trans. Griffith, "'Spirit in the Bread,'" 237).

bread, which is how some have understood it.[87] But in the second passage Ephrem defines the medicine of life as "the ܪܘܫܡ of the Son" which Moses hid in the unleavened bread, making it thereby a type of the Eucharist. In the dipping of the sop Jesus removed the mere type, replacing it with the reality, the true medicine of life (the Eucharist), so that the bread Iscariot took away became instead "medicine of death."[88] This contrast of type/antitype is developed at length by Ephrem in *Azym.* 19, where after the Institution both azymes indeed contain the blood of Christ, but in the Jewish azyme it is the blood of the murder of Christ and the prophets, making it a medicine of death rather than life.[89]

While the text is not preserved in Syriac, and contains difficulties, *Diat.* 19.3 seems to confirm but also expand the typology Ephrem develops in *Azym.*:

> If it is truly certain that, when [the Lord] gave the bread to his disciples, he gave them the mystery of his body, one must also believe that, when he gave the bread to his slayer, he gave it to him as the mystery of his slain body. He dipped it in water to show the total participation of Judas in his death, for his body was destined to be dipped in his blood. Or indeed he dipped it so as not

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[87] This is the position of Rouwhorst, *Hymnes pascales,* 1:88-89, which summarizes an earlier study by him ("Bénédiction"). Beck previously took this position ("Eucharistie," 61-62), but later reversed himself (see *Sermones in Hebdomadam Sanctam,* V. 4-7). Leloir arrives at the same conclusion for *Diat.* 19.3 (*Commentaire,* 332n4). Griffith discusses both positions but leaves the question open ("'Spirit in the Bread,'" 236-39). See also the brief but perceptive summary of Yousif, *Eucharistie*, 216.

[88] Ephrem, *Azym.* 18.17.

[89] See Ephrem, *Azym.* 19.1-2, 16-24.

> to give the testament with it. He moistened it and then gave it to him; moistened first because of the events which would follow.[90]

Read with the above texts, the stripping of the "testament" here may again refer to the removal of the ܪܘܚܐ of the Son from the bread in preparation for the eucharistic consecration to follow. But as Leloir notes, the text here is simply unclear.[91]

The desire on the part of some interpreters to see this dipping in water as a removal of eucharistic consecration contradicts the narrative order of events, as seen in these texts and as understood by Ephrem. In fact, after discussing the washing of the feet in *Diat.* 19.3, "on the night when [the Lord] judged and separated [Judas] from the others," Ephrem then distinguishes between the two breads:

> Likewise, the Lord separated Judas from the apostles by means of the water, when he dipped the bread in the water and gave it to him, for Judas was not worthy of the bread which was given to the twelve with the wine. It was not permissible that he should receive the bread which saves from death, he who would hand him over to death.[92]

This is followed immediately by a discussion of the Institution and seems to again indicate that for Ephrem the Institution of the Eucharist takes place after the "separation" of Judas, which he in fact states explicitly in *Cruc.* 3.15. This accords as well with the order of the paschal narrative in the (Arabic) Diatessaron, where the

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[90] Ephrem, *Diat.* 19.3 (trans. McCarthy, *Commentary,* 284, with correction). McCarthy is translating, with some infelicity, from Leloir's Latin version, which I have corrected against Leloir, *Commentaire*.
[91] Leloir, *Commentaire*, 332n5.
[92] Ephrem, *Diat.* 19.3 (trans. McCarthy, *Commentary,* 284, with correction).

institution is after Judas's departure,[93] which order Aphrahat also follows.[94] In contrast, the Ps.-Ephremian *Sermons on the Holy Week* follow the Lucan order, and do in fact treat the dipping of the sop as occurring after the consecration, and therefore removing from it the eucharistic blessing.[95]

Cyrillona seems to parallel (genuine) Ephrem in his ordering of events, since here the Institution is described following Judas's dramatic departure. But as in the earlier tradition, he also meditates upon the dipping of the sop and its symbolic significance:

> And why did he dip the bread
> and then give it to him?
> Its power departed from it,
> and its delightful taste,
> because the bread had been
> blessed and glorious,
> since he had blessed it
> and it was set before them.
> He dipped that bread
> and took his blessing from it.
> He stripped it of his power
> and emptied it of his word;
> (he stripped) the bread of the blessing
> and Judas of the throne. (221-34)

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[93] See Yousif, *Eucharistie*, 216.
[94] Aphrahat, *Dem.* 12.6 (Parisot, *Aphraatis,* 1:516-17, 520); see also the comment of Bruns, *Unterweisungen,* 2:298.
[95] *Heb. Sanc.* 4.158-97. See Beck, *Sermones in Hebdomadam Sanctam,* V. 4-7; Griffith, "'Spirit in the Bread,'" 238-39.

Cyrillona specifies four properties that the dipping in water stripped from the bread: "its/his power,"[96] "its delightful taste," and "his blessing" and "his word." His "word" (ܡܠܬܗ) here probably means his word of blessing, and since it is used as a synonym parallel to "power," this power (ܫܘܠܛܢ) is also perhaps no more than the power imparted through blessing. Likewise "its delightful taste" seems associated with the simple fact that "the bread had been / blessed and glorious" (225-26). The key term here is probably "blessing" (ܒܘܪܟܬܗ).

The *Sermons on the Holy Week* also say specifically, "He washed away the blessing from [the bread],"[97] and by that is referring to the eucharistic consecration. Ephrem likewise speaks of the "bread washed of blessings,"[98] in equivalence with "the medicine of life," but as Beck says, context shows that Ephrem can use those terms equally of the Eucharist and "vom den alttestamentlichen Symbol des eucharistischen Brotes, vom Ungesäuerten."[99] As explained above, in Ephrem's case this blessing refers to the "power" of the unleavened bread of the Jewish Passover in its prefiguring of the Eucharist.

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[96] Note that the pronominal referents in this passage are not clear in all cases, since both the bread (ܠܚܡܐ) and Christ are masc.
[97] Ps. Ephrem, *Heb. Sanc.* 4.180.
[98] Ephrem, *Azym.* 14.17.
[99] Beck, *Sermones in Hebdomadam Sanctam,* V. 5; see also ibid., 57n53.

So when Cyrillona says, "the bread had been / blessed and glorious, / since he had blessed it / and it was set before them" (225-28), to what blessing of Jesus does he refer? Previous to this, no blessing is directly mentioned. But after eating the "old" pasch (157), Jesus describes the disciples' great honor in eating it with him, concluding, "because I have loved you, / [I] have given my kingdom to you" (179-80). Here, the traitor unmasked, Cyrillona returns to this very point, with Jesus stripping "the bread of the blessing / and Judas of the throne" (333-34). At the pasch, the disciples were given the kingdom, but Judas is now "dismissed without reward" (218), without crown or throne, and for his reward and hope the bare morsel of bread only (219-20). The blessing stripped from the bread, it seems, was the reward bestowed upon the disciples and promised to the faithful—salvation in the kingdom of God.

II.C. The Departure of Judas (239-89)

When in the Cenacle Christ ascended (in type) to his Father "in our humanity," raising up humankind with him in the figure of his disciples (94-95), this *scène changée* in the economy of salvation was punctuated by our author with a change of meter (from 7+7 to 5+5). Here also, as "Judas went out the door" (238), the narrative moves again to a different dramatic space and Cyrillona to yet another

meter (4+4). For he depicts the departure of Judas as an event of high dramatic, even theological, significance, as does John (13:31-32). He describes Iscariot again as a goat (252; cf. 208), a viper (265; cf. 137, 209), and a tare among the wheat (253-54; cf. 236), but also as a wild grape among the vines (255-56)[100] and an owl among doves (257-60). Revisiting another zoological type, he concludes, "The eagle, Christ, / evicted him from his nest / and the cursed serpent / straightway received him" (283-86; cf. 146).[101] The serpent here may be Satan, but given the previous mention of Judas going to "his companions . . . the viper of the Jews," this seems more likely another reference to the Nation.

Ephrem, as we have seen, likewise associates Judas typologically with the Jews, but he also identifies him as a "vessel" of Satan, and even as the Devil "clothing himself in human form."[102] As he says in one place, "though Satan's history is a long one, it is summed up in the Iscariot."[103] But while Cyrillona similarly calls Judas a "vessel of wrath" (245),[104] it is perhaps surprising that neither here nor elsewhere in his writings does he associate Judas with Satan, but rather exclusively with the Jews. In *Pasch*, with yet more zoological metaphors, Cyrillona

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[100] Cf. *Pasch* 131-36.
[101] The depiction of Christ as an eagle is not uncommon in Syriac authors. For examples, see Brock, *Holy Spirit,* 18n16 (which also references Cyrillona here).
[102] Ephrem, *Diat.* 20.18.
[103] Ephrem, *Par.* 15.15 (trans. Brock, *Hymns on Paradise,* 187).
[104] See Rom 9:22.

casts the Jews as foxes and a porcupine (hedgehog), expanding upon the image here of the disciples, after Iscariot's departure, as "vines of the vineyard / without wild grapes" (255-56):

> The foxes rooted among the vinestems,
> but one alone withered;
> the porcupine, whose raiment is spines,
> assaulted that vine;
> it took possession of one wild grape,
> but the (good) grapes it did not harm.
> Zion, the evil porcupine,
> prevailed over Iscariot;
> for thirty pieces of silver it seized
> the sweetness that had been promised to it.[105]

Cyrillona portrays vividly the effect and significance of Judas leaving the Cenacle. But in the gospels it is not clear that the disciples ever knew that Judas was the betrayer. In fact, clearly John, which Cyrillona strongly prefers, depicts the disciples as believing he left for innocent reasons.[106] Cyrillona seems to be careful of this fact and preserves the disciples' ignorance. After Judas's departure the eleven remain behind "in great peace, / they who had been sad" (243-44), and "the disciples abode / in great joy, / and the twelve / in cheer" (286-89). But the disciples did not acknowledge or celebrate Judas's departure. Rather it was the Cenacle itself which

[105] *Pasch* 323-36.
[106] See John 13:27-29.

"rejoiced, / for then dispersed the darkness / of the twelve, / because the goat had fled" (249-52). The text later continues:

> The house was illumined,
> for there dwelt in it
> the hidden sun
> with its rays.
> It rejoiced that the viper
> had gone far away from it.
> Destroying it,
> the table celebrated,
> for a great burden
> had arisen from it. (261-70)

Context suggests that "house" (ܒܝܬܐ) is here used as a synonym for "upper room" (ܥܠܝܬܐ), perhaps partly for metrical reasons, but also because ܒܝܬܐ can refer to a church. Likewise, the word "table" (ܡܕܒܚܐ) is also used for the communion table or altar. This typology informs the otherwise odd statement that the table "destroyed" the viper. What seems implicit here is made explicit in Ephrem, who casts the Cenacle and table as becoming a church and the "first among altars" through the eucharistic sacrifice.[107] Continuing, Ephrem uses language similar to Cyrillona's in describing Judas and his departure:

> And while all the blossoms (i.e., the disciples) were splendid,
> [one] pure flower became covetous—
> the stinking tare left
> and with it, its odor.

[107] Ephrem, *Cruc.* 3.12.

> Now in you, O Cenacle, was depicted a sorting,
> that one which shall surely come to pass,
> for the son of darkness departed into the night
> and donned that blackness to which he was akin.
> He grew wroth, he turned black, and arose and left,
> the chief of the goats, and did not return.
> In the Judgment are his kindred goats separated
> from the lambs of light.[108]

We have seen that Cyrillona, more than once, applies to the disciples and Judas the types of wheat/tare and sheep/goat. And since in the gospels these are types of the just and the unjust at judgment,[109] Ephrem's assignment of them to Judas (the tare/goat) seems natural. If Cyrillona had that same typology in mind, it would provide a rationale for his quite expansive treatment of Judas, and vest him with further typological significance. But in fact, there is nothing in this text to suggest an eschatological type in him. Or at least, while an auditor might generalize such from the figure of Judas, Cyrillona does not. He certainly casts Judas as an agent of Jewish perfidy, if not directly as a type of the Jewish people. But Judas also serves here an important dramatic function, as a shocking example of Christ-betrayal.

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[108] Ephrem, *Cruc.* 3.13-14.

[109] Matt 13:24-30, 36-43 (Parable of the Tares); Matt 25:22-23 (sheep and the goats).

II.D. The Victory and Sacrifice of Christ (290-353)

In contrast with the defeat and humiliation of Judas, Cyrillona now depicts the victory and triumph of Jesus in a litany of biblical and poetic similes. Fitting such psalmic exultation, he begins with a series of figures drawn first from the Psalter, and then the New Testament:

Our Lord arose / as a champion (ܓܒܪܐ) (290-91)	Ps 24:8; 45:3; 87:5; cf. Isa 42:13
he took his post / as a mighty one (ܚܝܠܐ) (292-93)	Ps 18:2; 89:26; 94:22
he plucked fruit / as a husbandman (ܦܠܚܐ) (294-95)	Matt 21:33-38; Luke 20:9-14
he prayed to his Father / as an heir (ܝܪܬܐ) (296-97)[110]	Matt 21:38; Mark 12:7; Luke 20:14 (Parable of the Wicked Tenants); Heb 1:2
he looked into heaven / as its creator (ܒܪܝܬ) (298-99)[111]	Col 1:16; Heb 1:2
he opened the treasuries / as a prefect (ܐܦܝܛܪܘܦܐ) (300-301)	Cf. Acts 8:27

The concluding figure of Christ as a keeper of treasures was popular in earlier Syriac authors and associated with gospel parables of stewardship;[112] Cyrillona will employ this image again elsewhere.[113] The titles of ܓܒܪܐ and ܚܝܠܐ, not uncommon in Syriac usage, may also "reflect a Babylonian prehistory."[114]

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[110] Ephrem likewise refers to Christ as "both Lord and heir of the vineyard" (*HFid.* 36.5). See also *Wash.* 3. The prayer of Jesus here is certainly an allusion to John's High Priestly Prayer, part of which Cyrillona doubles in *Pasch* (*Pasch* 395-406).

[111] A favorite title; see also *Euch.* 130 and 311, and *Pasch* 379-88.

[112] See Murray, *Symbols*, 193-95.

[113] See *Pasch* 373-78.

[114] See Murray, *Symbols*, 169n2 (quotation), 193n4.

In a more extended simile, he again compares Christ's glory in the Upper Room with that of his transfiguration (cf. 261-64 above):

> His face shone like
> the sun;
> his members were
> as rays;
> his desires were hot
> as a furnace;
> his thoughts blazed
> like lamps. (302-9)

Cyrillona is clearly referencing Matt 17:2 in the first two couplets (302-5), but the rest seems pure poetic elaboration. "Furnace" here (ܟܝܡܐ) may also mean "lamp," in resonance with the ܢܘܪܐ of following couplet. But the rendering "furnace" seems to accord better with the verb ܫܡ and read as such draws on a biblical type.[115] Yet contrasting with the fierce heat of Christ's glory is the salvation and mercy that flow from him as Creator and Savior (310-14; cf. 11).

Cyrillona returns now to the point at which this *memra* began, to Jesus preparing to administer the Eucharist. Cyrillona also returns to imagery introduced there, with Christ assuming the priestly office. While Christ takes up the "mysteries," "parables," "figures" and "prophecy" in which the Eucharist was "hidden" and "concealed" (cf. 23-34 and 314-18), as did the levitical priests, his

[115] See Pesh. Isa 26:11: ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܟܝܡܐ ܡܢ.

priestly office is in fact one of reality (ܐܡܬܐ) and fulfillment (ܐܡܬܬܐ) rather than that of type and anticipation (318-21).

In bearing the eucharistic elements to his disciples, his hands becomes the furniture of the temple, an altar and showbread table (322-29).[116] His thoughts and great virtue serve as deacons and "true" priest (342-49). Cyrillona contemplates, with Ephremian paradox, this image of singular ministration, and offers testimony to the Real Presence:

> He bore himself up
> 	though not weary
> and carried his bread
> 	though not hungry.
> He took up his wealth
> 	though not in want
> and mixed his blood
> 	though not thirsty.
> There appeared in his bread
> 	his living body
> and in his wine
> 	his holy blood (330-41).

Cyrillona concludes here with a climactic event: As true priest, Christ "ordained a blessing / upon himself" as true victim, "he sacrificed and slew / himself," and then "poured and pressed out / his living blood" (346-53). But while this act is the climactic event, of the liturgy and of the narrative, this is not the *memra*'s climax. For

[116] Likewise, Ephrem, *Cruc.* 3.10.

what the author has so vividly described of the sacrifice of Christ, Christ will now describe of himself.

III. Dominical Discourse on the Eucharist

The final third of this *memra* is a discourse by Jesus on the Eucharist delivered at its Institution. As suggested in my introduction, due to its narrative context one might expect here an elaboration of the Last Discourse found in the Gospel of John, but not so. As better suits his subject, Cyrillona places the Words of Institution at the heart of Jesus's monologue as they are found in Luke 22:19-20 and 1 Cor 11:24-25. Traditionally these verses are also foundational to the liturgical Institution narrative. So while this is cast as a scriptural discourse, our author's eyes seem to be turned as much to the eucharistic liturgy as to scripture.

We know very little about the eucharistic liturgy of Cyrillona's day. But it may be that the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, which we have only in a later redaction, is the earliest surviving eucharistic prayer, and may even have been the (or at least *a*) traditional anaphora of the church of Edessa.[117] The only traditional

[117] So argues Macomber, "Theory;" see also Gelston, *Eucharistic Prayer,* 28. However, it should be borne in mind that this is "a period when there is still great fluidity in the Eucharistic Prayer" (ibid., 102), and the freedom celebrants felt in the Syriac church to improvise the anaphora has resulted in more than 80 being passed down in the West Syrian church alone. It is highly doubtful that any single anaphora enjoyed exclusive use in Cyrillona's day.

liturgical elements it lacks, says Gelston, "are the Institution Narrative and the explicit offering of the anaphora to the Father *through* Christ. Even these elements, however, though not verbally present, may be held to be implicit in the oldest strata of this ancient anaphora."[118] Gelston's suggestion that the *verba* are "implicit" reflects not the text so much as contemporary ecumenical language,[119] yet in fact, "one point of growing agreement among representative scholars, Catholic and non, is that the Institution Narrative is a later embolism—i.e., interpolation—into the earliest eucharistic prayers."[120]

Parallels between the eucharistic anaphora and this great discourse on the Institution, while discernable, are modest. There is no clear reference to the Anaphora of Addai and Mari in these texts and no reason to think Cyrillona knew it, even if it provides some suggestive material for comparison. Most significantly, the absence of the Institution Narrative there may allow us to see Cyrillona as making explicit here what is, at most, only implicit in early anaphoras—both dramatizing and "liturgizing" the dominical Words of Institution.

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[118] Gelston, *Eucharistic Prayer,* 21.
[119] In the introduction to his text commentary, Gelston rehearses the arguments for and against the thesis that this anaphora once contained the Institution Narrative, but takes no clear position himself (*Eucharistic Prayer*, 72-76).
[120] Taft, "Mass Without the Consecration?" 5.

III.A. "Eat of Me, for That Is My Wish" (354-411)

After a few transitional verses (354-59), Jesus begins his discourse with a direct citation of Luke 22:15: "I have earnestly desired / that I might eat with you / this pasch / before I suffer" (360-63). The wording here corresponds precisely to the Old Syriac,[121] though Cyrillona adds a demonstrative (ܗܕܐ) to differentiate "*this* pasch" (362), the new, from the old (cf. 157).

Jesus then takes up his first major theme—his body, the eucharistic bread. Three times he repeats the injunction, "Come, receive me" (ܗܘ ܣܒܠܘܢܝ), in hortatory quatrains (364-67, 388-91, 396-99). The first begins with a very striking metaphor:

> With teeth of fire[122]
> grind my bones
> and (with) corporeal tongues
> (taste) my hot blood. (368-71)

Here we encounter a textual difficulty. I follow previous translators in my rendering of ܒܫܢܝ ܕܒܣܪܐ (370), though orthography properly requires a *seyame* for ܠܫܢܹ̈ܐ ("and tongues") and the line does not scan. But no other satisfactory rendering is apparent.[123] Moreover, Cyrillona uses the phrase ܒܫܢܝ ܕܒܣܪ in *Pasch* 179.

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[121] See pp. 50, 53-54 above.

[122] Solano glosses this, imaginatively, "es decir, del amor" ("Santa Misa," 283).

[123] Vandenhoff suggests in one place, "Für ܕܒܪ [*sic*; read ܕܒܥ] wird vielleicht ܠܚܡܡ zu lesen," which he would translate, "und esset (meinen) Leib mit meinem warmen Blute" (Vandenhoff, review of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 435). But in a later, formal list of proposed emendations, he does not include this suggestion (Vandenhoff, "Zu den von G. Bickell").

In the Syriac tradition, there is extensive association of fire with the Eucharist, drawn from several different scriptural images and precedents.[124] A primary locus is Isa 6:2-7, where the seraph touches the prophet's mouth with a coal of fire.[125] This image is directly called to mind by the Sanctus of the anaphora, which is chanted by heavenly "ministers of fire and of spirit."[126] And indeed, the watchers of the Sanctus, previously invoked (165-72), are later referenced as well.

But here we find a subtle play on the descent of tongues of fire upon the disciples at Pentecost, a prominent topic in *Pasch*.[127] The tongues of fire are not mentioned in the anaphora of Addai and Mari, but in some later anaphoras they are referenced directly in the epiclesis, and feature in other dramatic descriptions of the Eucharist as well.[128] In a clever inversion, the disciples are here bid to use teeth of fire and their own physical tongues to consume what the fiery tongues of the Spirit consecrate.

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[124] See generally, Brock, "Fire from Heaven;" *Holy Spirit,* 13-17; Griffith, "'Spirit in the Bread;'" and Horn, "Fire and Holy Spirit," 147-55.
[125] See Brock, "Fire from Heaven," 235-36; Griffith, "'Spirit in the Bread,'" 232-33; and Yousif, *Eucharistie,* 92-95.
[126] Addai and Mari 15 (trans. Gelston, *Eucharistic Prayer,* 49). Spinks cites Cyrillona here as an early witness to the Sanctus, as evidence indicative, even if not probative, of the Sanctus's inclusion in Addai and Mari, which a number of scholars (following Rattcliff) have regarded as an interpolation (see Spinks, *Sanctus,* 79). On its authenticity, see Gelston, *Eucharistic Prayer,* 87-90.
[127] See *Pasch* 159-202.
[128] On the anaphoras, see Brock, "Fire from Heaven," 237; Brock notes two other literary usages (see ibid., 229 and note), on one of which see also, Griffith, "'Spirit in the Bread,'" 231-32.

Four quatrains then repeat variations and elaborations of the Words of Institution spoken over the bread: "This is my body." The first and third quatrains are, as just mentioned, references to the watchers of Isa 6 who chant the Sanctus before the throne of God. The first quatrain refers to the paradox that these watchers are not permitted to even gaze upon "the body" (372-75)[129] while the "bread of divinity" is given to lower creatures (ܒܪܝܬܐ) (376-79). Translation masks triple paronomasia in the third quatrain: "This is the holiness (ܩܕܝܫܘ) / by which are sanctified (ܡܬܩܕܫ) / the seraphim on high, who praise (ܡܫܒܚ) him" (380-83). The final quatrain equates the bread with the fruit of the tree of life, another common metaphor for the Eucharist, found in Ephrem and even in a commentary on the liturgy roughly contemporary with Cyrillona (384-97).[130] The second refrain and associated verses likewise reference the "perfect bread" of John 6, one of Cyrillona's favorite eucharistic metaphors (388-95).

This direct equivalence of the Divine Presence with the Eucharist is striking, but a more subtle symbolism is contained in the repeated juxtaposition of angels and humans. The watchers, though sanctified by his holiness, must shield themselves

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[129] Cf. Isa 6:2.

[130] "The altar indicates to us Emmanuel, who is the Tree of Life; and the bread and wine on it the body of God in which blood was also present, they being the fruits of the Tree of Life" (Brock, "Early Syriac Commentary," 393). For examples from Ephrem, see Yousif, *Eucharistie*, 67-72, 360-62.

from the consuming presence of God, but human beings receive the "bread of divinity" in their palms, "in secret," so that they might "become divine" (376-77, 387, 391, 399). Ephrem also depicts this contrast. Speaking of the Eucharist, he says:

> When the Lord came down to earth to mortal men
> He created them again, a new creation, like the angels,
> mingling within them fire and spirit,
> so that in hidden manner they might be of fire and spirit.
>
> The Seraph could not touch the fire's coal with his fingers,
> the coal only just touched Isaiah's mouth:
> the [Seraph] did not hold it, [Isaiah] did not consume it,
> but us our Lord has allowed us to do both![131]

Brock observes of this, "Implicit in Ephrem's thought here is the relationship between the seraphim (and other heavenly beings) and human beings in the Eucharist: the seraphim and cherubim's role, expressed in the Sanctus, is the proclamation of God's sanctity, whereas for human beings the Spirit, whose 'Fire has mingled in the bread', has thereby affected 'coals of fire' for humanity to consume as part of their recreation as spiritual beings."[132]

An elaboration of this imagery is introduced again, and more dramatically, by the third refrain (396-99), in which with even sharper paradox and reversal Jesus describes the fire in the bread:

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[131] Ephrem, *HFid.* 10.9-10 (trans. Brock and Kiraz, *Select Poems*, 208).
[132] Brock, "Fire from Heaven," 235-36.

See how I remain
wholly, in truth,
yet you eat me
wholly, in truth.
I do not consume
the one who wholly eats me,
but rather whomever
draws not nigh unto me.
I do not burn
the one who eats me,
but rather whomsoever
tastes me not. (400-410)

This contrast in early Syriac literature between the fire of wrath that consumes sinners and the fire of mercy that devours sin has, again, been well described by Brock.[133] And again we find in Ephrem a typological analogue to Cyrillona:

Fire descended in wrath and consumed sinners;
the fire of mercy has now descended and dwelt in the Bread:
instead of the fire which consumed mankind
you have consumed Fire in the Bread—and you have come to life![134]

III.B. "Drink My Blood, Which Is a New Testament" (412-67)

Jesus turns from the bread to the wine, from his body to his blood. Again he enjoins, "Come" (ܐܬܐ), but now his invitation is that of the Words of Institution

[133] See ibid., 233-35.
[134] Ephrem, *HFid.* 10.12 (trans. Brock and Kiraz, *Select Poems,* 209). Cf. also *HFid.* 10.8, quoted above.

spoken over the cup: "also drink my blood, / which is a new / testament" (412-15).[135] He then repeats this invitation, invoking a familiar metaphor: "Drink the cup / of flame (ܐܫܬܐ), / the blood which sets aflame (ܕܡܐ ܕܐܫܬܐ) / all who drink it" (416-19). This invites another comparison with Ephrem's superlative tenth *Hymn on Faith*:

> In Your Bread there is hidden the Spirit who is not consumed,
> in Your Wine there dwells the Fire (ܢܘܪܐ) that is not drunk:
> the Spirit is in your Bread, the Fire in Your Wine—
> a manifest wonder, that our lips have received.[136]

As seen so often, Cyrillona here takes up an image familiar to us from Ephrem, but employs different language to express it, in this case preferring ܐܫܬܐ to Ephrem's ܢܘܪܐ for the divine fire in the cup.[137] Ephrem uses the word ܐܫܬܐ rarely, and not at all with respect to the Eucharist. He prefers it rather as a term for hellfire, doubtless from its connection to the rich man's torments in Luke 16:24.[138]

From here, Jesus's discourse on the cup falls naturally into two parts, each with distinct symmetrical structures. The first is a series of eight quatrains, alternating in an A-B pattern with the refrains, "This is the cup" / "This is the blood," as introduced in the lines just preceding (i.e., 416-19).

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[135] See Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25; cf. Matt 26:28; Mark 14:24.
[136] Ephrem, *HFid.* 10.8 (trans. Brock and Kiraz, *Select Poems,* 207).
[137] In *Pasch* 170-73, Cyrillona uses both ܢܘܪܐ and ܐܫܬܐ as synonyms for the Holy Spirit. Cf. *Wash.* 33-34.
[138] See, e.g., Ephrem, *Nis.* 57.32; cf. Ephrem (?), *Ieiun.* App. 1.9.

The "cup" refrains first take up biblical figures, beginning with "the first Adam," for whom the eucharistic cup is a "cup of consolation"[139] (420-23). This refers to Adam's redemption in Christ, the cup accompanying the bread, that "fruit / which Adam desired / for his food, / that he might become divine" (384-87).[140] The next two "cup" refrains interpret two famous biblical types of the Eucharist, the "coal" of Tamar and the cup which Joseph used for divination (428-31, 436-39).[141]

The "blood" refrains likewise draw upon biblical typology. This blood brings to an end the blood of sacrifice (424-27); as Ephrem says, Christ is the "Libation Who made the blood of calves and sheep pass away."[142] This is the blood of sanctification, which unlike the blood of sprinkling does not just "purify the flesh,"[143] but rather sanctifies both "body and soul / divinely (ܐܠܗܝܬ)" (432-35).[144] This is also the blood of reconciliation, through which heaven and earth are brought into harmony (440-

[139] Jer 16:7.
[140] Cyrillona discusses elsewhere Eve's redemption, in Mary and her Child (see *Zacch.* 17-40).
[141] See Gen 44:5 (Joseph); 2 Sam 13:19 (Tamar). Bruns observes of lns. 428-31, "'Kohle' meint hier den Messias, der aus dem Stamme David hervorgehen sollte" (Bruns, *Menschen*, 356n333). Cerbelaud connects this to both Jewish traditions concerning Tamar and to the exegesis of Ephrem (Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 109n27).
[142] Ephrem, *Virg.* 31.5 (trans. McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian*, 399).
[143] Heb 9:13.
[144] Compare lns. 386-87, just cited, regarding the bread through which Adam may "become divine" (ܢܗܘܐ ܐܠܗ); and also, the tasting of "divinity" (ܛܥܡܐ ܐܠܗ) below (486-87).

43).[145] But the final refrains of "cup" and "blood" illustrate in tandem the duality contained within their biblical types. For the cup that contains mercy and life may also be a cup of judgment and death (444-47),[146] and in the blood that redeems, "he comes and avenges / the blood of his beloved ones / upon those who shed it" (448-51).[147]

The final verses of this section are also structured as alternating quatrains, but in an A-B-A′-B′ pattern. Strophes A/A′ repeat the command, "Drink" (ܐܫܬܝ) (425, 460), and B/B′ repeat the promise of the cup's power, that through it the disciples would "bear / [their] trials," "persevere / before persecutors," "tread / upon serpents," and even "conquer death" (454-55, 458-49, 464-67). Jesus's words here draw directly on the scriptural language of the mission of the seventy and the commission of the twelve,[148] to which theme he will return at the end of his discourse.

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[145] Cyrillona seems to be drawing on Col 1:19-20: "For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him God was pleased to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, by making peace through the blood of the cross."

[146] The cup of divine judgment or wrath is a common Old Testament type; see, e.g., Isa 51:17, 22; Jer 25:15, 17; 49:12; Lam 4:21.

[147] Vona sees a parallel to this striking typology of the eucharistic blood as blood of vengeance in Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5.14.1 (Vona, *Carmi*, 91n).

[148] Namely, treading upon serpents (Luke 10:19; cf. Mark 16:18; *Wash.* 141-42); persevering before persecutors (John 15:18-16:4, 33); and conquering death (John 6:54). The command to "cause all creation (ܟܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܐ) / to drink" of the cup (461-63) seems a recasting of the commission to "preach the gospel to all creation (ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ)" (Mark 16:15), perhaps also linking, more subtly, the conquest

III.C. "May This Memorial Not Be Neglected" (468-532)

In his first discourse, Jesus described to the disciples their great blessedness in being seated "in my bosom" (174), an honor not granted even to his heavenly ministers, who since the day of their creation "have not opened their wings / and beheld and looked at me" (169-70).[149] Now Jesus reminds his disciples again of their beatitude, comparing them to the prophets of old and the righteous (ܢܒܝܐ, ܙܕܝܩܐ) who "longed (ܚܡܝܢ) for me / and . . . desired / to see me (ܕܒܥܝܢ)" (468-71).[150] While this idea, a Christian commonplace, is rich in biblical precedents,[151] the specific referent here is certainly Matt 13:16-17: "But blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear. Truly I tell you, many prophets (ܢܒܝܐ) and righteous people (ܙܕܝܩܐ) longed to see (ܚܡܝܢ ܠܡܚܙܐ) what you see, but did not see it, and to hear what you hear, but did not hear it." However, here the disciples are not blessed for seeing and hearing, but "that with your mouths / you have eaten me" (478-79). Through ellipsis and implication, Cyrillona is suggesting that the mouth which partakes is even more blessed than seeing eyes and hearing ears.

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of death through the Eucharist (466-67) with the vivification (ܚܝ) of conversion and baptism (Mark 16:16).

[149] See also *Euch.* 372-83; *Wash.* 39-40; cf. *Pasch* 107-8.

[150] See also *Wash.* 53-56 and the discussion above for *Euch.* 159-76.

[151] E.g., Luke 10:23-24; 24:25-27, 44; John 8:56; Heb 11:13; 1 Pet 1:10-12.

This declaration of blessedness serves a narrative and dramatic function in this section, which is a continuation, and the climax, of the Institution narrative. In both scripture and the liturgy, after the words over the bread and the cup, follows the anamnesis: "Do this in remembrance of me," or more strictly, "Do this for my memorial" (ܠܕܟܪܢ).[152] Jesus's declaration of blessedness is used here to punctuate and impress the climactic and memorable character of these events upon the disciples. In addition to its dramatic function, Jesus's recollection of the prophets and righteous dead also parallels the collocation of the commemoration of the dead and the anamnesis in the anaphora:

> Do thou, O my Lord, in thy manifold and ineffable mercies make a good and gracious commemoration (ܕܟܪܢ) for all the upright and just fathers who were pleasing before thee, in the memorial (ܕܒܪܝܟ) of the body and blood of thy Christ (etc.).[153]

This confusing use of ܕܟܪܢ for the commemoration of the dead and ܕܒܪܝܟ for the anamnesis is a departure from scriptural language and the usage of Cyrillona. In later liturgical usage, ܕܟܪܢ is used equally with reference to both the Eucharist and the commemorations or feasts of the departed.[154]

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[152] Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24-25.
[153] Addai and Mari 36-40 (trans. Gelston, *Eucharistic Prayer,* 51-52, slightly revised).
[154] See the discussion of Gelston, *Eucharistic Prayer,* 101.

Building towards the anamnetic injunction, Cyrillona heightens suspense with a dramatic pause, twin refrains of, "Lest you forget . . . lest you forget" (480, 484). For this evening (or, "this Eve [of the Mystery]")[155] the communicants "have tasted / divinity," becoming "beloved friends / and children of the mystery (ܪܙܐ ܕܛܒ)" (486-87, 490-91).[156] Therefore are they are commanded:

> Let this memorial (ܐܬܕܟܪܐ)
> not cease
> among you
> henceforth to the very end.
> May you do so for me,
> my brothers,
> at all times,
> and remember me (ܕܬܐܬܕܟܪܢܝ).
> Eat my body–
> forget me not!
> Drink my blood–
> forsake me not!
> May there be in the church
> a great memorial (ܐܬܕܟܪܐ)
> and in the world
> this pasch. (492-507)

In this Passover setting, Jesus's command to "remember me" and keep this memorial evokes for Cyrillona God's command to the Jews that the Passover "shall

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[155] Syr. ܪܡܫܐ, "evening," plausibly read as an apocopated reference to the probable feast day itself, Holy Thursday (ܚܡܝܫܝܐ ܪܡܫܐ or ܫܒܬܐ ܪܡܫܐ).

[156] ܪܙܐ ("mystery") is of course a common term of the Eucharist. In this context we may see an echo of Eph 3:4-6, which speaks of the ܪܙܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ revealed to the apostles which "was not made known to men in other generations."

be unto you for a memorial, and you shall keep it a feast to the Lord."[157] The old pasch was a memorial of Jewish bondage in Egypt: "Remember that you were a slave in Egypt, and diligently observe these statutes."[158] Therefore, like the old, the new pasch—specifically, this feast day—is a day "more holy / and blessed and beautiful / than all other days" (508-11).[159] It too is a day of freedom from bondage, and not merely a commemoration of exodus, but indeed a day of liberation, on which the subject and imprisoned are set free, the oppressed redeemed, and all who grieve find solace (512-19).

As Cyrillona turns here from the sacrament of the Eucharist to the sacrament of baptism, to be celebrated on this most "holy and blessed and beautiful" day (Holy Thursday), we become most keenly aware of this *memra*'s immediate liturgical context. As will be seen in the following chapter on *Wash.*, Cyrillona associated the washing of the feet at the last supper with baptism. When Jesus declares, "On [this day] shall be sanctified / the visible waters / of baptism" (520-22), Cyrillona makes the word "baptism" a hemistich, as if it were punctuation and even demarcation, separating again the old and new pasch, the old and new people. Through baptism a new, "perfect people" (ܥܡܐ ܫܠܡܐ) are begotten, the old are made young, and "on

[157] Exod 12:14; cf. Exod 13:3.
[158] Deut 16:12.
[159] Cf. Exod 12:16; Lev 23:7; Num 28:18.

it shall be raised up / men unto heaven" (525-32). Those who receive baptism become as the disciples in this narrative, their felicity so lavishly described, more blessed than the prophets or angels, men who "went up and dined / with God" (153-54).

III.D. The Great Commission (533-76)

Cyrillona places different versions of the Great Commission in the mouth of Jesus three times, at the conclusions of *Euch.*, *Wash.* and *Pasch*, with additional scattered allusions besides.[160] The particulars and even the general emphasis in each of Cyrillona's commissions vary, but in *Euch.* he places his emphasis upon the disciples' joy and peace (537, 563-64; cf. 569-70). Cyrillona draws principally (but very loosely) upon the commissions in Matthew and Mark,[161] but for all three of Cyrillona's dominical commissions, contrary to the synoptic commissions, the setting is the Last Discourse rather than post-resurrection.[162] However, John does include a statement of commission in Jesus's discourse,[163] and there too, Jesus seems

[160] *Euch.* 533-76; *Wash.* 133-52; *Pasch* 407-28; for a comparative table, see pp. 169 below.
[161] See Matt 28:16-20 and Mark 16:15-18.
[162] In *Pasch* the language of commission becomes more ambiguously atemporal; to be discussed in Chapter Four.
[163] John 20:21; cf. *Euch.* 563-64.

to regard the washing of feet and mandate to do likewise as itself a commission.[164] Again we perhaps see the decisive influence of John on Cyrillona's reading of the gospels.

The commission is of course essentially evangelical, and Jesus sends his disciples out "as merchants" to preach his gospel (540).[165] Matthew and Luke specify that this should be to "all nations,"[166] emphasizing geographic and ethnic extent. But Cyrillona seems to look more to Mark: "Go into all the world and proclaim the good news to all creation (ܒܪܝܬܐ). The one who believes and is baptized will be saved; but the one who does not believe will be condemned."[167] Cyrillona likewise uses the term ܒܪܝܬܐ (539), but also, as Mark better allows, he places his emphasis on the universal demands of the gospel upon all classes rather than upon all nations. "Whoever is a slave [to sin] shall be free in me," says Jesus, but the spiritually enslaved include all stations, king and slave, maid-servant and mistress (545-54). As evident also in *Scourges*,[168] Cyrillona saw great significance in the fact that Christianity was blind to status and class:

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[164] See esp. John 13:20; 17:18.
[165] Cf. *Pasch* 409.
[166] Matt 28:19; Luke 47:47; cf. Acts 1:8.
[167] Mark 16:15-16.
[168] See *Scourges* 496-99, 588-606, 622-25.

for I have
no regard for appearance.[169]
The humble and the great
shall drink of my blood,
for there is one cup,
without distinction. (555-60)

We find that the gospel commission to baptize[170] is strikingly absent here, at best just implied.[171] Instead, Jesus commissions the apostles to preach and to administer the eucharistic mysteries: "Proclaim me / throughout the earth / and give me to eat / to the children of men" (541-44). Such freedom and innovation, entirely expected at this point, provides a final example of Cyrillona filling directly a perceived theological and liturgical lacuna in the scriptural narrative on the subject of Christ and the Eucharist.

[169] See Deut 10:17; 2 Chr 19:7; Gal 2:6.
[170] Matt 28:19; Mark 16:16.
[171] See ln. 548. The commission to baptize is found in *Pasch* 417-18, and may have been included in *Wash.* originally. *Wash.* 137 mentions the apostles' own "washing;" perhaps the following line, now missing, was an exhortation to go and do likewise.

CHAPTER THREE

On the Washing of the Feet (*Wash.*)

INTRODUCTION

Wash. is one of three poems by Cyrillona that are set in the context of the Last Supper and addresses the washing of the disciples' feet. It follows *Euch.* in the manuscript, and is associated with it in content and, it seems, by its titling. Holy Thursday services have been suggested as the setting for the delivery of both.[1] *Euch.* certainly exhibits some connections to the celebration of Holy Thursday Mass. Might *Wash.* also be seen as occupying a complementary liturgical and sacramental space?

The rite or sacramental of the washing of feet (the Mandatum) has long been a part of the traditional Holy Thursday Mass.[2] Its form and place within the service is not entirely fixed, but its Eastern forms at least may described as "quasi-invariant."[3] It has long been associated with the Holy Thursday lection of John 13:3-17 and often observed at Vespers, though also at some other offices or as part of the morning or evening liturgy.[4] Recently there has also been issued a liturgical

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[1] See the discussion in Chapter Two (pp. 83-84).
[2] A general history may be found in Beatrice, *Lavanda,* 197-221, to whose useful bibliography should now be added Lossky, "Cérémonie."
[3] Lossky, "Cérémonie," 818.
[4] See Monti, *Week of Salvation,* 141-42. Baumstark (*Festbrevier*, 237) notes its commemoration at Sext or None in the West Syrian tradition.

injunction that "its proper significance [be] explained."[5] *Wash.* might indeed be seen as one of the earliest "explanations" of the rite's significance.[6] However, the first certain reference to the Holy Thursday Mandatum is found in the *Georgian Kanonarion,* which may be dated, at the earliest, to the end of the 5th century.[7] There is no evidence for or against this particular practice in the Syriac churches of Cyrillona's time.

However, from a much earlier period, there is evidence for a rite of the washing of the feet associated with baptism. It must have been wide-spread in Spain from at least the 3rd century, since the Council of Elvira (ca. 303) legislates on it. Ambrose defended the practice vigorously, even against the contrary Roman custom, Augustine attested to it in North Africa, and later western evidence is abundant.[8]

In the Syrian East, as discussed last chapter, baptism took place on Holy Thursday. It is attractive to think this *soghitha* may have been delivered in connection with a baptismal rite of the washing of feet. But for the East, there is no direct evidence that it was practiced.[9] In a somewhat different vein, Beatrice does

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[5] From the circular letter "Paschales Solemnitatis" (Jan. 16, 1988), No. 51.
[6] See Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 37n1.
[7] Beatrice, *Lavanda,* 200; Lossky, "Cérémonie," 810-11.
[8] Fully discussed in Beatrice, *Lavanda,* 81-176.
[9] Duncan would see the western practice as in fact deriving from the East, but his slight evidence is no more than allusive (Duncan, *Baptism,* 76-78). He adduces Cyrillona as a potential witness to the

adduce evidence that at least one early Quartodeciman sect believed in the sufficiency of the washing of feet in the place of baptism.[10] However, the most that can be said of the influence of any such theology in the later Syrian church is that it "hanno conservato la lucida memoria teologica del valore battesimale della lavanda dei piedi."[11] In the Syriac tradition, this connection between Jesus's washing of the disciples' feet and baptism is first found in Aphrahat.[12]

It is found here in Cyrillona, too, though his typology is not confined to baptism. Beside a baptismal interpretation of the gospel *pedilavium*, Cyrillona and other early authors expound the moral interpretation given in the gospel itself, in which Jesus's washing of the feet is interpreted as an example of humility and service which the disciples should follow.[13] Since at least Origen, the washing of the feet was also seen as a preparation of the disciples to teach the gospel, a motif found here as well.[14]

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practice of baptismal *pedilavium*, but concludes weakly: "This hypothesis may be disputed, but the possibility must be left open" (ibid., 71). More light may come from the study an unpublished homily on the washing of the feet authored either by Narsai or Rabban Gabriel of Shirzor, abbot of Beth 'Abhe in the late 7th cent, which reportedly was used in connection with a Holy Thursday *pedilavium* (see Baumstark, *Geschichte,* 222; Ibrahim, "Doctrine christologique de Narsai," 217-19; and van Lantschoot, *Inventaire*, 115).

[10] See Beatrice, *Lavanda,* 38-53.

[11] Ibid., 227.

[12] Aphrahat, *Dem.* 10.2 (Parisot, *Aphraatis,* 1:445, 448); see Duncan, *Baptism,* 67-78.

[13] See John 13:12-20. The sacramental interpretation of the washing of the feet as a type of baptism is perhaps also to be found in the gospel text at John 13:10. See Brown, *Gospel According to John,* 2:558-62.

[14] See Lohse, "Fußwaschung," 1:18-21; Richter, *Fußwaschung,* 4-7.

There is nothing in this poem which indicates a liturgical practice of foot washing, either the Holy Thursday Mandatum or a *pedilavium* rite associated with baptism. Yet the connection Cyrillona makes between the washing of the feet and baptism is significant. At the poem's opening, Cyrillona calls the waters poured by Christ into the basin "still waters" (ܡܝܐ ܫܬܝܐ) (5), a reference to Ps 23:2 and an early metaphor for the waters of baptism.[15] Then when Peter, after Jesus's rebuke, asks to have his hands and head also washed, Jesus replies: "Simon, Simon, there is one washing (ܡܥܒܕܐ) / with sanctifying water for the entire body" (131-32). This paraphrase of John 13:10 seems a clear reference to baptism.[16] Whether this action constituted for Cyrillona the effectual baptism of the apostles, which was Aphrahat's view (addressing an old exegetical crux), is not clear from the text.[17] The washing of feet was seen by some early Christian exegetes as a symbol of baptism, but more commonly exegesis found in it an example of Christ's humility.[18]

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[15] See Brock, "Epiklesis," 206-7, and *Holy Spirit,* 96; with further discussion below.
[16] So Beatrice, *Lavanda,* 68-69; Duncan, *Baptism,* 71; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften,* 29n3; Richter, *Fußwaschung,* 20; Vona, *Carmi,* 70n.
[17] On Aphrahat, see Duncan, *Baptism,* 67-69; on the *pedilavium* as the baptism of the apostles, see Kantorowicz, "Baptism." McDonnell says, citing Duncan, that "Cyrillona seems to presuppose that baptism was instituted at the washing of the feet," but this is not stated by Duncan nor supported by the text (McDonnell, *Baptism of Jesus,* 193).
[18] Discussed extensively in Beatrice, *Lavanda;* Lohse, "Fußwaschung;" and Richter, *Fußwaschung;* with a concise summary in Richter, *Fußwaschung*, 21-25. These two different exegeses are often called respectively the sacramental and the moral or ethical.

As with *Euch.*, one might view *Wash.* as a dramatic "reading into scripture" of the auditors, who in *Euch.* received the mystery of the Eucharist and here the mystery of baptism. Jesus says, "Behold, I have washed and cleansed you. / [missing line] / Go with joy into the church / and tread her gates as heirs" (137-40). Duncan suggests these words "are strongly reminiscent of the passage of the newly baptized from the baptistery into the church."[19] Likewise Cyrillona indicates that the washing of feet was a necessary prerequisite for reception of the Eucharist, another plausible reference to auditors' baptism and first Communion (125-26).[20] But while all this makes a baptismal context plausible, and likewise may connect *Wash.* with Holy Thursday services, a more precise liturgical setting is impossible to recover.

But a baptismal context would also explain the extraordinary wonder and histrionic awe with which Cyrillona depicts Jesus's washing of the feet. This is a highly dramatic poem that strikes one, in places, as an almost theatrical exercise in exuberance and enthusiastic transport. In the author's casting of himself as a direct witness to the event, even as an interlocutor with the prophets, auditors themselves would be swept up and held in the narrative. It conveys the experience of revelatory rapture. But this is not to suggest that one finds in it superficiality or contrivance. Its execution is authentic and impressive. In this work, says Richter, "Kyrillonas stellt

[19] Duncan, *Baptism,* 71, followed by Kantorowicz, "Baptism," 215-16.
[20] Cf. *Euch.* 161-64.

die Szene der Fußwaschung in so eindrucksvoller und origineller Art dar, daß man denen gerne zustimmt, die ihn zusammen mit Ephraem zu den bedeutendsten syrischen Dichtern rechnen."[21]

FORM AND GENRE

Wash. and *Zacch.* both carry the title ܣܓܝܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܙܟܝܐ.[22] The term *soghitha* is typically used of a subtype of *madrasha* distinguished by its isosyllabic meter and by its specialized dramatic and poetic form.[23] Most *soghyatha* are dialogue poems, with stanzas alternating between speakers, and are almost always acrostics.[24] Sebastian Brock, who has done very extensive work with *soghyatha*,[25] often simply

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[21] Richter, *Fußwaschung*, 20; cf. Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 14, and p. 3 above.

[22] Brock seems to indicate that this title is anomalous or incongruous ("Dramatic Dialogue Poems," 144n24), though it is at least found in some later collections of Narsai.

[23] Brock defines a *soghitha,* in a most basic sense, as "stanzaic poetry with a simple isosyllabic structure" ("From Ephrem to Romanos," 141). He defines *soghitha* elsewhere as (e.g.): "a term used for *madroshe* with a simple syllabic pattern, such as 4+4+4+4 syllables" ("Poetry," 255) and "a sub-category of the *madrāshā,* distinguished by its use of a simple four line isosyllabic structure" ("Syriac Dispute Poems," 110).

[24] See Brock, "Syriac Dialogue Poems,"31-34, and more recently "Poetry and Hymnography," 664-65. On acrostics, see Chapter Six below.

[25] Brock's many important editions, translations and studies on the topic include: "Dialogue between Joseph and Mary;" "Dialogue between the Two Thieves;" "Dialogue Hymns;" "Dispute between the Cherub and the Thief;" "Dispute between Soul and Body;" "Dispute of the Months;" "Dispute Poem;" "Dramatic Dialogue Poems;" "Dramatic Dimension;" "From Ephrem to Romanos;" "Joseph and Potiphar's Wife;" "Mary and the Angel;" "Mary and the Gardener;" "Poèmes dialogués;" "Poetry;" "Poetry and Hymnography;""Satan and the Sinful Woman;" "Seeds of Liturgical Drama;" "Sinful Woman and Satan;" "Syriac Dialogue Poems;" "Syriac Poetry on Biblical Themes;" "Tales of Two Beloved Brothers;" "Two Syriac Dialogue Poems;" "Two Syriac Poems;" *Soghyatha mgabyatha; Sogiatha;* "'Syriac Dialogue;'" "Syriac Dispute between Heaven and Earth;" "Syriac Dispute Poem;"

equates that term with "dialogue poems," but at the same time specifies that not all dialogue poems are *soghyatha* nor all *soghyatha* dialogue poems.[26]

Brock says the term *soghitha* begins to be used only in the fifth century,[27] which he apparently derives from his dating of the very earliest examples[28] and from the fact that the chronicle of Ps. Joshua the Stylite says Jacob of Serugh composed *soghyatha*.[29] But Brock also says that the term is not attested in the manuscript tradition until the 8th/9th century, when it comes into use in liturgical manuscripts for dispute poems.[30] If a 6th cent. dating for BL Add. 14,591 is correct,[31] then the titles for *Wash.* and *Zach.* may be among the earliest manuscript attestations of the term *soghitha*, if not indeed the very earliest. This in itself warrants caution, lest we permit later usage of the term to color our understanding of these poems' genre. And of course, we should not assume or even think likely that their titles are original to our author.

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and "Syriac Dispute Poems." See also Murray, "Aramaic and Syriac Dispute Poems" and "St Ephrem's Dialogue;" and more generally, Reinink and Vanstiphout, *Dispute Poems and Dialogues.*

[26] "Dramatic Dialogue Poems," 136n2 and passim; "Syriac Dialogue Poems," 31n11. As previously noted (p. 88), while in these two earlier, seminal articles Brock uses the term "dialogue poem" very broadly for everything coming under his five categories (defined in "Dramatic Dialogue Poems"), in more recent studies he prefers simply the two general categories of dialogue poems (*soghyatha*) and narrative *memre* or poems (chiefly, his Type IV dialogue poems) (see "Poetry and Hymnography,"662-65, and "Ephrem and the Syriac Tradition," 367-69).

[27] Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography," 664.

[28] Brock, "Syriac Dialogue Poems," 35; "Poetry and Hymnography," 665.

[29] Brock, "Syriac Dialogue Poems," 31n11.

[30] Ibid., 31n11, 35.

[31] See Wright, *Catalogue,* 2:669, and Overbeck, *Opera selecta,* xx.

With that in mind, is *Wash.* a *soghitha* according to the normative use of that term? *Soghyatha* are composed of quatrains, typically 7+7 7+7,[32] which is what Vona designates this meter.[33] This poem is certainly 7+7, but it is less certainly 7+7 7+7. Unlike Cyrillona's other *soghitha* (*Zacch.*), quatrains are not marked in the manuscript. Sense does not clearly recommend reading it thus, and in at least one place there is a strong disjunction between the couplets of a potential quatrain (see 58-60). Bickell does not paragraph the text in stanzas, not has any translator, and I likewise have chosen to follow manuscript punctuation.

This poem also does not include a response, *qala*, or any other formal element that would suggest it was composed as a sung *madrasha*/*soghitha*.[34] Likewise, the meter by itself is of little help in establishing its use and genre. Ephrem composed *memre* in 7+7 (later called "the meter of Ephrem") and some *madrashe* in 7+7 7+7, but his compositions are never designated (except perhaps in error) as *soghyatha*.[35] And as stated, the most distinctive hallmarks of the *soghitha* genre are alternating stanzas of dialogue, at times between disputants, and the employment of an acrostic in the poem's structure. Both features are wanting in this poem.

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[32] Cf. Brock, "Syriac Dispute Poems," 112: "there are very few exceptions to the norm of 7 + 7, 7 + 7 syllables found in the dispute/dialogue *sogyāthā*."
[33] Or, 7+7+7+7: "strofe di quattro versi ciascuna di sette sillabe" (Vona, *Carmi*, 30).
[34] It is in fact unclear whether all *madrashe* were necessarily hymns. It may be more appropriate to say that "a hymn is a species of *madrasha*" (Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography," 659, referencing Lattke, "Ephraems *Madrāšē*").
[35] Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography,"664; "Syriac Dialogue Poems," 33n22.

This poem does contain some elements characteristic of dramatic dialogue poems, many (but not all) of which are *soghyatha*. Sebastian Brock suggested a useful schema for categorizing dialogue poems into five different types.[36] He suggests that "Cyrillona's '*soghīthā* of the *mēmrā*' (sic), on the Footwashing, verges on [being a] Type IV [dialogue poem,] but there the poet himself is one of the speakers."[37] Yet Brock also specifies, "The vehicle for the fourth type [of dialogue poem] is exclusively the *mēmrā*"—which by definition may not be a *soghitha*.[38]

Most scholars have understood the title ܣܓܝܬܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܡܐܡܪܐ to mean that this poem is a *soghitha* associated with the *memra* which it follows.[39] One might assume from the title that it would be an associated hymn or "teaching song" (or whatever term should be preferred)[40] to be chanted or sung after the *memra*.[41] Apart from its title, however, we see that there is little to suggest this poem is a *soghitha* in

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[36] Brock, "Dramatic Dialogue Poems;" cf. Brock, "From Ephrem to Romanos," 141-43; see the introduction to Chapter Two above.
[37] Brock, "Dramatic Dialogue Poems," 144n24. See especially the alternating couplets of dialogue in *Wash.* 129-31.
[38] Cassingena-Trévedy's definition of a *soghitha* as a "variété du *mimrā*" is anomalous and likely a misstatement (Cassingena-Trévedy, "Hymnographie syriaque," 203).
[39] See Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 24; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften,* 21; Vona, *Carmi*, 33.
[40] The broader problems with the classification of Syriac hymnic works, and the assignment, definition, and translation of hymnic terms, will not be pursued. But see further Beck, "Ephräms des Syrers Hymnik;" Brock, "Syriac and Greek Hymnography;" Lattke, "Ephraems *Madrāšē*" and *Hymnus,* 347-53 et passim; McVey, "Earliest *Madrāšē*;" and most recently, Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography," 659-60. The term "didactic song" or "teaching song" reflects the suggestion of Lattke with reference to Ephrem's *madrashe* (Lattke, "Ephraems *Madrāšē*," 42).
[41] See Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften,* 21 and note.

that term's customary sense. Brock does not list either *Wash.* or *Zacch.* among the forty-five *soghyatha* known to him.[42]

A factor in our two poems' titling may simply have been their short length (*Wash*.=152 lns.; *Zacch*.=112 lns.). Observes Brock, "The borderline between these three categories is sometimes hard to draw, seeing that the *soghitha* is itself a specialized form of *madrasha*, and that *madrasha, soghitha* and *memra* can all have the same metrical pattern (of stanzas/couplets of 7 + 7, 7 + 7 syllables), so that the sole distinguishing feature would appear to be length (a *memra* is rarely much under 200 lines, and normally more, whereas the *soghitha* is considerably shorter—a factor normally imposed by the use of an alphabetic acrostic)."[43]

It is also, of course, possible that these poems were called *soghyatha* for reasons of form or liturgical use now lost to us. Bickell proposed for our *soghyatha* a wholly different function: "Ursprünglich scheint die Sugitha die Vorlesung eines biblischen Abschnittes eingeleitet zu haben, um auf denselben vorzubereiten und zur Aufmerksamkeit zu mahnen." On this thesis, he continues, "In unserer Ueberschrift bezeichnet 'Mimra' nicht eine metrische Homilie, sondern den

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[42] See Brock, "Syriac Dispute Poems," 116-19, together with p. 5 in the addenda of the reprint. Brock had added no texts to this list as of 2008 (see Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography," 664).
[43] Brock, "Syriac Dialogue Poems," 33.

biblischen Abschnitt, auf welchen sich der Inhalt des Gedichtes bezieht."[44] His understanding of the term *memra* here as referring to the lection seems as problematic as his singular interpretation of the function of a *soghitha*, and his suggestion has thus far found no followers.

Formally, this poem is closely related to what Brock also calls "*mēmrē* with dramatic narrative,"[45] "narrative *memre*,"[46] or simply "narrative poems."[47] *On the Washing of the Feet* is, indeed, preeminently a dramatic narrative and could perhaps be assigned to the *Gattung* of narrative *memra* or poem. But simply stated, it reads like a short sermon.

ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

This poem may be outlined as follows:

I. The Poet's Wonder (1-16)

II. Dialogue with the Prophets (17-58)

III. Jesus and Judas (59-86)

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[44] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 28n. He is speaking here of *Zacch*., but later refers *Wash*. to this comment (ibid., 32n1).
[45] Brock, "Syriac Dialogue Poems," 138.
[46] Brock, "Poetry and Hymnography,"662-64.
[47] Brock, "Ephrem and the Syriac Tradition," 368. On the genre, see especially Brock, "Dramatic Dialogue Poems," 138-42 et passim.

IV. Jesus and Simon Peter (87-132)

V. The Great Commission (133-52)

I. The Poet's Wonder (1-16)

Cyrillona opens his poem by setting the tableau with an elaborate narration of John 13:4-5:

> Our Lord led his Twelve
> and came to the house to wash them.
> He seated them at table as an heir
> and he rose up (and) served as a friend.
> He poured still waters
> and bore the washbasin.
> He took a towel, he girt his loins . . . (1-7)

At this point the poet breaks off his description, unable to endure the sight of such divine condescension, "For dust sits before his Creator / and his Lord rises and washes his feet" (15-16).

As Cerbelaud observes, "Tout ce préambule est tissé de réminiscences du psaume 23. . . . C'est là un bel exemple d''entrelacs de citations,' ici particulièrement bien choisies, puisque le psaume 23 est traditionnellement appliqué aux 'sacrements de l'initiation' (baptême, eucharistie, onction)."[48] Allusions to Ps 23 include:

[48] Cerbelaud, *Agneau,* 110.

Cyrillona, *Wash.*	Psalm 23	Notes
The Lord led his Twelve (1); He poured the still waters (ܡܝܐ ܫܩܛܐ ܘܐܫܩ) (5)	He leads me beside the still waters (ܡܝ ܢܝܚܐ ܢܗܠܟܢܝ) (v. 2)	Cf. *Euch.* 115-16
and came to the house to wash them (2)	I shall dwell in the house of the Lord (v. 6)	
He seated them at table (ܐܣܟ) as an heir (3)	He makes me dwell (ܢܪܒܨܢܝ) in green pastures (v. 2); you prepare a table before me (v. 5)	Cf. *Euch.* 297-97. The verbs ܐܣܟ and ܪܒܨ (both aph. here) belong to the same semantic domain. ܐܣܟ may also be translated, "cause to recline," i.e., at table. While most translators have used the word "table" here for clarity (Cerbelaud, Graffin, Vona), it is just implicit in the verb.

Cyrillona opened *Euch.* with "the Lamb of Truth" speaking to his disciples, but drawing subtly on Ps 23, here he depicts Jesus as the Good Shepherd ministering to his sheep. The Good Shepherd is one of the most pervasive figures in the earliest Christian art, appearing over 120 times in extant Roman catacomb frescoes alone.[49] This figure was taken into Christian usage from the classical tradition, where the shepherd was a symbol of charity and loving-kindness. The type was quite naturally applied to Christ, who had applied it to himself.[50] On multiple levels this symbol

[49] See Jensen, *Understanding,* 38.
[50] See Matt 18:12-13; Luke 15:3-7; John 10:1-19. For general bibliography on this much-studied topic, see Snyder, *Ante Pacem,* 41-42.

came to be associated with the sacrament of baptism.[51] In fact, the earliest surviving baptistery, in the house church at Dura Europas (ca. 250), depicts the Good Shepherd with his sheep directly above the font.[52]

It was perhaps natural, then, that Ps 23 would come to be understood in the early church, in Quasten's words, "als eine Hymnus des Dankes für die Einweihung in die christlichen Mysterien."[53] The "still waters" (v. 2) were naturally the waters of baptism and the oil (v. 5) was the chrism. The table and the cup (v. 5) represented the Eucharist. The lamb was the baptismal candidate, whose soul is reclaimed and renewed (v. 3), and the journey through the valley of the shadow of death (v. 4) was found in the rite itself, paralleling the Pauline symbolism of baptism as death and resurrection.[54]

Quasten discusses the psalm's usage in the baptismal liturgy of Naples,[55] but Jensen believes that Ps 23 "may have been sung as part of the baptismal liturgy in many places besides Naples, possibly as the neophytes processed from the

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[51] The fullest discussion is Quasten, "Bild des Guten Hirten."
[52] See Quasten, "Bild des Guten Hirten," 220-21, and "Painting."
[53] Quasten, "Bild des Guten Hirten,"231; and likewise elsewhere he describes it as, "ein herrlicher Dankeshymnus für die Mysterien der Osternacht" (ibid., 232). Quasten surveys a substantial list of Eastern and Western authors who provide a baptismal interpretation of Ps 23, including Origen, Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria (ibid., 231-37).
[54] See Rom 6:3-6. On this typology, see Jensen, *Understanding,* 39; Brock, *Holy Spirit,* 96; and Quasten, "Bild des Guten Hirten," 232.
[55] Quasten, "Bild des Guten Hirten," 236-39.

baptistery in the nave of the church after the rite was complete."[56] We cannot know if this was the case in Cyrillona's church, or if the "still waters" in this psalm were referenced in his church's baptismal epiclesis, as one finds in the later Syriac tradition.[57] But this baptismal interpretation and usage of the psalm seems to inform our text. Other echoes of Ps 23, in connection with both the washing and the post-washing commission, may be found later in the poem:

Cyrillona, *Wash.*	Psalm 23
He washed from them toil and trouble, / and refreshed (ܐܢܝܚ) them, since they were to travel upon the way (65-66)	He leads me beside the still (ܕܫܬܐ) waters (v. 2); He leads me in the paths of truth (v. 3)
Tread upon the Evil One (ܕܥܒܐ) and do not fear (ܠܐ ܕܚܠ) (141)	I shall not fear evil (ܠܐ ܐܕܚܠ ܒܝܫܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܘܬܐ) (v. 4)
Travel the byways without fear (143)	Though I walk through the valleys of the shadows of death, I shall not fear evil (v. 4)

As Jesus girds himself and prepares to wash the disciples' feet, the poet is overcome with pious terror, hiding his face in fear (9). He becomes "desperate to leave, for I could not bear / to look upon him who stooped over and washed them"

[56] Jensen, *Understanding*, 39. Jensen elsewhere discusses the use of Ps 23 in the baptismal liturgy of Ambrose (Jensen, "Living Water," 348).

[57] See Brock, "Epiklesis," 186, 206-7, and *Holy Spirit*, 96. Brock also notes, "It is very probable that the description of the baptismal candidates as 'sheep,' regular in all the Syriac traditions, is in part at least influenced by this psalm" (Brock, *Holy Spirit*, 96; cf. Brock, "Epiklesis," 207).

(11-12). As he crosses the house to leave, he voices an anguished question that will send him on a journey to Sheol: "Why was this done?" (14).[58]

II. Dialogue with the Prophets (17-58)

The poet makes a search of scripture to find if the prophets had foretold of this event, but can discern no prophecy of it (17-18). This corresponds with the lack of prophetic proof-texts found in the early Syriac tradition for the *pedilavium*.[59] But the poet is not left to puzzle on this.

> The spirit took me, like Ezekiel,[60]
> and straightway set me down among the heralds.
> I saw that they were prostrate and lay in Sheol,
> and that was worse to me than the former (spectacle). (19-22)

Cyrillona appears to maintain the same belief as Ephrem that even the righteous dead, upon leaving this life, depart to Sheol, where they await the day of

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[58] Syr. ܫܥܝܢܐ, meaning more specifically "to perform," "to administer," or "to celebrate a rite or service," i.e., the washing of the feet.

[59] In *Cruc.* 3.7, Ephrem's reference to Abraham feeding his angelic visitors (Gen 18:8), made just prior to his discussion of the washing of the feet, almost certainly belongs to his surrounding discussion of the Institution of the Eucharist. See Beck, *Paschahymnen,* V. 41n6.

[60] See Ezek 8:3; 37:1; 40:1-2. In Bickell's edition the nun in ܥܡܠܝ (=ܥܡܠܝܢ) was broken off in printing, leaving what appears to be just a rogue point of punctuation or an ink smudge. This is, unfortunately, not noted in Bickell's corrections. Cerbelaud therefore misreads ܥܡܠܝ as ܥܡܠܗ: "Je reçus l'Esprit" (Cerbelaud, *Agneau,* 53). As seen here, the author or scribe at times drops the unvocalized *yudh* and *waw* from certain verbal forms and pronominal suffixes (see Bickell, "Gedichte," 615, and "Berichtigungen," 532).

judgment and the reception of their just reward.[61] Ephrem has Death saying of Sheol:

> I have led off prophets, priests and heroes,
> I have conquered kings with their array, the giants with their hunts,
> the just with their fine deeds—rivers full of corpses
> I cast into Sheol, who remains thirsty however many I pour in!
>
> Whether a man is near or afar off,
> the final end brings him to Sheol's gate.[62]

In Ephrem and, it seems clear, Cyrillona too, Sheol approximates the traditional Mesopotamian view of the afterlife as a place of gloom and melancholy, even for the righteous. Finding the prophets languishing in it rightly brings even greater distress to the poet than does the scene unfolding in the Cenacle. "Again my tears were abundant and my groans great" (23), says the poet, but resolutely, if "mournfully" (24), he begs for their patient attention while he rehearses the "wondrous vision I have seen with my eyes" (25-28).

The poet addresses those before him as "prophets of my Lord" (31), whom he then cites in a series of six Old Testament descriptions of Jehovah. Their purpose in the narrative is to make very clear to the prophets (and his auditors) that the person

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[61] On Ephrem's theological cosmology, see Buchan, *"Blessed is He,"* 39-51; and on his conception of Sheol, ibid., 60-68. On the rewards of the prophets at judgment day, see Ephrem, *Nis.* 71.1-3; 72.19.
[62] *Nis.* 36.4; trans. Brock, *Harp of the Spirit,* 41.

whose humiliation he describing is, indeed, Lord and God. All six descriptions are introduced with the formula, "The one of whom you proclaimed that . . .":

Cyrillona, *Wash.*	Biblical References and Notes
he is fire and spirit / and a mighty flame (33-34)	Exod 3:2; Deut 4:24; 9:3; Ezek 8:2; Dan 7:9
he is not seen / just as he is, because his visage is hard to bear (35-36)	Bickell translates this as, "als Unsichtbaren gleich dem schwerzuschauenden Jehova," apparently interpreting ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ to mean, "as the One Who Is," with reference to Exod 3:14.[63]
one cannot / see his person (ܦܓܪܐ) and live in the world (37-38)	Translators have preferred "person" here, since ܦܓܪܐ is used in Syriac as the equivalent of *hypostasis*, but its use here is probably not technical. This is a paraphrase of Exod 33:20, where rather than ܦܓܪܐ the Peshitta has ܦܢܝ (ܐ "my face"). The sense seems to be simply, "one cannot actually see him and live."
for fear of him / the faces of the watchers are covered with their wings (39-40)	Isa 6:2. As Vona notes, "Si esprime la conseguenza di quanto è indicato a v. 38" (cf. Isa 6:5).[64]
Daniel saw him / upon his throne, the Ancient of Days (41-42)	Dan 7:9
his gaze / alarms the world and makes creation tremble (43-44)	Job 9:6; Ezek 38:20

[63] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 33, with whom Vandenhoff agrees, against Landersdorfer (Vandenhoff, review of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 434; cf. Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 27 ["gleich dem schwerzuschauenden 'Seienden'"]). See also Vona, *Carmi*, 66n.

[64] Vona, *Carmi*, 66n.

At last the poet delivers his shocking news: "see how he is made a servant and bears a washbasin, / and laves the feet of fishermen, / and dries them with a towel, / and his betrayer's[65] along with them . . . !" (45-48).

Twice the poet has asked the prophets to "listen patiently,"[66] but at this point in his rambling rehearsal, they cut him short. "Silence, man, stop nattering at us! / This is good news (ܒܫܪܬܐ) you have delivered to us!" (49-50). One may also render ܒܫܪܬܐ as "the gospel." The prophets inform the poet that these tidings impart "hope and blessedness to all," that they have been expecting it—"the word of our books does not lie!"[67]—and that he should not be distraught, but "give thanks and praise" (51-58).

This brief exchange is rich in theological implications. The prophets affirm that the event the poet is witnessing is indeed found in "the word of our books" (56) and they directly equate it with the ܒܫܪܬܐ they have long awaited (50).[68] But what precisely is the "good news"? The ܒܫܪܬܐ is clearly an event, for the prophets' rejoicing is conditional, based upon an anticipated occurrence ("If it is true that this has come to pass . . ." [51]), namely, the washing of the feet.

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[65] Syr. ܡܙܒܢ, lit. "seller."
[66] Syr. ܒܫܟܝܚܐ ܐܫܡܥ (26, 32). ܒܫܟܝܚܐ is typically translated as "in secret," but I think Bickell renders it correctly in this context as "ruhig" and "geduldig," as with the idiom, ܡܬܚܫܐ ܟܡܐ (33) (TS 1780).
[67] Cf. *Pasch* 31-34: "For this reason have I descended to the earth / and become as one of her children, / so that the prophets who prophesied thus / should not be made liars." See also *Pasch* 19-22.
[68] Cf. 1 Pet 1:10-11.

As Richter suggests, the prophets are here designating the washing of feet as a "salvific activity" (*Heilshandeln*).[69] Richter compares Cyrillona's understanding of its significance to Irenaeus, who sees the *pedilavium* as the fulfillment of Isa 4:4 ("if the Lord washes away the filth of the daughters of Zion") and as a symbol of recapitulation. As Adam brought all humanity into bondage through sin, "so at last, by means of the New Man, all who from the beginning [were His] disciples, having been cleansed and washed from things pertaining to death, should come to the life of God."[70] As Richter summarizes, "Die Fußwaschung ist also Typos des universalen soteriologischen Handelns Jesu."[71]

A simpler exegesis, however, may be to understand the prophets as recognizing in the washing of the feet the sacrament of baptism. As we shall see, Jesus declares to Peter that without this washing, there is no throne, no keys, no power, no discipleship, and no communion with his body (117-26). Conversely, that all such is the reward of those who faithfully receive baptism is perhaps understood by the prophets. The great promises contained in the mystery of baptism are the content of the world's "blessedness" (52). The world's "hope" (52) belongs to the righteous dead, to whom Christ will thereafter minister. Perhaps a deeper analogy

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[69] Richter, *Fußwaschung*, 20.
[70] Irenaeus, *Haer*. 4.22.1; trans. ANF 1:493.
[71] Richter, *Fußwaschung*, 3.

between Christ's respective ministrations to his disciples in the Cenacle and the dead in Sheol might be implied.

But alas, like the denizens of Hades in a Greek epic, the prophets in Sheol are ultimately cryptic. The poet can see no reason from their words to "give thanks and praise" (58). And so he takes his leave of them and returns to the Upper Room, remaining deeply "in (his) distress" (59).

III. Jesus and Judas (59-86)

The poet now returns directly to the scene unfolding in the Upper Room, and sees Jesus, "who was cheerful and washing them, / and joyful was his countenance while serving them" (61-62). One might see here a subtle word-play in this last line, which also may be rendered very literally, "And his radiant appearance was serving them." The participle "serving" (ܡܫܡܫ) exhibits consonance with "the sun" (ܫܡܫܐ), and hence here connotes the radiance of the sun, whose heat may boil away the very water (see 64).

We see here introduced two significant interpretive themes which Cyrillona applies to the washing of the feet.[72] The first is that in this act, Christ demonstrated supreme humility, love and service towards his disciples. That much is central in the

[72] See ibid., 20. Richter suggests that Cyrillona holds the two following themes in relative parity, alongside his understanding of it as a symbol of baptism.

gospel lection, but Cyrillona also expounds and states clearly what is at best just implied there—that this washing of feet is to be imitated.[73] His second innovation is that this washing prepared the feet of the disciples for the preaching of his gospel.

> He grasped their feet and they (the feet) were not consumed,[74]
> and when he poured the water it was not boiled away.
> He washed from them (the feet) toil and trouble,
> and refreshed them (the feet), since they were to travel upon the way.
> (63-66)

The term "the way" (ܐܘܪܚܐ) may also be understood as "the Way," perhaps the most primitive self-designation of Christianity,[75] and a path entered upon through the gate of baptism. Understood thus, the fire which threatens to consume the water is the same fire that sanctifies it, representing the "ambiguous character" of the Holy Spirit that indwells the sacramental mysteries.[76] But this passage may more directly refer to preparation of the disciples for the Great Commission with which this poem will conclude.

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[73] See John 13:12-20.

[74] Cf. Ps. Ephrem: "How will he wash my feet / without me being burned by his hands?" (*Heb. sanc.* 377-78); Jacob of Serugh: "The Fiery Ones (i.e., the angels) trembled as the Flame bowed down / to humbly touch the feet of chaff in love" (*On the Crucifixion* 1 [Bedjan, *Homilies,* 2:460, ln. 19]).

[75] See Acts 8:2; 18:25-26; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22.

[76] As Brock says, citing Ephrem, "In this sort of context we can see the importance of the symbols of water and fire in Baptism and in the Eucharist. In themselves these elements are ambiguous, they can be destructive or life-giving; the 'fire' of the Holy Spirit, which for Ephrem enters the baptismal font and the bread and wine at their consecration, retains something of this ambiguous character, in that it is just as much the fire of judgment which consumes those who treat these mysteries with contempt" (Brock, "Poet as Theologian," 248).

In the previous chapter I discussed the similarities and differences between *Euch.* and *Wash.* in their depictions of the episode of Judas and Jesus.[77] In *Euch.*, Judas's betrayal is highly dramatized and, as also in *Pasch*, he is made an archetype of Jewish perfidy.[78] The treatment of Judas here is brief and very different in nature. Judas is not associated with the Jews and, in fact, almost nothing is said about his actions or character, beyond the observation that his "heart is full / of murder and treachery, and yet is not troubled" (79-80).

Instead the poet's concern is first for the cosmic reaction to Christ's ministrations to his murderer. With vivid anthropomorphism he says, when Jesus grasped Judas's feet, "though mouthless, the earth wailed. / The stones in the wall cried out, / for they saw that the fire spared him" (69-72). Cyrillona draws the image of the stones crying out in anguish from Habakkuk, which he also uses elsewhere.[79] At this sight the poet himself is overcome, his head falls to the earth, and he hears its "lambs" lament:

> "At whom should we marvel and to whom direct our attention,
> when terror rises up from both sides?
> To him who sits, and whose heart is full
> of murder and treachery, and yet is not troubled?

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[77] See pp. 104-5.
[78] *Euch.* 135-46, 181-285; *Pasch* 323-36.
[79] Hab 2:11; see also *Scourges* 468-69. With similar anthropomorphism, but employed for opposite effect, Ephrem has the Cenacle itself give thanks for having been host to the washing of the feet (*Virg.* 36.1).

Or to the other, who is full of mercy
and washes the feet of his murderer?" (77-82)

The poet's second concern, we see, is to inspire wonder at the mercy and kindness shown by Christ even to his murder. The poet repeats for emphasis: "He came to each of them, such was his love, / equally and without distinction" (67-68); and, "our Lord did not reveal his wickedness; / he hid his iniquity and treated him as the others" (85-86). As Vona notes, Greek authors commented upon Jesus's gracious ministration, "che ispira il suo atteggiamento verso Giuda a bontà, senza escluderlo dai suoi benefici prima del suo tradimento."[80] In the Syriac tradition, an interesting analog to Cyrillona is found in one of the remarkable sermons on Judas attributed to Zenobius of Gaza, a disciple of Ephrem:

> He started to manifest his love to Judas (by washing his feet), he who had gone to the crucifiers to show the hatred that he had towards the Master. The powers (i.e., the angels) were taken with a great stupor when contemplating God who humbled himself to wash the feet of him who resolved to betray him to death on the cross. He washed the feet of Judas with water, freeing them from the thorns picked up in the courtyard of Caiaphas; he washed them, giving refreshment to the feet exhausted from the hard work after the journey he took with them, to go and betray him to crucifixion; he dried the feet of the servant who betrayed the Master for thirty pieces of silver. He advanced in honor among his companions him who, alone among them all, had hated him.[81]

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[80] Vona, *Carmi,* 68n. He cites Cyril of Alexandria and Peter of Laodicea.

[81] These sermons are only preserved in Armenian. My translation is from the Italian version of Vardan Kaichichian, in Ortiz de Urbina, "Due omelie," 304.

IV. Jesus and Simon Peter (87-132)

Just as the episode of Judas and Jesus was dramatized and psychologized in patristic literature, so too the spare scriptural account of the exchange between Peter and Jesus seemed to demand elaboration. While Syriac authors preceding Cyrillona pay this episode no real attention, a remarkable later retelling is found in an unpublished homily attributed to Isaac of Antioch, a copy of which is preserved, in fact, in the very same manuscript as Cyrillona. It is the third of three homilies on repentance based upon the gospel text, "Unless you repent and become as little children" (etc.).[82] In it Peter's hubris, and the other disciples' naiveté, is reimagined with a generous amount of flair.

> [The disciples] permitted Christ to wash them. Even if the blessed ones were not simple as a little child, nevertheless, they had permitted him to wash them because he indeed did everything wittingly, and it was unseemly that his mind should be hidden from them. But Peter was wroth and berated the disciples, because they did not resist and say to Christ, "You are not washing us!"
>
> His rebuke stung his companions, and pride welled up within him, so that he prepared to say to him when he should approach, "You are not washing me!" And when our Lord approached Peter and he said to him, "You are not washing me," the disciples collapsed in anguish because seemingly they had lacked judgment. They, being simple, were shocked and ashamed. "We have lacked judgment. Discernment escaped us all and we did not say what Peter said." They sunk into despair and Peter became haughty: "I resisted and forbade him, 'You are not washing me!'" (just as it is written).

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[82] Matt 18:3. See Bickell, *S. Isaaci Antiocheni,* no. 161; Brock, "Published Verse Homilies," no. 519; Mathews, "Works," no. 179. I translate here from the text as found in BL Add. 14,591, fols. 29r-33v.

> But our Lord regarded the apostles, and at that, penitent, they calmed down over this matter. And he regarded Peter, who was puffed up about it, in order to elevate his understanding. And with a single utterance he brought them into agreement and accord: "If I do not wash you, you shall have no share with me." The disciples came to their senses and repented, and Peter came down from his haughtiness. And pride was washed from Peter and despair from the disciples.[83]

Cyrillona's own treatment of Peter is entirely different. He belongs to the tradition found in the Ps.-Ephremian *Sermons on the Holy Week* and Jacob of Serugh's first Holy Week sermon, in which Peter's refusal is depicted as understandable and, if ignorant, yet proceeding from virtuous intent. His protest is born of genuine fear and modesty, not hubris: "It would be terrifying for you to wash my feet, as you have said . . . and if I remain silent, that would be audacity."[84] The gospel narrative records only Peter's shock and reticence, but Ps. Ephrem reasons from human nature itself that all the disciples felt similarly: "Even if it is not written that the disciples were fearful of his washing, still nature teaches us so [lacuna]. They feared and rejoiced at the same time. They rejoiced that [lacuna] men by God. They feared that they were being served as lords by a servant."[85]

While the gospel of John only records a protest from Peter, and Peter's motivation can only be guessed, Cyrillona in fact makes Peter the final and

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[83] BL Add. 14,591, fols. 32r-33r.
[84] Jacob of Serugh, *On the Crucifixion 1* (Bedjan, *Homilies,* 2:461, lns. 13, 15).
[85] Ps. Ephrem, *Heb. sanc.* 3.37-50.

crowning witness in a succession of witnesses to the holy awe and pious terror that this event (sacrament) rightly provokes. The poet's own "mind was pricked" (8) just as Peter "was pricked in his heart" (87), and indeed, "Who may hear of it and not be pricked?" (100). Thus Cyrillona begins his narration of the awe and wonder inspired by the washing with the astonishment of the poet (9-48); followed by the more sanguine witness of the prophets who had long awaited it (49-58); then the anguish of the earth and its lambs, and the very stones of the Cenacle, which wail and groan in terror at Jesus's ministration to Judas (69-84); and brings his drama to a climax with the elaborate protest of Peter, who will further invoke heaven and earth as witnesses to the cosmic dread this act should inspire.

Peter's protest here against the washing of his feet is part impassioned plea and part forensic argument. He arises like a plaintiff at court (88). His first words invoke superhuman authorities to the side of his cause:

> The feet of the watchers, out of fear,
> are covered in heaven lest they be burned,
> and you have come to take in your hand, my Lord,
> the feet of Simon, and to serve me? (89-92)

Likewise, too, "the seraphim have never . . . even touched the hem of your garment" (97), and therefore, the "news of what has happened on earth / will strike terror into

the assemblies of heaven" (105-6). The same conceit is found in Jacob of Serugh,[86] and this imagery, which derives from Isa 6:2, is a favorite of Cyrillona.[87]

And this terror reverberates throughout the terrestrial sphere as well, to every person (100) and land (102), and to all creation (104, 114). The very report of it provokes fear (89), alarm (96), the pricking of hearts (100 [cf. 8]), awe (104), terror (106, 114), and an unbearable burdening (102, 116). And it violates all propriety. Already the disciples have been honored to an alarming degree by Jesus's humility and love (93-96),[88] and Peter, a debtor, has at his order walked "on the surface of the sea . . . and at your command I traversed the waves" (109-110).[89] At this point, Peter's argumentation is entirely overtaken by emotion and vehemence.

> Was not this first thing enough for me?
> This latter thing which you endow me with, even greater—
> It's not possible, my Lord, that this should happen!
> The report of it alone strikes terror in creation.
> It's not possible, my Lord, that this should happen!
> For it is a great burden beyond measure. (111-16)

Jesus rebukes Peter, using his own petulant refrain to enumerate the consequences of his refusal. "If this is not possible . . ."

> (1) "you have no share (ܚܕܐ) with me on my throne" (118)
> (2) "give back to me the keys which I committed to you" (120)

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[86] "The angels who serve him on high trembled / as they gazed on him who was serving his disciples" (Jacob of Serugh, *On the Crucifixion* 1 [Bedjan, *Homilies,* 2:460, lns. 17-18]).
[87] See also *Wash.* 8 and *Euch.* 151-52, 167-73, 374, 382-83.
[88] Cf. *Euch.* 156, 161-64.
[89] Matt 14:28-31.

(3) "your authority is also taken from you" (122)
(4) "you are not able to be a disciple" (124)
(5) "you shall never taste a portion (ܚܕܐ) of my body" (126)

The list exhibits several parallels with a list of blessings promised to the disciples by Christ in the dramatization of the Last Discourse found in *Pasch*. In fact, the first two items here are also collocated in *Pasch*:

> For you, in heaven,
> thrones
> and for me, upon the earth,
> a borrowed foal.
> Yours, Simon,
> is the key of the kingdom,
> and for me is my cross,
> the key to tombs.[90]

Vona wishes in *Wash.* to connect the keys possessed by Peter (120) with the throne (118), and see therein a reference to Petrine primacy.[91] But this passage in *Pasch*, which he does not note, makes the promise of thrones to all the disciples (the pronoun there is plural), not just to Peter, just as also found in the gospels.[92] And neither passage concerning the key or keys goes beyond the bare scriptural language of Matt 16:19. Likewise, as here (122), in *Pasch* there are affirmations of authority

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[90] *Pasch* 115-22. With the fifth rebuke (*Wash.* 126), compare *Euch.* 161-64.
[91] "Nel testo vi è senza dubbio un accenno al primato di Pietro. Le chiavi a lui consegnate lo fanno partecipe del trono celeste e gli comunicano un diritto di sovranità" (Vona, *Carmi*, 70n). Cf. Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 29n2, 54-55.
[92] See Matt 19:28.

(ܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ), but this authority is possessed by all the disciples corporately.[93] To see Cyrillona as affirming Petrine primacy is over-reading.[94]

In the gospel account Jesus tells Peter simply, "If I do not wash you, you have no share (ܚܕܐ) with me."[95] Cyrillona defines this "share" twice, in Jesus's first and last rebukes (118, 126), as both a heavenly throne and the reception of the Eucharist. With respect to the Eucharist, Cyrillona employs the perfect of "to taste" (ܛܥܡ), which must be seen as a rare instance of the conditional future perfect employed to indicate a permanent condition. Without washing (baptism), there can *never* be participation in the Eucharist. That this washing refers to baptism is made entirely transparent in the final exchange:

> "Wash not only my feet, my Lord,
> but wash my hands and also my head."[96]
> "Simon, Simon, there is one washing
> with sanctifying water for the entire body." (129-32)

V. The Great Commission (133-52)

The remainder of this poem is Jesus's commission to his disciples. In the Gospel of John, Jesus states that the reason he has served them is to set an example

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[93] See *Pasch* 107, 135.
[94] See the further discussion on pp. 190-91 below.
[95] John 13:8.
[96] John 13:9.

for the disciples to follow.[97] The specific example they are to imitate is the washing of feet,[98] but patristic authors generalized this as following his example of humility and service. While the gospel commission narratives are set post-Resurrection, in John's Last Discourse, Jesus himself seems to regard the washing and mandate to do likewise as itself a commission.[99] Indeed, immediately following the washing and mandate, Jesus refers to his disciples as apostles (ܫܠܝܚܐ), which becomes part of Jesus's argument in Ps. Ephrem for Peter submitting to the washing of feet:

> I am teaching you humility
> so that you may also teach (it) to others.
> I am making you my apostle
> and you will proclaim this throughout creation,
> so that all those who become my disciples
> do just as I have done.[100]

Likewise, Cyrillona connects the washing with the apostolic commission of the disciples. Because "there is one washing" (131), from this point Cyrillona only speaks of washing and cleansing in simple terms, of "*the* act of washing" (133), namely baptism. And perhaps by accident, the completion of this act is given especial prominence in the poem as it has come down to us. Jesus proclaims, "Behold, I have washed and cleansed you" (137)—and meter would require another

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[97] John 13:15.
[98] John 13:14.
[99] Cf. John 13:20; 17:18; see also the introduction to Chapter Four (pp. 174-75).
[100] Ps. Ephrem, *Heb. Sanc.* 105-10. Narsai/Rabban Gabriel also connects the washing of feet with humility and the apostolic commission (see Ibrahim, "Doctrine christologique de Narsai," 217-19).

line here to complete the couplet. There is a column break at this point in the manuscript,[101] a likely place for the scribe to have accidentally dropped a line, but the effect is that of a dramatic caesura to emphasize Christ's declaration.

This act of cleansing grants the disciples entry to the kingdom. When they entered the Cenacle, Jesus "seated them at table as an heir" (3), but with this washing, now they themselves may "go forth with joy into the church / and tread her gates as heirs" (139-40).[102] While the baptismal washing was "for the entire body" (131), the significance of the washing of the feet, specifically, is not altogether obscured. The sanctification of their feet becomes also a "preparation of the feet of the Apostles for the preaching of the Gospel,"[103] that they might "tread upon the Evil One . . . and the head of the serpent," and "travel the byways," all without fear (141-43).

One finds both verbal and thematic parallels to this commission in *Euch.*, in connection with the Institution, and in *Pasch,* which also dramatizes at even greater length the apostolic commission. In both places it is likewise a part of the Last Discourse.

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[101] BL Add. 14,591, fol. 161v.
[102] Cf. Rom 4:13; 8:17; Heb 1:14; 6:12, 17.
[103] So Richter: "als Bereitung der Füße der Apostel für die Verkündigung des Evangeliums" (*Fußwaschung,* 20).

Wash.	*Euch.*	*Pasch*
Go with joy into the church / and tread her gates as heirs. (139-40)	Go forth in joy / from the upper room. / Enter into creation / as merchants. (537-40) Go you forth / in peace from here. (563-64)	Go forth as merchants, / that you may gain the world. (409-10)
Tread upon the Evil One and do not fear, / and upon the head of the serpent and do not be afraid. (141-42)	Through its power tread / upon serpents, / and by means of its taste / you shall conquer death. (464-67)	I have crushed the head of the serpent / and have strengthened the heel of all. (87-88) Tread demons underfoot. (125) Cf. *Scourges* 71-74: "Stomp upon the Evil One / with the heels of melody / and tread upon error / with the soles of [your] breath."
Travel the byways without fear / and let my word be proclaimed (ܢܬܟܪܙ) within citadels. / Sow the gospel within cities / and implant love within men. (143-46)	Enter into creation / as merchants. / Proclaim me (ܡܟܪܙܢܝ) / throughout the earth. (539-42)	Let your heart be stout, / my friends, and do not fear. / Go forth as merchants, / that you may gain the world. / Bring men back to me; / fill creation with my teaching. (407-12; cf. 413-18)
Rehearse my proclamation (ܟܪܙܘܬܐ) before kings / and reveal my faith amongst judges. (147-48)	Proclaim me (ܡܟܪܙܢܝ) / throughout the earth. (541-42) The king and the slave / shall come to me. (549-50)	Vanquish kings / with your arguments / and judges / with your answers. (127-30) If you should go to judgment, / I go with you. (419-20)

In the penultimate couplet, the poet returns one last time to the recurrent theme of the washing as service (ܫܘܒܚܐ),[104] which again he equates with humility (ܡܟܟܘܬܐ) (147-48).[105] As has been noted, the interpretation of the washing of the feet as preeminently an example of humility was pervasive on the early church. Cyrillona summarizes this idea very forcefully here with an allusion to John 13:14, but rather than Christ performing this act as "Lord and teacher," he says more strikingly: "I who am your God, / behold, I have humbled myself, I have served you" (149-50). And in his concluding couplet Cyrillona cannot refrain from a choice (if perhaps too overt) bit of wordplay, found in the alliteration between "Pasch" (ܦܨܚܐ) and "to rejoice" (ܢܨܚ).

> The Pasch which I have performed for you is completed,[106]
> and I will cause the face of the whole world to rejoice. (151-52)

[104] See *Wash.* 4, 62, 92, 135.

[105] See *Wash.* 194.

[106] Vandenhoff proposes emending ܐܠ to ܐܠܗܐ, which would render this line: "The Pasch is the food which I have prepared for you" (Vandenhoff, "Zu den von G. Bickell," 163). This would suggest that a eucharistic reference is introduced into the poem in the very last couplet, which seems incongruous. The text reads fine as it stands.

CHAPTER FOUR

On the Pasch of Our Lord (*Pasch*)

INTRODUCTION

This *memra On the Pasch of Our Lord* continues Cyrillona's treatment of the Johannine Last Supper and Last Discourse. *Euch.* and *Wash.* examine the events of the Last Supper itself, but *Pasch* now offers "what might be called a midrash on John 14-16."[1] Cyrillona in his prologue makes direct mention of both "the preaching of John" (5) and the gospel lection (14), which almost certainly included part or all of these chapters, and probably more.

Following a brief prologue, the heart of this *memra* is a dramatic reimagining of the parting words of Jesus to his disciples. The initial and longest portion of the discourse is devoted first to Christ's description of the suffering and the glory to which he goes; then to a comparison of the respective missions of Christ and of his disciples; and finally to the power and honor to be bestowed on the disciples in the gift of the Holy Spirit. The discourse is bifurcated by long excursuses, in the voice of the preacher, on the Holy Spirit; on Christ as the Wheat and True Vine; and on the word delivered to the disciples. Cyrillona then returns to Jesus's discourse,

[1] Murray, *Symbols*, 81. Bickell referred to it as "eine Paraphrase und Auslegung dieser Reden" (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 47n1).

concluding his *memra* with his own brief version of the High Priestly Prayer and the apostolic commission.

Like *Euch.* and *Wash.*, this *memra* appears to have been composed for Holy Thursday services. The Holy Thursday evening service (the Holy Passion service) has long included the reading of the "Twelve Gospels," the first of which is John 13:31-18:1, though in a 5th-6th cent. West Syrian index of lections (BL Add. 14,528), nearly contemporary with Cyrillona, the first lection is only John 13:31b-14:31.[2] The precise lection which the author had as his subject cannot be known. A clear emphasis on John 14 may be discerned in this *memra*, but transparently it references scripture from several passages throughout the Last Discourse and High Priestly Prayer (i.e., John 14-17).[3]

As discussed previously,[4] Bickell proposed that *Euch.* and *Wash*. were composed for Holy Thursday, but he says of *Pasch*:

> Offenbar schließt sich diese Homilie an die vorhergehende (i.e., *Euch.*) an. Wahrscheinlich wurde sie am Charfreitag vorgetragen, und zwar, wie sich aus dem Eingang deutlich ergibt, nachdem jene Kapitel des Evangeliums nach Johannes, welche die letzten Reden unseres Herrn enthalten, verlesen waren.[5]

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[2] See Burkitt, "Early Syriac Lectionary," 308.

[3] *Pasch* also makes mention of Jesus before Caiaphas, an event briefly referenced in John 18, but clearly Cyrillona is looking here to the synoptic accounts (cf. *Pasch* 361-62, 435-36; Matt 26:63; Mark 14:69). For the purposes of my analysis, I assume that the lection covered no more than John 14-17.

[4] See pp. 81-82.

[5] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 47n1; cf. ibid., 37n1.

However, the traditional Good Friday lection from John is John 18-19,[6] which is clearly not the lection on which this *memra* was based. Bickell's reasoning is apparently based on the fact that these three poems by Cyrillona cover a sequence of related topics, with little overlap, and he wished to see them as a single series composed for Holy Week. While the title of *Pasch* in the manuscript is simply ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܦܨܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, Bickell retitled it *Zweite Homilie über das Pascha Christi,* to indicate its relationship, as he believed, to *Euch.*, his *Erste Homilie über das Pascha Christi*.[7] Attractive as this hypothesis may be, there is nothing in the texts themselves to indicate they were composed and delivered together. *Euch./Wash.* and *Pasch* appear to be based on two adjoining lections, but this provides no positive evidence for their compositional relationship. Based on their topics, they all appear to have been composed for Holy Thursday services, but beyond that nothing more of their relationship to each other may confidently be said.

Murray says this *memra* is a kind of midrash on the Last Discourse,[8] which is appropriately suggestive but must be qualified. *Pasch* is an investigation of "the meaning of the lection" (ܦܫܛܐ) (14), and demonstrates midrashic imagination in that

[6] According to BL Add. 14,528, just referenced, John 18-19 concluded the last Holy Thursday service, which was either a midnight service or concluded at midnight. See Burkitt, "Early Syriac Lectionary," 308.

[7] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 37, 47. See also p. 84 above.

[8] Murray, *Symbols*, 81.

pursuit, providing yet another striking example of "reading into scripture." But it is not in any way a systematic or formal commentary. Its homiletic quotient predominates. It is also not a comprehensive, or even extensive, meditation on the gospel text. While *Euch.* and *Wash.* cover the narrative of the Last Supper fairly completely, Cyrillona here draws just a few themes from the Last Discourse as points of departure for his own, quite independent, discourse. Almost half the poem (202 of 440 lines) is placed in the mouth of Jesus, but a bare handful of those lines correlate directly with the Johannine Discourse. Its topicality and exegesis are much more wide ranging.

For example, another important scriptural basis for Jesus's words in this *memra* are the gospel commissions and, in particular, Jesus's farewell speech in Luke and Acts.[9] Just as Cyrillona has Jesus commission the disciples at the Last Supper in *Euch.* and *Wash.*,[10] he does so yet again here, in even more detail. But in *Pasch* he references all the elements of Luke 24:44-49, in basically the Lucan order: the fulfillment in Christ of Old Testament prophecy, his prophesied passion and death, the apostolic commission, and the promise of the Holy Spirit. One passage of *Pasch* (55-78) reads like a reimagining of Christ's pre-Ascension discourse, even referencing Acts 1:9. This is not surprising. The promise of the Holy Spirit—a central

[9] Luke 24:44-49; Acts 1:4-8; cf. Matt 28:16-20; Mark 16:15-18.
[10] *Euch.* 533-76; *Wash.* 135-52.

theme in *Pasch*—is found in both the Johannine Last Discourse and the Luke-Acts Farewell Discourses,[11] and in both cases these are supper speeches.[12] Cyrillona clearly felt no reticence about conflating their contents. In the gospels, though, the Last Discourse is set pre-resurrection and the Farewell Discourse post-resurrection. This results in Christ's words here sometimes exhibiting a fascinating atemporality, as he speaks in one moment of his coming suffering and in the next of the victory already won. His words occupy a dual narrative space, pre-passion and post-resurrection. Or perhaps for Cyrillona they lose their temporal specificity in the timelessness of the liturgy.[13]

The rhetorical elaborateness of *Pasch* obscures its topical simplicity. Jesus's discourse is concerned principally with the meaning and significance of his pasch, both his eucharistic and mortal sacrifice, and with the commissioning of the apostles. The preacher expands upon this with long excursuses on the gift of the Holy Spirit, and on the paschal symbolism of the grain of wheat and the vine. *Euch.* and *Wash.* focused upon the sacramental and salvific significance of the Institution of the Eucharist and the washing of the feet. Now Cyrillona explores also the

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[11] See John 14:16-17, 26; 15:26-27; 16:13-14; Luke 24:49; Acts 1:5, 8.

[12] Pesh. Acts 1:4 renders συναλίζομενος as ܕܗܘ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܠܡܣܒ, removing any ambiguity as to the speech's supper setting. See also Luke 24:42-43.

[13] See my introduction to *Euch.*, pp. 81-83 above.

sacramental and salvific import of Christ's suffering, resurrection, ascension and exaltation.

FORM AND GENRE

Like *Euch*., the meter of *Pasch* changes several times: 1-48=7+7; 49-98=5+5; 99-286=4+4; 287-366=7+7; 367-440=5+5. It will be seen that, while the changes in meter do not completely demarcate the poem's structure, they do so very nearly. Perhaps the only place clearly lacking an expected change of meter is the beginning of the excursus on Christ as the grain of wheat (203). The use of multiple meters in a single Syriac poem appears to be very rare. Murray says it is "apparently a peculiarity of Cyrillona," but there are other known examples.[14] Having two of Cyrillona's five poems in mixed meter is nevertheless a striking occurrence.

The title of this poem in the manuscript is ܡܐܡܪܐ ܥܠ ܦܨܚܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܥܠ ܝܕ ܡܪ ܩܘܪ(ܝ)ܠܠ(ܢ)ܐ: *Memra on the Pasch of Our Lord, by Mar Cyr(i)llo(n)a*. Just as this designates, *Pasch* is without question a *memra*. And unlike the other four poems of Cyrillona, there are no issues of genre, literary integrity, etc., that require special attention here.

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[14] Murray, *Symbols*, 122. Two other mixed meter poems include a *memra* on Aaron the Priest attributed to Jacob of Serugh (Bedjan, *Homilies*, 68-84) and the so-called shorter recension of Ps. Narsai, *On Joseph* (see Heal, "Tradition," 65-66). Thank you to Kristian Heal for these references.

Likewise, the given title of this work, *On the Pasch of Our Lord,* seems both accurate and sufficient.[15] The term ܦܨܚܐ (Gk. πάσχα; Lat. *pascha*) had a very broad range of usage and meanings in the early church, deriving from its use in Exod 12.[16] It could refer equally to the Jewish Passover festival, the Seder meal, and the Passover lamb, as well as to their Christian corollaries, the feast of Easter, the Eucharist, and Christ the True Lamb. Christian exegetes developed typologies based on the etymology of *pascha*, and connected it to either the suffering (Gk. πάσχειν; Lat. *pati*) of Christ or, based on its Hebrew antecedent (פסח), his passing (Gk. διάβασις; Lat. *transitus*) from suffering and death to resurrection and life.[17] Syriac authors also developed extensively a *pascha*-Eucharist typology, more so than Greek and Latin authors, which we have seen *Euch*. exemplify.[18] *Pasch* touches upon eucharistic typologies in several places, but it is also a much broader meditation on the full content of the paschal mysteries—on the suffering and death of Christ, and his transcendence and victory over death. But it also seems intimately connected to its Holy Thursday setting, the paschal eve, and in turn connects Cyrillona and his church to the church today, for "pendant de longs siècles la vigile pascale reste la

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[15] Bickell's title has been discussed; Vona gives it the descriptive title, "Il Discorso nell'ultima Cena" (*Carmi*, 24ff.), or in his translation, "dell'ultima Cena" (ibid., 97ff.); and Graffin likewise, "Le discours après le Cène" ("Deux poèmes," 308, 317).

[16] See comprehensively, Huber, *Passa*, 89-147. This usage is much broader than the modern English "Passion," based as it is on Lat. *passio*, and representing just one aspect of *pascha*.

[17] See Botte, "Pascha;" Huber, *Passa*, 112-29; and Mohrmann, "Passio."

[18] Huber, in fact, cites *Euch*. as a premier example of *pascha*-Eucharist typology (*Passa*, 131-32).

nuit du mystère rédempteur dans toute sa plénitude, le nœud même de toute la célébration de Pâques."[19]

ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

This poem may be outlined as follows:

I. Prologue (1-18)

II. The Last Discourse

A. Christ's Passion (19-48)

B. Christ's Victory (49-98)

C. Christ and the Apostles (99-122)

D. The Promise of the Holy Spirit (123-74)

III. First Excursus: On the Reception of the Holy Spirit (175-202)

IV. Second Excursus: On the Wheat and the Vine

A. Christ as the Grain of Wheat (203-86)

B. Christ as the Vine and Cluster (287-366)

V. Third Excursus: The Power of the Word (367-88)

VI. The High Priestly Prayer and Final Commission (389-440)

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[19] Mohrmann, "Passio," 205.

I. Prologue (1-18)

Cyrillona begins with the most purely homiletic prologue of any of his poems, describing the power of the word which so profoundly moves him, and inviting his auditors to be taught of it, too (13-14). He "warms up the crowd" with a *jeu de mots*:

> Whenever I read in the New (Testament) (ܚܕܬܐ),
> new things (ܚܕܬܬܐ) pour out of it unto me.
> Whenever I meditate upon the Gospel,
> the gospel of life greets me. (1-4)

ܚܕܬܬܐ here means "new" in the sense of "fresh" or "marvelous"—"neue wunderbare Dinge."[20]

As discussed in Chapter One, this prologue is especially interesting for its attestation of the Separate Gospels.[21] The gospel of the lection (ܣܛܪܐ; 14) is "the proclamation (ܟܪܝܙܐ) of John" (5), and specifically, as subsequent exegesis reveals, the Last Discourse (John 14-16). But the poet acknowledges the other evangelists as well: "John and his colleagues / have become the well-springs of creation" (7-8).[22] I have noted in my introduction the particular influence in *Pasch* of the synoptic words of commission and especially the Lucan Farewell Discourses. The evangelists'

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[20] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 47.
[21] See p. 48-49.
[22] Murray suggests that this may be a reference to the twelve springs of Elim (Exod 15:27), an association one finds in Marutha of Maipherkat (see Murray, *Symbols*, 210n2). Cf. Ps. Ephrem, *Heb. sanc.* 25-28.

words are "new and perfect life" (10), and slake the thirst of men who, indeed, "become intoxicated" by them (9-12).

But the paradox of this lection is that it contains both gladness (ܪܒܚܫܝܚ) and great suffering (ܪܥܝ) (15-16): "Between sadness (ܪܒܚܝܚ) and joy (ܪܒܫܝ) / the preacher (ܪܝܚܡܪ) must wend and go" (17-18). Cyrillona prepares his audience for the suffering of the Passion, though in fact, the clear emphasis of his *memra* will be upon the gladness and joy found in the gifts it made possible and the redemption it would accomplish. The suffering is "buried" (ܥܚܠ) while the gladness "gushes out" (ܪܚܕ) (15-16). But Cyrillona will also illustrate the importance of this dichotomy in a tradition for which dialogue and debate, and finding meaning in that process, were central. *Pasch* is a celebration of the mystery and meaning found in the paschal paradox.

This prologue contains the most direct self-reference we find in Cyrillona, when he addresses the auditor (ܫܡܥܢܐ; 13) as the speaker (ܪܝܚܡܪ; 18). ܪܝܚܡܪ may also be translated as "preacher" or even "homilist." Vona would render it "cantor,"[23] though any inference of a specific ecclesiastical office from so general a term would be difficult to justify. More importantly, this prologue contains a mini-sermon on the expectations of preacher and hearer. There is an invitation for the auditors to come

[23] Vona, *Carmi*, 97.

and partake, and an implicit commission for the preacher to teach, and to draw out what is not obvious or, indeed, even hidden, just as Christ "opened [the disciples'] minds to understand the scriptures."[24]

II. The Last Discourse

II.A. Christ's Passion (19-48)

> After the mysteries were fulfilled
> and all of the scriptures brought to pass,
> and our Lord had fulfilled with his gospel
> all that his heralds had prophesied,
> he then summoned his Twelve
> and declared unto them, saying . . . (19-24)

Turning now to his subject, the preacher sets the scene. He has spoken of the "new things," the "new and perfect life," which pour from the gospels (2, 10). These new things he here contrasts with the former types or mysteries (ܪܙܐ) (19) found in prophesies of the Old Testament prophets, the heralds (ܟܪܝܙܐ) (22; cf. 5-7). These mysteries "our Lord had fulfilled with his gospel" (21). This is also the first thing Jesus proclaims in the (post-resurrection) Farewell Discourse.[25]

But this proclamation of fulfillment seems to be contradicted by Jesus's first words to his disciples: "Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem / so that everything

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[24] Luke 24:45.

[25] See Luke 24:44-46.

which is written *may be* fulfilled" (25-26).[26] Cyrillona's conflation of pre- and post-resurrection scripture is perhaps to blame. But there can also be no doubt that with these ܟܬܒ (19) Cyrillona has in mind not only the Old Testament types and prophesies of the Passion, but the sacramental mysteries of baptism and the Eucharist which were instituted at the Last Supper. In these sacraments both the Law and the sacrifice of the Cross has already been fulfilled in anticipation.[27]

Just as the ܟܬܒ were fulfilled (ܐܫܬܠܡ) to fulfill the words of the prophets (22), so Christ is going to Jerusalem to be delivered up (ܕܢܬܡܣܪ ܠܨܠܒܐ) to the cross for the same purpose (26-27). If this did not come to pass, the "prophets should be made liars" (33-34). We have seen in *Wash.* that the prophets in Sheol rejoiced at the report of Christ's ministry because it proved "the word of our books does not lie."[28] Clearly the fulfillment of prophecy in Christ held high theological significance for Cyrillona.

Those same prophets in Sheol censured Cyrillona, who was distressed at Christ's humiliation before Judas, saying, "Come now, do not grieve; / give thanks and praise, and do not be distraught."[29] A similar sentiment is found here. While

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[26] Jesus's words here are based upon his so-called third prediction of the Passion. See Matt 20:18-19; Mark 10:33-34; Luke 18:31-34. See also Luke 24:46: "Thus it is written, that the Messiah is to suffer and rise from the dead on the third day."

[27] A central theme of *Euch*. (see pp. 91-92 above). Vona says here: "La Cena eucaristica suggella tutta l'antica economia, a cui si è sostituita la nuova Pasqua, che è una anticipazione del sacrificio della croce" (Vona, *Carmi,* 97n).

[28] *Wash.* 56.

[29] *Wash.* 57-58.

Jesus is "being delivered up to the cross / and to shame and to scorn" (27-28), he exhorts his disciples, "Do not be grieved about this, / for it is the life of the world" (29-30).[30] This simple couplet points to one of *Pasch*'s central themes—the suffering of Christ is a cause for joy, not grief. The repeated injunctions that the disciples should not be troubled and, in fact, should rejoice are found in the Last Discourse itself.[31]

The necessity of his suffering established, Jesus seeks to console his disciples by illustrating the dire consequences if he were to shirk his duty, by means of a series of if/then comparisons, or antitheses (35-48). The equipoise of shame and glory, scourges and salvation, etc., demonstrate the great paradox of the Passion. Cyrillona employs for effect an anaphora series (حلم [ـــهـ]) of seven couplets, ornate by modern standards but restrained by his own.[32] Drawing subtly upon scripture, this series details the shame (35) to be suffered and glory (36) received, summarizing the events of the Passion—though without mention of the cross itself, held for now in dramatic reserve—and culminating in the redemption of the dead.

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[30] Graffin notes rightly, "Le même mot *hayê* signifie *vie* et *salut*" ("Deux poèmes," 318n25), which is how Bickell chooses to render it ("denn hierauf beruht die Erlösung der Welt") (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 48). Cf. John 6:33.

[31] See John 14:1, 27-28. See also lns. 49-52, 79-80 below.

[32] Compare the two long anaphora series, paired back to back, in *Scourges* 574-673.

For if I withhold myself from the shame, I withhold glory from men; (35-36)	Cf. Heb 12:2
and if I withhold my back from the scourges, I withhold salvation from sinners; (37-38)	Matt 27:26; Mark 15:15; Luke 22:15
and if I withhold myself from judgment, I withhold my victory from my servants; (39-40)	Matt 26:57-68; 27:11-14; Mark 14:53-65; 15:2-5; Luke 22:54-71; 23:2-5; John 18:13-24, 29-38 (Jesus before the Sanhedrin and Pilate)
and if I withhold my head from the thorns, I do not remove the curses; (41-42)	Matt 27:29; Mark 15:17; John 19:2
and if I withhold my mouth from the vinegar, I withhold my blood from the church; (43-44)	Matt 27:34; Mark 15:36; John 19:29
and if I withhold myself from Sheol, no one goes forth from it, (45-46)	The term *Sheol* here may be understood as a generic reference to the grave or death, or a reference to Jesus's burial and tomb (cf. 230 below). Matt 27:57-66; Mark 15:42-47; Luke 23:50-56; John 19:38-42
and if death does not swallow me, it gives not back all that it has taken. (47-48)	Cf. Isa 25:8; 1 Cor 15:54

II.B. Christ's Victory (49-98)

Here the meter changes to 5+5, punctuating a new direction in Christ's discourse.[33] His suffering and sadness (15, 17) has been acknowledged, but the poet quickly turns to Christ's message of gladness and joy (16-17), who says,

[33] In the manuscript, the primary hand has added the gloss, ܕܫܘܒܚ ܗܠ. A later hand has also added in the margin, ܕܫܒܚ ܠܟܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

Be glad, my disciples,
for today *everyone* is glad!
Exult, my heralds, rejoice! (49-51)

This is the first of two exhortations to rejoice (49-54, 79-82) which serve to conjoin two pericopes celebrating Christ's victory. The first exhortation continues,

for the bond is being torn into pieces
which originated in the Garden,
rent by the cross. (52-54)

This is a reference to Col 2:14, where the bond of debt incurred by Adam in the Garden is absolved in Christ, who "set it aside, nailing it to the cross." In the later Syriac tradition this theme would be treated with dramatic elaboration.[34]

The first victory pericope is another (somewhat looser) anaphora series which reads like an apocryphal pre-ascension speech, revealing yet again a narrative setting within the Lucan Farewell Discourse (see 67-70). Christ describes in six quatrains (55-78) what presently awaits him in heaven, and why. He explains that the reason he must go to his Father is so that humanity might be redeemed:

[34] Ps. Jacob of Serugh, in a homily on Aaron, describes how Death came to Moses, announcing his claim upon him at the time of his passing, and showing him the bond obtained from Adam through sin: "It was written thusly, 'Because I am in debt to death I will die, And because I sinned, I gave all of my children to death. I must repay the debt that I owe because I am guilty, And every generation, in succession, have I put to death'" (Bedjan, *Homilies,* 1:69.21-24; trans. Kristian Heal). Thank you to Kristian Heal for this reference.

My Father awaits me, that I might go up and bring up with me both the body and the soul which death and the Evil One took captive. (55-58)	This is a continuation of 45-48, concerning the redemption of lost humanity from Sheol, a recurring theme in *Pasch*.[35]
The watchers await me, that I might go up and bring up with me the sheep that was lost, which was found at my coming. (59-62)	Watchers: cf. Acts 1:10; *Wash*. 75-76. Sheep: Cf. Matt 18:10-14; Luke 15:3-7. This is a reference to lost humanity.[36]
Heaven awaits me, that I might go up and bring up with me the base body which became divine by grace. (63-66)	65-66 is difficult (translations vary), referring either to the divinization of Christ's humanity, or humanity (Adam) divinized through participation in the Eucharist (see 383-86; *Euch.* 384-88).
A throne awaits me, that I might go up and sit upon it, and cause Adam to sit with me, the prostrate one who has been raised up. (67-70)	Raised up: While the verbal tense here (perf.) has vexed some translators,[37] Cyrillona speaks elsewhere in the same actualized language of Adam (humanity) raised up to dine with Jesus at the Last Supper (see *Euch.* 95-102).
A cloud awaits me, that it might take me from the mount, and become as a chariot for the Child of the Virgin. (71-74)	Cloud/mount: see Acts 1:9; cf. Ps 104:3.[38] Chariot: cf. 2 Kgs 2:11 (ascension of Elijah).

[35] See lns. 113-14, 249-58, 343-44; and the brief note of McCarron, "Appropriation," 145-46.

[36] See Vona, *Carmi*, 99n.

[37] Graffin and Cerbelaud both translate it as a simple future, against grammar (Graffin, "Deux poèmes," 319; Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 61).

[38] "On peut par ailleurs songer ici à Ps. 104:3b, qui dans la *Peshitto* se lit ainsi: 'Il a posé son char sur les nuées'" (Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 110n52).

Paradise and the Garden both await me, that I might bring Adam with me and in them make him king.[39] (75-78)	See also 85-86; *Euch.* 99-101; *Zacch*. 101-4; and the following discussion.

Cyrillona seems to distinguish between Paradise and the Garden, which is not uncommon in either Greek or Syriac authors,[40] but on that point, little more can be determined. What is clear, from this and similar passages, says Terzoli, is that in Cyrillona's theology, "la figura di Cristo è centrale, e le categorie della sua azione sono nettamente paradisiache: rientro nel giardino ed elevazione."[41] Terzoli regards this collocation of Paradise-Garden vocabulary with that of elevation to heaven as unusual in the early Syriac tradition, but there is no question "que Qurillona si serve del vocabolario paradisiaco per esprimere l'avvenuta salvezza ad opera di Cristo."[42] In fact, it will be seen in Chapter Six that Cyrillona regards the story of Zacchaeus at once as a typology of the penitent sinner and an allegory of the restoration of Adam to Paradise.

In his second exhortation to rejoice, Christ says:

Rejoice greatly at this
which I have revealed and said to you,
for I go wholly to my Father
and remain wholly with my own. (79-82)

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[39] See ln. 99; cf. *Euch.* 99-101.
[40] See Brock, *Hymns on Paradise*, 49-62; Vona, *Carmi*, 100n.
[41] Terzoli, *Tema*, 146.
[42] Ibid., 147.

This seems to reference, or at least allude to, John 14 from the lection.[43] We have seen a similar idea expressed previously in *Euch.*, but its precise meaning has not been clear to translators.[44] It may be referring to the eucharistic presence of Christ, but in the context of John 14, it is also referring to the Holy Spirit, through which the Father and the Son would be present to them and not leave them "as orphans."[45]

The second victory pericope (83-98) begins with a survey of Christ's mighty deeds and acts of compassion. "The contest has ended, / Adam has received a crown. / I have crushed the head of the serpent / and have strengthened the heel of all" (85-88).[46] He has comforted all and fulfilled his ministry (89-92).

There is only one thing barring the way,[47]
which concludes all these things;
the cross awaits me—
on it I will be stretched out

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[43] See John 14:1-3, 28.

[44] See *Euch.* 400-3; cf. Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 110n53. Nöldeke provides a grammatical note on the use of حل here, but it does not clarify the couplet's meaning (see Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, 153).

[45] See John 14:15-18 and *Pasch* 393-406.

[46] Cf. Gen 3:15.

[47] Syr. ܚܠܬ ,ܚܠܫܘ ,ܗ ܕܟܠ. Previous translators, following Bickell, appear to read ܚܠܬ as the rare noun ܚَܠْܬ, "bolt, bar," which is only attested in the lexica (see TS 1740). This reading prompts exegetical notes by Bickell and Vona to explain the term's significance. Both equate it (correctly) with the cross (see ln. 95). For Vona it references the seal set upon the law: "La croce è la *serratura* che chiude l'era della maledizione ed instaura l'economia dell'amore" (Vona, *Carmi*, 101n). For Bickell, "Unter diesem Riegel ist das Kreuz zu verstehen, durch welches allein die vorher erwähnten Güter und Gnaden dem menschlichen Geschlechte gesichert werden konnten" (Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 49n1). I believe Bickell has the correct sense of it. But حَلْتَ is masc., while the governing demonstrative here is feminine, and should rather be understood as an abstract fem. sing. ptcp., looking forward to ܕܨܦܬ in the next verse. In Syriac, abstract constructions such as this are regularly feminine. Bickell also observes that the verb ܫܠܡ (94) is a play upon ܕܨܦܬ (95), since it can mean to seal up or conclude, but also to sign with the cross.

and will stretch out from it
my mercies upon the world. (93-98)

We at last arrive at the foot of the cross, a somber dénouement to this celebration of victory and salvation. But even the gruesome act of crucifixion is transformed into a gesture of benevolence, as Christ's hands stretched out on the cross extend mercy to the cosmos (ܥܠܡܐ).

II.C. Christ and the Apostles (99-122)

While Jesus has enumerated the reasons why he must ascend to his Father (55-78), striking in its absence is a primary reason given in the lection from John—that he may send the Holy Spirit.[48] But this will now be brought to the fore. The whole of the remainder of Christ's discourse and the first excursus (i.e., 99-202, 389-440) is a meditation on the commission and the endowment of the apostles with the Holy Spirit.[49]

This change of topic is signaled by a second change of meter (4+4) and a third exhortation:[50]

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[48] See John 14:15-17, 26; 16:7.
[49] Graffin titles 99-202 (=II.C-III), "Annonce des promesses et du Saint-Esprit" (Graffin, "Deux poèmes," 320).
[50] The primary hand has added the gloss, ܥܢܝܢܘܬ ܕܫܒܥ ܡܐ. The ܫܒܥ may be referring back to *Euch.* 239-576, also in 4+4.

O my disciples,
take heart! (99-100)

As with the previous two exhortations (49-54, 79-82), this one, drawn from the lection,[51] introduces another anaphora series, one couplet (101-2) and five quatrains (103-22). The previous two anaphora series compare and contrast Christ's suffering with its consequent blessings (35-48), and with that which awaits both Christ and humanity in heaven (55-78). This series contrasts that which awaits Christ in doing the work of the cross with that which awaits the apostles as they pursue their ministry. In brief, "For you there is rest, / and for me conflict" (101-2).

This series describes the specific gifts with which the apostles will be endowed, including "an authority / greater than (that of) the watchers" (107-8) and the gift of healing (111-12). This first gift continues the Cyrillonan theme that the apostles are more blessed than the angels,[52] while the latter gift is a reference to the gospel commissions,[53] pointing toward major themes in the rest of this *memra*. And the final gift in the series, uniquely, is directed to Simon (ܫܡܥܘܢ ܠܟ) rather than to all the apostles (ܠܟܘܢ):

Yours, Simon,
is the key of the kingdom,[54]

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[51] See John 14:27.
[52] See *Euch*. 147-56, 372-75; *Wash*. 89-92; cf. *Wash*. 39-40.
[53] See esp. Mark 16:18.
[54] Matt 16:19; cf. *Wash.* 120.

and for me is my cross,
the key to tombs. (119-22)

Reading this together with *Wash.* 117-26, which shows several parallels to the list of gifts here,[55] Vona is confident in saying of Cyrillona, "Non vi è dubbio che un luogo preminente è riservato, tra gli apostoli, a S. Pietro;" that this reference to Matt 16:19 "si attribuisce una potestà distinta da quella di cui sono investiti gli altri apostoli;" and that for Cyrillona this power is not just eschatological, but "una potestà visibile su questa terra."[56] These two mentions of the Petrine keys are striking, certainly, but go scarcely beyond bare references. Murray may be justified in accusing Vona of "a tendentious and unconvincing attempt to make these texts mean more than they could have done for a fourth-century Syrian."[57]

While the apostles go to their ministry, to glory, and eventually to heavenly thrones (115-16),[58] Jesus will suffer "humiliation / betwixt thieves" (109-110), mingle with the dead (113-14), and in contrast to the apostles' heavenly throne, "for me, upon the earth, / a borrowed foal (ܥܠܝܐ)" (117-18).[59] However, the text of this last verse has been contested. Vandenhoff suggests that perhaps ܥܠܝܐ (foal) should be emended to ܩܒܪܐ, standing for ܒܝܬ ܩܒܪܐ (sepulcher). He explains,

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[55] See pp. 164-66 above.
[56] Vona, *Carmi*, 54-55.
[57] Murray, *Symbols*, 184n2; see Murray's careful discussion of the keys in ibid., 182-87.
[58] See Matt 19:28.
[59] See Matt 21:2-7; Mark 11:2-7; Luke 19:30-35; John 12:14-15.

> Wenn diese Änderung des Textes zulässig ist, kann man in dieser Stelle wohl nach den Hinweis auf das Begräbnis Christi in einem "geliehenen" d. i. fremden Grabe ausgedrückt finden, der jedenfalls einen etwas besseren Gegensatz zu den "Thronen" der Apostel "im Himmel" ergibt, als die Erinnerung an den Einzug Jesu in Jerusalem auf einem "geliehenen Eselsfüllen."[60]

Yet Vandenhoff also points out, "Der vorliegende Text kann allerdings nur so wiedergegeben werden[;] die Bedeutung 'sepulcrum' ist für ܚܠܐ wohl mit Recht abzuweisen (Br[ockelmann] 506a und 249a)."[61] This references the fact that Brockelmann suggested that perhaps in this one place ܚܠܐ should be understood as "sepulcrum,"[62] a speculation he later retracted.[63] In an earlier article, Vandenhoff himself repeated Brockelmann's "sepulcrum" conjecture, and based upon that lexicographical conjecture he proposed his own textual emendation.[64] In his later defense and elaboration, here quoted, Vandenhoff now references Brockelmann's retraction, apparently discovered in the meantime.

Vandenhoff's textual emendation does not seem compelling or necessary.[65] The contrast between the apostles seated on heavenly thrones and Jesus seated upon a borrowed ass (115-18) is entirely sensible and suitably striking. It appears that Vandenhoff is forwarding a purely apologetic argument, in view of the fact that he

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[60] Vandenhoff, "Zu den von G. Bickell," 163; cf. Vona, *Carmi*, 101n.
[61] Ibid., 164.
[62] Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*[1], 249.
[63] Ibid., 506; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*[2], 516.
[64] See Vandenhoff, review of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 435.
[65] So also Graffin, "Deux poèmes," 320n34: "Le correction de B. Vandenhoff ne s'impose pas."

had previously proposed a dubious emendation based on a retracted and clearly mistaken lexicographical conjecture.

II.D. The Promise of the Holy Spirit (123-74)

Jesus continues his prophecy of the apostles' ministry, incorporating elements of both the Johannine Last Discourse, and of the Great Commission and related synoptic statements. So they will heal the sick ("lepers," "the lame") (123-24);[66] cast out spirits (125-26);[67] and "vanquish kings / with your arguments / and judges / with your answers (etc.)" (127-34).[68] To this are joined promises of Christ that seem inspired by the lection, especially John 14:13-21 and 15:7-11.

and joy[69] also, because of my grace, I shall increase for you, if you confess (me). For I will be with you; I go to labor in all creation to accomplish your desires. And if you desire to abide in me,	John 15:10-11; 16:20-24; cf. Matt 10:32; Luke 12:18 John 14:18-21 John 14:13-14; 15:7 John 15:7-10

[66] See Mark 16:18; cf. Matt 11:5; Luke 7:22 (of Jesus).
[67] See Mark 16:17; cf. Luke 10:17-20, and *Wash.* 141-42.
[68] Cf. John 16:8-11 (?); also, Matt 10:17-18; Mark 13:9; Luke 21:12-13; and *Wash.* 147-48.
[69] Reading ܪܕܘܬܐ for ܪܕܝܐ, which is awkward and does not scan. The ms. has ܪܕܘܝܐ with the medial *waw* deleted, which makes little sense and suggests to me that a simple *rish*/*dolath* error has entered into the text.

and there is love in your hearts, as soon as I have gone up to my hidden Father, I will pray for you that he send his power to you, treasures and riches which cannot be stolen. (139-58)	John 13:34-35; 14:15; 15:9-10; 16:17 John 14:12; 16:5-11; cf. Matt 6:4-6, 18. John 14:16 Cf. Matt 6:19-20; Luke 12:33

The influence upon Cyrillona here of the lection from John is subtle but clear. The governing subtext is the promise of the Holy Spirit in John 14:15-16: "If you love me, you will keep my commandments. And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Advocate, to be with you forever." That Cyrillona has in mind here John 14 is also implied by the conjunctive adverb ܗܕܡ introducing his subsequent discussion of Christ as the True Vine (John 15) ("Then [ܗܕܡ] he began to compare himself (etc.)" [203-4]).

Thus far, Christ has spoken only in indirect terms of the Holy Spirit, as authority (ܫܘܠܛܢܐ) (107, 135) or power (ܚܝܠ) (155; cf. 397) that will be bestowed upon the disciples. But now he declares, "The Spirit shall come / with its tongues / and the Paraclete / with its revelations" (159-62). The reference to "tongues" predicts, as we would expect, the day of Pentecost, but Christ's description more subtly evokes, too, the descent of the Spirit upon him at his own baptism, in the likeness of a dove.

A new speech
will rest upon you;
the wings of the Spirit
shall enfold you.
They shall fly [down]
from on high
and rest (ܥܚܕܡ)
upon your mouths.
Fire will rest (ܢܥܚ)
upon your lips
and a flame
in your mouths. (163-74)

The allusion to the dove of the Spirit is implied not only in the "wings of the Spirit" which would enfold them, but also, it seems, in a rare use of the verb ܥܚ. Of the many verbs for descent, hovering, or resting used of the Holy Spirit,[70] ܥܚ is one of the very rarest, notable for its non-usage in this respect. Brock says, "the verb *shken*, 'reside,' is used only of birds in the Syriac New Testament (Matt. 16:32 Old Syriac; Mark 4:32 Peshitta). In view of the importance of this verb—and especially the noun *Shekina*—in Jewish literature," its general non-use by Syriac authors for the descent of the Holy Spirit "is not without notice."[71] Brock, however, does note in other studies some isolated instances of relevant usage, e.g., in some versions of the

[70] A discussion of these terms may be found in several studies by Brock. See esp. Brock, "Towards a Typology,"180-82; *Holy Spirit*, 7-10; "Invocations," 388-97; further, "From Annunciation;" "Lost Old Syriac;" and "Passover."
[71] Brock, *Holy Spirit*, 9.

Antiochene baptismal epiclesis,[72] of the Spirit resting upon the sacrifice of Abel,[73] and most interesting here, of the tongues of fire resting upon the disciples at Pentecost.[74]

Very rarely, ܥܚܡ may also be used of the descent of Spirit upon Christ in the form of a dove at his baptism. Pesh. Matt 3:16 reads, ܘܗܘ ܟܕ ܐܬܥܡܕ ܡܢ ܡܝܐ ܘܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܢܚܬ ܥܠ ܝܫܘܥ. OS uses ܐܬܐ for ܐܬܥ. But we also find an early example of ܥܚܡ used here instead. In the hymns on Epiphany attributed to Ephrem, the author says,[75]

Of all whom John baptized, on just one did the Spirit rest; now it has flown [and] descended to rest upon many, but him who first went up (from the water) it caressed and resided upon.	ܡܢ ܟܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܥܡܕ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܒܚܕ ܒܗ ܐܬܝܚ ܪܘܚܐ ܗܫܐ ܦܪܚ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܬܠܝܢ ܘܫܪܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܩܕܡ ܣܠܩ ܠܡܥܠ ܡܢ ܡܝ ܐܚܕܗ ܘܐܬܪܥܝ ܒܗ

ܥܚܡ is also used of Matt 3:16 in the later Syrian Orthodox "Severus" ritual.[76] It is possible that the use of ܥܚܡ here in *Scourges* may be solely because of both its biblical and common use for the alighting of birds. But it may also attest to an early textual reading or tradition concerning Matt 3:16. Direct equations of the dove with the

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[72] Brock, "Epiklesis," 200-201.
[73] Brock, "Fire from Heaven," 232.
[74] Brock, "Lost Old Syriac," 129. The verb used in Pesh. Acts 2:3 is ܚܠܩ. Vööbus suggested that OS Acts used the verb ܐܫܪ (aph. < ܫܪܐ) (Vööbus, "Entdeckung," 34), but Brock has vigorously disputed that proposal (see Brock, "From Annunciation," 79-8; "Lost Old Syriac," 127-30; cf. "Passover," 8).
[75] (Ps.) Ephrem, *Epiph.* 6.2; see also, *Epiph.* 6.16; 9.1. Beck expresses some doubt that these hymns are by Ephrem (Beck, *Hymnen de Nativitate*, V. ix-x).
[76] See Boderie, *D. Severi Alexandrini*, 24.

Spirit are comparatively unusual in early Syriac literature,[77] but the dove imagery here seems unmistakable.

III. First Excursus: On the Reception of the Holy Spirit (175-202)

While there is room for uncertainty, it appears that at this point Jesus's discourse ends and the voice of the preacher reemerges.[78] Cyrillona celebrates and expands upon Christ's promise, especially the typology of the Holy Spirit as "fire" (ܢܘܪܐ) and a "flame" (ܠܗܒܬܐ) (171, 173). We have seen in *Euch*. that Cyrillona associates the fire and flame of the Spirit with the Eucharist, as is prevalent in other Syriac authors, and he even seems to reference the fiery tongues of Pentecost there.[79]

The association of this holy fire with the Eucharist is common; the association of fire with the Spirit, in general, is very common.[80] But references in the early literature to the Holy Spirit's activity in the Church outside of the sacraments are relatively rare.[81] The most important (non-eucharistic) treatment of the Holy Spirit in

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[77] Perhaps because of certain pagan associations, says Brock, "passages . . . where the Holy Spirit is described straight-forwardly as a dove, seem to be exceptional" (Brock, *Holy Spirit*, 17-18). Nevertheless, the dove was one of the three main symbols of the Spirit (together with fire and the oil of anointing) in the Syriac tradition (see ibid., 13-21)

[78] Cerbelaud indicates that Jesus's discourse ends at ln. 174, and that Cyrillona's excursus begins (*Agneau*, 63). Vona extends the discourse to ln. 178 (*Carmi*, 103) and Landersdorfer to ln. 186 (*Ausgewählte Schriften*, 43, 43n2).

[79] See *Euch*. 378-81, 400-19, and pp. 124-26 above.

[80] See Brock, *Holy Spirit*, 13-17; and importantly, Brock, "Fire from Heaven."

[81] See Murray, *Symbols*, 80 ("remarkably few").

Ephrem is *Hymns on Faith* 74, which likens the Spirit to the warmth (ܚܡܝܡܘܬܐ) of the sun (the Father), and which is not to be separated from its light (the Son).[82] It awakens the body of the church as the warmth of the sun awakens the verdure of springtime,[83] and it dissolves the wintry bonds of sin: "Through it are loosed also the fingers which the cold binds, as likewise the souls which the Evil One binds."[84]

But Ephrem speaks particularly of the Holy Spirit's action upon the disciples at Pentecost. The calves of spring frolic in the warmth like the apostles when the Spirit rested (ܢܚ) upon them.[85] It clothed their nakedness and sent them in all directions to their ministries.[86] In his most elaborate simile, Ephrem says,

> The heat loosens the cold
> and hateful muzzle upon the mouth, the icy silence
> upon the lips,
>
> And the mouth and tongue speak
> like the tongues of fire, which rested
> upon the disciples.
>
> The Holy Spirit by its warmth,
> through the tongues of fire, banished silence
> from the disciples,

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[82] Ephrem, *HFid.* 74.2-3.
[83] Ibid., 15.
[84] Ibid., 11; similarly, 9-17.
[85] Ibid., 12.
[86] Ibid., 6-9; Ephrem plays upon ܥܠܝܣܐ, which means both apostle and "naked one."

> The hateful and cold silence,
> which shuddered, as if from the winter [cold],
> to speak. . . .
>
> The Holy Spirit, through the tongues
> of fire which came, sapped the power
> of the cold,
>
> And it drove fear from the disciples,
> and the silence fled from tongues
> through the tongues.[87]

Cyrillona later makes mention of the warmth of the Spirit, though in connection with the consecration of the eucharistic host.[88] But this passage from Ephrem provides some useful context for the somewhat obscure image employed by Cyrillona in the first lines of his excursus:

> The mouth is shut up (ܐܬܬܪ)
> yet swallows fire;
> the tongue is silent
> yet conceives (ܪܥܝܬ ܒܛܢ). (75-78)

Cyrillona may, like Ephrem, have in mind the silence of the apostles, their inability to speak (preach) prior to Pentecost. ܐܬܬܪ is often used of things closed fast, like a city's gates, or a barren woman's womb. Their mouths sealed, their tongues still (ܥܠܡ), they receive a "tongue of fire, / a new speech / with which they were not born" (189-90; cf. 163). That is, the power to speak the word.

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[87] Ibid., 18-21, 23.

[88] See lns. 267-70.

But their bodily tongues were not burned, says Cyrillona, "just as the bush / in the wilderness / was not burned / by the blaze" (179-86).[89] The Sinai theophany was an image used by early authors to illustrate the paradox of the divine fire,[90] and was applied earlier by Cyrillona to the Eucharist.[91] It is often applied to Mary in Syriac hymns on the Blessed Virgin, though here it only accompanies a discussion of Mary, Cyrillona's next topic.

> By the tongue of the watcher
> Mary received
> a new conception (ܚܕܬܐ ܕܒܠܗ ܩܒܠܬ)
> with which she was unacquainted. (191-94)

From its use here with respect to both the apostles and to Mary, it seems the idiom ܕܒܠܗ ܩܒܠ can mean to conceive or receive knowledge, or to conceive a child. If "conception" here is less felicitous in English than French,[92] no better alternatives are clear. The author's intent is to associate the reception of the Spirit at Pentecost, the reception of Gabriel's word at the Annunciation, and the virginal conception. The text seems to suggest that the conception came, indeed, via the angel's words. Ephrem, in fact, says directly, "Through [Mary's] ear the Word entered."[93] This

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[89] See Exod 3:2.
[90] See Brock, "Fire from Heaven," 233.
[91] See *Euch*. 400-410; cf. *Wash*. 61-64, 71-72.
[92] See Graffin, "Deux poèmes," 322; Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 64.
[93] Ephrem, *Nat*. 11.6. See Müller, *Ecclesia-Maria*, 150-51, and Vona, *Carmi*, 104-5n. Brock elicits the image of Mary conceiving through her ear as a "quaint idea" and example of the "purely

distinctive of the Syriac tradition becomes important in the articulation of the Eve-Mary typology, wherein Eve's disobedience is contrasted with Mary's obedience at Gabriel's announcement.[94] The text continues,

> The […][95] tongues
> of the Spirit descended
> upon tongues
> made of flesh,
> and the divine
> generation came
> to the woman's
> womb of flesh. (195-202)

The juxtaposition of the fire of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost with both Gabriel's annunciation and Mary's conception raises further questions. As noted above, the association of the divine fire of the Word with Mary's conception is a well-used trope.[96] Brock's collection of hymns on Mary provides us several examples, e.g.,

> He was Fire in the virgin's womb,
> yet she was not burnt up by his flames.
> Lovingly she embraced the Burning Coal,
> yet she suffered no harm as she held him in honour.

'mythological' elements" introduced by Syriac authors in developing the contrast between Eve and Mary (Brock, "Mary in Syriac Tradition," 188).

[94] On the Eve-Mary typology, see further pp. 317-20 below.

[95] Bickell rightly notes that a word has dropped out here (*metri causa*). He conjectures ܐܨܒܛܐ ("fine," perhaps meaning "immaterial" [see Vandenhoff, review of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 435]), but this is highly speculative and not reflected in Bickell's earlier translation (cf. Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 50). Vona adopts it tentatively (*Carmi*, 105).

[96] See Brock, "Fire from Heaven," 238-39; note also, *Euch.* 63-64 (cf. 73-74): "Mary was as a veil / and our Lord hot leaven."

> Burning Fire has become embodied
> and is clasped in Mary's hands.[97]

We likewise find that Gabriel is depicted as a "fiery being," whose aspect strikes fear into Mary: "Your appearance is weighty, your raiment is of flame, your lips are fire as they utter. Who is able to speak with you?"[98] But Brock also notes, "It would seem that in connection with Mary's conception Syriac writers deliberately avoid fire imagery in connection with the Holy Spirit, reserving it instead for the divine Word incarnate within her womb."[99] This is not to say that the divine fire (Word) and the Spirit would never be associated together with Mary's conception.[100] But to preserve the distinction between Spirit and Word, exegetes of Luke 1:35 from Ephrem onwards often distinguished between the Holy Spirit which Gabriel said would come (ܐܬܐ) upon Mary and the power (ܚܝܠ) that would overshadow (ܛܠܠ) her.[101] However, the verb used here of the "divine generation" is that used of the Holy Spirit in Luke, ܐܬܐ (200). We cannot know Cyrillona's precise theology on this

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[97] Ps. Ephrem, *Sogh.* 2.2b-3 (trans. Brock, *Bride of Light*, 75). An index of relevant passages may be found in ibid., 166.
[98] Ps. Ephrem, *Hymnus de annuntiatione Deiparae* 3.10 (Lamy, *Hymni,* 3:971, 973; trans. Brock, *Bride of Light,* 88).
[99] Brock, "Fire from Heaven," 238.
[100] Ephrem, *HFid.* 10.17, speaks of the Fire and Spirit in Mary's womb, the Jordan, the waters of baptism, and the elements of the Eucharist: "Fire and Spirit are in the womb of her who bore you (etc.)." But whether ܪܘܚܐ here is specifically referencing the Holy Spirit is not clear, or even likely. Cyrillona, for example, refers to the Old Testament Jehovah as "fire and spirit" (*Wash*. 33); it was probably a stock image of the divine.
[101] Luke 1:35; discussed thoroughly by Brock, "Lost Old Syriac."

point, but this association of Mary's conception with both Gabriel's words and the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost deserves closer scrutiny in future studies of early Syriac Mariology.

IV. Second Excursus: On the Wheat and the Vine

Cyrillona's short excursus on the Holy Spirit ends, and he begins another, much the longer, running to more than a third of the poem.

> Then he began
> to compare himself
> to a grain of wheat, a vineshoot,
> and also to a grape,
> and through his love
> he showed them
> the mystery which resides
> in those three (types).[102]
> Come therefore,
> O hearer,
> let us teach you the symbols
> in which he resides. (203-14)

When Cyrillona says, "Then he began" (203), he seems to be proceeding further with his explanation of the Last Discourse. But of the three types which he then adduces—the grain of wheat (ܚܛܐ), the vineshoot (ܦܣܝܠܐ), and the grape

[102] Syr. ܒܬܠܬܗܘܢ; lit. "in their trinity." Murray renders this, "in all three of them" (Murray, *Symbols*, 121).

(ܐܲܒܬܐ)—only the vineshoot figures into the Last Discourse, and it represents the disciples, not Jesus.[103]

Nevertheless, there can be no question that Cyrillona is now turning his attention to the discourse on the True Vine in John 15, even if he will rove far afield from the gospel text, using it just as a point of departure for further consideration of Christ's death and resurrection, and of the Eucharist. The vineshoot, grape and grain of wheat are important types of Christ both in Cyrillona and other early Syriac authors. In a "litany of laudes,"[104] for example, Ephrem says:

> Blessed is the Shepherd who became the sheep for our absolution.
> Blessed is the Vineshoot (ܐܲܒܬܐ) that became the cup of our salvation.
> Blessed also is the Grape (ܐܲܫܟܠܐ),[105] the source of the medicine of life.
> Blessed also is the Ploughman who himself became
> the grain of wheat (ܐܲܒܪ) that was sown and the sheaf that was reaped.
> He is the Master Builder who became a tower for our refuge.[106]

There are a number of viticultural terms used by Syriac authors, quite interchangeably, for Christ and the church, which these authors naturally brought together.[107] It becomes almost stock imagery. Murray, who has studied this topic closely, says in fact of Cyrillona, "it begins to look as if it was *de rigueur* in Syriac

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[103] See John 15:1-6.
[104] Murray, *Symbols*, 119.
[105] ܐܲܫܟܠܐ is sometimes translated "cluster," following Payne Smith (TS 1441), but as Murray shows, this is the regular term for a grape left for gleaning and an important Christological title (see Murray, *Symbols*, 113-20, 285n1). Interestingly, Cyrillona does not use it at all.
[106] Ephrem, *Nat.* 3.15 (trans. McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian*, 86, slightly revised).
[107] Examined at length in Murray, *Symbols*, 95-130.

literature of this period to speak of the Crucifixion in vine-imagery."[108] Similarly, the grain of wheat and the grape become principal symbols from the natural world of the eucharistic bread and wine, but the exegesis of these "symbols / in which he resides" (213-14) could be extended much more broadly. Again Ephrem:

> O Grape of mercy / which was found in the vineyard
> that resisted cultivation / and withheld its fruit!
> Though it yielded him bitterness / he gave it his sweetness.
> [The Grape] was pressed and yielded / for the Gentiles the Medicine of Life.
> Blessed is he who drinks / of that gentle wine
> and plays not the wanton in secret!
>
> O fairest Ear of corn / which grew among the hateful tares
> and gave the Bread of Life / without labour to the hungry.
> It undid the curse / with which Adam was bound,
> who had eaten with sweat / the bread of pain and thorns.
> Blessed is he who eats / of that Bread of blessing
> and makes the curse pass from him![109]

Cyrillona presents here highly original meditations on these symbols. His work is distinguished from the brief treatments or allusions in previous authors by its length and richness of detail. However loosely connected to the gospel text, preserved in Cyrillona is the earliest substantive Syriac exegesis of key Christological texts from John 12 and 15.

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[108] Ibid., 122.

[109] Ephrem, *Virg.* 31.13-14 (trans. Murray, "Hymn of St Ephrem," 42-43; cf. Murray, *Symbols*, 120-21). See also Ephrem, *Cruc.* 3.9.

IV.A. Christ as the Grain of Wheat (203-86)

> Very truly, I tell you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains just a single grain; but if it dies, it bears much fruit.[110]

Scripturally speaking, Cyrillona's exegesis of the grain of wheat can only be looking to John 12:24, where Jesus speaks of his death and return to God, through which, by the death of one, life comes to many.[111] As seen in Ephrem's 31st *madrasha* on virginity, cited just above, imagery of Christ as a grain of wheat might also be drawn from the Parable of the Sower,[112] to which Cyrillona, however, makes no reference here. The symbolism of Christ as the grain of wheat was elaborated by these early authors in two principal types.

The first lies closest to John 12:24: Through his death and resurrection, Christ raises up the dead from Sheol, just as the stalk of wheat raises up its daughter grains upon its head. "For is it not the case, that just one body should be sown and many spring forth in the resurrection from him, as from a grain of wheat. One (grain) fell and it raised up the ear of our species. . . . And if his body was not killed, then has he broken his Bread for naught."[113] In a similar way, the grain of wheat could be

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[110] John 12:24.
[111] All other occurrences of ܫܒܠܐ in the Syriac NT are in the plural.
[112] Matt 13:24-30.
[113] Ephrem, *Nis.* 49.2. Vona notes further parallels, especially among the Greek fathers (Vona, *Carmi*, 55-58, 107n).

invoked as a symbol of the resurrection of the just, as seen in *Wheat*.[114] So there, for example, the daughter grains are the works borne back by our body in the day of resurrection.[115]

The second type, often paired with those of the grape and the vine, is Christ the grain of wheat who becomes for us the (eucharistic) Bread of Life.[116] Again, we have seen this type in Ephrem, who moves easily between the two images: "And like a grain of wheat he fell into Sheol; he climbed upwards as Sheaf and New Bread."[117] These two typologies—Wheat-Resurrection and Wheat-Eucharist—are also central in Cyrillona.

But Cyrillona begins his exegesis with a unique simile, probably inspired by the lection. In the image of the grain of wheat, Cyrillona finds a type of Jesus being judged: "The grain of wheat is silent / when they grind it, / just as our Lord / when they tried him" (215-18). The silence of the wheat will be invoked again (231-32), as will Jesus's silence before Caiaphas in our author's discussion of Christ the Vine (361-62; cf. 435-36). Jesus hands himself over to the Jews, and does not cry out in crucifixion, just as wheat is silent before the reaper (219-26). But Cyrillona quickly

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[114] Vona suggests (correctly, I think) that *Wheat* is, in part, a polemical tract against doubters and deniers of resurrection (Vona, *Carmi*, 55).
[115] See *Wheat* 274-77.
[116] Ephrem also uses the term "Ear of Life" (عجا ستم) (see Ephrem, *Nat.* 4.31; 24.17).
[117] Ephrem, *Res*. 1.3.3-4; cf. Ephrem, *Virg*. 31.14 (quoted above) and *Nat.* 18.20.

proceeds to his version of the Wheat-Resurrection typology, with the aid of a second unique simile: "It forsakes its chaff / like the garments / which our Lord forsook / in Sheol, and then went forth" (229-30). Bickell and Vona both understand Sheol here to refer to Jesus's tomb, which is certainly correct,[118] but that term also points us deliberately towards Christ's redemption of the captive dead, discussed below.

"The grain of wheat is silent / when they grind it, / becoming a corpse / yet living secretly" (231-34). Cyrillona elaborates upon this secret or hidden (ܟܣܝܐ) life with the agricultural metaphor of the sprouting and maturing of a seemingly-dead grain of wheat (235-50). Here we find the closest parallels between *Pasch* and both *Wheat* and Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Pasch*, which employ similar nature metaphors.[119] While some interdependence between *Wheat* and Gregory of Nyssa seems possible or even likely, I am not persuaded that Cyrillona has any textual relationship to either.[120] The more conservative conclusion is that they all witness to a common stock of nature imagery for the grain of wheat. One image in particular must have been a commonplace:

> It bears up its offspring,
> and the daughter grains
> go up upon its shoulder,
> above its head,

[118] See Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 51; Vona, *Carmi*, 106; cf. Luke 24:12.
[119] See pp. 21-22 above.
[120] On this point I disagree with Cerbelaud. See my introduction to Appendix C.

just as our Lord,
who bore and raised up
the captivity of the dead
from Sheol. (251-58)

We find some version of this in *Wheat*, Gregory, Ephrem, and other authors, too, variously applied.[121]

Further striking similes now introduce a Wheat-Eucharist typology. Jesus goes to Zion and the cross as the wheat goes to the granary and the mill (259-62), and "Judea bears him / like a maid-servant" to the church to eat (263-66). Cyrillona notes that the wheat derives its savor (ܪܝܚܐ) from the fire's heat (267-70), which may be a reference to Christ's suffering, but as well must refer to the consecration of the eucharistic host by the Holy Spirit. And "when all to which it is appointed / has been completed," it goes thence to the table of the king, where it "fills the hungry / with its sweetness (ܪܘܚܡܐ) / and gives power (ܚܝܠ) / to those who eat it" (271-78). The imagery here is implicitly eucharistic, but also redolent of the promise of the Holy Spirit. The phrase ܪܘܚܡܐ looks forward to Cyrillona's exegesis of the vine and cluster, the "sweetness (ܪܘܫܡ) of divinity" hidden within the True Vine, the promise of salvation.[122] But the ܚܝܠ is the gift of the Holy Spirit with which God will

[121] See *Wheat* 274-77; Gregory of Nyssa, *In sanctum Pascha* (PG 46:669C); and Ephrem, *Nis.* 46.14. Vona, *Carmi*, 107n, provides further examples.
[122] See 291-92, 335-36, 349-50.

endow the disciples when Christ has departed.[123] However, drawing upon imagery familiar from *Euch.* and *Wash.*,[124] Cyrillona concludes his Wheat-Eucharist typology with a direct comparison to the eucharistic sacrifice:

> Likewise our Lord
> placed his body
> on the table
> of the holy altar,
> and the people eat him
> who hunger for him,
> and are strengthened,
> and tread upon death. (279-86)

IV.B. Christ as the Vine and Cluster (287-366)

Early Syriac authors drew upon biblical vine-symbolism in exploring several theological themes. Robert Murray has written an incisive and influential study of this subject.[125] Murray shows that, while the employment of this imagery may be complex, it resolves itself around three main topics. The first, says Murray, is a continuation of the Hebrew Bible's principal usage of vine-symbolism, to illustrate Israel's unfaithfulness to God, which in Christian usage becomes a symbol of God's rejection of the Jews. For example, Aphrahat and Ephrem both cite Deut 32:32

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[123] See 155-56, 397-98.
[124] Cf. *Euch.* 324-29; 464-65; *Wash.* 141-42.
[125] Murray, *Symbols*, 95-130 (Chp. 3). More recently, scholars have also noted the connection of Syriac vine-symbolism, and Cyrillona in particular, with Armenian iconography. See Evans, "Nonclassical Sources," 220-21, and Merzian, "Some Comments," 12-14.

multiple times as evidence of the apostasy of Israel.[126] A second use of vine-symbolism was to illustrate the church's relationship to Christ, the best example of which is Ephrem's hymn, *De Ecclesia*.[127] It references many Old and New Testament scriptures, including—important to us here—John 15, though just allusively. "The explicit commentary on John 15 which we miss in Aphrahat and Ephrem is provided by Cyrillona in his *memra On the Pasch*, but his treatment of the vine symbolism, despite some similarities to what has gone before, is more suitably reserved to the next section."[128]

Murray's next and final section is on "Christ the Grape and the Tree of Life," which examines how early Syriac authors related vine-symbolism "to Christ as source of the Church's life," and connected the various symbols of the vine, the olive, and even the grain of wheat to the symbolism of the tree of life.[129] The vine/tree of life symbolism is developed most extensively in Aphrahat's 23rd *Demonstration*, on Christ the Grape (ܫܒܠܐ), and continued in Ephrem.[130] However,

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[126] "Their vine comes from the vinestock of Sodom, from the vineyards of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of poison, their clusters are bitter" (Deut 32:32). See Murray, *Symbols*, 97, 101.
[127] This seems to belong to the small collection of hymns written against Julian (see Beck, *Hymnen de Paradiso*, V. i; McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian*, 221). *De Ecclesia* is Beck's title, but Murray calls it, "Rest firm on the Truth," after its incipit, to distinguish it from a separate collection of Ephrem's hymns on the church. Murray provides a complete translation and commentary (Murray, *Symbols*, 106-13; see also McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian*, 221-25).
[128] Murray, *Symbols*, 113.
[129] Ibid.
[130] See ibid., 113-30

while some tree of life imagery has been argued for Cyrillona, we shall see it is at best non-obvious. The brightest lines connecting Cyrillona and prior authors are their mutual use of vine-symbolism for the Passion and the Eucharist, of which typologies Cyrillona provides foremost examples—virtually a "catechesis in images" (*Bildkatchese*).[131]

Murray's analysis places much weight on the technical usage of certain key terms used by Syriac authors, such as ܐܸܫܟܳܠܳܐ (grape/cluster), ܢܨܝܒܬܳܐ (plant/ plantation), and ܓܦܬܳܐ (vine/vineyard). These first two terms are not used here by Cyrillona,[132] but the last is central. Cyrillona cites John 15:1 here as, ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܓܦܬܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ ܘܐܒܐ ܕܝ ܥܒܕ ܟܪܡܐ (289-90). His use of ܓܦܬܐ derives from the Diatessaron, where it can mean either vine or vineyard, depending upon context.[133] Murray wishes to highlight this ambivalence, which he regards as of central exegetical importance. This leads him to render it (irregularly) as "vine(yard)," believing in this case that it is "justifiable to seek exactness at the expense of elegance."[134] Murray's translations from *Pasch* 287-366 vary between rendering ܓܦܬܐ as "vine" and as "vine(yard)," and in one passage (321-36) he believes the "vineyard" sense is clearly evident. I agree that in one or two instances "vineyard" might be preferable

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[131] So Bolger, "Bild," 259.
[132] In *Scourges* ܢܨܝܒܬܳܐ is found, but its use is non-technical (*Scourges* 118, 538)
[133] See pp. 54 above.
[134] Murray, *Symbols*, 96.

in sense,[135] but is also inelegant and potentially confusing, and context permits rendering ܓܦܢܐ as "vine" throughout, as I have done, without any substantive distortion of meaning. And while I would hesitate to say Murray over-reads Cyrillona, the subtle exegetical shadings that Cyrillona might have seen in ܓܦܢܐ and some other terms are at times less apparent to me than to Murray.

Cyrillona invites his auditors to examine with him "why our Savior / compared himself to a vine" (287-88). John 15:1-7, the lection he is considering, concerns the incorporation of the disciples in Christ, and their fructification through unity with him. We see immediately, however, that Cyrillona has no interest in this, and indeed, offers no commentary on the literal text of John. Instead he refers this "grafting" to the incorporation of Christ's divine and human natures; and even this topic Cyrillona quickly leaves behind, in order to explicate the True Vine in terms of the Eucharist and the Passion. After citing John 15:1, he then proceeds:

> In the vine of his body was buried
> the sweetness (ܡܫܚܐ) of divinity;
> into the vine of his body was grafted
> the vineshoot and stem of our humanity.
> From the vine of his body has sprang for us
> the drink which has slaked our thirst;
> from the stem of his humanity
> streams have flowed unto us, in his mercy. (291-98)

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[135] *Euch*. 255 refers to the apostles as the "vines of the vineyard" (ܓܦܢܐ ܕܟܪܡܐ), and a similar figure was probably intended in one place here (327). I have rendered ܟܪܡܐ in this one instance (327) as "vinestems," to differentiate the terms.

Cyrillona understands John's vine-imagery to illustrate, in part, that we receive Christ's divinity through his humanity (297-98). The last line here (298) is all but identical to the last line of this excursus, which describes the piercing of Christ's side on the cross, from which "streams of mercy flowed to us" (366)—we receive the divine blood literally from the humanity of Christ. But Cyrillona also portrays the incorporation of our humanity into Christ's divinity (293-94). We saw in *Euch*., similarly,

> The dough of his body was leavened
> with the leaven of his divinity.
> His mercy gushed forth and his love bubbled up,
> that he might be food for his own. . . .
> He kneaded our body with his leaven,
> that it might not taste of death,
> and he seasoned it with the salt of his divinity,
> that the serpent might be blinded.[136]

This delightfully ambivalent image of the dough points both to Christ's humanity and to his body, the eucharistic host. Likewise the "sweetness" and the "streams" in *Pasch* (292, 298) refer both to his divinity and to his blood, the eucharistic wine. In *Zacch*. Cyrillona will again bring together blood and death, sweetness and salt, related differently, in another striking eucharistic image:

> Our Lord mixed wine with his blood;
> he confected the medicine of life 'til it brimmed over.

[136] *Euch*. 9-12, 81-84.

> His sweet savor (ܪܝܚܗ ܡܬܚܫ) descended and overpowered
> the lethal salt of death.[137]

Cyrillona uses the term "sweetness" (ܪܝܚܐ) twice more below (336, 350), referring to eucharistic power and grace.[138] ܪܝܚܐ may also mean "must" (i.e., sweet, new wine), and is therefore a natural descriptor of what issued from the cluster pressed in the upper room (315-18) and pierced on the cross (349-50, 363-66). We saw above that Ephrem uses ܪܝܚܐ in at least one place in similar fashion,[139] and he speaks elsewhere of the eucharistic significance of the sweetness of the wine at Cana:

> These lesser realities of bread and wine which he gave were pleasing to the mouth, whereas that of his body and blood is of benefit to the spirit. He enticed us with these things which are pleasing to the palate to attract us towards that which vivifies the soul. He therefore hid sweetness in the wine which he had made, to show them what kind of treasure is hidden in his life-giving blood.[140]

Cyrillona next suggests a viticultural simile for Christ's suffering, returning to an image from his excursus on the wheat:

The vine is silent when harvested, just as our Lord when they judge him; the vine is silent when it is gleaned, just as our Lord when he is dishonored; the vine is silent when they cut it down, just as our Lord when they kill him. (299-304)	The grain of wheat is silent when they grind it, just as our Lord when they tried him. It does not cry out when they kill it, just as our Lord

[137] *Zacch.* 21-28.

[138] See also ln. 276, where a related term (ܪܝܚܝܢܐ) is used of the wheat/bread.

[139] Ephrem, *Virg*. 31.13; cf. Ephrem, *Par*. 6.8. See p. 205 above.

[140] Ephrem, *Diat*. 12.1 (trans. McCarthy, *Commentary*, 190); see also Yousif, *Eucharistie*, 280.

	when they crucified him. (215-22; cf. 231-34)

Murray says Cyrillona employs this simile "somewhat fancifully,"[141] but in fact it seems quite conservative. The Ps. Narsai homilies on Joseph, in an intriguing narrative expansion, contrast Jesus's (exegetically uncomfortable) silence before Caiaphas with Joseph the "articulate lamb," whom the homilist depicts as eloquently opposing his brothers' actions.[142] Aphrahat explains his silence by the fact that Jesus died when he administered his body and blood at the Institution of the Eucharist, and it was not possible that one already numbered among the dead could speak to his accusers.[143] For Cyrillona, Jesus's silence requires no justification or apology, but as with his washing of the feet,[144] this is held up as another example of his humility and willing sacrifice. Clearly this was important to his paschal theology; he returns to this theme four times.[145]

> Instead of that first vine,
> which provided vinegar for its lord,
> the True Vine sprang up unto us
> from the womb of the maid. (305-8)

[141] Murray, *Symbols*, 122.
[142] See Heal, "Tradition," 99.
[143] Aphrahat, *Dem*. 12.6 (Parisot, *Aphraatis*, 1:517).
[144] See esp. *Wash*. 93-94, 149-50.
[145] See 215-22, 231-34, 299-304, and 359-62.

Cyrillona next contrasts the vinegar of Israel and the sweetness of the True Vine,[146] or begins to do so, but then he repurposes that figure to compare instead the false and true vines. Modern readers, at least, might find the Vine sprouting from Mary's womb a homely figure; a more appealing variant is found in *Zacch*. 45-56: "He hid his floods in the virgin, / life sprang from the glorious maid." But this serves to introduce a short anaphora series ("This is the vine . . .") which describes the vine by metonymy as the eucharistic wine, that which "slakes the thirst / of humanity" (309-10), "consoles / the soul of mourners" (311-12), and "washes iniquity from creation" (314). We have seen the figure of "the cup of consolation" previously in *Euch.*,[147] and the concluding quatrain here likewise draws upon analogous imagery:

Pasch	*Euch.*
This is the cluster who pressed himself out in the upper room at eventide	He pressed himself into the cup of salvation and then the People pressed him on the [wood. (21-22)
and gave himself to his disciples in a cup, which is the testament of truth.[148] (315-18)	he poured and pressed out his living blood! (352-53; cf. *Euch.* 412-67) Come, my friends, also drink my blood, which is a new testament. (414-15)

Cyrillona introduces a new metaphor here, Christ as the cluster of grapes, which pressed itself into the eucharistic cup at the Institution, a most striking

[146] See Deut 32:32-33; cf. Isa 5:1-4; Matt 27:48.

[147] See *Euch*. 420-23, 455-56; cf. lns. 11-12 above. For a broad survey of "spiritual drunkenness" in the early Syriac tradition, see Brock, "Sobria Ebrietas."

[148] Murray suggests this might also be rendered, "a testament fulfilled" (Murray, *Symbols*, 123n1).

image.[149] This and subsequent eucharistic imagery in Cyrillona of the vine, especially of the cluster hanging from the cross (347-48), are cited by Geo Widengren, followed by Murray, as exhibiting tree of life symbolism.[150] Widengren connects this vine and cluster imagery with that of the medicine of life, relating them both to the tree of life with its rejuvenating fruit.[151] "It is worth noting," he says, "that the vine ought to be the very tree of life because the wine is the draught of life as designating the blood of Christ."[152] Murray does not discuss any specific tree of life symbolism in *Pasch*, but says only, "Though the expression 'Tree of Life' is not used explicitly, Widengren is certainly right to see the passage in terms of it."[153]

Cyrillona associates the medicine of life with the fruit of life in *Zacch*.,[154] in which poem the tree of life also appears to be typologically significant to his exegesis. The tree of life imagery there is implicit but arguable. But I cannot see for myself any tree of life symbolism expressed or even implied here in *Pasch*. While the cluster, the medicine, and the fruit of life *may* be treated together typologically, that does not necessarily mean that the employment of any one figure is always co-implicative of all. Such a hermeneutic would need to be argued. But perhaps the

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[149] Bolger enthuses that it "leuchtet die ganze Größe, Würde und Herrlichkeit der Eucharistiefeier auf" (Bolger, "Bild," 258-59).
[150] Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, 134-35 (citing lns. 309-30, 343-54); Murray, *Symbols*, 122, 124.
[151] See Widengren, *Mesopotamian Elements*, 121-57.
[152] Ibid., 135.
[153] Murray, *Symbols*, 124.
[154] See pp. 320-22 below.

issue here is less a difference in hermeneutics than our respective capacities to apprehend a faintly limned allusion.

Cyrillona has to this point primarily been exploring the theology and iconography of the vine, but now he begins to develop from the image of the True Vine a loose allegory of the passion narrative. Its subtext is the contrast between the Jewish rejection and betrayal of Jesus and Gentile faithfulness and blessedness. We have seen Judas Iscariot depicted in *Euch*. as an agent of Jewish treachery. In *Euch*. his departure from the upper room is described thus:

> The upper room rejoiced,
> for then dispersed the darkness
> of the twelve,
> because the goat had fled.
> The grains of wheat remained behind
> without tares
> and the vines of the vineyard
> without wild grapes.
> The owl, for whom darkness
> is glory,
> departed from the doves
> and went forth screeching.[155]

In *Pasch*, similar language and imagery is applied directly to the Jews, while Judas plays just a minor role in the drama, as much a victim as an agent of treachery.

> Robbers assaulted the vine,
> stealing the leaves, but did not touch the grapes.

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[155] *Euch*. 249-60; see pp. 112-23 above.

The Jews, like thieves,
fell upon the vine of our Savior,
taking his tunic and cloak,
but the cluster and its wine they left.
The foxes rooted among the vinestems,
but one alone withered;
the porcupine, whose raiment is spines,
assaulted that vine;
it took possession of one wild grape,
but the (good) grapes it did not harm.
Zion, the evil porcupine,
prevailed over Iscariot;
for thirty pieces of silver it seized
the sweetness that had been promised to it. (321-36)

While Cyrillona, in passing, has used (negative) vine imagery for the Jews (305-6), as was common in prior tradition, here the Jews are depicted more novelly as robbers, through a complex pastiche of allusions to scriptural imagery. In the background we may glimpse some connection to the Parable of the Wicked Tenants.[156] But the Jews' stripping of the vine calls to mind more the robbers in the Parable of the Good Samaritan,[157] while their treachery in the vineyard evokes the enemy sowers in the Parable of the Tares.[158] The metaphor of foxes rooting among the vines is taken from the Song of Songs: "Catch us the foxes, the little foxes, that ruin the vineyards—for

[156] Matt 21:33-45; Mark 12:1-12; Luke 20:9-19.
[157] Luke 10:29-37. Lns. 322 and 325 refer literally to the stripping of Jesus and the casting of the lots (Matt 27:31, 35; Mark 15:20, 24; Luke 23:34).
[158] Matt 13:24-30; cf. *Euch.* 253-54.

our vineyards are in blossom."[159] The fox had some currency at this time as a term of insult,[160] but the "evil porcupine" (hedgehog) is less expected, a "quaint and homely image" perhaps unique to Cyrillona.[161] Both the fox and the porcupine belong to a bestiary of irrational creatures with which Christian apologists regularly compared the Jews.[162] The "wild grape(s)" is a reference to Isaiah's Song of the Unfruitful Vineyard,[163] a popular topos of anti-Jewish vine-symbolism. Already in Aphrahat we see Deut 32:32, Isa 5, and John 15 read together, as here, though because Cyrillona only just touches upon Aphrahat's central motif, the Jews as the rejected vine(yard), little exegetical ground is shared in common between them.[164]

Though the porcupine tried to destroy the vine, "the watchmen raised the alarm" (337-38),[165] namely the prophets, whose public proclamation Cyrillona contrasts with the vine ripening "in secret" (ܒܛܡܝܪܐ) (340). Cyrillona said likewise of the grain of wheat, that when it is ground, it becomes a corpse outwardly but

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[159] Cant 2:15.
[160] See Papoutsakis, "Making," 29-50, who discusses in particular Ephrem's labeling Herod and Julian foxes (Ephrem, *Nat*. 6.19-20).
[161] Murray, *Symbols*, 123. This image may derive from Isa 14:23; 34:11, 15, based upon which Vona suggests, "l'*ericius* simbolo della desolazione della vigna" (Vona, *Carmi*, 110n).
[162] See Schreckenberg, "Vernunftlose Wesen?;" on Cyrillona, ibid., 18, and Schreckenberg, *Christliche Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, 314.
[163] Isa 5:2.
[164] For example, Cyrillona's excursus here on John 15 makes no reference to John 15:6, applied by Aphrahat to the Jews: "such branches are gathered, thrown into the fire, and burned." See Aphrahat, *Dem*. 5.21-23 (Parisot, *Aphraatis*, 1:225-32); and the commentary of Murray, *Symbols*, 97-100.
[165] See Ezek 33:1-6.

continues "living secretly" (ܒܣܬܪ ܚܝܐ) (231-34).[166] This secret life is openly manifest when it sprouts and bears upward its daughter grains upon its shoulder, "just as our Lord, / who bore and raised up / the captivity of the dead / from Sheol" (255-58). So too here,

> After thirty years of waiting,[167]
> the hungry heard and came in throngs;
> Adam hastened from the tomb,
> Eve left Sheol. (341-44)

McCarron notes, "This is a rare instance of the presence of Eve in the descent events,"[168] and we see here from the further repetition of this theme that the redemption of the dead was very important to Cyrillona's paschal theology. Their hunger for Christ's eucharistic body empowers them to "tread upon death" (cf. 275-86).

But the hastening of the dead from Sheol is accompanied by a gathering of the living, the church/nations (the Gentiles) who would receive from the cross the sweetness of the cluster which Zion/the nation (the Jews) forfeited. Their gathering is described in language reminiscent of the eucharistic prayer over the bread in the Didache:

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[166] Cf. 150-51, where Jesus speaks of ascending to "my hidden Father" (ܐܒܝ ܟܣܝܐ). See also John 14:19.
[167] As a curious, minor note, the correspondence here of the thirty pieces of silver (335) (Matt 26:15) with the thirty years of Jesus's life (341) drew the attention of several early 20th century New Testament scholars, for its relevance as ancient evidence of the length of Jesus's life and ministry. See Fendt, *Dauer*, 42, 43n3; Homanner, *Dauer*, 46; and Nagl, "Dauer," 216.
[168] McCarron, "Appropriation," 146.

Pasch	Didache 9.4[169]
The church assembled from the mountains and the nations gathered from all quarters; (345-46)	As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, but was brought together and became one, so let thy Church be gathered together and from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom.

The assembled "saw the cluster that was hanging / from the top of the cross," and from Golgotha "sweetness appeared" (347-50). And in a culmination of his eucharistic imagery, Cyrillona says,

> They received his blood on their lips
> and plucked his truth with their hands.
> The vine is Christ, who came to us;
> he offered the cluster to us in love. (351-54)

The truth "plucked . . . with their hands" (352) may refer to the reception of the eucharistic host in the hand, contrasted here with partaking of the eucharistic cup (351).[170] This whole image seems to recall Num 13:23-24, employed in like manner by Ephrem, which recounts how the Israelites "came to the Wadi Eshcol, and cut down from there a branch with a single cluster of grapes, and they carried it on a pole between two of them."[171]

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[169] Trans. Lake, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1:323. Murray first identified this possible allusion, and points out that it also appears to have been known to Serapion in Egypt (Murray, *Symbols*, 124n1, 338).
[170] See Murray, *Symbols*, 124n3; cf. *Scourges* 198-99.
[171] So Brock, "Mysteries," 468-69; Murray, *Symbols*, 124; Vona, *Carmi*, 111n. Compare Ephrem, *Nat*. 1.30; further to which, Murray, *Symbols*, 119.

The image of the hanging cluster invites a final simile illustrating Christ's humility and his willing, even joyful, sacrifice, as "the cluster hangs its head in joy / before its harvester" and "the vineshoot does not cry out / when the vinedresser prunes it" (355-62). The cluster hanging "before the slave who smote him" (358) and pruned by Caiaphas (362) may reference an additional biblical antecedent, Isa 65:8.[172] This verse inspired similar imagery in a fifth-century dialogue poem on Mary and the magi, which appropriately features Herod in the place of Caiaphas:

> Mary: It is because of Herod that I am perturbed,
> lest that mad dog upset me
> by unsheathing his sword
> and cutting off this sweet cluster before it is ripe.[173]

Cyrillona's excursus began with the citation of John 15:1: "I am the True Vine and my Father is the Vinedresser." But it concludes with a wicked vinedresser, Caiaphas, who reaps the joyful cluster, the silent Jesus.

> The sickle cuts the vineshoot
> and streams of water flow from it;
> the lance pierced Christ
> and streams of mercy flowed unto us. (363-66)

I discussed previously the textual and theological significance of the ܗܘܪܡܙܐ which pierced the side of Christ, which event, Brock says, "could be described as the focal

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[172] See Brock, "Mysteries," 469.
[173] *Mary and the Magi* 34 (trans. Brock, "Mary and the Angel," 144).

point of Early Syriac exegesis."[174] The sacramental significance of the water (baptism) and the blood (the Eucharist) from the side of Christ has received a great deal of comment throughout Christian history. But Cyrillona summarizes both together, again saying simply, "streams of mercy flowed to us" (366; cf. 298). We shall later see him particularize this in a specific instance, when, "The Ocean of Mercies flowed forth / to wash away the impurity of Zacchaeus."[175] In all three of these places Cyrillona uses the verb ܫܕܪ instead of ܢܩܦ, as found in John 19:34. Brock notes that ܢܩܦ was often thus "tacitly altered in order to bring out certain of the verse's associations," namely, to connect it with John 7:37-38, which exegetes referred to Christ crucified: "If anyone thirsts, then let everyone who believes in me come to me and drink; as the scripture has said, 'Out of His belly shall flow (ܢܬܪܥܥ) rivers of living water.'"[176] For Cyrillona, then, from the side of Christ flow many potent symbols: the sweetness of divinity, the wine of consolation, the blood pressed in the cup, the living waters, the Ocean of Mercies.

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[174] Brock, "Mysteries," 462. See pp. 55-56 above.
[175] *Zacch.* 57-58. Note also the poem's concluding line (112): "multiply the floods of your mercy upon me."
[176] Brock, "Mysteries," 464-65.

V. Third Excursus: The Power of the Word (367-88)

Cyrillona confesses that "the discussions of the vine and the wheat / have caused me to digress," but "the disciples of our master / have called me back to the narrative" (367-70). His auditors (ܫܡܥܘܗ; 371; cf. 13) have been listening to his words, but it is the word of scripture that calls for all their attention: "Give ear, O hearer, and listen, / for the Gospel is speaking" (371-72). A short third excursus on the power of the word (or, the Word)[177] now places the congregation once again in the upper room, receiving what the disciples received. In *Euch*. they jointly received the Eucharist from Christ, and in *Wash*. the sacrament of baptism, and now they receive together no lesser gift, the word of God.

This brief meditation—or further digression (cf. 368)—has some modest basis in the lection from John,[178] but Cyrillona first turns to a suitable and familiar Pauline figure:

> Our Lord delivered
> a sword to his disciples,
> his sharp word,
> a keen blade. (373-76)[179]

Cyrillona will also evoke elsewhere Paul's martial metaphors, and build his own panoply of faith, just as extensive as the apostle's.[180] Perhaps implied here, too, is a

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[177] See Graffin, "Deux poèmes," 328.
[178] See John 14:23-24; 15:7; 17:8, 14.
[179] See Eph 6:17; Heb 4:12; cf. Rev 1:16.

contrast between the sword of the word and the literal swords with which Christ would arm the disciples.[181] The word is also a "treasury of all riches" (378), a rich symbol to which Ephrem devoted his sixth hymn on Lent:

> In the midst of the Fast gather together and become merchants,
> for the scriptures are a treasure house of divinity.
> With that holy voice as the key
> they are opened up before those who listen.
> Blessed is that King who opened up His treasury to His people in need.[182]

Cyrillona blurs the distinction between Christ's words and Christ as Word/Logos in an anaphora series (five couplets) on the creative and quickening power of his word (379-88). The first and last couplets, differing by just one word, describe the creation of all things by the Logos: "By his word the world/humanity came into existence; by his word the world/humanity has lived" (379-80, 387-88); and likewise, "by his word he stretched out the heavens" (381). Cyrillona has in mind classical biblical testimonia for the Logos as creator.[183] And the same Word which created Adam then became the Second Adam, redeeming humanity through his incarnation—which Cyrillona does not just state (of course!), but rather implies through a poetic juxtaposition:

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[180] See *Scourges* 29-52; cf. Eph 6:11-17; 1 Thess 5:8.
[181] See Luke 22:35-38.
[182] Ephrem, *Ieiun*. 6.1 (trans. Brock and Kiraz, *Select Poems*, 107); on this see Botha, "Social Values." "Treasury of riches" is also used, in various forms, a number of times in Ephrem as a Christological title; see Brock, "Ephrem's Letter," 299. On Christ as the keeper of treasures, see *Euch*. 300-301.
[183] See Ps 33:6; Wis 9:1; John 1:1-3.

by his word he fashioned a body;
        by his word he put on a body;
by his word he fashioned Adam;
        by his word he redeemed Adam. (383-86)

VI. The High Priestly Prayer and Final Commission (389-440)

And so at length Cyrillona resumes the Last Discourse, with Jesus vouchsafing his word to his disciples: "Receive my words, my friends, / and lay it up in your heart, / that my word, in every place, / may be a guide for you" (389-92). This finds no precise parallel in the lection, but seems to look both back to John 14 as well as to the High Priestly Prayer of John 17.[184] What then follows confirms this, for Cyrillona proceeds to recast the themes of John 14:18-29 within Jesus's prayer to the Father:

I entrust you to my Father and commit you to him. O my Father, receive them, preserve them in your name and in your truth. Send to them your power, that they may go forth to the world. Deliver to them your fire, that they might enlighten creation. Indeed, they are entrusted to you, my Father— they shall not become as orphans— so that when they see me being crucified, it will not strike terror in their heart,	 John 17:11, 15 John 14:26 John 17:18 John 14:26 John 17:11, 15 John 14:18 John 14:27

[184] Receive my words: see John 14:23-24; 17:6, 8, 14, 17, 20; friends: see John 15:13-15.

and that when I have descended to Sheol, they will not renounce my truth. (393-406)	John 14:29

Previously Jesus promised his disciples, with an eye to John 14:15-17, "as soon as I have gone up / to my hidden Father, / I will pray / for you / that he send his power / to you" (151-56). Here is that promised prayer for the Holy Spirit, God's power and fire, but again we find a chronological discrepancy, as Christ has not yet ascended to the Father. Once more we see that our author is unconstrained by the temporal linearity of Christ's historical words and deeds when reading himself and his church into scripture.

Jesus has fulfilled his promise, and the disciples have been empowered with both his word and the promise of the Spirit. With some further words of encouragement (407-8), he now completes the commissioning of the disciples begun above (see 123-46). He draws first from the imagery of the Parables of the Kingdom:

Go forth as merchants (ܪܟܝܠܐ), that we may gain (ܢܫܒܚ) the world; convert humanity to me, fill creation with my teaching. Plant altars in the land; fill my church with my priests. Let all souls enter the net of my word; let humanity be gathered into the ocean of my baptism. (409-18)	Matt 13:45-46: "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like a merchant in search of fine pearls (etc.)." Cf. Matt 13:1-9 (the Parable of the Sower) Matt 13:47-50: "Again, the kingdom of heaven is like a net that was thrown into the sea and caught fish of every kind (etc.)."

The depiction of the apostles as both merchants and sowers we have seen previously in Cyrillona.[185] The figure of the apostles as merchants, seeking the pearl of Christ, is found in such diverse early authors and works as Aphrahat, Ephrem, the Doctrina Addai, the Acts of Mar Mari, the Acts of Thomas, and Manichaean and Mandaean literature, and it perhaps even reaches back into Akkadian traditions.[186] The image of Jesus and the apostles as fishers of men, well worn by Cyrillona's time,[187] is given by him a clever twist, as their nets are to gather humanity *into* the ocean (baptism) rather than from it. This is followed by an anaphora series (five couplets) (419-28) that, as Cerbelaud perceptively notes, seems to be based on Isa 43:2: "When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you; when you walk through fire you shall not be burned, and the flame shall not consume you."[188]

We have seen that Cyrillona also concludes both *Euch*. and *Wash*. with commission speeches containing a number of similar elements.[189] And following these commissions, Jesus's concluding statements in all three poems are fond adieus,

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[185] Merchants: *Euch*. 539-40; sowers: *Wash*. 145-46.
[186] See Jullien and Jullien, "Porteurs de salut;" Lieu, *Manichaeism*, 97-106; Murray, *Symbols*, 174-75; and Widengren, *Mesopotamian Traditions*, 82-95. Cf. Ephrem, *Ieiun*. 6.1, quoted above.
[187] See Murray, *Symbols*, 176-78. On Christ as the Fisher, see *Zacch*. 99-100: "For he casts his nets like a fisherman, / that the leader of your cohort may rejoice in you."
[188] See Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 111n66.
[189] See the table of comparison on p. 169 above.

encouraging and consoling the disciples, and reminding them of the joy and salvation which his pasch brings to humanity.

Euch.	*Wash.*	*Pasch*
I go now / to my business, and go you forth / in peace from here. / I go to do / the work of the cross, / and I shall descend to raise up / fallen Adam. / Abide in my rest, / and do not grieve, until I ascend / from the tomb. / Rest in peace, / and in victory / I shall come to you, / and in glory. (561-76)	Go with joy into the church / and tread her gates as heirs. . . . / I who am your God, / behold, I have humbled myself, I have served you. / The pasch which I have performed for you is completed, / and I will cause the face of the whole world to rejoice. (139-40, 149-52)	Be courageous, my friends, / for it is the final hour. / Judas has set my price— / see how Zion makes ready, / and Judaea has hewn the cross / on which I am stretched out. / And Caiaphas, see how his heart / burns to condemn me! / I shall die for all, / that I may give life to all, / and on the third day / I will arise and cause all to arise. (429-40)

The black hats—Judas, the Jews and Caiaphas—make a final stage call here, for dramatic purposes. But Jesus's final words to his disciples are of hope and resurrection.[190] His exhortation, "be courageous" (429), is the last of seven such in this poem: "Do not be grieved" (29); "be glad" (49); "exult, my heralds, rejoice" (51); and again, "rejoice" (79); and "take heart" (100). In this story, says Cyrillona, "between sadness and joy / the preacher must wend and go" (17-18). But in these three poems' final verses, he will proclaim in Christ that the pasch is supremely a message of glory, rejoicing and life.

[190] The final quatrain (437-40) is indeed based on Jesus's three predictions of his death and resurrection, and again on the words of his Farewell Discourse in Luke 24. See Matt 16:21; 17:22-23; 20:19; Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34; Luke 9:22; 18:33; 24:46.

CHAPTER FIVE

On the Scourges (*Scourges*)

INTRODUCTION

Euch., *Wash.* and *Pasch* all elaborate upon various aspects of the Last Supper and Last Discourse. They share the same scriptural and narrative space, and are all focused closely on Christ and the Christian mysteries. As Christian meditations, they are quite timeless. The historical and human context of preacher and audience is not often in evidence.

Scourges, however, is thoroughly oriented to the preacher and his congregation, and certain contemporary crises they face. While the manuscript title identifies this poem as *madrashe* (hymns or teaching songs), it is rather a sermon and perhaps the most purely homiletic work in the corpus. It is strongly hortatory and petitionary. It lacks the theological mysticism of the preceding poems and, dramatic as they are, surpasses them in emotion. "C'est la plus dramatique et la plus poignante des homélies."[1]

This text is titled in the manuscript, ܕܝܢ ܕܠ ܡܕܪܫܐ ܕܠ ܟܝܡܐ ܕܠ ܥܩܬܐ ܕܠ ܡܫܚܝܢܐ ܡܕܪܫܐ (fol. 72r): "*Madrashe* on the locust, and on chastisement, and on the

[1] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 18.

invasion of the Huns, by Cyrillo(n)a." This seems less a title than an attempt at short description, and I have chosen to follow Cerbelaud in titling it *On the Scourges*.[2] The manuscript title appropriately describes three of this text's main themes: a plague of locusts, an invasion of the Huns, and the divine chastisement of which these and other calamities (a drought and earthquake) witnessed to the poet. Additionally, this title is only one of two that bears a variant of our author's name.[3]

In my general introduction I've treated extensively the importance of *Scourges* for theories of Cyrillona's identity and for the dating of its author, explored first in the influential analysis of Gustav Bickell.[4] Bickell's own verbose title summarizes his interpretation of date, setting, and content: *Bittgesang für das Allerheiligenfest des Jahres 396 über die Heuschreckenplage und andere Strafgerichte, insbesondere den Hunnenkrieg*.[5] As previously discussed, the date that Bickell assigns to this work is highly probable and has been broadly accepted, as well as his suggested liturgical setting of a feast for all saints.[6] Not only does Cyrillona invoke the saints and have them petition God for mercy on behalf of the church, he refers to "this day" specifically as "a commemoration for the just. . . . It is a feast for your saints"(14-16). Bickell paraphrases the Syriac title, but his use of "especially" (*insbesondere*) with

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[2] See Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 15, 72: "Les fléaux."
[3] See above, pp. 6-9.
[4] See pp. 26-44.
[5] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 15.
[6] See pp. 56-73 above; cf. Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 19; Vona, *Carmi*, 133.

reference to the invasion of the Huns is not justified and seems motivated by his argument for identifying Cyrillona with Absamya.[7] The Huns are named only once in *Scourges* (264) and treated for just forty lines (out of 689).

This sermon is primarily a rogation, long but simple in structure and content. Cyrillona begins with a prayer that petitions God and invokes the saints. He then calls upon his auditors, the "children of the church" (28), to rally for battle and prepare themselves spiritually for combat. He describes the enemy hosts, a plague of locusts, which they must combat with hymns of praise and prayers. The preacher briefly petitions God for mercy, and then calls upon creation (the earth) and the church (including the saints and martyrs) to likewise intercede with God. Their arguments constitute the majority of the sermon.

There are similarities between this sermon and those in a diverse collection of rogation sermons attributed to Ephrem the Syrian.[8] These sermons survive mostly in later liturgical collections, where they are read in connection with the feast of the Rogation of the Ninevites, and they are almost entirely unstudied.[9] Krüger accepted a certain subset of rain petitions as genuinely Ephremian, but subsequent scholars

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[7] See above, pp. 26-29.

[8] *Sermones rogationum* (Lamy, *Hymni*, 3:1-126; 4:357-454).

[9] See, however, Krüger, "Regenbitten," and Tamke, "Ephrem's Prayers."

have not taken up this thesis.[10] The earliest any may be confidently dated is the 6th century. These sermons share certain common features, well summarized by Lamy:

> St. Ephrem is dedicated in these sermons to exhorting the people to prayer and repentance, that God might avert his scourges, diseases, pestilence, hail and lightning, earthquakes, famine, drought and other calamities; he teaches that prayer is the key to heaven, and that man has incited the wrath of God with his sins, which can be satisfied only through repentance; he explains the hidden and wise judgments of God in dispensing misfortunes; he shows that God punishes the sinner out of justice, that he afflicts the just man out of love, to prove him as gold. He moreover treats at length and in every way divine chastisement: the just are chastened as sons, sinners as prodigals. And in all scourges God is shown to be most just and most good and merciful, so that one who is wise would never dare murmur. And he supports the thesis proposed with examples drawn from custom and scripture.[11]

A citation from *Sermo I* may serve as an *exemplum toti*:

> How proper our reproach, O Lord,
> we who became ungrateful of the good.
> How proper for sinners, O Lord,
> that they should be called evil servants.
> Indeed, that which was created did most justly
> reproach us openly.
> Since each one hid his opprobrious acts,
> wrath laid bare those acts;
> since there is no prophet who rebukes us,
> wrath declaims against the wicked;
> since the Holy Spirit has departed from us,
> the whirlwind attacks us in its stead;
> since there is no one who admonishes and rebukes,
> the silence of the locust rebukes;

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[10] Krüger assumes Ephremian authorship, without argument, but as incidental support, he notes three citations from the rain petitions by Philoxenos under Ephrem's name (Krüger, "Regenbitten," 19-20).

[11] Lamy, *Hymni*, 3:xxxii.

since there is no one who declaims and reproves,
hail has rebuked us;
since there is no one who threatens us with his rod,
the shaking of the earth terrorizes us.
Threats which have appeared from the air
have given us great reproach.
That which had seemed as something
became for us as nothing.
The beasts are wiser than us
who have been reckoned as humans.
Creatures have become enraged against us
because we have enraged the Creator.
The sun has been obscured in the heavens
because our iniquity has waxed upon the land.
A cloud became as a veil
to the moon, lamp of darkness,
just as Moses was adorned
that we might be shamed all the more.
The locust that is chewed chews us up;[12]
weak strength (ܚܫܠܐ ܫܠܐ) conquers us.[13]

I cite this particular passage because it shows some thematic affinity with *Scourges*: a plague of locusts, an earthquake, and an occlusion of the sun. But it also illustrates some of the general differences between *Scourges* and the *Sermones rogationum*. Cyrillona, while recognizing the justice and utility of God's chastisement, is much more concerned to offer a persuasive argument before God for the righteousness of the church than to condemn Christian iniquity. He confesses God's justice, but nowhere suggests that the present calamities are divine

[12] Or perhaps, "which is ground (under foot) grinds us" (ܕܪܝ ܒܪܝܫܢܢ).
[13] Ps. Ephrem, *Sermones rogationum* 1.3 (Lamy, *Hymni*, 3:5, 7).

retribution. In contrast, the authors of the *Sermones*, as this citation exemplifies, follow in the mainstream of Syriac tradition in attributing calamity to sin.[14] They write in the tradition of Ephrem, who never let a good tragedy go to waste as an opportunity to preach repentance.[15] *Scourges*, however, contains calls to spiritual battle, but no calls to repentance.

Another distinctive of the *Sermones rogationum* absent from *Scourges* is their extensive citation of biblical types, as paradigms and proofs of the efficacy of prayer, examples of moral (or immoral) conduct, demonstrations of God's justice and mercy, etc.[16] This usage goes back directly to a class of synagogue prayers (סליחות) that invoked the history of God's mighty deeds as paradigms of his power to save, and which were subsequently influential on Christian liturgical prayer and poetry.[17] But *Scourges* does not employ scriptural types in this way, and direct scriptural references here, as usual for Cyrillona, are very infrequent. This rogation seems to stand quite apart from the *Paradigmengebet* tradition.

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[14] See the important discussion of Morony, "History and Identity," 7-14.
[15] See Bonian, "St. Ephrem on War;" Villagomez, "Christian Salvation," 209-11.
[16] See Krüger, "Regenbitten," 147-51.
[17] See Baumstark, "Paradigmengebete;" Krüger, "Regenbitten," 146-47; cf. Murray, *Symbols*, 336. In the Western tradition this type of prayer is found, e.g., in the *Commendatio animae* ("Libera, Domine, animam servi tui sicut liberasti Abraham de Ur Chaldaeorum," etc.).

Francisco Javier Martínez singled out *Scourges* as a work of "apocalyptic tenor" (*talante apocalíptico*) and a precursor to the apocalyptic literature of the late seventh century that arose from the Islamic conquest of the Near East.

> El canto, compuesto sin duda para la liturgia, es una elegía y una llamada a la penitencia, análoga a las que contienen otras muchas homilías *d-ʿal ḥartā*, 'sobre el fin', compuestas en los siglos V y VI, pero los autores de estas obras no necesitaron hacer toda una reelaboración de la visión tradicional de la historia como la que tuvieron que acometer los autores de los apocalipsis tras las invasiones islámicas.[18]

Martínez is well acquainted with the characteristics of apocalyptic literature,[19] but his assessment of *Scourges* would be hard to justify. He is correct that *Scourges* is elegiac, but as noted, it is not a call to repentance, nor apocalyptic, in any normative sense,[20] even with respect to the forms of apocalypticism typical to the Syriac tradition which Martínez himself describes.[21] It expresses no eschatological anxiety, either looking towards the end of ages or of earthly kingdoms, or to the final judgment. Apocalyptic is quite rare in Syriac literature before the late seventh century crisis,[22] and Cyrillona's view of the present order seems, in fact, quite

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[18] Martínez, "Literatura," 182.
[19] In addition to ibid., see Martínez, "Apocalyptic Genre," and "Eastern Christian Apocalyptic."
[20] The meaning of the term "apocalyptic" has been highly debated, but see the influential analysis and discussion of Collins, "Morphology of a Genre," and Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 1-42.
[21] See esp. Martínez, "Apocalyptic Genre," 338-40. He proposes that Syriac apocalyptic is almost entirely confined to Collins's type IIa. See also Villagomez, "Christian Salvation," 205-7.
[22] Villagomez discerns in pre-seventh century Syriac literature "an apocalyptic sensitivity. . . . However, the tendency was to see difficult times as God's punishment, rather than the dawn of the apocalyptic age" ("Christian Salvation," 209). Likewise, Harvey notes a few examples of

optimistic. He rhapsodizes for more than seventy lines about the righteousness of the church and its triumph throughout the world, in Persia, Assyria, India and Rome, and how "by the side of kings your cross rules" (see 570-641).

FORM AND GENRE

As discussed previously,[23] the use of the pl. ܡܕܪܫ̈ܐ in the manuscript title does not seem to accurately describe this work. Lines 1-26 are comprised of two stanzas of thirteen pentasyllabic verses, with the exception of the ninth line of each, which is heptasyllabic (5+5 5+5 5+5 5+5 7 5+5 5+5). Metrically, this resembles an abbreviated *madrasha*, though it contains no refrain. Lines 27-689 (end) are in 4+4 couplets which often form quatrains, but not always. There is even one triplet (187-89). In both form and content, the body of the work is clearly not a *madrasha*.

Bickell's denomination of this entire work as a *Bittgesang* (intercessional hymn) is questionable since, as Bickell fully acknowledged, the *madrasha* only extends to the first twenty-six lines, the remainder (he says) being a separate composition closely related to this *madrasha*, but initially independent.[24] In careful

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apocalypticism before the seventh century, as in John Rufus's *Plerophories*, "But the apocalyptic mood was not sustained. As events in the Monophysite east worsened over the following decades, John of Ephesus and the Syriac continuator of Zachariah Rhetor in their *Ecclesiastical Histories* viewed the ongoing calamities as signs of God's wrath"("Remembering Pain," 302).

[23] See pp. 35-38.

[24] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 15-16n1.

wording, Bickell explains that after the opening *madrasha,* "das Gedicht nachher die Form eines Mimra annimmt," and later concluding, "Offenbar sind beide bei derselben Feier gesungen worden."[25] His position, then, is that while the main poem here is clearly a *memra* in form, it was a hymn in function, forming with the *madrasha* a single liturgical song. "Wahrscheinlich wurde unser Lied bei einem Bittgange gesungen, wie solche damals teils außergewöhnlicherweise bei Erdbeben, Regenmangel oder anderen öffentlichen Calamitäten, teils regelmäßig an bestimmten Tagen des Jahres abgehalten wurden."[26]

Other scholars have taken a more conventional view. Vona treats the text as a single poem but comprised in its surviving form of two parts, a *madrasha* and a *memra*. Following Bickell, it seems, but without reference or explanation, Vona states, "La prima parte è stata abbreviata dall'amanuense."[27] Cerbelaud says as well, and likewise without reference or explanation, "L'homélie . . . est en fait constituée d'un fragment d'hymne, suivi d'une long *mimrô*."[28]

The title to this work is probably secondary and certainly inaccurate, and cannot be relied upon to identify this poem's genre or its use. While one cannot rule out the possibility that lines 1-26 were composed as a separate *madrasha*, and is even

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[25] Ibid., 16n1.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Vona, *Carmi*, 32.
[28] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 19.

just a fragment, there is nothing formally to indicate this except its stanzaic structure and short length. I think the first twenty-six lines are more likely an integrous prefatory prayer or invocation offered by the preacher himself. This is why it has no refrain. The first stanza is cast in the first person singular—the prayer of the preacher—who then (second stanza) orates for the congregation, before proceeding to address them (27-689, the *memra*). The ending of the invocation is nicely resolved and nothing about it seems fragmentary. Thematically, as will be seen below, it is consonant with the following sermon and forms an *inclusio* with the final section of it.

To posit the invocation as a separate composition would also raise the question of separate authorship, which otherwise seems unwarranted and therefore, sensibly, no one has suggested. The style of *Scourges* seems consistent from beginning to end and it even exhibits a clear distinctive that connects invocation to sermon. Cyrillona first prays of the saints, "Before the ranks of your friends (ܐܣܚܒܗ) / I shall petition your Majesty" (9-10); and then when introducing their petition, he says:

> the church came,
> and her children with her,
> the apostles and martyrs
> whom she brought with her,
> the friends of the king (ܐܣܗܕ ܡܠܟܐ)
> to persuade the king. (524-29)

Likewise, in both cases the royal friends are called upon specifically to petition or persuade (ܚܢܢ) the king.[29] In the absence of strong arguments otherwise, I regard *Scourges* as a single, integrous poem, an invocation and sermon, from Cyrillona's pen.

ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

This poem is trifold in structure, consisting of an invocation, an exhortation, and a series of petitions, which may be outlined as follows:

I. Invocation (1-26)

II. Exhortation

A. Preparation for Battle (27-66)

B. The Allies (67-106)

C. The Enemy (107-54)

III. Petitions

A. The Petition of the Preacher (155-201)

B. The Petition of the Earth (202-521)

C. The Petition of the Church (522-689)

[29] Cf. lns. 2 and 532.

I. Invocation (1-26)

Cyrillona begins his homily with an invocation, two stanzas that are the most metrically complex passages in his work (5+5 5+5 5+5 5+5 7 5+5 5+5). In the first stanza (1-13) he calls upon the saints and martyrs to petition (ܒܥܝܢ; 2) and appease (ܒܪܚܡܝܢ; 4) God. They are God's beloved (ܚܒܝܒ; 1, 18) and his friends (ܪܚܡܝ; 9). He also immediately establishes the context of his invocation and sermon—this is a "time of trial" (3)—though the precise nature of that trial, a plague of locusts, he will only come to name after a hundred lines. Here he will only allude to the locusts' ravages: "preserve by your right hand / my fruits for offerings unto you" (12-13).

Cyrillona says of the saints, "I will recite my afflictions / and they their prayers; / I will reveal my pains / and they their declarations (ܥܢܝܢܗ)" (5-8). The meaning of ܥܢܝܢܗ is uncertain, since ܥܢܐ lacks the plural, except in the case of a few rare usages attested only in the later lexica.[30] Bickell suggested first "zuverläßige Hilfe" and then "Heil,"[31] which was followed by Landersdorfer, Vona ("potenza") and Cerbelaud ("puissance").[32] This would seem to suppose ܥܘܬܢܐ, which is

[30] See TS 4303-4.
[31] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 15, and idem, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 414.
[32] Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 11; Vona, *Carmi*, 133; Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 72.

disallowed by meter, and context seems to rather recommend a rendering that better mirrors the parallelism "afflictions" / "pains."

In the second stanza, Cyrillona now changes voice to the first plural, orating for all assembled. We learn that today is, in fact, "a commemoration (ܕܘܟܪܢܐ) for the just" and "a feast for your saints" (14-16). The term ܕܘܟܪܢܐ, in liturgical use, may refer to the Eucharist, but predominantly it came to be used for the *Commemoratio sanctorum defunctorum*, usually with modifiers such as ܕܝܘܡܐ, ܕܚܕܪܐ, etc. The *Thesaurus* does not attest ܕܘܟܪܢܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ, as we have here, but the meaning is transparently the same.[33] As discussed in Chapter One, Bickell noted three different dates for feasts of all saints in this period, as attested in Ephrem (on 13 May), in Chrysostom (the Sunday after Pentecost), and in the 411 Edessan martyrology (BL Add. 12,150; the Friday after Easter).[34] Bickell concludes from this that there were at least three different feasts for the martyrs. While Eastern churches have traditionally celebrated multiple feasts of All Souls (Soul Saturdays), All Saints has typically been a single feast, traditionally celebrated in the Byzantine rite (as in Chrysostom) the Sunday following Pentecost.[35] While there may have been more than one feast for

[33] TS 898-99.
[34] See Bickell, review of *Contributions*, 467-68, and *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 13; cf. Moeller, *Lehrbuch*, 1:533n3.
[35] Some Eastern churches follow the Western calendar and celebrate it Nov. 1.

this purpose, Bickell's evidence, at least, may be read as demonstrating only that there were at least three different dates for this feast in various locales.[36]

Bickell also notes in his introduction to Cyrillona's works that he was an important witness "für so viele von den Reformatoren angegriffene katholische Lehren . . . namentlich für das heilige Meßopfer, für die wahre Gegenwart Christi in der hl. Eucharistie, für die Sündlosigkeit der hl. Jungfrau, die Anrufung der Märtyrer und die Verehrung ihrer Reliquien."[37] Cyrillona's invocation of the saints here, at this early date and in the Syriac church, has drawn the notice of other (mostly Catholic) commentators as well,[38] and very striking is his reference to the cult of relics:

> The bones of those you love
> you have made into a treasure;
> in a fistful of their dust
> your great riches are contained;
> an Ocean without measure dwells in them,
> which was conceived in the womb,
> and was hung on the wood,
> and was entombed in the sepulcher,
> and worshipped on high. (18-21)

Blum singles out this passage as an impressive witness to the spread of the cult of the saints in the fifth-century Syrian church, alongside the witness of Balai and

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[36] See Talley, "Evolution," who traces the historical development of the feast(s).
[37] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 14; see also p. 13-15 above.
[38] Hurter, *Nomenclator*, 1:202-3; Moeller, *Lehrbuch*, 1:531n2; Nirschl, *Lehrbuch der Patrologie*, 2:279; Vona, *Carmi*, 133n; cf. Lucius, *Anfänge des Heiligencults*, 129n4.

others, though a petition for intercession "ist für diese Zeit nichts Außergewöhnliches."[39] The cult of relics was also well established in the Syriac church by this time, as we know from Ephrem, who says (of the church) in language similar to Cyrillona: "Abounding in fasts and in supplications, its bones are its treasures, its tears are its talent."[40] Likewise, says Marutha, just as Aaron bore twelve stones upon his chest as he entered the Holy of Holies, "So also the church is adorned by the twelve apostles . . . and seeks refuge in their bones."[41]

An interesting correlation with this invocation and the following *soghitha (Zacch.*) are the Christological titles "Ocean without measure" (22) and "Ocean of Mercies."[42] In *Zacch.*, the ocean is a symbol of Christ's inexhaustible mercy and power to save, directly associated, as here, with the Incarnation: "He hid his floods in the virgin, / life flowed from the glorious maid."[43] *Zacch.* concludes with a plea for mercy that refers directly back to this symbol: "Multiply the floods of your mercy upon us!"[44] In *Scourges,* the ocean is the power of Christ, God's "great riches" (21),

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[39] Blum, *Rabbula*, 10-11; for other contemporary references, see Vona, *Carmi*, 133n.
[40] *Haer*. 42.10 (trans. Murray, *Symbols*, 75). Murray references a number of other passages in Ephrem where he discusses the bones of the martyrs (Murray, *Symbols*, 75n2). On Ephrem and the bones of Julian Saba, see Harvey, "'Incense,'" 123-25.
[41] *Hom. de dominca nova* 14 (Kmosko, "Analecta Syriaca (III)," 412).
[42] *Zacch.* 57.
[43] *Zacch.* 55-56.
[44] *Zacch.* 112.

which indwells, or perhaps flows into,[45] the relics of the saints. Here too these riches consist foremost in God's mercy, which the preacher now seeks (9-13), and for which at *Scourge*'s conclusion (as in *Zacch.*) the church and her saints will likewise plead (642-89). The power hidden in the relics is the promise of efficacy in the saints' petition on behalf of the church.

II. Exhortation

Cyrillona turns now to his address his flock, whom he rallies to spiritual arms and encourages with a description of Christian victory already won. His exhortation falls neatly into three pericopes of forty lines each and with complementary structures. II.A and II.B begin with rhetorical apostrophe, Cyrillona addressing his "brothers," the "children of the church" (27) and elect people (67), whom he prepares and leads into battle against their foe. II.B and II.C describe their physical and spiritual enemy, illustrated with scriptural analogies, and with quite symmetrical rhetorical structures.[46] All employ long concatenations of hortatory imperfects and imperative verbs urging Christians on to battle.

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[45] Syr. ܒܓܘ ܕܡܫ, but in his corrections Bickell suggests that the reading ܒܓܘ was "vielleicht ursprünglich" ("Berichtigungen," 53). An erasure in the manuscript appears possible though not certain, but if so, the correction is certainly very neat and was likely done by the original scribe.
[46] Note, e.g., how II.B and II.C each change topic at their seventh couplets, and then turn from exhortation to concessive (-ܕ) descriptions at couplets eleven and thirteen respectively.

Cyrillona comes at length to name their physical foe—a plague of locusts—but describes this threat in terms of spiritual warfare.

II.A. Preparation for Battle (27-66)

Beginning his address, Cyrillona strikes a martial stance, rallying the children of the church and exhorting them to put on "the armor of faith" (ܙܗܝܢܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ) (29-30). This metaphor is a conflation of the Pauline "breastplate of faith" (ܫܪܝܢܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ) and "the armor of God" (ܙܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ).[47] He will go on to equate the Christian's spiritual armor with both baptism (49-52) and with the Spirit (122). But here in *Scourges*, faith is joined to the proclamation of scripture and the singing of psalms, which are to be struck up like a battle anthem to fortify their souls for battle (31-40). Cyrillona exhorts his fellow soldiers to take up spiritual weapons:

> Let us draw the sword
> of the cross of light (ܣܝܡܐ ܕܨܠܝܒ)
> and take up the spear,
> the blessed Crucified (ܪܡܚܐ ܕܙܟܝܐ).
> Let us fill the quiver
> of our heart's understanding
> with sharp shafts
> of prayers. (41-48)

[47] See 1 Thess 5:8; Eph 6:11, 13.

My translation here of ܨܠܝܒܐ and ܨܠܝܒܐ, while following precedent,[48] cannot capture the typological richness of this couplet, since these terms can be used equivalently for a cross, crucifixion, or one crucified.

Cyrillona's description of the Christian soldier's panoply draws no direct wording but certainly much in spirit from Eph 6:10-17. While his auditors face a physical menace, Cyrillona describes the enemy in spiritual terms. Paul's admonition is unspoken but perhaps implicit: "For our struggle is not against enemies of flesh and blood, but against the rulers, against the authorities, against cosmic powers of this present darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly places."[49]

Cyrillona's call to action becomes a call to contemplate the great victory already achieved in Christ, employing the dramatic device of serial asterismos (ܣܝ) (49-66). He returns in rondo to the Pauline imagery, now sacramentalized, of "the breastplate / forged in water, / the armor hidden / in baptism" (49-52), which point rhetorically both back to the weapons of spiritual warfare just enumerated and forward as the first emblem of Christ's victory. Jesus's crown of thorns is a royal

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[48] See Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 17; Vona, *Carmi*, 134; Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 73. One disagreement among translators is the rendering of ܒܗ̈ܘ ܨܠܝܒܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ ܘܒܗ̈ܘ ܨܠܝܒܐ as "take up the spear of the blessed Crucified" (Bickell, Landersdorfer, Cerbelaud) or "take up (as) spear the blessed Crucified" (Vona). I have rendered it simply as written, as a parenthesis.

[49] Eph 6:12.

crown, and with his (pierced) right hand he holds out the victor's prize (53-56). While battle lies before them, the victory has already been won in Christ.

> See how swords have come to naught
> and the contests are over,
> and see, the laborers (ܦܠܚ̈ܐ)
> have borne away the gift. (57-60)

Meter requires us to read here ܦܰܠܳܚ̈ܶܐ, ("laborers," "husbandmen"), but this is a play upon ܦܽܠܺܝܫ̈ܶܐ, in the sense of "soldiers." The contrast implied is between victorious soldiers carrying away the spoils of war, the usual outcome, and Christ's servants bearing away his gift from the enemy he has defeated. Given the evocation here of Paul's description of the armor of God from Eph 6, the "gift" (ܡܬܩܒܠ) may be an allusion to Eph 4, to the "gift of Christ" (ܡܬܩܒܠ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ) given to each of the body of Christ, associated in Paul as here with baptism.[50]

Cyrillona punctuates in a final sestain the defeat of death and Satan, the overthrow of his lie, and the establishment of truth and justice (61-66). This introduces an important theme that he will later develop at length, the triumph and spread of Christianity (see 570-641).

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[50] Eph 4:7; cf. Eph 4:5.

II.B. The Allies (67-106)

With triumph already before them, Cyrillona encourages the chosen to lift up their hearts, and more importantly, to join hands and "raise up a hymn of praise" (67-79).[51] The psalms that before were a battle march (37-40) now become weapons of war. Prayers are sharp shafts, whether held in the heart or recited,[52] but the mouth is also a sling for "the solid stones / of all hymns" (75-78).

Cyrillona employs another rich figure that fares poorly in translation:

> Stomp (ܗܘܗܓ) upon the Evil One
> with the heels of your voice (ܩܠܐ),
> and trample upon error
> with the soles of your breath.

The verb ܗܓ means to stamp the ground, but is used for beating the ground in a dance, or prancing.[53] ܩܠܐ has a broad semantic range, but may refer to a voice, or to a melody or tune to which hymns are sung. The strange phrase, "with the soles of your breath" (ܒܪܝܚ ܢܦܫܟ), may also mean something like minuets, "airy steps."[54] The image evoked is of Christians singing psalms of praise and dancing before the Lord: "Dance upon the Evil One / with the heels of melody; / tramp upon error / with airy steps." At the same time, this choral and spiritual stomping and trampling was

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[51] Syr. ܒܫܒܚܐ ܕܚܕ. Trying to capture the broadest sense of ܚܕ, Bickell suggests that this means, "lobsinget im Wechselchor" (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 17).

[52] Cf. 45-49 (above); 119-20: "Let us sharpen the voices / of our prayers."

[53] See TS 3965-66; cf. ܪܘܩܕܐ, a choral dance.

[54] This idiom is not attested in the lexica, but on ܢܦܫ, see TS 3279-80 and Nöldeke, "Mene tekel upharsin," 416-18.

perhaps meant to evoke the physical stamping and beating of the locusts which blanketed the ground. Against these pervasive insects, psalms are more potent than sandals. As Cerbelaud summarizes, "L'idée de tout ce passage – qu'il serait difficile de traduire très littéralement – est que les armes véritablement efficaces contre les puissances du mal sont les chants des psaumes et la prière liturgique."[55]

But the children of the church are not alone in their battle. Cyrillona exhorts each one to "marshal hosts / in the hosts of the heart" and to noetically "raise up legions / most eloquent" (79-86)—the saints and martyrs. He also makes his first direct mention of their (so far unnamed) physical enemy: "for an evil host / has come out against our country— / like Zerah / it has covered our land" (87-90). In a unique employment of scriptural analogy, Cyrillona references the invasion of Zerah the Ethiopian into Judaea, with his vast army of "a thousand thousands" (91).[56] In Cyrillona's literal reading of the scripture, King Asa vanquishes the Ethiopians by his prayer alone, "without soldiers" (92-94).[57] Asa's simple prayer, while clearly not serving as a model, may be seen as forebear and inspiration for Cyrillona's own much more elaborate petition.[58]

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[55] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 111n68.
[56] 2 Chr 14:9; cf. 2 Chr 14:8-15.
[57] 2 Chr 14:12: "So the Lord defeated the Ethiopians before Asa and before Judah."
[58] See 2 Chr 14:11.

Suiting his allusive style, Cyrillona directly references in only one place "your saints" (ܩܕܝܫܝܟ) (16), named elsewhere as "the apostles and martyrs"(ܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܣܗܕܐ) (525; cf. 267), for whom he otherwise prefers more general designations.[59] The "company" (ܟܬܐ) (79), "hosts" (ܚܝܠܐ) (81, 82, 84, 85, 96), and "legions" (ܠܓܝܘܢܐ) (87), to which he refers here are not more precisely named, but are vividly described so as to leave no doubt of either their identity or efficacy.

> But we, my brothers,
> we have hosts
> which, when they were slain,
> they were crowned,
> for the sword which smote
> their necks
> fitted a crown
> upon their heads,
> and the blood which flowed
> from their sides
> has become a medicine of life (ܣܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ)
> in creation. (95-106)

Cyrillona uses the trope ܣܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ also in *Zacch.*:

> Our Lord mixed wine with his blood;
> he confected the medicine of life 'til it brimmed over.[60]

This metaphor is often used of the Eucharist and as a Christological title from Ephrem onwards, and in *Zacch.* Cyrillona develops this figure in accordance with

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[59] E.g., "beloved" (ܚܒܝܒ) (1, 18); "friends" (ܪܚܡܝ) (9, 528); "the just" (ܙܕܝܩ) (15); "children" (of the church) (ܒܢܝ) (525). The latter term is also used of Christians generally.

[60] *Zacch*. 25-26.

these conventions.[61] His use of it here also for the blood of the martyrs is striking (almost shocking) and perhaps unique,[62] but would have communicated powerfully to his auditors the power of the saints to intercede on their behalf.

II.C. The Enemy (107-54)

Cyrillona now at last identifies the enemy: "Clouds of locusts / have spread out their wings / and covered our land / with their hordes" (107-10). This is one of two passages where he discusses the locust invasion, but here his description is concise, just four couplets.[63] This is appropriate, since he is engaged in exhortation. An elaboration of the locusts' devastation will be reserved for his petition. He also refers here for the first time to the devastating drought his country is suffering, which he will elaborate upon later as well.[64]

Cyrillona describes the "enemy host" with more martial metaphors:

Instead of raindrops
    they carry swords,
and instead of dew
    they bear spears,
and instead of showers
    that water the earth,

[61] See pp. 320-22 below.
[62] See Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 168n1, 169n1.
[63] The two passages are lns. 107-54 and 376-447.
[64] See lns. 336-75 below.

sharp axes
against crops. (111-18)

The comparison of a locust plague to soldiers or an invading army (or vice versa) is of course common in the Bible, as are references to their vast number ("a thousand thousands" [91]).[65] Cyrillona takes this further by likening the locusts to soldiers carrying spears, swords and axes. There is no parallel for this in the Bible, and while both the Bible and other Near Eastern literatures compare the physiognomy of locusts to other animals,[66] the pairing of locusts and weapons—however natural that may seem—appears to be rare. The only example of which I am aware is not a comparison of locusts to weapons, but of weapons to locusts. An Akkadian inscription says, "javelins quivered over my camp like locusts."[67] Cyrillona's descriptions of the locust plague in fact demonstrate surprising independence from biblical descriptions and metaphors for locusts.[68]

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[65] Locusts as soldiers/army: Judg 6:5, 7:12; Isa 33:4; Jer 46:23, 51:14, 27; Joel 1:6, 2:2-11; Nah 3:15-17; large numbers: Judg 6:5, 7:12; Ps 105:34; Jer 46:23, 51:14; Nah 3:15; Jdt 2:20. Similar comparisons are made in other Near Eastern and classical works. For NE literature, see Andiñach, "Locusts," 437-41; Neufeld, "Insects," 50-51; and Thompson, "Joel's Locusts," 52-53; for classical references, Beavis, *Insects*, 62-78, and Davies and Kathirithamby, *Greek Insects*, 135-49; and for both, Weber, "Heuschrecke," 1233, 1236, 1243.

[66] Joel compares the locust to a lion (1:6) and a horse (2:4), but later Arabic poems and riddles, which spread to many languages, became very elaborate: "It has the thighs of a camel, the legs of an ostrich, the feet of an eagle," etc. See Taylor, "Riddle," and Thompson, "Joel's Locusts," 53.

[67] As cited in Hurowitz, "Joel's Locust Plague," 602n15.

[68] In addition to Joel 1-2 and other standard biblical references, at least some later Syriac authors (Jacob of Edessa, Dionysius bar Salibi, Bar Hebraeus) also understood the vivid description of Behemoth in Job 40:15-24 as referring to the locust (see Nau, "'Béhémoth,'" and idem, "Traduction," 262-64, 279-82). Nau concludes, "Toute la tradition syrienne semble appliquer aux sauterelles – et cela

Against these sharp axes, Christians are exhorted to sharpen their prayers, gird themselves with the armor of the Spirit, and match the locust's weapons with their own, giving flight to a voice superior to its wing and praise superior to its talon (119-26). The victory they seek is to "set bolts / upon the doors of its mouth; / let us shut up, seal up, / the sepulcher of its belly" (127-30). Cyrillona evokes here dramatic biblical language. Bolting "the doors of its mouth" (ܫܘܪܝ ܦܬܚ) (128) inverts the fearful description of Leviathan at the end of Job: "Who can enter the door of its mouth (ܦܬܚ ܦܘܡܗ); and who can open its double row of teeth?"[69] In "the sepulcher of its belly" we may hear an echo of the psalmist: "Their throats are open sepulchers."[70]

Cyrillona concludes his description of the locust with an analogy to the serpent. The serpent eats only dust, its plot foiled, and "its feet cut off, / because its mouth spoke / a lie" (138-40).[71] The locust that is eating them alive (131-32) is more

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avec assez bonheur – le passage [de Job] qui concerne Béhémoth" ("Traduction," 264n2), though Cyrillona, at least, makes no direct reference to it.

[69] Job 41:14 (41:5 Pesh.). Cf. Job 38:8-11. My translation here is from the Peshitta.

[70] Ps 5:9; cf. Rom 3:13.

[71] See Gen 3:14. As Cerbelaud notes, "En prenant ce verset à la lettre, les anciens pensaient que le serpent, avant sa malédiction, avait des pieds. Son châtiment fut de les perdre, pour se mettre à ramper. C'est l'idée sous-jacent de V, 3 [*Zacch.* 33]: 'Le serpent mutilé avait mutilé Ève'" (*Agneau*, 111n70).

evil than the serpent, "for instead of dust / it eats our bread" (145-46).[72] Cyrillona petitions God to do to the locust what he has done to the serpent, and more:

> You, my Lord, who are mightier
> than its wickedness,
> sever (ܦܠܫ) its feet
> and cut off its wings;
> shatter its teeth,
> and tear out its belly,
> as with the dragon
> among the Babylonians. (147-54)

The verb ܦܠܫ (149) is clearly written in the manuscript, but Payne Smith cites it as a *hapax* and suggests it should rather be read as ܚܫܪ ("smite").[73] Bickell follows the manuscript reading, notes ܦܠܫ as unique vocabulary, and renders it *abschneiden*,[74] which subsequent translators have followed. The verb ܦܠܫ is possibly attested in one other text,[75] but Payne Smith's emendation of it to ܚܫܪ is not implausible on contextual or text-critical grounds, and perhaps translators have been mislead by a desire to preserve (odd to say) two sets of severed feet.

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[72] This should not be read too literally, in light of his later description: "Grass and thorns / he has given it to eat, / but withheld from it / the bread of men" (436-40). Cf. also 404-7.
[73] TS 3627. Cf. lns. 444-47 below.
[74] Bickell, *Gedichte*, 623.
[75] The Syriac version of the *Sentences of Menander* 6 (7) (Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, 1:65). Audet reads the ms. as ܦܠܫ and argues that, understood figuratively, Bickell's rendering of it as "to cut" works well enough here (Audet, "Sagesse," 60n5). Land reads the same ms. as ܦܠ but accepts the subsequent correction of it by Wright to ܦܠܫ (Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, 1:65ln14; 2:25).

Cyrillona seems inspired by the imprecatory psalms, from which he directly draws one of his own imprecations: "shatter its teeth."[76] And in the following petitions, Cyrillona is particularly inspired by scriptural lamentations and plaints, such as those of Job and the Psalms. So while Cyrillona is wont to cite biblical figures sparingly, it is perhaps not surprising that in the following he names both Job (169) and the psalmist, King David (674).

III. Petitions

The final four couplets of Cyrillona's exhortation, his imprecations against the locust (147-54), are addressed to God and provide a segue into his long petition. He will petition God directly as pastor and preacher, as a singular "I" or collective "we;" and also in the voice of creation (ܒܪܝܬܐ) or the earth (ܐܪܥܐ); and finally in the voice of the church (ܥܕܬܐ) with "her children . . . the apostles and martyrs" (524-26). These petitions are offered in three successive sections, and those by creation/earth and the church are explicitly demarcated; for creation at beginning and end (214-17;

[76] Ps 3:7; 58:6; cf. Job 4:10. His reference to tearing out the belly of the dragon, however, must refer to Bel and the Dragon, in which Daniel feeds the dragon cakes of pitch, fat, and hair which cause it to rupture. See Bel 27 (= Dan 14:27) and pp. 45-46 above.

522-23), though for the church just at the beginning (524-33). Past translators have generally placed these two petitions in quotations.[77]

I have not done so in my translation, for Cyrillona moves fluidly and frequently between various voices and persons, even within single stanzas. He says, for example, in the petition of creation, "Stay your chastisement, / for such is our communion with you / that if I am stricken, / you have wounded yourself" (300-3). Cyrillona is speaking here (as pastor and preacher) for the body of Christians and (as the church) for the body of the church, but transparently not in the voice of creation. Therefore, the divisions proposed here reflect Cyrillona's formal structure, but it will be seen that his dynamism regularly transcends these loose boundaries.

III.A. The Petition of the Preacher (155-201)

Cyrillona laments the chastisement which has befallen creation by a comparison series that employs, as we so frequently find, Ephremian paradox. He introduces in the first verses the venerable idea of suffering as divine, disciplinary and medicinal: "The earth is sick / and your medicine is bitter; / the world is ill / and your chastisement is sore" (155-58). Opposed to weak creation is the mighty and grievous (ܩܨܝܦ) power of God, and scourges are raised up while people lay prostrate

[77] Bickell and Cerbelaud employ quotation marks for the petitions of both creation and the church, though ending the latter in different places, but Vona only quotes the petition of creation.

(159-62). His lament recalls Psalm 38: "There is no soundness in my flesh because of your indignation; . . . I am utterly bowed down and prostrate."[78] Or as Job, soon to be invoked, says, "the terrors of God are arrayed against me."[79]

In spite of this extremity, Cyrillona can say nevertheless, "Do not be anxious for me, / as for Simon" (163-64). His precise meaning is not clear. Cerbelaud and Vona both reference scriptures relating to Peter's lapses of faith (respectively, Luke 22:31-32 and Matt 14:29).[80] On this thesis, Cyrillona is assuring Christ that he need not be concerned, as he was for Peter, that his faith will fail. Much less persuasively, Landersdorfer suggests: "Da im ersten Teil des Gedichtes nur die Kirche der durch Unglücksfälle betroffenen Stadt die redend eingeführte Person sein kann, wird hier wohl an die römische Kirche zu denken sein."[81] Cyrillona says later, listing Christian triumphs, "and in Rome / Simon preaches" (617-18), but there is no reason to suppose that here he is (cryptically) referencing some divine concern for Rome. He is simply saying, "Unlike Peter, my faith will not waver, even when tried."

Bickell and Landersdorfer are correct, though, that Cyrillona is speaking here in the person of *his* church or, in places, *the* church. He speaks as a pastor and,

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[78] Ps 38:3, 6.
[79] Job 6:4.
[80] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 111n73; Vona, *Carmi*, 138n.
[81] Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 13n3. He draws here on Bickell, who says (of lns. 183-84), "In der ersten Hälfte dieses Gedichtes ist durchgängig die Kirche der durch Unglücksfälle betroffenen Stadt die redend eingeführte Person" (Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 19n1).

possibly, a bishop. It is the church that is a maid-servant (183) and mother (189). Likewise he does not cast himself in the person of Job, but rather the church in his care:

let me pour out / my groans before you (165-66)	"My groanings are poured out like water" (Job 3:24)
let me speak (167)	See Job 13:22
and you, grant me a respite / and, just as for / Job, / give me a chance to breathe (168-70)	See Job 7:16, 19; 9:18; 10:20

He continues:

> If I have been healed,
> you have struck me well,
> and if not, wait
> until I have had a respite;
> (then) if there is any part of me
> that remains untouched,
> beat and strike me
> as much as seems good to you.

Translators have all understood this passage somewhat differently, but clearly Cyrillona is contrasting how God heals us spiritually by striking us physically. With reference to Job, it reflects the counsel of Eliphaz: "How happy is the one whom God reproves; therefore do not despise the discipline of the Almighty. For he wounds, but he binds up; he strikes, but his hands heal."[82] Bickell, periphrastic but with an

[82] Job 5:17-18. Cf. Deut 32:39; Ps 94:12; Prov 3:11; Hos 6:1.

accurate sense for the meaning, renders it: "Wenn ich wieder gesund bin, dann magst Du mich immerhin züchtigen, zuvor aber warte ein wenig, bis ich erst etwas zu Atem gekommen bin! Wenn auch nur ein einziger heiler Fleck an mir ist, dann magst Du mich geißeln und zerschlagen, soviel es Dir beliebt."[83]

Lamenting again its suffering, the church falls like a maid-servant before her Lord, pleading mercy (183-86),[84] and then we encounter a second crux: "With one word / your command created us / and I became a mother" (ܒܪܡܝܬ ܚܕ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܒܪܝܬܢ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܐ ܗܘܝܬ). In form, the verb ܗܘܝܬ may be 1 sg. or 2 m. sg. Cerbelaud understands this as 2 m. sg. ("ta Volonté, devenue mère," etc.).[85] But Bickell and Vona translate ܗܘܝܬ as 1 sg. ("I became (a) mother"), looking towards lns. 192-93 ("heal my children / and end my suffering").[86] This seems most likely to me, since Cyrillona is clearly speaking in the person of the church. However, the line in question (189) is also a hemistich, the only hemistich in the poem. Possibly a line has been lost here which would change the sense of this passage.

Cyrillona likens his church to the woman with a hemorrhage, who touched the hem of Jesus's robe and was healed (194-97), and therefore exclaims, "I who have

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[83] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 19.
[84] See Ps 123:2.
[85] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 76.
[86] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 19; Vona, *Carmi*, 139. Creation and the church are both called mothers in the next section (see ln. 207).

grasped / your whole body— / how much more shall I be succored / and healed thereby!" (198-201).[87] The eucharistic imagery he finds in this gospel episode appears already in Ephrem: "And as she was affrighted, and took courage because she was healed, so do You heal my fear and fright, and so I may take courage in You and be conveyed from Your garment to Your own Body . . . Your garment, Lord, is a fountain of medicines: in Your visible clothing there dwells a hidden power."[88] The phrase, "grasped your whole body" (198-99), may allude to the practice of receiving the eucharistic host in one's hands at Communion.[89]

III.B. The Petition of the Earth (202-521)

Cyrillona formally ends his own petition and directs his auditors to now listen to the words of "creation and the church" (202), who come as mothers before the judge to intercede for their children, bringing "in their hands / a propitiation of tears" (208-9). We will see that Cyrillona uses the terms creation (ܒܪܝܬܐ) and the earth (ܐܪܥܐ) interchangeably but not equally, at times speaking clearly in the person of the earth, at others speaking more generally as all creation, or as "your creatures" (ܒܪܝܬܬܐ) (517). A finer distinction might even be discerned: it is the earth that suffers

[87] See Matt 9:18-26; Mark 5:24-34; Luke 8:40-48.
[88] *HFid.* 10.6-7 (trans. Brock and Kiraz, *Select Poems*, 205). This passage is noted by Cerbelaud (*Agneau*, 111n76). On Ephrem's eucharistic typology of vestments, see Yousif, *Eucharistie*, 125-27.
[89] See Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 19n2; Vona, *Carmi*, 139n.

but all creation that seeks mercy. But it is specifically the earth whom he introduces here, who "began / to speak first, / with groaning / and lamentation" (214-17).

In common with other Semitic literatures, Syriac authors delighted in dramatic personification, or prosopopoeia. Anthony of Tagrit, the Syriac Quintilian, says of this device: "Prosopopoeia is as if something inanimate or irrational, instead (of being that), makes speech, or a rational (being), instead (of speaking) normally, (does) otherwise, concerning what is or is possible. Indeed the poets renowned of the Syrians used this species more than all the species of poetry."[90] Prosopopoeia was used by Syriac authors especially in dispute poems.[91] Cyrillona's personification of the earth and the church certainly reflects this dispute tradition. Their petitions are thoroughly forensic in character—the earth and the church are arguing the case for mercy.

There is no reason to believe Cyrillona had formally studied rhetoric, but he has an excellent sense for its essentials. The structure of the earth's petition contains several elements of the classical *dispositio*, making a case before God that the scourges it has heretofore suffered are sufficient. These couplets form a brief proem (*exordium*), a lamentation intended to provoke sympathy for its plight.

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[90] Anthony of Tagrit, *On Rhetoric* 5.2 (Watt, *Fifth Book,* T. 71, lns 11-15; trans. Watt, *Fifth Book*, V. 59-60).
[91] On the Syriac continuation of this ancient literary form, see Brock, "Dispute Poem," and "Syriac Dispute Poems."

Unmake me now!
        Why should I still abide
after these
        evil times?
Command me to vanish!
        I am spent—
either destroy me
        or renew me. (218-25)

The earth's lament here is very much in the spirit of those just preceding, Job-like in character, with the earth opening its mouth, cursing the day of its creation, and speaking in the bitterness of its soul that its suffering knows no end.[92]

Now the earth provides a survey (*narratio*) of its case, explaining the arc of unremitted suffering it has endured from the fall of Adam to the present (226-47). It brought forth Adam at God's command, but "while desiring / to rejoice in his birth, / you rose up to beat / and to scourge me" (228-31). Vona says this is speaking of the curse upon the earth at the Fall, which Bickell's translation clearly supposes as well.[93] Cerbelaud reads the participles here (ܚܕܝܢ [228, 232]) as referring to the present rather than being past continuous, and diverges in other particulars, rendering this whole passage quite differently.[94] The participles must be taken as past tense, but may refer to the Fall or to the homicide that soon followed, for the earth laments that before it could even catch its breath from its travail, a second

[92] See Job 3:1; 10:1; on endless suffering, Job 7 and 14.
[93] Vona, *Carmi*, 140n; Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 20.
[94] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 77-78

agony (ܟܪܟ) still more grievous befell it, "for I drank the blood / of Abel my beloved, / whom Cain crushed / before his time" (236-39).[95]

This was, however, just the beginning of the earth's pain:

> And from the beginning
> to this day,
> see how I am full
> of every grief,
> of quotidian terrors,
> of ill-tidings every day,
> of torments every hour,
> of all strifes. (240-47)

This is the heart of the matter, what Quintilian calls the *propositio*, the statement of facts which should culminate the narration, which "after preparing the mind of the judge . . . indicate(s) the nature of the subject on which he will have to give judgment."[96] Aside from a short conclusion, the remainder of this long petition is the proof (*confirmatio*) of this statement, with a recitation of present sufferings illustrating the character of the whole.

The earth describes four scourges which have recently afflicted it: conflicts and invasions, a drought, a plague of locusts, and an earthquake. I have detailed the historical aspects of these events in my introduction.[97] I will discuss here only the

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[95] See Gen 4:10-11. Cerbelaud observes, "Le vocabulaire ici utilisé renvoie à la métaphore de la grappe de raisin, 'pressée avant son temps,' c'est-à-dire avant d'être parvenue à maturité" (*Agneau*, 111n77).
[96] Quintilian, *Inst. or.* 4.2 (trans. Butler, *Quintilian*, 49).
[97] See pp. 57-73 above.

relevant historical data not covered there, as well as the significant literary features of this section.

The Invasions

Cyrillona describes the violence that surrounds his land at the four points of the compass. The earth begins, "Your will has scourged / the East with captivity, / and the towns which were laid waste / are uninhabited" (248-51). This must refer to the Sassanid Persian occupation of Roman lands in Mesopotamia, ceded to them by Jovian in 363 after a long war and the death of Julian in campaign against them. This was followed by mostly peaceful relations until the turn of the sixth century. The earth continues, "The West is stricken, / and see how its cities / are held by a people / who do not know you" (252-55). This would refer to the occupation of Roman lands by the Goths in the Balkans. The reference to those "who do not know you" may refer to Gothic paganism or Gothic Arianism, but given the absence of theological polemic otherwise in these poems, it seems more likely a reference to the former.

The earth speaks next of the North and the invasion of the Huns, which I have treated in detail in Chapter One.[98] The North itself is the subject of just a single couplet: "The North is in distress / and full of wars" (260-61). Description now gives

[98] See pp. 63-68 above.

way to petition, and the voice of the earth to the voice of the pastor and his church. The next fifty lines (262-311) in fact constitute a separate petition within a petition, an expression of full-throated fear about the threat of the Huns to Cyrillona's own land and to his nation, the Roman Empire.

Cyrillona both argues for mercy and pleads for mercy, though even his pleas imply arguments. His three questions (264-75) about the utility of the martyrs, the cross, and the holy church, should the Huns triumph, advance a first argument: To what purpose is the church if the Huns are permitted to "lay waste to my sons" (269) and "take captive my children" (279)? His pleas (283-99) that the Huns not vanquish "our country" (282) contain a second argument: To what purpose is a Christian kingdom if it be delivered up to infidels (295), to "filthy wolves" (287)?[99] He foregoes all subtlety to punctuate that "kingdom / that honors you" (290-91), and those "kings who fear / your kingdom" (292-93) and "who tread / the gates of your church" (298-99)—which he will emphasize yet again later (622-25).

A final pericope (300-11) offers a second, shorter plea that God curb his chastisement. Cyrillona employs a stronger form of his argument from the Eucharist. He previously likened the church, which had taken Christ's body in its hands, to the woman healed of an issue of blood (see 194-201). If the Huns despoil

[99] Jerome similarly calls the Huns, "non Arabiae, sed septentrionis lupi" (*Epist.* 60.16.4 [CSEL 54²:571.10-11])

the church, it will dishonor his body which is in it and mock his mysteries, and even would constitute self-harm, "for such is our communion with you / that if I am stricken, / you have wounded yourself" (301-3).[100]

He comes finally to speak of Palestine, "the South, which is full / of all your triumphs— / your conception, your birth, / and your crucifixion[101] . . . It too has been smitten, / just like its companions, / by violent bands of brigands / that have appeared against it" (312-15, 328-31). Cyrillona does not equate these southern hordes (ܚܒܒܐ) with the Huns, who threatened Palestine but never raided it.[102] He must be referring to the Saracen tribes, "the wolves of Arabia," that raided Palestine regularly from the 4th century to the rise of Islam.[103]

The South was made holy by Jesus's birth and death, but of course by his life as well: "the fragrance of your footsteps / spreads from it / because you walked

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[100] Baron compares with admiration the boldness of this passage with the Hebrew poet Yose ben Yose's *Omnam ashamnu*, which stressed God's forbearance towards Israel. "Neither Yose nor any of his successors, however, would have dared to go the whole length of Yose's Syriac compeer, Cyrillonas" (Baron, *Social and Religious History*, 7:92). See also 630-33 below.

[101] Several scholars, following Zahn (*Ignatius,* 187n3, 221), have seen in this passage a reference to the "three mysteries" enumerated by Ignatius in *Eph.* 19.1. Cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers,* 2.1:168; Schlier, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen,* 139n1; Smith, "Ignatius," 214. This similarity seems too general to accept as an evidence of literary influence. Intense investigation in the late 19th century concerning the potential literary primacy of the Syriac version of Ignatius generated much thin speculation on its literary influences upon early Syriac literature.

[102] The citation of this passage in Maenchen-Helfen does equate them with the Huns, but this is due to an incorrect English rendering of Landersdorfer's German translation (Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*, 56).

[103] "Wolves of Arabia": Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymius* 15 (Schwartz, *Kyrillos*, 24.21); cf. Jerome, *Epist.* 60.16.4 (CSEL 54²:571.10-11). For contemporary sources, see Mayerson, "Saracens and *Limes*," 39-40, and "Saracens and Romans," 72-74.

upon it / and blessed it" (316-19). Belief in the sanctifying power of Jesus's footsteps may draw consciously from biblical and Christian imagery, and also perhaps unconsciously from broader non-Christian traditions, which portray the miraculous power contained in the footsteps of gods and wonder-workers.[104] Cyrillona also references a series of miracles, further "triumphs," which include Jesus's baptism in the Jordan, the healing of the blind man at the pool of Siloam, the changing of water to wine at Cana, and "a feast for your multitudes" (ܗܡܚܟ ܕܚܕܥܬܐ) (320-27). This latter reference Cerbelaud understands as an allusion to "la célébration du banquet eucharistique," which Bickell's translation also implies.[105] Much more likely this is a reference to the miraculous feeding of the multitudes.[106] ܚܕܥܐ is the regular NT term used for the multitudes that followed Jesus. This is another miracle of abundance, mirroring that of the changing of water to wine at Cana (324-25).

The Drought and the Locusts

The following sections on the drought and the infestation of locusts should be treated together, since they are interconnected and share a pressing critical issue,

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[104] See, e.g., Ps 65:11; 77:19; 85:13; Isa 60:13: "I will glorify where my feet rest." On Christian and non-Christian traditions, see Kötting, "Fuß," 725-26, 739-40, and Speyer, "Segenskraft"(on Cyrillona, 305n30).

[105] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 112n78; Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 21.

[106] See Matt 14:13-21 et par.; Matt 15:32-39 et par.

which I will examine at the end. They are primarily narrative in character and straightforward, and may be briefly summarized, with a few important points addressed.

Cyrillona describes a two-year drought in which God "impoverished winter / and the milk of the breasts / of heaven has failed" (336-39), and which "brought upon us / July in March" (342-43). He describes a drought-induced crop failure (340-41), lamented by both adults and babes (348-51). More serious, it appears, was the dire shortage of potable water when the springs and cisterns went dry, forcing people to carry around sacks of jugs and beg for a drink (352-55, 360-63).

The one distributing bread begged for water; the one with a *mina* to spend received a drink. (356-59)	ܕܡܦܫܚ ܠܣܗܕܐ. ܫܕܐ ܒܥܐ. ܕܡܐܬ ܒܝܕܗ. ܩܒܠ ܫܩܝܐ.

Here ܕܡܦܫܚ ܠܣܗܕܐ, rather than meaning simply "one distributing alms,"[107] may refer literally to a bread or grain distribution, which civil authorities could institute in times of shortage or famine.[108] The intended sense seems to be that the one giving out bread in alms was himself reduced to begging (ܒܥܐ), but for water.

[107] So Margoliouth, *Supplement*, 120.

[108] See Garnsey, *Famine*, 26-28. We see an example of both grain and bread distribution in Ps. Joshua, *Chron.* 39-40 (Chabot, *Chronicon*, 265-67).

Cyrillona also indulges in wordplay with ܡܬܩܐ/ܡܕܒܐ, as well as ܥܦܠ/ܥܨܒܐ. A *mina* (Gk. μνᾶ) was a unit of measure (50 shekels=1.25 pounds) as well as a unit of currency, but here it is clearly the latter. Μνᾶ is often translated "talent," based on the traditional translation of Luke 19:11-27 (the Parable of the Talents). Its actual monetary value was 1/60th of an Athenian standard talent, but it was still a great amount of money. Its value naturally varied but was roughly three months wages for a laborer.[109] Cyrillona is indulging in some biblical exaggeration here,[110] but this communicates the severity of the drought.

As discussed in Chapter One, there is nothing to indicate that this drought and crop failure had resulted in a famine, which was much more rare than a shortage or "subsistence crisis."[111] Cyrillona's invocation of the story of Elijah and the widow of Zarephath is a most natural comparison to this catastrophe (364-75),[112] and illustrates a food shortage, but he says nothing else of hunger or famine. He petitions God to preserve the crops for offerings (12-13), and will pray "the fruits be revived" that people might "rejoice / in their abundance" (659-61), but he will soon make clear that, at present, the threat of famine is not at their door.

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[109] See Powell, "Weights and Measures," 907-8.
[110] Cf. Matt 18:24.
[111] See pp. 58-59 above.
[112] See 1 Kgs 17:7-16.

Echoing the earth's first plaint,[113] Cyrillona next laments that before this first scourge could be forgotten, "there befell me this one, / which is worse than the first" (376-79). Speaking for his church, he describes how he had to borrow for the next planting (380). As Stathakopoulos says, "drought is the factor that harms par excellence grain produce: in autumn it may bring sowing to a halt, in spring destroy the harvest and even deprive peasants of seed-grain needed for the next growing season."[114] This seems to describe the situation in Cyrillona's region: "I signed a contract, / and so they lent to me; / I subscribed to a promissory note, / and so they granted me aid" (382-85). Then everything possible was done—sowing, toiling, planting, irrigating, cultivating and praying (380-81, 386-87)—and this appeared to meet with success. "The ship of my fields / had come to port / and I was confident / that they had safely berthed" (388-91); but then (literally) overshadowing this rejoicing, "there arose[115] the storm / of the accursed locust" (394-95). Cyrillona describes "the billows of their hordes" (396) in, at once, the voice of the earth and of his people:

> They alighted upon my fields,
> they covered my lands.
> They fluttered and lay down upon me,
> they came in (ܥܠܘ) and reclined on me,

[113] Cf. 226-39.
[114] Stathakopoulos, *Famine*, 36.
[115] Syr. ܐܬܐ, specifically, to steam or smoke, to rise up in clouds (see TS 2863).

accursed wayfarers
who fed upon me. (398-403)

This seems to describe, as with the biblical plague of Exodus,[116] the locusts covering the "face of the land" and devouring it, and also entering (حلہ) into houses and settling upon their inhabitants. In his account of the 1915 infestation of Palestine, John Whiting described the human experience of a locust invasion.

> Disastrous as they were in the country, equally obnoxious they became about the homes, crawling up thick upon the walls and, squeezing in through cracks of closed doors or windows, entering the very dwelling rooms. When unable to find an entrance they often scaled the walls to the roofs, and then got into the houses by throwing themselves into the open courts, such as most Oriental houses are built around. Women frantically swept the walls and roofs of their homes, but to no avail. . . . About our houses they became so thick that one could not help crushing them with every step. They even fell into one's shirt collar from the walls above and crawled up onto one's person. . . . Whenever touched, or especially when finding themselves caught within one's clothes, they exuded from their mouth a dark fluid, an irritant to the skin and soiling the garments in a most disgusting manner. Imagine the feeling (we speak from experience) with a dozen or two such creatures over an inch long, with sawlike legs and rough bodies, making a race-course of your back![117]

Imagining such an invasion of home and even clothing, the feeling of the locust's acidic bile upon your skin, one might truly feel fed upon (see 403).

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[116] Cf. Exod 10:5-6.

[117] Whiting, "Jerusalem's Locust Plague," 533.

Pliny said of locust plagues, summarizing the common opinion of antiquity, *Deorum irae pestis ea intelligitur*.[118] Cyrillona, too, understands the locust as the *ira Dei.*

> But your chastisement
> was not equal to my transgressions
> or your scourges
> to my offenses.
> It is a wonder, my brothers,
> that in this wrath
> such mercy
> has appeared!
> Its master put a muzzle
> on the locust,
> that it might not despoil
> to the (full) measure of its wickedness. (408-19)

Cyrillona says much more about the locust's restraint than he does about its damage (420-39). His language is oddly reminiscent of the futility curses of Deut 28, which threaten that the rewards of disobedience shall be devastation by pests of seed, vineyard and trees: "You shall carry much seed into the field but shall gather little in, for the locust shall consume it. . . . All your trees and the fruit of your ground the cicada shall take over."[119] But here the biblical curses are reversed. The locust settles

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[118] Pliny, *Nat.* 11.10. On Pliny's account, see Bodson, "Invasions," 61-64; generally on ancient interpretations of catastrophe, Barceló, "Darstellung."

[119] Deut 28:38, 42 (see vv. 38-42); cf. Amos 4:9: "I struck you with blight and mildew; I laid waste your gardens and your vineyards; the locust devoured your fig trees and your olive trees; yet you did not return to me, says the Lord."

upon vineyard and vines, trees and branches, seed and fruit, but only grass and thorns is it permitted to eat (436-37). Therefore, the locust cannot truly be the wrath of God. An alternative interpretation is given: "He has bid it come / for the sake of fear; / he has commanded it to fast / for the sake of mercy" (432-35).

The most important critical question these sections on the drought and the locusts raise is with respect to translation. Material differences between previous translations of these lines indicate very different understandings among past translators. The confusion stems from the predominant verbal tense used in Cyrillona's description of both the drought and the locusts. When rallying his brothers to battle against the locust (see 67-154), Cyrillona mainly uses participles, imperatives and imperfect verbs (hortatory imperfects). But here, in describing both the locust invasion and the drought, he prefers the perfect tense. The Syriac perfect can represent either action completed in the past (simple past, past perfect, or past continuous) or a continuing action begun in the past (present perfect). Only context and, if fortunate, occasional verbal modifiers allow the translator to discern the correct sense.

Bickell and Vona chose to consistently render these perfects as narrative past tense—in Bickell's case the *Präteritum* or *Plusquamperfekt* and in Vona's mainly the *passato remoto*—conveying the sense that both of these events lie squarely in the past.

In contrast, Cerbelaud uses the present or present perfect and *passé composé* liberally, depicting a continuing drought and the immediate threat of the locusts. These differences can be illustrated with an example where, in fact, even the verbal form itself is ambiguous:

Scourges 440-43	ܚܒܝܫܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܥܪ ܥܠ ܚܨܕܝ ܕܐܬܝܒܬ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܝ ܐܝܟ ܓܕܝܫܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܥܪ ܥܠ ܚܨܕܝ ܕܐܬܝܒܬ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܝ ܐܝܟ ܓܕܝܫܐ
Bickell	Dem bösen Arbeiter, der leidigen Heuschrecke, die sich wie ein Schnitter auf meinen Feldern niederließ, . . .
Vona	Malvagi operai, le funeste cavallette, che, come mietitori, nelle mie terre abitarono.
Cerbelaud	Méchante ouvrière est la sauterelle maudite, qui comme un moissonneur demeure sur mes terres.

The verb ܒܥܪ may be read as perfect (ܒܥܶܪ) or a participle (ܒܥܳܪ). Bickell and Vona clearly read it as the former (as the diacritical dot would indicate), while Cerbelaud reads it as a participle or, if perfect, a present perfect.

Certainly Cyrillona leaves some room for confusion—at least for us in the present. He describes a crop failure and a two-year drought, but then also proceeds to describe the irrigation of a successful crop (ܚܨܕܝ; 386), which arrived at harvest just before the coming of the locusts. He says first that the locusts eat their bread (146), but then here that God has withheld from it the bread of men (436-39).

Previously he called upon God to "shatter (ܫܒܪ) its teeth" (151), and now here he announces, "The sickle of its teeth / you have shattered (ܐܫܒܪ), O Blessed One" (444-45).[120]

Clearly this biblical imprecation was just too choice to use only once, but no more may be deduced from it. Given Cyrillona's earlier passionate call to arms against the locust (67-154), there can be no doubt that his community was at that moment suffering from a locust infestation. And indeed, the present section begins:

> But before I could forget
> the first scourge (i.e., the drought),
> there befell me this one (ܗܘ),
> worse than the first. (376-79)

Bickell translates ܗܘ as "ein zweite," eliminating its valance as a near referent, while Vona retains its proper sense ("quest'altro") but mostly eliminates its force through subsequent choice of verbal tense.[121] Cyrillona uses this near demonstrative a second time of the locusts as well: "It is a wonder, my brothers, / that in this wrath (ܒܗܝ ܕܟܝ) / such mercy / has appeared!" (412-15). But even if these demonstratives are discounted as referring to a present circumstance, one still must

[120] See Ps 3:7; 58:6.

[121] In one place Vona does allow present extremity to peek through (cf. lns. 421, 423, and Vona, *Carmi*, 145).

account for the previous near one hundred lines calling Christians to battle against the locusts.

There is, in fact, no necessary tension between that call to battle against them and this celebration of God's mercy in restraining the locust's appetite. As noted previously,[122] locust infestations were and are a regular occurrence in the Mediterranean and Middle East, but devastating plagues were rare. Stathakopoulos could catalog only eleven locust infestations between 284-750 CE that caused serious distress, but notes also that there are "numerous cases where locusts are mentioned [in historical sources] without the record of an ensuing famine or epidemic."[123] Cyrillona's diocese was currently suffering from a locust infestation—always a very serious concern for farmers[124]—but it was not at this time, at least, a crop-destroying plague. It is difficult to decide if Bickell and Vona were truly confused on this matter, or if their translations are simply confusing. Cerbelaud, to this point, is correct.

The question of the drought is more difficult. When introducing the drought, Cyrillona says,

> For two years
> you have impoverished (ܚܗܓܒܗ) winter

[122] See pp. 61 above.
[123] Stathakopoulos, *Famine*, 41.
[124] See Beyer, "Sie legten," 76-77; Graßl, "Heuschreckenplage," 442.

and the milk of the breasts
of heaven has failed (سجفة). (336-39)

Bickell renders the description of the drought thoroughly in past tense; Vona begins in present tense ("l'inverno impoverisci") and then immediately changes to *passato remoto*; while Cerbelaud casts the drought entirely in the present and present perfect. Cerbelaud may have been influenced by the sermon's conclusion, in which Cyrillona will petition God to fructify the land:

Command, in your mercy,
that the fruits be revived
and let humanity rejoice
in their abundance.
Command that there be for us
a splendid summer
and also that we enjoy
a blessed winter. (658-65)

It seems from this that, like the locusts, the drought was of ongoing concern, but this sole petition for water ("a blessed winter") is both singular and mild, and we must also account for the irrigation of crops the past season (386). Cyrillona clearly states there were two years of poor winter rainfall, but as discussed in Chapter One,[125] an episode from the *Life of Porphyry of Gaza* may provide an answer to this puzzle. It appears in the *Life* that Gaza suffered two years of drought at precisely the same

[125] See pp. 59-61.

time as this, but then received a late rainfall that brought relief.[126] Even if this cannot be taken as sure evidence for what occurred in Cyrillona's locale,[127] it provides an illuminating parallel to his account.

All evidence in *Scourges* would seem to be explicable on the following understanding, which has guided my own translation: There was a two-year drought over the winters of, probably, 394/95 and 395/96. The drought the first winter was very severe, a "July in March" (343), causing the shortage of drinking water described so vividly (352-63). The second winter there was sparse rain or, as in the *Life of Porphyry*, only a late rain which, nevertheless, permitted a successful spring crop—which was immediately threatened by a locust invasion. In the spring of 396, when this sermon was likely delivered, water was apparently a continuing concern, and thus Cyrillona's prayer for a splendid summer and blessed winter. But the locusts, while they (miraculously) were not devastating the crops, remained an immediate and alarming problem.

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[126] *Vita Porphyrii* 16-21 (Grégoire and Kugener, *Vie de Porphyre*, 14-19).

[127] Even if the shared dates are accepted, there is significant climatic variation in the greater Mediterranean, and certainly between coastal Gaza and, we may suppose, northern Syria or Mesopotamia. "In fact, the mosaic of rainfall distribution is too complicated to be captured by a regular rainfall map. . . . Classifications such as that of Le Houérou identifying no fewer than 64 climatic sub-types in the Mediterranean basin as a whole make no allowance for the occurrence of countless microclimates in circumscribed locations" (Garnsey, *Famine*, 9).

The Earthquake

Continuing to speak in his own voice, Cyrillona now proceeds to discuss a final scourge, an earthquake, which struck unspecified cities (ܠܚܕ̈ܡܬܐ) (449). As discussed in Chapter One, available evidence would indicate that Cyrillona is describing an earthquake in 396 that most accounts depict specifically as striking Constantinople.[128] Though there is some evidence that its effects may have been wider, it is clear this was something his auditors themselves had not experienced. There are no first-person references, as one finds previously. With respect to the drought and the locusts, he speaks of "our land," "our bread," "our country," or simply "us."[129] But of the earthquake he says, "*they* saw the bow," "*they* grasped the cross," etc.[130] Woods argues that the date of the earthquake was April 1, 396.[131] If so, it must have occurred not long before this sermon, and if it affected the capital, these would have been compelling reasons for Cyrillona to address it at some length.

In the Bible, notes Hermann, earthquakes are consistently employed "zum topischen Ausdrucksmittel von Jahwes Zorn."[132] When Cyrillona says the will of God entered cities and "made them tremble / as if in wrath" (450-51), he imparts to

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[128] Fuller discussion and documentation of the following is found on pp. 68-72 above.
[129] See 109, 146, 282, and 342.
[130] See 484-95 and 510-13.
[131] Woods, "Earthquake," 335-36.
[132] Hermann, "Erdbeben," 1076. See ibid., 1076-78, for a thorough survey of relevant biblical texts.

this event, from his first lines, the biblical imagery of divine punishment. This would have been natural for him, given wrath as the principal scriptural explanation for earthquakes. But while Cyrillona uses the term "wrath" (ܪܓܙܐ) here four times (451, 486, 495, 506), it occurs only three other times in his entire sermon (413, 643, 678), and its sense is usually conditional or attenuated (i.e., as a synonym for the earthquake, David's wrath towards Nabal, eschatological wrath, etc.). Translators have not been willing to render ܪܓܙܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܒܗ (451) with the provisional force that the author seems to have intended, but I think it reveals his deeper conviction. The consistent impression conveyed, here and throughout, is that these afflictions are principally (as he says of the locusts) "for the sake of fear"—to provoke humility and repentance—rather than as punishment (433). Cyrillona draws here on the biblical language and imagery of divine wrath, but beneath it lays a fundamentally propaedeutic interpretation of these afflictions.

Descriptions of the previous scourges are vivid, but also seem to hew to the facts. As a more remote event, Cyrillona appears to allow himself more freedom to dramatize the earthquake, to embellish it with this biblical coloring. A moral or theological interpretation of earthquakes and other natural disasters was of course

very common in both pagan and Christian antiquity.[133] As suited such purposes, accounts of disasters were often elaborated with attendant signs and wonders which lent greater moral or religious force to the account. Chaniotis describes one class of earthquake accounts, saving earthquakes (*rettende Erdbeben*), which he also describes more broadly as "imaginary earthquakes" (*imaginäre Erdbeben*), not in the sense of fictitious, but transparently fictive. The actual event receives "eine starke narrative Überarbeitung" in which the author "schmückt die Erzählung mit weiteren Begleiterscheinungen aus, mit Donner, Blitzen, Gespenstern , unnatürlichen Geräuschen, panischer Angst und einem Gemetzel im eigenen Lager, die sich leicht als Topoi von Wundererzählungen erkennen lassen."[134] We cannot know what account Cyrillona based his own upon or what embellishments it may have already contained, but in this venerable tradition, it seems to use for effect certain *Wundertopoi*.

Cyrillona's description of buildings, towers, fortifications, shrines and temples all being cast down (454-59) may describe quite literal mass destruction far beyond that found in other accounts,[135] but Ezekiel too describes how God will

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[133] See generally, Barceló, "Darstellung," and Sonnabend, "Hybris;" specifically on earthquakes, Dagron, "Quand le terre;" Hermann, "Erdbeben," 1076-78, 1082-1103; and Mylonopoulos, "Poseidon."

[134] Chaniotis, "Willkommene Erdbeben," 407.

[135] Augustine's report, while also secondary and at least as imaginative as Cyrillona's, states that after the portents had ended (he makes no direct mention of an earthquake) "the walls and the houses

shake the land "and the mountains shall be thrown down, and the cliffs shall fall, and every wall shall tumble to the ground."[136] When he says, "The earth swallowed / her children alive" (460-61), we cannot but think of Moses and Korah.[137] The shaking of mountains, "skipping like rams,"[138] is of course the principal biblical metaphor for divine earthquakes.[139] The mountains here departing their places, uprooted and destroyed (462-67), is one distinctive touch in this sermon of the apocalyptic, looking to the day when God shall flatten the mountains[140] and cause them to run like wax.[141]

Job, too, speaks of "he who removes mountains, and they do not know it, when he overturns them in his anger; who shakes the earth out of its place, and its pillars tremble; who commands the sun, and it does not rise; who seals up the stars."[142] As Job, Cyrillona associates the earthquake with some kind of eclipse or atmospheric occlusion: "In daytime the radiant light / grew dark / and night became / a tenebrous tomb"(472-75). The "mists" and "gloom" which blotted out the light were dispersed when the earthquake ceased (506-9). As discussed previously,[143]

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stood safe throughout the city" (*De excidio urbis Romae* VI.7 [CCSL 46:259; trans. O'Reilly, *De excidio*, 71]).

[136] Ezek 38:20.

[137] Num 16:31-33.

[138] Ps 114:4.

[139] See, e.g., Ps 18:7 (=2 Sam 22:8); 104:32; Isa 5:25; 64:1, 3; Jer 4:24.

[140] Isa 45:2; 49:11; 54:10.

[141] Ps 97:5; Mic 1:4; Nah 1:5; Jdt 16:15.

[142] Job 9:5-7.

[143] See pp. 70-71 above.

there are other accounts of celestial phenomena attending this earthquake, but more in the order of a fire in the sky than an eclipse of all illumination. Cameron's theory that all this may be linked to a distant volcanic eruption might account for the contradictory evidence,[144] but that is pure speculation. As Guidoboni says generally of earthquakes in this period, the evidence here "presents too many problems of interpretation for satisfactory conclusions to be reached."[145] Facts cannot be confidently separated from biblical and apocalyptic imagination.

Cyrillona's account is not one of Chaniotis's "saving earthquakes" in pure terms, but much of his account is still devoted to "die Segen des Erdbebens."[146] As Chaniotis describes, "Der Versuch, im Unerklärlichen einen Sinn zu finden, führte nicht nur zur Theorie des Erdbebens als Strafe für bekannte oder unbekannte Verfehlungen, sondern auch zur Theorie vom gezielten Erdbeben, als sinnvolles Instrument, das seine Opfer selektiv aussucht, die Unschuldigen rettet, die Natur gestaltet, ve[r]borgene Schätze offenbart."[147] The second half of Cyrillona's account describes two demonstrations of faith and piety which the earthquake produced. Like Augustine, he describes the churches filling up with multitudes seeking the

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[144] Cameron, "Earthquake," 353. Another theory connects this with the aurora borealis (see Grattanarola, "Terremoto," 239-43).
[145] Guidoboni, *Catalogue*, 283.
[146] See Chaniotis, "Willkommene Erdbeben,"411ff.
[147] Ibid., 415.

sacrament of baptism. Augustine says they did so "that they might escape wrath, not the present wrath, of course, but that which was to come."[148] This same idea is implicit in Cyrillona as well. Those delaying baptism sought it upon seeing "wrath unsheathed / like a sword" (486-87):

> They came for washing
> and received life;
> they grasped the cross
> and wrath abated. (492-95)

This may be read both as meaning that the earthquake stopped at these demonstrations of faith (cf. 506) and, as the poetic parallel with "life" suggests, that those who did so avoided divine justice. In the tremors they perceived God's bow drawn in future judgment against the wicked (484).

Cyrillona describes both king and beggar seeking God's mercy (496-97), but his description dwells on the king (498-504), named in other sources as the emperor Arcadius.[149] This is the second time Cyrillona has invoked the righteousness of their Christian king,[150] and states here directly in a rare independent couplet: "The Creator saw him / and sped his mercy" (505-6). But to rally his auditors, he will end

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[148] Augustine, *De excidio urbis Romae* VI.7 (CCSL 46:259; trans. O'Reilly, *De excidio*, 69).
[149] See p. 71n231 above.
[150] See 288-99; cf. lns. 622-25 below.

his account more inclusively: "He received the praise / of their tongues / and took mercy / upon their lives" (510-13).

Cyrillona now concludes the earth's long proof (*confirmatio*) of its unremitting torments and sufferings with a brief appeal:

> And now, my Lord, sufficient
> are these scourges—
> be reconciled
> with your creatures.
> For if you consider
> our deeds,
> there is no possibility of
> mercy for us. (514-21)

We see the pastor returning once again to the sentiments of Job and (especially) Job's friends: our afflictions are always merited, since before God no mortal can possibly be accounted just.[151] There is no possible argument for innocence: "I cannot answer him; I must appeal for mercy to my accuser."[152]

Cyrillona's conclusion of the earth's petition is the beginning of such an appeal for mercy. I spoke initially about the broad similarity we find between the structure of the earth's petition and that of the classical *dispositio*. The final element

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[151] See Job 4:17(Eliphaz): "Can mortals be righteous before God? Can human beings be pure before their Maker?" (see vv. 17-21); Job 9:2-3 (Job): "But how can a mortal be just before God? If one wished to contend with him, one could not answer him once in a thousand;" Job 15:14-16 (Eliphaz): "What are mortals, that they can be clean? Or those born of woman, that they can be righteous? God puts no trust even in his holy ones, and the heavens are not clean in his sight; how much less one who is abominable and corrupt, one who drinks iniquity like water!;" Job 25:4 (Bildad): "How can a mortal be righteous before God? How can one born of woman be pure?"

[152] Job 9:15.

of the classical *dispositio* is the peroration (*peroratio*), which summarizes the speaker's case and, most importantly, accumulates the strongest possible figures of pathos. Formally this is the conclusion to the earth's petition, but functionally it is the segue to an emotional peroration offered by the church.

III.C. The Petition of the Church (522-689)

The final section of this sermon begins with a brief narrative prologue, in which Cyrillona substantially repeats his previous introduction to the petition of creation and the church (202-13):

> After the earth
> had rehearsed these things,
> the church came
> and her children with her,
> the apostles and martyrs,
> for she brought with her
> the friends of the king
> to persuade the king.
> Let us listen, my brothers,
> to their words,
> for they earnestly petition
> the judge. (522-33)

However, the voice of the church and the martyrs is represented in the person of the preacher. As so often elsewhere, Cyrillona irrepressibly offers this petition in the

first person plural, pleading as pastor on behalf of his church and indeed for all "creation and her children" (640).

Cyrillona forwards a succession of arguments and injunctions to persuade the judge that grace and mercy, while not denying justice, are also "proper in the economy of things" (309). This petition may be divided into five parts, of varying length, linked together by five pleas, some just loosely connected to the specific petition they precede, but serving the author as points of transition.

First Plea

> Restrain your justice,
> Lord of Creation,
> hide your strength—
> mortals are weak. (534-37)

Cyrillona begins the church's petition with a rational argument: an argument from parental forbearance. In mercy God created the earth and fashioned (ܐܚܠ) Adam, and thereby "begat" (ܐܫܟܚ) mortals—"show them forbearance!" (538-43). God should forbear because this is what parents do for their children. Only Vona among past translators preserves the precise sense of the Syriac, which should be rendered: "For a father is one who endures (ܡܟܝ ܕܡ ܒܪܗ) / the vexations of his son, / and a mother suffers / the sting of her children, / and also God / the sins of mortals"

(544-49).[153] Cyrillona is not simply suggesting an analogy to human parents which God should emulate. Rather he is boldly reminding God of a virtue inherent in parenthood—forbearance—which God as Father necessarily possesses and exercises.

Second Plea

> My Lord, do not smite us
> to the degree we deserve,
> lest they perish
> and your benevolence be grieved. (550-53)[154]

In the first couplet of this plea we hear yet another echo of Job.[155] We deserve our stripes, but to be smitten unto death would deprive God's benevolence of its purpose.

To his argument from parental forbearance, Cyrillona adds now an argument from divine foreknowledge. Before God created mortals he knew their deeds: "Not by observation / are you instructed,[156] / for you know everything / before it comes to

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[153] Compare Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 24, and Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 84, against Vona, *Carmi*, 149 ("poiché chi è padre sopporta," etc.).

[154] Syr. ܘܢܒܝ ܪܚܩ. Perhaps also, "and your clemency be foreshortened." Translators have been split, but the author may have intended a useful ambiguity.

[155] Job 10:6 (Zophar): "Know then that God exacts of you less than your guilt deserves."

[156] Syr. ܕܐܪ ܡܢ ܚܙܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܕܥܬ. Bickell's free translation correctly apprehends the sense: "Du wirst nicht erst durch den Anblick des Geschehenden belehrt, sondern weißt alles, schon bevor es geschieht" (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 24). Other translators understand this very differently; Vona: "Non secondo

be" (558-61). Cyrillona makes this observation but leaves the argument it implies unstated. God created mortals foreknowing their sins, and observing their acts can occasion no surprise. How then can mortal sins give rise to wrath? Both justice and mercy are entirely in God's hands. God's will (ܨܒܝܢܐ) may unleash invading hordes (248-49), shake the earth (448-51, 464-65) and set all manner of scourges upon mortals (332-35)—or make them cease (404-5, 427). God's will metes out and stays chastisement for sin, and likewise may sweep sin itself entirely away:

> If you desire it,
> the iniquity of the earth
> is nothing
> before your grace.
> If you will it,
> human transgressions
> are but a dream
> before your salvation. (562-69)

Third Plea

> O Lord, pay no heed
> to the one who provokes to anger,
> but rather to the one
> who pleases you. (570-73)

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l'apparenza, tu ti dimostri saggio" (*Carmi*, 149); Cerbelaud: "Tu es véritablement montré sage" (*Agneau*, 85).

This third plea contains Cyrillona's third argument: God should regard the one who pleases him (ܕܡܬܚܫ), not the one who provokes him (ܕܡܟܥܣ). This established, the preacher's concern is to establish the *bona fides* of the one who pleases God—the church. He must demonstrate to God that the merits of the church, set in the balance, outweigh the wickedness of the world.

This is a feast for the saints, the righteous dead, but Cyrillona presents to God the living body of Christ: "See (ܗܐ) how in our days / you have on the earth / laborers among your servants / who have cultivated truth" (574-77). This first stanza is the first in an anaphora series of seventeen stanzas, all beginning with the interjection ܗܐ. This first stanza establishes the church temporally (ܫܥܬܐ ܕܥܕܢ). The next thirteen stanzas are an ornate catalog of places and people that establish the church geographically and socially (578-629). Cyrillona begins with the monks in their monasteries and all desert places (578-89), who clearly lead the vanguard of the righteous, and indeed are directly called, "those pleasing to you" (ܕܡܬܚܝܡ) (585; cf. 573 [ܕܡܬܚܫ]). But Christian truth has spread to every locale: caves, deserts, seas, mountains, in the fields and in cities, to both Greeks and Romans, to Persia, Assyria, India and Rome. Likewise Christian truth has been embraced by all people, high or low, from kings and judges to pagans and prostitutes. Christian truth, he concludes,

is now universal: "See how in your palm / creation lies / and in your love / the world dwells" (626-29).

This striking passage has been cited as historical evidence for the spread of monasticism, the success of Christian evangelism, and the fall of paganism.[157] But it offers almost no specifics,[158] and its tone is triumphalist, its intent oratorical. Oratorically it is unconstrained, rich in figures and word-play, which can defy translation. Cerbelaud attempts to illustrate one such "jeu de mots" (610-13):[159]

See how in Persia your doctrine is spread and in Assyria your gospel has prospered and grown.	Voici que dans la Perse ta doctrine a percé, et qu'en Assyrie ton Évangile s'est assuré et a grandi.	ܐܝܟ ܕܒܦܪܣ ܣܓ. ܬܘܕܝܬܟ ܡܬܦܫܛ. ܘܒܐܬܘܪ ܐܝܓܪܬܟ. ܫܪܝܪ ܘܪܒܐ ܗܘܬ.

In the final three stanzas, Cyrillona turns from the cultivation of Christian truth (see 577) to its essence, found in the Eucharist (630-33) and in worship (634-37), and in what must be read as a reference to the immediate feast day and the congregation assembled in worship: "See your feasts, / which are full of your glory, /

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[157] See Vööbus, *History of Asceticism*, 140 (monasticism); Funk, *Juden*, 2:47 (Christian evangelism); Schultze, *Geschichte des Untergangs*, 328 (fall of paganism). Next to its mention of the Huns, the passage of this sermon that has perhaps drawn the most attention from historians is Cyrillona's apparent reference here to the participation of women and children in the liturgy: "See the song / in the mouth of babes / and your psalms / among women" (634-37). On children: Bakke, *When Children*, 256; Bottermann, *Beteiligung des Kindes*, 43-44 (cf. Gy, "Bulletin de liturgie," 320n22); and on women: Meyer-Baer, *Chorische Gesang*, 9.

[158] Noteworthy is the mention of Thomas preaching in India (614-15), but this tradition predates Cyrillona in the *Acts of Thomas* by at least a century. See Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 112n85.

[159] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 112n84. Cf. Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 25n2.

(and) creation and her children, / who are pleasing (ܚܢܚܡ) to you" (638-41). Cyrillona's call for God to regard him and his flock, his equation of their "pleasingness" with all creation, provides a firm point of departure for the following extended plea.

Fourth Plea

> Command to pass by, O Lord,
> the sword of your wrath—[160]
> our neck is too frail
> for your sword! (642-45)

Cyrillona begins another anaphora series, seven stanzas all beginning with the verb ܥܒܪ. The first and last stanzas serve, according to my schema, as the fourth and fifth pleas, but the present section—stanzas one through six (642-665)—are in fact a single extended plea. Cyrillona introduces no new argument here. With pure pathos, he simply pleads that the Lord let the sword of his wrath pass by (ܚܕܐ).

There is perhaps an echo in this plea of the destroyer passing by the homes of the Israelites, Egypt's tenth and final plague.[161] And again, the next stanza subtly calls to mind the eighth plague through a collocation of the locust with the

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[160] Syr. ܡܚܠܦܢܐ ܕܚܪܒܐ ܕܝܟ ܚܕ ,ܚܕ ,ܥܒܪ; on the use of the participle here (also, 650, 654, 656, 658, 666), see Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik,* 378n.

[161] See Exod 11:1-12:36. Pesh. Exod 12:13 does use a different verb (ܫܦܝ).

destruction of Pharaoh's army in the Exodus: "Command the locust / to perish in the sea, / just as the Egyptians did / beneath the floods" (645-48).[162] He then asks that wars cease, and also earthquakes and other tidings that "break the heart," and that "the fruits be revived," and they enjoy a "splendid summer" and "blessed winter" (649-65). This plea serves, then, as a recapitulation of the scourges suffered and for which they seek God's forbearance—the locust, invasions, earthquakes, drought.

Fifth Plea

> Command the bow of your fury
> to be unstrung
> and in your mercy
> hide your shafts.[163] (666-69)

The final stanza in the ܐܡܝܢ anaphora series introduces our author's final petition. Cyrillona's key term and focus continues to be mercy (ܪܚܡܐ) (668, 688). He recalls the story of David and Abigail.[164] David was cheated and insulted by Nabal, husband of Abigail, and swore in wrath that he would put every male in Nabal's household to the sword. Even though he had sworn this oath, "She restrained[165] his

[162] See Exod 14:28.
[163] Cf. Ps 7:12-13.
[164] See 1 Sam 25:2-35.
[165] Reading with Payne Smith ܒܚܢܩ (TS 4407) over ms. ܒܛܫ.

wrath / with her words / and his fury ebbed / because of her declaration" (678-81).[166] How much more should the God of David be moved by the joint petition of all the righteous. Thus concludes the poet,

> How much more, O Lord, may you hearken
> to your holy church,
> which with her children
> is prostrate before you.
> May your birth, which was
> for her sake,
> itself beget your mercy upon
> your creatures. (682-89)

[166] Bickell translates 674-81: "Der König David antwortete der Abigail und hörte ihre Bitte erst an, nachdem er ihr bereits deren Erfüllung zugeschworen hatte. Durch ihre Worte legte sich sein Zorn, und durch ihren Rat reute ihn sein Grimm" (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 26). This draws a confused note from Landersdorfer, who says, "das Zitat ist ungenau; davon, daß David der Abigail die Erfüllung ihrer Bitte vorher schon zugeschworen hatte, steht nichts in der hl. Schrift" (*Ausgewählte Schriften*, 20n3). Vandenhoff corrects, "Das Zitat ist also nicht ungenau, sondern B[ickell]s Übersetzung. Auch L[andersdorfer] hat nicht gefunden, was David geschworen hatte" (Vandenhoff, review of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 434). Cyrillona is simply referring to the oath David had sworn following Nabal's insult, that by morning not "one male of all who belong to him" would be left alive (see 1 Sam 25:21-22).

CHAPTER SIX

On Zacchaeus (*Zacch.*)

INTRODUCTION

This poem has traditionally been titled after its central biblical character, the publican Zacchaeus.[1] It is not, however, so much an exegesis of the gospel episode as a meditation on salvation and the mercy of God towards sinners. In homiletic literature similar works bear the title *On Repentance*, and in fact, especially when employing direct address (93-108), this poem's essentially hymnic form does not obscure a certain homiletic character. Within its brief compass, it invokes a number of the most potent and oft-used types and symbols of redemption in the Syriac tradition: the medicine of life, the garment of glory, the shepherd, the fisherman, the fruit of life, Eve and Mary, etc. Nevertheless, it is certainly not an abstract typological exercise, but a call to repentance and, even more so, a message of hope that portrays Zacchaeus as an archetype of God's mercy to penitent sinners.

Cyrillona, then, understands the story of Zacchaeus to be that of a penitent finding salvation. This was the story's traditional interpretation. Most interpreters of the Bible have assumed Zacchaeus was a sinner whom Jesus either called to repentance or who was moved to repent through their encounter. Ephrem in one

[1] See Luke 19:1-10.

place portrays Zacchaeus as, if not yet penitent, at least "praying in his heart" in the sycamore tree that he might entertain Jesus.[2] Cyrillona seems to take the more unusual, though not unique, position that Zacchaeus had repented before climbing the tree.[3] The gospel narrative does not in fact make Zacchaeus a sinner, former or current, except in the minds of a people who despised his profession as a tax collector. "For in the episode Jesus pronounces not forgiveness but the vindication of Zacchaeus: Jesus announces salvation to 'this house' because he sees that Zacchaeus is innocent, a true 'son of Abraham,' despite the post that he held, which branded him otherwise."[4]

Jesus's approbation of Zacchaeus was unappreciated or misunderstood by early Syriac exegetes, who regularly incorporated Zacchaeus into recitations on penitent sinners, associating him with others such as Rahab (Joshua 2 and 6), the adulterous Samaritan woman (John 4), and especially the "sinful woman" (prostitute) of Luke 7.[5] The collocation of Zacchaeus and the sinful woman was

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[2] Ephrem, *Diat.* 15.20.

[3] See similarly, e.g., Ps. Chrysostom, *De caeco et Zacchaeo* 3 (PG 59:603).

[4] Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 1220-21. See Luke 19:9-10. The term "lost" in v. 10 does not mean Zacchaeus was necessarily a sinner. This verse is actually a fulfillment citation of Ezekiel 34:16, which describes Yahweh gathering scattered Israel as a shepherd. It summarizes the message of this story and is another affirmation that Zacchaeus "too is son of Abraham" (v. 9). The Lucan Jesus refers to both publicans and sinners equally as lost sheep, meaning, those outside the fold of the "righteous" who are nevertheless heirs of salvation (see Luke 15:1-7).

[5] On the transformation of the Samaritan woman into a saintly figure in Ephrem, see Beck, "Perikope von der Samaritanerin." On the sinful woman, see Beck, "Perikope von der Sünderin;" Harvey, *Scenting Salvation*, 148-55, and "Why the Perfume Mattered;" and Hunt, "Tears of the Sinful Woman."

popular doubtless due to Jesus's (favorable) comparison of their professions to the Pharisees.[6] Ephrem elaborates: "Tax collectors and prostitutes (are) unclean snares."

> The sinful woman who had been a snare for men—
> he made her an example for penitents.
> The shriveled fig tree that had withheld its fruit
> offered Zacchaeus as fruit.[7]

One of the best examples of this exegetical nexus is found in the introduction to another *soghitha*, one of two extant on the sinful woman:[8]

> The Compassionate Doctor turned aside;
> towards sinners did He direct His path,
> showing humility towards them
> so that they might come to Him without fear. . . .
>
> He caught Zakkai from the fig tree
> and Zebedee's sons in the boat,
> likewise the Samaritan woman beside the well,
> and the sinful one from Simon's house
>
> The sinful woman heard the report
> that He was dining in Simon's house;
> she said in her heart "I will go along,
> and He will forgive me all I have done wrong.

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[6] Cf. Matt 21:31: "The tax collectors and the prostitutes are going into the kingdom of God ahead of you."

[7] Ephrem, *Nat.* 4.39-41. Compare Ephrem, *Nis.* 60.9 (Satan speaking): "I had made Zacchaeus the chief of usurers and her (the sinful woman) the chief of prostitutes—Jesus broke my two wings."

[8] Both texts were published and translated in Brock, "Sinful Woman;" an earlier (preliminary) edition of the first *soghitha* was also published in Brock, *Soghyatha Mgabbyatha,* 50-55. Brock dates the *soghitha* cited here to the 5th-7th century, and given certain parallels to a homily by Jacob of Serugh on the same topic, it is probable that the author knew Jacob's homily, or conversely, this poem was known to Jacob or even authored by him (Brock, "Sinful Woman," 25).

I am yearning actually to see
the Son of God who has clothed himself in a body.
Just as he forgives Zakkai his sins,
so in his grace he will have compassion on me.[9]

This typological reference to Zacchaeus, little more than passing, is typical, and there are only a few examples of more substantive exegesis of his story in early Syriac literature (some of which will be discussed below).

As noted, *On Zacchaeus* is homiletic in character and employs many of the same commonplaces found in traditional sermons on repentance. For example, Beck edited two early sermons on repentance, quite similar and found together in his base manuscript, and attributed (wrongly) to Ephrem. They share many common motifs with *On Zacchaeus,* which include:

Motif	Cyrillona, *On Zacchaeus*	Ps. Ephrem, *On Repentance* (*Sermones* I.7)	Ps. Ephrem, *On Repentance* (*Sermones* I.8)
The band of the just/the penitent	3-6	120, 523	181-86, 377-78
Christ strikes terror among Satan and his hosts	5-8, 49-52	566-69	

[9] *On the Sinful Woman I*, 2, 5-7 (trans. Brock, "Sinful Woman," 43-44). Other texts connecting the sinful woman and Zacchaeus include Ephrem, *Diat.* 22.5; *Dom. Nost.* 42-48; *Nis.* 60.1-10; and the Ps.-Ephremian texts discussed below.

Motif	Cyrillona, *On Zacchaeus*	Ps. Ephrem, *On Repentance* (*Sermones* I.7)	Ps. Ephrem, *On Repentance* (*Sermones* I.8)
Zacchaeus (publican) and the Sinful Woman (prostitute)	9-16, 57-60, 64, 81-88, 97-104 (Zacchaeus only)	79-88, 345-46, 548-49	29-36, 69-70, 89-100, 108, 179, 257-58
Refuge in (the nest of) the tree/cross	11-12, 109-12	554-61	
Christ the healer/the medicine of life	25-26	49-56, 61-64, 119-20, 121-52, 217-44, 343-44, 357-72, 377-88, 436-37, 474-79	85-96, 107-8, 121-22, 141-42, 145-48, 201-4, 233-36
Christ the ocean, spring, living waters, etc.	45-48, 57-58		3-4, 127-32, 167
The good fruit/fruit of life	53-56	510-11	168
Defeat of the serpent	56	556-57, 560-61	
The good shepherd	63-64		77-78, 149-50, 221-22, 227-28
Joy of the angels in heaven	67-68	494-509	225-26
Christ the judge	85-88		115-20
Christ the fisherman and his net	99-100	103-4, 546-47	133-34, 205-8
Restoration to paradise	101-4	500-15	49-52
The garment of mercy, glory, etc.	103-4	75-76, 526-29	

This résumé of shared motifs should not imply any direct literary correspondence between Cyrillona and the sermons, and the Ps.-Ephremian *memre* are of course much longer and cover more typological ground. Some of those sermons' favorite tropes, like the penitent thief, are missing in Cyrillona, while Cyrillona's extensive discursus on Eve and Mary has no analog in the sermons. But it is apparent that these authors were all part of an established literary tradition of discourse on repentance.

FORM AND GENRE

Like *Wash.*,[10] *On Zacchaeus* also carries the title ܥܓܝܥܝ ܡܠ ܙܟܝܐ, and likewise it is a short poem (112 lns) in 7+7 7+7 meter. It too lacks both a *qala* and a refrain. However, it better fits into the genre of *soghitha* than *Wash*., exhibiting two formal features typical of *soghyatha* that *Wash.* lacks. First, it is marked out in the manuscript in stanzas, which Bickell preserves in editing and Vona (alone) in his translation. And significantly, *On Zacchaeus* is also an acrostic.

Soghyatha are typically alphabetical acrostics, though not always.[11] Usually the acrostic begins after some introductory stanzas, employed only for the series of

[10] See pp. 142-47 above.

[11] See Brock, "Syriac Dispute Poems," 110-13. On the different types of acrostic poems in Syriac literature, see Palmer, "Words, Silences," 141-44, and on the alphabetic acrostic, Palmer, "Akrostich

alternating dialogue stanzas that are typical of the genre.[12] *Zacch.* lacks dialogue entirely, and in that particular way is even further removed than *Wash.* from conventional *soghyatha* and the genre of dialogue poems.

All of *Zacch.* is an acrostic, its stanzas beginning with the following letters of the alphabet: ܐ (stanzas 1-4), ܒ (stanzas 5-10), ܓ (stanzas 11-14), ܕ (stanzas 15-18), ܗ (stanzas 19-24), and ܘ (stanzas 25-28). Landersdorfer,[13] Vona,[14] and Cerbelaud[15] all conclude from the incomplete sequence of letters that this text is only a fragment, lacking beginning and ending. Bickell believed it to be fragmentary, too, but that only the beginning was missing.[16] Cerbelaud further indicates that the last verse is a later addition to the truncated text.[17] Vona calculates that, based on the strophic patterns of what survives, it originally may have contained 107 stanzas of 428 verses, roughly four times more material.[18] On this thesis, all that has been preserved here is a fragment treating the story of Zacchaeus.

Poems," 278-79. See also, Geiger, "Alphabetische und akrostichontische Lieder;" Kirschner, "Alphabetische Akrosticha;" and further by Palmer, "Merchant of Nisibis;" "Restoring the ABC;" and "St Ephrem of Syria's *Hymn on Faith* 7."

[12] Brock, "Syriac Dispute Poems," 111.

[13] Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften,* 21.

[14] Vona, *Carmi*, 30, though he recognizes that nothing can be definitively concluded: "Ma sia per valutare l'ampiezza sia per dimostrare l'incompletezza non abbiamo elementi sicuri."

[15] "Par ailleurs, l'homélie sur Zachée est certainement fragmentaire" (Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 24).

[16] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte,* 27n1.

[17] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 93.

[18] Vona, *Carmi*, 30.

I think this supposition is entirely unwarranted. As Brock notes, and as discussed above,[19] *soghyatha* are distinguished by their brevity. If this poem originally ran to over 400 lines, it was unlikely composed as a *soghitha*. And the fact that this alphabetical acrostic does not extend to all the letters of the alphabet indicates nothing in itself. Ephrem authored a large number of alphabetical acrostics (Palmer lists forty-one), and a majority do not extend to the full alphabet.[20] Ephrem's fourteenth *madrasha On Faith*, for example, covers the letters ܐ through ܡ, very similarly to *Zacch.* Palmer has examined why Ephrem employed his various acrostic schemes,[21] but in some cases the reasons are not entirely clear for the range of letters selected. In this poem, the choice of ܐ as the first acrostic letter seems logical enough, considering its governing typological figure—Zacchaeus (ܙܟܝ).

The poem also exhibits literary integrity. I can see nothing that would indicate incompleteness, and no previous study has forwarded any arguments (other than the partial acrostic) that would suggest that either. Cerbelaud does indicate that the last verse is a later addition, but without further explanation.[22] Perhaps his concern was that the last verse does not scan correctly, or he otherwise found it incongruous. The bad scansion is a fact. But thematically, the final plea for

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[19] See Brock, "Syriac Dialogue Poems," 33, and p. 146 above.
[20] See the useful tables in Palmer, "Akrostich Poems," 283-85.
[21] See the articles cited at p. 142n25 above.
[22] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 93.

"the floods of your mercy" fitly concludes a long pericope on mercy, and a final allusion to "the Ocean of Mercies" (57) does not seem out of place. But we may acknowledge his suggestion as a possibility.

However, even if the last line is not original, I believe with Bickell that it does mark the original ending of this poem.[23] *Zacch.* concludes with a call to confess the Lord, with the person of faith entering into the house of God instead of climbing the sycamore, "for your cross is higher than the bough" (111). The poem begins and ends with reference to the community of faith, and the typology of Zacchaeus seems properly concluded. It is difficult to see, if this were indeed a fragment, where the author might have gone next, except to a different topic. If this is a fragment, it is at least integrous.

But the acrostic pattern itself may indicate that we have before us the entire poem. The letters of the acrostic stand at the beginning of each stanza, but the number of stanzas for which they are employed varies. And that variation in turn forms a chiasm of neatly parallel members. The sequence is ܐ (4 stanzas), ܡ (6 stanzas), ܠ (4 stanzas), ܒ (4 stanzas), ܣ (6 stanzas), and ܕ (4 stanzas), yielding the structure A B A A B A.

[23] "Am Ende scheint dagegen nichts zu fehlen und das Lied wirklich mit Lamed abgeschlossen zu haben" (Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte,* 27n1).

While less explicit, one might also discern a thematic structure to the poem that correlates with its acrostic and chiastic structure. *On Zacchaeus* may be divided into four main sections (four, ten, ten, and four stanzas), with the thematic structure A B B′ A′ and which I have titled:

I. (A) The Evil One and Zacchaeus (1-16 = ܐ stanzas)

II. (B) Fall and Redemption (17-56 = ܒ and ܓ stanzas)

III. (B′) Christ, the Ocean of Mercies (57-96 = ܕ and ܗ stanzas)

IV. (A′) Zacchaeus and the Penitent (97-112 = ܙ stanzas)

Cyrillona begins (A) with the story of a single penitent, a notable and even "chief" sinner. A seemingly incidental detail from Zacchaeus's story, the sycamore tree, becomes a typological point of departure for a meditation on the fall of humanity (B), in which the entire cosmic drama of sin and salvation is distilled into forty poetic lines. The climax of this drama is the Incarnation of Christ and redemption of humanity. While salvation in Christ is a recurring theme throughout, it would seem quite deliberate that at the precise center of the poem "the serpent's bite (is) healed"—humanity is redeemed from the Fall (56).

But moving from the universal again to the specific, Cyrillona particularizes this act of redemption in the figure of Zacchaeus. He is introduced here a second time, now as an example of the patient solicitude of Jesus towards sinners, which

Cyrillona elaborates upon at length (B′). But it is only in the final quaternary of stanzas (A′) that Zacchaeus clearly becomes more than *an* example of God's redemptive grace. This poem begins with "Zacchaeus the chief," or first (ܩܕܡܝܐ)—chief or first among whom is left ambiguous (9). But in the end Zacchaeus is clearly made an archetype of divine mercy. He is the chief among penitent sinners, through whom God calls out to all sinners (97), and the antitype of the first man, wrapped in mercy and reclothed in Adam's lost glory (101-4). Zacchaeus is every sinner who repents and embraces the mystery of God (110).

Based on its *soghitha*-appropriate length, its structure, and its content, I can see no reason to regard *Zacch.* as fragmentary. However, its titled function as a *soghitha* to the *memra* presents a more difficult question, since unlike *Euch.* and *Wash.*, no obvious thematic relationship is evident between *Scourges* and *Zacch.* Cerbelaud notes this discrepancy, and wonders, "Ne manque-t-il pas un *mimró* sur Zachée, ou sur quelque autre épisode voisin de l'évangile de Luc?"[24] Cerbelaud implies that the answer may lie in the fragmentary character of the text, but as I argue, this poem appears integrous.

It may be that the *memra* to which this poem's title originally referred was not *Scourges*, but that the two works just happened to be copied together later from a

[24] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 24.

manuscript of Cyrillona's writings. As previously discussed, Bickell did not believe that the title ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܥܠ ܙܟܝܐ in either case, for *Wash.* or *Zacch.*, was referring to the preceding *memra*.[25] Titling was not for him evidence of common Cyrillonan authorship, but rather, "daß es aber gleichfalls von Cyrillonas herrührt, läßt sich mit Sicherheit aus dem Stil und mehreren in beiden Liedern vorkommenden Ausdrücken schließen."[26]

ANALYSIS AND COMMENTARY

This poem may be outlined as follows:

I. The Evil One and Zacchaeus (1-16)

II. Fall and Redemption (17-56)

III. Christ, the Ocean of Mercies (57-96)

IV. Zacchaeus and the Penitent (97-112)

I. The Evil One and Zacchaeus (1-16)

The theme of Satan's defeat by Christ, and the decline of the devil's power before the spread of Christianity, is common in early Christian literature. It became a favorite theme of apologists, especially in the imperial era, when the rapid

[25] See Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 28n and 32n1, and pp. 146-47 above.
[26] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 27n1.

expansion of Christianity could be readily adduced as evidence of Christ's victory over Satan. The most notable example of this in the Syriac tradition may be a homily on the fall of the idols by Jacob of Serugh,[27] but this theme is found at least as early as Ephrem. Notable for our *soghitha* is *Nis.* 60, in which Ephrem dramatizes the astonishment and dismay of Satan at the desertion from him of the sinful woman and Zacchaeus, heralding his downfall:

> If Zacchaeus has become his disciple, and if [the sinful woman]
> has hearkened unto him, they have now put a halt to our craft.
> The idols are now a laughingstock; their artisans
> derided and their craftsmen ridiculed.[28]

While Ephrem describes Satan's waning power among pagans and Jews,[29] Cyrillona celebrates his powerlessness among "the communities of those who have not sinned" (3). Opposing the Evil One is "the Son of Mary" to whom Satan's defecting minions turn for refuge (8) and of whom the chief is Zacchaeus (9).

Some early Syriac treatments of the story of Zacchaeus focus on Zacchaeus's reception of Jesus into his home and his remuneration of those he has defrauded.[30] In contrast, this poem begins with Zacchaeus in the sycamore tree and focuses exclusively on his descent and cheerful greeting of Jesus. Only twenty-four lines are

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[27] See Martin, "Discours."
[28] Ephrem, *Nis*. 60.10-11; see also Ephrem, *Eccl.* 40.1-4.
[29] See Ephrem, *Nis.* 60. 14-16.
[30] See pp. 324-25 below.

devoted directly to the figure of Zacchaeus, and the author's discussion of him is very narrowly circumscribed. But as well as its occupant, here the sycamore tree is important, too.

Historically, artists and exegetes have regarded the sycamore tree, both that of Eden and that of Zacchaeus, as a rich and multivalent symbol.[31] Cyrillona identifies it first as Zacchaeus's refuge when he escaped from Satan: "the sycamore was a harbor on the path; / he came down from it weary and found rest" (11-12). The symbol of the haven or harbor (ܡܚܘܬܐ) had rich typological significance in the Syriac tradition, often connected liturgically with baptism, but used as well in a number of other associations.[32] It was used as a metaphor for Christ as early as the *Acts of Thomas*,[33] and in later liturgical usage (as also the Manichaean psalms) Christ is called the "harbor of peace" and "harbor of life."[34] But while the sycamore certainly may be employed as a positive scriptural type,[35] here the tree seems to be called a

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[31] For a recent survey and bibliography, see Nitz, "Feigenbaum."
[32] See Brock, "Scribe Reaches Harbour," esp. 195-96; Hambye, "'Coming to Harbour;'" and Murray, *Symbols*, 249-51.
[33] See *Acts of Thomas* 37, 156 (Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta*, 155ln15, 264ln19).
[34] See Murray, *Symbols*, 165, 250-51, 362; Hambye, "'Coming to Harbour,'"403, 406.
[35] Ephrem alludes to a tradition, also found in Jewish Haggadah, that the tree which caused the fall of humanity also reached out in sympathy to Adam and Eve, and even associates that tree with the sycamore of Zacchaeus (*Virg.* 35.1-2). But in this particular case, Ephrem describes the tree as "worthy of curses," due to his association of it with the fig tree in Mark 11:1-10 et par., even if "the leaves of scorn stretched out to the guilty." See McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian,* 417n550, who also notes *Cruc.* 5.15 and the discussion of Kronholm, *Motifs,* 219 (to which add, 111n66). Elsewhere Ephrem (or one of his school) portrays the sycamore as the antitype of the tree of knowledge: "The former fig tree of Adam will be forgotten, on account of the latter fig tree of the chief tax collector, and the name of the guilty

ܢܡܠ less for its function as a harbor or port than as a portal from the life of sin to life in Christ. Zacchaeus does not find rest or refuge in the sycamore, but rather in Christ upon his descent (12).

Zacchaeus descends from the tree weary because, as becomes clear from the narrative, it is a symbol of the fallen world. Cyrillona associates Zacchaeus's sycamore with the tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden, since in Christ, the "barren fig" (sycamore) becomes fruitful—the tree of life.[36] This association is made explicit at the end of the text, when the penitent comes down from the tree, is planted again in Paradise, and clothed in the "garment of mercy" which Adam lost (101-4). This typology is certainly not original to Cyrillona, but unique is his lyrical description of the very shade of the tree becoming luminous before Christ's splendor—a striking bit of poetic imagination (13-16). I think Vona rightly interprets this as a dramatic depiction of Christ dispelling the shadow cast upon the earth by

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Adam [will be forgotten] on account of the guiltless Zacchaeus" (*Diat.* 15.20 [trans. McCarthy, *Commentary*, 240]).

[36] Exegetes understood the tree of knowledge to be a fig tree, i.e., the tree from which Adam and Eve took fig leaves to make garments (see Gen 3:7). But both Pesh. and OS call Zacchaeus's tree a ܬܐܢܐ ܕܫܩܡܝܐ, a "barren fig" or sycamore tree (Gk. συκομορέα), rather than a simple fig tree (ܬܐܢܐ). Of course, this discrepancy was not prohibitive for exegetes, who in fact found it typologically useful (see the quotation from Ephrem cited just below). Cyrillona calls Zacchaeus's tree simply a ܬܐܢܐ (11).

the Fall.[37] A similar understanding is found in Ephrem, who said of Nathanael and his fig tree:

> Blessed are you whom they told among the trees,
> "We have found Him Who finds all,
> Who came to find Adam who was lost,
> and in the garment of light to return him to Eden."
> The world in the symbol of the shade of the fig tree
> is belabored as if in a heavy shadow.
> From beneath the fig tree as a symbol of the world, you emerged
> to meet our Savior.[38]

When we understand the sycamore as a type of the tree of knowledge, the relationship between the call of Zacchaeus from that tree and the following discussion of the Fall becomes apparent.

II. Fall and Redemption (17-56)

This next section is cohesive even if, as common in early Syriac poetry, it is more a rondo of symbolism than a linear narrative. Zacchaeus's tree, from which he descends and finds redemption from sin, points us to that tree through which sin came into the world. The tree of knowledge and its fruit are not directly named, but instead invoked through types. The tree was introduced in the image of a sycamore,

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[37] "Il funesto incontro del maligno con Eva procurò un cibo di morte, che coprì di tenebre la terra; l'incontro di Gesù con Zaccheo, offre un cibo di vita e luce splendente. Lo sguardo radioso di Gesù dissipa l'oscurità dell'albero, su cui era salito Zaccheo" (Vona, *Carmi*, 29).
[38] Ephrem, *Virg.* 16.9 (trans. McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian*, 331).

and now a number of types corresponding to its fruit are introduced—sin, the blood of death, the salt of death, the leaven of death and grief. Such images are prominent here, but employed in service to a narrative which is devoted to dramatic characters and their relationships: Eve and the serpent, Eve and Mary, Christ and Mary, Christ and Eve, Christ and the Evil One.

Eve and the Fall

In Cyrillona's meditation on the Fall and redemption, the motif of fallen Eve being restored to her paradisiacal state takes a central place. While fallen Adam is referenced at the end of the poem (103), the author may have been inspired to focus on Eve here, in part, for poetic reasons. As discussed above, this poem is an alphabetical acrostic, beginning with ܙ for Zacchaeus (ܙܟܝ). The next letter in the Syriac alphabet and in the acrostic, beginning here (17), is ܚ—the first letter of Eve's name (ܚܘܐ). This connects Zacchaeus with the Fall poetically.

This section begins, "Eve succumbed, besieged / by counsel which made her an exile" (ܚܘܐ ܒܬܠܬܐ ܕܐܬܚܡܪ ܒܗ ܒܓܠܘܬܐ ܚܠܫ ܚܠܫ ܐܬܬܟܫ ܚܘܐ) (17-18). This phrase has been variously rendered, with those variations casting Eve in a more favorable or less favorable light. Vona translates, "Debitrice Eva divenne quando abitò in lei / il

consiglio che estranea la rese."[39] Bickell is similarly neutral,[40] implying nothing about Eve's disposition towards the serpent's counsel, while Cerbelaud interprets Eve as a victim: "Ève fut vaincue, car il s'insinua en elle, le conseil qui fit d'elle une étrangère."[41] Murray, however, makes Eve culpable: "Eve became a debtor *when she gave a home* / *to the counsel* which made her an exile."[42] But this is clearly a grammatical violation of the text.

Cerbelaud correctly understands ܫܚܬ here, which means "to succumb" or "be conquered" as well as, by extension, "to sin."[43] But even he seems to misapprehend the force of ܚܠ ܥܡܪ in this context. While it can mean simply "to dwell near" or "rest upon," it may also mean "to encamp against" or "besiege."[44] The particle -ܗ here may be either a conjunction or a pronoun, though neither would alter the fundamental meaning. Cyrillona certainly views Eve as an active agent in the Fall and not just a victim. "Eve sinned" (17) and "inclined her ear to the voice of the serpent" (31). But he also emphasizes, here and elsewhere, the power and craftiness of the serpent:

> The serpent mixed sin in secret
> and mingled (it) with the blood of death for Eve,
> and that she might not be loath to drink it,
> he filled her full of sins in the guise of a friend (21-24).

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[39] Vona, *Carmi,* 126.
[40] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte,* 23.
[41] Cerbelaud, *Agneau,* 89
[42] Murray, "Mary, the Second Eve," 126, emphasis mine.
[43] A similar usage is also found in ln. 30.
[44] See TS 4308.

Murray, with Vona, would again understand this stanza very differently, to Eve's detriment, both translators rendering ln. 23 as, "and because she refused not when she drank" (ܕܫܬܐ ܒܗ ܕܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܗ).[45] ܠܐ ܫܒܩ is clearly imperfect and the force of ܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܠܗ is negative hortatory. ܕܫܬܐ is a participle, not a perfect, and here is indicating potentiality and not completed action. Again, grammatically, it is difficult to accommodate their translation. The author is describing the deception of Eve, not her culpability. As Ephrem says:

> The Evil One blinded the understanding of the house of Adam,
> that they not put to proof the deception which he perpetrated through the serpent.
> For if the deception had been proofed in the furnace,
> it would strip away the borrowed splendor there,
> bringing to light the actual blemishes there.[46]

On my reading, Cyrillona does not exculpate Eve from sin, but he does clearly portray her as a victim of the serpent's considerable wiles. This portrayal makes her a character worthy of empathy and the redemptive grace extended to her by her daughter Mary and by Christ.

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[45] Murray, "Mary, the Second Eve," 126; cf. Vona, *Carmi,* 126.

[46] Ephrem, *Eccl.* 46.2. But further on, it may be noted, Ephrem does castigate Eve for not interrogating the "vile serpent" while Mary was unafraid to question the "magnificent angel" (*Eccl.* 46.11).

Eve and Mary

This discussion of Eve leads Cyrillona to also discuss Eve's antitype in the economy of salvation, the Virgin Mary. This section of *Zacch.* has been much referenced due to its exploration of the Mary-Eve typology that was used broadly in the early church.[47] While it is introduced in Justin Martyr,[48] the first full articulation is found in Irenaeus.[49] Irenaeus frames this typology within his elaboration of Pauline "recapitulation,"[50] whereby redemption in Christ comes through a second creation, restoring God's work to its original, paradisiacal form. So Christ the "last Adam"[51] recovers that which was lost by the first Adam in the Fall, destroying sin and death and restoring humanity to the image and likeness of God. Mary and Eve likewise are cast as antitypes in the drama of redemption:

> For Adam had to be restored (or, recapitulated) in Christ, that mortality might be absorbed in immortality, and Eve in Mary, that a virgin, become the

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[47] For a general survey and bibliography, see Söll, "Eva-Maria-Parallele;" on the early church specifically, see Cignelli, *Maria, nuova Eva*, and Koch, *Virgo Eva–Virgo Maria*; and for an incisive synthesis, Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries*, 39-52. On the Syriac tradition, see by Brock, "Bride of Light," 1-3 et passim; introduction to Hansbury, *Jacob of Serug*, 4-12; "Mary in Syriac Tradition;" "Mysteries," 469-71; also, Murray, "Mary, the Second Eve;" and Ortiz de Urbina, "Sviluppo della Mariologia." References to Cyrillona's employment of the Eve-Mary typology include: Corrington, *Her Image of Salvation,* 193; Krüger, "Inwieweit gilt Maria," 114; Murray, "Mary, the Second Eve," 377; Ortiz de Urbina, "Maria en la patristica siriaca," 76; "Mariologia nei Padri siriaci," 110-11; "Mariologos," 171-72 (extract from "Maria en la patristica siriaca"); and Stegmüller, "Cyrillonas."

[48] See Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 100.5.

[49] On Irenaeus, see Cignelli, *Maria, nuova Eva,* 32-39; Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers,* 51-58; and Koch, *Virgo Eva–Virgo Maria,* 17-60.

[50] See Eph 1:10.

[51] 1 Cor 15:45.

> advocate of a virgin, should undo and destroy virginal disobedience by virginal obedience.[52]

In Cyrillona the Irenaean motif of Eve (standing for humanity) being restored to her paradisiacal state is central. We likewise find here, as in Ephrem, the idea of Mary becoming an "advocate" for Eve. The Greek term παράκλητος (*advocata* in the Latin version of Irenaeus) can mean both "advocate" and "comforter." In the tender image of Mary bearing up her mother Eve, Cyrillona depicts an act of both intercession and compassion:

> The crippled serpent crippled Eve;
> Mary became feet for her mother.
> The maiden bore up the aged woman,
> that she might draw life-breath in her former place. (33-36)

While he does not describe Mary as the legs of Eve, Ephrem invokes several anatomical images to contrast and describe Eve and Mary.[53] So while Eve conceives sin through her ear, Mary conceives Jesus through hers,[54] and while Eve is the blind left eye of humanity, Mary is the illuminated right.[55] Very striking is Ephrem's long

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[52] Irenaeus, *Epid.* 33 (trans. Smith, *Proof,* 69). Cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.22.4; 5.19.1.

[53] Much has been published on Ephrem's development of the Eve-Mary motif. See, in addition to the general titles above: Beck, "Mariologie;" Botha, "Original Sin;" Bover, "S. Ephraem," 164-69; Gambero, *Mary and the Fathers,* 116-17; Hammersberger, *Mariologie,* 77-80 et passim; Krüger, "Inwieweit gilt Maria," 110-15; "Somatische Virginität," 77-83; Lochbrunner, "Ephräm der Syrer," 372; Mueller, "Unbefleckte Empfängnis," 165-73; Ortiz de Urbina, "Maria en la patristica siriaca," 63-69; "Mariologos," 95-96; "Vergine Maria,"89-96; Perniola, *Sant' Efro Siro,* 203-9; Serra, *Miryam,* 19-72; Yousif, "Bellezza di Maria," 168-73, and "Marie et les derniers temps," 48-55.

[54] See Brock, "Mary in Syriac Tradition," 187-88; Müller, *Ecclesia-Maria,* 150-51; cf. *Pasch* 191-94.

[55] See Ephrem, *Eccl.* 49.7 and *Eccl.* 37, respectively.

description of Eve and Mary as two hands, sympathetic and synergistic: "as they move away from one another, they become weak; but when they are brought together, they dominate the world."[56]

But one of the most striking literary parallels to this stanza of Cyrillona (33-36) is found in a Ps.-Ephremian hymn on Mary, of uncertain date, and preserved in abbreviated form in later liturgical collections:

> (7) In Mary is Eve's bowed head raised up again,
> for she has carried the Child who seized hold of the adder.
> Those fig leaves of shame have been swallowed up in glory.
>
> (8) Two virgins have there been for humanity,
> one the source of life, the other the cause of death:
> in Eve death arose, but Life shone out through Mary.
>
> (9) The daughter gave support to her mother who had fallen,
> and because she had clothed her in fig leaves of shame,
> her daughter wove and gave her a garment of glory.[57]

Ephrem and Cyrillona both see in Mary not only the antitype of Eve, but a source of life who renews her mother through her Holy Child. So Cyrillona observes,

> Eve grew old and bent;
> she begat Mary and was made young
> and her daughter's child took it upon himself
> to atone for the sins of his ancestor. (37-40)

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[56] See Ephrem, *Eccl.* 35.2-14 (quotation from 35.7).
[57] *Hymnus de Beata Maria* 2.7-9 (Lamy, *Hymni*, 2:525; trans. Brock, *Bride of Light*, 36).

Ephrem expresses similar ideas with different images, as when describing Christ's descent to Sheol:

> Then he came to Eve, mother of all living. She is the vine whose fence death broke down with her own hands in order to sample her fruit. And Eve, who had been the mother of all living, became a fountain of death for all the living. But Mary, the new shoot, sprouted from Eve, the old vine, and new life dwelt in her.[58]

Christ, the Eucharist, and the Medicine of Life

Throughout this section Cyrillona interweaves and contrasts images of the Fall with the symbols of Christ the Redeemer, culminating with:

> The sweet maid bore the Good Fruit
> and placed it with her hands in the manger.
> The nations ate it and, by its savor,
> the serpent's bite was healed. (53-56)

The contrast implicit here between the fruit of death in Eden and the fruit of life in the body of Christ is one of many eucharistic typologies employed by Christians from a very early date, and is first found in the Syriac tradition in Aphrahat and Ephrem.[59] Uniquely in Syriac, the fruit (ܦܝܪܐ) of life even suggests homophonically

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[58] Ephrem, *Dom. Nost.* 3.2 (trans. Mathews and Amar, *Selected Prose Works,* 278). See also Ephrem, *Nat.* 13.2.

[59] This broad and pervasive eucharistic imagery comprises an "intricate web of typology" (Brock, "Mary and the Eucharist," 58) and "a very complex theological tradition" (Amar, "Perspectives," 453), as was touched upon in Chapter Two. Generally on Aphrahat, Ephrem, and the early Syriac tradition, see the discussions in Amar, "Perspectives;" Beck, "Eucharistie;" Brock, "Mary and the Eucharist;" Graffin, "Eucharistie;" Griffith, "'Spirit in the Bread;'" and the numerous studies of Pierre Yousif, culminating in his monograph, *Eucharistie.*

the unleavened bread of the Eucharist (ܦܬܝܪܬܐ). Cyrillona here makes no distinction between the infant body of Christ laid by Mary in the manger, "the Good Fruit" of her womb (53-54), and the eucharistic host which heals the nations with its savor (55-56). The eucharistic fruit of life and Christ the Fruit of Life represent a single salvific reality.

Cyrillona employs here a second familiar eucharistic typology, this one looking not to the Garden but to pharmacology. Two verbs for mixing used here (ܚܠܛ and ܫܠܚ; 21-22, 24) were regularly employed by Ephrem in developing his typology of Christ as the Medicine of Life.[60] They are used of both the mixing of wine and the compounding of medicine. In theological usage, they may describe the hypostatic union of God and man in Christ. So Christ mingled divinity with humanity in the Incarnation and became the Medicine of Life. Likewise, when the eucharistic wine is mixed and consecrated, it too becomes the medicine of life, the sanctifying Blood of Christ. Typologically, Christ and the Eucharist are one Blood, one Medicine, and one Fruit of Life. Each of these symbols is implicit in the other, and may be freely interchanged in theological typology, often assisted by their poetic assonance. So Cyrillona contrasts here, for example, the blood of death (ܕܡܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ) (22) with the Medicine of Life (ܕܣܝ ܕܚܝܐ) (26).

[60] See Shemunkasho, *Healing*, 150-51; see also 147-54, 236-37, 341-44, 381-82. A third "mixing" term employed here (ܒܠܒ; 26) is more rare, and its use in this context seems unique to Cyrillona.

A third, related typology is implicit here as well: the Ephremian contrast between the poison of death (ܡܘܬܐ ܣܡܐ) (poison of the serpent/fruit of death) and the Medicine of Life (ܚܝܐ ܣܡܐ).[61] Ephrem relates the poison and the Medicine, the fruit and the Fruit, in complex ways, since the Eucharist itself can not only be the remedy to the poison, but a poison itself if partaken by the unworthy:

> The Fruit came down and went up
> to you in love—rejoice!
> Its sweetness should gladden you;
> its exploration will not harm you.
> It is the Medicine of Life, which is able
> also to become the poison of death.
> Take from it what it has produced—
> also give to it that it might produce.[62]

While Cyrillona also contrasts the Medicine/Fruit with the venom of the serpent, he places his emphasis on the healing contained in its "sweet savor" (ܡܫܡ ܡܚܝܐ), which "overpowered the lethal salt of death" and healed the serpent's bite (27-28, 55-56).

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[61] Ibid., 150-54. Since the same Syriac word (ܣܡܐ) is used for both poison or medicine (among other things), this trope is lost in translation.

[62] Ephrem, *HFid.* 5.16. Elsewhere Judas is invoked as an example of one who received the Medicine unworthily and for whom it therefore became a poison (Ephrem, *Azym.* 18.16-17). See also Ephrem, *Dom. Nost.* 3.3-4.

III. Christ, the Ocean of Mercies (57-96)

Leaving the grand narratives of sin and redemption, Cyrillona returns to Zacchaeus. While Zacchaeus was introduced as a notable penitent (9-12), it is only now that his typological significance becomes fully clear. He is a vessel of mercy, a symbol of the serpent's defeat, and proof that "compassion is greater than sin":[63]

> The Ocean of Mercies flowed forth
> to wash away the impurity of Zacchaeus,
> and because compassion is greater than sin,
> the sinner arose without punishment. (57-60)

The floods hidden in Mary (45) now become the Ocean of Mercies that washes away Zacchaeus's sin. Here this is a reference to baptism, but in *Scourges*, a similar image is also invoked for the holy power vested in the relics of the saints and martyrs: "An Ocean without measure dwells in them, / which was conceived in the womb, / and was hung on the wood, / and was entombed in the sepulcher, / and worshipped on high."[64]

The typological employment of Zacchaeus as a symbol of God's mercy towards sinners is not unusual, but neither was it universal. His general employment as a notable penitent has been mentioned, but other lessons were drawn from his story as well. Ephrem notes, for example, the significance of his

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[63] Rom 5:20.

[64] *Scourges* 22-26. Cf. p. 527n139 on the baptismal imagery evoked in *Zacch.* 45-48.

shortness of stature: "The example of Zacchaeus teaches me: because he reached out to you, / his shortness grew through you and, seeking, he came to you. / That word from you brought to you / him who had been far from you."[65]

Unlike Cyrillona, longer treatments of the story of Zacchaeus rarely focus on Zacchaeus coming down from the tree, but rather on his declaration: "Look, half of my possessions, Lord, I will give to the poor; and if I have defrauded anyone of anything, I will pay back four times as much."[66] This is the focus of an Armenian hymn attributed to Ephrem, in which Zacchaeus becomes a model for the virtue and heavenly rewards of almsgiving:

> First he satisfied his obligation, then thereafter began to give alms.
> He paid first what he owed, and afterwards gave for profit.
> When he restored all he had defrauded, he paid his debts,
> And when he gave away half of his goods, he gave to God with profit.
> O debtor who unexpectedly (suddenly) became a creditor![67]

Likewise the *Liber graduum* draws upon Zacchaeus's declaration of munificence, though to argue its theology and make a very different point; that "people are saved if they do as they were commanded—[following] that precept that is lower than the perfect and superior precept, [even] while they are married and possessing wealth:"

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[65] Ephrem, *HFid.* 25.14; cf. *Haer.* 7.5, where Ephrem refers to "midgets" like Zacchaeus (ܕܩ ܚܠܝܚܗ ܙܟܝ).

[66] Luke 19:8.

[67] Ephrem, *Arm.* 25.10-4; translated from the Latin version of Mariès and Mercier (*Hymnes conservées,* 139). Cf. Ps. Ephrem, *Mens.* 10.8: "And when he was invited to the house of Zacchaeus, he showed there a sign: there he changed the plunderers and made them givers; Zacchaeus gave back the fourfold of all he possessed" (trans. Hansbury, *Hymns,* 39).

> Zacchaeus said, "Everyone whom I have cheated I will repay four-fold, and half of my wealth only I will give to the poor" (Luke 19:8). See, while he did not say to our Lord, "I will abandon everything I have," our Lord did say the following to him, "Today salvation has come into this house" (Luke 19:9). Zacchaeus shall be called a son of Abraham, he who when he promised to repay their lords what he had extorted had said, "Half of my wealth only I will give." . . . Therefore let no one say that whoever does not empty everything he has and follow our Lord is not saved.[68]

But in Cyrillona there is no mention of his almsgiving at all. Zacchaeus is employed here solely as an example of penitence and of God's mercy.

We earlier examined two Ps.-Ephremian sermons on repentance (*Sermones* I.7-8) that demonstrate a number of parallels with this text, in terms of motifs.[69] But they also share an emphasis on God's mercy towards sinners rather than, as many other sermons on this topic do, an emphasis on the divine punishments awaiting the unrepentant. The latter is, for example, the emphasis of another Ps.-Ephremian sermon (*Sermones* I.5), which is a grueling recitation of the agonies that the sinful soul now suffers and, infinitely more so, will yet have to endure:

> Better is the grave without guilt / than the light (of this world) full of sins.
> Whoever does sin here, / him will the darkness overcome in the end.
> So what shall I do, my friends? / For both here and there dwell I in grief,
> Here out of fear, because of my sins, / and there because of punishment.[70]

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[68] *Liber graduum* 27-28 (Kmoskó, *Liber graduum*, col. 925; trans. Kitchen and Parmentier, *Book of Steps,* 361-62).
[69] See pp. 301-3 above.
[70] Ps. Ephrem, *Serm.* I.5.119-26.

Beck has suggested that *Sermones* I.7-8 are materially related to *Sermones* I.5, and were in fact intended as a tempering response to its "radicalism."[71] There is nothing to indicate that *Zacch.* is a similar response to such oppressive rhetoric, but certainly Cyrillona is principally concerned with extolling the mercies of God, while not denying in any way his sure justice.

Cyrillona emphasizes divine justice with his repetition of the title "the Just One" (ܙܕܝܩܐ) (73, 85). But as an earnest pastor, he is also sure to remind his flock of God's "stern and terrible rebuke" (77) and of his "bow (drawn) to terrify us" (79). God is an inquisitor who has prescribed a mournful judgment for transgressors (85-88) and whose "wrath has claim on those who refuse" to repent (96). Nevertheless, God is both "just *and* kind— / fear, O sinners, but also be confident" (93-94). Christ comes as the "Inquisitor who bears mercy" (88), who does not feel human anger towards sinners or take pleasure in their destruction (66). But instead, as the Good Shepherd, he seeks them out (61-64); "abundantly forgives" (77); "teaches the meaning" of salvation (74) and prepares the way to mercy (107-8), which he is eager to grant (92); and rejoices with the angels in the repentant sinner (67-68, 83). "Not a single day has he allowed/ fury and wrath to remain upon us" (69-70).[72]

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[71] Beck, *Sermones I*, xx.
[72] Cf. Eph 4:26.

Zacchaeus's joyful countenance is scriptural (87),[73] but presuming his sinful state, Cyrillona sees a need to temper that joy with some proper guilt. He therefore ascribes to Zacchaeus a (nonscriptural) timidity and reticence which is proper for the penitent:

> How timid, nonetheless, was Zacchaeus—
> he was afraid to seek mercy;
> but how forthright was our Lord—
> he was eager to grant mercy. (89-92)

The impression conveyed is that Zacchaeus could not restrain his joy before such swift mercy (91), however much such a sinner should properly feel to mourn (86). This small expansion of the gospel narrative shows a pastor's concern to read into the biblical text the lived experience of the penitents in his care.

IV. Zacchaeus and the Penitent (97-112)

In the preceding section Cyrillona develops Zacchaeus as an archetype of God's mercy to penitent sinners. He speaks of the body of sinners first as "they" (61-62, 65) and then, more personally, as "us" (70-74, 79). But it is only now in his closing exhortation that Cyrillona connects Zacchaeus directly with his audience:

> In Zacchaeus he calls out to you sinners,
> that you may see his love, for how anxious is he!

[73] See Luke 19:6.

> For he casts his nets like a fisherman,
> that the leader of your cohort may rejoice in you. (97-100)

The metaphor Cyrillona invokes is of Jesus the fisherman as the Fisher of Men.[74] The fact that birds, like fish, were caught in nets and snares underlies a more expansive typology to which Cyrillona tacitly refers. Zacchaeus the publican was a snare, yet himself was snared like a bird from the sycamore by Jesus's net, which saved him from the snares of the devil. While purely allusive here, these types were skillfully interwoven by Ephrem in an extended meditation on those caught by the Fisher:

> Into the stream from which fishermen come up,
> the Fisher of all plunged, and he came up from it.
> [At] the stream where Simon was catching his fish,
> the Fisher of men came up and caught him. . . .
> Tax collectors and prostitutes [are] unclean snares;
> the Holy One caught the snares of the Deceitful One.
> The sinner who had been a snare for men—
> He made her an example for penitents.
> The shriveled fig tree that withheld its fruit
> offered Zacchaeus as [its] fruit.
> Fruit of its own nature it had not given,
> but it gave one rational fruit.[75]

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[74] See Mark 1:16 et par.

[75] Ephrem, *Nat.* 4.35-36, 39-42 (trans. McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian,* 92-93). On Christ as the Fisher of Men, see also Murray, *Symbols,* 176-78.

Instead of "rational fruit," Cyrillona has the barren tree (the Fall) yielding a barren seed (fallen man) which God plants again in Paradise and clothes with mercy (101-4). Cyrillona is moved to conclude, in the voice of Zacchaeus,

> I have entered into your house instead of the sycamore;
> I shall live in the mystery which I embrace,
> for your cross is higher than the bough;
> Multiply the floods of your mercy upon me! (109-12)

The cross of Christ rises above the tree of sin, the shadow of the fall made luminous in the shadow of the cross (15-16), the sinner (Zacchaeus/Adam) again receiving the paradisiacal robe of light and glory (104).[76] For Cyrillona, the church ("your house") is the antitype of the tree, the Paradise into which penitents enter as a refuge from the fallen world. He connects here the haven of the sycamore (11) with the haven of the church, for as Ephrem says of Zacchaeus, "He had you come down from the tree you had gone up, and he saved you by his word."[77] The cross is a nest higher than any tree, to which the contrite sinner swiftly wings.

> See, my Lord, how I have escaped from sin / like the bird from the snare.[78]
> I wish to flee to the nest of your cross, / which the serpent cannot approach.
> See, my Lord, how I have flown away from my guilt / as the dove from out of the nets.[79]
> I wish to dwell in the heights of your cross, / where the dragon cannot come.[80]

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[76] On the robe of glory, see Brock, "Clothing Metaphors;" *Hymns on Paradise*, 66-72; *Luminous Eye*, 85-97; and "Robe of Glory."
[77] Ephrem, *Virg.* 16.3 (trans. McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian,* 330).
[78] Ps 123:7.
[79] Ps 55:6-7.
[80] Ps. Ephrem, *Serm.* I.7.554-61.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

RESEARCH PAST AND FUTURE

Gustav Bickell's discovery and publication of Cyrillona's works has been foundational for all subsequent scholarship on the author, including this dissertation. But it seems that Bickell's edition of Cyrillona, while certainly usable, has not proven historically to be his most important contribution to scholarship. Of surprising influence, rather, was his high claim for Cyrillona's originality and importance as a Syriac poet, a claim often repeated[1] (here, too), and his vigorous, lively translation, which supported that claim most ably. But his Syriac edition did not attract the same praise and use as his highly visible translation, and a new Syriac edition was apparently planned for the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* when it was established in 1903.[2] Bickell's edition has reached many readers, however, both directly and as excerpted in a number of chrestomathies, beginning immediately upon its publication, as seen in Cardahi[3] and in the exceedingly rare

[1] See pp. 2-3 above.
[2] A list of planned volumes, Cyrillona among them (vol. 13), was printed on the inside front covers of the earliest volumes of CSCO.
[3] Cardahi, *Kitab 'al-Kanz*, 27-29 (=*Euch.* 1-80, 83-86, 89-94).

first edition (1876) of the *Livre de lecture syrienne*, edited by Joseph David,[4] probably the first Syriac book printed by the Mosul Dominicans.[5] But Syriac readers are few and German readers many.

Indeed, the most substantial and important works of scholarship to date on Cyrillona have certainly been the three major European translations of his complete works.[6] They have been the primary sources of information about him for scholars in the nearly 150 years since Cyrillona's discovery. From Bickell to Vona (1872-1963), I would estimate that Bickell's translation was cited in literature 10:1 or more over his Syriac edition. From Vona to today, the ratio of citations from various translations and studies, over the Syriac text, has decreased to parity or better, but perhaps as much due to changing academic standards of citation as increasing first-hand study of Cyrillona. Apart from translators, it appears to me from published

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[4] The chrestomathy was printed anonymously, but Friederici (*Bibliotheca,* 72) and Vosté ("Clément-Joseph David," 246) specify the author as David. Joseph David (Iklimis Youssef Daoud, 1829-90) was archbishop of Damascus and the author of several Syriac works for the Dominican press.

[5] See Coakley, *Typography*, 140-41. The first edition of this chrestomathy is to all appearances extinct, though Nestle attests it contained "längere Stücke aus Ephrem und dessen jüngerem Zeitgenossen Cyrillonas" (Nestle, review of *Psalterium syriacum*, 4). Even the 2nd edition is preserved in only a few known copies. David Taylor has examined one in the Bibliothèque nationale and communicated to me that the excerpt of Cyrillona is from *Euch*. Other chrestomathies which include excerpts of Cyrillona are: Costaz and Mouterde, *Anthologie syriaque*, 70-72 (=*Scourges* 570-619, 634-89); Gismondi, *Linguae Syriacae*, 111-18 (=*Euch.* 1-428, 433-577), though pp. 114-17 were printed out of order in the copy inspected by me; Manna, *Morceaux choisis*, 1:177-80 (=*Euch.* 1-94); and Mouterde, *Manuel*, 19-20 (=*Scourges* 570-689; *Pasch* 1-48).

[6] I.e., Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 9-63; Cerbelaud, *Agneau*; Vona, *Carmi*. Landersdorfer's modest revision of Bickell perpetuated Bickell's influence, but cannot be accounted as an independent contribution. See p. 411n3 below.

scholarship that few Syriacists have examined Cyrillona, and have done so only selectively and with narrow topical interest. A discouraging fact, perhaps, but I also see this as a testimony to the vital importance of translations. If Bickell had published his edition only, Cyrillona might still today be virtually unknown—the precise state of so very much Syriac literature.

However, as a consequence, almost all substantial study of Cyrillona is found in the prefaces and notes of these important translations. General articles in encyclopedias and patrologies have to date been quite brief or derivative. Most other references to Cyrillona in academic literature are likewise brief, if not incidental, and too often imprecise or incorrect. What one sees are just a few prominent or unique topics drawing much notice, such as Cyrillona's striking eucharistic imagery, his discussion of Eve and Mary (*Zacch.* 16-24, 29-44), and his reference to the Huns (*Scourges* 264-83). These three topics alone, usually treated in passing or invoked rather than discussed, seem to account for at least a simple majority of references to Cyrillona in the literature. In several cases one sees an idea or a phrase picked up from Cyrillona by a single author and then repeated serially, without independent investigation. For example, Franz Dölger noted the striking image in *Euch*. 25-28 of Christ hanging the mysteries about his neck like jewels, and speculated that this might be a reference to the practice of keeping a piece of the eucharistic bread in a

necklace encolpion.[7] Such a reading clearly has no real basis in the text—Dölger claimed that the phraseology was "at minimum suggestive"—but at least two other scholars have subsequently perpetuated his interpretation.[8]

I regard the greater part of such incidental usage as belonging to Cyrillona's history of reception rather than to his history of research—a history which yet lies almost entirely in the future. My goals with this edition, translation, and study have been primarily philological, to lay the necessary groundwork both for dedicated, vertical studies of Cyrillona, his thought and his oeuvre, and for the broader topical studies which integrate the discrete words and thoughts of an author into the history of literature and ideas. The first category, dedicated studies, has scarcely been inaugurated beyond translations. Of the second category, some substantive use of Cyrillona has been made, for example, in the topical studies of Beatrice on the washing of the feet;[9] by Kollamparampil in his study of the theology of the pasch;[10] by Murray in his seminal study of early Syriac ecclesiological symbolism;[11] and by Terzoli in his study of early Christian soteriology.[12] But the list is very short. One

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[7] Dölger, "Eucharistie," 241-42.
[8] See Nußbaum, *Aufbewahrung*, 85, and Snoeck, *Medieval Piety*, 82. Photina Rech, however, correctly sees this figure as referencing the Old Testament symbols of Christ, "die kostbare Geschmeide des Ostersiegers" (Rech, *Inbild des Kosmos*, 1:277).
[9] Beatrice, *Lavanda*, 68-70.
[10] Kollamparampil, *Symbol*, 124-31, and "Paschal Mystery," 390-92.
[11] Murray, *Symbols*, in more than a score of places throughout.
[12] Terzoli, *Tema*, 145-48.

may expect that much more will yet be said, for example, on Cyrillona's place in the histories of eucharistic and Marian theology. Cyrillona has already been invoked in a large number of studies on these topics, many cited in the preceding chapters, but the treatment of this thought has thus far been surprisingly insubstantial. I say "invoked" because while his striking language is eminently citable, and thus cited, most authors do not go beyond the citation of Cyrillona to his study. The downside, perhaps, of being such an affective poet.

There are two areas of future study that hold particular interest and promise to me. First, I would wish to see more precisely defined Cyrillona's contribution to the history of biblical reception (*Wirkungsgeschichte*). There may rightly be less interest in his interpretation and exegesis of scripture, in their contemporary sense, than his radical transformation and incorporation of biblical language and themes into his discourse. My sense is that Cyrillona's use of the Bible may be among the most subtle and complex of any early Syriac poet and homilist. But Cyrillona stands at the beginning of Syriac literature's golden age of homiletics. The astonishing way in which he "lives into scripture," through his recasting of theology and liturgy in the biblical text, finds both antecedents in Ephrem and a rich legacy in the *memre* and dramatic dialogue poems of the following century. Many of these texts are unpublished, and the basic work of editing, translation and study proceeds but

slowly. At this point it is very difficult to profitably assess Cyrillona's relationship to subsequent Syriac literature.

Surprisingly, it is also difficult to assess his relationship to even the best known Syriac author, Ephrem the Syrian. Much more has been assumed about the relationship between them than has been shown. Bickell's favorable comparison of Cyrillona to Ephrem as a poetic talent, and his identification of him with Ephrem's nephew, Absamya, has certainly been the source of the recurring speculation, down to the present, that Cyrillona was "probably a disciple of Ephrem."[13] There is no evidence to support this claim, and Cerbelaud alone hazards to describe more precisely their literary relationship:

> Si l'Écriture est ainsi la source première et presque unique de Cyrillonas, on observe chez lui une forte influence littéraire d'Éphrem. Bien des thèmes apparaissent chez l'un et chez l'autre, enrichis de développements parallèles. Mais Cyrillonas résume souvent d'une phrase ce qu'Éphrem déployait en une page, de sorte que ses propres commentaires paraissent souvent plus denses . . . et aussi plus obscurs. Des notes viendront éclairer tel ou tel de ces "raccourcis," dont l'intelligence requiert parfois le recours à l'œuvre d'Éphrem.[14]

This is a very perceptive characterization, which I must nevertheless, reluctantly, question as an overstatement. Cerbelaud is a veteran scholar and translator of Ephrem as well as Cyrillona, and far better equipped than I to judge their precise

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[13] Yousif, "Cirillona," 160 (from 2000).
[14] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 27.

relationship. It is therefore much to be lamented that he did not better illustrate the "forte influence littéraire" which he saw of Ephrem upon Cyrillona. Cerbelaud notes several thematic similarities between Cyrillona and Ephrem, but to what extent are these "développements parallèles"? In just one place does Cerbelaud assert dependency.[15] I have myself cited a significant number of correspondences between Ephrem and Cyrillona, but do any rise to the level of dependency? Not certainly. Murray is no less perceptive a reader than Cerbelaud of both authors, and I think for now his blunt and unsatisfying assessment must stand: Cyrillona's relationship to Ephrem is unclear.[16] Future research may be able to substantiate Cerbelaud's intuition of literary influence. But I believe it will also further substantiate that Cyrillona was an author of equal and independent originality and talent.

CYRILLONA TODAY

I have read, to the best of my knowledge, every general article ever written on Cyrillona. Most are only a paragraph or two in length, and confined to the barest facts about the author and his works. There exists no complete and up-to-date

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[15] Ibid., 108n18, regarding *Euch*. 207-10 and Ephrem, *Cruc*. 3.14. I discuss a number of correspondences between *Euch*. and *Cruc*. in Chapter Two, though I can see no verbal parallels between them. Cerbelaud does not suggest such, but claims that Cyrillona depends on Ephrem "sans aucun doute pour tout ce développement" (ibid.).

[16] "Cyrillona, der nicht lange nach Ephraems Tod gewirkt zu haben scheint, ist durch einige schöne *mēmrē* bekannt, aber sein Verhältnis zu Ephraem ist undurchsichtig" (Murray, "Ephraem Syrus," 759).

general article on Cyrillona, and the most recent do not even improve consistently upon the earlier, in either accuracy or understanding of the author. I have prepared my edition, translation, and commentary with the goal of providing a basic foundation for future research. But it has been suggested to me that one of the more valuable things I might do towards that goal is to conclude my study with this missing survey, to concisely summarize both the state of our present knowledge and my own research into Cyrillona. My concluding assessment of the poet is therefore oriented to this practical, more modest need.[17]

Comparatively little Syriac literature predating the fifth century has been preserved, and the work of only a few named authors from this early period remains to us. Most Syriac literature is a product of the divided churches, each of which developed its own theological and literary traditions. These churches also came under increasingly greater influence from Greek writers, which shaped their theology and modes of discourse. The broad consensus is that Syriac poetry reached its apex among its earliest preserved practitioners, the most important being Ephrem the Syrian. Cyrillona was Ephrem's younger contemporary, and his first editor and translator, Gustav Bickell, regarded him as "the most important Syriac poet after

[17] I omit general bibliography in the following summary, as redundant.

Ephrem."[18] This may or may not claim too much, but Cyrillona is certainly in the first rank of Syriac poets and one of the last masters of Syriac poetry's most important period. "After Ephrem and Cyrillona," says Murray, "Syriac poetry falls into a facile and monotonous fluency which only a few writers of genius will transcend."[19]

Cyrillona's works are preserved in a single sixth-century British Library manuscript (BL Add. 14,591). This codex is a miscellany of homilies, some attributed to named authors and others anonymous. One homily each is attributed to *Qurloka* and to *Quriloka*, clearly variants of the same name. On stylistic and other internal grounds, three further anonymous works in this manuscript may confidently be ascribed to the same author. However, *Qurloka*/*Quriloka* is both unattested and inexplicable as a proper name. Scholars have concluded, therefore, that either the manuscript or our reading of it is somehow in error. Since Syriac *k* (*kaph*) and *n* (*nun*) are similar letterforms, and admittedly the names are badly written, perhaps the manuscript should be read *Qurlona*/*Qurilona*. Cyrillona (*Qurilona*) is not an anciently attested name either, but would be the Syriac diminutive form of the popular

[18] "Ich halte ihn für den bedeutendsten syrischen Dichter nach Ephräm" (Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 14).
[19] Murray, *Symbols*, 340.

Christian name Cyril (*Qurilos*). However conjectural, then, the naming of this author as Cyrillona has become a fixed convention.

There survives no ancient testimony of Cyrillona or his work. The inconsistent spelling of his name in the manuscript may indicate he was not even known to scribes working just two or three generations later. That a writer of such great talent should be lost from history vexed earlier scholars, prompting speculative identifications of him with known historical figures. One of Cyrillona's poems (*On Scourges*) mentions an invasion of the Huns (395). This led Bickell to propose, in his first notice of Cyrillona's works, "Because Absamya, a nephew of Ephrem, likewise wrote poems on the same topic, perhaps the two are one and the same."[20] This thesis has been often repeated. Historical evidence for Absamya and his work is not without discrepancy,[21] but the collective tradition witnesses that he wrote *madrashe* and *memre* on the invasion of the Huns in "the meter of Ephrem" (i.e., 7+7). Yet Cyrillona's *memra On Scourges* is written in 4+4 and only deals with the Huns briefly (40 of 689 lines), hardly fitting this description. Bickell later reasoned that Cyrillona's work must therefore be fragmentary,[22] but the text in the form we

[20] Bickell, "Syrisches für deutsche Theologen," 150; see also Bickell, *Conspectus*, 21, and idem, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 13.
[21] See Witakowski, "Chronicles of Edessa," 494-96.
[22] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 13.

have it simply does not support his thesis. A second conjecture, by Addai Scher,[23] was that Cyrillona may have been Qiyore, an ambiguous figure who was perhaps the head of the school of Edessa before Narsai. But to identify one person almost entirely unknown, Qiyore, with another of whom we know nothing certain, Cyrillona, is grandly speculative, and all attempts thus far to correlate him with a known historical figure must be judged unsuccessful.

Based on his reference to a Hunnic invasion of 395, his use of the Old Syriac Gospels and Diatessaronic readings, and other internal evidence, Cyrillona must have been active at the turn of the fifth century. His references to Christian kings indicate he was a Roman, and from a crucial passage in which he describes the travails surrounding his homeland,[24] we may deduce he lived in Roman Mesopotamia or Syria. Past speculations that Cyrillona was from Edessa were often correlated with the thesis that he was Absamya, whose work the *Chronicle of Edessa* describes. Lacking this, there is no evidence for his precise location. From his *memre* it is clear that Cyrillona was a caring pastor, probably a priest or a bishop. The manuscript in one place ascribes to him the title *Mar*,[25] an honorific used of bishops, but also more generally of ecclesiastical superiors and the holy.

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[23] See Scher, "Étude supplémentaire," 3-4, and *Cause de la fondation*, 382n2.
[24] See *Scourges* 248-331.
[25] BL Add. 14,591, fol. 62r, col. 1, ln. 2 (*Pasch*, title).

Three of Cyrillona's works are paschal poems, two *memre* and a *soghitha*, apparently written for Holy Week. Based on their contents, they have been given the titles *On the Institution of the Eucharist* (*Euch.*), *On the Washing of the Feet* (*Wash.*), and *On the Pasch of Our Lord* (*Pasch*). A fourth poem, a *memra* for a feast of all saints, concerns a drought, a plague of locusts, an invasion of the Huns, and an earthquake in Cyrillona's day. Following this *memra On the Scourges* (*Scourges*) in the manuscript is a short *soghitha* conventionally called *On Zacchaeus* (*Zacch*.).

In his *editio princeps* and translation, Bickell included a sixth poem among the works of Cyrillona, a *memra* entitled *On the Wheat* (*Wheat*). In the manuscript, it is the first of three anonymous homilies following *Zacch*. The two homilies following *Wheat* Bickell believed to be works by Isaac of Antioch,[26] and he likewise allowed "that it was not entirely impossible that Isaac of Antioch could have composed [*Wheat*]." He thought it probably the work of Cyrillona because of certain similarities it shared with *Pasch*, and included it, he said, not only to give Cyrillona's work "in absolute completeness," but also because it "contains many important passages on the all-holy sacrament of the Eucharist."[27] This last statement, read together with

[26] Bickell, *Opera omnia,* nos. 89 and 112.
[27] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 56.

other indicators of apologetic bias,[28] raises the question of whether Bickell may, in this case, have placed theological considerations beside or before textual evidence.

A strict textual comparison of *Wheat* with *Pasch* reveals that the two share almost no similarity to each other beyond some few elements of wheat imagery, used for very different ends, and found also in other authors. Tellingly, *Wheat* shows some significant parallels to a Greek sermon by Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Pasch*, and perhaps even dependence, while Cyrillona otherwise betrays no knowledge of Greek authors and works. *Wheat* is principally an agricultural paean to the "queen of grains" and "most beloved of seeds,"[29] not at all resembling Cyrillona's other works in topic or style. It also contains an instance of strikingly Chalcedonian language, when the author says of Christ that he "mingled the life of his nature / with this mortal nature of ours."[30] Such technical theological language is otherwise foreign to Cyrillona and typical of a later period. Cerbelaud believes that the attribution of *Wheat* to Cyrillona is dubious and contestable,[31] but it may more frankly be called a false conjecture.

Cerbelaud, however, finds compelling certain topical similarities between *Pasch* and a short, anonymous commentary on the effusion of the Holy Spirit at

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[28] See Ibid., 14.
[29] *Wheat* 121, 129.
[30] *Wheat* 268-69.
[31] See Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 23, and "Kyrillonas," 557.

Pentecost that may be contemporary with Cyrillona.[32] He wonders if this *turgomo* might not "some day be placed in the 'Cyrillonan canon.'"[33] But the commentary is in prose and very different in style from Cyrillona, and like *Wheat* it contains theological language typical of a later period: "You have seen the power of the Spirit. Do not make its person less than that of the Father, for we worship one divine nature which is known in three persons."[34]

The study of Cyrillona is challenged by the basic fact that his "work is quite limited in extension, and is not organic in terms of structure: it deals with various topics not connected in a coherent synthesis."[35] And while readers of his work are invariably struck by his "unusual power of speech and bold originality of thought,"[36] the power and originality of his work lies more in its masterful poetic style than in theological and exegetical innovation. In fact, Cyrillona shows virtually no interest in systematic theology and formal exegesis, for their own sake. Like Ephrem, Cyrillona presents an implicit challenge to the "excessively cerebral tradition of theological enquiry" typical to the European Christian tradition.[37] However, he lacks even Ephrem's controversial and consequent theological

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[32] Ed. Overbeck, *Opera selecta*, 95-95; FT Jansma, "Homélie anonyme."
[33] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 25.
[34] Overbeck, *Opera selecta*, 98.18-20.
[35] Terzoli, *Tema*, 147-48.
[36] Bardenhewer, *Geschichte*, 4:397.
[37] Brock, *Luminous Eye*, 15.

interests. Rather, Cyrillona's every poem has at its core pastoral concerns: to communicate the meaning and power contained in the sacraments and Christ's paschal acts, or to comfort his people in a time of crisis, or to encourage sinners to repent. His poetic imagery is employed to awe, to comfort, and to inspire rather than for theological or polemical effect. To the extent they are theology, his poems may best be regarded as catechesis—not a recitation of dogmas, but a "catechesis of images" (*Bildkatchese*).[38]

Cyrillona's poems are also strikingly non-Western in their use of scripture. He regards the Bible "not only as a corpus to which one refers to learn what one should believe or how one should act: it is nourishment, a gushing spring which quenches our thirst."[39] He speaks eloquently of the power of the word, and of Jesus's salvific acts as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, and four of his poems are clearly based on biblical lections and scriptural narratives. At the same time, direct citation of scripture by Cyrillona is rare, and even clear allusions are relatively uncommon. The Bible is apparent everywhere in his poetry but almost "entirely diffused."[40] Cyrillona's use of the Bible is among the most subtle and complex of any early Syriac author.

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[38] Bolger, "Bild," 259.
[39] Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 28.
[40] Ibid., 26.

In the place of formal commentary and exegesis, Cyrillona reads himself and his auditors into the text, actually "living into scripture,"[41] encouraging self-identification with biblical characters and becoming first-hand witnesses to biblical events. In *Wash*., Cyrillona imagines himself as a first-hand witness to the washing of the disciples' feet, and descends to Sheol to converse with the prophets concerning it. Conversely, Cyrillona also brings biblical characters into the present, especially Jesus, placing his own exposition of the sacraments and biblical events directly in the mouth of Christ. This mode of discourse is a striking distinctive of early Syriac literature, found especially in early dramatic dialogue poems and the *memre* of the fifth-century homilists. Cyrillona stands at the forefront of this tradition, both chronologically and in skill. Cyrillona uses this dramatic dialogue in his three paschal poems to fill vital theological and liturgical lacunas, from his perspective, in the scriptural narrative, especially on the subjects of Christ and the sacraments. Cyrillona, like Ephrem and other early authors, also sees the salvific words and deeds of Christ as comprising "a single salvific unit, a single moment as it were in sacred time,"[42] and regards the totality of scripture as alive and present,

[41] A phrase used by Kristian Heal, following Austin Farrar, to describe this form of exegesis (Heal, "Tradition," 12).
[42] Brock, "Poet as Theologian," 246.

permitting him strikingly presentist readings and unconstrained innovation in the use of biblical images and language.

As noted, three of Cyrillona's surviving works are paschal poems, *Euch*., *Wash*., and *Pasch*. They are all concerned with different aspects of the words and events of the Last Supper and Last Discourse as found in the Gospel of John (John 13-17). Given their content, and the lections on which they appear to be based, all seem to have been used in connection with Holy Thursday services. They are found together in the manuscript, and *Wash*. is associated with *Euch*. by virtue of its titling and closely-related subject matter. However, there is nothing in the contents of these three poems that would clearly indicate they were authored and delivered as a series, and the direct thematic and verbal parallels shared between them are relatively modest. They may have only been brought together at a later time, precisely because of their topical complementarity, even if their distinctive style and power leaves no doubt as to their common authorship.

Euch. is titled in the manuscript, *Memra on the Crucifixion*, a topic it does not treat at all except by associating the Eucharist (in passing) with the Cross.[43] It is a mixed-meter *memra* (sermon), but more precisely, in Brock's classification, it might

[43] See *Euch.* 19-22, and Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 37n1. Ephrem has a collection of nine paschal *madrashe* also titled *On the Crucifixion*, treating similar themes, so this titling is not without analog.

be considered a Type IV dramatic dialogue poem or a narrative *memra*.[44] Cyrillona's discussion of the Institution of the Eucharist takes three successive forms. The preacher begins in the Upper Room, as Jesus is about to reveal his eucharistic mystery to the disciples; but before he may do so, Cyrillona expounds directly his own "sacramental iconology."[45] He explains the paschal sacrifice foremost as the fulfillment in Christ, the new pasch, of the old pasch of the Law, making broad and varied use of the two nations typology so popular in the early church. He also connects the pasch with the virginal conception and Incarnation, and more subtly, the restoration of humanity to paradise. Cyrillona next narrates the Institution itself, with special emphasis on the dipping of the sop and the departure of Judas, and with an elaborate description of Christ triumphant. The last third of the poem is a discourse by Jesus on the Words of Institution,[46] a meditation on the symbolism of the bread and the cup, and concluding with the apostolic commission.

Wash. follows *Euch.* in the manuscript, a short 7+7 poem bearing the simple designation, *Soghitha of the memra*. *Soghitha* is a term typically used of short *madrashe* (hymns) with a simple isosyllabic, stanzaic structure, usually of alternating blocks of dialogue. *Wash*. is short (152 lines) and contains a few couplets of dialogue, but

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[44] On these genres, see the discussions of Brock, "Dramatic Dialogue Poems," "Poetry and Hymnography,"662-65, and "Ephrem and the Syriac Tradition," 367-69.
[45] Griffith's term, used of Ephrem ("'Spirit in the Bread,'" 228).
[46] See Luke 22:19-20; 1 Cor 11:24-25.

otherwise lacks these features. The term *soghitha* only becomes broadly used and well-defined at a much later date, and its precise meaning as used here (and of *Zacch*.) is unclear. Brock has suggested *Wash.* "verges" on being a Type IV dialogue poem, per his classification,[47] but it reads like a short sermon on the gospel *pedilavium*. The preacher again enters the Upper Room, as Jesus begins to lave the apostles' feet, and Cyrillona is struck with horror at Christ's condescension. Unable to determine if the prophets had written of this, he journeys to Sheol and rehearses before them the scene taking place above. They assure him that this was indeed prophesied, and is cause for thanks and praise. Returning, he relates his further terror at the washing of Judas's feet; describes Peter's refusal and Jesus's rebuke; and concludes the washing with the commission of the apostles. Cyrillona associates the washing of the feet with baptism, through his use of baptismal language and allusions, but he also lives into it as an awe-inspiring example of Christ's condescension, humility and service.

Pasch is the only one of these paschal poems explicitly to bear Cyrillona's name. It is, like *Euch.*, a *memra* in mixed meters (a rarity) and is based on the Johannine Last Discourse and High Priestly Prayer of Jesus (John 14-17). Murray

[47] Brock, "Dramatic Dialogue Poems," 144n24.

suggests *Pasch* might be called a midrash on that lection,[48] but it is less an imaginative commentary on the gospel text than an exposition on the meaning and significance of Christ's pasch, both his eucharistic and his mortal sacrifice, and on the commissioning of the apostles. The heart of it is a dramatic reimagining of the parting words of Jesus to his disciples, which incorporates the gospel text only occasionally and allusively, but with impressive sophistication. Jesus explains to his sorrowful disciples why he must now go to the cross and Sheol, and the salvation and glory he will win for humanity. He contrasts the contest and victory to which he goes with their own ministry, in aid of which he will send the Holy Spirit. Christ's description of the coming Pentecost leads Cyrillona into an excursus on the reception of the Holy Spirit by the apostles and by Mary. A second excursus follows on the symbolism of the grain of the wheat and the grape vine (John 15:1-7), icons of Christ's crucifixion, resurrection, and his eucharistic sacrifice and presence. A third short excursus, together with the *Pasch*'s prologue, celebrates the power of the word, with which Christ empowered his apostles. Jesus at last concludes his discourse with his prayer to the Father and (yet another) commission to the apostles.

Scourges is titled in the manuscript, *Madrashe on the locust, and on chastisement, and on the invasion of the Huns, by Cyrillona*. It begins with two stanzas of thirteen

[48] So Murray, *Symbols*, 81.

verses each which may be a prefatory prayer by the preacher. It is probably from these initial stanzas, hymnic in form, that a later copiest has designated the work (mistakenly) as *madrashe*. The remainder of the poem is a *memra* in 4+4 meter on calamities of the time (the spring of 396), in particular on an infestation of locusts, a drought, and a threatened second incursion of the Huns. *Scourges* is fundamentally a rogation sermon, comparable to those in a later collection attributed to Ephrem the Syrian.[49] Cyrillona calls upon his congregation to rally for battle and prepare themselves spiritually for combat against the enemy hosts, the locusts, which they must fight with hymns of praise and prayers. The preacher eloquently petitions God for mercy, and calls upon creation (the earth) and the church (including the saints and martyrs) to likewise intercede. Their lively and carefully forensic arguments before God constitute well more than half of this long *memra*. *Scourges*'s grim subject and circumstances do not dim Cyrillona's fundamental optimism, his ebullient faith, or his deep pastoral empathy. Unlike similar literature, he expresses no apocalyptic anxiety and issues no call to repentance. He confesses God's justice but defends Christian righteousness, in one place rhapsodizing for more than seventy lines on the victory and holiness of Christianity throughout the world (*Scourges* 570-642).

[49] *Sermones rogationum* (Lamy, *Hymni*, 3:1-126; 4:357-454).

Zacch. follows *Scourges* in the manuscript. It is an acrostic poem in 7+7 7+7 meter and, like *Wash*., bears the title, *Soghitha of the memra.* However, it is not a dialogue poem, and its original use is difficult to guess. There is no obvious thematic relationship between *Scourges* and *Zacch.* It may be that the *memra* to which this poem's title originally referred was not *Scourges*, but that the two works just happened to be copied together later from a manuscript of Cyrillona's writings. The poem derives its modern title from its principal character, Zacchaeus (see Luke 19:1-10). It is not, however, a commentary on the gospel episode, but a typology and exhortation on the theme of repentance and salvation. In its brief compass it evokes and explores a number of the most potent and oft-used symbols of redemption in the Syriac tradition, such as the medicine of life, the garment of glory, the shepherd, the fisherman, the fruit of life, and Eve and Mary. It is a message of hope that presents Zacchaeus as an example of God's mercy toward penitent sinners, and through both the poem's structure and subtle symbolism, Cyrillona universalizes the diminutive publican's call and repentance as an allegory of humanity's fall and restoration to Paradise.

From these few works, Cyrillona emerges as a daring expositor, a loving pastor, an engaging homilist, and a poet of unique gifts. While he belongs to the same milieu as Ephrem, and may have known him or his works, their precise

relationship is unclear. But manifestly he is no derivative talent. In fact, lacking controversial disposition or scholastic inclination, clear literary or theological influences other than the Bible are almost entirely absent from his work. His poems breathe with a joyful and unencumbered purity, and stand at a significant literary crossroad. He may be regarded both as one the last great poets and first great homilists of the Syriac church.

APPENDIX A

Syriac Edition of the Works of Cyrillona

INTRODUCTION

I have reedited the works of Cyrillona from their sole manuscript witness, BL Add. 14,591.[1] From this I have been able to correct a number of errors in Bickell's edition.[2] This includes the correction of defective readings and typographical errors, as well as the inconsistent and inaccurate representation of diacritics. Most seriously, Bickell omits *seyame* in a large number of cases (over 70 times), which I have restored.[3] From a few instances where a partial imprint of *seyame* is evident in his edition, leaving a (misleading) single point, one might conclude that this glaring defect is due to printer error in some or even many cases. In some instances form or context are clear enough to prevent misunderstanding, but in others *seyame* is an absolute orthographical necessity and its absence a material error. This defect has led to occasional errors in previous translations.

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[1] See the table on p. 10 above for a summary list of texts, titles, and incipits.
[2] Bickell, "Gedichte," 566-98.
[3] I have also regularized the use of *seyame* with 3 f. pl. perf. verbs. Manuscript usage varies and has often been corrected by a second hand, as well as in several instances where *seyame* is omitted with ܕܝܢ.

I have also reproduced other diacritical points more fully and precisely,[4] and I have in a few cases regularized orthography by including quiescent letters which the text omits,[5] and which a second hand has often corrected as well. I have regularized the highly variable, and sometimes missing, punctuation to indicate only verses (.) and periods (⁘), the latter strictly as marked in the manuscript. Finally, I offer a complete textual apparatus which notes, much more fully than Bickell, all variants and marginalia.

Two orthographical peculiarities should be noted. In the first hand, 3 f. pl. verbs are consistently written without final *yodh* and *seyame*. In most cases this was corrected by a second hand. Also, the 1 sg. verbal object suffix ـܕ- seems to have been regularly written without the silent *yodh*, identical in form to the 1 pl. object suffix. Bickell reflects this fact in his translation but does not emend the text of his edition. Perhaps this is a peculiar affectation of the "royal we," but as Taylor notes, "Silent final *waw* and *yodh* are occasionally, if rarely, omitted from the ends of words in the Old Syriac Gospels and elsewhere."[6] In instances where the pronominal object is

[4] It must be acknowledged that the precise placement of points in the manuscript cannot always be determined with certainty. In some obscure cases I have placed diacritics in their normative positions, if they are clearly close thereto, but otherwise I have not normalized placement. I have, however, placed the point for the 3 f. s. perf. in its typographically correct place after the final taw (ܬ) rather than above it (ܬ), as is often written in the manuscript.

[5] See Bickell, "Berichtigungen," 532.

[6] Taylor, review of *Old Syriac Gospel*, par. 11.

certainly 1 sg., I have standardized the orthography to preserve readers from the confusion occasionally seen in previous translations.

My editions of these poems are reproduced in their manuscript order. Asterisks in-text indicate folio breaks and page numbers for Bickell's edition (B), given in the margin. Periods (˙) are followed by a line break, which is not reckoned in line numbering. Please note that the line numbering of my edition does not always correspond to Bickell, due to the restoration of omitted verses, etc.

Each Syriac text is followed by a critical apparatus, giving a corresponding line number and lemma for each variant. My apparatuses and abbreviations follow the conventions of Bidez and Drachman.[7] I have noted my departures from both Bickell (B) and Overbeck (O),[8] who first edited a portion of *Euch.* I have also noted all the conjectural emendations proposed by Vandenhoff (V),[9] though I have accepted only one. The apparatuses do not, however, indicate differences in the use of *seyame* or the inclusion and placement of other diacritic points.

[7] Bidez and Drachman, *Emploi des signes critiques*.
[8] I.e., Bickell, "Gedichte," 566-98; Overbeck, *Opera selecta,* 379-81.
[9] Vandenhoff, "Zu den von G. Bickell," 163-64; cf. Vandenhoff, review of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 434-35.

Text 1

***On the Institution of the Eucharist* (*Euch.*)**

(BL Add. 14,591, fols. 54r-59r)

*fol. 54r / B569 *ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܐ ܡܝܬܝ.

ܟܠ ܡܝܬ ܡܝܬ ܐܝܬ.
ܒܗ ܡܫܘܚ ,ܡܫܠܚܢ.
ܘܐܦ ,ܡܥܝܢܬܢ ܡܝܬ ܟܠ.
*fol. 54v *ܟܠ ܫܘ ܐܚܕ ܡܫܟܚ.
ܡܢܐ ܟܡ ܡܫܡܫ.
ܐܡܢ ܘܟܠ ܡܫܟܚ.
ܫܐ ܡܫܐ ܐܒܕ ܒܗ.
ܡܫܟܚ ܡܫ ܒܗ.
.ܡܝܫ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܐܒ
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.ܡܫܟܚ ܟܠ ܐܡ
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*fol. 55r

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ܟܬܒܘ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܠ
ܟܬܒ ܫܡ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܢ
ܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܡܠܟ ܐܠ 80
ܡܢ *ܟܬܒ ܡܢ ܐܠ *fol. 55v
ܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟ
ܡܠܟ ܐܠ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ
ܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܟ
ܐܠ ܟ *ܡܠܟ ܠ ܡܢ *B571
ܟܬܒ ܠ ܡܠܟ* ܠ ܐܠ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܠ ܡܢ ܡܠܟ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܠ ܡܢ ܡܠܟ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ 90
ܟ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ 100
ܟ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ 110
ܟ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ
ܟ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ 120
ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ ܡܢ

ﻟﺠﻪ ﻧﺎﺻﻜﻪ ﻧﺎﺻﻪ.
ﻟﺠﺪ ﻣﻮﻟﻜﻪ ﻣﻮﻟﺪﻩ.
ﻣﻌﺎﺻﻪ ﺩﻫﻪ ﻟﻤﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻪ ﺩﻫﺐ ﺭﻣﻪ.
ﻣﻌﺎﺻﻪ ﺍﻟﻬﻪ.
ﻣﻬﺎﺩﻩ ﻟﻪ ﻟﻤﻪ.
ﻫﺐ ﻣﻪ ﻣﻪ ﻫﺐ
*fol. 56r *ﻣﻬﺎﺩﻩ ﻣﻠﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻪﺧﻬﻪ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻣﻨﻪ.
130 ﻣﻠﻪﺩﻠﻪ ﻣﻠﻪ.
ﻫﺐ ﻣﻪ ﻣﻪ ﻫﺐ
ﻫﻠﻪﻣﻪ ﻣﻠﻪ.
ﻣﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻨﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻪﺧﻬﻪ ﻣﻠﻪ ﻟﻪ.
ﻫﺐ ﻣﻪ ﻣﻪ ﻫﺐ
ﻣﻨﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻠﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻫﺐ ﻣﻪ ﻣﻪ ﻫﺐ
140 ﻫﻠﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻠﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻪﺧﻬﻪ ﻣﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻠﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻨﻪ ﻟﻪ.
ﻫﺐ ﻣﻪ ﻣﻪ ﻫﺐ
ﻣﻬﺎﺩﻩ ﻣﻠﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻪﻫﻪ.
*B572 *ﻟﻪ ﻟﻨﻪ ﻣﻪ ﻟﻪ.
ﻣﻬﺎﺩﻩ ﻫﻨﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻟﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻠﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻠﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻨﻪ.
150 ﻫﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻠﻪﻫﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻨﻪ.
ﻫﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻠﻪﻫﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻣﻠﻪﺧﻬﻪ ﻫﻠﻪ ﻣﻨﻪ.
ﻣﻨﻪﻫﻪ ﻟﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻫﻪﻫﻪ ﻟﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻫﻪﻫﻪ ﻣﻠﻪ ﻫﻪ.
ﻫﻪﻫﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻪ.
160 ﻫﻪﻫﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻫﻪﻫﻪ ﻟﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻫﻪﻫﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻫﻪﻫﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻪ.
ﻫﻪﻫﻪﻫﻪﻫﻪ ﻫﻪﻫﻪ.

ﻟﺎ ﺑﻬﺎ ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻘﻪ
ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻘﻪ ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻖ.
ﻣﺎ ﻟﻪ ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻖ ﺑﻪ.
ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻖ ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻖ ﺑﻪ.
ﻟﻢ ﻳﺠﻌﻞ ﻟﻪ ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻖ.
ﻳﺎ ﻣﻦ ﻟﻪ ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻖ 170
ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻖ ﻣﻨﻪ ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻖ.
ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻖ ﻣﺘﻌﻠﻖ ﺑﻪ

ولم يحضر معه
وما لعلمه به حتى
ولعلاقته معه
وعدم ثقته به
ومرضه الحالي
حتى وجد ميتا
ثم وجد ميتا
ومعه رسالة
وبها عنوانه
ومعه رسالة
ومعه رسالة* وبها
ومعه رسالة* وبها
*B573 وقد وجد ميتا
ما تم في هذه
ومن بعد ما
ومعرفته بحاله
ومع رسالة أخرى
ومعنونة بخطه
وقد حاز بها
ومعه رسالة* *fol. 57r
ومن بعد معرفته
ومع ما
ومعها مفاتيح
ومعه مفاتيح
ومعه مفاتيح
ومحتوى بعض
وقد حاز
وقد حاز ❖

ومعه رسالة
وحتى
ومحله
وتقلده
وحتى
وقد ينحدر
ومن بعد
وبالنار
وعاقبة
وحتى
ومحله
وحتى
ومع أخرى
ومحتواها

.ܟܬܒ ܐܝܟ
.ܩܘ ܣܟ
.ܟܬܒ ܟܕ
.ܟܬܒ ܒܪܝܫܐ
.ܟܬܒ ܣܦܪ ܟܕ
.ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ
.ܟܬܒ ܠܡ
.ܟܬܒ ܒܝܬ
260 .ܟܬܒ ܒܪ ܫܡ
.ܟܬܒ ܟܠ ܝܘ
.ܟܬܒ ܟܠ ܒܪ
.ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ
.ܟܬܒ ܠܟ ܡܩܕܫ
.ܟܬܒ ܟܠ ܫܡ
.ܟܬܒ ܡܠܟ
.ܟܬܒ ܠܡ ܐܝܟ
.ܟܬܒ ܒܝ ܒܪ
.ܟܬܒ ܟܠ ܒܪ
270 .ܟܬ ܟܬܒ
.ܟܬܒ ܟܠ
.ܟܬ ܟܠ
.ܟܠ ܒܪ ܒ
.ܟܬܒ ܒܪܟ
.ܟܬܒ ܟܬ
.ܟܠ ܟܬ ܠ
.ܟܬ ܟܠ ܟ
.ܟܠ ܟܬ ܒ
.ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟ
.ܟܬ ܟܬ ܟ
280 .ܟܠ ܟ ܟ
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290 .ܟ ܟ ܟ
.ܟ ܟ ܟ
fol. 57v .ܟ ܟ ܟ
.ܟ ܟ ܟ
.ܟ ܟ ܟ
.ܟ ܟ ܟ

.معجم الأدباء
.معجم البلدان
B574 .معجم لـ *ياقوت.
.معجم مصنفات
300 .معجم مؤلفي
.معجم مطبوعات
.معجم المعاجم
.معجم مفردات
.معجم مقاييس
.معجم مقاييس اللغة
.معجم من لا يحضره
.معجم نباتات
.معجم نحوي
.معجم وسيط
.معجم الأدباء
310 .معجم الشعراء
.معجم الفقهاء
.معجم الكتب
.معجم المؤلفين
.معجم الموضوعات
.معجم النحاة
.معجم الهجاء
.معجم الهجائيين
320 .معجم الهجائيين في
.معجم الهجائيين
.معجم الوافي
.معجم ما استعجم
.معجم المصنفات
.معجم المطبوعات
.معجم المعاجم
.معجم المفردات
.معجم النبات
.معجم النحاة
330 .معجم النحاة والأدباء
.معجم الهجاء
.معجم اللغة
.معجم اللغويين
.معجم النحاة
.معجم النحويين
.معجم الوسيط
.معجم اليمامة
.معجم من لا يحضره الفقيه
.معجم نباتات
.معجم الهجاء

.ميتم حي حمم 340
.ستمم مصر
.معتقيم ووم
.ستمم سمر
.ستر سلسم
.سهيمم ستمم
.سيخ ضيا
.مهر حل وم
.مصر ولح
.ميتم حل وم
.مصمم تموه مصر 350
.مصمحل وم
.نجم ممم
.سم مصرل
.نجمح علم
.سيتهمم مع
.نصمم مصمم
.ترمهمم مع
.نجمم ستمم *fol. 58r
.سهيمم* مع
.مهمي سيم 360
.مصمح لمصمم
.ستم سيمح
.سمر ستمح
.سلمم وم
.ستم ستمم
.سللمصمم
.ستمي ستمم
.سيم ستمم
.ميتم مصمم
.ستمم ووم
.سيتم مصمم 370
.ستمح ممم
.ستم وم ستم
.ستيم مرمح ستم
.ستم مصمهم
.سمصمم لهم
.ستم وم ستم
.سهمسمم
.ستهيمم
.مهمم مصيم
.ستمم وم ستم 380
.مصمهم ستم
.ستمي مميم
.ل مصمم

.אינך וגם
.מלוכלכת
.כוך אדם בכה
.אדמה מלאו
.שחור פה
.חכמה
.מלוכלכת 390
.אחרונה
.אלוהים
.אלוהים מעיר
.אלוהים
.אינך אדמה
.שחור פה
.אדם אינך לי
.מלוכלכת
*400 / .אדם בכה אדם
*B575 .אינה לב
.מלוכלכת לי
.אינה לב
.אדם שמה לא
.לחם אדם לי
.אנשי אלי
.לי לב אלו
.אדם אינך לא
.לבחל לי
410 .אנשי אלי
.אלו לחם לי

.חטאה פה
.בנו לב אחרי
.אלוהיו
.מעלינו אלוהי
.אמה אחרי
.אלוהים אמו
.נפלאות אמר
.אחרי אמה 420
.אנחנו מנה
.אמנה כוכב
.אלוהי לא
.אמו פה
.לאנחנו מנה
.אלוהינו אמר

ڪڻڻ جي ڪي
ڪهڙو ڏس ڪيو
ڪو ٻيو ڪهڙو
ڪٿي ڪاڪاڻي ڪري * 430 / *fol. 58v
ڪوڙي ڪهي.
ڪيو ڏس ڪيو
ڪيئن ڪٿي
ڪيڏو ڪيڻ
ڪهڙو ڏس
ڪيو ڏيئر ڏي
ڪيئن ڪهڙو
ڪيو ڪيو 440
ڪٿي ڪيئن
ڪيڻي ڪيئر
ڪيڏو ڪيڻ
ڪهڙو ڏس
ڪو ڪهڙو ڏي
ڪٿي ڪيڏو
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيو ڪيو ڏس ڪيو
ڪيڏو ڪيڻ
ڪيڻو ڪيئن 450
ڪيڏو ڪيڻ
ڪهڙو ڪي
ڪيڻو ڪيئن ڪٿي
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪهڙو ڏس
ڪٿي ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڏو ڪيڻ
ڪيڻو ڪيئن 460
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڻو ڪيئن
ڪيڻو ڪيئن 470

.ﻛﻘﻨﺎ ﺣﻪ
.ﻛﻬﺤﺴﺪ ﻫﻬﻪﻪ
.ﻛﻬﻬﻨﻴﻬﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻛﻢ ﻛﻠﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻪ ﻫﻤﻛ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻬﻠﻪ ﻫﻪﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻠﻪﻛ ﻫﻛ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻪﻫﻪﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻬﻠﻪﻛ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻬﻠﻪ ﻛﻠﻪ 480
.ﻛﻪﻪﻫ ﻛﻢ
.ﻛﻠﻪﻛ ﻫﻪ ﻫﻪﻪﻠﻪ
.ﻛﻬﻬﻛ ﻫﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻬﻠﻪ ﻛﻠﻪ
.ﻛﻠﻪ ﻫﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻬﻠﻪ ﻫﻪ ﻫﻪﻪ
.ﻛﻬﻢﻛﻬ
.ﻫﻪﻛ ﻛﻢ
.ﻫﻪﻪ ﻫﻪﻪ
.ﻛﻠﻛ ﻫﻪﻪ ﻫﻪﻪ 490
.ﻛﻪﻪﻫ ﻫﻪ
.ﻛﻪﻪﻫ ﻫﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻠﻪ ﻛﻠﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻫ ﻫﻪ
.ﻛﻬﻛﻢ ﻛﻬﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻫ ﻫﻪ
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.ﻫﻪﻪﻫ ﻫﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻬﻠﻪﻛ ﻫﻪﻪ
.ﻫﻪﻪﻬﻠﻪﻛ ﻛﻠﻪ 500 /
.ﻛﻬﻬﻛ ﻛﻠﻪ *B576
.ﻫﻪﻪﻬﻠﻪﻛ ﻫﻪﻪ
.ﻛﻬﻬﻛ ﻛﻠﻪ
.ﻛﻬﻛ ﻛﻬﻢ
.ﻛﻪﻪﻫ ﻫﻪﻪﻪ
.ﻛﻠﻪﻛ ﻛﻠﻪ *fol. 59r
.ﻛﻬﻢ ﻛﻬﻢ
.ﻛﻬﻢ ﻛﻬﻢ
.ﻛﻬﻢ ﻛﻬﻢ
.ﻛﻬﻢ ﻛﻬﻢ 510
.ﻛﻬﻢ ﻛﻬﻢ
.ﻛﻬﻢ ﻛﻬﻢ
.ﻛﻬﻢ ﻛﻬﻢ
.ﻛﻬﻢ ﻛﻬﻢ
.ﻛﻬﻢ ﻛﻬﻢ

.ﻣﺴﺘﻘﻴﻢ ﺍﻫﺪﻧﺎ
.ﺍﻟﺼﺮﺍﻁ ﺍﻟﻤﺴﺘﻘﻴﻢ
.ﺻﺮﺍﻁ ﺍﻟﺬﻳﻦ
.ﺃﻧﻌﻤﺖ ﻋﻠﻴﻬﻢ
.ﻏﻴﺮ ﺍﻟﻤﻐﻀﻮﺏ
.ﻋﻠﻴﻬﻢ ﻭﻻ
.ﺍﻟﻀﺎﻟﻴﻦ ﺁﻣﻴﻦ
520 .ﺳﻮﺭﺓ ﺍﻟﻔﺎﺗﺤﺔ
.ﻣﻜﻴﺔ ﻭﻫﻲ
.ﺁﻳﺎﺗﻬﺎ ﺳﺒﻊ
.ﺑﺴﻢ ﺍﷲ ﺍﻟﺮﺣﻤﻦ
.ﺍﻟﺮﺣﻴﻢ
.ﺍﻟﺮﺣﻤﻦ ﺍﷲ
.ﺑﺴﻢ ﺍﻟﺮﺣﻴﻢ
.ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﺳﺒﺤﺎﻥ
.ﺍﻟﻌﻈﻴﻢ ﺍﷲ
.ﻟﻲ ﻏﻔﺮ ﺍﻟﻠﻬﻢ
530 .ﺍﻟﺨﺎﺳﺮﻳﻦ ﻣﻦ
.ﺍﻟﻈﺎﻟﻤﻴﻦ ﻣﻦ
.ﺍﻟﻤﺆﻣﻨﻴﻦ ﻭﺍﻏﻔﺮ
.ﺍﻟﻤﺆﻣﻨﺎﺕ ﻭﻟﻠﻤﺴﻠﻤﻴﻦ
.ﺍﻟﻤﺴﻠﻤﺎﺕ ﻭﻟﻠﻤﺆﻣﻨﻴﻦ

ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܚܝܐ.
ܕܠܐ ܡܬܠܚ ܠܗ. 560
ܐܠܐ ܡܚܝܠ.
ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ.
ܒܗ ܡܫܬܥܐ.
ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ.
ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ.
ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ.
ܒܗ ܡܫܬܥܐ.
ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ. 570
ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ.
ܐܠܐ ܒܫܠܡ ܐܢ.
ܒܗ ܡܫܬܥܐ.
ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ.
ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ.
ܒܗ ܡܫܬܥܐ.
ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ.
ܒܗ ܡܫܬܥܐ.

ܐܠܗ

APPARATUS CRITICUS

52 ܐܢ] ܐܢܐ m. sec.

66 ܡ] + ܕܒܚ m. pr. (cum punctis fort. rec.) et del. a m. sec. (dittogr.)

75 ܒܗܠܐܗ] + ܗܘܐ m. sec. in marg.

76 ܐܠ] ܐܠܐ m. sec.

94 ܡܢܠ] + ܐܠ ܒܐܢ m. sec. vetus : + ܐܠܐ ܒܫܒ m. recent. in marg.

137 ܒܐܡ] + ܒܒܚ m. sec. supra — ܐܠܐܗ] + ܒܢܘܡ ܐ m. sec. in marg. (glossa)

145 ܒܢܠܡ] + ܒܢܘܡ ܐ m. sec. in marg. (glossa) — ܒܥܡ] corr. m. sec. : ܒܥܐܡ ms. ante ras., O

147 ܟܬܝܟܬܐ] ܟܬܝܟܬܐ B

157 ܟܡܬܠ] + ܟܐܟܐ ܐܠܡܐ m. sec. in marg., B, O (prorsus contra metrum)

187 ܐ] ܐܐ m. sec., B

238 ܐܓ] + ܕܐܐܡ ,ܐܓ m. sec. vetus

253 ,ܩ] ,ܩܐ m. sec.

266 ܟܐܓ] + ܠܗ ms. (vid. glossa metri causa)

271 ܠܫ] ܠܫ m. sec. (apud B; non mihi cert.) : ܟܫܠ conj. V

276 ܫܠ] ܫܠ conj. V | ܟܐ] del. V

300 ܥܬ] ܐܥܬ ms. ante ras. (ܐ del. fort. a m. pr.)

347 ܠ ܐ] m. sec. (vid.) post ras. : m. pr. incert.

349] add. m. pr.

370 ܐܥܠ] ܐܐܠ conj. V (cf. Gen 44:5)

384 ܟܐ] + † m. sec. in marg.

403] corr. m. pr.

439] conj. V : ܐ ms., B

486] ultima duae litt. add. vel corr. a m. sec.

535] ܐ pluralis add. m. sec.

574] ܟܐܐܕ m. sec., B

Text 2

On the Washing of the Feet **(*Wash.*)**

(BL Add. 14,591, fols. 59v-61v)

*fol. 59v / B566

*ܡܫܚܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܝܘܡ ܚܡܝܫܝܐ ܕܥܒܝܕ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢ ܒܥܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܫܚܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܪܓܠܝܟܘܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܥܝܢ ܠܡܫܚܐ ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܪܓܠܝܟܘܢ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܬܗܘ ܐܦ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܠܟܘܢ ܗܟܢ ܐܦ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܥܒܕ ܡܪܐ ܕܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܡܪܗ ܘܠܐ ܫܠܝܚ ܕܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܡܫܕܪܗ ܐܢ ܝܕܥܬܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܝ ܥܒܕܬܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܐܫܪܝܬܘܢ ܐܢ ܐܬܘܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܠܟܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕ

.ومه مكه معمد، معمومكه مك مهد
.مكم بهد مك وهمكمكه وه
.مكملك مسه معمده مهد
.معلمه كمه وهمكمكه وه
.مهشم مكمك مكمك مكمه
.مهمكه لمه وهمكمكه وه
.مكملك وهمكمكه وه
.معمد لمكه مكمه معمك
.مكم مكمكه تمهك مهم
.مكمك مكمه مكمك مهم
.مكمك مكمك مكمك مكمه
.مكمك مكمك مكمك مكمه
.مكمك مكمك مكمك مكمه

ﺩﺍﺷﺘﻢ ﻣﻦ ﻣﺤﺒﻮﺏ ﺧﻮﺩ 80
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ 90
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ *fol. 61r
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ 100
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ 110
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ 120
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ *fol. 61v
ﺑﺎ ﻣﻦ ﺑﺪ ﻛﺮﺩ ﺁﺳﻤﺎﻥ *B569

ܒܫܒܝܚ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܠܗ ܕܝ ܐܦ
ܡܪܝܡ ܕܝ ܒܝܟܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܢ
ܒܟܝܠ ܫܝܚ ܟܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܝ ܐܦ
ܡܘܟ ܫܝ ܐܚܪܝ ܡܪܝܡ
ܠܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܫܘ ܒܪ
ܐܝܟ ܕܝ ܐܡܪ ܫܝ ܐܢ ܕܝ
ܐܝܟ ܐܝ ܐܦ ܫܝ ܫܝ ܕܝ 130
ܐܝܟ ܐܝ ܐܦ ܫܝ ܫܝ ܕܝ
ܡܟܝܠ ܐܢ ܕܝ ܐܚܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ
ܠܡܐ ܫܝ ܐܢ ܐܚܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ
ܒܫܒܝܚ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܠܗ ܕܝ
ܒܟܝܠ ܫܝܚ ܟܡ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܝ ܐܦ
ܡܘܟ ܫܝ ܐܚܪܝ ܡܪܝܡ
ܠܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܫܘ ܒܪ
ܐܝܟ ܕܝ ܐܡܪ ܫܝ ܐܢ ܕܝ
[linea deest]
ܡܟܝܠ ܐܢ ܕܝ ܐܚܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ
ܡܟܝ ܫܝ ܐܢ ܐܚܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ 140
ܐܝܟ ܐܝ ܐܦ ܫܝ ܫܝ ܕܝ
ܐܝܟ ܐܝ ܐܦ ܫܝ ܫܝ ܕܝ
ܡܟܝܠ ܐܢ ܕܝ ܐܚܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ
ܡܟܝ ܫܝ ܐܢ ܐܚܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ
ܐܝܟ ܐܝ ܐܦ ܫܝ ܫܝ ܕܝ
ܐܝܟ ܐܝ ܐܦ ܫܝ ܫܝ ܕܝ
ܡܟܝܠ ܐܢ ܕܝ ܐܚܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ
ܡܟܝ ܫܝ ܐܢ ܐܚܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ
ܐܝܟ ܐܝ ܐܦ ܫܝ ܫܝ ܕܝ 150
ܐܝܟ ܐܝ ܐܦ ܫܝ ܫܝ ܕܝ
ܡܟܝܠ ܐܢ ܕܝ ܐܚܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ
ܡܟܝ ܫܝ ܐܢ ܐܚܪܝ ܐܚܪܝ

APPARATUS CRITICUS

8 ,ܝܟܝ] ܝܟܝ B — ܕܟܝ] corrige : ܕܟܝ ms.

19 ܕܡܠܟ] B versio : ܡܠܟ ms. : ܡܠܟ B (err. typogr.)

22 ܡ] ܡܡ B (contra metrum)

29 ܕܟܝ] corr. m. sec. : ܟܝ m. pr.

57 ܠܗ] add. m. sec. in marg. (accipe metri et sensu causa)

63 ܚܬܫܚ] corr. m. sec. : ܬܫܚ m. pr.

64 ܕܩܕ] corr. m. sec. : ܩܕ m. pr.

65 ܡܚܕ] corr. m. sec. : ܚܕ m. pr.

71 ܕܫܕ] corr. m. sec. : ܫܕ m. pr.

72 ܕܫܪ] corr. m. sec. : ܫܪ m. pr. — ܠܪ] add. m. sec. (textus tamen corruptus metri causa)

74 ܡܚܚܗܪ] corr. m. sec. : ܚܚܗܪ m. pr., B

151 ܟܠ] ܟܚܘܢ conj. V

Text 3

On the Pasch of Our Lord (*Pasch*)

(BL Add. 14,591, fols. 62r-67r)

*fol. 62r / B576

*B577

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ܐܝܟ ܕܝ ܒܗܡ ܠܗ ܐܢ.
fol. 62v ܐܡܪ ܕܝ ܫܡܥ ܠܗ.
ܐܢܐ ܕܝ ܝܫ ܠܗ ܐܢ.
ܫܬ ܕܝ ܡܐܬ ܠܗ.
ܐܢ ܕܝ ܗ ܠܗ ܐܢ.
40 ܐܡܪ ܕܝ ܒܚܕ ܠܗ.
ܫܩܐ ܕܝ ܐܢ ܠܗ ܐܢ.
ܡܠܟ ܐܢ ܒܝܫ ܠ.
ܫܡ ܕܝ ܒܐ ܠܗ ܐܢ.
ܐܒܪ ܕܝ ܒܪ ܠܗ.
ܐܒܕ ܕܝ ܗ ܠܗ ܐܢ.
ܫܚ ܕܝ ܒܟ ܐܢ ܠ.
ܐܢܐ ܕܝ ܐܒܕ ܐܢ ܠ.
ܐܬ ܕܝ ܠܐ ܐܢ ܠ.

ܐܝܟܐ ܐܡܪ.
50 ܐܝܟ ܕܝ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܢ ܐܝܢ ܐܡܪ.
ܡܟ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܒܕ ܐܢ ܐܡ.
ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܡ.
ܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܡ.
ܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܡ.
ܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܡ.
60 ܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܡ.
ܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܡ.
B578 ܐܡ ܐܡ.
ܐ ܐܡ ܐܡ.
ܐܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܡ.
ܐܡ ܐܡ.
ܐܡ ܐܡ ܐܡ.
ܐ ܐܡ ܐܡ.
ܐܡ ܐܡ ܐܡ.
ܐܡ ܐܡ ܐܡ.
70 ܐܡ ܐܡ.
ܐ ܐܡ ܐ.
ܐܡ ܐ ܐ.
ܐ ܐ ܐ.
ܐ ܐ.
fol. 63r ܐ ܐ.
ܐ ܐ.
ܐ ܐ.

.ښوونځي لومړنۍ
.دوه کلنۍ ماشوم
.لوی خپرونه څېړنه
.د کور نوم کلي ښار
.د کور نوم کلي ولسوالۍ
.څېړنه شخړه سیمه
.څېړنیزه مقدمه
.ټاټې مړ شوی
.حجره پرانیزل
.څېړنې سوې یې
.څلور کاله کلنه
.څلورم فصل
.څوارلس کلنه
.څومره کاله کال
.څوک ډاډه نه
.ښه ډاډې یم کله
.ښاغلي کاظمي ډاټه
.لږ کلمې کلیوال
.مخکښو ستر کال
.مخ کې ودرځېدل
.د کلمې کلیوال

.ډډلې ته
.کلمه لومړۍ
.کلي وخلي
ته کلیوالو
.کلمې لوی
.کلیوالې ته
.کلیوالي کلي
.کلیوال ته
.کلیزې کلي
.کلیوال لوی
.کلیوالو ته
.کلیز کم ډاډ
.کلیوالي ته
.کلیز څو
.کلیوال لوی
.کلیوالتیا
.کلیز وخت ته
.کلیوال کلي
.کلیزه وخته
.کلیوالو ملا

ولا تملأ الصدر.
ملء الجفن.
*fol. 63v *الجفن* حتى
سحاب الصلصل.
عرض الأرض.
قوس الفضاء.
الجار المتلمس.
الجفنات.
الثقلة.
130 الجفنات الجفن.
الأبطحان.
الجفناتين.
المستلئم.
الجفنات.
ما أعلم أحد.
أبيات الحي.
الأبطحين الجلد.
B579 *الجفنة الأرض.
الجفن الأبطحي.
140 الأبطح الأبطح.
الجفنة الأرض الجفن.
أحد الأرض الأرض.
الأرض الجفنة.
الخبط الزاد.
الأبيات الجفنة.
الجفنات.
الأرض الخبز الأرض.
الجفنة في.
الأرض الأرض.
150 الجفنات.
الأبطحين الأرض.
الجفنة الأرض.
الأرض الأرض.
الجفنة الأرض.
الزاد الخبز.
الجفنات.
الأرض الأبيات.
الجفنة الأرض.
الأرض الأرض.
160 الأرض الجفنة.
الأبطحين.
الأرض الجفنة.
الأبيات الأرض.
الجفنة.

ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܐܝ

.ܫܡܫ ܒܪ ܐ
.ܐܠܗ ܗ
.ܐܒܐ ܕܝ
210 .ܠܐܫܡܝܐ
.ܠܒܫ ܠܝ ܗܘ
.ܐܒ ܒܪܟܐ ܕܐ
.ܐܝ ܟܠ ܕܐ
.ܒܪܟ ܠܫܡܐ
.ܫܒܚ ܡܪܝ
.ܐ ܕܒܪ ܠܗ
.ܒܪ ܐܒܐ ܕܐ
220 .ܗ ܐܠܗ ܕܐ
.ܒܪ ܐܒܐ ܕܐ
.ܐ ܒܪ ܠܗ
.ܒܪܟ ܡܪܝ
.ܗ ܐܠܗ ܕܐ
.ܒܪ ܐܒܐ ܕܐ
.ܫܡܝܐ
.ܒܪܟ ܡܪܝ
.ܐܝ ܒܪ
.ܒܪ ܐܒܐ ܕܐ
230 .ܒܪ ܐܠܗ
.ܐܠܗ ܡܪܝ
B580 .ܗ ܐܠܗ ܕܐ
.ܐ ܒܪ ܐ
.ܐ ܐ ܐ
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240 .ܐ ܐ ܐ
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.ܐ ܐ ܐ
.ܐ ܐ ܐ
250 / .ܐ ܐ* ܐ

*fol. 64v

.ꠀꠀꠀ

ڤحيلهم ميڤها ڪهنت
.ڤهنت ڪهما ڪهنڪ
.لم نجد ميڤها ڪهنت لم
.ڤهمي لهنا ڪهنڪ
.مهنڪ ڪهم ڪ لم
fol. 65r .ڪنبت لم هنا ڪهڤ
.ت ڤهلهنا ڪ ڪهنت ڤهڤ
300 .ت ڤنڪ هد هڤ ڪهڪ
.هڤحهنا ڪ ڪهنت ڤهڤ
.هڤليڪ هد هڤ ڪهڪ
.ت ڤنهصها ڪ ڪهنت ڤهڤ
.ت ڤلله هد هڤ ڪهڪ
.ڪهنه ڪهنت هم ڤهت
.ڪهم ڤهنڪ ميڤل ڪهنا
.ڪنيڪ لم نجد ڪهنت
.ڪهللها ڤهنت ڪ لم
.هنيڪ ڪهنت هم هنم
310 .هڪنيت هنهم ڪڤڪل
.ڤنهصڪ ڪهنت هم ڪهم
B581 .ڪهڤيڪ ڪهڤل ڪهنت
.ميڪنصڪ ڪهنت هم ڪهم
.ڪهنت لم ڪهنڤل ڤهڤت
.ڪهڪ ڤهڪ هم ڪهڤهم
.ڪهللت ڪهڤا هڪت
.ڪهنڤلهنا ڪهنت ڪنهنهم
.ڪنيڪ هم ڪهنهنڪ
.ڤنڪ ڤهنم ڪهنت ڪهنت هم
320 .ڪڪ لم ڤهنهنت ڪنهنهنڪ
.ڪهنڤل ڪ هنت ڪڤڤل
.ڪهنت هنه ڪنه ڪهڤي ڪهنت
.ڪهنڪ ڪهڪ ڪهنهم
.ڤهنهڪ ڪهنت هنت ڪهنت
.ڪهنهنت ڪنهنت ڪهنت
.ڪهنهت ڪنهنت ڪهنهنهنه
.ڪهڤي ڪنهنت ڪهنهنهنه
.ڪهنت ڤنهنت ڪهنت هڪ
.ڪهنهنت ڤهنت ڪهنهنهنه
330 .ڤهم ڤهنڪ ڪهنت هڪ هنت
fol. 65v .ڤنڤهنڪ ڪهنم نبت ڪ
.ڤنڤهنڪ لم ڪهنتهنه
.ڪهنتهنا ڪنهنه ڪهڪم
.ڤهم ڤنڤت ڪڤهنڪهنه
.ڤنهت ڪهنت ڤنڤهت
.ڤ ڤهنڪهنڪا ڪهنهنت

ܟܬܒ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܒܟ̈ܠ.
ܐܝܠ ܡܢ ܐܒ̈ܝܢ.
ܫܡ ܚܝ ܡܠܟ ܫܡ.
ܐܡ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܐܒ̈ܝܢ 340
ܫܡ ܡܫܐ ܫܪ ܡܠܟ.
ܐܒ̈ܝ ܐܝܟ ܐܩܒ ܐܒ̈ܝܢ.
ܐܡ ܒܝ ܐܒ̈ܝ ܐܢ.
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ٻيو ڪهاڻي ماڻهن
ڇڄ ويڙهي ماڻهن
ڏڪ ويڙهي ماڻهن
ڇڄ ٻاڻ ماڻهن
ٻڌن ٻاڻ ماڻهن
ڏسم ڪين ماڻهن
سڀ ڪين ماڻهن
ڪهڙ ،ماڻهن ڪهه
ڪهڙا ڪڇ ماڻهن
،ماڻهن ڏاهن ڪوئل
ڪهڙا ڪيئن ڪومڙ
ڪهڙا ڪين ڪڍن ڪاڪ
ڪهڙا ڪين ڪڍن ڏاڪ
ڪهڙا ڪين ڪڇڻ ماڻ
ڪين ڏي ڪهه ڪاڪ
ڪيئن ڪهڙا
ڪلهه ڪهڙا ڪاڪ
ڪهڙا ڪوئل ڪاڪ

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ⵜⵉⵎⵓⵔⵉⵜ ⵏ ⵜⵉⵏⵎⵍ.

82 ܒܪܟܐ] corr. in marg. : ܒܟܐ vel ܒܟܐ ms. : ܐܝܟ ܐܪܟܐ m. sec. in marg. : ܐܟܐ conj. B (metri causa)

87 ܫܝܢܝ] ܐܫܝܢܝ ms. ante ras. (vid. ܐ del. a m. pr.)

98 ܐܚܠܚ] + ܐܝܬܐ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܫ ms. (glossa)

118 ܐܠܚ] ܐܫܚ conj. V

139 ܐܫܥܬܐ] conj. metri et sensus causa : ܐܫܥܝܬܐ ms. ante ras. : ܐܫܝܬܐ ms. post ras., B

144 ܠܚܟܐ] + ܐܝܐ m. sec. in marg.

151 ܫܠܨܐ] + ܐܝܐ m. sec. in marg.

187 ܠܥ] ܠܥܐ m. sec.

195 ܐܬܠ] + ܐܡܝܢ conj. B (metri causa)

205 ܐܫܥܥ] ms. post ras. : ܐܫܥܥܐ m. sec.

286 ܐܫܐܟ] + ܐܫܥܟܐ ܠܐ m. sec. in marg.

311 ܐܝܐ] corr. m. pr. : ܐܡ ms. ante corr.

313 ܐܝܟܡܐ] ܐܝܟܐܡܐ B

337 ܫܚ] + ܫܐܐ m. sec. (contra metrum)

366 ܐܒܐ] + ܐܝܡ ܠܐ m. sec. in marg.

370 ܒܐܟܐ] corr. (m. pr.?) pro ܒܝܟܐ

378 ܐܟܐ] corr. m. pr. pro ܐܟ

412 ܚܕܗܠܚܕ] corrige : ܚܕܗܠܚ ms.

416 ܕܚܬ] corr. m. pr. : ܕܚܠ fort. ante ras. (parablepsis)

Text 4

On the Scourges (*Scourges*)

(BL Add. 14,591, fols. 72r-77v)

*ܡܕܖ̈ܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܚܘܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܪܕܘܬܐ. ܘܥܠ ܦܘܪܥܐ ܕܡܫ̈ܝܚܐ. ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ. *fol. 72r / B583

ܐܡܪܐ ܠܚܢܢܝܟܝ.
ܕܚܘܢܘ ܢܦܫܬܟܝ.
ܕܐܟܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܫܬܐ.
ܢܐܬܘܢ ܢܚܒܠܟܝ.
ܐܫܬܕܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܐܝ̈ܕܝ.
ܘܗܢܘܢ ܬ̈ܠܝܬܐ.
ܐܟܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܚܪ̈ܝ.
ܘܗܢܘܢ ܥܪ̈ܩܝܢ.
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ܕܬܬܠܐ ܠܟܐܒܘܬܟܝ.
ܘܬܬܦܪ ܒܡܚܘܬܟܝ.
ܦܐܪ̈ܝ ܠܦܘܪܥܢܟܝ܀

ܢܡܘܣ ܕܕܘܒܪܐ ܗܘ.
ܕܟܐ̈ܒܐ ܢܒܥܘܢ ܠܟܝ.
*ܚܠܦܐ ܗܘ ܕܦܘܪ̈ܫܢܝܟܝ. *B584
ܢܦܩ ܘܢܫܟܘܕ ܠܟܝ.
ܠܪ̈ܡܐ ܕܫܒ̈ܝܚܝ.
ܫܡܥܬܐ ܒܚܢܢ ܠܟܝ.
ܒܟܘ ܥܡܠܐ ܕܟܦܪܘܗܝ.
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ܡܟܐ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܒܗܘܢ.
ܕܟܦܪܘܫܐ ܐܬܟܦܠ.
ܘܒܦܫܘܛܐ ܐܬܦܫܛ.
ܘܒܡܦܪܣܐ ܐܬܦܪܣ.
*ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܐܫܬܒܩ܀ *fol. 72v

ܒܠܘܩ ܗܘ ܐܚܪ.
ܬܠܝܗ̇ ܕܒܝܬܐ.
ܠܒܝܫ ܓܢܐ.
ܕܚܝܡܢܘܬܐ.
ܘܢܚܠܐ ܬܠܝܬ̇ܗ̇.
ܕܢܦܫܬܐ.

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ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
ܠܐ ܢܬܝ
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ܕܐܡܪ 120
ܥܡ ܒܢܝ ܥܡܘܢ
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ܠܐ ܝܕܥ
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ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ
ܒܢܝ ܐܝܬ 130
ܠܐ ܟܠ ܐܡ
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ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪ
ܐܝܟ ܐܡ 140
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ܐܡ ܒܪ ܐܡ
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ܐܬܝ ܠܐ ܕܥ.
ܐܠ ܡܫܬܘܩ.
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.ﻣﺤﻤﺪﻟﻠﻪ ﻟﻪ 290
.ﻟﻪ ﻧﺤﻤﺪﻩ
.ﻟﻪ ﻧﺴﺘﻌﻴﻨﻪ
.ﻭﻧﻌﻮﺫ ﺑﺎﻟﻠﻪ
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.ﺃﻧﻔﺴﻨﺎ
.ﻭﻣﻦ ﺳﻴﺌﺎﺕ
.ﺃﻋﻤﺎﻟﻨﺎ
.ﻣﻦ ﻳﻬﺪﻩ
.ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻓﻼ
.ﻣﻀﻞ ﻟﻪ
.ﻭﻣﻦ ﻳﻀﻠﻞ 300
.ﻓﻼ ﻫﺎﺩﻱ
.ﻟﻪ ﻭﺃﺷﻬﺪ
.ﺃﻥ ﻻ ﺇﻟﻪ
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.ﺃﻥ ﻣﺤﻤﺪﺍ
.ﻋﺒﺪﻩ ﻭ
.ﺭﺳﻮﻟﻪ 310
.ﺻﻠﻰ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ
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.ﻛﺜﻴﺮﺍ ﺃﻣﺎ
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.ﺿﻼﻟﺔ
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.ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﻨﺎﺭ
.ﻭﻗﺎﻝ ﺻﻠﻰ
.ﺍﻟﻠﻪ ﻋﻠﻴﻪ
.ﻭﺳﻠﻢ ﻭﻛﺎﻥ
.ﻳﻘﻮﻝ ﻓﻲ
.ﺧﻄﺒﺔ ﺍﻟﺠﻤﻌﺔ
.ﺑﻌﺪ ﺍﻟﺜﻨﺎﺀ 330
.ﻋﻠﻰ ﺍﻟﻠﻪ
.ﺑﻤﺎ ﻫﻮ ﺃﻫﻠﻪ
.ﻭﺍﻟﺼﻼﺓ
.ﻋﻠﻰ ﺭﺳﻮﻟﻪ

ܡܬܬ ܡܫܬ.
ܡܫܝܚ ܒܪ
ܬܠܝܡ ܡܕܝ.
ܫܒܚܘܗ ܡܪܝܡ
ܡܫܐ ܐܒܐ
ܡܫܐ ܐܡܪ.
ܡܫܝ ܐܬܐ ܗܘ 340
ܡܫܝܚ ܒܥܐ
ܡܫܘܫܒ ܐܡܪ.
ܐܢܐ ܫܡܥܢ
ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ *fol. 75r
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ.
ܡܫܘܚ ܡܫܝܚ
ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
ܡܫܝܚ ܒܪ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗܐ 350
ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ.
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܒܪ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ 360
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ *B588
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ* ܐܡ. 370
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ
ܡܫܝܚ ܕܐܠܗ

ܟܡ ܠܐ ܒܛܠ.
ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܥܝܢ ܐ 380
ܒܝܫ ܒܠܒܐ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܫܘܩ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܫܘܩ.
ܠ ܐܦܝܪ ܒܐ.
ܒܝܫ ܫܠܡ.
ܠ ܐܡܝܢ ܒܐ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܥܠܡ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܒܝܬ ܒܝܫ.
ܒܪܚܡܐ ܠܟ.
ܒܫܠܡܐ ܒܐ.
ܒܝܫ ܐܢܫ ܒܐ 390
ܒܝܫ ܒܫܘܩ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܫܘ ܒܐ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܟܒܝܫ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܒܝܬ ܐ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܟܠ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܫܘ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܐ ܒܐ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܐ ܒ 400
ܒܝܫ ܒܐ ܒ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܐ.
ܒ ܒܐ ܒ.
ܒܝܫ ܒܐ ܒ.
ܒ ܒܐ ܒ.
ܒ ܒܐ ܒ.
ܒ ܒ ܒ.
ܒ ܒ ܒ.
ܒ ܒ

ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܕܚܝ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
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ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
430 ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
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ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
440 ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
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ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.

ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
450 ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
460 ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.
*B589 ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܝ.

ܗܘ ܕܝܢ.
ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ.
ܐܠܐ ܒܗܡ.
ܐܬܝ ܠܓܒ
ܐܡ ܐܚ ܐܡ
ܐܝܟ ܐܚܕ 470
ܚܒܪ ܒܢ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܡ
ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ.
ܐܝ ܐܡ ܐܢ.
ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ.
ܐܝ ܐܢ ܐܢ.
ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ.
ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ.
ܐܢ

.ܟܠܚܐ ܥܡ
.ܟܬܒ ܠܟ 510
.ܐܡܝܢ
.ܟܬܒ ܐܢܐ
.ܠܐ ܫܡܥ
.ܒܐ ܟܐ ܐܡܪ
.ܟܝ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ
.ܫܠܚ ܠܟ
.ܡܬܬ ܐܢ
.ܐܡܪ ܟܬܒ
520 .ܠܐ ܟܬܒ
.ܟܐ ܟܬܒ
.ܐܡܪ ܐܢ
.ܠܐ ܟܝ
.ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ
.ܒܐ ܟܬܒ
.ܟܬܒ ܐܢ
.ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
530 .ܟܬܒ ܐܢ
.ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ
.ܟܬܒ ܟܐ
.ܐܡܪ ܐܢ
.ܐܡܪ ܐܢ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
540 .ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ
fol. 76v .ܐܢ ܐܢ
.ܐܢ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
550 .ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ
.ܐܢ ܐܡܪ

.ملبس مرتدى
.مرتجل من حد
.مقدر لاحتجاجه
.مخترعون دون ملحق
.مصورته
.لا حساب
B590 .فدر مصنعك
560 .فدر حد نفذ لجنة
.حد من مساء
.فحصت هو مع
.لا حدد هو
.مخبرة شاحنة
.مصابك بعد
.فحصت هو مع
.مقدرة مدينة
.مدير مكتب
.مصنوعة بنى
570 .زجاج اسمك من
.لاعبة مقدمة
.مقدم مدى
.من مخبرة
.هو مخصوصة
.مخبرة من فدر
.مخترع حقنة
.مدخنة مطبعة
.مرتبة مع
.مخبرة ملوثة
580 .مرتجل مكتبة
.مدى جلدة
.مرتجة مع
.مقعد مقدر
.مرتد مدى
.من مخبرة
.مرتبة مع
.مرتفع جلدة
.مدافئ مرتجل
590 .مصنعة هو
.مدفع مدى
.مطبقة
.مصابك من
.مع مدرسة
.من مدرسة
.مدى مدى
402

ܗܘ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܐܒܕܘ ܡܐ
ܕܚܫܒܬ
600 ܕܩܛܠܐ
ܫܒܥ ܫܢܝ
ܕܐܝܟܐܠ ܡܐ
ܫܘܒܚܐ
ܕܚܫܒ
ܕܒܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ
ܕܚܠܩ ܡܐ
ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ
ܕܐܫܬܘܠܐ
ܕܒܢܝ ܒܢܝܡܝܢ
610 / *ܘܐ ܐܚܐ ܡܐ*
*fol. 77r ܫܡܥܘܢ ܘܐܝ
ܒܢܝ ܝܘܒܠ
ܒܢܝ ܫܡܥܘܢ
ܐܡܪ ܐܚܐ ܡܐ
ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܟܪܡܝ
ܟܪܡܝ ܐܚܐ
ܐܝܫ ܒܝܬ
ܡܐ ܐܡܪ
ܒܢܝ ܐܫܪ
620 ܟܪܡܝ ܐܪ
ܐܒܝ ܫܟܘܡ
ܐܡܪ ܡܐ ܡܐ
ܫܠܡܐ ܫܠܡ
ܐܒܝ ܫܟܘܡ
ܡܐ ܐܝܠ
ܫܡ ܡܐ
ܒܢܝ ܐܚܐ
ܫܠܡ ܟܪܡܝ
630 ܫܡܥ ܐܚܐ ܡܐ
ܫܡ ܫܝܠܐ
ܫܡܠ ܒܠܐ
ܟܪܡ ܫܟܪ
ܕܚܫܒ ܡܐ
ܟܠܒ ܐܒܐ
ܫܡܥ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ
ܕܚܠܩ ܡܐ
ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܚܐ
ܫܡ ܒܢܝ
640 ܒܢܝ ܐܪܡܝ ܟܪܡ

ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܬ
ܒܟܬ ܒܝ ܐܡܪ
ܫܡܥܘܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ
ܡܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܐ
ܥܡ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܐ
ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܕܘܝܕ
ܘܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ
650 ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ
ܟܐ ܐܡܪ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ
ܠܐ ܐܡܪ
ܐܢܐ ܗܘ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
660 ܐܢ ܒܪ
ܕܐܝܟ
ܐܡܪ ܠܐ
ܐܢ ܒܪ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
670 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
*B591 *ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
*fol. 77v *ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
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ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
680 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ

ܡܪܝ ܡܪܕܝ.
ܠܒܝ ܫܡܐ.
ܫܠܠܚ.
ܠܐ ܬܫܒܝ ܚܠ.
ܣܘܦ

APPARATUS CRITICUS

Tit. ܡܪܕܝܢܐ] ms. vid. : ܡܕܝܢܐ conj. B

13 ܡܚܬܐ] corrige (vide vv. 259 et 673) : ܡܬܐ ms. : ܡܚܐ B

22 ܡܒ] ms. (puncta recent.) : ܡܥ m. pr. ante ras. (apud B; non mihi cert.)

69 ܚܚ] ܚ ante corr.

108 ܫܩ] corr. m. sec. : ܫܒ m. pr.

149 ܦܠ] ms. : ܡܟ conj. Payne Smith (TS 3627)

203 ܟܠ] m. sec. : ܚ m. pr.

209 ܟܠ] m. sec. : ܚ m. pr.

218 ܥܡ] B versio : ܒܥ ms. : + ܥ m. sec. in marg.

224 ܣܚܠ] B versio : ܚܠ ms.

225 ܣܫ] B versio : ܫ ms.

250 ܬܣ] m. sec. : ܬ m. pr.

251 ܬܫܫ] m. sec. : ܫܫ m. pr.

258 ܠܬܐ] m. sec. : ܠܬ m. pr.

272 ,ܫܢܚ] m. sec. : ܫܢܚ vel ܫܢܚ m. pr. : ܫܢܚ (in nota ,ܫܢܚ) B

273 ܒܢܝ] add. m. sec. (metri causa)

278 ܪܗܙܝ] B versio : ܥܙܝ ms.

280 ܟܒܙܝܢ] ܟܒܙܝ conj. V

321 ܗܒܪܗܚܚ] + ܒܝ script. et del. m. pr.

348 ܗܚܝ] m. sec. : ܚܚܝ m. pr., B

352 ܐܙܣ] m. sec. in marg. : ܣܣ m. pr.

392 ܪܨܪ] m. sec. : ܨܪ m. pr., B

401 ܗܥܐ ܗܠ] m. sec. : ܪܥܐ ܠ m. pr.

434 ܠ] add. m. sec. in marg. : om. B

447 ܡܟܠܚܚ] *mekoutitéh* (ܡܟܟܚܚ?) conj. Cerbelaud

468 ܪܠܬܝ] m. sec. : ܠܠܝ m. pr., B

550 ܣܚܚܟ] ܟܚܚܟ conj. V

647 ܒܗܨܪ] conj. metri causa : ܒܗܨ ms.

678 ܒܓܢܟ] conj. Payne Smith (TS 4406) : ܒܒܢܟ ms.

Text 5

***On Zacchaeus* (*Zacch.*)**

(BL Add. 14,591, fols. 77v-79r)

*fol. 77v / B591

ܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܒܥܝ ܠܡ.
ܕܐܬܝ ܠܡ ܕܐܒܕ ܡܢ ܕܐܒܕ.
ܘܐܬܒܥ ܠܝ ܒܬܪ ܟܠ ܚܕ.
ܘܐܬܒܥ ܠܝ ܒܬܪ ܟܠ ܚܕ.

ܡܫܬܐ ܕܡܫܬܐ ܫܠܡ

ܐ ܡܫܬܐ ܕܫܘ ܚܕ ܫܒܥ ܕܒܝ.
ܕܚܡܐ ܕܫܡ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝ.
ܕܡܪܝ ܠܟ ܒܝܬ ܒܝܫ ܒܫܡ.
ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܫܡ ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܡܪܝ ܐܡ ܕܡܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ.

ܐ / *B592 ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܕܝܬܝ ܕܡܐ*.
ܒܝܬ ܕܐ ܫܡܐ ܒܝܬ
ܒܝܬ ܕܐ ܫܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܬ
ܕܡܒܝܬ ܕܡܠܟ ܒܫܡ
ܕܒܝܬ ܐܡ ܕܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܒܫܡ

ܐ ܒܫܡ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ.
ܕܡܠܟ ܒܝ ܒܝܬ
ܒܝܬ ܒܝ ܒܝܬ
ܒܝܬ ܕܐ ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ
ܕܒܝܬ ܕܐ ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ

ܐ ܒܝܬ ܕܐ ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ.
ܕܡܐ ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ

ܐ ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ.
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ

ܐ ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ.
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ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ

ܐ ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ.
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ
ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܕܡܐ ܒܝ

ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡང་ཐམས་ཅད་
ཇི་སྐད་གསུངས་པ་བཞིན།།

ཐམས་ཅད་ཁྱབ་བྱེད་ཀུན་
ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་ཡི་སྨོན་ལམ་
ཐོབ་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག་ཅེས་
བསྔོ་བ་ཡང་དག་པར་
བྱའོ།།

ཐམས་ཅད་ཁྱབ་བྱེད་ཀུན་
ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་ཡི་སྨོན་ལམ་
ཐོབ་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག་ཅེས་
བསྔོ་བ་ཡང་དག་པར་
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APPARATUS CRITICUS

50 ܐܠܗ] m. sec. : ܐܠ m. pr.

78 ܒܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ] ܒܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ B

81 ܕ] B : ܕܐ ms.

86 ܡܪܝ ܒܥܠ] vid. praep. om. (metri et sensus causa)

87 ܡܫܝܚ] conj. B : ܡܫܝܚܐ ms.

APPENDIX B

English Translation of the Works of Cyrillona

INTRODUCTION

This is the first complete translation of the works of Cyrillona into English. Previously only small quotations of Cyrillona have been available to English-language readers, via citation in studies or anthologies, and even then they have often been based on European-language translations.[1] Rare examples of direct Syriac translations include the numerous citations, from across the corpus, in Robert Murray's *Symbols of Church and Kingdom*, and forty lines from *Scourges* in an anthology of historical texts, translated by Marina Greatrex.[2]

Nevertheless, scholars have been well served by previous European translations. Bickell's 1872 German translation, lightly revised by Landersdorfer forty years later,[3] is very dynamic and engaging. While he does not always hew

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[1] See, e.g., Maenchen-Helfen, *World of the Huns*, 56 (trans. of *Scourges* 244-83, 312-327, based on Landersdorfer); Giussani, *Why the Church?*, 242 (passage from *Scourges*, translated from the Italian edition, which is based on a quotation in Hugo Rahner's *Mater Ecclesia* (1944), which appears to be a stichometric-equivalent revision of Landersdorfer!).

[2] See Greatrex and Lieu, *Roman Eastern Frontier,* 18 (=*Scourges* 244-83). Greatrex indicates that her translation is a revision of Maenchen-Helfen, but the two share little in wording. Whitby laments the volume's meager information on Cyrillona (Whitby, review of *Roman Eastern Frontier*, 186).

[3] Landersdorfer's chief contribution was to augment Bickell's translation of Jacob of Serugh with additional homilies from the edition of Bedjan. But with Bickell's original translations, "[er hat]—wegen der bekannten Meisterschaft B[ickell]s im Übersetzen syrischer Texte gewiß mit Recht—den Wortlaut seiner Übersetzung möglichst unangetastet gelassen" (Vandenhoff, review of *Ausgewählte*

strictly to the Syriac, Bickell had a superb understanding of the text. Somewhat daring and interpretive, by contemporary standards, his interpretations are usually correct and his translation was very influential. Bickell/Landersdorfer was the primary source of knowledge about Cyrillona, especially for non-Syriacists, for three generations. The modern translations by Vona (1963) and Cerbelaud (1984) are more conservative but likewise very good, and Vona effectively reintroduced Cyrillona to modern scholarship.[4]

Every previous translation has differed in a number of editorial particulars. Vona laid out his translation in lines but not couplets. Bickell/Landersdorfer and Cerbelaud published prose translations.[5] Vona gives precise and Landersdorfer approximate line numbers, while Cerbelaud introduces his own paragraph numbering and Bickell gives nothing. Vona alone introduces some subtitles into the text. Most confusingly, each translator, operating on his own rationale, has presented the texts in a different order:

Schriften, 433). Landersdorfer was principally an Assyriologist; his modest changes are rarely improvements.

[4] Additionally, Graffin published in 1965 a French translation of *Wash.* and *Pasch* ("Deux poèmes"). There is also apparently a complete translation of Cyrillona into Polish by W. Kania (*Św. Efrem – Cyryllonas – Balaj*; non vidi). See Starke, review of *Św. Efrem*, 119.

[5] Brock says regarding Cerbelaud, "The decision to print the text as though it were prose is to be regretted, for such a presentation is not so inducive of the meditative reading that best suits Cyrillona's poetry" (Brock, review of *L'Agneau veritable*, 59). Similarly, see Albert, "Langue," 344.

Manuscript order	Bickell edition (translation)	Landersdorfer	Vona	Cerbelaud	Griffin
Euch.	2 (4)	4	2	1	1
Wash.	1 (3)	3	1	2	2
Pasch	3 (5)	5	3	3	3
Scourges	4 (1)	1	6	4	4
Zacch.	5 (2)	2	5	5	5
Wheat	6 (6)	6	4	6	6

Bickell gives no full accounting for his ordering the texts, which changes between his translation and edition. He does indicate that the order of *Pasch* and *Wash.* must be inverted because the washing of the disciple's feet preceded the Institution of the Eucharist.[6] Of his own reordering, Vona says, "Nell'analisi seguiremo un ordine diverso per raggruppare i singoli carmi secondo il contenuto dottrinale che vi rintracciamo."[7] Cerbelaud exposes the weaknesses in all previous rationales, and concludes there is no sounder option than simply following the manuscript order.[8] I agree and have chosen to do the same.

This translation has been produced, in the first place, as an aid to the academic study of Cyrillona. It therefore corresponds to the Syriac edition in most editorial particulars. It has been translated and presented in metrical lines. I have tried to keep the English in strict correspondence with the Syriac verses, as far as

[6] Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 32n1; and on the grouping of *Euch.* and *Pasch*, ibid. 47n1. Vona likewise inverts *Pasch* and *Wash.*, "per seguire lo ordine cronologico del testo evangelico" (*Carmi*, 24).
[7] Vona, *Carmi*, 24.
[8] See Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 13-14.

idiomatic grammar will allow. English paragraphing corresponds strictly with the Syriac periods (܂). Notes have been kept to a minimum, mostly confined to scriptural references and explaining some ambiguous or contested points of translation.

Text 1

On the Institution of the Eucharist (Euch.)

Memra on the Crucifixion

The Lamb of Truth spoke
joyfully with those eating him,
and the Firstborn revealed to his disciples
the pasch which (took place) in the upper room.
Our Savior prepared himself
for the sacrifice and the libation.
His living bread was fertile and ripe
and his sheaf was full.
The dough of his body was leavened
with the leaven of his divinity.
His mercy gushed forth and his love bubbled up,
that he might be food for his own.
He took the heap from Zion[9]

[9] I.e., a heap of wheat; cf. Cant 7:2.

and gave it to the church in purity.

He made a new meal

and summoned and called the sons of his house.

He prepared a dinner for his bride,

that her hunger might be satisfied.

Our Lord first sacrificed his body

and then, in the end, men sacrificed him.

He pressed himself into the cup of salvation

and then the people pressed him on the wood.

He administered himself in the first place,

so that strangers might not minister in his place.

He collected the mysteries as jewels

and hung them upon his neck.

He placed parables upon his breast,

like choice beryls.

He adorned his humanity with a chalcedony of figures

and came to the sacrifice.

He placed upon his head a crown

of glorious prophecy.

He sharpened the knife of the law

that he might slay with it the ram of his body.

He led the peoples to the banquet

and called the nations to his feast.

The heralds went out swiftly,

crying out the invitation:

"See how the King shares his body—

Come, eat the bread freely!

Come, O blind, see the light!

Receive, O servants, freedom!

Come, O thirsty, drink fire!

Come, O dead, receive life,

the bread that is freely shared–

no one shall die from hunger!"

Isaiah cried out earnestly

in the zeal of his prophecy:

"Without money or payment,

eat the bread and drink the wine."[10]

[10] Apparently a conflation of Isa 55:1 and Prov 9:5.

The bread is he who came from on high[11]

and took root in the earth, though not sown.

The flour is he who accomplished the purification

because sin ruled not over him.

In a veil the people took

unleavened bread from Egypt.

It was cold, like a corpse,

and was bread entirely lacking leaven.

The synagogue received in veils

the unleavened bread, at the time of your passover.

The church, in a new veil,

received the leaven of God.

Mary was as a veil

and our Lord hot leaven.

It is a heat without death

because divinity is without death.

That people was dead along with its type,

for its unleavened bread was also dead.

[11] See John 6:50-51.

The corpse bore away the corpse

and the departing the unleavened bread,

for the people were prepared to depart

from their inheritance by the unleavened bread.

But the leaven was bound up and hidden

in the veil, which was the womb of Mary.

Virginity was placed

on this veil like seals.

He went forth, as he desired, from the veil

and did not loosen the wrapping or the seal.

He stayed in the upper room as a kneading-bowl,

that he might prepare the dough of our body.

He kneaded our body with his leaven,

that it might not taste of death,

and he seasoned it with the salt of his divinity,

that the serpent might be blinded.

"Go, prepare for us the pasch

in the upper (room), and not in the lower,"

for the Firstborn desired to raise

his church upwards to heaven.

For the earth was the lower

and the upper was an image of heaven.

He left the lower and ascended

to the upper with his disciples,

and he left the earth and was raised up

in our humanity to his Father.

[12]Spread and prepared

he found the upper room,

for it was expecting him

and therefore made ready;

and when heaven was prepared

with a throne and glory,

Adam went up and found it,

for it was awaiting him.

[12] The meter here changes from 7+7 to 5+5. In the margin of the ms. there are two rubrics in different hands (neither that of the text). An older hand adds, ܡܐܬܪܐ ܕܚ, and a more recent adds, ܫܢܝܐ ܡܐܬܪ. This same ms. contains *madrashe* of Balai employing his usual five-syllable meter (fols. 139r-150v), and while the rubric comes from a later hand, this is the earliest ms. explicitly designating this meter as ܡܐܬܪܐ ܕܚ (see Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 71n4).

Moses descended into the lower

and celebrated the pasch

for those below, in Egypt,

the tomb of the Hebrews.

Our Lord ascended into the heights,

glorious and celestial,

and celebrated the pasch,

so that he might raise us up to his kingdom.

The lamb was slain in Egypt

and our Lord in the upper room,

the lamb in the lower

and the Firstborn in the upper.

Our Lord led his company

and abode in the upper room.

He ascended and sat down first,

and his disciples after him,

dining and gazing upon him

who was eating and was transfigured.

The Lamb ate the lamb

and the Pasch devoured the pasch.

He performed his Father's work

and began his own;

he abolished the Law

and then (introduced his own)[13] for the sake of reconciliation.

Who has seen such as this,

a feast so wondrous,

where men ascend and dine

with their maker?

Who has seen such as this,

a feast so beautiful,

where solitary fishermen

dine with the ocean?

Who has seen such as this,

a feast so marvelous,

where a serpent and its destroyer

[13] I assume an ellipsis of ܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܣܕ ,ܐܢ from the preceding couplet must be understood. Cyrillona employs ellipsis elsewhere as well (e.g., *Scourges* 39). But the difficulty of the stanza must be acknowledged and is reflected in the differing translations of this passage that have been offered.

dine together?

Who has seen such as this,

a feast so transformed,

where a hawk dines

with eleven doves?

Who has seen such as this,

a feast so wondrous,

where a mole, a son of darkness,

dines with an eagle?

It is a miracle and a marvel–

observe, O hearer,

how fishermen and publicans

dined with him,

and watchers and angels

trembled before him.

Men went up and dined

with God—

blessed are the disciples

who were worthy of the opportunity.

They ate the old (pasch),[14]

and straightway our Lord said:

"See now in what manner

and how much I have honored you.

I have washed your feet

and seated you at the table.

I have honored you on earth

and seated you with me.

My servants

in heaven and on high—

not one has seen me

since the day they were created.

They have not opened their wings

and beheld and looked at me,[15]

whose righteousness surrounds them

and whose majesty terrifies them.

[14] Here a later hand adds in the margin, "and fulfilled the Law." While Bickell includes this in the text as original, it clearly disrupts the meter and I omit it. From this point my line numbering is one ahead of Bickell.

[15] See Isa 6:2.

See how much I have loved you,

insomuch that I have seated you in my bosom,

and while I am your Lord,

I of my own choice become your equal.

And I of whom

all creation is full,

because I have loved you,

have given my kingdom to you.

Hear from me a single pronouncement,

which will alarm all of you:

Truly I say to you

that one of you shall betray me,

and it were better for him if

he had not gone forth from the womb."[16]

When (that) word had fallen (from his lips),

the disciples were troubled.

The word was pregnant in their ears

and their bowels quivered within them.

[16] See Matt 26:21, 24; Mark 14:18, 21; cf. Luke 22:21-22; John 13:21.

The ocean of their heart was disturbed

by the astonishing declaration.

Their eyes poured forth tears,

their tears a flood.

Each one, in his mind,

examined himself.

They arrived at a question,

for they were vexed by these hard (words):

"Tell us, who is the one

who did this great (evil),

who killed you within his heart,

and with his hand in your dish?!

And who was so shameless, O Lord,

that he could dine among us

and his heart not be consumed–

who would withdraw himself from the fire?"

"Do not fear, my sheep,

for the goat is being turned outside.[17]

[17] See Matt 25:22-23.

The serpent dining here

is now being banished.

He goes to the cave of Jerusalem,

to his companions;

he leads and guides to me

the viper of the Jews."

Then our Lord dipped

the bread in the water

and gave it to Judas,

and dismissed him without reward.

His reward was his bread

and his hope was his bread.

And why did he dip the bread

and then give it to him?

Its power departed from it,

and its delightful taste,

because the bread had been

blessed and glorious,

since he had blessed it

and it was set before them.

He dipped that bread

and took his blessing from it.

He stripped it of his power

and emptied it of his word;

(he stripped) the bread of the blessing

and Judas of the throne.

The Spirit of Wisdom blew

and the tare was cast out.

Justice made itself manifest

and Judas went out the door.

[18]Judas went forth

at eventide

from the upper room

and the disciples remained behind

in great peace,

they who had been sad.

[18] The meter here changes to 4+4. In the margin a later hand adds, ܕܡܚܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

The vessel of wrath[19]

left his master

and the treacherous man

departed from his companions.

The upper room rejoiced,

for then dispersed the darkness

of the twelve,

because the goat had fled.

The grains of wheat remained behind

without tares

and the vines of the vineyard

without wild grapes.

The owl, for whom darkness

is glory,

departed from the doves

and went forth screeching.

The house was illumined,

for there dwelt in it

[19] See Rom 9:22.

the hidden sun

with its rays.

It rejoiced that the viper[20]

had gone far away from it.

Destroying it,

the table celebrated,

for a great burden

had arisen from it.

Frightful and hard

was his head

when he went forth.[21]

His mien was angry

and his appearance foul.

His heart was frightful

and he was withal disturbed.

His teeth chattered

and his knees smote together.

[20] Ms. adds here ܠܒܠ, against the meter. Bickell rightly judges it a gloss ("Gedichte," 573n3).
[21] The author includes here an extra hemistich. See also ln. 522 below.

His sanity failed

and his sensibility left him.

The eagle, Christ,

evicted him from his nest

and the cursed serpent

straightway received him;

the disciples remained behind

in great joy

and the twelve

in cheer.

Our Lord arose

as a champion;[22]

he took his post

as a mighty one;[23]

he plucked fruit

as a husbandman;[24]

he prayed to his Father

[22] Cf. Ps 24:8; 45:3; 87:5.
[23] Cf. Ps 18:2; 89:26; 94:22.
[24] Cf. Matt 21:33-38; Luke 20:9-14.

as an heir;[25]

he looked into heaven

as its creator;

he opened the treasuries

as a prefect.[26]

His face shone like

the sun;

his members were

as rays;

his desires were hot

as a furnace;

his thoughts blazed

like lamps.

His salvation flowed out

as Creator;

he poured out his mercies

as Savior.

[25] See Matt 21:38; Mark 12:7; Luke 20:14 (Parable of the Wicked Tenants); and Heb 1:2.
[26] Cf. Acts 8:27.

He revealed the hidden things
which were prepared
and the concealed things
which were promised.
He assumed the office
of truth
and also the priesthood
of perfection.
Standing and bearing
it (unto them) in his love,
and carrying his body
in the hollow of his hands,
his right hand
became a holy altar,
his great palm
a mercy-table.
He bore himself up
though not weary
and carried his bread

though not hungry.

He took up his wealth

though not in want

and mixed his blood

though not thirsty.

There appeared in his bread

his living body

and in his wine

his holy blood.

His thoughts were

as deacons

and his great virtue

a true priest.

He ordained a blessing

upon himself—

he prayed and glorified

his body.

Then he sacrificed and slew

himself—

he poured and pressed out

his living blood!

He completed and finished

what he desired,

and he performed and accomplished

that for which he longed,

and he answered and said

what he had promised:

"I have earnestly desired

that I might eat with you

this pasch

before I suffer.

Come, receive me,

for that is my desire,

and eat of me,

for that is my wish.

With teeth of fire

grind my bones

and (with) corporeal tongues

(taste) my hot blood.

This is the body

which the watchers are not able

to gaze upon,

because of its glory.

This is the bread

of divinity

which to those below

I have given by grace.

This is the holiness

by which are sanctified

the seraphim on high,

who praise him.

This is the fruit[27]

which Adam desired

for his food,

that he might become divine.

Come, receive me

[27] A later scribe has added a cross here in the ms. to denote the fruit as Christ.

in pieces

and taste me

in secret.

For the sake of the world

I became food

and for hunger

a perfect bread.

Come, my disciples,

receive me.

I shall place myself

in your palms.

See how I remain

wholly, in truth,

yet you eat me

wholly, in truth.

I do not consume

the one who wholly eats me,

but rather whomever

draws not nigh unto me.

I do not burn

the one who eats me,

but rather whomsoever

tastes me not.

Come, my friends,

also drink my blood,

which is a new

testament.[28]

Drink the cup

of flame,

the blood which sets aflame

all who drink it.

This is the cup

through which is consoled

the first Adam

of his sorrows.

This is the blood

[28] See Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25; cf. Matt 26:28; Mark 14:24.

through which is concluded

the (sacrifice of the) blood of animals

upon the earth.

This is the cup

in which was concealed

the ember which Tamar

took away at her departure.[29]

This is the blood

through which are sanctified

the body and soul

divinely.

This is the cup

which appeared

in the cup of Joseph

when he scried.[30]

This is the blood

through which are reconciled

[29] See 2 Sam 13:19.

[30] See Gen 44:5. I follow Vandenhoff ("Zu den von G. Bickell," 163) and subsequent translators in reading ܕܥ for ܢܨܥ.

heaven and earth,

that they enjoy harmony with each another.[31]

This is the cup

in which are contained

mercy and judgment,

life and death.

This is the blood through which

he comes and avenges

the blood of his beloved ones

upon those who shed it.

Take, drink

this cup,

for through it you shall bear

your trials.

Become drunken with it and obtain

hidden power,

for through it you will persevere

before persecutors.[32]

[31] See Col 1:20-22.

Drink of it

and cause all creation

to drink

most diligently.[33]

Through its power tread

upon serpents,[34]

and by means of its taste

you shall conquer death.[35]

The prophets of old

longed for me

and the righteous desired

to see me.[36]

They fell asleep in groans

and sadness

because they did not see me

as they had desired.

---

[32] See John 15:18-16:4, 33.
[33] Cf. Mark 16:15-16.
[34] See Luke 10:19; cf. Mark 16:18; *Wash.* 141-42.
[35] Cf. John 6:54.
[36] See Matt 13:17; cf. Luke 10:23-24; 24:25-27, 44; John 8:56; Heb 11:13; 1 Pet 1:10-12.

Blessed are you,

O my disciples,

that with your mouths

you have eaten me.[37]

And lest you forget

this evening,

which for you has been better

than the day;

lest you forget

this time

when you have tasted

divinity;

this moreover

I command you,

O beloved friends

and children of the mystery—

Let this memorial

not cease

[37] See Matt 13:16.

among you

henceforth to the very end.

May you do so for me,

my brothers,

at all times,

and remember me.[38]

Eat my body–

forget me not!

Drink my blood–

forsake me not!

May there be in the church

a great memorial

and in the world

this pasch.[39]

May this day

be more holy

and blessed and beautiful

[38] See Luke 22:19; 1 Cor. 11:24.
[39] See Exod 12:14-17.

than all other days.[40]

On it shall be consoled

all who grieve;

on it shall be set free

all who are subject;

on it shall be redeemed

all who are oppressed;

on it shall be set free again

all who are imprisoned.

On it shall be sanctified

the visible waters

of baptism;[41]

and on it again shall be made ready

baptism.

On it shall be begotten

a perfect people;

on it shall they become young

[40] See Exod 12:16; Lev 23:7; Num 28:18.

[41] Again an extra hemistich.

who have grown old;
on it shall multiply unto me
children on earth;
and on it shall be raised up
men unto heaven.
Now everything
is fulfilled concerning it,
and the mysteries are sealed,
as well as the parables.
Go forth in joy
from the upper room
and enter into creation
as merchants.
Proclaim me
throughout the earth
and give me to eat
to the children of men.
Whoever is a slave
shall be free in me

and whoever is unclean

shall be sanctified in me.

The king and the slave

shall come to me,

for I am the same

for whomever seeks me.

The maid-servant and mistress

shall draw nigh unto me,

for I have

no regard for appearance.[42]

The humble and the great

shall drink of my blood,

for there is one cup,

without distinction.

I go now

to my business,

and go you forth

in peace from here.

[42] See Deut 10:17; 2 Chr 19:7; Gal 2:6.

I go to do

the work of the cross,

and I shall descend to raise up

fallen Adam.

Abide in my rest,

and do not grieve,

until I ascend

from the tomb.

Rest in peace,

and in victory

I shall come to you,

and in glory."

Text 2

On the Washing of the Feet (*Wash.*)

Soghitha of the *memra*

Our Lord led his Twelve

and came to the house to wash them.

He seated them at table as an heir[43]

and he rose up (and) served as a friend.

He poured still waters

and bore the washbasin.

He took a towel, he girt his loins,[44]

and my tears flowed and my mind was pricked.

I hid my face in fear

and averted my eyes in alarm.

I was desperate to leave, for I could not bear

to look upon him who stooped over and washed them.

[43] See Matt 21:38; Mark 12:7; Luke 20:14 (Parable of the Vineyard and the Tenants); Rom 8:17; Heb 1:2.
[44] See John 13:4-5.

I crossed the house and raised my voice:

"Why was this done?

For dust sits before his Creator

and his Lord rises and washes his feet."

I searched the prophets but was not able

to learn from them if they had written of this.

The spirit took me, like Ezekiel,[45]

and straightway set me down among the heralds.

I saw that they were prostrate and lay in Sheol,

and that was worse to me than the former (spectacle).

Again my tears were abundant and my groans great,

and mournfully I asked them:

"I beseech you, prophets of my Lord,

listen patiently for a moment.

A wondrous vision I have seen with my eyes

and I wish to rehearse (it) before all of you.

My mind quakes with fear

and my reason's inflamed with terror.

[45] See Ezek 8:3; 37:1; 40:1-2.

I beseech you, prophets of my Lord,

listen patiently for a moment:

The one of whom you proclaimed that he is fire and spirit

and a mighty flame;[46]

the one of whom you proclaimed that he is not seen

just as he is, because his visage is hard to bear;

the one of whom you proclaimed that one cannot

see his person[47] and live in the world;

the one of whom you proclaimed that for fear of him

the faces of the watchers are covered with their wings;[48]

the one of whom you said that Daniel saw him

upon his throne, the Ancient of Days;[49]

the one of whom you said that his gaze

alarms the world and makes creation tremble—[50]

see how he is made a servant and bears a washbasin,

and laves the feet of fishermen,

---

[46] See Exod 3:2; Deut 4:24; 9:3; Ezek 8:2; Dan 7:9.
[47] See Exod 33:20.
[48] See Isa 6:2, 5.
[49] See Dan 7:9.
[50] See Job 9:6; Ezek 38:20.

and dries them with a towel,

and his betrayer's along with them . . . !"

"Silence, man, stop nattering at us!

This is good news you have delivered to us!

If it is true that this has come to pass,

there is hope for the whole world, and blessedness.

It has been a long wait for us here,

for we have been expecting this announcement.

So now all of us rejoice because of it—

the word of our books does not lie!

Come now, do not grieve;

give thanks and praise, and do not be distraught."

After these things, in my distress, I returned

and straightway arrived in the house.

I saw him who was cheerful and washing them,

and joyful was his countenance while serving them.

He grasped their feet and they were not consumed,

and when he poured the water it was not boiled away.

He washed from them toil and trouble,

and refreshed them, since they were to travel upon the way.[51]

He came to each of them, such was his love,

equally and without distinction.

He arrived at Judas and grasped his feet

and, though mouthless, the earth wailed.

The stones in the wall cried out,[52]

for they saw that the fire spared him.

My head fell to the earth and my ears heard

the sounds of lamentation which were published,

and seemingly thus was uttered

a terrified response from the mouth of its lambs:

"At whom should we marvel and to whom direct our attention,

when terror rises up from both sides?

To him who sits, and whose heart is full

of murder and treachery, and yet is not troubled?

Or to the other, who is full of mercy

[51] "He grasped their feet and they were not consumed . . . He washed from them . . . refreshed them" (lns. 63, 65, 66). In all these instances, grammatical gender (fem.) indicates that the pronominal referent is the disciples' feet.

[52] See Hab 2:11.

and washes the feet of his murderer?"

There was great terror as the hand of our Lord

was falling on his murderer.

(But) our Lord did not reveal his wickedness;

he hid his iniquity and treated him as the others.

He came to Simon, and (Simon) was pricked in his heart.[53]

He arose before him and asked him:

"The feet of the watchers, out of fear,

are covered in heaven lest they be burned,[54]

and you have come to take in your hand, my Lord,

the feet of Simon, and to serve me?[55]

All of this you have manifest to us,

your humility as well as your love.

In all of this you have honored us.

Do not alarm us again now, my Lord.

The seraphim have never, from the beginning, even touched the hem of

[your garment,

[53] See John 13:6-10.
[54] See Isa 6:2.
[55] See John 13:12, 15.

and see how you wash the feet of lowly men!

You, my Lord, are washing my feet for me—

Who may hear of it and not be pricked?

You, my Lord, are washing my feet for me—

What land is able to bear it?

This report of what you have done

will strike awe in all creation.

This news of what has happened on earth

will strike terror into the assemblies of heaven.

Depart, my Lord, leave, for I shall not permit this!

I worship you, for I am a debtor.

On the surface of the sea I walked at your order

and at your command I traversed the waves,[56]

and was not this first thing enough for me?

This latter thing which you endow me with, even greater—

It's not possible, my Lord, that this should happen!

The report of it alone strikes terror in creation.

It's not possible, my Lord, that this should happen!

[56] See Matt 14:28-31.

For it is a great burden beyond measure."

"If this is not possible,

you have no share with me on my throne.

If this is not possible,

give back to me the keys which I committed to you.[57]

If this is not possible,

your authority is also taken from you.

If, as you have said, this is not possible,

you are not able to be a disciple.

If, as you have said, this is not possible,

you shall never taste a portion of my body."

Then Simon began to petition

before the merciful one and say to him:

"Wash not only my feet, my Lord,

but wash my hands and also my head."[58]

"Simon, Simon, there is one washing

with sanctifying water for the entire body."

[57] See Matt 16:19.
[58] John 13:9.

Concluding the act of washing,

he then, out of love, commanded them:

"See, my disciples, whom I have served

and what work I have proclaimed to you.

Behold, I have washed and cleansed you.

[missing line][59]

Go with joy into the church

and tread her gates as heirs.[60]

Tread upon the Evil One and do not fear,

and upon the head of the serpent and do not be afraid.[61]

Travel the byways without fear

and let my word be proclaimed within citadels.

Sow the gospel within cities

and implant love within men.

Rehearse my proclamation before kings

and reveal my faith amongst judges.

---

[59] Meter would seem to require another verse here. There is a column break at this point in the manuscript (fol. 161v), a likely place for the scribe to have accidentally omitted a verse. From here on my line numbering is one less than Bickell.

[60] See Rom 4:13; 8:17; Heb 1:14; 6:12, 17.

[61] See Mark 16:18.

I who am your God,

behold, I have humbled myself, I have served you.

The pasch which I have performed for you is completed,

and I will cause the face of the whole world to rejoice."

Text 3

On the Pasch of Our Lord (*Pasch*)

Memra on the Pasch of Our Lord, by Mar Cyrillona

Whenever I read in the New (Testament),

new things pour out of it unto me.

Whenever I meditate upon the Gospel,

the gospel of life greets me.

The proclamation of John

has met me and caused me to marvel greatly.

John and his colleagues

have become the well-springs of creation.

Humanity has drunk from them

new and perfect life.

A thirsty world has been slaked by them

and men have become intoxicated with their words.

Therefore come, O hearer,

let us learn the meaning of the lection,

in which great suffering is hidden

and from which gladness springs forth.

Between sadness and joy

the preacher must wend and go.

After the mysteries were fulfilled

and all of the scriptures brought to pass,

and our Lord had fulfilled with his gospel

all that his heralds had prophesied,

he then summoned his Twelve

and declared unto them, saying:

"Behold, we are going up to Jerusalem

so that everything which is written may be fulfilled.[62]

For I am being delivered up to the cross

and to shame and to scorn.

Do not be grieved about this,

for this is the life of the world.[63]

Indeed, for this have I descended to the earth

[62] See Matt 20:18-19; Mark 10:33-34; Luke 18:31-34.

[63] See John 6:33.

and become as one of her children,

lest the prophets who prophesied thus

should be made liars.

For if I withhold myself from the shame,

I withhold glory from men;

and if I withhold my back from the scourges,

I withhold salvation from sinners;

and if I withhold myself from judgment,

40 I withhold my victory from my servants;

and if I withhold my head from the thorns,

I do not remove the curses;

and if I withhold my mouth from the vinegar,

I withhold my blood from the church;

and if I withhold myself from Sheol,

no one goes forth from it,

and if death does not swallow me,[64]

it gives not back all that it has taken.

[64] Cf. Isa 25:8; 1 Cor 15:54.

Be glad, my disciples,

for today everyone is glad!

Exult, my heralds, rejoice!

for the bond is being torn into pieces

which originated in the Garden,

rent by the cross.[65]

My Father awaits me,

that I might go up and bring up with me

both the body and the soul

which death and the Evil One took captive.

The watchers await me,

that I might go up and bring up with me

the sheep that was lost,[66]

which was found at my coming.

Heaven awaits me,

that I might go up and bring up with me

the base body

[65] See Col 2:14.

[66] See Matt 18:10-14; Luke 15:3-7.

which became divine by grace.

A throne awaits me,

that I might go up and sit upon it,

and cause Adam to sit with me,

the prostrate one who has been raised up.

A cloud awaits me,

that it might take me from the mount,

and become as a chariot

for the Child of the Virgin.[67]

Paradise and the Garden

both await me,

that I might bring Adam with me

and in them make him king.

Rejoice greatly at this

which I have revealed and said to you,

for I go wholly to my Father

and remain wholly with my own.

[67] "Tandis qu'Élie était monté au ciel dans un char (cf. II R. 2:11), Jésus, lors de son Ascension, s'élève sur une nuée (cf. Ac. 1:9) du mont des Olivies. On peut par ailleurs songer ici à Ps. 104:3b, qui dans la *Peshitto* se lit ainsi: 'Il a posé son char sur les nuées'" (Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 110n52).

I have trodden and finished

the road on which I have come.

The contest has ended,

Adam has received a crown.

I have crushed the head of the serpent

and have strengthened the heel of all.[68]

I accepted the trial

and have provided solace to the soul of all.

As a vagabond I have wandered

and everyone has returned to me.

There is only one thing barring the way,

which concludes all these things;

the cross awaits me—

on it I will be stretched out

and will stretch out from it

my mercies upon the world.

[68] See Gen 3:15.

O my disciples,

take heart!

For you there is rest,

and for me conflict.

For you a glory

which cannot be taken away,

and for me a victory

which cannot be destroyed.

For you an authority

greater than (that of) the watchers,

and for me humiliation

betwixt thieves.[69]

For you curing

diseases,

and for me mingling

amongst the dead.

For you, in heaven,

thrones,[70]

[69] Matt 27:38; Mark 15:27; Luke 23:33; John 19:18.

and for me, upon the earth,

a borrowed foal.[71]

Yours, Simon,

is the key of the kingdom,[72]

and for me is my cross,

the key to tombs.

You will cleanse lepers,

cause the lame to walk,[73]

tread demons underfoot,

cast out spirits,[74]

vanquish kings

with your arguments[75]

and judges

with your answers,[76]

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[70] Matt 19:28.
[71] Matt 21:2-7; Mark 11:2-7; Luke 19:30-35; John 12:14-15.
[72] Matt 16:19.
[73] Cf. Matt 11:5; Luke 7:22 (of Jesus); Mark 16:18.
[74] Mark 16:17; Luke 10:17-20.
[75] Ln. 128 was omitted from the *editio princeps*. My line numbers from 128 to 220, therefore, do not correspond to Bickell, but rather to my own edition. At 220 a numbering error by Bickell brings both editions back into correspondence.
[76] See Matt 10:17-18; Mark 13:9; Luke 21:12-13; John 16:8-11 (?).

and folly

with your truth,

and the wise

with your teachings.

This is the authority

and this is the honor

which are yours,

O my disciples—

and joy also,

because of my grace,

I shall increase for you,

if you confess (me).

For I will be with you;

I go to labor

in all creation

to accomplish your desires.

And if you desire

to abide in me,

and there is love

in your hearts,

as soon as I have gone up

to my hidden Father,[77]

I will pray

for you

that he send his power

to you,[78]

treasures and riches

which cannot be stolen.[79]

The Spirit shall come

with its tongues[80]

and the Paraclete

with its revelations.

A new speech

will rest upon you;

the wings of the Spirit

[77] Cf. Matt 6:4-6, 18.
[78] See John 14:16; Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4, 8.
[79] See Matt 6:19-20; Luke 12:33.
[80] See Acts 2:3-4.

shall enfold you.[81]

They shall fly (down)

from on high

and rest

upon your mouths.

Fire will rest

upon your lips

and a flame

in your mouths."

The mouth is shut up

yet swallows fire;

the tongue is silent

yet conceives.

The tongue of the body

was not burned

by the tongue

of flame,

just as the bush

[81] Cf. Matt 3:16.

in the wilderness

was not burned

by the blaze.[82]

The disciples received

the tongue of fire,

a new speech

with which they were not born.

By the tongue of the watcher

Mary received

a new conception

with which she was unacquainted.[83]

The […][84] tongues

of the Spirit descended

upon tongues

made of flesh,

and the divine

---

[82] Exod 3:2.

[83] See Luke 1:26-38.

[84] Bickell rightly notes that a word has dropped out here (*metri causa*). He conjectures ܙܥܝܪܬܐ ("fine," or perhaps "immaterial" [see Vandenhoff, review of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 435]), but this is highly speculative and not reflected in Bickell's earlier translation (cf. Bickell, *Augewählte Gedichte*, 50). Vona adopts it tentatively (*Carmi*, 105).

generation came

to the woman's

womb of flesh.

Then he began

to compare himself

to a grain of wheat,[85] a vineshoot,

and also to a grape,[86]

and through his love

he showed them

the mystery which resides

in those three (types).

Come therefore,

O hearer,

let us teach you the symbols

in which he resides.

The grain of wheat is silent

[85] See John 12:24.
[86] See John 15:1-8.

when they grind it,

just as our Lord

when they tried him.

It does not cry out

when they kill it,

just as our Lord

when they crucified him.

It gives itself over

to the hand of its killer,

just as our Lord

to the Jews.

It forsakes its chaff

like the garments

which our Lord forsook

in Sheol, and then went forth.[87]

The grain of wheat is silent

when they grind it,

becoming a corpse

[87] A reference to Jesus's empty tomb (see Luke 24:12).

yet living secretly.

In appearance it is dead,

wretchedly so,

(yet) it flourishes and lives

abundantly.

It thrusts its roots

into the depths, exploring;

it twines its stalks

in the loose earth.

Thunderclaps cry out

like avengers;

lightning flares

like torches.

It drinks milk

not present at its birth

and receives riches

not sown with it.

It bears up its offspring,

and the daughter grains

go up upon its shoulder,

above its head,

just as our Lord,

who bore and raised up

the captivity of the dead

from Sheol.[88]

It goes to the granary

as (our Lord goes) to Zion,

and from there to the mill,

as to the cross.

Judea bears him

like a maid-servant

and the church eats,

the elect lady.[89]

It is the fire

which cooks it;

[88] Cf. Ps 68:18; Eph 4:8.
[89] Cf. 2 John 1:1.

it derives its savor

from its heat.

When all to which it is appointed

has been completed,

it proceeds to go

to the table of the king.

It fills the hungry

with its sweetness

and gives power

to those who eat it.

Likewise our Lord

placed his body

on the table

of the holy altar,

and the people eat him

who hunger for him,

and are strengthened,

and tread upon death.

Let now us see why our Savior

compared himself to a vine:

"I am the True Vine

and my Father is the Vinedresser."[90]

In the vine of his body was buried

the sweetness of divinity;

into the vine of his body was grafted

the vineshoot and stem of our humanity.

From the vine of his body sprang for us

the drink which slaked our thirst;

from the stem of his humanity

streams flowed unto us, in his mercy.

The vine is silent when harvested,

just as our Lord when they judge him;

the vine is silent when it is gleaned,

just as our Lord when he is dishonored;

the vine is silent when they cut it down,

just as our Lord when they kill him.

[90] John 15:1.

Instead of that first vine,

which provided vinegar for its lord,[91]

the True Vine sprang up unto us

from the womb of the maid.

This is the vine which slakes the thirst

of humanity, and they receive life;

this is the vine which consoles

the soul of mourners with its drink;

this is the vine which with its wine

washes iniquity from creation.

This is the cluster who pressed himself out

in the upper room at eventide

and gave himself to his disciples in a cup,

which is the testament of truth.

O Vine, how mighty you are,

whose riches never fail!

Robbers assaulted the vine,

stealing the leaves, but did not touch the grapes.

[91] See Deut 32:32-33; Isa 5:1-4; Matt 27:48.

The Jews, like thieves,

fell upon the vine of our Savior,

taking his tunic and cloak,[92]

but the cluster and its wine they left.

The foxes rooted among the vinestems,[93]

but one alone withered;

the porcupine, whose raiment is spines,[94]

assaulted that vine;

it took possession of one wild grape,[95]

but the (good) grapes it did not harm.

Zion, the evil porcupine,

prevailed over Iscariot;

for thirty pieces of silver it seized

the sweetness that had been promised to it.[96]

It sought to destroy the vine,

but the watchmen raised the alarm;[97]

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[92] See Matt 27:31, 35; Mark 15:20, 24; Luke 23:34.
[93] See Cant 2:15.
[94] See Isa 14:23; 34:11, 15.
[95] See Isa 5:2.
[96] Matt 26:15.
[97] See Ezek 33:1-6.

the prophets cried out in public

and the vine ripened in secret.

After thirty years of waiting,

the hungry heard and came in throngs;

Adam hastened from the tomb,

Eve left Sheol.

The church assembled from the mountains

and the nations gathered from all quarters;[98]

they saw the cluster that was hanging

from the top of the cross.[99]

Golgotha became its vineshoot

and from it sweetness appeared.

They received his blood on their lips

and plucked his truth with their hands.

The vine is Christ, who came to us;

he offered the cluster to us in love.

The cluster hangs its head in joy

[98] Perhaps an allusion to Didache 9.4 (see Murray, *Symbols*, 124n1, 338).
[99] Cf. Num 13:23-24.

before its harvester,

just as our Lord hung his head

before the slave who smote him.[100]

The vineshoot does not cry out

when the vinedresser prunes it,

and Christ gave no reply

when Caiaphas condemned him.[101]

The sickle cuts the vineshoot

and streams of water flow from it;

the lance pierced Christ

and streams of mercy flowed unto us.[102]

The discussions of the vine and the wheat

have caused me to digress.

The disciples of our master

have called me back to the narrative.

Give ear, O hearer, and listen,

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[100] John 18:22.
[101] Matt 26:63; Mark 14:69.
[102] John 19:34.

for the Gospel is speaking.

Our Lord delivered

a sword to his disciples,

his sharp word,

a keen blade.[103]

He entrusted his word to them,

which is the treasury of all riches.

By his word the world came into existence;

by his word the world has lived;

by his word he stretched out the heavens;[104]

by his word he descended to the depths;

by his word he fashioned a body;

by his word he put on a body;

by his word he fashioned Adam;

by his word he redeemed Adam;

by his word humanity came into existence;

by his word humanity has lived.

[103] See Eph 6:17; Heb 4:12; cf. Rev 1:16.
[104] See Ps 33:6; Wis 9:1; John 1:1-3.

“Receive my word, my friends,

and lay it up in your heart,

that my word, in every place,

may be a guide for you.

I entrust you to my Father

and commit you to him.

O my Father, receive them, preserve them

in your name and in your truth.[105]

Send to them your power,

that they may go forth to the world.

Deliver to them your fire,

that they might enlighten creation.

Indeed, they are entrusted to you, my Father—

they shall not become as orphans—[106]

so that when they see me being crucified,

it will not strike terror in their heart,

and that when I have descended to Sheol,

[105] John 17:11.
[106] See John 14:18.

they will not renounce my truth.

Let your heart be stout,

my friends, and do not fear.[107]

Go forth as merchants,

that we may gain the world;[108]

convert humanity to me,

fill creation with my teaching.

Plant altars in the land;

fill my church with my priests.

Let all souls enter

the net of my word;

let humanity be gathered

into the ocean of my baptism.[109]

If you should go to judgment,

I go with you.

If you should fall into the ocean,

I receive you.

---

[107] Paraphrase of John 14:27.
[108] See Matt 13:45-46.
[109] See Matt 13: 47.

If you should mount the gallows,

I will go up with you.

If you should fall into the fire,

I will purify you.

If you should go down to the grave,

I will raise you up.[110]

Be courageous, my friends,

for it is the final hour.

Judas has set my price—

see how Zion makes ready,

and Judaea has hewn the cross

on which I am stretched out.

And Caiaphas, see how his heart

burns to condemn me!

I shall die for all,

that I may give life to all,

[110] See Isa 43:2.

and on the third day

I will arise and cause all to arise."[111]

[111] See Matt 16:21; 17:22-23; 20:19; Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34; Luke 9:22; 18:33; 24:46.

Text 4

On the Scourges (*Scourges*)

Madrashe on the locust, and on chastisement, and on the invasion of the Huns, by Cyrillona

I will summon those you love
to petition you,
for this is a time of trial;
may they come to appease you.
I will recite my afflictions
and they their prayers;
I will reveal my pains
and they their declarations.
Before the ranks of your friends
I shall petition your Majesty
to spare your justice

and preserve by your right hand

my fruits for offerings unto you.[112]

This day, which is a commemoration

for the just, we shall exalt you.

It is a feast for your saints;

we shall sing and worship you.

The bones of those you love

you have made into a treasure;

in a fistful of their dust

your great riches are contained;

an Ocean without measure dwells in them,[113]

which was conceived in the womb,

and was hung on the wood,

and was entombed in the sepulcher,

and worshipped on high.

---

[112] Cf. Joel 1:9; 2:14.

[113] Syr. ܒܙܥ ܕܡ̈ܐ. In his corrections Bickell suggests that the reading ܐܙܠ (flows) was "vielleicht ursprünglich" ("Berichtigungen," 53). An erasure in the manuscript appears possible though not certain, but if so, the correction is certainly very neat and was likely done by the original scribe.

Come, gather together, my brothers,

O children of the church.

Let us put on the armor

of faith[114]

and trumpet the words

of prophecy.

Let us strike up the melodies

of the psalms

on the zither

of the ears of the heart.

War is upon us—

let us falter not!

Indeed we face battle—

let us show no weakness!

Let us draw the sword

of the cross of light

and take up the spear,

[114] See Eph 6:11, 13, 16; 1 Thess 5:8.

the blessed Crucified.

Let us fill the quiver

of our heart's understanding

with sharp shafts

of prayers.

See the breastplate

forged in water,

the armor hidden

in baptism.

See the crown of thorns

on the head of our King;

see the victor's prize

in the right hand of our Lord.

See how swords have come to naught

and the contests are over,

and see, the laborers

have borne away the gift.

See how the Serpent is crushed,

and Death is slain,

and the Evil One is defeated,

and the lie is overthrown,

and the truth is established,

and justice shines forth.

O chosen people,

lift up your heart;

clasp hands

and raise up a hymn of praise.

Stomp upon the Evil One

with the heels of your voice,

and trample upon error

with the soles of your breath.

Let each one fill

the slings of his mouth

with the solid stones

of all hymns.

Let each draw up a company

within his thoughts,

and marshal hosts

in the hosts of the heart.

In the heights

of the mind,

let each one raise up legions

most eloquent,

for an evil host

has come out against our country–

like Zerah

it has covered our land.

A thousand thousands

King Asa

vanquished by his prayer,

without soldiers.[115]

But we, my brothers,

we have hosts

[115] See 2 Chr 14:8-15.

which, when they were slain,
they were crowned,
for the sword which smote
their necks
fitted a crown
upon their heads,
and the blood which flowed
from their sides
has become a medicine of life
in creation.

Clouds of locusts
have spread out their wings
and covered our land
with their hordes.
Instead of raindrops
they carry swords,
and instead of dew
they bear spears,

and instead of showers

that water the earth,

sharp axes

against crops.

Let us sharpen the voices

of our prayers

and go forth to meet it

with the armor of the Spirit.

Let us give flight to a voice

superior to its wing;

let us send forth praise

superior to its talon;

let us set bolts

upon the doors of its mouth;

let us shut up, let us seal up,

the sepulcher of its belly,

for see how it devours us

while we are yet alive

and buries us

though we are not dead.

The serpent eats

dust and is silenced,

and its plotting made profitless,

its feet cut off,

because its mouth spoke

a lie.[116]

Dust has filled its mouth

and stopped it up.

This one is more evil

than the serpent,

for instead of dust

it eats our bread.

You, my Lord, who are mightier

than its wickedness,

sever its feet

and cut off its wings;

shatter its teeth,[117]

[116] See Gen 3:14.

and tear out its belly,

as with the dragon

among the Babylonians.[118]

The earth is sick

and your medicine is bitter;

the world is ill

and your chastisement is sore;

creation is weak

and your power is mighty;

people lay prostrate

and scourges are raised up.[119]

Do not be anxious for me,

as for Simon;[120]

let me pour out

my groans before you;[121]

---

[117] See Ps 3:7; 58:6; cf. Job 4:10.
[118] See Bel 27 (Dan 14:27).
[119] Cf. Ps 38:2-8.
[120] See Matt 14:29; Luke 22:31-32.
[121] Cf. Job 3:24.

let me speak,

and you, grant me a respite

and, just as for Job,

give me a chance to breathe![122]

If I have been healed,

you have struck me well,

and if not, wait

until I have had a respite;

(then) if there is any part of me

that remains untouched,

beat and strike me

as much as seems good to you.

Agonies besiege

and sufferings vex–

Let me speak

and I shall rehearse my woes.

Like a maid-servant

I shall fall before you,

[122] Cf. Job 7:16, 19; 9:18; 10:20; 13:22.

and may you, as Lord,

extend a hand to me.[123]

With one word

your command created us

and I became mother.

With one drop

of your grace,

heal my children

and end my suffering.

And if the sick woman

who grasped your robes

received life

from your cloak,[124]

I who have grasped

your whole body—

how much more shall I be succored

[123] See Ps 123:2.

[124] See Matt 9:18-26; Mark 5:24-34; Luke 8:40-48.

and healed thereby!

Creation and the church
have come to intercede
on behalf of their children
before the judge.
Like compassionate
mothers,
they have brought in their hands
a propitiation of tears.
My brothers, let us listen
to their words,
for see how on our behalf
they plead.
The earth began
to speak first,
with groaning
and lamentation:
Unmake me now!

Why should I still abide

after these

evil times?

Command me to vanish!

I am spent—

either destroy me

or renew me.

Your will ordered me

and I begat Adam,[125]

and while desiring

to rejoice in his birth,

you rose up to beat

and to scourge me;

and while desiring

to catch my breath,

a suffering pressed sore

that was more severe than the first,

for I drank the blood

[125] See Gen 2:7; 3:19.

of Abel my beloved,

whom Cain crushed

before his time.[126]

And from the beginning

to this day,

see how I am full

of every grief,

of quotidian terrors,

of ill-tidings every day,

of torments every hour,

of all strifes.

Your will has scourged

the East with captivity,

and the towns which were laid waste

are uninhabited.

The West is stricken,

and see how its cities

are held by a people

[126] See Gen 4:10-11.

who do not know you.

The merchants have died

and oblations have been in vain.

The women are widowed

and offerings have ceased.

The North is in distress

and full of wars,

and if you turn away, O Lord,

again they shall lay waste to me.

If the Huns

conquer me, O Lord,

then why take refuge

with the martyrs?

If their swords

lay waste to my sons,

then why hold fast

to your great cross?

If you hand my cities

over to them,

where is the glory

of your holy church?

Not yet a year

has passed

since they came out to lay waste to me

and take captive my children,

and see now,

a second time

they have assaulted our country

to vanquish it.

O Lord, do not deliver

the lambs to leopards

and the sheep

to filthy wolves!

May the hand of the wicked

not rule

over a kingdom

that honors you!

May kings who fear

your kingdom

not be trodden down

by infidels—

may those rather be trodden

under the feet

of the kings who tread

the gates of your church!

Stay your chastisement,

for such is our communion with you

that if I am stricken,

you have wounded yourself.

Your body is in me—

may it not be dishonored.

Your mysteries are in me—

may they not be mocked.

Grace is also

proper in the economy of things—

how much should it set a limit

to your chastisement!

The South, which is full

of all your triumphs—

your conception, your birth,

and your crucifixion—

the fragrance of your footsteps

spreads from it,

because you walked upon it

and blessed it.

In its river flowed

your baptism[127]

and in its Siloam

your healing, too.[128]

See in its water pots

your good wine[129]

and within its bosom

a feast for your multitudes.[130]

[127] See Matt 3:13-17 et par.
[128] See John 9:1-12.
[129] See John 2:6-10.
[130] See Matt 14:13-21 et par.; Matt 15:32-39 et par.

It too has been smitten,

just like its companions,

by violent bands of brigands

that have appeared against it.

Oh how your will

is ever-changing—

scourges, torments,

then afflictions, too!

For two years

you have impoverished winter

and the milk of the breasts

of heaven has failed.

The seeds were doubled,

but the sprouts withered,

for you brought upon us

July in March.

March, which is full

of showers and floods,

caused floods of sweat

to run down from us.

People watered

the earth with tears

and in the fields

babes cried out.

The springs failed

and the cisterns went dry,

and people learned how

to beg for water.

The one distributing bread

begged for water;

the one with a *mina* to spend

received a drink.

People carried about

sacks of jugs

and went forth to beg

a sip of water.

Fortunate was the widow

of Sidon

who in begging did beg

of Elijah,

since for the one small loaf

which she offered him,

a pile of meal

he heaped up and gave to her,

and for one pint

of ordinary water

he caused a stream of oil

to flow in her house.[131]

But before I had forgotten

the first scourge,

there befell me this one,

which is worse than the first.

I had borrowed, sowed,

toiled, planted.

I signed a contract,

and so they lent to me;

[131] See 1 Kgs 17:7-16.

I subscribed to a promissory note,

and so they granted me aid.

I had irrigated, cultivated,

and multiplied my prayers.

The ship of my fields

had come to port

and I was confident

that they had safely berthed.

But while I was rejoicing

and exulting,

there arose the storm

of the accursed locust,

and the billows of their hordes

pressed sore.

They alighted upon my fields,

they covered my lands.

They fluttered and lay down upon me,

they came in and reclined on me,

accursed wayfarers

who fed upon me,

and if your will

had not restrained them,

stones and dust

they would not have spared.

But your chastisement

was not equal to my transgressions

or your scourges

to my offenses.

It is a wonder, my brothers,

that in this wrath

such mercy

has appeared!

Its master put a muzzle

on the locust,

that it might not despoil

to the (full) measure of its wickedness.

It rested upon the vineyard,

but its mouth was stopped.

It laid down upon the vines,

but its sword was sheathed.

It reached the tree,

but the Good One restrained it.

It approached the seed,

but (his) will stayed it.

It settled on the fruit,

but he bent back its neck.

It rested upon the branches,

but did not assault them.

He has bid it come

for the sake of fear;

he has commanded it to fast

for the sake of mercy.

Grass and thorns

he has given it to eat,

but has withheld from it

the bread of men.

A wicked worker is

the accursed locust,

which like a reaper

encamps on my lands.

The sickle of its teeth

you have shattered, O Blessed One,

that it might not destroy more

than its own food.

Your will again entered

cities

and made them tremble,

as if in wrath.

The earth shook

because you loosed your hand;

buildings fell

because your clemency turned away.

Your command overthrew

towers and ramparts;

your desire cast down

shrines and temples.

The earth swallowed

her children alive

and mountains left

their places.

The will that had planted them

uprooted them;

the power that had weighed them out[132]

destroyed them.[133]

The stones wailed

from within the walls[134]

and people cried out

in the streets.

In daytime the radiant light

grew dark

and night became

[132] I.e., in scales; see Isa 40:12.
[133] Or perhaps, "melted them;" cf. Ps 97:5. So Vandenhoff, review of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 434; "Zu den von G. Bickell," 164.
[134] Cf. Hab 2:11.

a tenebrous tomb.

Sleep fled

from eyes

and people abandoned

their homes.

Your churches became

as amphorae

and were filled up by multitudes

without number.

They saw the bow that was drawn,

and the tremors,

and wrath unsheathed

like a sword.

They rushed to take refuge

in baptism,

the people

who had been delaying it.

They came for washing

and received life;

they grasped the cross

and wrath abated.

The king came

with the beggar

and he begged for mercy

from the Most High.

He abased himself

and set aside his glory;

he wept with a groan

and poured out his tears.

The Creator saw him

and sped his mercy.

He dispelled his wrath

as he did the mists,

and removed the tremor

as he did the gloom.

He received the praise

of their tongues

and took mercy

upon their lives.

And now, my Lord, sufficient

are these scourges—

be reconciled

with your creatures.

For if you consider

our deeds,

there is no possibility of

mercy for us.

After the earth

had rehearsed these things,

the church came

and her children with her,

the apostles and martyrs,

for she brought with her

the friends of the king

to persuade the king.

Let us listen, my brothers,

to their words,

for they earnestly petition

the judge:

Restrain your justice,

Lord of Creation,

hide your strength—

mortals are weak.

In mercy you established

the earth in the beginning.

In love your hand

fashioned mortals.

You begat them—

show them forbearance.

For a father is one who endures

the vexation of his son,

and a mother suffers

the sting of her children,

and also God

the sins of mortals.

My Lord, do not smite us

to the degree we deserve,

lest they perish

and your benevolence be grieved.

Before you created

and fashioned them,

their deeds

were revealed before you.

Not by observation

are you instructed,

for you know everything

before it comes to be.

If you desire it,

the iniquity of the earth

is nothing

before your grace.

If you will it,

human transgressions

are but a dream

before your salvation.

O Lord, pay no heed

to the one who provokes to anger,

but rather to the one

who pleases you.

See how in our days

you have on the earth

laborers among your servants

who have cultivated truth.

See the monasteries

planted on the earth

which are full of people

with perfect hearts.

See in caves

those cloistered

and in the desert

those pleasing to you.

See the solitaries

on the tops of the mountains,

and on islands

the elect and valiant.

See your psalms

in chambers

and in fields

the sound of your praise.

See in the midst of the sea

those who serve you

and upon ships

those who pray to you.

See your teaching

in cities

and in judges,

fear of your judgment.

See among harlots

your holiness,

and among prostitutes

wonder of you is sown.

See how unbelievers

have renounced idols

and priests have overthrown

paganism.

See how in Persia

your doctrine is spread

and in Assyria your gospel

has prospered and grown.

See how in India

Thomas proselytizes

and in Rome

Simon preaches.

See how the Greeks

have expounded your mysteries

and the Romans

have made plain your scriptures.

See how by the side of kings

your cross rules

and next to queens

your love courses.

See how in your palm

creation lies

and in your love

the world dwells.

See in your church

your living body

and with your bride

your holy blood.

See the song

in the mouth of babes

and your psalms

among women.

See your feasts,

which are full of your glory,

creation and her children,

who are pleasing to you.

Command to pass by, O Lord,

the sword of your wrath—

our neck is too frail

for your sword!

Command the locust

to perish in the sea,

just as the Egyptians did

beneath the floods.[135]

Command wars

to abate from us,

and fill the earth

with peace and tranquility.

Command violent earthquakes

to cease

and make an end of reports

which break the heart.

Command, in your mercy,

that the fruits be revived

and let humanity rejoice

in their abundance.

Command that there be for us

[135] See Exod 14:28.

a splendid summer

and also that we enjoy

a blessed winter.

Command the bow of your fury

to be unstrung

and in your mercy

hide your shafts.[136]

See your creatures,

like mothers,

bearing a petition

and coming before you.

King David

hearkened to Abigail,

and (even) after he had sworn (vengeance)

he heard her entreaty.

She restrained his wrath

with her words

and his fury ebbed

[136] Cf. Ps 7:12-13.

because of her declaration.[137]

How much more, O Lord, may you hearken

to your holy church,

which with her children

is prostrate before you.

May your birth, which was

for her sake,

itself beget your mercy upon

your creatures.

[137] See 1 Sam 25:2-35.

Text 5

On Zacchaeus (*Zacch.*)

Soghitha of the *memra*

zayn The Accursed One has armed his blade against us,
and brandishes his sword to frighten us,
but among the hosts of those who have not sinned,
among them it has melted like wax.

zayn The Evil One trembles, for the companies of the just
have grown more than his band,
and his own troops are in revolt against him
and take refuge in the Son of Mary.

zayn Zacchaeus the chief escaped from him,
for his Lord met him and received him well.

The sycamore was a harbor on the path;

he came down from it weary and found rest.[138]

zayn The splendor of Jesus shone before him

who reclined on the tree in the path,

insomuch that the shadow cast upon the bough

became luminous in appearance!

ḥeth Eve succumbed, besieged

by counsel which made her an exile;

Mary arose radiant—

20 she reclaimed the grace of the matriarch.

ḥeth The serpent mixed sin in secret

and mingled (it) with the blood of death for Eve,

and that she might not be loath to drink it,

he filled her full of sins in the guise of a friend.

[138] See Luke 19:1-10.

ḥeth Our Lord mixed wine with his blood;

he confected the medicine of life ‘til it brimmed over.

His sweet savor descended and overpowered

the lethal salt of death.

ḥeth Sins so beset Eve in Eden

that, succumbing, they drove her from the garden,

and because she inclined her ear to the voice of the serpent,

she became estranged from that garden.

ḥeth The crippled serpent crippled Eve;

Mary became feet for her mother.

The maiden bore up the aged woman,

that she might draw life-breath in her former place.

ḥeth Eve grew old and bent;

she begat Mary and was made young;

and her daughter’s child took it upon himself

to atone for the sins of his ancestor.

ṭeth She had hidden there in our dough

the leaven of death and grief;

Mary strove to remove it,

so that all creation would not be corrupted.

ṭeth He hid his floods in the virgin,

life sprang from the glorious maid;

his streams caught upon and climbed the mountains,

and the depths and torrents climbed higher than them still![139]

ṭeth This news about the Son brought low the Evil One,

50 whose soldiers too fell upon their faces.

He revealed himself (to them) when they questioned him,

and they withered like straw, for they could not bear him.[140]

---

[139] The author's meaning here has not been clear to translators. It is the first instance of the recurring motif of Christ's vivifying mercy flowing out to us (cf. 57-58, 112), but the referent and meaning of the prepositional phrase ܒܚܕܗܘܢ is ambiguous. Just as problematic is the rendering of ܚܪܘܬܐ ܘܡܫܟܐ. These terms are typically understood as naming geographic features, under the influence of Isa 40:4 and Bar 5:7 ("vales and valleys"). Perhaps the imagery is baptismal: Life (Christ) issues from Mary, flowing higher than the tops of the mountains, as did the cleansing Noachide floods, symbol of baptism (cf. Gen 7:19-20; 1 Pet 3:18-22).

ṭeth The sweet maid bore the Good Fruit

and placed it with her hands in the manger.[141]

The nations ate it and, by its savor,

the serpent's bite was healed.

yodh The Ocean of Mercies flowed forth

to wash away the impurity of Zacchaeus,

and because compassion is greater than sin,[142]

60 the sinner arose without punishment.

yodh Jesus, though smitten by adversaries,

see how he was not angry with sinners;

in his mercy he was like a shepherd,

and he went out and sought out that errant one.

---

[140] Cerbelaud notes: "L'allusion reste obscure. S'agit-il d'un renvoi à un épisode de la passion de Jésus (les soldats tombant à la renverse à Gethsé[m]ani : Jn 18 :6 ; ou ceux qui gardent le tombeau : Mt. 18 :4?), ou d'une référence plus globale au sort qui attend les impies? Il est difficile d'en décider" (Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 112n90).

[141] Luke 2:7.

[142] See Rom 5:20.

yodh He swore this by himself,[143] that they might have faith in him:

"I take no pleasure in those who perish;

in one sinner, if he repents,

the Father rejoices with his angels."[144]

yodh Not a single day has he allowed

70 fury and wrath to remain upon us;[145]

he has taken care that we might become like him,

for he abundantly forgives those who go astray.

kaph The Just One does not wish to destroy us,

and he teaches the means (for salvation), that he might aid us;

the watchers on high revere him,

but by those on earth, see how he is condemned!

kaph His stern and terrible rebuke

do tears appease and mollify;

---

[143] A biblical oath formula; cf. Isa 45:23; Jer 22:5, 49:13; Heb 6:13.
[144] Conflation of Ezek 33:11 and Luke 15:7, 10.
[145] Cf. Eph 4:26.

he draws his bow to terrify us—

mercy opposes it and it goes slack!

kaph When he was passing next to the sycamore,

he saw the debtor, and regarded (him), and stopped;

just as with Simon,[146] so also he rejoiced

in Zacchaeus, whom he brought down from the sycamore.

kaph The Just One had commanded that, for the one who has gone astray,

the Judgment should be mournful,

(but) his mien was merry[147] when he met

that Inquisitor who bears mercy!

kaph How timid, nonetheless, was Zacchaeus—

he was afraid to seek mercy;

[146] This probably refers to the calling of Peter (Matt 4:18-22; Mark 1:16-20; Luke 5:1-11) and would find a parallel in Ephrem, *Nat.* 4.34-35. It might also refer to Peter's confession of faith, blessing, and investiture (Matt 16:16-19).
[147] Luke 19:6.

but how forthright was our Lord—

he was eager to grant mercy.

kaph Your God is just and kind—

fear, O sinners, but also be confident,

for he forgives the sins of those who repent,

but wrath has claim on those who refuse.

lamad In Zacchaeus he calls out to you sinners,

that you may see his love, for how anxious is he!

For he casts his nets like a fisherman,

100 that the leader of your cohort may rejoice in you.

lamad He took the penitent from the sycamore

and straightway planted him in the Garden;

he saw him stripped of glory, like Adam;

he wove for him a garment of mercy and clothed him.[148]

[148] Cf. Gen 3:21.

lamad Confess our Lord, who sought out and came

to the debtor who was found owing,

and made a path on which we should go,

that he might mete out (to us) the mercy which he bore.

lamad I have entered into your house instead of the sycamore;

I shall live in the mystery which I embrace,

for your cross is higher than the bough;

multiply the floods of your mercy upon me!

APPENDIX C

On the Grain of Wheat

INTRODUCTION

Following Bickell, most previous scholars have accepted this anonymous homily *On the Grain of Wheat* as the work of Cyrillona. I have argued it is not,[1] and in this follow the judgment and (most of) the arguments of Dominique Cerbelaud, who concluded,

> Mon sentiment personnel est que nous avons affaire à une compilation, effectuée par un auteur ultérieur, et rassemblant, chez Grégoire de Nysse et chez Cyrillonas, des passages ayant trait au grain du blé. Quoi qu'il en soit, il serait prudent de ranger cette homélie VI, jusqu'à plus ample informé, parmi les "dubia" de Cyrillonas.[2]

Even to categorize *Wheat* as Cyrillonan *dubia* seems to claim too much. Bickell was simply mistaken in his attribution. Cyrillona is certainly not its author, and with all respect to Cerbelaud, I do not think Cyrillona may confidently be regarded as one of *Wheat*'s sources. It is not impossible, but also not clearly apparent. *Wheat* is also not a "compilation" in any obvious sense, but an integrous and lively composition, whatever its influences.

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[1] See my discussion in Chapter One (pp. 13-23 above).

[2] Cerbelaud, *Agneau,* 23; cf. idem, "Kyrillonas," 557.

However, one cannot ignore its long association with Cyrillona. Perhaps in his decision to include it in his translation, Cerbelaud was primarily respecting this fact of its history. I too consider it prudent to reproduce it here, likewise due to its historical attribution to Cyrillona, and to provide readers with the text for their own evaluation and study. I believe that, if the arguments presented above against its authenticity are not sufficiently convincing, simply reading it against the genuine works of Cyrillona—all other arguments aside—will alone confirm to most that it was not written by our author.

On the Grain of Wheat (*Wheat*)

(BL Add. 14,591, fols. 79r-83r)

*fol. 79r / B594

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APPARATUS CRITICUS

62 ܟܒܒ ܒܫ] m. sec. (accipe metri et sensus causa) : ܒܫ ܟܒܒ m. pr.

76 ܡܫ ܡܫ] add. m. sec. in marg.

136 ܡܫܟ] corr. B : ܡܫܟ ms.

172 ܒܒ] m. sec. : ܒ m. pr.

179 ܠܒ] m. sec. : ܠܒ m. pr.

196 ܫ] m. sec. : ܫ m. pr.

200] m. sec. : ܟ m. pr.

205 ܟܬ ܡ] m. pr. ante ras. : ܟܬ ܒ post ras.

206] m. sec. : ܫ m. pr.

238 ܟܬܒ] ܟܬܒܐ B

271 ܒܐ] m. sec. : ܒ m. pr.

205 ܟܠܫ ܒܢ] m. pr. ante ras. : ܟܠܫ ܡ post ras.

206 ܟܘܣܐ] m. sec. : ܟܘܣܬܐ m. pr.

238 ܟܬܒ] ܟܬܒܐ B

271 ܒܐ] m. sec. : ܒ m. pr.

On the Grain of Wheat (*Wheat*)

Memra on the grain of wheat

The grain of wheat that falls in the furrow
    silently sprouts and germinates.
Without being taught or crafted,
    it implants itself in soil.
In the humus which first covers it,
    it affixes itself with its shoots.
It fortifies itself with its foundation
    and then builds itself up.
It overturns stones without levers;
    sprouting, it walks without feet.
Its tendrils, like fingers,
    it pushes between the pebbles,
and its rootlets, like claws,
    it sinks in, to penetrate the earth.
Into the earth the hair of its head

it weaves, that it might be secured thereby.

It fortifies itself with its foundation

and then trusts in its position,

so that when it has received most of its growth

it will not break before mighty winds.

It binds its roots in the deep

so that it might battle the winds up above.

It binds its warp below

and then begins to weave and work its way up

in the web of the earth, that it might not perish;

it secures its lower thread

and then bursts through the soil, showing itself,

that it might obtain the beauty of the air.

Now during the time of its development

it prepares other clothing,

and it arranges its nodes on the stem

like the buttresses of a building,

that it might sustain and bear up the ear

and prevail against the wind.

The stem is like a culvert

transporting water to the whole of it,

and it braces its column with sockets,[3]

that it might bear up the weight upon its head.

And as a bird, from its sides,

extends its wings outward

to hold itself aloft in the air;

as a man does with hands;

so it bears up its companions which are upon

its own lofty head.

The womb begets its root

and the head begets its brethren.

And when it has died, it revives, (and) makes for it,

from it and in it a band of brothers.[4]

And when it shows itself, it is found

to appear between two leaves

which clothe the nakedness[5] of its childhood,

[3] Probably this is describing the pin and socket reinforcement of column segments, another reference to the supportive function of the stem's joints.

[4] The referent of "from it and in it" is death; cf. "from it and because of it"(ln. 58).

[5] Or, "shoots" (Syr. ܐܓܡܠܐ), a felicitous double meaning.

a two-piece tunic.

That which fell into the earth perished

and that which perished is discovered.

And whenever it astonishes one who witnesses

its destruction and reappearance,

it teaches him again

how it increases from it and because of it.

This (grain of wheat) is (like) a mother and her daughters;

her companions are virgins,

and they enter the temple of the king,

that his mystery might be fulfilled in them.

They enter as virgins, they who had been begotten

and the virgin who begat them.

A virgin carries the virgins,

her sisters, her daughters whom she begat,

and they approach the altar of the virgin[6]

whose mother and father are virgins.

[6] Syr. ܒܪܝܐ, which Bickell renders interpretively as "der jungfräuliche Sohn" (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 58).

O grain of wheat, beside which grows

a great tare which is (allied) with the Evil One![7]

It sports healthy beard of barbs,[8]

like slim shafts,

with which to prick the bird

which comes to strip and rob it.

It bears lances at its side,

which sprout from it and on it and in it,

that its barbs may be driven

into the one who comes to assault it.

It does not go out against anything—

everything hastens against *it*—

and it protects itself as best it may

so that it might go to men, who love it.

It teaches to (its) virgins

this idea, wordlessly:

"As I for beloved man

[7] Cf. Matt 13:24-30.

[8] Syr. ܣܠܡܠܡܐ, *aculeus aristae* (TS 1285), which Löw would wrongly construe as simply "Granne" (see Löw, *Flora der Juden*, 4:44-46).

have preserved my betrothal and my virginity,

so also preserve

yourselves for your betrothed."

Before hail and rain and simoom

it does not prevail, for they are violent;

before winds and thunder and hail

it raises (its) heel symbolically.[9]

The grain of wheat is the friend of man,

that by which he lives and is weaned.

And between the grain of wheat and sin

there is mutual hatred.[10]

For if sin spreads among men,

blights multiply unto the wheat,

and if men prevail against sin,

the wheat prevails against destruction.

Worm, weevil, vermin,

[9] Syr. ܪܡܙ ܒܗ ܪܓܓ ܪܓܓܐ. Precise meaning uncertain. Bickell suggests, "Die Sichherabneigen der Weizenhalme im Sturm wird hier als Herbeiwinken des Menschen zur Hilfe aufgefaßt" (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 50n1). I think it more likely that, as Cerbelaud's translation implies, the raised heel here is a gesture of determination or defiance ("avec décision") (Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 97).

[10] Note the wordplay between ܥܠܒ and ܥܠܒ (see Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 113n100).

simoom, cold and frost—

it prevails against them by the power of God.

Its stem is like a body

and (its) nodes like members.

Without it a king rules not;

without it judges hunger;

without it altars are empty;

without it the Spirit descends not;

without it the priest offers no oblation;

and without it no man

shall be pleasing to Deity.

Lightening is swiftest of the swift,

yet an angel is even quicker than that.

The sun is first among runners,

traversing creation in a single day,

yet prayer is even sprightlier than that,

for it flies up to heaven in a bare instant.

The king of beasts is the lion,[11]

[11] See Prov 30:30.

the king of fowl is the eagle,

while wheat is the queen of grains

and the grape cluster the king of fruits.

First among creatures is the behemoth;[12]

it is also the king of reptiles.[13]

The wisest among creeping insects is the ant,[14]

and it begins in summer to prepare its (winter's) food.

The least among flying insects is the bee,

but it bears the best of products.[15]

The most beloved of seeds is the grain of wheat,

and all else come second to it.

How many are its parents,

but there is one Father that gives it life.

Its father is rain from the clouds,

its mother is the earth that begat it;

clear dews provide it nourishment,

[12] Cf. Job 40:18(19): ܪܫܝܬ ܡܒܘܥ ܚܝܠ ܗܘ ܒܗܡܘܬ. While less probable, Landersdorfer defends Bickell's rendering, "Der Anfang der Schöpfung ist der Behemoth" (Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 51n1; cf. Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 59).

[13] See Prov 6:6; 30:24.

[14] See Prov 6:8; 30:25.

[15] See Sir 11:3.

while showers and inundations keep it bathed;

its attendants are the fair months,

its nursemaids the moist winds;

but if we provoke God,

its parents kill the grain of wheat.

They give it life,

but they, these life-givers,

may become its murderers.

But when we please God,

the grain of wheat surmounts its afflictions.

The grain of wheat is the daughter of the furrow,

for the furrow is its father, rejected by it.

The farmer tills and throws it

into the ground as a foundation.

Gabriel was like lightning

and Mary was like the grain of wheat,

full of virgin milk,

and gave suck to the virgin child.

He who hung on the wood also issued

two streams of life,

one of blood and one of water,

to water his flocks thereby.

The grain of wheat drinks from the furrows

and the church from (his) side.

O grain of wheat, beautiful ear,

palace which has arisen from itself

and emerges from the midst of all its enemies,

appearing from on high

as Joseph from his chariot[16]

and as our Lord from the tomb!

O grain of wheat, daughter of winter,

whose feast occurs in summer.

The reapers sing before it,

working in melodious bands.[17]

[18]Who has (ever) seen a daughter of the dust

[16] See Gen 41:43.

[17] Syr. ܚܨܦܐ ܚܠܫܐ ܕܫܢܝ. Bickell ("Gedichte," 622) proposes that ܚܨܦܐ may mean "Decachord," but the Thesaurus regards this suggestion as "multum de hoc sensu dubito" (TS 2940). Nöldeke adduces parallels with Ephrem and an Arabic idiom which suggest ܚܨܦܐ may mean, "singende Schar" (Nöldeke, Review of *Sancti Ephraem Syri,* 199).

which has built (such) a tower of a stalk?

It has established its growth in the earth

with its own tender shoots

and raised itself up like a cedar,[19]

to lift up building stones.

It has stretched out its long leaves

like the guy ropes on a pillar.[20]

But instead of many hands

clutching it to lift up the stone,

the four winds gripped it

and employed its laborers, the six months.[21]

It bent down, it constructed from the earth

abundant quarries,[22]

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[18] Cerbelaud translates lns. 170-89 as a quotation of the reapers' words (Cerbelaud, *Agneau*, 100); Vona perhaps implies as much (Vona, *Carmi*, 121). However, I follow Bickell and Landersdorfer, who do not (see Bickell, *Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 60; Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 52).

[19] Bickell apparently reads ܐܬܝܪ for ܐܬܪ, translating: "[Er] hat sich alsdann zur Höhe erhoben, als ob er Bausteine heraufgezogen hätte" (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 60).

[20] Previous translators have been somewhat opaque here, but the author is again referring to the supportive function of the leaves of the stem, here supporting a free-standing pillar or platform like guy ropes. See above where they are likened to the wings of a bird which hold it aloft in the air.

[21] I.e., of the growing season.

[22] Syr. ܚܨܠܐ. Bickell in his edition ("Gedichte," 622) specifies this to mean a "Baustein," which Cerbelaud follows (*Agneau*, 100), but I am more persuaded by Bickell's earlier translation, where he notes: "Da der Weizen mit ein Palast verglichen wird, so wird auch der Erdboden, aus welchem derselbe seine Nahrung zieht, als Steinbruch bezeichnet" (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, 61n1).

and then it proceeded to build

the grains of wheat with the building materials.

Its stem became its ladder

and the joints a staircase.

It sprouted and ascended from the earth

and rested in the air upon a pillar.

O grain of wheat, living stone

brought forth without hands![23]

The months, like oxen, move it

upon the great wheel of the year.

The four winds grip it

like human hands do ropes.

Thunders raise their voices

like singers in song.

Bolts of lightning illuminate

and show that which ascended on high.

The vessels of the clouds blend it,

drop by drop, like mixing cups.

[23] Dan 2:34.

The luminous spheres move

like the heavenly spheres.[24]

The seasons stretch out like cords.

From both above and beneath the wheat

draws coolness, and in the heat

there are canopies hung in the air.

(Its) shaft is a cross

which bears (its) burden and does not fall.

God speaks (to the grain of wheat) by thunderclap

and by the elements that minister to it—

the master of the house who exhorts his servant

and sends him forth to labor.

The grain of wheat is brought to harvest

by God who raises it up.

That which was cast down died,

and that which died has been raised up;

and that which was buried alone

has come into the company of its companions,

[24] I.e., the sun and the moon move like the stars.

and they encircle and embrace it—

daughters, sisters, neighbors and companions.

The mystery of the resurrection is signified

and manifest to those who see:

"For just as I lived,[25] who had died,

the dead who are in the earth live."

When a grain of wheat is dunged,

its growth increases more;

Job also, the wheat-grain of God,

declaimed in the ashes of a dung-heap.[26]

This is the living wheat

which has sown itself in ashes,

and drunken putrefaction in the place of ashes,

and its glorious sheaf has ripened.

The wheat is rent, and signified by it

is the furrow, its father and progenitor.

The wheat is torn and mended,

[25] I.e., "revived." Note the wordplay here between שחה and שחי.
[26] See Job 2:8.

and resembles the side of our Savior,

which is pierced, breached, closed,

and absolution issues from it.[27]

The one who created the grain has granted

that the mysteries of his body might be represented in it,

but first of all he rent it and signified by it

the cleft of the lance which was (thrust) in his side.

The grain of wheat decays in the earth

like the body of man in Sheol,

but this life which is in its heart

compels its decay to undergo a change.

How much more will the living force

of the living body we have received vivify us.

For with that grain of wheat that is sown,

its outer body may have wasted away,

but it heart remains alive,

which is, namely, the hope of its resurrection,

[27] This verse was omitted from Bickell's *editio princeps* but restored in his corrections ("Berichtungen," 531).

just as the heart of Job

was the hope for his recovery.

For his outer body had putrefied,

just as the grain of wheat decays on the outside.

But just as to the garment of the mind

the worm of blasphemy does no harm,

all the more does the grain of wheat sprout,

and the parasite of denial has not touched,

nor shall enter our own heart,

doubt concerning our resurrection.

Because whether we believe or not,

we shall all be resurrected,

for the Son of the Good One forsakes us not,

that one who has tasted death on our behalf

and mingled the life of his nature

with this mortal nature of ours.

The grain of wheat sloughs off its decay,

and from it and in it does grow and live;

and this body (too) which is corrupted

is restored and arises.

Moreover, as the grain of wheat, when it has been resurrected,

comes bearing its companions,

so also the body when it is resurrected

comes bearing its works.[28]

[28] Cf. Rev 14:13.

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