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MŌRĀN ETHŌ

44

THE COMMENTARY OF GABRIEL OF QATAR
ON THE EAST SYRIAC MORNING SERVICE
ON ORDINARY DAYS

by

Alex C. J. NEROTH VAN VOGELPOEL



ST. EPHREM ECUMENICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE (SEERI)
BAKER HILL, KOTTAYAM - 686 001,
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Text, Translation, and Discussion

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Alex C. J. NEROTH VAN VOGELPOEL



**St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute (SEERI)
Baker Hill, Kottayam – 686 001
Kerala, India
2018**

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Fr. G. CHEDIATH

To Rabban Gabrī'ēyl bar Lipāh d-Bēyt Qatrāyē
and to my mother;
I continue to rely on your prayers to the Lord our loving God.

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Alex C. J. NEROTH VAN VOGELPOEL

27 October 2017

the Fourth Friday of the Cross

the Concluding Friday of the Fast of Elijah

the Memorial of the Holy Prophet Mar Elijah the Foreigner

PART I:
DISCUSSION

Introduction: The Importance of the Manuscript

In the middle of the seventh century, Catholicos-Patriarch Išo'yahb III (of Adiabene, 649-658) of the Church of the East enacted a series of liturgical reforms that included fixing the number of liturgical seasons, reducing the number of anaphoras in use to three (those of Addai and Mari, of Theodore, and of Nestorius¹), and changing the structure of the Liturgy of the Hours. These reforms came in an extremely significant time period – right after the fall of the Sassanid Empire to the invading Arab Muslim armies. The changes put in place by Išo'yahb have been extremely stable and can still be seen in the liturgy of the East Syriac tradition today, but the nature of the liturgical tradition of the Church of the East before his reforms continues to be uncertain.²

The liturgical commentary of Gabriel of Qatar, written in the first half of the seventh century, is an extremely important source for the study of the East Syriac liturgical tradition, precisely because it describes this tradition before

¹ Medieval authors speak of the existence of other anaphoras that may have existed before this reform: The anonymous *Chronicle of Se'ert* (ninth-eleventh century) mentions an Anaphora of Ephrem; Ibn al-Ṭayyib (eleventh century) mentions an Anaphora of Chrysostom (which is not necessarily related to the homonymous Byzantine anaphora, of course); 'Abdišo' of Nisibis (+1318) mentions Anaphoras of Narsai and of Baršaumā. None of these survive today. (Anthony GELSTON, *The Eucharistic Prayer of Addai and Mari* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 24.)

² It will be fascinating to see the forthcoming edition and translation, by Erica HUNTER and J. F. COAKLEY, of the Ḥudrā-like document from Turfan dating to the mid-eighth century, as it might contain precious data about what the East Syriac liturgical tradition would have looked like around the time of the reforms of Išo'yahb III: *A Syriac Service-Book from Turfan: Museum für asiatische Kunst, Berlin MS MIK III 45, Berliner Turfantexte 39* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

the reforms of Išo'yahb III.³ The commentary presents Gabriel's explanation of both the *Quddāšā*⁴ and the Liturgy of the Hours, but translations of his work have focused almost exclusively on Gabriel's commentary on the *Quddāšā*. Given the relevance of this text to the study of East Syriac Christianity, it is both surprising and unfortunate that only parts of the text have thus far been edited and translated into any modern language.⁵ I have therefore made an original translation from Syriac into English of *Mēmṛā* (Discourse) Two of Gabriel's liturgical commentary: his interpretation of the East Syriac Morning Service on Ordinary Days. This study briefly introduces the author of the commentary and the manuscript in which his commentary is found, reviews the secondary literature thus far written about Gabriel's commentary, provides a description of his comments on the ferial Morning Service, and analyses these comments, comparing the ferial Morning Service in the time of Gabriel with that used by the East Syriac tradition today and noting

³ Sebastian P. Brock, 'Gabriel of Qatar's Commentary on the Liturgy', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 6, no. 2 (July 2003): 198, <http://www.bethmardutho.org/images/hugoye/volume6/hv6n2brock.pdf>.

⁴ The East Syriac Divine Liturgy tends to be called *Quddāšā* ('Sanctification') by the Assyrians and Chaldeans and *Qurbānā* ('Offering' or 'Oblation') by the Syro-Malabars. Gabriel consistently calls it *Tešmeštā d-Rāzē* ('the Service of the Mysteries') or *Tešmeštā d-Rāzē Qaddišē* ('the Service of the Holy Mysteries'). These terms will be used interchangeably in this study.

⁵ Indeed, half a century ago, Dalmais expressed the hope that the eventual publication of Gabriel's commentary would shed light on the liturgy before the changes implemented by Išo'yahb III ('Le thème de la lumière dans l'office du matin des Églises Syriennes Orientales', in *Noël, Épiphanie, retour du Christ: Semaine liturgique de l'Institut Saint-Serge*, ed. André-Marie DUBARLE, *Lex Orandi* 40 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 260 note 5b).

several other points of interest. I conclude with an short evaluation of Gabriel's mystagogical method of doing theology.

Chapter 1: A Brief Description of the Manuscript and Presentation of the Author and of His Context

A: The Manuscript

The liturgical commentary of Gabriel exists in only one known manuscript, British Library ms. Or. 3336. It consists of 230 folios, with 17 (occasionally 18) lines of text on each side.¹ According to the damaged colophon (fol. 229b-230b), the manuscript was completed on the last Friday of July in the year 1238, 1268, or 1288 CE, in the 'Monastery of the Bear' founded on the slopes of Mount Qardu.² The commentary itself consists of five *mēmre* on the various liturgical services: the first on the ferial Evening Service, the second on the ferial Morning Service, the third on the Evening and Night Services on Sundays, the fourth on the Morning Service on Sundays, and the fifth on the Service of the Mysteries.³

B: The Author

The author of this liturgical commentary is a monk named Gabrī'ēyl bar Lipāh d-Bēyt Qaṭrāyē – Gabriel the son of

¹ The manuscript is listed in Margoliouth's *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni MSS. in the British Museum Acquired since 1873* (London: Longmans & Co., 1899), 15, and Margoliouth notes that the folios are quarto.

² Brock, 'Gabriel of Qatar's Commentary', 198–99. The uncertainty in exact dating is due to the damage in the manuscript.

³ Brock, 'Gabriel of Qatar's Commentary', 201–205. Brock also provides here an extremely helpful listing of the chapter titles of each *mēmra*.

Lipāh from the region of Qatar.⁴ Unfortunately, very little is known about the author himself, beyond his place of origin and his patronymic. Worse yet, numerous East Syriac personages named ‘Gabriel’ are associated with seventh-century Qatar.⁵ Due to the likelihood of overlap between

⁴ The name is found in the colophon on fol. 229b: [Ra]bban Gabrīʾēyl Qaṭrāyā d-metīdā [bar] Lipāh – ‘our master Gabriel the Qatari surnamed the son of Lipāh’. See also Sarhad Y. Hermiz JAMMO, ‘Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire sur la liturgie chaldéenne’, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 32 (1966): 40. Just as ‘Mar’ (literally ‘my lord’) is a title of respect for saints and bishops in the Syriac traditions, ‘Rabban’ (literally ‘our master’) is a monastic title of honor. Of course, this does not prove that Gabriel was a monk, but merely suggests that the scribe of the current manuscript believed him to be a monk. Regardless, his descriptions of monastic life in *Mēmṛā* 2, Chapter 13, show that Gabriel was quite familiar with several East Syriac monasteries of his day. As for his origin, Brock points out that the seventh-century region of Qatar was significantly larger than the small peninsula occupied by the State of Qatar today and that the region was home to a significant Christian population between the fourth and ninth centuries (‘Syriac Writers from Beth Qatrāye’, *Aram* 11–12 (1999–2000): 85, 94; ‘Gabriel of Beth Qatrāye as a Witness to Syriac Intellectual Life c. 600 CE’, in *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century*, ed. Mario KOZAH et al., *Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies* 38 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), 155, 157 note 6).

⁵ References to these persons are found in Rahmani, various East Syriac exegetical commentaries, ‘Abdišo’ of Nisibis (who mentions three separate Gabriels), and at least two other manuscripts. For more on the identity of Gabriel, see below and, for a good overview, Brock, ‘Writers’, 89–90. Carlson, for example, notes that in Isaac Šḥadnāyā’s ‘Poem on God’s Government’, there are two quotations attributed to Gabriel Qaṭrāyā, one quotation attributed to Rabban Gabriel Qaṭrāyā, and three attributed simply to Qaṭrāyā. However, none of the quotations or paraphrases within Šḥadnāyā’s work can be associated with parts of the liturgical commentary of Gabriel that I have so far encountered. (‘The Future of the Past: The Reception of Syriac Qatrāye Authors in Late Medieval Iraq’, in *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century*, ed. Mario KOZAH et al., *Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies* 38 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), 169–93.)

these persons, various scholars of Syriac literature have attempted to identify these figures with one another.⁶ Most recently, Brock has conveniently collated these theories, concluding convincingly that the Gabriel who wrote the commentary at hand is unlikely to have been the same Gabriel as any of the other like-named persons.⁷ It is also worth noting that another seventh-century author from Qatar, Abraham d-Bēyt Qaṭrāyē, whose liturgical commentary is substantially an abridgement of Gabriel's⁸, shares with Gabriel the patronymic 'bar Lipāh', but the relationship between Abraham and Gabriel themselves is unknown.⁹

⁶ Anton BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn: Weber, 1922), 200–201, <http://archive.org/details/geschichtedersyr00baumuoft> ; Addaï SCHER, 'Étude supplémentaire sur les écrivains syriens orientaux', *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* II, 1 (11), no. 1 (1906): 17–18; Jammo, 'Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire', 42; André DE HALLEUX, 'Gabriel Qaṭraya', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1981), 563–64; Lucas VAN ROMPAY, 'Introduction', in *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32 du manuscrit (olim) Diyarbakir 22*, trans. Lucas VAN ROMPAY, CSCO 484 / *Scriptores Syri* 206 (Lovanii: Peeters, 1986), xxvii–xxxii.

⁷ Brock, 'Writers', 89–92.

⁸ Sarhad Y. Hermiz JAMMO, *La structure de la Messe chaldéenne*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 207 (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1979), 49. The text and Latin translation of Abraham's commentary can be found in Abraham bar Lipah, 'Interpretatio Officiorum', in *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta*, ed. and trans. R. Hugh CONNOLLY, vol. II, CSCO Syr. II, 92 (Parisiis, 1913), <http://archive.org/details/expositioofficio02geor> ; and very recently, Kozah has provided a newly edited text and English translation in 'Abraham Qaṭraya bar Lipah's Commentary on the Liturgical Offices', in *An Anthology of Syriac Writers from Qatar in the Seventh Century*, ed. Mario KOZAH et al., *Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies* 39 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015), 97–146.

⁹ Brock, 'Gabriel of Qatar's Commentary', 199–200.

Though the manuscript was copied in the thirteenth century, Jammo argues that its contents can be dated to the early seventh century because the author refers to Šubḥālmāran, the Metropolitan of Karkā d-Bēyṭ Slok (fl. 612, d. ca. 620¹⁰), but never to Išo‘yahb III or his reforms; Brock similarly argues that Šubḥālmāran must have been alive at the time of Gabriel’s writing because he quotes Šubḥālmāran in the present tense but calls him ‘holy’, which implies that he was elderly.¹¹ To give a bit more context, Gabriel, in fol. 109a, writes concerning the fact that two *marmyātā* are served in the Evening Service instead of one, ‘the holy Šubḥālmāran, Metropolitan of Karkā da-Slok, testifies concerning this, for he commands that two *marmyātā* be served every day...’. Jammo’s reasoning that Gabriel is writing during or after the time of Šubḥālmāran is sound, but his suggestion that he is writing before the time of Išo‘yahb III is an argument from silence, which is not a strong one. Brock’s argument seems stronger, since Gabriel usually uses the perfect tense to refer to figures in the past. However, he occasionally uses the present tense with historical figures. A few examples are ‘[King] David ... says’ (fol. 48a), ‘the holy Gregory ... of Nazianzus ... says’ (fol. 96a), ‘the blessed Evagrius ... says’ (fol. 96b-97a), and ‘the blessed Paul ... says’

¹⁰ David J. LANE, ‘A Nestorian Creed: The Creed of Šubḥalmaran’, in *V Symposium Syriacum 1988: Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 29-31 Août 1988*, ed. René LAVENANT, OCA 236 (Roma: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990), 156; David J. LANE, ‘Introduction’, in *The Book of Gifts*, by Šubḥalmaran, trans. David J. LANE, CSCO 613 / *Scriptores Syri* 237 (Lovanii: Peeters, 2004), 8.

¹¹ Jammo, ‘Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire’, 42; Sebastian P. BROCK, ‘The Origins of the Qanona “Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal” According to Gabriel of Qatar (Early 7th Century)’, *The Harp: A Review of Syriac, Oriental and Ecumenical Studies* 21 (2006): 179.

(fol. 209b). Since Gabriel is surely not implying that any of these figures is alive at the time of his writing, the phrase ‘the holy Šubḥālmāran ... commands’ is likewise no guarantee that its subject is still alive. Nevertheless, since there is no evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to accept that Gabriel *probably* wrote in the first part of the seventh century, before the reforms of Išo‘yahb III. Jammo asserts, in addition, that the author of the liturgical commentary at hand is the same person as a Gabriel Qaṭrāyā who edited a manuscript of the New Testament in 615 in Nisibis, but Brock is convincing in pointing out that there is insufficient evidence to accept such an exact identification and dating.¹²

C: Gabriel’s Historical, Political, and Ecclesiastical Context

It is worth noting that the early seventh century was a period of momentous events for the Church of the East, situated, as it was, in the Persian Empire. The first three decades (603-628) were dominated by a devastating war between the Persian and Byzantine Empires. The Church of the East was sufficiently eager to demonstrate its loyalties to its Sassanian rulers that in 604, Catholicos Sabrišo⁶ marched along with Shah Khosrau II at the head of the Persian armies in their campaign against the eastern Roman Empire.¹³

¹² Jammo, ‘Gabriel Qatrāya et son commentaire’, 42; Brock, ‘Writers’, 91.

¹³ David WILMSHURST, *The Martyred Church: A History of the Church of the East* (London: East & West Publishing, 2011), 63; W. A WIGRAM, *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church or the Church of the Sassanid Persian Empire, 100-640 A.D.* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1910), 224; Dietmar W. WINKLER, ‘The Age of the Sassanians’, in *The Church of the*

Moreover, for much of this period (from the death of Catholicos Gregory of Prāt d-Mayšān in 608 until the election of Išo'yahb II (of Gdālā) in 628), the see of the Catholicos was empty, since the Persian Shah, due to disagreements with the leadership of the Church, refused to permit the election of a Catholicos; this vacancy, as Wigram puts it, 'meant infinite disorder and inconvenience' in the life of the Church of the East.¹⁴

In any case, the conclusion of hostilities between the two empires led to a period of good relations between the Byzantine and East Syriac Churches – so much so that, according to the *Chronicle of Se'ert*, while Catholicos Išo'yahb II was in the Byzantine Empire in 630 on an embassy of peace from the new Persian Empress regnant Boran, the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius received communion from Išo'yahb II not once, but twice.¹⁵ The second time, not only did the emperor,

East: A Concise History, by Wilhelm BAUM and Dietmar W. WINKLER, trans. Miranda G. HENRY (London & New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 37.

¹⁴ Wigram, *History of the Assyrian Church*, 250–51; Wilmshurst, *The Martyred Church*, 65; Winkler, 'Sassanians', 38, 40.

¹⁵ Bernard FLUSIN, 'Héraclius et Ishōyahb', in *Saint Anastase de Perse et l'histoire de Palestine au début du VIIe siècle*, vol. II: Commentaire (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1992), 324. This change in stance of the East Syriac Church toward the Byzantines is not that surprising when one considers that the common element is loyalty to the Persians: When the latter were at war with the Byzantines, the Church of the East supported the war effort; when the Persians sought peace with the Byzantines, the Church supported the peace effort. Moreover, as Flusin notes, not only was there already a long history of bishops from the East Syriac Church serving as ambassadors for Persian shahs, but Išo'yahb II also had two clear motives for engaging in this mission: (1) to strengthen relations with the winning side of the recent war, and (2) to seek to combat the rising tide of Miaphysitism. However, Željko PAŠA, in his fascinating presentation, 'Christological Agreement between Melkites and Nestorians in 630 AD', at the 2017 ARAM Society Conference on

‘all his patriarchs, his bishops, and all those of his court’ receive communion ‘from the hand’ of the catholicos, but Heraclius even permitted Išo‘yahb II to skip the mention of Cyril of Alexandria in the reading of the diptychs; afterwards, Išo‘yahb II wrote a profession of faith for Heraclius that he and his religious advisors all approved.¹⁶ (This ecclesial accord was short-lived, however; in exchange for omitting the commemoration of Cyril of Alexandria, Išo‘yahb II had also omitted the names of the three Greek Doctors of the Church of the East, and this led to strong resistance to his ecumenical stance when he returned home.¹⁷)

Perhaps most important, from a historical and political perspective, is the rise of Islam. The region of Bēyṭ Qaṭrāyē (which had been home to Christians of the Church of

Melkite Christianity, called into question the historicity of this meeting between Heraclius and Išo‘yahb II. As such, this entire incident must be treated with caution. I very much hope that Paša’s paper will be published in the acts of the conference and that it will shed further light on this event and on historical relations between the Church of Constantinople and the Church of the East.

¹⁶ Ibid., 324. Mango finds it rather strange that Heraclius, who was concerned with healing the Chalcedonian-Miaphysite rift, would publicly accept the faith of a Catholicos of the Church of the East (a Church that was, after all, even more dyophysite than the Chalcedonians) as orthodox. However, Flusin observes that Heraclius supported Monothelitism as a compromise between Chalcedonian and Miaphysite Christologies. In fact, there is an overlap between Monothelite Christology and that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the theologian *par excellence* in the East Syriac tradition, in that Theodore argued that Christ had only one will. It seems to be this aspect of Theodore’s Christology that allowed Heraclius and Išo‘yahb II to reach an agreement. (Cyril MANGO, ‘Héraclius, Šahrvaraz et la Vraie Croix’, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985): 115; Flusin, ‘Héraclius et Ishōyahb’, 325–326.)

¹⁷ Mango, ‘Héraclius, Šahrvaraz et la Vraie Croix’, 115; Flusin, ‘Héraclius et Ishōyahb’, 326.

the East since the fourth century¹⁸), along with the rest of the Arabian Peninsula, had already come under the political control of the Muslim Arabs, more or less, by the time of Muhammad's death in 632. Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the Persian capital and the see of the Catholicos of the Church of the East, fell to the Muslim armies in 635¹⁹, with the rest of the empire succumbing in 652²⁰, shortly after the liturgical reformer, Catholicos Išo'yahb III, began his pontificate in 649. This political upheaval obviously had a disruptive impact on the life of the Church of the East as whole, and one wonders whether there is any sort of causal relationship between the rise of Islam and the liturgical changes that Išo'yahb III made.

Finally, in the realm of ecclesiastical politics, the Church of the East witnessed a schism that may have affected Gabriel, given his location: In the mid-seventh century, the metropolitan bishop of Rev Ardashir, Šem'on, joined by the rest of the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Fars, declared themselves to be independent of the jurisdiction of the catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.²¹ (This may have been originally due to political circumstances with the fall of Seleucia-Ctesiphon to the Arabs in 635, but when Fars too was lost by the Sassanian Empire in 648/649, Šem'on may have been uninterested in returning under the control of the catholicos.²²) Since Qatar belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Fars, the monks of Bēyṭ Qaṭrāyē were being put

¹⁸ Brock, 'Gabriel Qatraya as a Witness', 155.

¹⁹ Brock, 'Writers', 86.

²⁰ Ian GILLMAN and Hans-Joachim KLIMKEIT, *Christians in Asia before 1500* (Richmond, UK: Curzon, 1999), 115, 127.

²¹ Brock, 'Writers', 85.

²² Ibid., 86.

under pressure by the bishops of the province to cut off ties to the catholicos, in support of the bishops.²³ Išo'yahb III died c. 659, and the schism was healed in or before 676; by this time, the see of Bēyṭ Qaṭrāyē had become a metropolitan diocese, which was perhaps a concession to persuade them to switch their loyalty from the metropolitan bishop of Rev Ardashir back to the catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon.²⁴ Given that Gabriel was writing in the first half of the seventh century, and especially since he was a monk, this schism probably had an impact on him.

Overall, however, it is unfortunate that we do not know Gabriel's exact dates, since this would help us understand how he was affected by these events.

²³ Ibid., 86–87.

²⁴ Ibid., 87–88.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Studies on Gabriel have focused primarily on his commentary on the Eucharist. Within this area, scholars have tended to have two major interests: first, the information that Gabriel's commentary can provide about whether or not the Anaphora of Addai and Mari ever contained an explicit Institution Narrative, and second, Gabriel's theology of Eucharistic consecration. Far fewer scholars have written about Gabriel's commentaries on the services of the Liturgy of the Hours, even though four out of the five *mēmre* of his commentary are devoted to these services. This literature review will first provide an overview of editions and translations of Gabriel's commentary, followed by a summary of the discussion about the identity of Gabriel himself. The review will then proceed to look at the scholarship surrounding his Eucharistic commentary and his interpretations of the Liturgy of the Hours, concluding with an examination of works that discuss other aspects of his liturgical commentary.

A: Editions and Translations of Gabriel's Commentary

Jammo was the first to give a description of the contents of the five *mēmre* in 1966, as well as a Latin translation of Gabriel's passage on the Eucharist (fol. 199a-200a)¹; Jammo is also the first, in 1979, to provide a translation, again in Latin, of Gabriel's entire commentary on the Service of the Mysteries, as contained in his *Mēmra* 5, CC.

¹ Jammo, 'Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire', 40.

1-2 (fol. 182b-211b)². Three English translations of Gabriel's Eucharistic commentary (*Mēmṛā* 1, C. 2) have been made: by Podipara in 1977³; by Brock in 2003⁴, who is also the first to provide an edited Syriac text of that chapter and a translation of the chapter titles found in all five *mēmṛē*; and, most recently, by Mathew in 2012⁵. Beyond Gabriel's commentary on the Service of the Mysteries, Jammo in 1967 translated selected sections from *Mēmṛā* 1 and 3, on the ferial and Sunday Evening Services, into Latin, but the discourses as a whole remain untranslated.⁶ Likewise, Alencherry in 2012 translated excerpts, but not the entirety, of Gabriel's commentary on the ferial and Sunday Morning Services (*Mēmṛā* 2 and 4) into English.⁷

B: Literature about the Identity of Gabriel

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are numerous authors named 'Gabriel' from seventh-century Qatar. Several scholars have attempted to make sense of the

² Jammo, *Structure de la Messe*, 29–48.

³ In G. VAVANIKUNNEL, ed., *Homilies and Interpretation on the Holy Qurbana (Theodore of Mopsuestia, Narsai, Gabriel Qatraya Bar Lipah)* (Changanacherry, 1977). I was unable to consult this work due to its rarity.

⁴ Brock, 'Gabriel of Qatar's Commentary'.

⁵ Jean MATHEW, *Structure and Theology of East Syriac Qurbana According to Gabriel Qatraya: A Liturgical and Theological Analysis of Gabriel Qatraya's Commentary on the Office of the Mysteries*, OIRSI 368 (Vadavathoor, Kottayam, Kerala: Oriental Institute of Religious Studies India, 2012).

⁶ Sarhad Y. Hermiz JAMMO, 'L'office du soir chaldéen au temps de Gabriel Qatraya', *L'Orient Syrien* 12 (1967): 187–210.

⁷ Joseph ALENCHERRY, *The Economy of Creation in the Morning Service (Ṣapṛā) of the East Syriac Tradition*, Dissertationes Series Theologica 38 (Roma: EDUSC, 2012).

multiplicity of Gabriels. The most useful summary and synthesis of this discussion can be found in Brock's 'Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye' (1999-2000), but the following is a description of the progression of thoughts on the topic.

As early as 1906, Scher notes that both 'Abdišo' of Nisibis (+1318) and J. S. ASSEMANI (+1786) describe two Gabriels – one called Aryā (i.e., 'the Lion') and the other called Qaṭrāyā (i.e., 'the Qatari').⁸ Scher argues that the two are the same person because (1) Gabriel Aryā was from Qatar, (2) both Gabriels seem to have written about Scripture, and (3) the thirteenth-century 'Interpreter of the Turks' (whom Brock identifies as Seharbokht⁹), in his 'Garden of Delights', identifies the two Gabriels with each other.¹⁰ Scher also notes that, according to 'Abdišo', Babai the Great (+628) wrote discourses about a Gabriel.¹¹ Finally, according to a book of epitomes of synodical canons in a manuscript that existed at the time of Scher's writing in the library of Se'ert (Baumstark later identifies this manuscript with the fifteenth-century Se'ert 67 by Gabriel of Baṣrā¹²), Gabriel Qaṭrāyā was a teacher of the School of Maḥozē (Seleucia), and his students included the future patriarchs Ḥnānišo' (686-700) and Abā bar Brikṣebyānēh (742-753).¹³

Baumstark in 1922 has a very short note on Gabriel of Qatar; drawing on Scher, Baumstark indicates that Gabriel was the teacher, at the theological School of Seleucia, of the

⁸ Scher, 'Étude', 17.

⁹ Brock, 'Writers', 90.

¹⁰ Scher, 'Étude', 17-18.

¹¹ Ibid., 18.

¹² Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 235; Brock, 'Writers', 90.

¹³ Scher, 'Étude', 18.

future Catholicos Ḥnānišo^c and that he wrote a work about the unity of divinity and humanity in Christ, a book of answers to questions of faith, a five-part book about the ferial and festal services of the Church (which is the topic of the study at hand), and a commentary of the Bible.¹⁴ Like Scher, Baumstark sees the author of these works as a single individual, whom he identifies with Gabriel the Lion.¹⁵ Ortiz de Urbina in 1965 draws exclusively on Baumstark but indicates only that Gabriel taught the future Catholicos Ḥnānišo^c at the School of Seleucia and that the same Gabriel seems to have written the five-part commentary on the liturgy.¹⁶

Jammo, the first to examine the manuscript of Gabriel's liturgical commentary closely, transcribes and translates into Latin, in 1966, the portion of the colophon that contains Gabriel's name: 'Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya et le surnom de (Bar) Lip(h)ah'.¹⁷ After describing Scher's and Baumstark's thoughts on Gabriel's identity, Jammo notes that 'bar Lipāh' is the surname not only of Gabriel, but also of Abraham, whose liturgical commentary is remarkably similar to Gabriel's.¹⁸ Jammo goes on to argue (1) that Gabriel lived in the early seventh century, during or after the time of Šubḥālmāran, bishop of Karkā da-Slōk, because Gabriel quotes him on fol. 109r, (2) that Gabriel lived before the reign of Išo'yahb III, because he never refers to his liturgical

¹⁴ Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 200–201.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Ignatius ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Patrologia Syriaca*, Altera editio emendata et aucta (Romae: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1965), 149.

¹⁷ Jammo, 'Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire', 40.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 40–41.

reforms, and (3) that this Gabriel is the same as the Gabriel who wrote the colophon of the New Testament manuscript, cod. Brit. Mus. Add. 14,471, in 615 AD.¹⁹ Jammo offers no further evidence for his third assertion, beyond chronological proximity. (For a discussion about these arguments, see the previous chapter.)

De Halleux, writing in 1981, examines the arguments on this topic made by the scholars that preceded him, and he comes to the conclusion that there are, in fact, five separate authors named Gabriel in seventh-century Qatar: (1) a teacher of the school of Maḥozē (Seleucia-Ctesiphon) who, according to the manuscript in Seʿert mentioned by Scher, taught the future patriarchs Ḥnānišoʿ I and Abā II; (2) the author who, according to chapter 101 of the *Catalogue* of ʿAbdišoʿ of Nisibis, wrote a ‘Discourse on the [Christological] Union’ and a ‘solution of questions about the affair of faith’; (3) an author, according to chapter 66 of ʿAbdišoʿ’*s Catalogue*, about whom or against whom Babai the Great wrote his ‘Book of Causes’; (4) the author of an unedited commentary (the one examined in this study), in five books, about the liturgy, who, according to Jammo, seems to be before the reform of Išoʿyahb III; and (5) an exegete mentioned in two manuscripts (eighth century and ninth/tenth century), in Bar Bahlul (second half of tenth century), in the commentaries of Išoʿdad of Merw on the Old and New Testaments (circa 850), and in lists of ‘orthodox doctors’ found in several manuscripts.²⁰ De Halleux also notes that, according to an anonymous twelfth-century life of Isaac of Nineveh, this fifth Gabriel is related to Isaac of Nineveh and that, according to

¹⁹ Ibid., 42.

²⁰ de Halleux, ‘Gabriel Qaṭraya’, 563.

the thirteenth-century 'Garden of Delights', this same Gabriel is identified with Gabriel Aryā, who, according to 'Abdišo', is a relative of Isaac.²¹ De Halleux thus takes a stand contrary to many of his predecessors, arguing that these multiple Gabriels are not the same person, with the exception of Gabriel the Lion, who, de Halleux believes, is the same as Gabriel the exegete and Gabriel the relative of Isaac of Nineveh. Van Rompay, in his examination of the 'Garden of Delights', comes to the same conclusion as de Halleux: that Gabriel the Lion, Gabriel the exegete, and Gabriel the relative of Isaac are all the same person; van Rompay argues, in addition, that this single Gabriel is the same as the teacher of future patriarchs Hnānišo' and Abā bar Brikṣebyānēh.²²

Finally, Brock examines all of these arguments in 1999-2000. His assessment is in agreement with that of van Rompay – that the exegete, the relative of Isaac, the teacher of future patriarchs, and 'the Lion' are all the same person –, and Brock argues furthermore that the other authors named Gabriel are all separate personages.²³ Though Brock accepts Jammo's dating of Gabriel to the early seventh century²⁴, Brock rejects Jammo's identification of Gabriel the liturgical commentator with Gabriel the author of the colophon of the New Testament manuscript in 615, as having insufficient evidence.²⁵ Thus, according to Brock, there are four writers named 'Gabriel' in seventh-century Qatar: (1) the Gabriel who wrote biblical commentaries in the second half of the

²¹ Ibid.

²² van Rompay, 'Introduction', xxxii.

²³ Brock, 'Writers', 91-92.

²⁴ Jammo, 'Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire', 42.

²⁵ Brock, 'Origins of the Qanona', 179; Brock, 'Writers', 92.

seventh century (i.e., the exegete, relative of Isaac, and teacher of future patriarchs, called ‘the Lion’), (2) the Gabriel who wrote the commentary on the liturgy in the first half of the seventh century (the commentary discussed in this study), (3) the Gabriel who collated a New Testament manuscript in 614/615, and (4) the Gabriel who wrote a Christological work ‘on the Union’ in the first half of the seventh century (*against* whom Babai wrote his ‘Book of Causes’).²⁶ What is relevant for our work is that there are no convincing arguments that indicate that the Gabriel who wrote the liturgical commentary at hand can be easily identified with any of the other persons named Gabriel in seventh-century Bēyṭ Qaṭrāyē.

C: Scholarship about Gabriel’s Eucharistic Commentary

C.1: General Eucharistic Considerations

Brock’s 2003 article on Gabriel’s Eucharistic commentary includes both the transcription and translation into English of *Mēmṛā* 5, Chapter 2.²⁷ The study highlights both the uniqueness of the manuscript in which the commentary is found and the importance of the commentary itself, given its composition before the liturgical reforms of Išo‘yahb III.²⁸ Brock clarifies certain points about the production of the manuscript: While Jammo had correctly indicated that it might have been produced in 1238 CE or

²⁶ Brock, ‘Writers’, 92.

²⁷ Brock, ‘Gabriel of Qatar’s Commentary’.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 197–98.

1238 CE²⁹, it could also have been written in 1288 CE³⁰. Moreover, while Jammo had simply indicated that the location of production was ‘the Monastery of Deba at the foot of Mount Kola’³¹, Brock points out that a more accurate translation reveals that the manuscript was produced in the Monastery of the Bear, ‘on the slopes of the mountain of the Ark’ (i.e., Mount Qardu) – a known monastery associated with Joseph Ḥazzāyā in the eighth century and described by Išo’dnah in the ninth³².

Along with listing several other authors who have discussed this particular manuscript, Brock points out that while the liturgical commentaries of Abraham bar Lipāh and of John bar Zo’bi (twelfth/thirteenth century) and the *Order of Ecclesiastical Judgments* of ‘Abdišo’ of Nisibis do draw on Gabriel’s commentary, the commentary of Ps.-George of Arbela does not seem to do so.³³ (In his translation, Brock also facilitates the demonstration of Abraham’s dependence on Gabriel by placing text common to both authors in italics.³⁴) Finally, before proceeding to his translation and transcription, Brock discusses the role of images in the

²⁹ Jammo, ‘Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire’, 39–40.

³⁰ Brock, ‘Gabriel of Qatar’s Commentary’, 198.

³¹ Jammo, ‘Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire’, 40.

³² Brock, ‘Gabriel of Qatar’s Commentary’, 198–99.

³³ Ibid., 199–201. It should be noted, though, that Ps.-George does refer to the commentary of Abraham bar Lipāh in several places (and that Ps.-George nearly always refers to Abraham as ‘blessed’) (R. Hugh CONNOLLY, ed., *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta*, trans. R. Hugh CONNOLLY, vol. 1, CSCO Syr. II, 91 (Parisii, 1911), translation pp. 32, 158, 171, 215, 224, <http://archive.org/details/expositioofficio01geor>).

³⁴ Brock, ‘Gabriel of Qatar’s Commentary’, 200.

Church of the East, based on the evidence in Gabriel's commentary³⁵; for more on this, see below.

Brock's article in 2003 is complemented by one he had written nearly twenty years earlier: Already in 1986, Brock had identified an early anonymous Syriac liturgical commentary that served as a basis for Gabriel's interpretations of several elements in the Eucharistic liturgy.³⁶ Attributed, in the West Syriac tradition, to John Chrysostom but dated by Brock to the early fifth century, this anonymous commentary later became influential for subsequent commentaries in both East and West Syriac liturgical traditions, and even among the Melkites.³⁷ This early commentary provides a typological interpretation of the Baptismal and Eucharistic liturgies³⁸, a method that Gabriel follows as well. In fact, several elements in Gabriel's Eucharistic commentary can be traced directly back to the early anonymous commentary (e.g., the altar as the tomb of Christ, the veil as the stone at the entrance of the tomb, and the deacons as the angels who were seen at his head and feet within the tomb).³⁹ In the East Syriac tradition, Ps.-Narsai's Homily 17 on the Eucharist draws on this early commentary, and its interpretations also made their way, via Gabriel's commentary, to the commentaries of Abraham bar Lipāh and of John bar Zo^cbi.⁴⁰ In the West Syriac tradition, the anonymous commentary was integrated into the Baptismal

³⁵ Ibid., 200–201.

³⁶ Sebastian P. Brock, 'An Early Syriac Commentary on the Liturgy', *Journal of Theological Studies* (New Series) 37, no. 2 (October 1986): 387.

³⁷ Ibid., 387, 402.

³⁸ Ibid., 391–94.

³⁹ Ibid., 402.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 387, 402.

and Eucharistic commentaries of George of the Arabs (eighth century), and it also influenced (both directly and via George's commentary) the liturgical commentaries of later authors such as Moses bar Kipo (ninth century), Dionysius bar Šalibi (twelfth century), and Jacob bar Šakko of Bartelli (thirteenth century).⁴¹

Jammo's goal in his 1979 work is to examine the structure of the Eucharistic Service in the East Syriac tradition, providing a theological interpretation of the elements of this service.⁴² To this end, he examines numerous East Syriac commentators and provides a Latin translation of Chapters One and Two of Gabriel's fifth *mēmra* (fol. 182b-211b)⁴³. Strangely, Jammo's examination terminates with the Creed, before the beginning of the anaphora. In any case, with regard to Gabriel specifically, Jammo mostly summarizes the information that Gabriel's commentary provides about the structure of the service and about each element of the service.

Mathew's scope in her 2012 work is similar to that of Jammo's: She seeks to explain the structure and theology of the East Syriac *Qurbānā* through the lens of Gabriel's commentary and to see what connections his commentary on the Eucharist has with earlier and later East Syriac commentaries (those of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ps.-Narsai, Abraham bar Lipāh, John bar Zo'bi, Ps.-George of Arbela, 'Abdišo' of Nisibis, and Timothy II).⁴⁴ After discussing the

⁴¹ Ibid., 403.

⁴² Jammo, *Structure de la Messe*.

⁴³ Ibid., 29-49.

⁴⁴ Mathew, *Structure and Theology of East Syriac Qurbana*, 1-2.

manuscript and its author⁴⁵, providing an English translation of Gabriel's Eucharistic commentary⁴⁶, and presenting the structure of the Eucharistic Service as revealed in the commentary of Gabriel⁴⁷, she examines the theological meanings that Gabriel assigns to the various elements of the service⁴⁸, and she concludes by discussing the theological themes (e.g., of anamnesis, glorification, sanctification, and personhood) that are important in Gabriel's understanding of the Eucharist⁴⁹.

Finally, mention should be made of Macomber, who in his 1973 discussion of the Liturgy of the Word in the East Syriac tradition, examines several commentaries on the Eucharist, including that of Gabriel.⁵⁰ Macomber's focus is on how these commentators understand the Eucharistic liturgy, and the Liturgy of the Word specifically. Gabriel's commentary views the entire *Quddāšā* as symbolizing the earthly life of Christ, and the Liturgy of the Word as typologically depicting the time from his Incarnation until his death.⁵¹ Macomber contrasts this method of interpretation with that of the ninth-century *Expositio* of Ps.-George of Arbela, for whom the nave symbolizes this world, the *bēmā* symbolizes Jerusalem, and the sanctuary symbolizes

⁴⁵ Ibid., 7–46.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 21–42.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 47–127.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 128–99.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 200–300.

⁵⁰ William F. MACOMBER, 'The Liturgy of the Word According to the Commentators of the Chaldean Mass', in *The Word in the World: Essays in Honor of Frederick L. Moriarty, S.J.*, ed. Richard J. CLIFFORD and George W. MACRAE (Cambridge, Mass.: Weston College Press, 1973), 179–90.

⁵¹ Ibid., 182.

heaven, and for whom each liturgical movement from one of these locations within the church building to another thus points to a movement from one cosmological location to another (e.g., the procession of the Gospel from the sanctuary to the *bēmā* symbolizes the Incarnation of Christ and his journeying to Jerusalem).⁵² Macomber concludes by affirming that though these methods of interpretation are contradictory and often arbitrary, they permit a multiplicity of insights into the salvific Paschal Mystery celebrated in the liturgy.⁵³

C.2: Gabriel's Theology of Consecration

In 1966, Jammo, in the first serious look at Gabriel's commentary, deals specifically with Gabriel's comments on the Lord's Supper. After discussing the manuscript, giving a one-line description of each of the *mēmṛē* and of the chapters in the fifth *mēmṛā*, and arguing that the author is the same as the Gabriel who collated a manuscript in 615, Jammo provides a transcription and a Latin translation of folios 199a-200a⁵⁴, in which Gabriel provides an overview of what

⁵² Ibid., 182, 185-86.

⁵³ Ibid., 187.

⁵⁴ For the convenience of the reader, the following is my translation of the passage in question, in fol. 199a-200a of Gabriel's commentary: 'Up until now, the Church depicts, through her types, a symbol of the death and burial of Christ, and henceforth, the priest approaches in order to depict a type of the resurrection, through the narration of the holy words from his mouth and in the sign of the cross in his hand. Just as our Lord Jesus Christ blessed and gave thanks and spoke when he handed over these mysteries to them, so also the Church, according to his commandment, appoints one priest to be the one who blesses and gives thanks, in the

the Eucharistic consecration symbolizes.⁵⁵ In his analysis, Jammo notes the similarity between this passage and that written by Abraham bar Lipāh, except that while Gabriel's description includes both an Institution Narrative and an Epiclesis, Abraham's does not explicitly quote the Words of Institution.⁵⁶ Jammo proceeds to compare Gabriel's description of the consecration with those of other East Syriac commentators: John bar Zo'bi, Ps.-George of Arbela, 'Abdišo' of Nisibis, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ps.-Narsai.⁵⁷ Jammo's conclusion is two-fold: First, Gabriel, Abraham, and John all attribute equal importance to the Words of Institution and to the Epiclesis, while 'Abdišo' and Ps.-George are less clear, and while Theodore and Ps.-Narsai seem to emphasize the Epiclesis over the Words of Institution.⁵⁸ Second, it is clear that Gabriel was commenting on an anaphora that had the Institution Narrative, but it is not clear that this anaphora was that of Addai and Mari; however,

likeness of Christ our Lord, making known, through the narration, the words that our Lord says: "This is my body that is broken for you for the forgiveness of sins." And after the priest narrates and blesses the bread and the wine, from that point, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, which descends, they become the Body and Blood of Christ, not by nature, but by faith and in reality, for Christ does not have two bodies, one in heaven and one on earth. Rather, just as a king and his image do not constitute two kings, and (just as) the humanity that he took from us does not make two sons but one Son of God who was united to the humanity that is from us, so also this body with that one in heaven are one [body] of Christ. Therefore, it is right for the priest to accomplish this awesome service with fear and great care, knowing that he stands for Christ in that moment, blessing and giving thanks.'

⁵⁵ Jammo, 'Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire', 39-43.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 43-45.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 45-51.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 51.

since Ibn al-Ṭayyib (eleventh century) says that Išo‘yahb III abbreviated the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, Jammo puts forth the possibility that this anaphora originally existed with an Institution Narrative and that Gabriel was commenting on the original version of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari.⁵⁹

In a 1981 article, Kilmartin, like Jammo, focuses on Gabriel’s treatment of the Eucharist, and in particular on his Eucharistic theology.⁶⁰ After summarizing Jammo’s and other scholars’ views on the role of the Institution Narrative and Epiclesis in the East Syriac theological tradition, Kilmartin himself concludes that only Gabriel, John bar Zo‘bi (who draws on Gabriel), and ‘Abdišo‘ of Nisibis see both the Epiclesis and the Institution Narrative as consecratory; all other East Syriac writers attribute a consecratory role

⁵⁹ Ibid., 52. Since 1994, however, Jammo has argued that the Institution Narrative is not an original part of the Anaphora of Addai & Mari (‘The Quddasha of the Apostles Addai and Mari’, in *First Non-Official Consultation on Dialogue Within the Syriac Tradition*, ed. Alfred STIRNEMANN and Gerhard WILFLINGER, Syriac Dialogue 1 (Vienna: Pro Oriente, 1994), 175–81). See also Jammo’s ‘The Anaphora of the Apostles Addai and Mari: A Study of Structure and Historical Background’, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 68, no. 1 (2002): 5–35 and his ‘The Mesopotamian Anaphora of Addai and Mari: The Organic Dialectic between Its Apostolic Core and Euchological Growth’, in *The anaphoral genesis of the institution narrative in light of the anaphora of Addai and Mari: Acts of the International liturgy congress, Rome, 25–26 October 2011*, ed. Cesare GIRAUDO, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 295 (Rome: Edizioni Orientalia Christiana & Lilamé, 2013), 387–424. While there is certainly no unanimity on the topic, the scholarly consensus today is that the Anaphora of Addai and Mari did not originally contain a Narrative of Institution.

⁶⁰ Edward J. KILMARTIN, ‘John Chrysostom’s Influence on Gabriel Qaṭraya’s Theology of Eucharistic Consecration’, *Theological Studies* 42, no. 3 (September 1981): 444–57.

exclusively to the Epiclesis.⁶¹ Kilmartin also astutely observes that the unattributed source for two passages in Gabriel's commentary⁶² is Chrysostom's first version of his *Homily on the Betrayal of Judas* (1, 6).⁶³ Given the nearly unanimous stance of the East Syriac theological tradition regarding how the Eucharistic consecration occurs, Gabriel, suggests Kilmartin, would not have been willing to see both the Institution Narrative and the Epiclesis as consecratory, had he not been supported by a patristic source such as this homily of Chrysostom.⁶⁴

C.3: The Institution Narrative in the Anaphora of Addai and Mari

Webb's article in 1975 focuses, not primarily on Gabriel, but rather on the twelfth/thirteenth-century liturgical commentary of John bar Zo'bi. However, since John's commentary draws heavily on Gabriel's, Webb also explores Gabriel's commentary and seeks to investigate the

⁶¹ Ibid., 444–49.

⁶² The two passages are, 'And after the priest narrates and blesses the bread and the wine, from that point, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, which descends, they become the Body and Blood of Christ' (fol. 199b, my translation) and 'For, just as that blessing with which God blessed Adam and Eve, saying, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth", continues in all generations until eternity and is not impeded, so also that blessing with which our Lord blessed the bread and the wine and called them his Body and his Blood, continues in all generations until eternity and is not impeded' (fol. 204a, my translation).

⁶³ Kilmartin, 'Influence', 452–55.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 454.

anaphora upon which he was commenting.⁶⁵ Webb observes that only the commentaries of Gabriel and John, unlike other East Syriac liturgical commentaries, indicate explicitly that the priest, during the Eucharistic consecration, repeats the words that Christ said at the Last Supper; since Gabriel is clearly quoting from an anaphora with the Words of Institution, Webb thus concludes, like Jammo before him, that if Gabriel is describing the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, then this anaphora included an Institution Narrative in Gabriel's time.⁶⁶

Spinks in 1984, like the majority of authors who have examined Gabriel's commentary, is concerned primarily with his interpretation of the Eucharist and with what this can tell us about the anaphora Gabriel was using.⁶⁷ In particular, Spinks seeks to discover what Gabriel can reveal about whether the Anaphora of Addai and Mari originally had an Institution Narrative.⁶⁸ After summarizing other scholars' positions on the original presence or absence of an Institution Narrative in this anaphora, as well as Jammo's and Kilmartin's contributions to an understanding of Gabriel's theology of consecration⁶⁹, Spinks acknowledges that the commentary of Gabriel, as a whole, is sufficiently vague that

⁶⁵ Douglas WEBB, 'The Mimra on the Interpretation of the Mysteries by Rabban Johānnan bar Zo'bi, and its Symbolism', *Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales* 88, no. 3-4 (1975): 297-326.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁶⁷ Bryan D. SPINKS, 'Addai and Mari and the Institution Narrative: The Tantalising Evidence of Gabriel Qatraya', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 98, no. 1 (1984): 60-67.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁶⁹ Jammo, 'Gabriel Qatraya et son commentaire'; Kilmartin, 'Influence'.

it might be describing any of the East Syriac anaphoras.⁷⁰ Pointing to two instances of textual similarity between Gabriel's commentary and the Anaphora of Theodore⁷¹, Spinks concludes that either Gabriel is commenting on the Anaphora of Theodore, or, if he is commenting on the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, then its original Institution Narrative was very similar to the one in the Anaphora of Theodore⁷². In the end, however, Spinks concedes that while he has added detail to the question surrounding whether the Anaphora of Addai and Mari had an Institution Narrative, he has not proven anything.⁷³

Lang in 2005 also looks at the evidence from Gabriel and at the research of scholars who have studied Gabriel, in order to emphasize the importance of the Narrative of Institution in Gabriel's commentary.⁷⁴ Lang strangely argues that Gabriel's reference to the 'grace of the Holy Spirit', which comes down and through which the bread and wine 'become the Body and Blood of Christ' is not a reference to the epiclesis.⁷⁵ Regardless, Lang is forced to conclude, in line with other scholars, that there is no way to know which anaphora Gabriel was describing.⁷⁶

Finally, Russo in 2011, like the scholars above, turns to Gabriel in the context of the debate about whether the Anaphora of Addai and Mari is valid without an Institution

⁷⁰ Spinks, 'Tantalising', 61–64.

⁷¹ Ibid., 64.

⁷² Ibid., 66.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Uwe Michael LANG, 'Zum Einsetzungsbericht bei ostsyrischen Liturgiekommentatoren', *Oriens Christianus* 89 (2005): 70–73.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 71.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 72–73.

Narrative – and whether it might originally have had an Institution Narrative.⁷⁷ Russo's primary concern is to defend the appropriateness of the 2001 Vatican document ('Guidelines for Admission to the Eucharist between the Chaldean Church and the Assyrian Church of the East') recognizing the validity of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari, even without the Institution Narrative. Rather than contributing new information or arguments to the scholarship surrounding Gabriel, Russo simply responds to critics of the 'Guidelines' who use Gabriel as evidence that the Anaphora of Addai and Mari originally contained an Institution Narrative, by pointing out, correctly, that Gabriel's commentary cannot be used to prove this.⁷⁸

C.4: Iconography in the East Syriac Tradition

In Brock's 2003 article, beyond the points mentioned above, he highlights the importance of images in the Eucharistic commentary of Gabriel.⁷⁹ Dauvillier had already recognized in 1956 that Abraham bar Lipāh saw the presence of the icon of Christ, along with the Gospel and the cross, as a 'liturgical imperative' for the licit celebration of the Eucharist.⁸⁰ Parry likewise notes in 1996 that this insistence,

⁷⁷ Nicholas V. Russo, 'The Validity of the Anaphora of Addai and Mari: Critique of the Critiques', in *Issues in Eucharistic Praying in East and West: Essays in Liturgical and Theological Analysis*, ed. Maxwell E. JOHNSON (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2011), 21–62.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 40, 55.

⁷⁹ Brock, 'Gabriel of Qatar's Commentary', 200.

⁸⁰ J. DAUVILLIER, 'Quelques témoignages littéraires et archéologiques sur la présence et sur le culte des Images dans l'Ancienne Église Chaldéenne', *L'Orient Syrien* 1 (1956): 156.

in the seventh century, on the importance of the icon of Christ coincides neatly with the arrival of East Syriac Christianity in China in the year 635; in fact, the monument found in Sian-Fu describes how bishop Alopen arrived in China with religious texts and images, and this description of images in the Church of the East is shown to be not a literary embellishment, but rather a completely plausible detail, by the evidence of Abraham.⁸¹ Brock simply points out that Abraham received this imperative directly from Gabriel, thus strengthening the textual evidence for the use of icons in the seventh-century Church of the East.⁸² Finally, Teule, in 2007, makes the important point that the necessity of having an icon during the liturgy was apparently not removed by the reforms of Išō'yahb III, since Abraham, writing after these reforms, also mentions the icon as an essential element of the Eucharistic consecration.⁸³

⁸¹ Kenneth PARRY, 'Images in the Church of the East: The Evidence from Central Asia and China', in *The Church of the East: Life and Thought*, ed. J. F. COAKLEY and Kenneth PARRY, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 78:3 (John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1996), 153.

⁸² Brock, 'Gabriel of Qatar's Commentary', 200.

⁸³ Herman TEULE, 'The Veneration of Images in the East Syriac Tradition', in *Die Welt der Götterbilder*, ed. Brigitte R. M. GRONEBERG and Hermann SPIECKERMANN, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 376 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 332.

D: Scholarship about Gabriel's Commentary on the Liturgy of the Hours

D.1: Gabriel's Commentary on the Evening Service

Jammo in 1967 describes Gabriel's commentary on the Evening Service and uses it to look at the liturgical changes that occurred shortly after Gabriel's time.⁸⁴ Jammo makes several significant contributions to the understanding of Vespers in the East Syriac tradition, including confirming earlier scholars' suspicions about the division of the service between an initial monastic psalmody and a cathedral vesperal office.⁸⁵ (That is, the core of the East Syriac Evening Service has a cathedral structure, preceded by a section of monastic (running) psalmody that originally formed part of the Ninth Hour of Prayer.) Moreover, the details that Jammo reports about the lamp-lighting rite in Gabriel's time are vital to an improved understanding, not only of the East Syriac Evening Service, but of the Morning Service as well (as will be seen in Chapter 4 of this study); these details are also important for an appreciation of the historical roots of this rite in the lucernarium described by Egeria in Jerusalem.⁸⁶ Finally, noting the similarity between the beginning of the Evening Service and the beginning of the Eucharistic Service, Jammo is able to reconstruct what might have been the vesperal prayer of incense in Gabriel's day, using the incipit

⁸⁴ Jammo, 'Office du soir'.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 187–88, 209.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 206. For an outline of the cathedral evening office in Jerusalem that Egeria reports, see Robert F. TAFT, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today*, Second Revised Edition (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1993), 51.

of this prayer given in Gabriel's commentary and consulting two prayers of incense used in the East Syriac Eucharistic Service.⁸⁷

D.2: Gabriel's Commentary on the Morning Service

Although Mateos mentions Gabriel only three times in the second edition (1972) of his study on the Night and Morning Services of the East Syriac tradition⁸⁸ and not at all in his first edition (1959)⁸⁹, this volume is of undeniable importance to an understanding of these particular services and, indeed, of the East Syriac Liturgy of the Hours as a whole. Though Mateos's stated primary goal is simply to analyze the East Syriac Night and Morning Services as they stand currently, rather than to present a history of these services or to compare these services with their equivalents in other ritual traditions⁹⁰, he often does delve into historical and comparative analysis. His research involves an explication of the various books used in the celebration of the Liturgy of the Hours⁹¹, a discussion of the structure of the

⁸⁷ Jammo, 'Office du soir', 201-4.

⁸⁸ Juan MATEOS, *Lelya-Şapra: Les offices chaldéens de la nuit et du matin*, 2nd ed., *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 156 (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1972).

⁸⁹ Juan MATEOS, *Lelya-Şapra: Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 156 (Roma: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1959). At least, Gabriel is mentioned neither in the index, nor in the equivalent sections where Gabriel is mentioned three times in the second edition. Of course, this is not surprising, given that the first edition was published seven years before Jammo highlighted the importance of Gabriel's commentary.

⁹⁰ Mateos, *Lelya-Şapra: Offices*, v.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1-37.

East Syriac ferial and festal Night and Morning Services in general⁹², an exposition of how the structures of these offices vary in different parts of the liturgical year and a sampling of liturgical texts for each liturgical season⁹³, a reevaluation of the ways in which the collect prayers within the two services are connected to the elements of those services⁹⁴, an examination of the refrains that form part of the East Syriac liturgical Psalter⁹⁵, an observation about the ways in which individual liturgical elements come together to form recurring patterns that can be found across the various services of the Liturgy of the Hours⁹⁶, and a comparison between the ancient and modern structures of the Night and Morning Services, along with an attempt to shed light on how these structures evolved⁹⁷. Mateos also includes a rather useful glossary of East Syriac liturgical terms.⁹⁸ Clearly, this study is an indispensable contribution to the understanding of the East Syriac liturgical tradition.

For the sake of completeness, the following is a presentation of the three locations in which Mateos refers to Gabriel: First, in examining the division of the Psalter into *hullālē* and *marmyātā* and arguing that the division into *marmyātā* is older, Mateos notes that Gabriel divides the Psalter only into *marmyātā*, with reference to how much

⁹² Ibid., 39–103.

⁹³ Ibid., 105–298.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 301–14.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 301–63.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 364–85.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 387–444.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 485–502.

psalmody is sung at different services, and not into *hullālē*.⁹⁹ Second, Gabriel notes that the diaconal litanies, the *bāʿūtā* and *kārozūtā*, are recited in the Morning Service only in the churches, and not in the monasteries; Mateos uses this as evidence for his argument that the current practice of placing a hymn after Psalm 51 in the Morning Service is a monastic practice that prevailed over a cathedral usage of following this psalm with diaconal litanies.¹⁰⁰ Finally, Gabriel indicates that small monasteries serve seven *šubbāḥē* at night, while the great monasteries serve nine *šubbāḥē* during the Night Service; Mateos interprets each *šubbāḥē* to be equivalent to a psalm.¹⁰¹

Alencherry, too, contributes to the understanding of the East Syriac Liturgy of the Hours with his 2012 work focusing on the structure and theology of the Morning Service, with a special emphasis on the theme of creation.¹⁰² Gabriel's commentary on the Morning Service plays an important part in Alencherry's investigation, since he compares Gabriel's interpretations of the various elements of the service with the understandings of other commentators, and Alencherry is the first researcher to examine this portion of Gabriel's commentary in any detail. Alencherry's study discusses the structural development of the Morning Service (noting, in particular, the details that Gabriel provides about the service in his time)¹⁰³, the understanding of creation in

⁹⁹ Ibid., 411. For an evaluation of this assertion, please see the fourth chapter of this study.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 420–21.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 432. Again, discussion about this interpretation can be found in chapter four.

¹⁰² Alencherry, *Economy of Creation*.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 11–150.

the East Syriac exegetical tradition (i.e., according to Ephrem, Theodore, and later East Syriac biblical commentators)¹⁰⁴, and the way in which the East Syriac Morning Service and the mystagogical tradition about this service (represented by Gabriel's and others' liturgical commentaries) present creation¹⁰⁵.

E: Other Literature about Gabriel

Four recent articles examine liturgical elements described by Gabriel's commentary and other aspects of Gabriel's background. First, the liturgical elements: Brock in 2006 discusses the Trisagion, and Royel in 2008 discusses both the Trisagion and the diaconal litanies; since these elements are found in the Eucharistic Service and in multiple services of the Liturgy of the Hours, these elements will be discussed here.

Brock's scope is to engage in ecumenical scholarship by comparing the East Syriac understanding of the Trisagion, as revealed by Gabriel, with that of other Eastern Christian traditions.¹⁰⁶ He notes, for example, that the Trisagion is addressed, in the East Syriac tradition, to the Trinity as a whole, in contrast with the West Syriac tradition, where the entire Trisagion is seen as being addressed to Christ (which is most likely the original intention of the Trisagion), and unlike in the Byzantine understanding, where each verse is

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 151–292.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 293–460.

¹⁰⁶ Brock, 'Origins of the Qanona', 173–74.

directed to a different Person of the Trinity.¹⁰⁷ Various stories about the origin of the Trisagion exist in different Churches, but the legends found in the East Syriac tradition (such as the one offered by Gabriel in his commentary on the ferial Evening Service) seem to stem from the Byzantine accounts.¹⁰⁸ After discussing the dating of Gabriel (see the previous chapter of this study for Brock's contributions), Brock provides an English translation of Gabriel's comments on the Trisagion (fol. 23a-26b).¹⁰⁹

Royel's 2008 article first discusses the three diaconal litanies in the East Syriac tradition.¹¹⁰ Beyond giving an overview of their general structure and of certain parallels in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and in the Byzantine tradition¹¹¹, Royel's primary contribution is an English translation of Gabriel's commentary on the set of three litanies, in the context of the Evening Service (fol. 20b-22a)¹¹². Royel concludes his article with a discussion of the history of the Trisagion and its introduction and use in the East Syriac tradition.¹¹³

Lastly, Brock has recently published two articles discussing Gabriel's intellectual background (2014 and 2016). In discussing Gabriel's geographic knowledge, Brock points out that Gabriel was familiar with the liturgical usages of

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 174-76.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 176-78.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 180-83.

¹¹⁰ David ROYEL, 'East Meets East: Byzantine Liturgical Influences on the Rite of the Church of the East', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 8 (2008): 44-50.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 44-48.

¹¹² Ibid., 49.

¹¹³ Ibid., 50-55.

various regions and monasteries: He was aware of how the liturgy was celebrated at the Monastery of Mt. Izla (i.e., the Great Monastery of Abraham of Kaškar, whose superior at the time of Gabriel's writing might very well have been Baḥai the Great (d. 628)) and at the Monastery of Rabban Šābur (in West Iran, a community later associated with Isaac of Nineveh and Dadišo^c Qaṭrāyā). And, since he contrasts these usages with how the liturgy was served elsewhere, he must also have been familiar with liturgical usages outside of the heartland of the Sassanian Empire. Brock concludes that Gabriel must have been well traveled.¹¹⁴ Gabriel also shows a surprising linguistic knowledge, being able to distinguish between words of Greek origin (e.g., *bāsāliqē* < βασιλική < βασιλεύς) and Latin origin (*qesar* < *caesar*) – a distinction that would not necessarily have been obvious to his Syriac-speaking contemporaries.¹¹⁵

Gabriel cites numerous Greek-speaking writers by name, including, of course, Theodore of Mopsuestia, but also Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, Evagrius Ponticus, Ps.-Dionysius, Aristotle, and Pythagoras.¹¹⁶ Brock observes:

Although quotations from, and references to, other authors are quite rare in Gabriel's *Commentary*, several of these are of considerable interest from at least two different points of view. Firstly, they give an interesting indication of what sort of texts by Greek authors in Syriac translation were available

¹¹⁴ Brock, 'Gabriel Qatraya as a Witness', 158.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 159.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 159–60; Sebastian P. BROCK, 'Patristic Quotations in Gabriel Qatraya's *Commentary on the Liturgical Offices*', in *Manuscripta Graeca et Orientalia: Mélanges monastiques et patristiques en l'honneur de Paul Géhin*, ed. André BINGGELI, Anne BOUVAREL-BOUD'HORS, and Matthieu CASSIN, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 243 / *Byzantion/Bibliothèque* 12 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 129–49.

in the Church of the East in the early 7th century; and secondly, they provide an important ... early witness to the textual transmission of certain of the authors that are quoted.¹¹⁷

These sources will be indicated when they appear in the text of Gabriel's commentary. Furthermore, comparing the patristic quotations in Gabriel to those Patristic authors named by Isaac of Nineveh and Dadišoʿ Qaṭrāyā (both of whom were also connected with the region of Qatar), Brock concludes:

Gabriel, Dadišoʿ and Isaac can be described as being amongst the most highly educated and widely read of all the many known East Syriac writers of the seventh century, being surpassed only by Babai the Great. It is particularly significant that our authors from Beth Qatrāye were clearly cognisant of the sixth-century translations of the early books of Aristotle's collection of books on logic, known as the *Organon*, or 'Tool'; this represented the cutting-edge of higher education in the Syriac-speaking world: it rapidly became the basis for all higher studies among the Syriac Orthodox communities within the Late Roman Empire, and was soon to do so within the Church of the East as well.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Brock, 'Patristic Quotations', 130.

¹¹⁸ Brock, 'Gabriel Qatrāya as a Witness', 165–66.

Chapter 3: A Synopsis of *Mēmrā* Two of Gabriel's Commentary

The second *mēmrā* of Gabriel's commentary consists of seventeen chapters (fol. 35a-102a). Chapters One through Fifteen are his interpretation of the East Syriac ferial Morning Service. The first three chapters of the *mēmrā* provide a general overview of the ferial Morning Service, discussing its aim, the benefits to be gained from understanding how it is arranged, and the reason for which morning prayer was instituted, respectively. Chapters Four through Fifteen describe the individual elements of the Morning Service as it existed at the time of Gabriel. The remaining two chapters at the end of this *mēmrā* discuss why there are seven times of prayer in each day and why different times of prayer contain different amounts of psalmody, respectively. Since the contents of this portion of Gabriel's commentary have never been published in their entirety, I have deliberately chosen here to present a summary that is somewhat more detailed than might otherwise have been expected.

A: Chapters One through Three: An Overview of the Ferial Morning Service

In Chapter One, Gabriel asserts that the elements of the Morning Service have been arranged in order to represent the various stages of history, from creation until the end of the world. After providing a short summary of the typological meaning of each element of the service (for these meanings, please see below), he goes on to explain why the

ancient spiritual Fathers who established the service choose to have it symbolize the history of the world; the reason, he says, is twofold: First, the Fathers desired to ‘make known the fervor of their love towards their Lord’¹, and second, they wanted to provide spiritual treasures for their children, not only in the words they spoke, in the exegetical interpretations they wrote, and in the hymns of praise they composed, but also in the liturgical services they arranged². Moreover, those who celebrate the service join with the people commemorated in the various parts of the service (e.g., the angels in the first psalm, Noah in the second, Abraham in the third, etc.) in offering up praise to God.³

The second chapter argues that it is beneficial to interpret the Morning Service typologically because doing so allows those who celebrate the service to remember the virtues of the people symbolized in its elements and to emulate them.⁴ Thus, for example, during the first psalm, people are called to imitate the wonder and joy that the angels experienced at the creation of light; in the second psalm of the service, people are called to be righteous as Noah was righteous; and in the third, people are called to emulate the loving faithfulness that Abraham had towards God. In the third chapter, Gabriel argues that Christians ought to pray in the morning for three reasons: to gain knowledge of the Creator, to follow the tradition of Moses, who offered prayers and praises to God along with the daily morning sacrifice that he was commanded to perform, and to

¹ Fol. 37b.

² Fol. 38a-b.

³ Fol. 39b-40b.

⁴ Fol. 40b-44b.

obey the Apostles who, convinced by the numerous scriptural references to morning prayer, ordered Christians to pray in the morning as well.⁵

B: Chapters Four through Fifteen: The Components of the Ferial Morning Service

B.1: The First Half of the Service: The Nine Initial Psalms

Starting with Chapter Four, Gabriel goes through each element of the Morning Service individually to explain its meaning; in this and the subsequent five chapters, he discusses the nine psalms, each with its own refrain, that form the beginning of the service.⁶ The first of these is Psalm 100⁷. According to Gabriel, this psalm points to the creation of the world. His interpretation focuses, in particular, on the creation of the light, and he argues that because the angels marveled and rejoiced at the light that God had created, praising God for its creation, we human beings should do the same, each morning. As Gabriel puts it,

Therefore, our holy Fathers, when they arranged this Morning Service, intended to do first, that which resembles what occurred in the

⁵ Fol. 44b-46b.

⁶ As Gabriel later notes in Chapter Nine, the first three psalms of the service end with a 'conclusion or prayer', unlike the next six psalms, which are said continuously (fol. 62b).

⁷ This study will cite the psalms according to their numbering in the Pšittā, which is the Biblical version used throughout Syriac Christianity. However, for the benefit of readers, the equivalent numbering in the Masoretic Text and in the Septuagint will be provided in a footnote. Pšittā Psalm 100 = MT Psalm 100 = LXX Psalm 99.

beginning of the creation of the world: Just as the holy angels, at the creation of light, shouted joyful hymns of praise and glory to the one who created the light, so also they (the Fathers) cleverly planned to do in the beginning of the Morning Service, and they arranged this first psalm. In great wisdom, just as he proclaimed that divine sign to the angels – the expression ‘Let there be light!’ –, and they joyfully shouted praises, so also now it (the psalm) moves the children of earth to offer up a hymn of praise to the one who caused the light to dawn for them and dispelled from them the gloominess of darkness. Because of this, we say, ‘Praise the Lord, all the earth!’⁸, and we add to it [the refrain], ‘Giver of Light, Lord, to you we lift up praise!’ In this, too, we human beings and children of earth resemble the holy angels every day.⁹

Gabriel refers the rest of the psalm to the first humans: That is, we should ‘Serve the Lord with joy’¹⁰ because this is exactly what Adam failed to do.¹¹ Likewise, vv. 3-5 refer to the generations from Adam to Noah, for those who did not ‘Know that he is the Lord our God, and he is the one who made us, not we ourselves’¹² perished in the flood; we should avoid their example and should instead ‘resemble the true servants of God, because he has deemed us worthy, in his grace, to be “his people and the sheep of his flock”’^{13, 14}

⁸ Pšittā Psalm 100:1 / MT Psalm 100:1 / LXX Psalm 99:1b.

⁹ Fol. 47a-b.

¹⁰ Pšittā Psalm 100:2a / MT Psalm 100:2a / LXX Psalm 99:2a.

¹¹ Fol. 48a-b.

¹² Pšittā Psalm 100:3a-b / MT Psalm 100:3a-b / LXX Psalm 99:3a-b.

¹³ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 100:3c / MT Psalm 100:3c / LXX Psalm 99:3c-d.

¹⁴ Fol. 48b-49a.

In Chapter Five, Gabriel explains the second psalm of the Morning Service, Psalm 91¹⁵. In a highly imaginative interpretation, Gabriel applies every portion of the psalm to an event in the life of Noah. Thus, for example, Gabriel sees the ‘shelter of the Most High’¹⁶ as referring to the ark that kept Noah safe.¹⁷ In the same way, in reference to v. 5, he writes that because Noah was assiduous in keeping the commandments of God, ‘“he did not fear the dread of the long night”, whose darkness lasted three-hundred sixty-five days, nor did he fear or tremble from the heavy “arrows” of rain that were beating down and descending upon the ark with turbulence’.¹⁸ Even more interesting, Gabriel interprets ‘the word that walks in darkness’¹⁹ to mean ‘the carnivorous animals that were confined with him in the darkness of the ark’²⁰. In a passage so fantastic that it deserves to be quoted, Gabriel writes,

‘the plague’ of destruction did not touch the ark of his ‘tent’ because the Lord ‘commanded his angels concerning him, to preserve him in all his ways, and to lift him up upon their arms, so that the base’ of his ark ‘would not hit upon a stone’.²¹ Rather, it (the base of the ark) ‘would arrive’ upon the mountains and upon their shoulders, the hills, and it ‘would trample’ the dense corpses of the (wild)

¹⁵ Pšittā Psalm 91 = MT Psalm 91 = LXX Psalm 90.

¹⁶ Pšittā Psalm 91:1a / MT Psalm 91:1a / LXX Psalm 90:1b.

¹⁷ Fol. 49a.

¹⁸ Fol. 49b-50a.

¹⁹ Pšittā Psalm 91:6a / MT Psalm 91:6a / LXX Psalm 90:6a. Indeed, the Pšittā refers not to a ‘pestilence’ that walks in the darkness, but to a ‘word’.

²⁰ Fol. 50a.

²¹ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:8-12 / MT Psalm 91:8-12 / LXX Psalm 90:8-12.

animals and of the domestic animals and the great 'dragons' and the whales^{22, 23}.

Even the refrain of this psalm – 'Glorious is your trustworthiness, Christ our Savior' – finds the same kind of interpretation in reference to the life of Noah:

When Noah was born, his father Lamech prophesied beforehand, 'This one will comfort us from the works and from the labor of our hands and from the earth that the Lord God has cursed'.²⁴ While it is clear that he was speaking this word about Noah, this prophecy received its true fulfillment in Christ our Lord, who would set us free from the labor and toil of the earth, lifting us to heaven [so that] we will be led according to our calling. We do well to join to this psalm [the refrain], 'Glorious is your trustworthiness, Christ our Savior', which makes known that the coming of Christ is indicated by [Lamech's prophecy].²⁵

That is, the refrain of Psalm 91 points to Noah, according to Gabriel, because it indicates that Christ is the ultimate fulfillment of the prophecy that Lamech made about Noah.

The sixth chapter deals with the third psalm of the Morning Service, Psalm 104:1-15²⁶. In Gabriel's understanding, this psalm refers to the time of Abraham, who was the only one among the people of his time to distinguish

²² Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:13 / MT Psalm 91:13 / LXX Psalm 90:13.

²³ Fol. 50b.

²⁴ Cf. Genesis 5:29.

²⁵ Fol. 51a-b.

²⁶ Pšittā Psalm 104:1-15 = MT Psalm 104:1-15 = LXX Psalm 103:1b-15. In Chapter Nine, Gabriel provides his interpretation of why this psalm is abbreviated and not used in its entirety.

between created beings and the Creator.²⁷ That is, while most people worshipped creatures and considered them to be gods, Abraham worshipped God alone.²⁸ Drawing upon the apostle Paul, Gabriel notes that it was because of Abraham's faithfulness in loving and seeking God alone that God blessed Abraham and made him the father of many nations.²⁹ The psalm at hand, then, reflects Abraham's praise of God for having created all that exists. Thus,

Abraham, after he distinguished the Creator from creatures and perceived the majesty of God, was urging and saying, 'Bless the Lord, my soul!'³⁰, in order to say, 'You, O soul endowed with reason and intelligence, now that you have understood that the Lord God is the true God, henceforth dedicate yourself to the praise and the blessing of his name, and look towards the place of the honor of his glory, and say, "Lord, my God, you are greatly exalted and have put on brightness and excellency, and you are robed with light as a cloak"³¹.'³²

Gabriel's interpretation of the idea that God is clothed with light is worth noting: He writes that the phrase 'is interpreted ... to mean, "You are not clothed with created light, but your nature is light, and you continually dwell in the light of your being," as also the apostle [Paul] said, "He dwells in joyous light, which no person among human beings

²⁷ Fol. 51b.

²⁸ Fol. 53a.

²⁹ Fol. 52a.

³⁰ Pšittā Psalm 104:1a / MT Psalm 104:1a / LXX Psalm 103:1b.

³¹ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 104:1b-2a / MT Psalm 104:1b-2a / LXX Psalm 103:1c-2a.

³² Fol. 52b.

has seen or can see³³.³⁴ Gabriel closes the chapter by observing that the refrain for this psalm, 'The glory of the Lord will be forever', is appropriate because Abraham perceived that 'praise and worship befit [God], forever and unto the ages of ages, amen'.³⁵

In Chapter Seven, Gabriel discusses not only the fourth psalm of the Morning Service, but also the five subsequent psalms that follow the fourth psalm without being separated by a 'conclusion or prayer'.³⁶ The series begins with Psalm 113³⁷, which refers to the life of Moses. Gabriel sees in the idea that the servants of the Lord ought to 'praise the name of the Lord'³⁸ a direct link with the revelation of the Divine Name to Moses in Exodus 3.³⁹ In fact, Gabriel writes that Moses was 'urging [the Israelites] concerning the praise of God and teaching them to say, "May the name of the Lord be blessed, from eternity and until eternity, for the name of the Lord alone is great, and the Lord is high above all peoples"⁴⁰.⁴¹ Even the idea of God's raising up the poor person from the dung heap to be above the princes of the people⁴² is seen as a direct reference to Moses

³³ Cf. 1 Timothy 6:16b-e. Interestingly, even the Pšittā has 'unapproachable' rather than 'joyful'.

³⁴ Fol. 52b-53a.

³⁵ Fol. 53a-53b.

³⁶ These six psalms are 113, 93, 148, 149, 150, and 116. The two terms, 'conclusion' and 'prayer', will be discussed below.

³⁷ Pšittā Psalm 113 = MT Psalm 113 = LXX Psalm 112.

³⁸ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 113:1 / MT Psalm 113:1b-c / LXX Psalm 112:1b-c.

³⁹ Fol. 53b-54a.

⁴⁰ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 113:2,3b-4a / MT Psalm 113:2,3b-4a / LXX Psalm 112:2,3b-4a.

⁴¹ Fol. 54a.

⁴² Cf. Pšittā Psalm 113:6-7 / MT Psalm 113:7-8 / LXX Psalm 112:7-8.

himself, 'for from the shepherding of a speechless flock and from the weariness of [being] in exile, [God] elevated and lifted him to a great and exalted leadership; in this, he was elevated, not only above the princes of his people and of the Egyptians, but he was considered to be like a god to Aaron and to Pharaoh⁴³'.⁴⁴ The refrain for this fourth psalm is 'Glory to the one who created the light', which Gabriel views as pointing to God's generosity in giving, not only 'perceptible light' but also the 'spiritual light' contained within the Torah.⁴⁵

Gabriel's discussion of the next five psalms is fairly cursory: The fifth psalm, Psalm 93⁴⁶, symbolizes the period from Joshua bar Nun until King David, and its refrain is 'We worship you, Eternal Being' because Joshua led the Israelites into the Promised Land where the Eternal Being was worshipped.⁴⁷ The sixth, Psalm 148⁴⁸, Gabriel sees as a reference to the descendants of David, from whom would come the Messiah. According to Gabriel, this particular psalm that enjoins praising the Lord is used in this context because Christ is Lord despite being a human from the seed of David; that is, this psalm was chosen

to indicate through these things that the one born from the seed of the house of David is not a mere human being, as is the opinion of others. Rather, the Word, the Lord from heaven, is united with him and completes the entire (divine) economy in him,

⁴³ Cf. Exodus 4:16; 7:1.

⁴⁴ Fol. 54b.

⁴⁵ Fol. 55a-55b.

⁴⁶ Pšittā Psalm 93 = MT Psalm 93 = LXX Psalm 92.

⁴⁷ Fol. 55b.

⁴⁸ Pšittā Psalm 148 = MT Psalm 148 = LXX Psalm 148.

for the salvation of human beings and for the renewal of all, and all rational beings, spiritual and bodily, shall worship him as God and praise his sovereignty, because he effects the renewal of the heights and the depths and frees creation ... from the servitude of the destroyer in the glorious emancipation of the children of God.⁴⁹

Moreover, the refrain for the sixth psalm is 'Praise God!' because 'it is incumbent upon all rational creatures to offer up praise' for the fact that the Lord came to humankind as a descendent of David.⁵⁰ The seventh psalm of the Morning Service, Psalm 149⁵¹, celebrates 'the time[s] of Zerubbabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak and of the Maccabees', because a 'new song of praise'⁵² was offered up in thanksgiving for the victories of these warriors; he also notes that 'A two-edged sword in their hands, to punish the peoples and to rebuke the nations, to bind their kings with fetters and their honored ones with chains of iron'⁵³ is a rather appropriate reference to these fighters.⁵⁴ The refrain for this psalm is 'Praise befits him' because the wondrous triumphs of these people were due to the power of God.⁵⁵ The eighth psalm is Psalm 150⁵⁶,

⁴⁹ Fol. 56a-b. Gabriel's strongly dyophysite Christology is in evidence here.

⁵⁰ Fol. 56b.

⁵¹ Pšittā Psalm 149 = MT Psalm 149 = LXX Psalm 149.

⁵² Pšittā Psalm 149:1a / MT Psalm 149:1b / LXX Psalm 149:1b.

⁵³ Psalm 149:6b-8 (the versification is the same in the Pšittā, the MT, and the LXX).

⁵⁴ Fol. 56b. The Maccabees obviously engaged in combat, but it is not clear to me why Gabriel would think that Zerubbabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak fought as well.

⁵⁵ Fol. 56b-57a.

⁵⁶ Pšittā Psalm 150 = MT Psalm 150 = LXX Psalm 150.

which, in Gabriel's understanding, represents the period of the Hasmoneans until the reign of Herod, during which Christ the King was born; this psalm, which begins with 'Praise the Lord in his sanctuary/holiness'⁵⁷, is appropriate, writes Gabriel, because Christ the King, unlike ordinary kings, desires chastity and holiness.⁵⁸ In addition, because the Trinity began to be praised from that time onwards, the refrain is 'The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'.⁵⁹ The final psalm in the sequence of continuous psalms, and the ninth of the Morning Service, is Psalm 116⁶⁰. According to our author, the command 'Praise the Lord, all you peoples'⁶¹ points to the visit of the Magi, 'who were from foreign peoples', and the psalm indicates 'through this that at that very time, [Christ] shone forth for all the peoples, offering membership in the household of God, in accordance with the predictions of the prophets, and in accordance with the promises that were [made] unto the fathers'⁶². Likewise, the verse 'Praise him, all nations'⁶³ makes clear that Christ is Lord of both the Jews and the Gentiles.⁶⁴ Gabriel concludes the chapter by noting that the refrain of the ninth psalm is 'Christ the Light, we praise you', not only because Christ was

⁵⁷ Pšittā Psalm 150:1a / MT Psalm 150:1b / LXX Psalm 150:1b. The word *quḏšā* can mean either 'sanctuary' or 'holiness'. While the first meaning makes more sense in the context of the psalm itself, Gabriel bases his interpretation on the second.

⁵⁸ Fol. 57a.

⁵⁹ Fol. 57a-b.

⁶⁰ Pšittā Psalm 116 = MT Psalm 117 = LXX Psalm 116.

⁶¹ Pšittā Psalm 116:1a / MT Psalm 117:1a / LXX Psalm 116:1b.

⁶² Fol. 57b.

⁶³ Pšittā Psalm 116:1b / MT Psalm 117:1b / LXX Psalm 116:1c.

⁶⁴ Fol. 58a.

called 'Light' by both himself and the prophets, but also because he shone forth⁶⁵ in the world at his birth and at his baptism in the Jordan.⁶⁶

In the eighth chapter, Gabriel explains why the first four parts of the Morning Service (described in the previous four chapters) are four in number and why their contents are taken from the Old Testament. He calls these parts *šurrāyē* (lit., 'beginnings').⁶⁷ Gabriel's explanation of the four-part arrangement of the first nine psalms of the service is that these four *šurrāyē* represent the four periods before Christ, in which God was familiar with human beings in different ways: from Adam until Noah, from Noah until Abraham, from Abraham until Moses, and from Moses until Christ.⁶⁸ These four periods are all the more significant, writes Gabriel, because each was characterized by its own 'law' – the Adamic, Noahic, Abrahamic, and Mosaic covenants.⁶⁹ Quoting from Paul⁷⁰, the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard⁷¹, and

⁶⁵ N.B. that the Syriac word for 'epiphany' (*denhā*), both in the general sense of revelation and in the specific sense of the event and celebration of Christ's baptism in the Jordan, literally means 'shining forth'.

⁶⁶ Fol. 58a-b.

⁶⁷ That is, the first *šurrāyā* consists of Psalm 100, the second *šurrāyā* consists of Psalm 91, the third *šurrāyā* consists of Psalm 104:1-15, and the fourth *šurrāyā* consists of Psalms 113, 93, 148, 149, 150, and 116. (Please keep in mind that this numbering is according to the Pšittā. As noted above, the numbering, according to the MT and the LXX, can be found in the preceding footnotes.)

⁶⁸ Fol. 58b-59a.

⁶⁹ Fol. 59a.

⁷⁰ Romans 13:12a.

⁷¹ Matthew 20:1.

Narsai⁷², Gabriel describes the coming of Christ as the beginning of the daytime and the times that preceded him as the nighttime; just as there are four watches in the nighttime, so also were there four periods of history before Christ.⁷³ Because the Morning Service as a whole represents the history of the world from its creation to its end, each of these periods before Christ is represented in the first half of the Morning Service by one *šurrāyā*; moreover, since these four *šurrāyē* represent the time before the epiphany of Christ, it is appropriate, he writes, that their content be taken from the psalms found in the Old Testament.⁷⁴ Finally, Gabriel points out that the *Lāku Mārā* (the ‘To You, O Lord’ chant)⁷⁵

⁷² The second and third verses of the *tešbohtā* (hymn) attributed to Narsai, used in the East Syriac Morning Service on Sundays, memorials, and Feasts of the Lord.

⁷³ Fol. 59a-60a.

⁷⁴ Fol. 60a.

⁷⁵ ‘To you, O Lord of All, we give thanks, / and you, Jesus Christ, we praise, / for you are the Resurrector of our bodies, / and you are the Savior of our souls.’

There is a pious tradition in the Syriac East that Golgotha was right above the tomb of Adam, and that when the blood of the crucified Christ fell upon Adam’s bones, the latter was brought back to life, upon which he exclaimed the words of the *Lāku Mārā* (*Surma D’BAIT MAR SHIMUN, Assyrian Church Customs and the Murder of Mar Shimun*, ed. W. A. WIGRAM, 1920, 22, http://www.aina.org/books/acc_copyright/acc.pdf).

This particular chant is always sung twice a day, once in the evening (during the Evening Service) and once in the morning (either during the *Quddāšā* or, on days on which the *Quddāšā* is not celebrated, during the ferial Morning Service). In today’s East Syriac tradition, it is usually repeated three times with a variable verse between the first and second times and the ‘Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, from eternity and until eternity, amen and amen’ between the second and the third times. The variable verses are as follows:

- in the *Quddāšā*: ‘I washed my hands purely, / and I went around your altar, O Lord’ (Pšittā Psalm 26:6 / MT Psalm 26:6 / LXX Psalm 25:6);

immediately after the nine psalms that open the service ‘bind[s] the Old Testament with the New’ and ‘is placed like a border in the Morning Service, as for the indication of the salvific economy of God in the former [times] and in this [time] in the end, which came about through the coming of Christ our Savior’, because in this chant, ‘we confess the Son of God, Jesus Christ, and glorify him like the Father, the Lord of All, on account of the fact that he became for us the cause of resurrection and of salvation’.⁷⁶ In other words, the *Lāku Mārā* divides the Morning Service into two halves, just as the Incarnation of Christ divides the history of the world into two eras; the first half of the service symbolizes the former times, and the second half symbolizes the New Age.

Chapter Nine examines a different aspect of the first nine psalms of the Morning Service on Ordinary Days, asking

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- in the ferial Evening Service within a church and in the Evening Service for Sundays, Feasts, and Memorials: ‘I rejoiced when they were saying to me, / “We are going to the House of the Lord” ’ (Pšittā Psalm 121:1 / MT Psalm 122:1 / LXX Psalm 121:1b-c);
 - in the ferial Evening Service celebrated outside of a church: ‘You are everywhere, O God; / receive our supplication’;
 - in the ferial Morning Service throughout the year: ‘O Lord, in the morning you will hear my voice, / and in the morning I will be prepared and will appear before you’ (Pšittā Psalm 5:3 / MT Psalm 5:3 / LXX Psalm 5:3c-4);
 - in the ferial Morning Service during the Great Fast: ‘To show your grace in the morning / and your faithfulness in the nights’ (Pšittā Psalm 92:2 / MT Psalm 92:2 / LXX Psalm 91:3).

(Joseph E.Y. DE KELAITA, ed., *Ṭaksā d-kāhnē d-‘Ēdtā d-maḏnhā* = *The Liturgy of the Church of the East* (Mosul: Assyrian School and Press, 1928), 6; Thoma DARMO, ed., *Ktābā da-qdām wad-bātar wad-ḥudrā wad-kaškōl wad-gazzā w-qālē d-‘udrānē ‘am ktābā d-mazmorē*, vol. 1 (Trichur, India: Mar Narsai Press, 1960), 3, 61–62, 69; Darmo, *Ḥudrā* vol. 2 (1961), 138.)

⁷⁶ Fol. 60a-b.

why the first two *šurrāyē* contain complete psalms, while the third *šurrāyā* does not, and why the first three *šurrāyē* each contain one psalm, while the fourth *šurrāyā* contains six psalms. Gabriel's answer to the first question is that the first two psalms of the service (Psalms 100 and 91) are finished (i.e., are recited until their end) because the people in the historical periods they symbolize came to an end. That is, the first ten generations of humankind, described in the first psalm, 'had their conclusion in the devastation of the flood'; likewise, regarding the people after the flood, 'Because of the presumption of [those involved] in the building of the tower (i.e., of Babel), they too received an end in the division of their tongues, in that the harmony was torn, and they were scattered to the four quarters (of the earth)'.⁷⁷ The reason that the third psalm (Psalm 104:1-15), in contrast, is recited only partially, instead of being concluded, is that the descendents of Abraham, whom the psalm symbolizes, did not come to naught in their long sojourn in Egypt but grew great and eventually left the land that oppressed them.⁷⁸ In addition, the recitation of the psalm stops after the phrase 'Bread sustains the heart of humankind'⁷⁹, specifically, in order to show both that the Israelites entered Egypt 'on account of bread' (i.e., due to the famine in the region) and that God led them out of Egypt and into the Promised Land so that eventually, the heavenly Bread of Life would shine forth from the Jewish People.⁸⁰ Gabriel recognizes that his explanation may not be convincing to all; to anyone who

⁷⁷ Fol. 60b-61a.

⁷⁸ Fol. 61a.

⁷⁹ Pšittā Psalm 104:15c / MT Psalm 104:15c / LXX Psalm 103:15c.

⁸⁰ Fol. 61a-62a.

objects that the third psalm is cut short simply because it is long, he responds that if this were the reason, then the psalm would be read up until the end of the psalm-section, instead of stopping after v. 15.⁸¹

Gabriel closes the chapter by asserting that the fourth *šurrāyā* contains six psalms (113, 93, 148, 149, 150, and 116) instead of only one, because all six of those psalms describe periods of the one Jewish People and because the same Mosaic Law applied in all six periods, whereas each of the earlier periods had its own covenant.⁸² Moreover, just as these six periods occurred continuously, so also ‘we do not separate these (psalms) as [we do] the first ones, neither with a conclusion nor with a prayer, but rather immediately attach [them] to one another, as for an indication of the undivided teaching of those (people) about whose times they (the psalms) were arranged’.⁸³

B.2: The Second Half of the Service

Having finished his discussion of the nine initial psalms of the ferial Morning Service, Gabriel deals, in his tenth chapter, with the *Lāku Mārā* chant, which he interprets as proclaiming the confessional statements of the apostles concerning Jesus, such as the statement of Peter, ‘You are the

⁸¹ Fol. 62a. That is, Pšittā Psalm 104 / MT Psalm 104 / LXX Psalm 103 is divided, in the East Syriac tradition, into two ‘sections’ (*pāsoqē*): vv. 1-18 and vv. 19-35. Gabriel’s point is that if the reason for abbreviating the psalm were practical rather than theological, then the psalm would be read up to verse 18, rather than up to verse 15.

⁸² Fol. 62a-b.

⁸³ Fol. 62b-63a.

Christ, the son of the Living God' (Mark 8:29c-d).⁸⁴ Moreover, the chant indicates, not only the apostles' specific statements about Jesus, but also their preaching about him after the coming of the Holy Spirit.⁸⁵ The apostles, writes Gabriel, composed the *Lāku Mārā* chant and arranged for it 'to be said every day in the Church in the evening and in the morning', in order to remind Christians of the divinity of Christ and of his equality with the Father and with the Holy Spirit.⁸⁶ The reason it is placed here in the Morning Service, after the nine psalms that symbolize the Old Testament (the last two of which indicate the birth of Christ and his baptism in the Jordan, specifically), is that the apostles began following Christ directly after his baptism.⁸⁷ Gabriel next interprets the entrance of the light from the sanctuary into the nave, providing a description that warrants being quoted in its entirety because of the precious details it provides about the ritual of the Morning Service in his time:

For, immediately before it (the *Lāku Mārā*) is said, as soon as the last psalm is finished – [the one] to which we attach 'Christ the Light, we praise you' – in that very moment, we bring forth the light (*nahirā*), with which we indicate the epiphany of the great Sun of Righteousness who appeared at the Jordan, and with this light, we kindle the lamp (*šrāgā*) on the lampstand (*mnārtā*) for an indication of the grace of the Holy Spirit that the Church received from our Lord, as it is said, 'All of us have

⁸⁴ Fol. 63a-64a.

⁸⁵ Fol. 64a-64b.

⁸⁶ Fol. 64b. It is perhaps worth noting that here, Gabriel does not focus on the characteristics that distinguish the Christology of the Church of the East, but simply affirms the divinity of Christ.

⁸⁷ Fol. 64b.

received from his fullness'⁸⁸. Then, the lamp on the lampstand remains in the nave (*hayklā*), and we carry the light [back] inside for an indication of that which occurred in the salvific economy of our Lord, that when he died and was buried and rose and ascended to heaven, nevertheless the grace of the Holy Spirit that he gave us in the Church did not depart but behold, continues to flow through baptism in all generations until the end of the world. Along with these things we burn sweet incense, and we draw back the veil, and we announce the peace that we have with God.⁸⁹

That is, after the lamp in the nave is lit, it continues to burn while the light returns to the sanctuary, to indicate that the grace of Christ remains with the Church even after he ascended to heaven. Gabriel concludes the chapter by clarifying that the chant symbolizes the age of the apostles, from the moment they began following Jesus until their deaths.⁹⁰

The eleventh chapter of Gabriel's commentary on the ferial Morning Service concerns Psalm 51⁹¹, and in it, the author highlights the importance of repentance. This psalm has been placed here, he writes, because it symbolizes the present age, after the death of the apostles and before the arrival of the Son of Perdition.⁹² In an extended discussion drawing heavily on the writings of Paul, Gabriel argues that in the present age, it is impossible not to sin. People are attracted by the message of Christ and the preaching of the

⁸⁸ Cf. John 1:16a.

⁸⁹ Fol. 65a-65b.

⁹⁰ Fol. 65b.

⁹¹ Pšittā Psalm 51 = MT Psalm 51 = LXX Psalm 50.

⁹² Fol. 66a.

apostles, and so they accept the Christian faith, but no one, regardless of the effort, is able to live a perfect life of Christian virtue.⁹³ Employing the rather amusing analogy of a naughty schoolboy, he notes, ‘just as one who enters school is unable not to act foolishly, so also we, who are in this world, as in some school, are unable not to labor in sin’.⁹⁴ Gabriel stresses that when a person sins, as he or she inevitably does, ‘it is not right for us to become disheartened [or for us to] cut off hope in our salvation’; rather, one should immediately seek repentance in words and deeds.⁹⁵ God, in turn, can be trusted ‘to accept our repentance and to pardon our sins and to forgive our trespasses’, and this is the reason that this psalm has been placed here in the service – to prompt us to repentance in this sinful age.⁹⁶

Gabriel next turns, in his twelfth chapter, to the ‘petition and litany’ (*bā’utā w-kārozutā*), a series of three diaconal litanies.⁹⁷ Having already explained the petition and

⁹³ Fol. 66a-67b.

⁹⁴ Fol. 68b-69a.

⁹⁵ Fol. 68b-69a.

⁹⁶ Fol. 69b-70a.

⁹⁷ For an English translation of the three litanies, see Arthur John MACLEAN, trans., *East Syrian Daily Offices* (London: Rivington, Percival & Co., 1894), 6–10. The *bā’utā* and *kārozutā* actually refer to a series of three diaconal litanies. The first, the *bā’utā* (lit. ‘petition’, cf. *λιτή*), resembles the Byzantine *συναπτή* (Great Litany)/*εἰρηνικά* (Litany of Peace); both include a series of petitions to which the people answer ‘(Our) Lord, have mercy (on us)’ (*Māran, etraḥḥam ḥayn/Kύριε ἐλέησον*). The second litany, the *kārozutā* (lit., ‘proclamation’), is similar in structure to the second half of the diaconal litanies found in the *Apostolic Constitutions* Book 8:10:1-22 and to the litanies found in the *Testamentum Domini* but has a content that is uniquely East Syriac. The third litany (which is seen as the second half of the *kārozutā* and thus has no name of its own in the East Syriac tradition) is similar to the *δέσεις* (Litany of Supplication or ‘Angel of

litany themselves in his first *mēm̄rā* (on the Evening Service)⁹⁸, he here focuses on the reason for including these diaconal litanies at this point in the ferial Morning Service: They symbolize the time of the Son of Perdition; this period will be characterized by Christians' suffering, and therefore, just as many in that time will pray, 'O our Lord, have mercy upon us', so also the Church now prays in the litanies for and with those who suffer.⁹⁹ While the first of the three litanies prays for 'mercies and consolation' in a more general sense, the second litany enumerates specific situations of suffering – e.g., 'those who are fleeing from the evil one' and 'those who are in captivity to his deception [who] persecute all the faithful according to his will'.¹⁰⁰

In Chapter Thirteen, Gabriel takes a digression in an attempt to explain why the monastic office celebrated by the solitaries (*iḥidāyē*¹⁰¹) contains no litanies in its ferial Morning

Peace' Litany) found both in the *Apostolic Constitutions* Book 8:36:1-3 and in the Byzantine tradition; both East Syriac and Byzantine versions of this litany include petitions that end with 'let us ask', and the people's response is also similar (Byzantine: 'Grant this, O Lord'; East Syriac: 'From you, O Lord'). For more details on these three litanies, see Jammo, *Structure*, 139–150, and Royel, 'East Meets East', 44–59.

⁹⁸ Royel provides an English translation of Gabriel's interpretation of the three parts of the diaconal litanies in 'East Meets East', 49. Gabriel notes that these litanies are prayed 'every day, in the morning and in the evening'.

⁹⁹ Fol. 71b-72a.

¹⁰⁰ Fol. 72a-b.

¹⁰¹ By the time Gabriel is writing, *iḥidāyē* (lit. 'solitaries') can be reliably translated as 'monks', but the term has a much richer history, originally referring not to Egyptian-style monasticism, but to the unique Syriac tradition of the *bnay qyāmā* ('Covenanters'). For a discussion on the term *iḥidāyā*, see Thomas KOONAMMAKKAL, 'Ephrem's Ideas on Singleness', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 2, no. 1 (January 1999),

Service, while the cathedral office, in its version of that service, contains the same litanies used in both the Evening Service and the *Quddāšā*. Gabriel first defends the legitimacy of diversity in liturgical rites, 'for the arrangements were arranged beforehand by each of the first rulers/bishops and were not changed by those who were instructed by them, so that they might not be considered as scorning their spiritual Fathers and treating their masters with contempt'.¹⁰² He next points out that the earliest monks were, for the most part, not clerics, and as such, they did not feel comfortable placing diaconal litanies in their services; their successors, out of respect for their monastic founders, also refrained from inserting the litanies in their services.¹⁰³ Gabriel admits that this explanation leads to the obvious question of why litanies do exist in the monastic Evening and Night Services.¹⁰⁴ His answer is that later monks who were clerics persuaded their superiors to add the litanies to these services, but were unsuccessful in persuading them to add the litanies to the Morning Service; the reason that the litanies were not added to the Morning Service is that the monks, after their long night vigil, were too tired to increase the length of their morning prayers, except during the Fast.¹⁰⁵ Gabriel notes that he himself has witnessed the frenetic activities of the monks during the night, because of which many are too tired

<http://www.bethmardutho.org/images/hugoye/volume2/hv2n1koonammakkal.pdf>.

¹⁰² Fol. 73a-b.

¹⁰³ Fol. 73b-74a.

¹⁰⁴ Fol. 74a.

¹⁰⁵ Fol. 74a-b.

to remain awake during the morning prayers.¹⁰⁶ Gabriel's description of these activities is quite interesting:

They were not sleeping, but some of them were standing the whole night in the service in their cells, and some were engaged while sitting at the reading of the Scriptures. And some of them were distracted all night while serving, and some were carrying water to those whose cells were far away, and some of them were rushing into the house of prayer, and [some] were bearing dung on their heads. Others were going to the wise elders and were spending the whole night with useful questions. Others, while they were sitting... were meditating on the reading of the psalms and the hymns all night...¹⁰⁷

The Fathers did permit the addition of the litanies to the other services, in contrast, in order to thwart the desire of certain lazy monks who wanted to go to bed quickly.¹⁰⁸

Gabriel concludes the chapter by remarking that even in his day, the oldest monasteries still have not added certain elements to their liturgy that exist elsewhere:

However, [concerning the fact] that our earlier Fathers were not proclaiming [the petition or litany], nor were they saying the responses (*onyātā*) or psalms-with-refrains (*qānonē*¹⁰⁹) or the chant of

¹⁰⁶ Fol. 74b-75b.

¹⁰⁷ Fol. 75a.

¹⁰⁸ Fol. 75b-76a.

¹⁰⁹ Note that Gabriel uses the word *qānonā* (< κανών) at least four ways. It can mean (1) 'chant', as in the *Lāku Mārā* or the Trisagion; (2) 'refrain', as in the refrains of the psalms in the Morning Service, the refrains of the psalms in the liturgical Psalter, or the refrain attached to the Our Father at the beginning and end of services; (3) by synecdoche from the second definition, a psalm with refrain, as found, for example, in the Night

the vigil (*qālā d-šahrā*), the old and holy monasteries testify to us, those that were planted of old in this region of Persia, that is, the Great Monastery of Izla and the Holy Monastery [of] Rabban Šābur, those that even until now have not been persuaded to change the arrangements of the earlier spiritual Fathers [and] that do not say the responses (*ʿonyātā*) or psalms-with-refrains (*qānonē*) at Compline, nor in the first *māwtbā* of [the Night Service on] Sunday, nor do they say a psalm-with-refrain (*qānonā*) after the response (*ʿonitā*) of the second *māwtbā*, except the *šubbāḥā* (i.e., a psalm with ‘Glory to you, O Lord’ or ‘Glory to you, O God’ as refrain).¹¹⁰

He insists that these variations in rite are legitimate and that even bishops do not have the authority to modify the liturgical arrangements instituted by the monastic founders.¹¹¹

Chapter Fourteen consists of Gabriel’s interpretation of the next part of the service, the hymn ‘To You Be Praise’¹¹², which serves as the ‘completion’ of the service, according to our author. This hymn, he writes, symbolizes the coming of Elijah, who will move to repentance those who were seduced by the Son of Perdition.¹¹³ Along with those people in the future, Christians in the present, through this hymn, repent and give thanks to God for the many graces they have received – and in particular for God’s willingness to accept

Service; or (4) ‘rule’ or ‘canon’, as in the rule of a monk or the canons of a council. Mateos also notes additional meanings for *qānonā* (*Lelya-Šapra: Offices*, 495).

¹¹⁰ Fol. 76a-b.

¹¹¹ Fol. 76b-77b.

¹¹² For an English translation, see Maclean, *Offices*, 105.

¹¹³ Fol. 77b-78b.

our repentance, even after our repeated lapses into sin.¹¹⁴ Because the hymn concludes with a three-fold repetition of the phrase, ‘O Hope of human beings, grant us tranquility and peace, that we may give thanks to your Trinity, O Lord of All, forever, amen’¹¹⁵, Gabriel enters into an extended discussion in praise of the value of tranquility and peace, ‘without which it is impossible to live well in the world, because there is nothing that benefits or helps human beings [as much] as tranquility and peace’¹¹⁶. He proceeds to provide numerous examples, from the Scriptures, from the liturgy, and from secular customs, demonstrating the importance of peace.¹¹⁷

In the fifteenth and final chapter of Gabriel’s commentary on the East Syriac ferial Morning Service, he discusses the Trisagion¹¹⁸. In line with the understanding

¹¹⁴ Fol. 78b-79a.

¹¹⁵ Fol. 82a. The only difference between how this closing portion of the hymn of praise in the Morning Service stands today and how it stood at the time of Gabriel, is that the word ‘good’ modifying ‘Hope’ is missing in the version that Gabriel quotes. Even the triple repetition of this portion of the hymn remains the same. I wonder, in fact, whether Gabriel or a subsequent scribe might accidentally have omitted the word ‘good’.

¹¹⁶ Fol. 79a.

¹¹⁷ Fol. 79a-81b.

¹¹⁸ In the East Syriac Tradition, the Trisagion is always repeated three times, with half of the Lesser Doxology between each repetition:

Holy God, holy Mighty One, holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us!

Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit.

Holy God, holy Mighty One, holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us!

From eternity and until eternity, amen and amen.

Holy God, holy Mighty One, holy Immortal One, have mercy upon us!

For background on the East Syriac version of the Trisagion, and also on Gabriel’s interpretation of the chant in general (rather than of its meaning in this service particularly), see Brock, ‘Origins of the Qanona’ and Royel, ‘East Meets East’, 50–55.

that the entire Morning Service illustrates the history of the world, this chant symbolizes the rejoicing of the angels at the return of sinners from the deception of the Son of Perdition.¹¹⁹ Referring to Luke 15:7,10, Gabriel writes, 'If, then, the angels rejoice and give praise over one sinner who repents, how much more will they rejoice and praise God on account of the return of all those who turn from the error of Satan through the teaching of the blessed Elijah!'¹²⁰ Moreover, the Trisagion is sung to 'teach us about the immutability of the divine Nature and about the distinction of the Persons (*qnomē*) of the Holy Trinity and about the unity of the eternal and hidden Being ... [and] about the invincibility of the divine Nature'.¹²¹ Gabriel's commentary on the ferial Morning Service concludes with an explanation of the last element of the service, the concluding priestly prayers; these 'make known that after the return from the error of the Son of Perdition, every person [will] dedicate himself to continual and assiduous prayers, waiting for the manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven'.¹²²

Note also that the Trisagion should be distinguished from two other prominent components in the East Syriac liturgy, all three of which are inspired by the chant of the angels in Isaiah 6:3. The first is the Seraphic Hymn that serves as the refrain for the 'Our Father' at the beginning and end of most East Syriac services, and the second is the Sanctus found in the anaphora. Confusingly, both the Trisagion and the Seraphic Hymn are called *qānonā* in the East Syriac tradition – the first in the sense of 'chant' and the second in the sense of 'refrain'. To avoid confusion, I have chosen to employ the non-Syriac terms 'Trisagion', 'Seraphic Hymn', and 'Sanctus'.

¹¹⁹ Fol. 82b.

¹²⁰ Fol. 82b.

¹²¹ Fol. 82b-83a.

¹²² Fol. 83a.

C: Chapters Sixteen and Seventeen: Other Times of Prayer

Chapter Sixteen explains why there are seven times of prayer in the Liturgy of the Hours of each day.¹²³ After mentioning that the multiple times of prayer are an expression of the persistence in prayer that he described at the end of the previous chapter, Gabriel adduces numerous examples of the number seven found in the Old Testament (e.g., the seven days of the week and the importance of the Sabbath, the seven pillars of the house of Wisdom, the fact that Enoch was in the seventh generation, and the seven branches of the candelabra in the Sanctuary of the Temple) and in the New (e.g., the seven baskets left over after the feeding of the four thousand and the appointment of seven deacons), to account for the fact that the holy Fathers instituted seven services.¹²⁴ ‘To say briefly,’ he writes, ‘this number seven was greatly honored with the Israelite people, just as the Pythagoreans honored the number four and made it an oath’.¹²⁵ Gabriel concludes the chapter by asserting that the apostles prayed seven times a day and that Christians ought to emulate them.¹²⁶

The last chapter of this *mēm̄rā*, Chapter Seventeen, describes the amount of psalmody contained in the seven daily prayers. Noting first that the day and the night are

¹²³ The seven times that Gabriel mentions are the Evening Service, Compline (after supper), the Night Service (at midnight), the Morning Service, Third Hour (at the third hour after dawn), Midday (at noon), and Ninth Hour (at the ninth hour after dawn).

¹²⁴ Fol. 83b-88b.

¹²⁵ Fol. 86b. The ‘Pythagorean Oath’ included a reference to the sum of the numbers one through four.

¹²⁶ Fol. 88b-89a.

both divided into four three-hour watches, Gabriel indicates that the three services of the daytime are each at the conclusion of a watch: the Service of Third Hour at the end of the first watch, the Midday Service at the end of the second, and the Service of Ninth Hour at the end of the third.¹²⁷ At each of these daytime services, three *šubbāḥē*¹²⁸ are served in honor of the Holy Trinity, for a total of nine *šubbāḥē* during the day.¹²⁹ Each of these *šubbāḥē* concludes with the chanting of a triple refrain: ‘Hallelujah, hallelujah, glory to you, O God!’ is chanted two times to symbolize the soul and the body, but the third time, the refrain is changed to ‘Hallelujah, hallelujah, O Lord, have mercy upon us!’, in order to symbolize ‘the unity of personal composition (*rukkābā qnomāyā*) of human beings’.¹³⁰ The reason that the Night Service has nine *šubbāḥē* is so that the number of *šubbāḥē* served during the night may be equal to the number served during the day.¹³¹ Compline, for its part, has four *šubbāḥē* because this service occurs after the evening meal, which serves to keep the four elements of the body in equilibrium.¹³²

¹²⁷ Fol. 89b-90a.

¹²⁸ For Gabriel, each *šubbāḥā* is a section of the Psalter. For a discussion on the term, see below.

¹²⁹ Fol. 90a.

¹³⁰ Fol. 90b-91a.

¹³¹ Fol. 91a.

¹³² Fol. 91b-92b. Gabriel also mentions several additional examples of the number four. Among them are the four powers of the body in Galen’s theories on digestion, the four watches of the night during which people sleep after Compline, and the ‘four evil things [that] delight to injure our life – that is, commotion from human beings, and reproach from demons that are continually bent on our ruin, and evil thoughts that proceed from the heart and defile a person (cf. Mark 6:20-23, Matthew 15:18-20), and bodily passions that – how many times! – lead us by compulsion to sin’.

While some small monasteries serve six *šubbāḥē* at Compline and seven in the Night Service, the ‘great and ancient monasteries’ maintain the tradition handed down by the ‘famous and great spiritual Fathers, serv[ing] four *šubbāḥē* at Compline and nine in the Night [Service]’.¹³³ The goal of this distribution of *šubbāḥē* in the prayers of the daytime and nighttime, argues Gabriel, is that the Fathers, inspired by the Holy Spirit, arranged for the entire Psalter to be recited every day.¹³⁴

Gabriel devotes the rest of the chapter to a presentation of how bodily prayer, such as the recitation of the psalms, is necessary for achieving spiritual prayer.¹³⁵ While the latter is the goal, the former is merely a means.¹³⁶ Gabriel’s description of spiritual prayer includes quotations from Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the *Skemmata* and *Peri Logismon* of Evagrius.¹³⁷ Since the aim is spiritual prayer, those who are spiritually advanced and can easily achieve spiritual prayer are not obliged to serve the whole Psalter every day.¹³⁸ However, bodily prayer and good works are still necessary, even for the spiritually advanced, lest they lose the gift of spiritual prayer that they have received.¹³⁹ The chapter closes with an ‘Admonition’ on the importance of steadfastness in prayer.¹⁴⁰

¹³³ Fol. 92b-93a.

¹³⁴ Fol. 93a-b.

¹³⁵ Fol. 93b-95a

¹³⁶ Fol. 95a.

¹³⁷ Fol. 95a-97b.

¹³⁸ Fol. 97b-98b.

¹³⁹ Fol. 98b-99b.

¹⁴⁰ Fol. 100a-102a.

Chapter 4: An Analysis of *Mēmṛā* Two of Gabriel's Commentary

Gabriel's commentary on the ferial Morning Service of the East Syriac tradition is extremely instructive, both on the level of liturgical history – in allowing us to reconstruct the structure of the East Syriac rite at the beginning of the seventh century – and on the level of mystagogy – in providing insight into Gabriel's theological understanding of what his Church was doing in the rites that it was celebrating. This chapter will highlight several noteworthy aspects of the structure and content of the East Syriac ferial Morning Service as described by Gabriel. Overall, two trends emerge in the evolution of the ferial Morning Service: the retention of older forms during the Lenten period and the eventual triumph of a monastic structure over a cathedral office. First, however, a note on Gabriel's typology.

A: Elijah and the Son of Perdition

Gabriel's typology of Elijah and the Son of Perdition is particularly intriguing because of the time period in which he was writing, around the rise of Islam in the Middle East. Writing slightly more than a century after Gabriel, Joseph Ḥazzāyā describes how Elijah will return (without Enoch) to help people repent after having followed the Son of Perdition.¹ According to Kavadas, Joseph's 'Lost One' is, in

¹ Nestor KAVVADAS, 'Introduction', in *On Providence: Text, Translation and Introduction*, by Joseph Ḥazzāyā, ed. and trans. Nestor KAVVADAS, Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 12, doi:10.1163/9789004330009 . Gabriel calls this individual the 'Son of

effect, a personification of the eighth-century Islamization of Mesopotamia, which was more coercive than earlier Muslim efforts to convert Jews and Christians.² Regardless of the severity of conversion efforts, did Gabriel, writing more than a century earlier, have the same symbolism of Islamization in mind when he wrote about the Son of Perdition?

Kavvadas suggests that Joseph Ḥazzāyā may have been influenced in his apocalyptic imagery by Šubḥālmāran, who in his *Book of Gifts* 6:7-8 also describes how Elijah will come again to convert people to repentance.³ Even before Šubḥālmāran, though, there existed a tradition in East Syriac Christianity of the eventual coming of Elijah to combat the Son of Perdition and to retrieve those who had fallen sway to his temptation, a tradition obviously inspired by Malachi

Perdition' (*Bar Abdānā*); Joseph usually call him the 'Lost One' (*Abidā* - which has the same root as *abdānā*) but twice (in *On Providence* sections 118 and 136) calls him the 'Son of Perdition' (Joseph Ḥazzāyā, *On Providence*, pp. 132-33, 150-51).

² Kavvadas, 'Introduction', 14-15. While Kavvadas may in fact be correct that Joseph sees a typological connection between Islam and the Son of Perdition, one of Kavvadas's arguments for this connection is not so clear-cut: Kavvadas sees Joseph's reference to how the Lost One abrogates all taxes and demands only worship as an allusion to a change in policy in the Islamic government; before Joseph's time, the Umayyad and early Abassid Caliphates tolerated Christians and Jews who paid heavy taxes, but in the eighth century, this policy of tolerance and taxation was replaced with a policy of forced conversion (*ibid.*). Joseph may even be drawing this allusion (especially since the words he uses for 'taxes' are the same as the words used to describe the taxes paid by the Peoples of the Book (*ibid.*, 15 note 51)), but Joseph did not invent the idea that the Lost One would stop the collection of taxes. Šubḥālmāran, writing before the advent of Islam, already describes the Son of Perdition as doing this (Šubḥālmāran, *The Book of Gifts*, ed. and trans. David J. LANE, CSCO 612-613 / *Scriptores Syri* 236-237 (Lovanii: Peeters, 2004), section 6.3.2).

³ Kavvadas, 'Introduction', 17 note 62.

3:23-24. This line of interpretation can be seen already in the homilies of Narsai (especially 34 (On Holy Week), 51 (On the Antichrist), and 52 (On the Second Coming))⁴. Since Gabriel is familiar with both Šubḥālmāran (fol. 109a) and Narsai (fol. 59b), it is possible that Narsai and Šubḥālmāran are the common source of Gabriel and Joseph's imagery of Elijah. However, it should be noted that both Narsai and Šubḥālmāran died before the arrival of Islam and thus could not possibly have associated the apostasy from which Elijah will rescue many with the Muslim conquest. Furthermore, Narsai, Šubḥālmāran, and Joseph all describe the end times in much greater detail than Gabriel. Gabriel thus seems to be referring cursorily to an established tradition regarding the coming of the Son of Perdition and of Elijah. Regardless, given that Joseph seems to have made the connection between the Lost One and Islamization, and between the preaching of Elijah and a return to Christianity, it remains an open question whether Gabriel, too, viewed the eschatological arrivals of the Son of Perdition and Elijah as referring obliquely to events happening in the seventh century.

B: Structural Considerations

The most striking aspect of the East Syriac liturgical tradition, as revealed by Gabriel, is how little it has changed, despite the passage of about 1400 years and despite liturgical reforms such as those of Išo'yahb III.⁵ The following is a very

⁴ Philippe GIGNOUX, 'Les doctrines eschatologiques de Narsai', *L'Orient Syrien* 11 (1966): 11:337-352.

⁵ The East Syriac Liturgy of the Hours as it stands today can be found, in the edition used by the Assyrian Church of the East, in the *Ḥudrā* edited by

brief⁶ outline of the major elements of the East Syriac Morning Service as it currently stands:

- Two opening prayers
- Nine fixed psalms: 100, 91, 104:1-16a, 113, 93, 148, 149 (only on ferias), 150, 116 (all Pšittā numbering)
- Ecclesiastical poetry:
 - Ferial: *Lāku Mārā* Chant
 - Festal: Response of the Morning ('*Onitā d-Ṣapṛā*)
- Psalm 51:1-17 (ferias only)
- Hymns of praise (*Tešbhātā*):
 - Ferial: 'To you be praise'
 - Festal:
 - Two hymns of light
 - *Benedicite*
 - *Gloria in excelsis* (on Sundays and Feasts of the Lord) or another *tešbohtā* (on Memorials)
- Trisagion
- Our Father

Thoma DARMO (*Ktābā da-qdām wad-bātar wad-hudrā wad-kaškol wad-gazzā w-qālē d-ʿudrānē ʿam ktābā d-mazmorē*, 3 vols. (Trichur, India: Mar Narsai Press, 1960-1962)), and, in the edition used by the Chaldean Catholic Church, in the *Breviarium Chaldaicum* edited by Paul BEDJAN (*Breviarium iuxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium id est Chaldaeorum*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1886)). For an English translation of the ordinary parts of these services (i.e., without the propers), Arthur John MACLEAN's edition is fairly accurate (*East Syrian Daily Offices* (London: Rivington, Percival & Co., 1894), available also online at <https://archive.org/details/eastsyriandailyo00macluoft> and in reprint from Gorgias Press, 2003). For further general information about the East Syriac services of the Liturgy of the Hours, see Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, 225-238.

⁶ Being merely an overview for the benefit of the reader, this outline omits collect prayers and variations.

- Responses of the Martyrs (indicated in Bedjan's *Breviarium Chaldaicum* and Darmono's *Ḥudrā* for ferias only, but Maclean reports that they are also served on Sundays, though rarely⁷)
- Concluding Prayers and Sealing Blessing

(For a more detailed schematic presentation of the various versions of the East Syriac Morning Service on Ordinary Days, please see the first Appendix below.)

One example of this stability is that the psalms used in Gabriel's time are nearly identical to those used today.⁸ Likewise, the poetic compositions used in the service – specifically, the *Lāku Mārā* chant, the 'To You Be Praise' hymn, and the Trisagion – are still in use today. The most

⁷ Maclean, *Offices*, 172-184.

⁸ One exception is that the present East Syriac Morning Service goes one phrase farther in its third psalm than it did at the time of Gabriel, stopping after 104:16a ('The trees of the Lord are satisfied'), instead of after 'Bread sustains the heart of humankind'. Even this phrase, however, is not used during the Lenten ferial Morning Service in the Weeks of the Mysteries. (Actually, while Bedjan's *Breviarium Chaldaicum* and Darmono's *Ḥudrā* agree that the last phrase of the psalm in the ferial Morning Service throughout the year is v. 16a, they disagree on where exactly this psalm ends in the ferial Morning Service during the Great Fast. According to Bedjan, the psalm stops before v. 15c on all ferial days of the Fast; according to Darmono, the last phrase of the psalm is 'To bring forth food from the earth' (v. 14c) on ferial days during the Weeks of the Mysteries and on Fridays of the Fast, and it is v. 16a on other ferial days of the Fast. Bedjan, *Breviarium Chaldaicum* vol. 2, pp. ١٥, ١٥٠, ١٥١; Darmono, *Ḥudrā* vol. 2, pp. ١٥, ١٥١, ١٥٢. In any case, Mateos suggests that during the Fast, vv. 15c-16a are suppressed in Bedjan because v. 15c refers to bread (*Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 165.); Darmono may have sought to avoid the references to wine and oil in vv. 15a-b as well.)

The only other possible exception is that today, during the recitation of Psalm 51, the last two verses are not said. However, Gabriel never explicitly states that the psalm is said in its entirety, and so it is possible that the practice in his time is the same as that today.

notable exceptions to this stability are the disappearance of the diaconal litanies, the appearance of the 'Our Father', and the inclusion of the Responses of the Martyrs. This section on structural considerations will examine seven elements in the structure of Gabriel's liturgy as compared to today: the refrains attached to the initial psalms, the removal of the diaconal litanies, the frequency of these litanies and of the *Lāku Mārā* chant in the daily services, the rite of lamp-lighting in the Evening and Morning Services, the introduction of the Responses of the Martyrs, the insertion of the 'Our Father', and finally, the composition of the 'To You Be Praise' hymn.

Before examining these seven elements, however, a word about cathedral and monastic services of the Liturgy of the Hours will be helpful for understanding the following discussion. The distinction between 'cathedral' and 'monastic' offices is one between services intended for use in a parish setting (cathedral) and services celebrated by monks in a monastery (monastic). Though the distinction is not so clear-cut as scholars might desire, monastic liturgy tends to be more sober and is often characterized by 'running' psalmody – that is, a series of psalms chanted in the order of the Psalter. Cathedral liturgy, in contrast, tends to include more ecclesiastical poetry and ceremony, and a cathedral service often contains psalms chosen thematically for their appropriateness to a particular service (e.g., psalms that mention the evening for an evening service, or psalms that mention incense for an incense rite within a particular service). It is important to keep in mind that most liturgical

traditions (the East Syriac included) are marked by a mix of cathedral characteristics and monastic characteristics.⁹

B.1: The Refrains Attached to the Initial Psalms

A comparison between the current ferial Morning Service and that described by Gabriel reveals, first, that the refrains at the time of Gabriel are remarkably similar to those used even today on ferial days during the Weeks of the Mysteries of the Great Fast and on all Fridays of the Fast.¹⁰ That is, the psalms that have lost their refrains in the Morning Service during the rest of the year regain them in the Lenten period.¹¹ The return of psalm-refrains during Lent is significant for two reasons: First, their presence confirms

⁹ For more information on this distinction between cathedral and monastic liturgy, see Juan MATEOS, 'L'office monastique à la fin du IV^e siècle: Antioche, Palestine, Cappadoce', *Oriens Christianus* 11 (1963): 53-88; Juan MATEOS, 'The Origins of the Divine Office', trans. Blane WASNIE, *Worship* 41, no. 8 (October 1967): 477-85; Juan MATEOS, 'The Morning and Evening Office', trans. Tobias MAEDER, *Worship* 42, no. 1 (January 1968): 31-47; Gabriele WINKLER, 'Über die Kathedralvesper in den verschiedenen Riten des Ostens und Westens', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 16 (1974): 53-102; and Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, 31-218.

¹⁰ The Weeks of the Mysteries are the first, fourth (middle), and seventh (last) weeks of Lent. The remaining weeks (second, third, fifth, and sixth) are the Ordinary Weeks of the Fast. According to Bedjan's *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, these refrains return to the psalms of the Morning Service on all ferial days of the Fast (vol. 2, pp. ١٠٤, ١٠٥), but according to Darro's *Hudrā*, the refrains return to the psalms of the Morning Service only on ferial days of the Weeks of the Mysteries of the Fast and Fridays of the Fast (vol. 2, pp. ١٠٤, ١٠٥). For an excellent study on the Weeks of the Mysteries, see Juan MATEOS, 'Les "Semaines de Mystères" du Carême chaldéen', *L'Orient Syrien* 4 (1959): 449-58.

¹¹ Please see the second Appendix to compare the two sets of refrains.

the supposition of Mateos in his magistral work on the East Syriac Night and Morning Services: ‘Ces psaumes [148, 149, 150, 116] ont dû être chantés autrefois avec les refrains qui subsistent encore au şapra ferial du Carême’¹². Second, their Lenten reinstatement is a clear illustration of Baumstark’s ‘second law of liturgical evolution, viz. that primitive conditions are maintained with greater tenacity in the more sacred seasons of the Liturgical Year’.¹³ That is, the refrains of Psalms 148, 149, 150, and 116 clung to their respective psalms more tenaciously during the Great Fast than during the rest of the year.

Even more fascinating, however, Mateos notes that the refrains for the last four of the nine initial psalms (148, 149, 150, 116) bear an amazing similarity, not only with the refrains reported by Gabriel in the seventh century, but also to those of the Byzantine *Asmatikos Orthros* (cathedral ‘sung Morning Service’) reported by Symeon of Thessalonica in the fifteenth century.¹⁴ (Please see the second Appendix for the sets of refrains, side by side.) Mateos even points out that some of these refrains are word-for-word translations of each other – either from Greek to Syriac or from Syriac to Greek: ‘Give praise to God’, ‘Praise befits him’, and ‘Son of God, have mercy on us’ – and that these three refrains seem among the oldest in the sets of refrains.¹⁵

Since all three sets of refrains (i.e., those in the present East Syriac Lenten ferial service, the East Syriac

¹² Mateos, *Lelya-Şapra: Offices*, 416.

¹³ Anton BAUMSTARK, *Comparative Liturgy*, ed. Bernard BOTTE, trans. Frank Leslie CROSS, 1st English ed. (trans. from the 3rd French ed. of *Liturgie comparée*) (Newman: Westminster, Maryland, 1958), 27.

¹⁴ Mateos, *Lelya-Şapra: Offices*, 179.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 179–81.

refrains reported by Gabriel, and the Byzantine refrains reported by Symeon) clearly have a common origin, the challenge is to decipher the process of development and mutual influence. Mateos suggests that the East Syriac Lenten ferial refrains are older than those found in the Byzantine tradition at the time of Symeon¹⁶, which is reasonable, given the simplicity of the former. Are they older than those reported by Gabriel as well? On the principle of simplicity, it is tempting to argue that Gabriel's refrains are more ancient than the current Lenten ferial refrains, since Gabriel's refrains are less complex. However, if this were the case, then it becomes very difficult to explain why the Byzantine refrains reported by Symeon are almost identical to the East Syriac Lenten ferial refrains; after all, it seems extremely unlikely that the Byzantine tradition would have borrowed these refrains from the East Syriac tradition (this is the only possible direction of borrowing if the East Syriac ferial Lenten refrains are older than those Symeon reports), and this borrowing is even more unlikely because it would have needed to occur sometime between the seventh and fifteenth centuries – a period in which the Greek Church and the Church of the East had extremely little contact!

An alternative possibility is that Gabriel's and Symeon's refrains for Psalms 148, 149, 150, and 116 are independent developments of a common liturgical source and that the East Syriac Lenten ferial refrains are a result of a re-combination of these two independent strands. While this hypothesis is more plausible than the possibility that the Byzantine tradition borrowed from the East Syriac tradition, the hypothesis would still require the Byzantine refrains

¹⁶ Ibid., 180.

reported by Symeon to have been integrated perfectly with their liturgical 'cousins', the refrains reported by Gabriel (again, during a time of limited contact between the two Churches), in order to form today's East Syriac Lenten ferial refrains.

A more elegant, though less intuitive, solution is that the refrains found today in the Lenten ferial Morning Service are even more ancient than those indicated by Gabriel in the seventh century, and that both sets of East Syriac refrains are older than the Byzantine refrains described by Symeon. Thus, if the oldest version of these refrains is indeed witnessed in the current East Syriac Lenten ferial Morning Service, then the refrains of these four psalms seem to have undergone an opposite evolution in the Byzantine and East Syriac liturgical traditions. In the East Syriac tradition outside of Lent, the refrains seem to have gradually disappeared: By the time of Gabriel, the second refrains of Psalms 148 and 149 are lost, and by the time of the present service, all of the refrains have vanished. In the Byzantine tradition, in contrast, the refrains remained remarkably stable and were even slightly expanded by the time of Symeon.¹⁷

¹⁷ With reference to this expansion, Mateos argues that, of the three refrains for Psalm 149 reported by Symeon, those dealing with the Father and the Holy Spirit are a later addition among the Byzantines in order to give the refrains of this psalm a Trinitarian sense (*ibid.*, 180-181). However, since a Trinitarian refrain ('The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit', for Psalm 150) already exists in the set of refrains contained in the East Syriac Lenten ferial Morning Service and since this refrain is attested by Gabriel as well, it seems to me unlikely that the first and third refrains (referring to the Father and the Holy Spirit) reported by Symeon in connection to Psalm 149 are additions in order to give the refrains a Trinitarian meaning; rather, the three refrains of Psalm 149, as reported

While further discussion on this remarkable commonality between the Byzantine and East Syriac traditions is beyond the scope of this project, any deeper research into this topic would ideally involve an investigation of the Maronite and West Syriac traditions as well, to see if similarities – or even the common source of these refrains – can be found there.¹⁸

In passing, it is worth noting that an examination of the psalm headings traditionally used in the East Syriac exegetical tradition¹⁹ reveals that neither the psalm refrains

by Symeon, seem to be an amplification of the single Trinitarian refrain attested in the East Syriac tradition in connection with Psalm 150. Moreover, the fact that the Trinitarian refrains described by Symeon are attached to Psalm 149 instead of to Psalm 150 could be because three refrains were seen as inappropriate for a psalm as short as Psalm 150. In other words, I suggest that the simple Trinitarian refrain of Psalm 150 was expanded in the Byzantine tradition into three refrains and that these three were moved from their original location in Psalm 150 to Psalm 149, where there was more space. (The table in Appendix 2 reflects this hypothesis.)

¹⁸ Indeed, Mateos notes also that in the East Syriac Morning Service as it now stands, the refrains of the psalms during Lent exhibit remarkable similarities among the three Syriac traditions (*ibid.*, 69). For a general introduction to the Morning Service in the three extant Syriac traditions – as well as in the tradition of Tikrit –, see Juan MATEOS, ‘Les matines chaldéennes, maronites et syriennes’, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 26 (1960): 51–73.

¹⁹ N.B. that the East Syriac ‘psalm headings’ are to be distinguished from the ‘psalm refrains’. The refrains (*qānonē*) of the psalms are found in the East Syriac liturgical Psalter and are employed exclusively in the recitation of the psalms during the Night Service on Memorials and on Feasts of the Lord. (For a comparison between these psalm refrains and the refrains that Gabriel reports in connection with the Morning Service, please see the second Appendix.) The headings of the psalms, in contrast, are titles given to the psalms, inspired by the psalm introductions of Theodore of Mopsuestia; in his exegesis of the psalms, Theodore employs his characteristically literal and historical style of interpretation (Herrie

that Gabriel reports for the Morning Service nor his interpretations of the psalms bear any discernable connection with the East Syriac psalm headings. (Please see the third Appendix.) The psalm refrains in the Morning Service and Gabriel's psalm interpretations thus seem to be completely independent from – neither influencing nor being influenced by – the psalm headings.

B.2: The Removal of the Diaconal Litanies

Baumstark's principle of liturgical evolution applies to the diaconal litanies (the *bā'utā* and *kārozutā*) as well. While

F. VAN ROOY, *The East Syriac Psalm Headings: A Critical Edition*, Gorgias Texts and Studies (Third Series) 8 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013), 218–220). These headings are found, with relatively few variations, in East Syriac versions of the Psalter (W. BLOEMENDAAL, *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), 12) – though it should be noted that van Rooy criticizes Bloemendaal for uncritically accepting the assertion of earlier scholars that there is very little variation among various manuscripts' presentations of the East Syriac Psalm Headings (van Rooy, *The East Syriac Psalm Headings*, 29, 31). The East Syriac psalm headings have no liturgical function whatsoever, but given their stability and antiquity, it seemed prudent to examine whether they are connected in any way with Gabriel's commentary.

As an aside, what is intriguing is that the psalm refrains in the East Syriac liturgical Psalter have almost the opposite function from the East Syriac psalm headings. The East Syriac psalm headings situate the psalms in the historical context of the Jewish people, and in only four psalms (Pšittā Psalms 2, 8, 45, 110 = MT Psalms 2, 8, 45, 110 = LXX Psalms 2, 8, 44, 109) do the headings, following upon the exegesis of Theodore, apply the psalms to Christ. The psalm refrains in the East Syriac liturgical Psalter, in contrast, apply many of the psalms to Christ or to the Church. For English translations of the East Syriac psalm headings, see van Rooy, *The East Syriac Psalm Headings*, 67–170; for English translations of the psalm refrains in the East Syriac liturgical Psalter, see Maclean, *Offices*, 236–248.

they existed in the cathedral Morning Service at the time of Gabriel (and also in the monasteries during the Great Fast), they had already disappeared from the Morning Service by the time of Abraham bar Lipāh, less than a century after Gabriel.²⁰ Their loss can thus perhaps be explained by the liturgical reform of Išo‘yahb III, which Jammo has described as combining the monastic and cathedral versions of the Liturgy of the Hours for the use of the entire Church of the East²¹. However, at present, the litanies reappear during the Fast.²² The very fact that the litanies return to the ferial Morning Service during the solemn period of the Fast, even if they are not identical to the litanies previously used during the ferial Morning Service, is evidence for the tendency to maintain older traditions in periods viewed as particularly sacred. Interestingly, this use of an older tradition during the Great Fast can be seen either as a return to the cathedral practice (which always included the diaconal litanies in the ferial Morning Service) or as a continuation of the monastic practice (which included the diaconal litanies only in the ferial Morning Service of the Great Fast, but not during the rest of the year).

²⁰ Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 419.

²¹ Sarhad Y. Hermiz JAMMO, ‘Introduction’, in *The Book of Before and After*, ed. Andrew YOUNAN, 2008, xii–xiii.

²² Unlike at the time of Gabriel, where the litanies used during the cathedral Morning Service on Ordinary Days were the same as those used during the Evening Service and during the *Quddāšā*, the litanies used today in the Morning Service on ferial days during the Fast are proper to the season. On ferial days in the Ordinary Weeks of the Fast (except for Fridays), the litanies are paraphrases of the litanies used during the Evening Service and during the *Quddāšā*; on the ferial days in the Weeks of the Mysteries of the Fast and on all Fridays of the Fast, the theme of the litanies is focused on fasting.

Furthermore, Mateos sees the combination of Psalm 51 and the *tešboḥtā* after it (the 'To You Be Praise' Hymn) in today's ferial Morning Service outside of Lent as parallel to the primitive pattern of 'šubbāḥā/qānonā (i.e., a psalm with refrain) + *tešboḥtā* (hymn of praise)' found in numerous locations throughout the East Syriac Liturgy of the Hours.²³ He thus sees the sequence of 'Psalm 51 + collect prayer + litanies + *tešboḥtā*', present during Lent (and in Gabriel's time²⁴) as an anomaly, since a psalm with refrain is usually followed directly by a *tešboḥtā*.²⁵ Another primitive pattern, however, involves a psalm followed by a collect prayer, which is how Psalm 51 is presented in today's ferial Morning Service during Lent.²⁶ So, if the two ancient patterns are 'psalm + collect prayer' and 'psalm + *tešboḥtā*', the pattern currently witnessed during Lent and described by Gabriel, of 'Psalm 51

²³ Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 96–97.

²⁴ Gabriel clearly describes a sequence of 'Psalm 51 + litanies + *tešboḥtā*', without mentioning a collect prayer, but this does not mean there was no collect prayer after Psalm 51 in his time. In fact, Jammo points out, with reference to the Evening Service, that Gabriel never refers to the collect prayers that undoubtedly followed the psalmodies (*šurrāyē*) and the chants in his era; according to Jammo, Gabriel refrained from mentioning them 'probablement parce qu'elles forment une unité avec les pièces dont elles sont la collecte' (Jammo, 'Office du soir', 198). Likewise, Gabriel speaks of the fact that in the Morning Service, certain psalms are said 'without a conclusion or a prayer' (fol. 62b); though he never explicitly describes any psalms in the morning as being followed by a prayer, the very fact that he feels the need to describe some psalms as *not* being followed by a prayer implies that *some* (or perhaps *most*) psalms were indeed followed by prayers.

²⁵ Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 181.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 421.

(+ collect prayer) + litanies + *tešboḥtā'*, seems to be a mingling of the two sequences.²⁷

Since both the presbyteral collect prayer that often concludes psalmody and the diaconal litany are fundamentally *clerical* prayers, they both seem characteristic of the cathedral liturgy. I would thus suggest that the sequence of 'psalm + collect prayer' is characteristic of the cathedral liturgy, while the sequence of 'psalm + *tešboḥtā*' is characteristic of the monastic office, since the latter lacks a presbyteral prayer. Therefore, it seems that the cathedral sequence described by Gabriel is formed by the addition of the monastic *tešboḥtā* to an even earlier cathedral sequence of 'Psalm 51 + collect prayer + litanies'. Likewise, the monastic Lenten sequence described by Gabriel is formed by the addition of the litanies (or of the collect prayer and the litanies) to the original monastic sequence of 'Psalm 51 + *tešboḥtā*'.

The following is a schematic presentation of this hypothesis:

Hypothetical Cathedral Morning Service outside of and during Lent before Gabriel's time:	Cathedral Morning Service outside of and during Lent described by Gabriel:	Monastic Morning Service outside of Lent described by Gabriel:	Monastic Morning Service during Lent described by Gabriel:	Morning Service outside of Lent at present:	Morning Service during Lent at present:
... Psalm 51 collect prayer <i>bā'utā & kározuṭā</i> ...	... Psalm 51 [collect prayer?] <i>bā'utā & kározuṭā</i> <i>tešboḥtā</i> ...	... Psalm 51 <i>tešboḥtā</i> ...	... Psalm 51 [collect prayer?] <i>bā'utā & kározuṭā</i> <i>tešboḥtā</i> ...	... Psalm 51 <i>tešboḥtā</i> ...	... Psalm 51 collect prayer <i>bā'utā & kározuṭā</i> <i>tešboḥtā</i> ...

We can thus conclude (1) that the current sequence outside of Lent is clearly the ancient monastic sequence and (2) that the

²⁷ Ibid.

current sequence during Lent, regardless of whether it reflects the cathedral sequence at the time of Gabriel or the Lenten monastic sequence at the time of Gabriel, is already a mingling of cathedral and monastic traditions.

B.3: The Frequency of the Diaconal Litanies and of the Lāku Mārā Chant

On the topic of the litanies, Gabriel's commentary provides a valuable witness to the rationale behind the frequency of their use. The fact that the diaconal litanies are 'ordered to be said by us in the Church in the evening and in the morning'²⁸ and that the *Lāku Mārā* chant is likewise 'arranged ... to be said every day in the Church in the evening and in the morning'²⁹ offers a clue to why both of these liturgical elements were said in the ferial Morning Service but not in the Morning Service for Sundays, Feasts, and Memorials. The reason is structural, rather than having an arcane theological meaning: The key is quite simply that both of these elements (the chant and the litanies) were said twice a day. They were always said once in the evening, during the Evening Service. They were also always said once in the morning, either during the Morning Service, or, on days in which a *Quddāšā* was celebrated (i.e., Sundays, Feasts, and Memorials), during the *Quddāšā* instead of during the Morning Service. Thus the explanation for why these two elements appear in the ferial Morning Service and not in the Morning Service on days with a *Quddāšā* is simply a matter of

²⁸ Fol. 70a-b.

²⁹ Fol. 64b.

symmetry or of aesthetics. If the *Lāku Mārā* chant and the litanies were to be celebrated both during the *Quddāšā* and during the Morning Service for Sundays, Feasts, and Memorials, then these two elements would be said twice in the morning, ruining the simple principle of ‘once in the evening and once in the morning’. Gabriel thus confirms the assertion of Mateos that the litanies were not included in the Morning Service of Sundays, ‘sans doute pour éviter le doublet avec celles de la Messe, tout à fait analogues’³⁰.

B.4: The Lamp-Lighting in the Evening and Morning Services

Gabriel’s commentary describes another liturgical element that occurred twice a day: the rite of lamp-lighting. An examination of his interpretation of the lucernarium in the morning³¹ (*Mēm̄rā* 2, Chapter 10) reveals that it is identical to the lamp-lighting that he describes in the evening (*Mēm̄rā* 1, Chapters 5-8, discussed by Jammo in 1967). Gabriel writes that in the Evening Service, after the initial psalmody of two *marmyātā* and before the reciting of the *Lāku Mārā* chant, as ‘Peace with us’ is said and as the curtain is opened, the lamp and incense are also lit.³² In exactly the

³⁰ Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 421.

³¹ Unlike with the litanies and the *Lāku Mārā* chant, which occurred in the morning during the *Quddāšā*, or, if there was no *Quddāšā*, during the Morning Service, Gabriel describes the lamp-lighting as simply occurring during the Morning Service, and the rite does not appear in his interpretation of the *Quddāšā*.

³² Jammo, ‘Office du soir’, 188. Jammo notes that the curtain in question is one of two; the ‘exterior’ curtain, which encloses the entire sanctuary, is opened at this point in the evening service, but the ‘interior’ curtain,

same way, the lamp-lighting, incense, veil-opening, and announcement of peace occur together in the ferial Morning Service, right after the initial psalmody of nine psalms and immediately before *Lāku Mārā*.³³

Moreover, the liturgical action of lighting the lamp, too, is identical in both services: According to Jammo's understanding of Gabriel, there were two lamps in the East Syriac churches at the time of Gabriel: one within the 'interior' veil that guarded the altar, and one outside the 'exterior' veil the separated the sanctuary from the nave; at the time of lamp-lighting, a candle was lit from the former lamp (in the sanctuary) and then brought outside the veils to light the latter lamp (in the nave).³⁴ This is a mirror of what Gabriel describes in the Morning Service: 'We bring forth the light ... and with this light, we kindle the lamp on the lampstand Then, the lamp on the lampstand remains [lit] in the nave, and we carry the light' back to the sanctuary.³⁵

Even the symbolism of the lucernaria in the morning and evening are the same: In both cases, Gabriel writes that the lighting of the lamps indicates the manifestation of Christ in the world and the dawning/epiphany³⁶ of the great Sun of Righteousness.³⁷ Likewise, the bringing of the light from the sanctuary to the nave in the Evening Service, 'signifiait la

which encloses the altar, is never opened during vespers. Presumably, the latter is opened only during the Eucharistic Liturgy.

³³ Fol. 65a-b.

³⁴ Jammo, *Structure de la Messe*, 189.

³⁵ Fol. 65a.

³⁶ The word in question is *denḥā*, which can mean dawning / epiphany / shining forth.

³⁷ Jammo, 'Office du soir', 188; fol. 65a.

communication de la lumière du Christ à son Eglise'³⁸, just as the same action in the Morning Service symbolized 'the grace of the Holy Spirit that the Church received from our Lord'³⁹.

Jammo deduces that the East Syriac lucernarium in the Evening Service seems to derive from the vespéral lucernarium in Jerusalem: Egeria describes how a flame is brought from within the Sepulchre, where a lamp burns continually, to light all the lamps in the Church of the Anastasis, and in exactly the same way in the East Syriac tradition, a candle, lit from the lamp that continually burns before the altar, is used to light the lamp in the nave.⁴⁰ While Egeria reports only a lamp-lighting in the evening (just as in the Byzantine tradition even today), the East Syriac lucernarium in the Morning Service in the time of Gabriel seems to have the same origin as the lamp-lighting in the Evening Service.

Though the pieces surrounding the lamp-lighting (in particular the *Lāku Mārā* and the burning of incense) remain in both services, the actual lighting of the lamp itself fell into desuetude at some point after Gabriel wrote his commentary. The reason for this, as Jammo argues, is likely that the focus on the light was obscured by an increased emphasis on other elements (e.g., the incense) that surrounded this part of the Evening and Morning Services. Already by the ninth century, Ps.-George of Arbela describes in his *Expositio*, not a lucernarium at this point in the Evening Service, but rather a procession with clerics, candles, incense, cross, and Gospel; Jammo points out that such a procession, even if it brings a

³⁸ Jammo, 'Office du soir', 189.

³⁹ Fol. 65a.

⁴⁰ Jammo, 'Office du soir', 206.

light from the lamp before the altar to the lamp in the nave, would obscure the focus on lamp-lighting.⁴¹

B.5: The Introduction of the Responses of the Martyrs

I will next examine two elements that appear in today's service, but not in Gabriel's commentary on the ferial Morning Service: the 'Our Father' and the Responses of the Martyrs. The Responses of the Martyrs (*ʿonyātā d-sāhdē*)⁴², though they are attributed to Bishop Mārūtā of Mayperqat⁴³, who co-presided over the Council in Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410 with Catholicos Isaac of the Church of the East, are clearly a later liturgical development; indeed, Mateos notes that they are an example of the tendency (found also in many other liturgical traditions⁴⁴) to attach additional accretions after the original ending of the service, which in the case of

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² As Mateos points out, the word *ʿonitā* simply means 'response' (Mateos, 'Matines', 52). An *ʿonitā* is rather similar to a Byzantine τροπάριον; some East Syriac poetic compositions consist of a single *ʿonitā*, while others, such as the Responses of the Martyrs, consist of a string of *ʿonyātā*. In English translations, the term 'anthem' has usually been employed to refer to a composition made up of several *ʿonyātā*; perhaps the term was chosen because of its familiarity to British translators in the Anglican tradition. While *ʿonitā* could be translated as 'verse', 'stanza', 'strophe', or 'antiphon', each of these has its own nuance, as does the term 'anthem', and so I have gone with the literal translation of 'response'.

⁴³ Maclean, *Offices*, 12; Darmono, *Ḥudrā* vol. 1, 420; A. Sylvester PUDICHERY, *Ramsa: An Analysis and Interpretation of the Chaldean Vespers* (Dharmaram College, 1972), 57.

⁴⁴ For an example of this phenomenon in the Byzantine tradition, see Robert F. TAFT, 'Avoiding Closure: The Multiple Conclusions of the Byzantine Eucharistic Liturgy', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* (Terza serie) 4 (2007): 213-42.

the East Syriac ferial Morning Service was the Trisagion.⁴⁵ Mateos does not provide much additional information, other than to note that these compositions, which are proper to the day of the week and which exist for both the Morning Service and the Evening Service on ferial days, were probably chanted during a procession to the martyrion (*bēyṭ sāhdē*) similar to the *λιτή* in the Byzantine tradition, and that while the seventh-century Abraham of Qatar does not mention the Responses of the Martyrs, they are attested in the ninth-century *Expositio* of Ps.-George of Arbela (only on ferial days throughout the year, not on Feasts, Sundays, or ferial days of Lent), giving a *terminus ante quem* for dating their insertion into the morning ferial liturgy.⁴⁶ Mateos suggests that their late introduction explains why they are missing during Lent and on Feasts of the Lord (and, in many manuscripts, on Sundays).⁴⁷

Indeed, Gabriel does not mention the Responses of the Martyrs in his second *mēmṛā*, on the ferial Morning Service, but intriguingly, he does mention them in his fourth *mēmṛā*, on the Morning Service on Sundays. Referring to the

⁴⁵ Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 79–80; see also Jammo, ‘Office du soir’, 193 and Awa ROYEL, ‘Singing Hymns to the Martyrs: The “Antiphons of the *Sāhdē*” in the Assyrian Church of the East’, *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 12 (2012): 3–11. Indeed, Gabriel writes in fol. 26b that the elements that come after the Trisagion are innovations, noting, ‘It is clear that the Evening Service is concluded with the *Qānonā* of Holy, as [is] also the Morning [Service]’. The *Expositio* of Ps.-George of Arbela alleges in the ninth century that the Trisagion was added to the services of the East Syriac Liturgy of the Hours by Išo’yahb III, but Mateos opines that the addition occurred before then, at least in monastic settings (Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 78), and Gabriel confirms the suggestion of Mateos, with regards to both cathedral and monastic offices.

⁴⁶ Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 79–80, 98, 406.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

solitaries, he writes here that their spiritual Fathers ‘ordered their children to serve the Responses of the Martyrs every day in the morning and in the evening’.⁴⁸ Gabriel’s observation is highly significant for several reasons: First, it means that the oldest recorded witness to the East Syriac Responses of the Martyrs is not the *Expositio* in the ninth century, but Gabriel’s commentary in the seventh; in other words, his mention of the Responses shifts the *terminus ante quem* for their use in the liturgy two centuries earlier than previously thought. Second, Gabriel’s indication that in his time, the celebration of the Responses of the Martyrs on ferial days was an exclusively monastic practice implies that their introduction into the liturgy of the entire Church of the East may have been a result of the mingling of monastic and cathedral offices that occurred with the liturgical reform of Išō‘yahb̄ III. Moreover, since these Responses are omitted from today’s Morning and Evening Services during the Great Fast, they too provide a potential example of Baumstark’s ‘second law of liturgical evolution’. However, it is worth noting that while the reintroduction of the diaconal litanies in the ferial Morning Service during the Fast can be interpreted as either a return to monastic practice or a return to cathedral practice, the removal of the Responses of the Martyrs from the ferial Morning and Evening Services during the Fast clearly involves a departure from monastic practice and a return to a practice found in the cathedral office.

In addition, Gabriel indicates that the Responses of the Martyrs are recited, not only in the monastic office on ferial days, but also by the entire Church on Sundays: ‘The fact that

⁴⁸ Fol. 180b.

we say the Responses of the Martyrs especially on Sundays and begin them with honor [is] because the entire people goes to church on Sundays, and with this, everyone is helped by the memory of the heroic deeds of the holy ones.”⁴⁹ This signifies that the Responses of the Martyrs on Sundays – which are considered by both Maclean and Mateos to be of considerably less ancient provenance than the ferial Responses of the Martyrs⁵⁰ – already existed at the time of Gabriel. (This assumes, of course, that the Responses of the Martyrs in use on Sundays in his time were the same as the Responses of the Martyrs in use on Sundays presently.)

B.6: The Introduction of the ‘Our Father’

The other significant liturgical piece not mentioned by Gabriel is the ‘Our Father’ (with the Seraphic Hymn⁵¹ as refrain) at the end of the Morning Service, which implies that this was an element with which he was not familiar. His silence on the matter fits well with the sequence of events that Mateos describes: According to the *Expositio* of Ps.-George of Arbela, ‘Išo’yahb III († 657/8) n’a pas ordonné, mais, au contraire, défendu qu’on récite le *Pater noster* au début des offices. Ce fut Timothée I († [823]) qui le prescrivit’; likewise, the eleventh-century treatise by

⁴⁹ Fol. 182a-b.

⁵⁰ Maclean, *Offices*, 173, in footnote 4 from the previous page; Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 79–80, in footnote 3.

⁵¹ ‘Holy, holy, holy are you, our Father in heaven, / for heaven and earth are full of the majesty of your glory! / Watchers and humans cry out to you, / “Holy, holy, holy are you!”’ See above for the distinction between the Trisagion, the Seraphic Hymn, and the Sanctus.

Patriarch Išo'yahb IV⁵² states that 'le *Pater noster* aurait été introduit [at the beginning and at the end] par un Patriarche qu'il ne nomme pas, antérieur a Timothée I. Celui-ci aurait ajouté le qanona «saint» [i.e., the Seraphic Hymn as a refrain].'⁵³ If the *Expositio* of Ps.-George and the treatise of Išo'yahb IV are to be trusted, then the following appears to be the sequence for the introduction of the 'Our Father' into the East Syriac services: (1) Gabriel in the early 600s is unaware of the use of the 'Our Father' in this context, (2) Patriarch Išo'yahb III (649-658) reaffirms that the 'Our Father' should not be used to open the services (which implies that some churches had already begun to adopt this practice but that it was not universal), (3) an unnamed patriarch between 658 and 780 subsequently officially legitimizes the use of the 'Our Father' at the beginning and end of each service⁵⁴, and (4) Patriarch Timothy I (780-823) adds the Seraphic Hymn as a refrain to the 'Our Father' that introduces and concludes each service.

⁵² The eleventh-century Išo'yahb IV is not to be confused with the seventh-century liturgical reformer, Išo'yahb III. This treatise is available in English translation as *Nestorian Questions on the Administration of the Eucharist*, by Išo'yahb IV: *A Contribution to the History of the Eucharist in the Eastern Church*, ed. and trans. Willem Cornelis VAN UNNIK (Haarlem: Enschedé, 1937).

⁵³ Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 81, 83.

⁵⁴ In the liturgical books, the 'Our Father' appears only at the end, and not the beginning, of today's ferial Morning Service because the Morning Service follows the Night Service without a break. The 'Our Father' thus opens the Night Service and closes the Morning Service.

B.7: The Composition of the 'To You Be Praise' Hymn

One final point is worth noting in terms of the structure of the service: The phrase, sung three times, 'O (good) Hope of human beings, grant us tranquility and peace, that we may give thanks to your Trinity, O Lord of All, forever, amen', is already at the end of the hymn 'To You Be Praise', and Gabriel sees the entire hymn as a unit.⁵⁵ Mateos, however, suggests that the concluding phrase is structurally unrelated to the rest of the hymn and that the phrase originally accompanied the Kiss of Peace that concludes every service of the East Syriac Liturgy of the Hours.⁵⁶ If Mateos is correct, then this phrase must have been removed from the context of the Kiss of Peace and attached to the rest of the hymn before the time of Gabriel.

C: Gabriel's Scriptural Source

Gabriel seems to have had access to, or at least knowledge of, versions of the Bible other than the Pšittā. In his commentary on Psalm 91, the second psalm of the Morning Service, he mentions at one point that the base of Noah's ark 'would not hit upon a stone'.⁵⁷ The phrase 'against a stone' is found in MT Psalm 91:12b and in LXX Psalm 90:12b, but *not* in Pšittā Psalm 91:12b, and yet it here appears in

⁵⁵ Fol. 82a.

⁵⁶ Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 97. While neither Bedjan nor Darmono notes the Kiss of Peace at the end of every service, Maclean does (*Offices*, 22), and I have witnessed it myself as recently as 2010 at the conclusion of the Evening and Morning Services of the Church of the East in India.

⁵⁷ Fol. 50b.

Gabriel's paraphrase of the psalm! The implication is that either this phrase points to a well-known exegetical tradition, or Gabriel had access to Biblical versions other than the Pšittā.

An additional example of Gabriel's knowledge of a non-Pšittā tradition is found in his discussion of the importance of the number seven (Chapter Sixteen). He quotes 1 Samuel 2:5c as 'the barren women [has become] the bearer of seven'.⁵⁸ Gabriel is clearly not quoting here from the Pšittā, which has here 'the barren woman has borne and is satisfied'! The Masoretic Text and the Septuagint, however, do refer to 'seven' children in this context. Thus, Gabriel's source must be either a Biblical version other than the Pšittā or an exegetical tradition that refers to 'seven' children.

Finally, despite the fact that the Book of Revelation is not present in the Pšittā of the New Testament⁵⁹, there is a slight possibility that Gabriel might have been familiar with its contents. Gabriel uses together the three terms, 'peoples, nations, and tongues'⁶⁰, which are found (along with a fourth – either 'tribes' or 'gatherings') in Revelation 11:9, 13:7, 14:6, and 17:15. This potential quotation from Revelation fits well in the eschatological context of Gabriel's commentary, with its references to Elijah (cf. Malachi 3:23-24) and the Son of Perdition (cf. 2 Thessalonians 2:3). It is possible that Gabriel had access to the anonymous sixth-century translation of Revelation or to the Harklean version of the New Testament

⁵⁸ Fol. 85b.

⁵⁹ Sebastian P. BROCK, 'Versions, Ancient (Syriac)', in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel FREEDMAN (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

⁶⁰ Fol. 40a.

(which does contain Revelation), produced in 616.⁶¹ On the other hand, the origin of the three terms together seems to be Daniel 3:4, 3:7, 4:1, 5:19, 6:25, and 7:14, and Gabriel may have pulled the phrase from there instead of from the Book of Revelation. However, evidence for Gabriel's familiarity with Revelation is strengthened by his mentioning, in the context of those for whom the Church prays in its litanies, of 'those who are fleeing before the wicked and are hiding far away on mountains or in caverns or in a cave or in deserts'⁶², which seems to refer either to Revelation 6:15 or to Hebrews 11:38.

D: Terminological Considerations

D.1: The Term *Suyyākā*

The first terminological consideration worthy of note is Gabriel's use of the term *suyyākā*, which means 'conclusion'. The word is important precisely because it is unclear what a 'conclusion' is in the context of the psalms of the Morning Service.⁶³ Gabriel mentions, in his ninth chapter, that the fourth through ninth psalms of the ferial Morning Service, unlike the first three psalms, are not separated from each other – 'neither with a conclusion (*suyyākā*) nor with a prayer, but rather [we] immediately attach [them] to one another'.⁶⁴ What, then, is a *suyyākā*? We

⁶¹ Brock, 'Versions'.

⁶² Fol. 40a, cf. fol. 44a, 72b.

⁶³ Mateos, in *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, does not mention *suyyākā* in the context of the Morning Service.

⁶⁴ Fol. 62b.

can be certain that for Gabriel, the term *suyyākā* does not refer here to the refrain of a psalm, since he quotes the refrains (*qānonē*) of each of the nine psalms, whereas he notes explicitly that not all the psalms are concluded by a *suyyākā*. Likewise, it is unlikely that the *suyyākē* are the collect prayers that often come after individual psalms or groups of psalms, because in the phrase ‘neither with a conclusion nor with a prayer’ (*lā b-suyyākā w-lā ba-ṣlotā*), ‘prayer’ and ‘conclusion’ seem to be separate items in Gabriel’s understanding.

One possibility is that, in this context, Gabriel is using *suyyākā* to refer to the ‘Glory’ (i.e., the Lesser Doxology: ‘Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, from eternity and until eternity, amen and amen’) that often concludes psalms in today’s East Syriac liturgy. A parallel can be adduced as tentative evidence to support this hypothesis: Just as Gabriel notes that the fourth through ninth psalms of the Morning Service are not separated with a *suyyākā*, unlike the first through fourth psalms, so also, in the present arrangement of the ferial Morning Service, the third through ninth psalms are said continuously, without any separation between one psalm and the next, while the first, second, and ninth psalms do conclude with the ‘Glory’.

This hypothesis is a risky guess, however, because Gabriel does not at all mention the use of the ‘Glory’ in connection with the recitation of the psalms in the ferial Morning Service.⁶⁵ Gabriel’s silence on the matter could

⁶⁵ However, Gabriel does mention in fol. 90b that when continuous psalmody is chanted during Compline, the Night Service, and the three daytime services, a ‘Glory’ is said at the end of every *marmītā*. Another parallel can be found in the Evening Service: Jammo notes that each *šurrāyā* ends with the ‘Glory’ (Jammo, ‘Office du soir’, 191). (However, while Jammo may indeed be correct, Gabriel is not so explicit as Jammo

mean either that the ‘Glory’ was not used, or that it was used but its use was so obvious or insignificant as not to warrant mentioning. Lest the reader mistake Gabriel’s silence as definitive proof against the hypothesis that the *suyyākā* refers to the ‘Glory’ (such ‘proof’ would clearly be an argument from silence), it is important to remember that Gabriel did not intend his interpretation of the service to be a comprehensive outline for the use of future liturgists, but rather an explication of the meaning of how the components of the service were arranged. It is thus only to be expected that Gabriel did not mention every single detail of the service.

D.2: The Terms Šubbāḥā and Hullālā

Secondly, in Chapter Seventeen, during his discussion of the differing amounts of psalmody in the various hours of prayer throughout the day, Gabriel provides important information about the terms *šubbāḥā* and *hullālā*. After noting that three *šubbāḥē* are served at each of the hours of the daytime (Third Hour, Midday, and Ninth Hour)⁶⁶, he writes,

Therefore, we too triply praise the Trinity, not only through the trinity of *šubbāḥē* (i.e., the three

implies. On fol. 19a, Gabriel does not say explicitly that the Glory is found at the end of every *šurrāyā*; rather, he just says that the praise of the Trinity (not necessarily the ‘Glory’) is ‘mixed’ (*HLT*) (not necessarily at the end) with the psalms in general (not necessarily with each *šurrāyā*). Again, this does not mean that Jammo is incorrect; it simply means that the evidence is not clear-cut.)

⁶⁶ Fol. 90a.

šubbāḥē that are served at each of the three times of prayer during the daytime), but [also], at the end of every *marmītā*, we give glory 'to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit'. And at the end of every *šubbāḥā*, we conclude with a trinity of *hullālē* (i.e., with a triple chant of 'Hallelujah'), and at the end of all the *šubbāḥē* (i.e., of each *šubbāḥā*), we add and say three times, 'Hallelujah, hallelujah, glory to you, O God!', but in the third time, instead of 'glory to you, O God!', we say, 'O Lord, have mercy upon us!'⁶⁷

The last sentence is extremely useful in clarifying Gabriel's usage of the terms *šubbāḥā* and *hullālā*. It seems that today's East Syriac tradition has reversed the meanings assigned to these two words in Gabriel's time (or that Gabriel's usage is particular).

The East Syriac Psalter, as it stands today, is composed of twenty *hullālē*, each of which ideally has three *marmyātā*, for a total of fifty-seven *marmyātā*, plus an additional *hullālā* composed of three *marmyātā* containing Old Testament Canticles.⁶⁸ (In this twenty-first *hullālā*, the first *marmītā* is composed of Exodus 15:1-21 and Isaiah 42:10-13, 45:8; the second *marmītā* contains Deuteronomy 32:1-20; and the third contains Deuteronomy 32:21-43.) The total today is thus twenty-one *hullālē* composed of sixty *marmyātā*. For its part, a *šubbāḥā* is today the refrain chanted at the end of each

⁶⁷ Fol. 90b.

⁶⁸ A definition of *hullālā* can be found in Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 488. For that of *marmītā*, see definition 3 on p. 491. Mateos notes that the division of the East Syriac Psalter into *marmyātā* and *hullālē* seems to be modeled after the Greek division in Jerusalem of the Psalter into *στάσεις* and *καθίσματα* (*Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 316).

hullālā during the Night Service.⁶⁹ Gabriel, however, seems to use the terms in the opposite way; for him, a *šubbāhā* seems to be a grouping of psalms, and the *hullālā* is the chant at the end of each *šubbāhā*.

This matter is not as clear as it would seem, though. In his discussion of how the entire Psalter is chanted every day, Gabriel agrees that the Psalter is composed of sixty *marmyātā*, and he mentions that it contains canticles from Moses and Isaiah (though he does not specify which they are).⁷⁰ However, he notes that three *šubbāhē* are said at Third Hour, three at Midday, three at Ninth Hour, four at Compline, and nine at Night Prayer; this adds up to twenty-two *šubbāhē*, which is one more than the twenty-one *hullālē* found in today's East Syriac Psalter.⁷¹ It seems nigh impossible that Gabriel would have misremembered the number of sections in the Psalter or that he would have made an arithmetic error

⁶⁹ See definition 1b, Mateos, *ibid.*, 499. Both Bedjan and Darmono agree with Gabriel that this refrain is 'Hallelujah, hallelujah, glory to you, O God! / Hallelujah, hallelujah, glory to you, O God! / Hallelujah, hallelujah, O Lord, have mercy upon us!' (Bedjan, *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, vol. 1, ٢; Darmono, *Ḥudrā*, vol. 1, ٤٠). Mateos, however, seems to think that the refrain is 'Hallelujah, hallelujah, hallelujah, glory to you, O God!' repeated three times (*Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 488, under the definition of *hullālā*). It is strange that Mateos would make this mistake, since his analysis is based upon Bedjan's *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, but perhaps Mateos has been influenced by the triple repetition of 'Hallelujah, hallelujah, hallelujah, glory to you, O God!' after each *σάσις* in the Byzantine chanting of the Psalter.

⁷⁰ Fol. 93a.

⁷¹ Moreover, Gabriel's notes with disapproval that some small monasteries, instead of serving four *šubbāhē* at Compline and nine in the Night Service, serve six *šubbāhē* at Compline and seven *šubbāhē* at Night Prayer (fol. 92b-93a). This description corresponds perfectly to Ps.-George's description of serving seven *hullālē* in the Night Service (Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 396).

in such a simple calculation. Perhaps more than one Psalter was recited every day.⁷²

Another possible explanation of this discrepancy is that Gabriel's usage of the terms *hullālā* and *šubbāḥā* is not simply the reverse of how they are understood today, but rather that in his time, the Psalter was divided into twenty-two *šubbāḥē* (instead of into twenty-one *hullālē*); that is, Gabriel's *šubbāḥē* might be unrelated to today's *hullālē*. A third (perhaps more likely) possibility is that Gabriel's division of the Psalter into *šubbāḥē* and the current division of the Psalter into *hullālē* are both variant expressions of the attempt to divide the Psalter into roughly twenty sections. In fact, Mateos argues that the division of the East Syriac Psalter into sixty *marmyātā* is more ancient than its division into *hullālē*⁷³, and so the question of whether the Psalter was composed of twenty-two or twenty-one sections may still have been in flux in Gabriel's time. In any case, it is clear that a satisfactory resolution of this matter requires further evidence.

D.3: The Diaconal Exhortation

Finally, Gabriel's commentary allows us to reinterpret a seemingly banal liturgical phrase in a new light: The deacon's common exhortation throughout the East Syriac

⁷² There is a precedent for slightly more than twenty-one *hullālē* being served every day: Ms. Vat. syr. 88 describes how five *hullālē* are said at Compline, ten in the Night Service, and three at each of the three services during the daytime, for a total of twenty-four *hullālē* per day (Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 402).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 316, 410–11.

liturgical tradition, *Nṣalle šlāmā* ‘*aman*’⁷⁴, can be understood in (at least) two ways. One interpretation is that the exhortation consists of two separate statements, the first ordering the people to pray and the second requesting peace upon the assembly: ‘Let us pray! Peace [be] with us!’ In the context of his discussion on the importance of peace, however, Gabriel provides an alternative explanation, interpreting the exhortation to mean that the deacon orders the people to pray and that the *content* of this prayer is a request for peace: ‘Thus,’ Gabriel writes, ‘in all the ecclesiastical services, before all the prayers, we are commanded to pray for peace: “Let us pray, “Peace [be] with us!”’ ” ’.⁷⁵ In other words, the meaning of the deacon’s exhortation, according to Gabriel, is, ‘Let us pray [that] peace [be] with us!’

E: Analytical Conclusion

On a structural level, the two patterns mentioned above are clear: Outside of the Great Fast, the dropping of the diaconal litanies and the insertion of the Responses of the Martyrs indicate the adoption of a monastic form of worship for the ferial Morning Service, to the detriment of a cathedral structure. During the Fast, on the other hand, the reinstatement of psalm refrains, the reinsertion of the diaconal litanies, and the omission of the Responses of the Martyrs are ideal examples of Baumstark’s theory that

⁷⁴ Mateos sees this exhortation as equivalent to the ἐν εἰρήνῃ δεηθῶμεν in the Byzantine tradition (ibid., 44).

⁷⁵ Fol. 80a.

particularly solemn parts of the Liturgical Year tend to involve a return of older liturgical forms.

This preliminary analysis of Gabriel's commentary is limited in scope. I hope to continue this project further, with, first, the translation of the rest of his commentary and, second, a comparison (a) with the current East Syriac liturgical tradition to determine more accurately the shape of that tradition before the reforms of Išō'yahb III, (b) with other liturgical commentaries in the various Syriac traditions, before and after Gabriel, to see how they draw upon each other and what patterns emerge⁷⁶, and (c) with Syriac exegetical commentaries to see whether Gabriel's interpretations of the psalms are original. A translation of the remaining *mēmre* of Gabriel's commentary would also enable a comparison between the typological interpretation he uses to describe the ferial Morning Service and the method of interpretation he employs to explain the other services of the East Syriac Liturgy of the Hours. Finally, translating the rest of the commentary might enable scholars to shed light on other unanswered questions, such as

⁷⁶ Both Jammo and Macomber note the dependence of subsequent East Syriac commentators on the commentary of Gabriel, and Brock notes Gabriel's dependence on an anonymous fifth-century commentary that became influential throughout Syriac Christianity, but these observations are only in reference to the Service of the Mysteries. The question thus remains: What are the ancestors and descendents, so to speak, of Gabriel's interpretation of the Liturgy of the Hours? Recently, Alencherry has investigated this question, but only in reference to the East Syriac Morning Service, and with translations of only portions of Gabriel's commentary. (Jammo, *Structure de la Messe*, 11–27, 49–51; Macomber, 'Liturgy of the Word', 181; Brock, 'Early Syriac Commentary', 402; Alencherry, *Economy of Creation*, 299–307.)

Gabriel's understanding of the terms *suyyākā*, *hullālā*, and *šubbāḥā*.

Overall Conclusion: An Evaluation of Gabriel's Theological Method of Mystagogy

Unless the people who arranged the East Syriac Liturgy of the Hours in the centuries before Gabriel actually thought exactly as he did, Gabriel's commentary does not reveal why the service starts with nine psalms or why these particular nine psalms were chosen for the service, or why the third psalm, unlike the other eight, is recited only in part.¹ However, it is clear from the very fact that he is asking questions such as these that these questions were being asked by the East Syriac Christians of his time. That is, people (or at least Gabriel himself!) desired a rational explanation for the composition of their liturgical rites. The mystagogical method that Gabriel employs elucidates one way in which the East Syriac tradition understood the Morning Service.

As we have seen, Gabriel's mystagogical method in interpreting the ferial Morning Service is to see it as representing history from creation to the end of the world. In his interpretation of the Service of the Mysteries in *Mēmra*

¹ Mateos presents hypotheses that are, from a historical and logical point of view, much more plausible than the explanations offered by Gabriel: Psalms 148-150 are the oldest unit, found in all Christianity, to which all three Syriac traditions added Psalm 116 for the same reason (it begins appropriately with 'Praise!'). With the same motivation, the East and West Syriac traditions added Psalm 113. The presence of Psalm 91 is difficult to explain, but its addition is ancient, since it appears among the West Syriac and Maronite traditions as well. Psalm 100 was also added because it begins with 'Praise!' Psalm 104 was chosen because its second verse refers to the light; the psalm was abbreviated, though, because it is rather long and to avoid the reference to the evening in vv. 19-20. Psalm 93 is a resurrection psalm typical of Sundays that also was added to the ferial Morning Service in imitation of the Sunday Morning Service. (*Lēya-Ṣapra: Offices*, 416-17).

Five, Chapter Two of his commentary, his method is similar: He writes, 'And also in this Service of the Holy Mysteries, a sign was placed by our blessed Fathers cursorily in a few words, as to make a memorial of God's entire economy of salvation that was accomplished through Christ in the world, starting from his birth in the flesh and proceeding, in order, until his death and his resurrection and his ascension'.² Thus, while the Morning Service illustrates the divine economy of salvation throughout history, the *Quddāšā* illustrates the same salvific economy in the specific period of the earthly life of Christ.³

This kind of typological method of mystagogy – in which each element of a liturgical service stands for something else entirely – reigned for centuries as the undisputed method of liturgical interpretation both in Syriac Christianity and in the Byzantine tradition⁴, and it could even

² Fol. 186b-187a.

³ One of the sources of inspiration for Gabriel's Eucharistic commentary was a fifth-century anonymous commentary that eventually became influential not only in the East Syriac and West Syriac traditions, but also among the Melkites; however, the same cannot be said of his commentary on the Morning Service, because the anonymous commentary focuses exclusively on Baptism and the Eucharist (Brock, 'Early Syriac Commentary', 402).

⁴ This typological method of liturgical interpretation originated in the 'school' of Antioch, from which both traditions eventually inherited the method – the Byzantine tradition via Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Syriac tradition via both Theodore and the anonymous fifth-century liturgical commentary. See Paul F. BRADSHAW and Maxwell E. JOHNSON, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2012), 185, 187; Brock, 'Early Syriac Commentary', 399.

be found in the Latin West (cf. the *Missa drammatica*⁵). Yet, from the point of view of liturgical theologians such as Alexander Schmemmann, this method is highly problematic because, however much it may allow the faithful to participate in the services on a superficial level and to deepen their connection to the salvific actions of God, it fails to assist the faithful in being involved more deeply in what is actually going on in the liturgical service. Schmemmann writes, for example, that this 'illustrative symbolism', by which he refers to the mystagogical method of associating individual liturgical elements with events in the past, 'not only does... not correspond to the basic and original Christian conception of worship, but actually distorts it...'.⁶ At the base of this problem lies the loss of the understanding of the symbol as something that is rooted in reality. While Patristic theology saw symbols as providing access to a hidden reality, the passage of centuries saw the loss of this 'strong' understanding of the symbol, and 'what is symbolic' has come to be seen as in contrast to 'what is real'. Schmemmann thus adds, 'this type of [illustrative] symbolism is not only quite frequently utilized arbitrarily and artificially... but in fact reduces ninety percent of our rites to the level of didactic dramatization... Such reduction deprives the rites of their inner necessity, their relation to the *reality* of worship'.⁷

⁵ For one example very popular in Italy in the early twentieth century, see Bartolo LONGO, *Modo di udire la Santa Messa*, 18th ed. (Pompei: Scuola tipografica pontificia, 1948).

⁶ Alexander SCHMEMMANN, *The Eucharist: Sacrament of the Kingdom* (St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1988), 30.

⁷ Ibid., 31; see also Galadza, who affirming Schmemmann's assertion but criticizing his failure to put this principle into practice, writes 'any interpretation of worship which applies a pre-determined chronological

Take, for example, Gabriel's interpretation of the second psalm of the Morning Service, Psalm 91: It is certainly beneficial to call to mind the salvific way in which God was present for Noah, and it is indisputably advantageous to be inspired to imitate his righteousness, but a right mystagogy – i.e., an explication that *guides the faithful into the mysteries* correctly – of this psalm in the context of this service must focus on how it helps the faithful participate, here and now, in the Paschal Mystery that Christ carried out two millennia ago. Fascinating as Gabriel's typological method of interpretation may be, it is thus ultimately deficient.

Of course, this is not to say that the study of Gabriel's commentary, and of the commentaries of those who used a similar mystagogical method, is worthless. On the contrary, such study is essential, not only to gain access to the historical witness of liturgical structures, but also to gain insight into the theological concepts that nourished Christians in the past. Similarly, it would be inappropriate to judge Gabriel negatively or his method too harshly; he availed himself of the tools that he had at his disposal, and he composed a commentary that is engaging and interesting. Nevertheless, it is necessary to affirm that the goal of interpreting the liturgical services is ultimately the same as the goal of liturgy itself: enabling Christians to participate in the salvific mystery that Christ accomplished, in order to have communion in the life of God.

schema to an ordo that was never intended to conform to that schema... is a deleterious interpretation' ('Schmemmann between Fagerberg and Reality: Towards an Agenda for Byzantine Christian Pastoral Liturgy', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* (Terza serie) 4 (2007): 18).

APPENDICES

**Appendix 1: A Summary of the Various Structures
of the East Syriac Ferial Morning Service**
Commonalities with Gabriel are indicated in bold.

At the time of Gabriel	Presently, throughout the Year
	Two introductory prayers
Psalm 100 with the refrain 'Giver of Light, Lord, to you we lift up praise!'	Psalm 100 with the refrain 'Giver of Light, Lord, to you we lift up praise!' and 'Glory...'
Conclusion and/or prayer	Prayer
Psalm 91 with the refrain 'Glorious is your trustworthiness, Christ our Savior'	Psalm 91 with the refrain 'Glorious is your trustworthiness, Christ our Savior' and 'Glory...'
Conclusion and/or prayer	Prayer
Psalm 104:1-15 with the refrain 'The glory of the Lord will be forever'	Psalm 104:1-16a with the refrain 'The glory of the Lord will be forever'
Conclusion and/or prayer	
Psalm 113 with the refrain 'Glory to the one who created the light'	Psalm 113 with the refrain 'Glory to the one who created the light'
Psalm 93 with the refrain 'We worship you, Eternal Being'	Psalm 93
Psalm 148 with the refrain 'Praise God!'	Psalm 148
Psalm 149 with the refrain 'Praise befits him'	Psalm 149
Psalm 150 with the refrain 'The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'	Psalm 150
Psalm 116 with the refrain 'Christ the Light, we praise you'	Psalm 116 with 'Glory...' and a repetition of the refrain from Psalm 100
	Prayer
Lāku Mārā Chant , together with the bringing out of the light from the sanctuary to the lamp in the nave, the burning of incense, the opening of the veil, and the announcing of peace	Lāku Mārā Chant
	Prayer

Presently, during the Weeks of the Mysteries of the Fast and on all Fridays of the Fast (according to Darmo's <i>Ḥudrā</i>)	Presently, during Ordinary Weeks of the Fast (except Fridays) (according to Darmo's <i>Ḥudrā</i>)
Two introductory prayers (proper to the Weeks of the Mysteries)	Two introductory prayers (proper to the Ordinary Weeks of the Great Fast)
Psalm 100 with the refrain 'Giver of Light, Lord, to you we lift up praise!' and 'Glory...'	Psalm 100 with the refrain 'Giver of Light, Lord, to you we lift up praise!' and 'Glory...'
Prayer	Prayer
Psalm 91 with the refrain 'You are my confidence, O Christ, forever; I will not be ashamed', the 'Glory...', and two additional refrains	Psalm 91 with the refrain 'Glorious is your trustworthiness, Christ our Savior' and 'Glory...'
Prayer	Prayer
Psalm 104:1-14 with the refrain 'The glory of the Lord will be forever' and 'Glory...'	Psalm 104:1-16a with the refrain 'The glory of the Lord will be forever'
Prayer	
Psalm 113 with the refrain 'Glory to the one who created the light'	Psalm 113 with the refrain 'Glory to the one who created the light'
Psalm 93 with the refrain 'We worship, my Lord, your Divinity'	Psalm 93
Psalm 148:1-6 with the refrain 'Praise God!' and Psalm 148:7-14 with the refrain 'Give praise to God!'	Psalm 148
Psalm 149 with the refrains 'Praise befits him' and 'O Son of God, have pity on us'	Psalm 149
Psalm 150 with the refrain 'The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'	Psalm 150
Psalm 116 with the refrain 'Christ the Light, we praise you' and 'Glory...'	Psalm 116 with 'Glory...' and a repetition of the refrain from Psalm 100
Prayer	Prayer
<i>Lāku Mārā</i> Chant	<i>Lāku Mārā</i> Chant
Prayer	Prayer

The ferial Morning Service at the time of Gabriel (cont'd)	The ferial Morning Service presently, throughout the Year (cont'd)
Psalm 51	Psalm 51:1-17 with the refrain, 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord', the 'Glory...', and the additional verse, 'Christ the King, have mercy upon me! Christ the King, glory to your name!'
The Bā'utā, Kārozutā, and 'Angel of Peace' Litany used in the Evening Service and in the <i>Quddāšā</i> (in the cathedral office, not in the monastic office, except during the Fast)	
'To You Be Praise' Hymn	'To You Be Praise' Hymn
	Prayer
Trisagion	Trisagion
	'Our Father', with the Seraphic Hymn as its refrain
	Prayer of the Trisagion
	Prayer of Benediction
Response of the Martyrs (proper to the weekday; only present in the monastic office, not in the cathedral office)	Response of the Martyrs (proper to the weekday)
	Daily Responses
	Two Prayers of the Responses of the Martyrs
Priestly Prayers	Concluding Prayers and Sealing Blessing

The ferial Morning Service presently, during the Weeks of the Mysteries of the Fast and on all Fridays of the Fast (cont'd)	The ferial Morning Service presently, during Ordinary Weeks of the Fast (except Fridays) (cont'd)
Psalm 51:1-17 with a refrain proper to the day	Psalm 51:1-17 with a refrain proper to the day
Prayer	
Psalm 5:3 with poetic verses proper to the day	
The Bā'utā, Kārozutā, and 'Angel of Peace' Litany proper to the Weeks of the Mysteries (focused on the theme of fasting)	The Bā'utā and Kārozutā proper to the Ordinary Weeks of the Fast (paraphrases of the normal Bā'utā and Kārozutā), and the normal 'Angel of Peace' Litany
Prayer	Prayer
'To You Be Praise' Hymn	'To You Be Praise' Hymn
Prayer	Prayer
Trisagion	Trisagion
Prayer of the Trisagion from the Evening Service	Prayer of the Trisagion from the Evening Service
Prayer of the Imposition of Hands from the Evening Service	Prayer of the Imposition of Hands from the Evening Service
Qutṭā'ā (an excerpt from the Third Hour of prayer, inserted here): Prayer proper to the hullālā One hullālā of psalmody Hymn proper to the day Trisagion	Qutṭā'ā (an excerpt from the Third Hour of prayer, inserted here): Prayer proper to the hullālā One hullālā of psalmody Hymn proper to the day Trisagion
'Our Father', with the Seraphic Hymn as its refrain	'Our Father', with the Seraphic Hymn as its refrain
Prayer of the Trisagion	Prayer of the Trisagion
Prayer of Benediction	Prayer of Benediction
Concluding Prayers and Sealing Blessing	Concluding Prayers and Sealing Blessing

Appendix 2: Various Versions of the Refrains of the Psalms

Commonalities are indicated in bold.

Psalm	East Syriac Ferial Morning Service, according to Gabriel of Qatar (7 th cent.)	East Syriac Ferial Morning Service throughout the year, presently	East Syriac Ferial Morning Service in the Weeks of the Mysteries and on Fridays in the Great Fast, presently
Pšittā Psalm 100 / MT Psalm 100 / LXX Psalm 99	'Giver of Light (yāhēb nuhrā), Lord, to you we lift up praise (šubhā).'	'Giver of Light (yāhēb nuhrā), Lord, to you we lift up praise (šubhā).'	'Giver of Light (yāhēb nuhrā), Lord, to you we lift up praise (šubhā).'
Pšittā Psalm 91 / MT Psalm 91 / LXX Psalm 90	'Glorious (šbiḥ) is your trustworthiness (tuklānāk), Christ our Savior.'	'Glorious (šbiḥ) is your trustworthiness (tuklānāk), Christ our Savior.'	'You are my confidence (tuklān(y)), O Christ, forever; I will not be ashamed.'
Pšittā Psalm 104 / MT Psalm 104 / LXX Psalm 103	'The glory (šubhā) of the Lord will be forever.'	'The glory (šubhā) of the Lord will be forever.'	'The glory (šubhā) of the Lord will be forever.'
Pšittā Psalm 113 / MT Psalm 113 / LXX Psalm 112	'Glory (šubhā) to the one who created the light (l- man da-brā nuhrā).'	'Glory (šubhā) to the one who created the light (l- man da-brā nuhrā).'	'Glory (šubhā) to the one who created the light (l- man da-brā nuhrā).'
Pšittā Psalm 93 / MT Psalm 93 / LXX Psalm 92	'We worship (sāgdinan) you, Eternal Being (ityā d-men mōm).'	none	'We worship (sāgdinan), my Lord, your Divinity (alāhūtāk).'

Psalm	East Syriac Festal Morning Service	Byzantine <i>Orthros Asmatikos</i> , according to Symeon of Thessalonica	East Syriac Liturgical Psalter
	presently	(15 th cent.)	
Pšittā Psalm 100 / MT Psalm 100 / LXX Psalm 99	'Giver of Light (yāhēb nuhrā), Lord, to you we lift up praise (šubhā).'	not applicable	'The righteous put on glory (šubhā) and fly in the clouds to meet our Lord when he comes.'
Pšittā Psalm 91 / MT Psalm 91 / LXX Psalm 90	'Glorious (šbiḥ) is your trustworthiness (tuklānāk), Christ our Savior.'	not applicable	'You are my confidence (tuklān(y)), O Christ, forever; I will not be ashamed.'
Pšittā Psalm 104 / MT Psalm 104 / LXX Psalm 103	'Praise (šubhā) befits (yā'ē) you, O God.'	not applicable	'The Creator (bāroyā) is worshiped (sgīd) forever and ever.'
Pšittā Psalm 113 / MT Psalm 113 / LXX Psalm 112	'Praise (šubhā) befits (yā'ē) you, O God, for you are the Creator of the light (baroyēh d-nuhrā).'	not applicable	'Praised (šbiḥ) is the Being (ityā) who, in his servants, called the peoples to know his wonders; with his power, they conquered on earth, and in heaven, he adorns them with glory.'
Pšittā Psalm 93 / MT Psalm 93 / LXX Psalm 92	'We worship (sāgdinan) you, Eternal Being (ityā d-men mṭom).'	not applicable	'We worship (sāgdinan) your being without beginning (itūtāk d- lā šurrāy), glorious (šbiḥ) in the heights. Preserve your Church and deliver her!'

Psalms (cont'd)	Refrain in the East Syriac Ferial Morning Service, according to Gabriel of Qatar (7 th cent.) (cont'd)	Refrain in the East Syriac Ferial Morning Service throughout the year, presently (cont'd)	Refrain in the East Syriac Ferial Morning Service in the Weeks of the Mysteries and on Fridays in the Great Fast, presently (cont'd)
Pšittā Psalm 148 / MT Psalm 148 / LXX Psalm 148	'Praise (šabbhunāy(hy)) God!'	none	148:1-6: 'Praise (šabbhunāy(hy)) God!' 148:7-14: 'Give praise (hab(w) tešbohtā) to God!'
Pšittā Psalm 149 / MT Psalm 149 / LXX Psalm 149	'Praise (tešbohtā) befits (yā'yā) him.'	none	At beginning of psalm: 'Praise (tešbohtā) befits (yā'yā) him.' At end of psalm: 'Son of God, have pity on us (ḥus layn)!'
Pšittā Psalm 150 / MT Psalm 150 / LXX Psalm 150	'The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.'	none	'The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.'
Pšittā Psalm 116 / MT Psalm 117 / LXX Psalm 116	'Christ the Light (nuhrā), we praise (mšabbḥinan) you.'	At end of psalm, the refrain from the first of the nine psalms: 'Giver of Light (yāhēb nuhrā), Lord, to you we lift up praise (šubḥā).'	'Christ the Light (nuhrā), we praise (mšabbḥinan) you.'

Psalms (cont'd)	Refrain in the East Syriac Festal Morning Service presently (cont'd)	Refrain in the Byzantine <i>Orthros Asmatikos</i> , according to Symeon of Thessalonica (15 th cent.) (cont'd)	Refrain in the East Syriac Liturgical Psalter (cont'd)
Pšittā Psalm 148 / MT Psalm 148 / LXX Psalm 148	none	148:1-6: 'Praise (ᾠμος) befits (πρέπει) you, God.' 148:7-12: 'Give praise (δότε δόξαν) to God!'	'The heavens of heavens praise (mšabbhin) you, for you brought them into being.'
Pšittā Psalm 149 / MT Psalm 149 / LXX Psalm 149	none	148:13-149:2: 'Praise (ἀνεσις) befits (πρέπει) him.' 150:1-4: 'Son of God, have mercy on us (ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς)!'	'The peoples have sung praise (tešbohtā šabbah(w)) to God, who saved (praq) them.'
Pšittā Psalm 150 / MT Psalm 150 / LXX Psalm 150	none	149:3-5: 'Glory (δόξα) to you, Holy Father .' 149:6-7: 'Son of God, have mercy on us (ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς)!' 149:8-9: 'Spare us (φείσῃ ἡμῶν), Lord, through the Holy Spirit!' ¹	'The Son of God has sanctified you and has invited you to his kingdom.'
Pšittā Psalm 116 / MT Psalm 117 / LXX Psalm 116	At end of psalm, the refrain from the first of the nine psalms: 'Giver of Light (yāhēb nuhrā), Lord, to you we lift up praise (šubhā).'	150:5: 'Glory (δόξα) to you, the Revealer of Light (δείξαντι τὸ φῶς).'	'The People and the peoples, one Church, praise (šabbah(w)) Christ!'

¹ I have presented these three refrains, which are attached to Psalm 149 in the Byzantine cathedral office in the time of Symeon of Thessalonica, here, in order to show what I believe to be their original location – i.e., the same location as the Trinitarian refrain in the East Syriac tradition, attached to Psalm 150. Please see Chapter 4 for my rationale.

Appendix 3: Gabriel's Interpretations, the Psalm Refrains, and the Psalm Headings

Element in the Morning Service	Gabriel's Interpretation	Psalm Refrain in the ferial Morning Service, according to Gabriel	Psalm Refrain in the East Syriac liturgical Psalter
Psalm 100	Creation, angels, Adam	'Giver of Light, Lord, to you we lift up praise.'	'The righteous put on glory and fly in the clouds to meet our Lord when he comes.'
Psalm 91	Noah	'Glorious is your trustworthiness, Christ our Savior.'	'You are my confidence, O Christ, forever; I will not be ashamed.'
Psalm 104:1-15	Abraham	'The glory of the Lord will be forever.'	'The Creator is worshiped forever and ever.'
Psalm 113	Moses	'Glory to the one who created the light.'	'Praised is the Being who, in his servants, called the peoples to know his wonders; with his power, they conquered on earth, and in heaven, he adorns them with glory.'
Psalm 93	Joshua bar Nun, Judges	'We worship you, Eternal Being.'	'We worship your being without beginning, glorious in the heights. Preserve your Church and deliver her!'

Element in the Morning Service	Psalm Heading in the East Syriac Psalter, according to the critical edition of H. F. van Rooy ¹	Psalm Heading in the East Syriac Psalter, according to the commentary of Denhā (Mingana 58) ²
Psalm 100	'He admonishes the people that they have to enter the temple like men who have returned from captivity and to praise God on account of the wondrous things He had done for them.'	'He admonishes the people, as when they returned from exile, to let them enter the temple and to give thanks to God. Concerning the fall that Satan fell.'
Psalm 91	'David composed an exhortation for all people after the victory of the people against the Assyrians because of the virtue of Hezekiah and he promised that they will receive the same if they have a concern for righteousness, with respect to those things which happened to him.'	'From the victory that the people had against the Assyrians because of the virtue of Hezekiah. David admonishes all people and promises that they may have things like these if they are anxious of virtue. Concerning those who trust in God.'
Psalm 104:1-15	'He narrates about the greatness of the help of God in the variety of his (creative) activity and says that God had formed every one of his creatures admirably.'	'Concerning the creative power and the providence of God; every and each one of created things were arranged by him.'
Psalm 113	'He teaches the Judeans to persevere in the praise of God as he is great and is also able to help.'	'He admonishes the Jews to be occupied in praises in that they love God as their Lord and messenger. Concerning Zerubbabel.'
Psalm 93	'He points out the greatness of the help of God during the return of the people.'	'Concerning the return from Babylon, dressed in the robe of the power of God, with which he (God? people?) defeated the Babylonians and also loved his help in their eyes. Concerning the greatness of the help of God unto people.'

¹ The translations are those of van Rooy in *The East Syriac Psalm Headings*, 67-170. Where van Rooy has provided more than one text, due to substantial variations among manuscripts, I have given here only the first of these multiple texts.

² Bloemendaal employs this commentary to give a variant of the East Syriac psalm headings. The English translations are mine.

Element in the Morning Service (cont'd)	Gabriel's Interpretation (cont'd)	Psalm Refrain in the ferial Morning Service, according to Gabriel (cont'd)	Psalm Refrain in the East Syriac liturgical Psalter (cont'd)
Psalm 148	David	'Praise God!'	'The heavens of heavens praise you, for you brought them into being.'
Psalm 149	Babylonian Exile, Maccabees	'Praise befits him.'	'The peoples have sung praise to God, who saved them.'
Psalm 150	Hasmoneans, John the Baptist	'The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit.'	'The Son of God has sanctified you and has invited you to his kingdom.'
Psalm 116	Magi, Epiphany	'Christ the Light, we praise you.'	'The People and the peoples, one Church, praise Christ!'
Lāku Mārā Chant	Apostles	not applicable	not applicable
Psalm 51	Present Age	none mentioned	'With the hyssop of your mercies, may our blemishes be made white, O Merciful One.'
Litanies	Persecution, Son of Perdition	not applicable	not applicable
'To You Be Praise' Hymn	Elijah	not applicable	not applicable
Trisagion	Rejoicing of the angels	not applicable	not applicable
Concluding Prayers	Continual prayer	not applicable	not applicable

Element in the Morning Service (cont'd)	Psalm Heading in the East Syriac Psalter, according to the critical edition of H. F. van Rooy (cont'd)	Psalm Heading in the East Syriac Psalter, according to the commentary of Denḥā (Mingana 58) (cont'd)
Psalm 148	'He calls on and prepares all creatures to praise God for all his actions towards all.'	'He summons all creation for the praise of God for his operations towards all.'
Psalm 149	'He admonishes the people that they should praise God unceasingly for their return from Babel and for their victory over their enemies.'	'He admonishes the people after their return from Babylon and the victory over their enemies, that they may give thanks to God without cease.'
Psalm 150	'Admonition to the people that they should praise God, their helper, with all kinds of instruments.'	'Admonition unto the people that with every kind of music, they may praise God their Maker.'
Psalm 116	'In the person of Hezekiah he admonishes all the people to praise God and to be amazed about him for all the things he had done on their account.'	'In the person of Hezekiah, he admonishes all people to give thanks to God on account of the things that were done unto them. Concerning the house of Daniel and Zerubbabel.'
Lāku Mārā Chant	not applicable	not applicable
Psalm 51	'Admonition about the people in Babel when they confessed that they had sinned and asked for mercy.'	'Concerning the people in Babylon who were confessing their sins and requesting forgiveness from him also the release of wicked things that was their captivity.'
Litanies	not applicable	not applicable
'To You Be Praise' Hymn	not applicable	not applicable
Trisagion	not applicable	not applicable
Concluding Prayers	not applicable	not applicable

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PART II:
TEXT AND TRANSLATION

A Note about the Transcription

In this transcription of Gabriel's commentary, I have deliberately chosen to reproduce the text exactly as I found it in the manuscript (to the extent I was able, given the limitations of the word processor and of the fonts used). For that reason, on the occasions that I found a grammatical or orthographical error in the text of the manuscript, I have noted this at the bottom of the page. Likewise, I have sought to reproduce all diacritical points and points of punctuation that are present in the manuscript, since they provide information essential to the understanding of the text – information that is lost if they are not included in the transcription. I have not, however, noted errors in the pointing, since there are simply too many; or, rather, the scribe seems to have used a system of diacritical points and punctuation somewhat different from what is today seen as standard.¹ Note also that everything written in red ink has been displayed below as underlined in the Syriac text and **bold in the English translation**.

ACJNvV

¹ Carlson describes similar problems in transcribing and interpreting the dotting (used to represent vowels and punctuation, for example) of medieval Syriac manuscripts ('Future of the Past', 172–73).

Mēmra 2:

Fol. 35a, starting in the middle of line 15

ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ
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Fol. 35b

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^a Dots added in red ink.^b This seems to repeat the previous word (in black rather than red), but the red is very difficult to read.^c Dots added in red ink.^d Dots added in red ink.^e Word started and then restarted on the next line.

Mēmrā 2:

Fol. 35a, starting in the middle of line 15

Again, the Second *Mēmrā*, about the arrangements of the Morning Service on ordinary days.

Chapter One: What is the general aim

Fol. 35b

of the orders (*ṭaksē* < *ṭáḫīṣ*) of the Morning Service?

Chapter Two: What benefits do we have from the understandings of these arrangements?

Chapter Three: Why are we commanded to pray and to praise God in the morning time?

Chapter Four: With what aim is the first psalm of the morning arranged?

Chapter Five: What is the arrangement of the second psalm?

Chapter Six: What does the arrangement of the third psalm explain to us?

Chapter Seven: What does the arrangement of the fourth psalm indicate to us?

Chapter Eight: Why do we serve these four *šurrāyē* from the Old (Testament) in the morning before the *Lāku Mārā* (the 'You, O Lord' chant)?

Chapter Nine: Why do we finish the first two psalms and not the third, and why do we add five (others) to the fourth?

Chapter Ten: Why do we say the *Lāku Mārā* after these psalms?

Chapter Eleven: What is the reason

Fol. 36a

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^a Word started and then restarted on the next line.

^b Should be ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ.

^c Should be ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ. There is, however, a ܐ written in black ink below the line.

^d Crossed out with 'x'es, in red ink.

Fol. 36a

that after the *Lāku Mārā* we say the psalm of ‘Have mercy upon me, O God’?

Chapter Twelve: What does the arrangement here of the petition (*bā‘utā*) and the litany (*kārozutā*) after it indicate to us?

Chapter Thirteen: What is the reason preventing the solitaries from saying the petition (*bā‘utā*) and the litany (*kārozutā*) after it, in the morning?

Chapter Fourteen: What aim does the arrangement of the ‘Praise to you’ possess, and why do we say it in the completion of our service?

Chapter Fifteen: Why, after this hymn of praise, do we say the chant (*qānonā*) of ‘Holy’ (i.e., the Trisagion)?

Chapter Sixteen: What is the reason that the spiritual Fathers arranged that we should give thanks and praise to God seven times, by night and by day?

Chapter Seventeen: Why do we serve three *šubbāḥē* each in the times (of prayer) of the daytime and four at compline (*subbā‘ā*) and nine at night?

Chapter One: What is the general aim of the arrangements of the Morning Service?

Fol. 36b

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^a Word started and then restarted on the next line.

Fol. 36b

The aim, thus placed by our holy Fathers in these arrangements (ṭukkāsē < ṬKS < ṭaksā < τάξις) of the Morning Service of ordinary days, is to recount, within them, the entire course of God's economy of salvation in this world summarily and in signs (*simionāyā* < *simion* < σημεῖον)¹, starting from the creation of light and proceeding, in order, until the end of the world. With the first *šurrāyā*², [the arrangements of the service] teach us about the praises that the angels joyfully shouted at the creation of light and indicate to us concerning the transgression of our father Adam and those who perished in the flood. And in the second *šurrāyā*³, they explain to us concerning the time of the blessed Noah and concerning those after him. And in the third *šurrāyā*⁴, [they teach] us about the time of the blessed Abraham and of his descendents, those who grew old in Egypt. And in [the second psalm of] the fourth *šurrāyā*⁵, they teach us about the time of Joshua the son of Nun

¹ Lit., 'in an abridged and signed time'. By 'in an abridged ... time', Gabriel means 'in abbreviated form', and by 'in a... signed time', he could mean either 'symbolically' or 'in point form'.

² Pšittā Psalm 100 / MT Psalm 100 / LXX Psalm 99.

³ Pšittā Psalm 91 / MT Psalm 91 / LXX Psalm 90.

⁴ The third *šurrāyā* of the ferial Morning Service, as described by Gabriel in Chapter Nine of this *Mēmṛā*, is Pšittā Psalm 104:1-15 / MT Psalm 104:1-15 / LXX Psalm 103:1b-15. (However, in the arrangement of the East Syriac Morning Service on ordinary days in use today, this is Pšittā Psalm 104:1-16a / MT Psalm 104:1-16a / LXX Psalm 103:1b-16a.)

⁵ The second psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā* is Pšittā Psalm 93 / MT Psalm 93 / LXX Psalm 92. In this list (but not in subsequent descriptions), Gabriel has accidentally jumped from the third *šurrāyā* to the second psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā*, skipping the first psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā* (Pšittā Psalm 113 / MT Psalm 113 / LXX Psalm 112).

[illegible]

^f Word started and then restarted on the next line.

Fol. 37a

and of the judges. And in the third psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā*¹, they show us concerning the time of the blessed David and the kings after him. And in the fourth psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā*², they call to mind for us concerning the time of those who returned from Babylon and concerning the Maccabees. And in the fifth psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā*³, they remind us of the time of the blessed John the Baptist. And in the sixth psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā*⁴, they assure us about the Epiphany (*denḥā*) of our Lord and about the testimony of John concerning him. And in the *Lāku Mārā* (the 'You, O Lord' chant), they teach us about the confession of the apostles in Christ our Lord. And in the psalm of 'Have mercy upon me, O God'⁵, they explain to us about the times in the middle, after the apostles and until the time of the coming of the Son of Perdition (*bar aḥdānā*). And in the petition (*bā'utā*) and the litany (*kārozutā* < KRZ < κηρύσσω), they explain to us about

¹ Psalm 148.

² Psalm 149.

³ Psalm 150.

⁴ Pšittā Psalm 116 / MT Psalm 117 / LXX Psalm 116.

⁵ Pšittā Psalm 51 / MT Psalm 51 / LXX Psalm 50.

Fol. 37b

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	^b ܐܠܗܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
5	ܐܠܗܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
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15	ܐܠܗܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ
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	ܐܠܗܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܕܡܪܝܢܐ

^a Dots added in red.^b Crossed out in red for being misspelled and restarted on the next line.

Fol. 37b

those who are persecuted and about their destruction by the Son of Perdition. And in the hymn of praise (*tešboḥtā*), they show us concerning the coming of Elijah and concerning those who were restored by his hands. And in the chant (*qānonā* < κανών) of 'Holy' (i.e., the Trisagion), they indicate to us about the praises and songs of Hallelujah that the heavenly hosts offer up on account of the salvation that human beings have from the error of Satan.

These things.

What did our blessed Fathers intend to do in the arrangements of the Morning Service? Two things: First, [they arranged the Morning Service so] that also in this they might make known the fervor of their love towards their Lord, that when they are silent and still, they may [continue to] relate the praises of the Lord and his power and his marvels that he did and does until the end of the world. For, this is the praise of God, as is the saying of the blessed Interpreter (Theodore of Mopsuestia), 'The history of his wonders and his blessings that have been accomplished by him for human beings'¹.

¹ I do not know the source of this quotation.

Fol. 38a

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^a Overlined to indicate deletion, as the word begins again on the next line.

^b Overlined to indicate deletion, as the word begins again on the next line.

^c Originally misspelled ܐܠܗܐ, but the first nun has been erased.

^d Word started and then restarted on the next line.

Fol. 38a

And second, [the Fathers arranged the Morning Service so] that they might conceal precious treasures for their children, that when they examine and investigate, they may find the meaning that is hidden in their (liturgical) arrangements, which makes known to them concerning the variety of God's economy of salvation in this world. [And it] did not suffice for them (the Fathers), that with the great fervor of their love towards God, they would speak about God and about his divine economy in all generations, with their living (i.e., spoken) words and with the wondrous treasures of their books, and about the marvels that he has accomplished in every time [and] with every people; rather, also through the ecclesiastical (i.e., liturgical) arrangements, as with sealed writings, they composed [books] for those who are intelligent, concerning the knowledge that examines the salvific economy of God, who enriches them through the understanding of him.

For, just as they do not express the true mercies of an earthly king before everyone only in living (i.e., spoken) word – about the grace and wisdom of the king and about his lovingkindness

Fol. 38b

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^a This word is written above the line.

^b Overlined to indicate deletion, as the word begins again on the next line.

^c Overlined to indicate deletion, as the word begins again on the next line.

Fol. 38b

and about his benevolence and about his justice and about his might and about his splendor – but they also write [these things] with the written [word] and make [them] known to others, [so] also they compose and teach songs full of glory and praise (*qullāsā* < *QLS* < *καλῶς*) of the king. [And] they do not, by these things alone, fulfill their desire, but they also thoroughly depict them with pictures, in order to attract (people) towards the love and the nearness of the king. So also, our holy Fathers did, so that along with their (spoken) teachings and their (written) interpretations, they [also] composed songs of all sorts of hymns of praise, which make known concerning the majesty of God and concerning his power and his wisdom and his marvels. But in addition, they ordered for us the wondrous arrangements in the Church, which indicate for us silently concerning the course of his economy of salvation in this world.

And as they urge every day through these their (liturgical) arrangements and say,

Fol. 39a

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^a Overlining here indicates deletion.

Fol. 39a

'Come, children, hear us, and we will teach you the awe of God'¹ and 'Come, let us praise the Lord and sing to our God the Savior'² etc. and 'Come, see the works of God whose marvels for human beings are many'³, [and] like wise fathers who teach their children good learning, [so also the blessed Fathers] through their arrangements teach us that whenever we rise in the morning from our sleep, we [should] give thanks to⁴ our good God and praise his authority and call to mind his economy of salvation and meditate on his marvels, as the blessed David said to do, 'Give thanks to the Lord and call his name'⁵, etc. and 'Praise him and sing to him and tell of all his marvels'⁶ etc.

For, just as our Fathers have done with regard to the feasts of the economy of salvation throughout the year, so that Christians of all peoples may take delight in them (the feasts),

¹ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 34:11 / MT Psalm 34:11 / LXX Psalm 33:12.

² Pšittā Psalm 95:1 / MT Psalm 95:1 / LXX Psalm 94:1b-c.

³ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 66:5 / MT Psalm 66:5 / LXX Psalm 65:5.

⁴ The verb *āwdi* (ap'el form of *YD'*) has the basic meaning of 'to acknowledge', and from here it acquires the twin meanings of 'to give thanks to' and 'to confess'. Partly due to the fact that most English speakers today are familiar only with the negative connotation of confession (i.e., confessing sins) and not with the positive connotation (i.e., confessing God), I have chosen to translate this verb primarily on the level of thanksgiving, but it must nevertheless be remembered that the verb consistently operates on the levels of confession and acknowledgement as well.

⁵ Pšittā Psalm 105:1a / MT Psalm 105:1a / LXX Psalm 104:1b.

⁶ Pšittā Psalm 105:2 / MT Psalm 105:2 / LXX Psalm 104:2.

Fol. 39b

	✠	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
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	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
10	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
15	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ
	ܠܠܬ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܝܫܥܝܐ	ܠܠܬ

^a Overlining here indicates deletion.

Margin:

ܠܠܬ ܝܫܥܝܐ ܝܫܥܝܐ^c ܝܫܥܝܐ^b
 ܠܠܬ ܝܫܥܝܐ ܝܫܥܝܐ ܝܫܥܝܐ
 5 ܠܠܬ ܝܫܥܝܐ ܝܫܥܝܐ

^b These three lines are written in the margin at the bottom of the page, in a blacker ink and in a completely different style of writing – much closer to ‘East Syriac’ script than to Estrangela.

^c Should be ,ܡܕܝܢܐ, I think.

Fol. 39b

so that from them, they (Christians) may reflect upon Christ's entire economy of salvation on our behalf, so also they (the Fathers) have done in these arrangements of this Morning Service: For, every day, before everything (else), together with the holy angels [we] offer up praise to the Creator of Light, and together with the righteous Noah we praise the trustworthiness of Christ, and together with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob we affirm the glory of the Lord, [and] together with Moses and Aaron we exalt the creator of perceptible light and the giver of spiritual light, and together with Joshua the son of Nun we worship the Existing One who is from eternity, and together with David we call everyone to the praise of the Lord God, and together with Zerubbabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak and the Maccabees we justly declare praise to the Lord, and together with John the Baptist, we cry 'Holy' to the Father

Margin:

This is the book of Deacon Kāyel, son of the late Budeg, of Ašitā, of the land of Țyārē¹.

¹ My thanks go to the Rev. Dr. Behnam SONY, whom I met in the reading room of the British Library, and who informed me that Ašitā is the name of a village in Iraq or Turkey. More information can be found in the *Syriac Gazetteer* at <http://syriaca.org/place/255.html> and <http://syriaca.org/place/252.html>.

Fol. 40a

	ܡܚܪ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	^a ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
5	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
10	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
15	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ
	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ	ܡܚܪܝܢ

^a Here, the overlining seems to indicate abbreviation (for ܡܚܪܝܢ) rather than deletion.

^b These two words should be together: ܡܚܪܝܢ ܡܚܪܝܢ.

^c Crossed out to indicate deletion.

Fol. 40a

and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, and together with all the peoples and nations and tongues we praise Christ the Light of Truth¹, and together with the holy apostles we offer praise and thanks to God the Lord of All and to his Son Jesus Christ, and together with all those who have been converted to Christ in every time and in every generation we repent on account of our sins, and together with those who are afflicted because of Christ by the Son of Perdition we say 'Our Lord, have mercy upon us!', and together with those who are fleeing before the wicked and are hiding far away on mountains or in caverns or in a cave or in deserts² we pray and plead with God the Lord of All, and together with those who have turned from the error of the Son of Perdition through the blessed Elijah to God the Savior we give praise and we request

¹ The preceding descriptions of the first nine psalms of the ferial Morning Service are paraphrases of the refrains of these psalms.

² Cf. Hebrews 11:38c-d, but this might also be inspired by the *ܐܡܪ ܕܡܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܚܐ* of Revelation 6:15.

Fol. 40b

	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
5	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
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	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
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10	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
15	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ
	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ	ܠܫܬܩܝܢ

^a Overlining here indicates deletion.^b Word started and then restarted on the next line.

Fol. 40b

pardon for our debts and forgiveness for our sins and we make supplication that he may grant us mercies and pity and tranquility and peace, and together with the holy angels we shout joyfully with a triple call of 'Holy' to the unchangeable Existing One on account of the salvation that human beings have from the error of Satan.

If we examine these elements of the Morning Service well every day, we will gain great benefits from them.

Chapter [Two]: What benefits do we gain from the understanding of these arrangements?

It is clear that we gain many benefits whenever we examine each one of the aims of these orders. For, when we look into the aim of the arrangement of the first psalm¹, we call to mind the goodness and the wisdom of God, who, elevating the nature (of the world) from poverty,

¹ Pšittā Psalm 100 / MT Psalm 100 / LXX Psalm 99.

Fol. 41a

	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
5	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
10	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
15	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ
	ܐܝܬܐ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ	ܠܠܗ	ܡܬܠܝܬܐ

^a The overlining indicates the deletion of this word, I think.

^b The dot over the ܐ is added in a light brownish ink.

^c Overlining here indicates deletion.

Fol. 41a

created the world in his grace and fashioned rational natures in the richness of his goodness, [and] who, in order that they might see the work of creation that had been fashioned in wisdom, and in order that they might perceive his power and be moved to give praise and thanksgiving to the hidden and secret nature, wondrously created both the world and them.

It [can be] seen that he did this in the creation of the light: During the twelve hours of night, darkness was reigning over all. At the creation of light, they (rational natures) shouted joyfully and gave praise to the Creator, [and] therefore we humans also rejoice at the dawning of the sun every day [when] he takes the gloom of darkness away from us. We recollect the awesomeness of the first creation of lights, which made the angels marvel and roused them to shout joyfully in hymns of praise

[illegible]

Fol. 41b

and glory to the one who gladdened the world in the creation of light, [and] therefore we too in their likeness [sing joyfully] to the creator of light every day in the morning, earnestly offering up hymns of praise and glory to the Divine Nature, the Creator of all, marveling and recalling his grace and his indulgent kindness, for he is good and merciful and loves human beings. And, while we were sinful and anger-provoking, he did not withhold from us his blessings but in [his] mercies made the sun to dawn for us every day and wisely made the rain of his kindness to descend upon us.¹ And, likewise, as we remember those who, because they acted against the commandment of God – both the spiritual ones who fell from heaven and the human beings who perished in the flood because of their iniquity –, we keep the commandments of God, fearing lest, when he condemns them, he will also seize us

¹ Cf. Matthew 5:45.

[illegible]

^b Overlining here indicates deletion.

Fol. 42a

to punish us like them.

And when [we look] at the aim of the arrangement of the second psalm¹, we call to mind the justness of righteous Noah. We love justice and righteousness and flee from iniquity and wickedness. Because of these things (i.e., Noah's justness and righteousness), the blessed Noah was delivered from the punishment of the flood.

And when [we look] at the aim of the arrangement of the third psalm², we call to mind the love of God in the blessed Abraham. We reject the wicked deeds and the error of the demons, and we hold fast to the awe of God, and we are strengthened in the true faith. Because of this (i.e., Abraham's true faith), God promised to him, 'In you and in your seed, the peoples will be blessed'³.

And when [we look] at [the aim of the arrangement of] the fourth psalm⁴, we call to mind the blessed Moses. We despise the riches and the authority and the pleasures and the honor of this world, and we choose serenity and humility, just as

¹ Pšittā Psalm 91 / MT Psalm 91 / LXX Psalm 90.

² Pšittā Psalm 104:1-15 / MT Psalm 104:1-15 / LXX Psalm 103:1b-15.

³ Cf. Genesis 22:17-18.

⁴ Pšittā Psalm 113 / MT Psalm 113 / LXX Psalm 112.

Fol. 42b

the blessed Moses rejected the kingdom and the authority and the riches of the house of Pharaoh and embraced the condition of being a foreigner (*aksnāyutā* < *aksnāy* < ξένος) and poverty and humility, because of which he was exalted to the height of virtue, so that he would speak face to face with God and do great signs in Egypt.

And when [we look] at [the aim of the arrangement of] the second psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā*¹, we call to mind the blessed Joshua the son of Nun. We love chastity and prudence and holiness, and we hate fornication and lewdness and defilement. Because of these things (i.e., Joshua's chastity, prudence, and holiness), he was deemed worthy of leading the people after Moses and of entering the Promised Land and of depicting, in his person, a type (*tupsā* < τύπος) of Jesus Christ our Lord.²

And when [we look] at [the aim of the arrangement of] the third psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā*³, we call to mind the blessed David. We root out

¹ Pšittā Psalm 93 / MT Psalm 93 / LXX Psalm 92.

² N.B. that the names of Joshua bar Nun and of Jesus Christ are the same in Syriac: Išoʿ.

³ Psalm 148.

Fol. 43a

	^a ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	^b ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
5	^c ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
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10	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
15	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ

^d ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܢܐ^a Word started and then restarted on the next line.^b Word started and then restarted on the next line.^c Word started and then restarted on the next line.^d The same comment is found on fol. 91a.

Fol. 43a

wickedness and bitterness and ill will from our heart, and we long for humility and innocence and patience and compassion. Because of these things (i.e., David's humility, innocence, patience, and compassion), David was delivered from the jealousy of Saul, and he conquered and subdued all his enemies and was deemed worthy of the promise of God, that from his seed would arise our Savior, Christ.

And when [we look] at [the aim of the arrangement of] the fourth psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā*¹, we call to mind Zerubbabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak and the Maccabees. We reject hypocrisy and yearn for zeal for the awe of God. Because of this (i.e., their zeal), Zerubbabel and Joshua and the Maccabees became renowned, and they conquered all their enemies.

And when [we look] at [the aim of the arrangement of] the fifth psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā*², we call to mind John the Baptist. We scorn the luxuries and pomps and pleasures of this world,

Read and understand!³

¹ Psalm 149.

² Psalm 150.

³ This comment, intended by the scribe for the reader, means, in effect, 'Nota bene!' and urges the reader to pay special attention to this passage. My thanks to Dr. Sebastian BROCK for this interpretation.

Fol. 43b

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^a Abbreviation of ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ <

Fol. 43b

and we yearn for fasting and prayer and asceticism (lit., 'Naziriteship') and voluntary poverty. Because of these things (i.e., John's fasting, prayer, asceticism/Naziriteship, and voluntary poverty), John was revered by the people, and they were accepting [his] admonition abundantly.

And when [we look] at [the aim of the arrangement of] the sixth psalm of the fourth *šurrāyā*¹, we call to mind the simple way of life of Christ our Savior, which he showed when he was baptized by John. We yearn for humility and despise pomps and scorn great houses and spacious palaces and despise² simple clothing and marvel at God's economy of salvation on our behalf.

And when [we look] at [the aim of the arrangement of] the *Lāku Mārā* (the 'You, O Lord' chant), we call to mind the confession of the apostles. We are confirmed in the faith and hope concerning the resurrection of our bodies and the salvation of our souls.

And when we see the lamp (*lampēyḏā* < λαμπάδα), we call to mind the divine dawning of the Sun of Righteousness, and we believe the declarations of the prophets concerning him.

And when we consider

¹ Pšittā Psalm 116 / MT Psalm 117 / LXX Psalm 116.

² Since the meaning here is the diametrical opposite of what one would expect, perhaps the scribe has accidentally copied the word  from two lines above, replacing whatever the word should have been.

Fol. 44a

	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ
5	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ
	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ
10	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ
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	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ
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^a Here, the overlining seems to indicate abbreviation (for ܐܠܗܐܝܗܐ) rather than deletion.

^b Something has been thoroughly erased here; I cannot determine what it was.

^c Word started and then restarted on the next line.

^d The dots for vowels, for aspiration, and for *syāmē* on these last two words have been added in red ink.

^e The dots for vowels and for aspiration on these last two words have been added in red ink.

Fol. 44a

the opening of the veil (*wēlā* < βῆλον), we call to mind the opening of the door of repentance and guard against despair.

And when we look at the censer, we call to mind the delight reserved for the saints in the Kingdom of Heaven, and we turn from the foulness of sin.

And when [we look] at [the aim of the arrangement of] the psalm of 'Have mercy upon me, O God'¹, we call to mind the alien peoples who have been converted to Christ. With them, we repent to God on account of our sins, and we flee from iniquity and wickedness.

And when [we look at] the petition (*bā'utā*), we call to mind those who have been afflicted by the Son of Perdition. We suffer with them, and in the petition and supplication (*taṣṣaptā*), we beseech (*mpisinan* < *pisā* < πείσαι) Christ to deliver us from his time (i.e., the time of the Son of Perdition).

And when [we look at] the litany (*kārozutā*), we call to mind those who are hiding on mountains [or] in caves from the vehemence of the Evil One. We marvel at the indulgent kindness of God, and we supplicate Jesus our Lord

¹ Pšittā Psalm 51 / MT Psalm 51 / LXX Psalm 50.

Fol. 44b

that we will not see the persecution of the saints with our eyes.

And when [we look at] the hymn of praise (*tešbohtā*), we call to mind those who return from the error of Satan by means of the blessed Elijah. We marvel at the mercies of Jesus upon sinners, and we beseech God with them, as to forgive us and to pardon our offenses and to give us peace and tranquility all the days of our lives.

And when [we look at] the chant (*qānonā*) of 'Holy' (i.e., the Trisagion), we call to mind the cries of 'Holy' of the heavenly hosts on account of the salvation of human beings. Along with them, we sing the angelic praises of 'Holy' with our tongues.

We gather all these benefits from the study of the meaning of these arrangements, which, if we muse upon them every day in the morning, our soul will have in good measure, each day.

Chapter Three: Why are we commanded to worship and to praise and to pray to God in the morning time?

End of quire 6.

Fol. 45a

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^a Word started and then restarted on the next line.^b Word written above the line.

Fol. 45a

Start of quire 7.

Now, we ought necessarily to worship and to pray to and to praise God in the morning time, just as in the evening time, first, [so] that along with the education of our nature, the knowledge of the Creator [may be] fixed in us.

And second, [we do so] because God, through Moses, commanded those priests who were serving in the tabernacle to offer a spotless lamb in the morning, just as in the evening, [as] a whole burnt-offering, for thanksgiving and gracious acceptance to God, [and] it is clear that with this, they were using praises and prayers.

And third, [we do so] because we also learn from those ecclesiastical (i.e., liturgical) arrangements that were arranged by the apostles that they commanded concerning this. For, as also the blessed David taught us about this, so also he says, 'I will call to God, and God will save me, in the evening and in the morning and at noon'¹, and again, 'It is good to give thanks to the Lord

¹ Pšittā Psalm 55:16-17a / MT Psalm 55:16-17a / LXX Psalm 54:17-18a.

Fol. 45b

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^a Obviously, this should be two words: ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ.

^b Word written in the margin and inserted with a caret.

^c The syāmē dots are unnecessary.

^d Overlining here indicates deletion.

^e Words twice crossed out and restarted on the next page.

Fol. 45b

and to sing to your name, O Most High, to show your grace in the morning and your faithfulness in the night'¹, and 'Lord, in the morning you will hear my voice, and in the morning I will be ready and will appear to you'², and again, 'I have risen early in the morning and have called out and waited for your word'³, and 'I have waited for the Lord from the morning watch and until the morning watch'⁴. These things, with many others that were spoken in the Scriptures concerning this matter, compel us to offer prayers and praises and thanksgivings to God, every day in the morning before anything else. For, because the morning is the beginning of the daytime, just as we worship and pray to and praise God in the beginning of the nighttime, so also in the morning, which is the beginning of the day, we ought to do [this]. And again, because

¹ Pšittā Psalm 92:1-2 / MT Psalm 92:1-2 / LXX Psalm 91:2-3.

² Pšittā Psalm 5:3 / MT Psalm 5:3 / LXX Psalm 5:4.

³ Pšittā Psalm 118:147 / MT Psalm 119:147 / LXX Psalm 118:147.

⁴ Pšittā Psalm 129:6 / MT Psalm 130:6 / LXX Psalm 129:6.

Fol. 46a

	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ
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	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܠܗܐ

^a Surely this should be ܐܠܗܐ.^b Overlining here indicates deletion.^c The text is underlined and overlined to indicate deletion.^d Perhaps this should be ܐܠܗܐ?

Fol. 46a

in the daytime, human beings are accustomed to do works and labor, according to the word of the prophet, who said, 'Humankind goes out to its work and its labor until the evening'¹, rightly in the beginning of the daytime, that is, the morning, before we begin our works and our labor, we ought to worship and to pray to and to praise God, giving thanks to him for causing to pass from us the darkness of night and causing, in [his] mercies, the light of day to dawn and again, for delivering us from the destructions of the demons, those who are continually intent upon our ruin and exhibit their evils especially in the darkness. And again, we also pray in the morning that we may be preserved from wicked lapses of sin and that we may be set free from the evil of wicked persons and occasions, who, because of their covetousness and the variations of their words,

¹ Pšittā Psalm 104:23 / MT Psalm 104:23 / LXX Psalm 103:23.

Fol. 46b

	ܡܝܢܬܝܢ	ܚܕܝܢ	ܚܕܝܢ	ܚܕܝܢ	ܚܕܝܢ
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^a Should be ܚܕܝܢܝܢ!^b Word started and then restarted on the next line.

Fol. 46b

perpetually provoke controversy and strife. And again, we pray that we may be preserved from the influence of evil demons, those who continually lie in wait for us to sin, especially in our receiving and in our giving and in the variations of our words and in the transgression of oaths. Therefore we commit ourself into the hands of our God, as the one 'in whom we live and are moved and exist'¹ and without whom we would be unable to exist.

Chapter Four: With what aim is the [first] psalm of the morning arranged?

Now, in the beginning of the creation of the world, God first created seven natures, that is, the heavens, the earth, the angels, fire, air, water, and darkness², [and] the entire hollow of heaven was holding the earth. And when twelve hours had passed, when God desired to make known

¹ Cf. Acts 17:28a.

² It seems that the theme of these seven natures was a common topic in East Syriac theological circles. The same list of seven natures is contained in *The Book of the Bee* by Solomon of Baṣrā (c. 1222 CE), in Chapter Two, in which he asserts that God created these natures in silence (i.e., without using words). The eighth-century Joseph Ḥazzāyā likewise mentions them in his *On Providence* 20 (see *On Providence: Text, Translation and Introduction*, ed. and trans. Nestor KAVVADAS (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 52-55, doi:10.1163/9789004330009). These elements (though not in the form of a unified list of seven) seem to have their origin in Ephrem's Commentary on Genesis, where he mentions that fire, water, and wind (and the angels) were created shortly after heaven and earth (I.2, I.3, I.14). Darkness, for its part, has no being of its own, but is rather a lack of something (I.16). Ephrem is here writing against Bardaiṣan, who believed that water, wind, fire, light, and darkness were (uncreated) eternal principles. See Ephrem, *Selected Prose Works* (trans. Mathews & Amar, ed. McVey, 1994), 75-76.

[illegible]

^b The ~~rise~~ at the end of the previous line is a little (but not very) hard to read, and the word is repeated at the beginning of this line in red. In addition, in the margin is found ~~lie rise~~, though it is not particularly clear to me why.

^d Overlining here indicates deletion.

to the holy angels that the one who created the world [had created] them as well¹, he proclaimed that expression that God said, 'Let there be light!' And in that very moment, the darkness was dispelled, and there was light. And they perceived the Creator of themselves and of everything, [and] in that very moment, they became fervent in the love of the Creator, and they were moved to shout joyful hymns of praise and glory to the one who in his grace and in his wisdom had created the world and them from nothing. We learn this lucidly from the revelation that was [given] to the blessed Job: 'When I was creating the stars of the dawn, all the angels were shouting joyfully with a sublime voice and were praising me'².

Therefore, our holy Fathers, when they arranged this Morning Service, intended to do first, that which resembles what occurred in the beginning of the creation of the world: Just as the holy

[illegible]

² Cf. Job 38:7.

Fol. 47b

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 ܐܬܝܬܝܬܐ ܢܝܚܐ ܐܝܡܝܢܐ ܡܬܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ

^a Dots for vowels and aspiration added in red ink.

^b Whatever was here seems to have been purposefully erased.

^c Here, too, this word seems to have been purposefully erased.

^d Vowel dots added in red ink.

Fol. 47b

angels, at the creation of light, shouted joyful hymns of praise and glory to the one who created the light, so also they (the Fathers) cleverly planned to do in the beginning of the Morning Service, and they arranged this first psalm. With great wisdom, just as he proclaimed that divine sign to the angels – the expression ‘Let there be light!’ –, and they joyfully shouted praises, so also now it (the psalm) moves the children of earth to offer up a hymn of praise to the one who caused the light to dawn for them and dispelled from them the gloominess of darkness. Because of this, we say, ‘Praise the Lord, all the earth!’¹, and we add to it, ‘Giver of Light, Lord, to you we lift up praise!’². In this, too, we human beings and children of earth resemble the holy angels every day.

And because after the completion of creation, humankind was created, which was called by God

¹ The first line of the first psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service: Pšittā Psalm 100:1 / MT Psalm 100:1 / LXX Psalm 99:1b.

² The refrain of the first psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service.

^b The α is inserted below the line.

Fol. 48a

and was placed in Paradise, and was cast out on account of not keeping the commandment, it is well [that] we add and say, 'Serve the Lord with joy'¹. That is, do not resemble Adam, who did not keep the commandment of God and [did not] serve him and because of this left Paradise in disgrace. Rather, before everything [else], honor the commandment of God and exercise the service of your life, which is the excellent service of God.

The phrase that follows declares, 'Enter before him with praise'.² That is, before earthly occupations, and before human affairs, we should honor the glory of God and resemble the holy angels who honor the praise of God³ more than anything [else]. And from where is this known? We learn [it] lucidly from David, for he says, 'Bless the Lord, his angels, who can carry out his commands with power. Bless the Lord, all you hosts, ministers who do

¹ Pšittā Psalm 100:2a / MT Psalm 100:2a / LXX Psalm 99:2a.

² Pšittā Psalm 100:2b / MT Psalm 100:2b / LXX Psalm 99:2b.

³ The 'praise of God' and the 'glory of God' are two variant translations of the same phrase: ܠܗܠܠܐ ܠܗܘܐܢܬܐ. I am fairly sure both meanings are intended by Gabriel: That is, the angels honor the glory of God by praising God, and they honor the praising of God by being assiduous in their praises. We humans, he writes, should do the same.

Fol. 48b

his will.¹ Behold, the blessed prophet teaches us clearly that their (i.e., the angels') praise preceded their actions. So that we too [may be] like them, it is thus right for us to do [the same] every day in the morning, before we do anything [else], honoring the praise [of God], not by compulsion as if [we were] constrained [to do so], but with a good and joyful will, being obligated to devote ourselves, not only to the praise of God, but also to the diligent service of the commandments of God, for [we] despise the praises that we sing, if we are found to be doing what is against the commandments of God.

The arrangement of this psalm informs us not only about Adam, but also about those ten generations (i.e., from Adam until Noah)², because of which we add and say, 'Know that he is the Lord our God, and he is the one who made us, not we ourselves'³. The meaning is clear, and admonishes us not to resemble those who did not know him and did not keep his commandments, and because

¹ Pšittā Psalm 103:20-21 / MT Psalm 103:20-21 / LXX Psalm 102:20-21.

² Cf. Genesis 5.

³ Pšittā Psalm 100:3a-b / MT Psalm 100:3a-b / LXX Psalm 99:3a-b.

Fol. 49a

of this, disappeared and perished in the flood, but rather to resemble the true servants of God, because he has deemed us worthy, in his grace, to be 'his people and the sheep of his flock'¹. Thus, it is appropriate for us 'to enter his gates with thanksgiving and his sheepfold with praise and to give thanks to him and to bless his name, because the Lord is good, and his grace is forever, and his faithfulness is for generations of generations'².

Chapter Five (5): What is the aim of the arrangement of the second psalm?

This second psalm of the morning is arranged concerning the time of Noah, who, because of his righteousness, was delivered – he and his sons and their wives – from the destruction of the flood. Let us now consider the words of the psalm, and let us see how they (the words) are spoken fittingly concerning him. 'The one who sits in the shelter of the Most High and is glorified in the shadow of God' within the ark (*qēbōtā* < κιβωτός), because 'he placed his trust in the Lord and took refuge in him, he (God) delivered him and set him free from the snare of the scandal' of the sin

¹ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 100:3c / MT Psalm 100:3c / LXX Psalm 99:3c-d.

² Cf. Pšittā Psalm 100:4-5 / MT Psalm 100:4-5 / LXX Psalm 99:4-5.

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5 ^a ^b ^c ^d ^e ^f ^g ^h ⁱ ^j ^k ^l ^m ⁿ ^o ^p ^q ^r ^s ^t ^u ^v ^w ^x ^y ^z ^{aa} ^{ab} ^{ac} ^{ad} ^{ae} ^{af} ^{ag} ^{ah} ^{ai} ^{aj} ^{ak} ^{al} ^{am} ^{an} ^{ao} ^{ap} ^{aq} ^{ar} ^{as} ^{at} ^{au} ^{av} ^{aw} ^{ax} ^{ay} ^{az} ^{ba} ^{bb} ^{bc} ^{bd} ^{be} ^{bf} ^{bg} ^{bh} ^{bi} ^{bj} ^{bk} ^{bl} ^{bm} ^{bn} ^{bo} ^{bp} ^{bq} ^{br} ^{bs} ^{bt} ^{bu} ^{bv} ^{bw} ^{bx} ^{by} ^{bz} ^{ca} ^{cb} ^{cc} ^{cd} ^{ce} ^{cf} ^{cg} ^{ch} ^{ci} ^{cj} ^{ck} ^{cl} ^{cm} ^{cn} ^{co} ^{cp} ^{cq} ^{cr} ^{cs} ^{ct} ^{cu} ^{cv} ^{cw} ^{cx} ^{cy} ^{cz} ^{da} ^{db} ^{dc} ^{dd} ^{de} ^{df} ^{dg} ^{dh} ^{di} ^{dj} ^{dk} ^{dl} ^{dm} ^{dn} ^{do} ^{dp} ^{dq} ^{dr} ^{ds} ^{dt} ^{du} ^{dv} ^{dw} ^{dx} ^{dy} ^{dz} ^{ea} ^{eb} ^{ec} ^{ed} ^{ee} ^{ef} ^{eg} ^{eh} ^{ei} ^{ej} ^{ek} ^{el} ^{em} ^{en} ^{eo} ^{ep} ^{eq} ^{er} ^{es} ^{et} ^{eu} ^{ev} ^{ew} ^{ex} ^{ey} ^{ez} ^{fa} ^{fb} ^{fc} ^{fd} ^{fe} ^{ff} ^{fg} ^{fh} ^{fi} ^{fj} ^{fk} ^{fl} ^{fm} ^{fn} ^{fo} ^{fp} ^{fq} ^{fr} ^{fs} ^{ft} ^{fu} ^{fv} ^{fw} ^{fx} ^{fy} ^{fz} ^{ga} ^{gb} ^{gc} ^{gd} ^{ge} ^{gf} ^{gg} ^{gh} ^{gi} ^{gj} ^{gk} ^{gl} ^{gm} ^{gn} ^{go} ^{gp} ^{gq} ^{gr} ^{gs} ^{gt} ^{gu} ^{gv} ^{gw} ^{gx} ^{gy} ^{gz} ^{ha} ^{hb} ^{hc} ^{hd} ^{he} ^{hf} ^{hg} ^{hh} ^{hi} ^{hj} ^{hk} ^{hl} ^{hm} ^{hn} ^{ho} ^{hp} ^{hq} ^{hr} ^{hs} ^{ht} ^{hu} ^{hv} ^{hw} ^{hx} ^{hy} ^{hz} ^{ia} ^{ib} ^{ic} ^{id} ^{ie} ^{if} ^{ig} ^{ih} ⁱⁱ ^{ij} ^{ik} ^{il} ^{im} ⁱⁿ ^{io} ^{ip} ^{iq} ^{ir} ^{is} ^{it} ^{iu} ^{iv} ^{iw} ^{ix} ^{iy} ^{iz} ^{ja} ^{jb} ^{jc} ^{jd} ^{je} ^{jf} ^{jj} ^{jk} ^{jl} ^{jm} ^{jn} ^{jo} ^{jp} ^{jq} ^{jr} ^{js} ^{jt} ^{ju} ^{jv} ^{jw} ^{jx} ^{ky} ^{kz} ^{la} ^{lb} ^{lc} ^{ld} ^{le} ^{lf} ^{lg} ^{lh} ^{li} ^{lj} ^{lk} ^{ll} ^{lm} ^{ln} ^{lo} ^{lp} ^{lq} ^{lr} ^{ls} ^{lt} ^{lu} ^{lv} ^{lw} ^{lx} ^{ly} ^{lz} ^{ma} ^{mb} ^{mc} ^{md} ^{me} ^{mf} ^{mg} ^{mh} ^{mi} ^{mj} ^{mk} ^{ml} ^{mm} ^{mn} ^{mo} ^{mp} ^{mq} ^{mr} ^{ms} ^{mt} ^{mu} ^{mv} ^{mw} ^{mx} ^{my} ^{mz} ^{na} ^{nb} ^{nc} nd ^{ne} ^{nf} ^{ng} ^{nh} ⁿⁱ ^{nj} ^{nk} ^{nl} ^{nm} ⁿⁿ ^{no} ^{np} ^{nq} ^{nr} ^{ns} ^{nt} ^{nu} ^{nv} ^{nw} ^{nx} ^{ny} ^{nz} ^{oa} ^{ob} ^{oc} ^{od} ^{oe} ^{of} ^{og} ^{oh} ^{oi} ^{oj} ^{ok} ^{ol} ^{om} ^{on} ^{oo} ^{op} ^{oq} ^{or} ^{os} ^{ot} ^{ou} ^{ov} ^{ow} ^{ox} ^{oy} ^{oz} ^{pa} ^{pb} ^{pc} ^{pd} ^{pe} ^{pf} ^{pg} ^{ph} ^{pi} ^{pj} ^{pk} ^{pl} ^{pm} ^{pn} ^{po} ^{pp} ^{pq} ^{pr} ^{ps} ^{pt} ^{pu} ^{pv} ^{pw} ^{px} ^{py} ^{pz} ^{qa} ^{qb} ^{qc} ^{qd} ^{qe} ^{qf} ^{qg} ^{qh} ^{qi} ^{qj} ^{qk} ^{ql} ^{qm} ^{qn} ^{qo} ^{qp} ^{qq} ^{qr} ^{qs} ^{qt} ^{qu} ^{qv} ^{qw} ^{qx} ^{qy} ^{qz} ^{ra} ^{rb} ^{rc} rd ^{re} ^{rf} ^{rg} ^{rh} ^{ri} ^{rj} ^{rk} ^{rl} ^{rm} ^{rn} ^{ro} ^{rp} ^{rq} ^{rr} ^{rs} ^{rt} ^{ru} ^{rv} ^{rw} ^{rx} ^{ry} ^{rz} ^{sa} ^{sb} ^{sc} ^{sd} ^{se} ^{sf} ^{sg} ^{sh} ^{si} ^{sj} ^{sk} ^{sl} sm ^{sn} ^{so} ^{sp} ^{sq} ^{sr} ^{ss} st ^{su} ^{sv} ^{sw} ^{sx} ^{sy} ^{sz} ^{ta} ^{tb} ^{tc} ^{td} ^{te} ^{tf} ^{tg} th ^{ti} ^{tj} ^{tk} ^{tl} tm ^{tn} ^{to} ^{tp} ^{tq} ^{tr} ^{ts} ^{tt} ^{tu} ^{tv} ^{tw} ^{tx} ^{ty} ^{tz} ^{ua} ^{ub} ^{uc} ^{ud} ^{ue} ^{uf} ^{ug} ^{uh} ^{ui} ^{uj} ^{uk} ^{ul} ^{um} ^{un} ^{uo} ^{up} ^{uq} ^{ur} ^{us} ^{ut} ^{uu} ^{uv} ^{uw} ^{ux} ^{uy} ^{uz} ^{va} ^{vb} ^{vc} ^{vd} ^{ve} ^{vf} ^{vg} ^{vh} ^{vi} ^{vj} ^{vk} ^{vl} ^{vm} ^{vn} ^{vo} ^{vp} ^{vq} ^{vr} ^{vs} ^{vt} ^{vu} ^{vv} ^{vw} ^{vx} ^{vy} ^{vz} ^{wa} ^{wb} ^{wc} ^{wd} ^{we} ^{wf} ^{wg} ^{wh} ^{wi} ^{wj} ^{wk} ^{wl} ^{wm} ^{wn} ^{wo} ^{wp} ^{wq} ^{wr} ^{ws} ^{wt} ^{wu} ^{wv} ^{ww} ^{wx} ^{wy} ^{wz} ^{xa} ^{xb} ^{xc} ^{xd} ^{xe} ^{xf} ^{xg} ^{xh} ^{xi} ^{xj} ^{xk} ^{xl} ^{xm} ^{xn} ^{xo} ^{xp} ^{xq} ^{xr} ^{xs} ^{xt} ^{xu} ^{xv} ^{xw} ^{xx} ^{xy} ^{xz} ^{ya} ^{yb} ^{yc} ^{yd} ^{ye} ^{yf} ^{yg} ^{yh} ^{yi} ^{yj} ^{yk} ^{yl} ^{ym} ^{yn} ^{yo} ^{yp} ^{yq} ^{yr} ^{ys} ^{yt} ^{yu} ^{yv} ^{yw} ^{yx} ^{yy} ^{yz} ^{za} ^{zb} ^{zc} ^{zd} ^{ze} ^{zf} ^{zg} ^{zh} ^{zi} ^{zj} ^{zk} ^{zl} ^{zm} ^{zn} ^{zo} ^{zp} ^{zq} ^{zr} ^{zs} ^{zt} ^{zu} ^{zv} ^{zw} ^{zx} ^{zy} ^{zz}

^a Dots added in red ink.^b Why is there a feminine dot over the ω ? It is crossed out in faint red ink.^c Something was written at the end of the previous line and the beginning of this line, but both have been erased.^d Underlining here indicates deletion, I think.

Fol. 49b

of those of his generation (lit., 'the sons of his generation').¹

And while they were visiting him and were seeing his work on the ark, they were mocking him and were laughing at him, in that the whole affair was reckoned as useless by them; because of this, it (the psalm) adds 'and from vain speech'² (i.e., he was also delivered from vain speech), for it says that he did not become remiss or slacken from the affair because of their vain and stupid words. [And] because of this, God too, as 'with [his] pinions, delivered him' from them and from their words, and 'he sheltered him under the wings of his care', and as a warrior 'covered with armor does not fear' his enemies, so also because of the truth of his faith and his hope in God, he was not harmed by their words, but was carefully fulfilling the commandment of God.³

Because of this, 'he did not fear the dread of the long night', whose darkness lasted three-hundred

¹ This sentence is an amplification and paraphrase of the beginning of the second psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service: Pšittā Psalm 91:1-3a / MT Psalm 91:1-3a / LXX Psalm 90:1b-3a.

² Pšittā Psalm 91:3b / MT Psalm 91:3b / LXX Psalm 90:3b.

³ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:4 / MT Psalm 91:4 / LXX Psalm 90:4.

Fol. 50a

sixty-five days, nor did he fear or tremble from the heavy 'arrows' of rain that were beating down and descending upon the ark with turbulence. The fact that it (the psalm) says that it (the rain) 'flies by day', [is] concerning [the fact] that outside of the ark, days and nights were like the rest of days of [that] time.¹

And after these things, it adds and says, 'and the word that walks in darkness' (i.e., 'nor will you fear the word that walks in darkness'); that is, he did not fear the carnivorous animals that were confined with him in the darkness of the ark, nor did he tremble from the turbulence of the mighty 'winds' that were striking the ark at every moment.²

Rather, it recounts, 'thousands' of human beings and 'myriads' of domestic animals and (wild) animals fell in the destruction of the rain 'on his right side', and all of it 'did not come near' him, and [he suffered] no harm at all.³ 'Instead, with his eyes, he saw the punishment of the wicked' who had been laughing, and, 'because he trusted in God,

¹ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:5 / MT Psalm 91:5 / LXX Psalm 90:5.

² Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:6 / MT Psalm 91:6 / LXX Psalm 90:6.

³ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:7 / MT Psalm 91:7 / LXX Psalm 90:7.

[illegible]

^b Overlining here indicates deletion.

Fol. 50b

who had placed his dwelling in the height, nothing evil came near him, and the plague' of destruction did not touch the ark of his 'tent' because the Lord 'commanded his angels concerning him, to preserve him in all his ways, and to lift him up upon their arms, so that the base' of his ark 'would not hit upon a stone'.¹ Rather, it (the base of the ark) 'would arrive' upon the mountains and upon their shoulders, the hills, and it 'would trample' the dense corpses of the (wild) animals and of the domestic animals and the great 'dragons' and the whales (*qēṭē* < κῆτος).²

'Because he beseeched God, he delivered him and strengthened him, for he knew his name. He (Noah) called, and he (God) answered and was with him in the crowded space' within the ark.³ And when he had reached the place that was prepared for him, there he would live, he and his descendents. He (God) 'strengthened' blessings over him and gave to him an 'honorable' name in the world, greater than Adam, the head of those formed like us; that is, 'I will strengthen him and honor him'.⁴ 'And with length of days he satisfied him', in that he lived for many years after the flood,

¹ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:8-12 / MT Psalm 91:8-12 / LXX Psalm 90:8-12. Interestingly, 'against a stone' is found in MT Psalm 91:12b and in LXX Psalm 90:12b, but not in Pšittā Psalm 91:12b, and yet it here appears in Gabriel's paraphrase of the psalm. Is it simply an obvious addition and part of his paraphrase, or is it a well-known tradition, even in locations where the phrase did not appear in the official text of the psalms in use?

² Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:13 / MT Psalm 91:13 / LXX Psalm 90:13.

³ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:14-15c / MT Psalm 91:14-15b / LXX Psalm 90:14-15b.

⁴ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:15d / MT Psalm 91:15c / LXX Psalm 90:15c.

Fol. 51a

and he saw 'the salvation' that the Lord 'showed him'.¹ And he gave thanks and worshipped and praised his sovereignty. And because he (God) judged this (Noah's) request worthy, this psalm was arranged concerning the time of the blessed Noah.

And in that time, no prophets prophesied about Christ, and no apostles were preaching. Why do we join to this psalm the refrain (*qānonā*), 'Glorious is your trustworthiness, Christ our Savior'²? We say it because of this: When Noah was born, his father Lamech prophesied beforehand, 'This one will comfort us from the works and from the labor of our hands and from the earth that the Lord God has cursed'.³ While it is clear that he was speaking this word about Noah⁴, this prophecy received its true fulfillment in Christ our Lord, who would set us free from the labor and toil of the earth, lifting us to heaven if we are led according to our calling. We do well to join to this psalm [the refrain], 'Glorious is your trustworthiness, Christ

¹ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 91:16 / MT Psalm 91:16 / LXX Psalm 90:16.

² The refrain of the second psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service.

³ Cf. Genesis 5:29.

⁴ The word-play is clearer in Hebrew than in Syriac. In the Pšittā, the verb used here for 'to comfort' (ܐܪܡܐ) has a meaning reminiscent of 'Noah' (ܢܚܐ = rest, repose), but the two words do not have a common root.

Fol. 51b

our Savior', which makes known that the coming of Christ is indicated by that [], just as when it was also said by the blessed Noah in the prophecy to his sons in the time of blessings, 'May God enlarge Japheth, and may he dwell in the tent of Shem'¹. This received [its] true fulfillment in Christ our Savior, who was born in the flesh from the seed of Abraham, who was descended from the offspring of Shem.

Chapter Six: What does the arrangement of the third psalm explain to us?

Now, the third psalm is arranged concerning the time of the blessed Abraham, who distinguished the Creator from his creatures, and he understood in his own mind that he alone is the true God, as it is said, 'that they might seek and search for God and find him among his creatures'². Therefore, when the blessed Abraham saw [that] 'The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament shows the work of his hands'³, he rejected the worship of creatures, and discerned that he would worship and honor

¹ Genesis 9:27a-b.

² Acts 17:27a-b.

³ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 19:1 / MT Psalm 19:1 / LXX Psalm 18:2.

Fol. 52a

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^a Something here is erased.

Fol. 52a

the one God alone.

Because of this, God too, who knows all things that will be, when he saw the goodness of his will and the fervor of his love and how his heart, more than any other, was seeking God, the Creator of him and of everything, revealed himself to him and made clear to him his existence. And he made him a member of his household and marked him with the sign (*rušmā*) of circumcision, with which, as with any sign, he separated him and his offspring and his descendents from the rest of the peoples. And he promised him that all peoples would be blessed through his descendents – which received its true fulfillment in our Lord Jesus Christ in the flesh, who shone forth in the world from the seed of the blessed Abraham. Through the faith in his name (i.e., the name of Jesus), all peoples were blessed and became members of the household of the God of Abraham, ‘who’, as the blessed Paul said, ‘has blessed us, in Christ, with every spiritual

Fol. 52b

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^a The ܡ is far into the margin. Perhaps the original scribe abbreviated the word with the overline, so as to avoid going too far into the margin, and a later hand added the ܡ.

^b I do not know why the scribe has added *syāmē* dots over this word.

Fol. 52b

blessing in heaven¹.

Let us consider, then, the words of the psalm and we shall see how it clearly teaches us concerning the majesty of the Creator and about the wisdom of his Providence and about the arrangement of his creation and about the usefulness of every single [created thing]. Likewise, Abraham, after he distinguished the Creator from creatures and perceived the majesty of God, was urging and saying, 'Bless the Lord, my soul!'², in order to say, 'You, O soul endowed with reason and intelligence, now that you have understood that the Lord God is the true God, henceforth dedicate yourself to the praise and the blessing of his name, and look towards the place of the honor of his glory, and say, "Lord, my God, you are greatly exalted. You have put on brightness and excellency, and you are robed with light as a cloak"³'. For through this phrase (i.e., 'you are robed with light as a cloak'), that which is before it (i.e., 'you have put on brightness and excellency') is interpreted to mean, 'You are not clothed

¹ Ephesians 1:3b.

² The first phrase of the third psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service: Pšittā Psalm 104:1a / MT Psalm 104:1a / LXX Psalm 103:1b.

³ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 104:1b-2a / MT Psalm 104:1b-2a / LXX Psalm 103:1c-2a.

Fol. 53a

with created light, but your nature is light, and you continually dwell in the light of your being,' as also the apostle said, 'He dwells in joyous light, which no person among human beings has seen or can see'¹.

And after this, it (the psalm) speaks concerning the majesty and the magnificence of the divine nature, bringing and speaking about the usefulness of each one of the things that are created, and from them is known the power and the wisdom of God, for when many [people] saw them, instead of distinguishing God from his works, they erred and considered them [to be] gods, and they worshipped them. The blessed Abraham, though, considered created things [to be] created things, and he offered worship and thanksgiving to the Creator as the one who alone is God in truth, and praise and worship befit him, forever and unto the ages of ages, amen.

Because of this, we add to the psalm, 'The glory of the Lord

¹ Cf. 1 Timothy 6:16b-e. Interestingly, even the Pšittā has 'unapproachable' rather than 'joyful'.

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 10. පුරාණ රාජධානිය විසි වසරකට පුරාණ රාජධානිය

Fol. 53b

will be forever'¹.**Chapter Seven: What does [the arrangement] of the fourth psalm indicate to us?**

This fourth psalm is arranged concerning the time of the blessed Moses, who, when God appeared to him and said to him, 'I am the God of your fathers'² and sent him to go free the Israelites from the oppression of the Egyptians, sought to know from God what his name was, to tell them that he was sent unto them. God answered and said to him, 'I am *Āhiyāh Āšār Āhiyāh*³ in order to inform him that he has no name like creatures, but his name is his being, that is, 'the Being Who Is'. And he said, 'This is my name forever, and this is my memorial for the generations of generations'⁴, to say, 'Whoever remembers me and calls me, let him call me thus, "the Existing Creator of All" '. The fact that we call him 'God' is because this name of God is translated as

¹ The refrain of the third psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service on ordinary days.

² Cf. Exodus 3:6b.

³ Cf. Exodus 3:14b. *Āhiyāh Āšār Āhiyāh* is simply the Pšittā's Syriac transliteration from the Hebrew.

⁴ Exodus 3:15h-i.

5

10

15

^a Something has been erased here.

^b Should be ~~مستحق~~.

Fol. 54a

‘the Cause of All’.

Now, let us look at each one of the words of the psalm, and we will see how they are suitable to be understood concerning the blessed Moses and concerning his time and concerning his teaching after the divine revelation unto him.

He entered Egypt and said to the Children of Israel, ‘The Lord God of your ancestors has sent me¹ to free you from the oppression of the Egyptians. Henceforth, as “servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord”². You have been set apart from all the peoples to be the people of the Lord because of the mystery hidden in you.’ And [he was] urging them concerning the praise of God and teaching them to say, ‘May the name of the Lord be blessed, from eternity and until eternity, for the name of the Lord alone is great, and the Lord is high above all peoples’³.

And to show that the Lord is not high and lofty [merely] above all peoples, but that his name is honored and worshipped and praised [also] above all

¹ Cf. Exodus 3:15:b-c,g

² Cf. the first verse of the fourth psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service: Pšittā Psalm 113:1 / MT Psalm 113:1b-c / LXX Psalm 112:1b-c.

³ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 113:2,3b-4a / MT Psalm 113:2,3b-4a / LXX Psalm 112:2,3b-4a.

^a Word started and restarted on next line.

Fol. 54b

Interpretation

the heavenly hosts, it (the psalm) adds, ‘and his honor [is] above heaven’¹. That is, he is eternally and everlastingly more honored than all. While it seems that his dwelling is in heaven, he is nearby to all [who are] on earth, and he (Moses?) saw in this that he (God) is in every place, and he is not contained in a [single] place, and therefore, it says, ‘Who is like the Lord our God, who sits in the height and sees in the depth, in heaven and on earth?’²

And concerning [the fact] that he has power over and prevails over all and does whatever he wills, [it says], ‘He raises the poor person from the dung-heap to seat him with the princes of the people’³ – which he also did for the blessed Moses, for from the shepherding of a speechless flock and from the weariness of [being] in exile (*aksenyā* < ξενία), he elevated and lifted him to a great and exalted leadership (*mdabrānuṭā*). In this, he was elevated, not only above the princes of his people and of the Egyptians, but he was considered to be like a god to Aaron and to Pharaoh.⁴

And to show that it is not

End of quire 7.

¹ Pšittā Psalm 113:4b / MT Psalm 113:4b / LXX Psalm 112:4b.

² Pšittā Psalm 113:5 / MT Psalm 113:5-6 / LXX Psalm 112:5-6.

³ Pšittā Psalm 113:6-7 / MT Psalm 113:7-8 / LXX Psalm 112:7-8.

⁴ Cf. Exodus 4:16; 7:1.

Fol. 55a

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^a On this folio side, numerous dots for aspiration and vowels on various words have been added in red ink.

^b Overlining indicates deletion, as the word is started and restarted on the next line.

Fol. 55a

*Start of quire 8.***of the Mysteries**

new for God to do such things, but [that] he has shown and shows the authority of his sovereignty in all generations, it (the psalm) adds, 'He places the barren woman in a house and [makes her] the joyous mother of children'¹. He did this unto the barren Sarah and Rebekah, and he made them abound with innumerable children, and he settled them in the Promised Land as in their own house.

And because the Written Law (*nāmosā* < νόμος) was given through the blessed Moses, this (i.e., the Law) is a place of light and a lamp to the soul, as 'Your word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my paths'² indicates. Because of this, we add this to the psalm: 'Glory to the one who created the light'³, to indicate that the wise Creator is worthy of hymns of praise and glory, for he, along with perceptible light, gave us also spiritual light – that is, the knowledge of the book

¹ Pšittā Psalm 113:8 / MT Psalm 113:9 / LXX Psalm 112:9.

² Pšittā Psalm 118:105 / MT Psalm 119:105 / LXX Psalm 118:105.

³ The refrain of the fourth psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service on ordinary days.

Fol. 55b

of Scriptures or of things that have been written, which has been given to the world by means of the blessed Moses.

But immediately and in that very moment, we attach, ‘The Lord reigns and is clothed with magnificence’¹. This is arranged concerning the time of the blessed Joshua the son of Nun, who rose in the leadership of the people after Moses. And he slew the thirty-one kings, and he made the people cross within the Jordan and brought them to the Promised Land, and they took possession in the place that God had given them, and there, the Eternal Being was worshipped. Therefore, we add to this psalm, ‘We worship you, Eternal Being’². It presents the aim of the arrangement of this psalm of ‘The Lord reigns’, etc., until the time of the blessed David, whom God made king, and from his seed, he would raise up the Christ, whose Kingdom is an Eternal Kingdom

¹ The first phrase of the fifth psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service: Pšittā Psalm 93:1a / MT Psalm 93:1a / LXX Psalm 92:1b.

² In the East Syriac Morning Service at it stands today, this refrain is added to the fifth psalm *only* on Sundays, memorials, and Feasts of the Lord, *not* on ordinary days.

Fol. 56a

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^a Should be ܡܠܟܐܢ, I think.^b This word is repeated in the margin in red ink. I am not sure why.

Fol. 56a

and whose authority is for generations of generations.

[And] therefore, immediately, we attach, 'Praise the Lord from heaven'¹, and after [saying] other things, we say, 'Praise the Lord from the earth'². And after a little, we add, 'Kings of the earth and all nations, princes and all judges of the earth, boys and girls, old people and young people, let them praise the name of the Lord, for his name alone is great'³, etc., to indicate through these things that the one born from the seed of the house of David is not a mere human being, as is the opinion of others. Rather, the Word, the Lord from heaven, is united with him and completes the entire (divine) economy in him, for the salvation of human beings and for the renewal of all, and all rational beings, spiritual and bodily, shall worship him as God and praise his sovereignty, because he effects the renewal of the heights and the depths and frees the creation of the angels from the servitude

¹ The first phrase of the sixth psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service: Pšittā Psalm 148:1a / MT Psalm 148:1b / LXX Psalm 148:1b.

² Psalm 148:7a.

³ Pšittā Psalm 148:11-13a / MT Psalm 148:11-13b / LXX Psalm 148:11-13b.

Fol. 56b

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^a Word started and restarted on next line.^b Word started and restarted on next line.

Fol. 56b

of the destroyer in the glorious emancipation of the children of God. And because the race of his humanity is descended to this from David, it is incumbent upon all rational creatures to offer up praise; rightly we add to the psalm, 'Praise God!'¹.

The aim of the arrangement of this [next] psalm presents [the period] until the time of Zerubbabel and Joshua the son of Jozadak and of the Maccabees, those who were victorious in the war with the peoples who surrounded them, and the words of the psalm bear witness that it is arranged concerning their time, for after that, we say the beginning (*šurrāyā*) of the psalm, 'Praise the Lord with a new song of praise'². After other things, we say, 'A two-edged sword in their hands, to punish the peoples and to rebuke the nations, to bind their kings with fetters and their honored ones with chains of iron'³. And because

¹ The sixth psalm in the present East Syriac Morning Service has no refrain; the refrain of 'Praise God' seems to have been attached to the sixth psalm of the service at the time of Gabriel.

² The first phrase of the seventh psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service on ordinary days and on memorials: Pšittā Psalm 149:1a / MT Psalm 149:1b / LXX Psalm 149:1b.

³ Psalm 149:6b-8.

Fol. 57a

this rising of the people from Babylon and the victory of the warriors and the amazing triumph of the Maccabees [are] worthy of wonder, and because [they are] creditable to the power of God, we add to the psalm, 'Praise befits him'¹.

The aim of the arrangement of this [next] psalm presents [the time] until the days of Herod the king, in whose days [were] born John the Baptist and Jesus our Savior, [the time] in which the kingdom of the Jews was ended, because during that very time, Christ the King was born, he who was 'the expectation of the peoples'², according to the prophecy of the elder Jacob. He (Christ the King) does not desire gold and silver from human beings, but rather chastity and holiness and a virtuous and honorable way of life, because of which, we attach 'Praise the Lord in his sanctuary'³, to indicate through this arrangement, from that time, both the entire beloved holiness and the adorable

¹ Pšittā Psalm 146:1b / MT Psalm 147:1c / LXX Psalm 146:1d, used as a refrain for the seventh psalm of the service at the time of Gabriel; in the present East Syriac Morning Service, this psalm has no refrain.

² Cf. Pšittā Genesis 49:10d: ܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܠܝܚܐ ('and the peoples will wait for him').

³ The first phrase of the eighth psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service on ordinary days and on memorials (on Sundays and Feasts of the Lord, this is the seventh psalm because Psalm 149 is omitted): Pšittā Psalm 150:1a / MT Psalm 150:1b / LXX Psalm 150:1b.

Fol. 57b

Trinity. Because of this, we add, 'The Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'¹.

And because, when Jesus Christ our Lord was born, the star appeared to the Magi – those who were from foreign peoples – in the east, and they came to worship and honor Christ the King, who was born in the Land of Judea, it is right for us to attach, 'Praise the Lord, all you peoples'², to indicate through this that at that very time, he shone forth for all the peoples, offering membership in the household of God, in accordance with the predictions of the prophets, and in accordance with the promises that were [made] unto the fathers, as when the elder Jacob prophesied beforehand, 'The sceptre will not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver from between his thighs, until the one comes to whom the Kingdom belongs, and the peoples will wait for him'³. And again, Zechariah said that Christ the King, when he comes, 'will cast out the chariot from Ephraim and the horse from Jerusalem, and he will speak peace with the peoples'⁴,

¹ This seems to have been used as a refrain for the eighth psalm of the service, at the time of Gabriel; in the present East Syriac Morning Service, this psalm has no refrain.

² The first phrase of the ninth psalm of the East Syriac Morning Service on ordinary days and on memorials (the eighth psalm on Sundays and Feasts of the Lord): Pšittā Psalm 116:1a / MT Psalm 117:1a / LXX Psalm 116:1b.

³ Cf. Genesis 49:10.

⁴ Zechariah 9:10a-b,d.

[illegible]

^b Originally misspelled **مذبح** and corrected in the same black ink.

Fol. 58a

and as Isaiah said, 'The one who will rise will be the head to the peoples and the peoples will investigate him, and he will lift up a sign for the peoples'¹. And again, Simeon the Elder, while he was lifting Christ upon his arms, said, 'Henceforth, you release your servant in peace, my Lord, according to your word, for behold, my eyes have seen your compassion, which you have prepared in the presence of all the nations – light for the revelation of the peoples and glory for your People Israel'². Therefore, after 'Praise the Lord, all you peoples', we attach, 'Praise him, all nations'³, to indicate, concerning the People (i.e., of Israel) and concerning the peoples (i.e., the Gentiles), those who have believed in Christ, that the grace of the Lord has increased through the coming of Christ, because Christ is truly Lord forever.

At the time of his ascension to heaven, he ordered his disciples, 'Go out and make disciples of all the peoples'⁴; thus, in this moment we fittingly say,



¹ Cf. Isaiah 11:10c-d, 5:26a

² Luke 2:29-32.

³ Pšittā Psalm 116:1b / MT Psalm 117:1b / LXX Psalm 116:1c.

⁴ Cf. Matthew 28:19a-b.

⁸ Written in margin.

Fol. 58b

'Praise the Lord, all you peoples' and we add the refrain (*qānonā*), 'Christ the Light, we praise you'¹, which fits well with what is said in this moment, corresponding to the aim of these arrangements, because Christ was called 'Star' and 'Sun' and 'Radiance' and 'Light' by the prophets, and Christ, too, called himself 'Light', [saying,] 'I am the Light of the World'². The arrangement of this psalm makes known, then, concerning the time of the birth and epiphany³ of our Lord, through which the disciples clung to him, as from the testimony of the word of the Father⁴ and as from the words of John concerning him⁵.

Chapter Eight (8): Why do we adapt these four *šurrāyē* from the Old [Testament] in the morning before the chant of the *Lāku Mārā*?

Now, it is necessary to show why these four *šurrāyē* (lit., 'beginnings') from the Old [Testament] are directed (*estaqqam* < SQM < *sēyqomā* < σήκωμα) to be said in the Morning Service before the *Lāku Mārā* (the 'You, O Lord' chant). Now, there are four

¹ This seems to have been used as a refrain for the ninth psalm of the service, at the time of Gabriel; in the present East Syriac Morning Service (ferial and festal), this psalm is concluded with the refrain from the first psalm of the service: 'Giver of Light, Lord, to you we lift up praise!'

² John 8:12b.

³ In the East Syriac tradition, as in all Eastern Christian traditions, the Feast of the Epiphany of the Lord celebrates his baptism in the Jordan and thus the revelation of the Trinity to the entire world (rather than the visit of the Magi and thus the revelation of Christ to the Gentiles).

⁴ Cf. Matthew 3:17, Mark 1:11, Luke 3:22.

⁵ Cf. John 1:29-36.

^d The overline indicates abbreviation: $\overline{\text{K}}\text{K}\text{K}\text{K}$.

Fol. 59a

times during which our Lord God was familiar with human beings in various ways before the coming of Christ: first, [the time] of those ten generations (i.e., from Adam until Noah), and second, that of Noah after the flood; thirdly, [that of] Abraham and his household, and fourthly, [that] of Moses and the rest of the children of Israel. In these four times were given new and different laws (*nāmosē*), which do not resemble each other, because those ten generations were commanded different things, and Noah was commanded different things after the flood, and Abraham and his household were commanded different things, and Moses and the rest of the prophets [were commanded] different things.

For, these four times are called 'the night', as the blessed Paul said, 'Henceforth the night has passed, and the day is near'¹, calling 'the night' the times before the coming of Christ and 'the day' the time

¹ Romans 13:12a.

Fol. 59b

from his coming and from then on. This is what the blessed Paul said, as from the power of the parable of our Lord, who said, ‘The Kingdom of Heaven resembles a man, the master of a house, who went out in the morning to hire laborers for his vineyard’¹, calling himself ‘the man, the master of the house’ and the time of his coming ‘the morning time’. For just as the time of the coming of our Lord is called ‘the morning’, so also the times before his coming are called ‘the night’. As Mar Narsai the Teacher said, ‘The time from Adam onwards was like the nighttime, and the day of the revelation of Christ [was like] the course of the hours of the daytime’². And confirming his word through the parable³ of our Lord, he (Narsai) adds, ‘Our Lord also called the morning the beginning of his preaching and the evening time the end, which gives rest to the world from its labor’⁴. This says that all human beings who were in the times before

¹ Matthew 20:1.

² This is the second verse of the *tešboḥtā* (hymn) attributed to Narsai, used today in the East Syriac Morning Service on Sundays, memorials, and Feasts of the Lord. Brock observes that this and the following quotation are ‘not ... found in any of the published seven-syllable memre by Narsai’ (Brock, ‘Patristic Quotations’, 138).

³ The parable in question is probably that of the Generous Landowner (i.e., the Parable of the Workers in the Vineyard): Matthew 20:1-16 (Brock, ‘Patristic Quotations’, 138).

⁴ The third verse from the same *tešboḥtā* of Narsai.

Fol. 60a

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	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ
	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ
	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ
15	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ
	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ
	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ
	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ	ܡܠܟܐܢܐ

^a Word repeated from previous page.^b The ܡ is written above the line.^c Vowel dots added in red ink.

Fol. 60a

the coming of Christ were in the error of the demons, as in the night. Likewise, then, the times before the coming of Christ were called 'the night'.

The night is divided into four watches. It is appropriate, in this Morning Service, that [for] the aim of the arrangement – from the beginning of the world and until the end –, four *šurrāyē* are arranged from the Old [Testament] to be [said] before the *Lāku Mārā*. In this, we bind the Old Testament with the New, and we confess the Son of God, Jesus Christ, and glorify him like the Father, the Lord of All, on account of the fact that he became for us the cause of resurrection and of salvation. Therefore, these four *šurrāyē* are fittingly arranged; they indicate the four times, as figures of the four watches of the night that passed before the divine shining forth, which is made known

[illegible]

^f The is inserted below the line.

Fol. 60b

in the arrangement of the *Lāku Mārā*, as was said earlier, because this chant (*qānonā*) of the *Lāku Mārā* is placed like a border in the Morning Service, as for the indication of the salvific economy of God in the former [times] and in this [time] in the end, which came about through the coming of Christ our Savior. And concerning this, the actions that are carried out bear witness in the Church in this hour in which [this chant] is said.

Chapter Nine (Chapter 9): Why do we finish the first two psalms but not the third, and why do we attach five others to the fourth?

Now, because the first psalm is arranged concerning the time of those ten generations that had their conclusion in the devastation of the flood, we rightly finish the first psalm, for an indication of the end that those ten generations received. Again, we also finish the second psalm, as what [happened with] those of the house of Noah who were after the flood:

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Because of the presumption of [those involved] in the building of the tower (i.e., of Babel), they too received an end in the division of their tongues, in that the harmony was torn, and they were scattered to the four quarters (of the earth).

The third psalm, however, was arranged [to be] about the time of the blessed Abraham and his children, those who because of famine entered Egypt and abided there for a long time in servitude to the Egyptians. As with a veil, the family of Abraham was concealed in lengthy servitude, and though they (the Egyptians) were devising many schemes (*pursē* < *πóρος*) to destroy them (the Israelites), they (the Israelites) did not receive an end, but rather became great and grew very numerous. Because of this, we do not finish that (third) psalm, which was arranged concerning their time, but we say it until the phrase, 'Bread sustains the heart of humankind'¹ to show through this arrangement that the Israelites were entering Egypt on account of bread, and there, for a long

¹ Pšittā Psalm 104:15c / MT Psalm 104:15c / LXX Psalm 103:15c. Interestingly, the present East Syriac Morning Service goes one phrase farther in its third psalm, stopping after 104:16a ('The trees of the Lord are satisfied').

Fol. 61b

time, were laboring in bondage until a savior was sent to them, the blessed Moses.

And with many signs and wonders, he brought them from there, because of the Bread of Life, which was to come and would shine forth from them. And because of this, he brought them out from Egypt to the wilderness, a place without earthly bread, and he kept them alive there for forty years without earthly nourishment – a demonstration to show them the power of the world to come, that ‘human beings do not live by earthly nourishment’¹, according to the promise of God unto the blessed Abraham. [For he] did not give earthly bread to the world, but heavenly bread, as he said, ‘I am the bread of life who have descended from heaven, and if anyone will eat from this bread, they will live forever, and the bread that I will give is my body that I give on behalf of the life of the world’². Towards this aim,

¹ Cf. Deuteronomy 8:3, Matthew 4:4.

² John 6:51.

10

15

^b Should be ~~നാമധാതു~~.

^c Should be μ , I think.

^d Inserted above the line.

^e Something here has been thoroughly erased.

the old economy of salvation was [leading?¹], which was fulfilled in the People of Israel, for while they were entering Egypt on account of earthly bread, God brought them out from there because of heavenly bread, as from the land (*kāwrā/korā* < *χώρα*) of iron.

Even if someone says, ‘This is not the reason; rather, we abbreviate the psalm because it is long’, we say to him, ‘Why do we not say [it] up to the [end of] the section², [instead of stopping] at “Bread sustains the heart of humankind”?’ For behold, there are not many phrases, such that we do not say them because of their great number, for there are merely six³ alone, which also fit well with the order (*sedrā*) of the language (i.e., fit well with what is said) before them. But it is clear that there is a reason because of which they are arranged thus; as I believe, it (the reason) is what I said above.

To the fourth psalm

¹ This reading is possible if the word is **ⲛⲓⲁⲓ**, but only the last two letters of the word are legible.

² Pšittā Psalm 104 / MT Psalm 104 / LXX Psalm 103 is divided, in the East Syriac tradition, into two ‘sections’ (*pāsoqē*): vv. 1-18 and vv. 19-35. Gabriel’s point is that if the reason for abbreviating the psalm were practical rather than theological, then the psalm would be read up to verse 18, rather than up to verse 15.

³ That is, in the East Syriac versification, there are six phrases between the end of the psalm as it is used in the Morning Service (v. 15) and the end of the first 'section' (*pāsoqā*) (v. 18).

^a 5
 0
 5
 5

^c The ; is added above the line.

Fol. 62b

we add five others, not separating them as [we do] the first ones. They are arranged [like this] because of the time of the blessed Moses and because of the times, one after another, until the divine shining forth of Christ. For, even though Joshua the son of Nun rose in the leadership of the people after Moses, and the judges rose after Joshua the son of Nun, and the kings rose after the judges, and the high priests [rose] in the governance of the people after the kings, nevertheless all of them were subject to the Law of Moses, and all of them were called one People of the Hebrews. Because of this, these six psalms [are] like that (one) psalm [which is] arranged on account of the time of the blessed Moses. And if, because of the times, one after another, we do not separate these (psalms) as [we do] the first ones, neither with a conclusion (*suṯyākā*) nor with a prayer, but rather immediately attach [them] to one another, [it is] as for an indication of the un-

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	ܐܡܬܐ	ܐܡܬܐ	ܐܡܬܐ	ܐܡܬܐ	ܐܡܬܐ
	ܐܡܬܐ	ܐܡܬܐ	ܐܡܬܐ	ܐܡܬܐ	ܐܡܬܐ

^a Should be plural.^b These last two words should both be plural.

Fol. 63a

divided teaching of those (people) about whose times they (the psalms) were arranged.

Chapter Ten: Why, after these psalms, do we say the chant of the *Lāku Mārā*?

Now, as we said before, the first individual psalms¹ are arranged concerning the earlier times, and the last six psalms² are attached to each other concerning the course of the Old Testament. And [of] the last two psalms of those six, the first³ is arranged concerning the time of the birth of our Lord in the flesh, and the second⁴ [is arranged] concerning the time of his baptism by John and his (i.e., John's) witness concerning him. Necessarily, it is now right for us to make known what the arrangement of the chant of confession explains to us: [It is] about the confession of the holy apostles – those who followed him immediately – and [about] their faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

It (the chant) has made known the goodness of their will towards him, as

¹ I.e., the first through third psalms of the service.

² I.e., the fourth through ninth psalms of the service.

³ I.e., the eighth psalm of the service.

⁴ I.e., the ninth psalm of the service.

Fol. 63b

	ዋሰኒህሩ	ሩዓጠ	ኃጎሩ	ሩዓጠ	ሩዓጠ	ኃጎ
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	ኃ	ዋሰኒህሩ		ጠጠጠጠ		ጠጠጠጠ
	ዓጠጠ	ጠ	ኃጎሩ	ጠጠጠጠጠ		ጠጠጠጠ
5	ሩዓጠጠጠ		ሩዓጠ	,ጠጠጠጠ		ጠጠጠጠ
	ኃ	ዓጠ	ጠጠጠጠ	,ጠጠጠጠጠ		ጠጠጠጠ
	^a ሩ	ኃጎሩ	ኃጎ	ኃጎ	ኃጎ	ጠጠጠጠ
	ሩዓጠ	ጠጠጠጠ	ኃጎ	ኃጎ		ጠጠጠጠ
	ዋሰኒህሩ	ጠ	ኃጎሩ	ሩዓጠጠ		ጠጠጠጠ
10	ጠጠጠጠጠ	ጠጠጠጠ	ኃጎሩ	ኃጎ	ሩዓጠጠ	ሩዓጠ
	ሩዓጠጠ	ኃጎ	ዋሰኒህሩ	ኃጎ		ጠጠጠጠ
	^b ጠጠጠጠጠ	ጠጠጠጠጠጠጠ	ኃጎ	ሩዓጠጠ		ሩዓጠጠ
	,ጠጠጠጠጠ	ጠ	ጠጠጠጠ	ጠጠጠጠ		ጠጠጠጠጠ
	ኃጎ	ኃጎሩ	ሩዓጠጠጠ	ጠ		ሩዓጠጠ
15	ኃጎ	ኃጎ	ሩዓጠጠጠጠ	ጠጠጠጠ	ዓጠ	ሩዓጠ
	ሩዓጠጠ	ጠጠጠጠጠጠ	ጠጠጠጠ	ሩዓጠጠ		ጠጠጠጠ
	ሩዓጠጠጠ	ጠጠጠጠጠጠጠ	ሩዓጠጠ	ጠ		ጠጠጠጠ

^a Overline to indicate deletion; word restarted on next line.^b Overline to indicate deletion; word restarted on next line.

Fol. 63b

when Andrew was rejoicing, saying to Simon his brother, 'We have found the Christ'.¹ Or again, Philip, when he found Nathaniel, said to him, 'We have found the one about whom Moses wrote in the Law and in the Prophets – Jesus the son of Joseph from Nazareth', for when Nathaniel said, 'Is it possible that anything good will be from Nazareth?', Philip said to him, 'Come and you will see!'² And when Jesus said to Nathaniel, 'Before Philip would call you, I saw you while you were under the fig tree', and Nathaniel recognized Jesus – that he knows everything –, he confessed him openly and said, 'Rabbi, you are the King of Israel!'³ For also, when Jesus asked the disciples, 'What do people say about me, that I am?', and they

¹ Cf. John 1:41.

² Cf. John 1:45-46.

³ Cf. John 1:48-49.

^a The overlining indicates abbreviation, for ,ṣayyāḥ.

Fol. 64a

said the opinions of others, and Jesus responded and asked them, 'What do you say about me, that I am?', Simon rose as on behalf of all of them and said to him, 'You are the Christ, the son of the Living God'.¹ Again, when Jesus changed the water into wine in Cana of Galilee, John the Evangelist said, 'This is the first sign that Jesus did, and it made known his glory, and his disciples believed in him'.²

For also [from] the beginning, after his baptism by John, the Gospel of Christ our Lord began to flourish through their confession and their faith in him; they were showing, in the sight of everyone, and they were bearing witness to everyone, that he is the Christ who was awaited by the People. And even if, at the time, full knowledge about his divinity was hidden from them, it was fulfilled through the coming of the Spirit upon them,

¹ Cf. Mark 8:27-29.

² Cf. John 2:11.

Fol. 64b

which taught them 'all truth'¹, according to the promise of our Lord to them. [And] from then on, they were confessing Christ our Lord as [they confessed] God the Father and the Holy Spirit, as we learn from this chant, which was wondrously composed by them and was arranged by them to be said every day in the Church in the evening and in the morning, in order that from it we may call to mind every day the divinity of the Son, Christ, who in his divinity is equal with the Father in everything and is worshipped and confessed and praised with him.

Appropriately, then, this chant was arranged to be said after those six psalms that were said before, as to teach us through its arrangement that after the baptism of our Lord, the disciples cleaved to him and began the preaching of his Gospel. And the actions that are done in the Church in the time when it is said

End of quire 8.

¹ Cf. John 16:13.

Fol. 65a

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 + + + +

^a Word started and restarted on next line.^b Word started and restarted on next line.^c The second ḥ is inserted below the line.

Fol. 65a

Start of quire 9.

testify concerning this.

For, immediately before it (the *Lāku Mārā*) is said, as soon as the last psalm is finished – [the one] to which we attach ‘Christ the Light, we praise you’ – in that very moment, we bring forth the light (*nahirā*), with which we indicate the epiphany of the great Sun of Righteousness who appeared at the Jordan, and with this light, we kindle the lamp (*šrāqā*) on the lampstand (*mnārtā*) for an indication of the grace of the Holy Spirit that the Church received from our Lord, as it is said, ‘All of us have received from his fullness’¹. Then, the lamp on the lampstand remains in the nave (*hayklā*), and we carry the light [back] inside for an indication of that which occurred in the salvific economy of our Lord, that when he died and was buried and rose and ascended to heaven, nevertheless the grace of the Holy Spirit that he gave us in the Church did not depart but behold, continues to flow through baptism in all generations until the end of the world. Along with these things

¹ Cf. John 1:16a.

Fol. 65b

we burn sweet incense, and we draw back the veil, and we announce the peace that we have with God.

If someone says, '[If] the *Lāku Mārā* is arranged [in] the place of the beginning of the Old Testament, why, in the psalm before the *Lāku Mārā*, do we praise Christ the Light?'¹, we say to him: For, it is known that when Christ shone forth and was baptized at the Jordan, until then, the authority of the Old Testament was in force, but after he was baptized and the disciples followed him, then our Lord began new deeds. Therefore, in the psalm before the *Lāku Mārā*, we depict the arrangement of the epiphany of our Lord, and in the *Lāku Mārā*, we announce the beginning of the new deeds. The aim of the arrangement of this chant presents confession until the time of the departure of the holy apostles from this world, which shows [itself to be] of mortality.

Chapter Eleven: What aim does the arrangement possess

¹ This hypothetical objection is not particularly clear to me, since the *Lāku Mārā* is placed, according to Gabriel's understanding of the service, not at the beginning of the Old Testament, but at the end of the Old Testament and at the beginning of the New.

Fol. 66a

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^a This word is written above the line.

^b Something here has been erased or crossed out and is very indistinct.

^c Overlining indicates deletion; word restarts on next line.

^d The ܡ is not written clearly in the main text and is re-written in the margin, in red ink.

Fol. 66a

of the psalm of ‘Have mercy upon me, O God’¹, [which] is said in every morning, and why do we say it?

This psalm is arranged concerning the times in the middle, after the holy apostles until the time of the Son of Perdition (*bar abdānā*). Let us see why we clearly say it every morning, and it is no different.² For, because the peoples who were converted to Christ on account of [the fact that] they believed and were convinced of his promises and his declarations that those who keep his commandments and act virtuously will inherit the Kingdom of Heaven and [that] those who despise [his commandments] and act impiously and abominably will inherit Gehenna and everlasting punishment – because of this, they desire holiness, without which no human being sees our Lord. They run after a way of life of virtue, and they strive to labor in a beautiful way of life, so that they may not be condemned in eternal judgment with the

¹ Pšittā Psalm 51 / MT Psalm 51 / LXX Psalm 50.

² I.e., the reason is the same as what has been mentioned previously for the preceding elements.

Fol. 66b

world, but because they are still in this world of mortality, in which 'the body desires what is hurtful to the spirit, and the spirit desires what is hurtful to the flesh, and the two are the opposite of each other'¹ – because this, we necessarily labor in folly, on account of the passions that vex us because of mortality, those things that seize us with passionate enticements.

And how many times do they lead us by force to do those things that are of this world, as the blessed Paul said, 'I did not do what I want, but I do the evil thing that I hate'², and again, 'For, to want the good thing is easy for me, but I cannot do it'³. Therefore, he, this miserable and weak nature, was thus continually prone to sin because of the weakness of his body toward these things of this world,

¹ Cf. Galatians 5:17a-c.

² Cf. Romans 7:15b-d.

³ Romans 7:18d-e.

Fol. 67a

1. ܐܚܝܠܐ ܠܐܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ
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^a Inserted above the line. Should be ܐܠܗܐ.

^b Word started and restarted on next line.

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sometimes inclining to sin from natural weakness, and sometimes choosing repentance because of fear of judgment. Therefore, toilsome conflict and difficult war continually lay between the body and the soul, as the blessed apostle said again, 'I rejoice in the law of God, in the inner human being, but I see a different law in my members that fights against the law of my mind, and it leads me in captivity to the law of sin that is in my members'¹, in order to say, 'From the teaching of the law, my soul learned to rejoice in the good and to desire it and to rejoice in those things that define the laws and to choose them and ardently to desire to be occupied with them. But from an inclination toward this life, which [is] from the mortality that there is in my body, I am harassed and fight

¹ Romans 7:22-23.

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against my mind. And how many times do I slip toward what is evil, which I would not otherwise do? But from an inclination toward these things of this world, [what is evil] grows especially – mortality that is naturally bound in me, that which is in my members.’ And because through these things it appeared that it (the law) is not for those who by will are utterly attracted toward [the action?] that works opposite the word, but for those who [are] curing [themselves] by the divine laws and learn from them what is virtuous and appear with all readiness of will [and] are always pleased with virtue and from the limpidity of their mind show especially the usefulness of the laws.

Virtuous is the one who comes and says, ‘I am a miserable human being; who will deliver me from this body of death?’¹, not saying ‘evil’ but ‘miserable’,

¹ Romans 7:24.

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^a Underlining in red ink and overlining in faint brownish ink indicate deletion. The word restarts on the next line.

^b Underlining in red ink indicates deletion.

^c The second ܐ is inserted written above the line.

^d Underlining in red ink and overlining in faint brownish ink indicate deletion. The word restarts on the next line.

^e This word is circled in red ink, to indicate deletion, due to misspelling.

^f Several dots for vowels and for aspiration in this and the subsequent three lines have been added in red ink.

^g Should be ܐܬܝܬܝܢ. In fact, the first nun has been crossed out in red.

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for it is of the evil person to choose what is evil but it is of the miserable person to choose what is good and to be [too] weak – how many times! – to accomplish it. It shows, nevertheless, that we are pleased with virtues, but from the enticements of the passions of nature, many things stir [us] up, that we are compelled to endure against our will. For truly, the nature of human beings is miserable and weak and humble; while we know well the bitterness of sin – how many times it draws us away from God and how it makes us unclean in the eyes of our soul – we willingly, because of our dissoluteness, embrace it (sin), and we run after it and bind the neck of our freedom to its yoke.

Therefore, the blessed apostle charges us and says, ‘May sin not rule in your mortal body, lest you obey its (i.e., the body’s) desires, and do not prepare your members [as] an armor of iniquity for sin’¹, in order to say, ‘Not

¹ Romans 6:12-13a.

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as when servants obey the king, so also may you [not] prepare yourself for the obedience of sin, whenever it commands you earnestly to do [it]'. 'Rather, prepare yourself for God, as human beings who have been revived from the dead. And may your members be worthy [as] armor for the righteousness of God, and [may] sin not rule over you.'¹ For, if we use our members for armor against sin, then we will earnestly entreat God with our mouths and beseech him for help in this struggle (*āgonā* < ἁγών), and he will purify our heart from evil thoughts and make the rest of our members labor in good deeds; sin [will] not find a place in us.

But if it happens that it conquers us anywhere because of the mortality that has been stored up in our body, it is not right for us to become disheartened [or for us to] cut off hope in our salvation, but we ought to know that just as one who enters school is

¹ Romans 6:13b-14a.

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unable not to act foolishly, so also we, who are in this world, as in some school, are unable not to labor in sin. Therefore, whenever it happens that we sin, either out of weakness or out of carelessness or willingly or unwillingly, let us immediately hasten towards repentance. And let us not only ask for mercies and forgiveness of our transgressions, with supplication of the mouth and with fervent prayer of the lips, but rather (*mallon* < μᾶλλον), let us show the virtue of the ways of our repentance with deeds; that is, with humility, with love, with lovingkindness, with forgiveness, with unfeigned peace, with fellowship in the sufferings of others, with sighs on account of mistakes, with sorrowful tears on account of lapses, with continual and redoubled fasting, with extended night vigils, with standing laboriously in prayer, with frequent bowing down to the ground, with the remembrance of the nearness of the death

[illegible]

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Fol. 69b

that will swiftly remove us from this world, with constant musing on judgment and on the torment of Gehenna.

And when, by our will and by our preparation, we adorn our repentance with these things and with [things] like them and ‘do not turn back to our vomit’¹, the Lord [can be trusted] to accept our repentance and to pardon our sins and to forgive our trespasses, as he said, ‘Repent, backsliding children, and I will heal your backsliding’² and again, ‘The Lord is close to the broken-hearted and he saves the humble in spirit’³ and again, ‘The sacrifices of God are a humble spirit, and God does not reject a contrite heart’⁴. For the Lord is truly close to true penitents⁵ and to the remorseful who have discernment, and he turns toward the prayer of the humble in spirit and does not treat their prayer with contempt and hears their petition and saves them, and in everything, he helps them [with] good things.

Thus, because there is nothing that is [as] acceptable

¹ Cf. Proverbs 26:11a, 2 Peter 2:22b.

² Jeremiah 3:22a-b.

³ Pšittā Psalm 34:18 / MT Psalm 34:18 / LXX Psalm 33:19.

⁴ Pšittā Psalm 51:17 / MT Psalm 51:17 / LXX Psalm 50:19.

⁵ The same word used in Jeremiah 3:22a (פְּשִׁיטָה) is used here; it can mean either ‘backslider/apostate’ or ‘penitent’. The root (TWB) means ‘to turn’, and so while Jeremiah’s injunction is directed to those who have turned from good to evil, Gabriel has in mind, rather, those who are turning from evil to good.

Fol. 70a

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^a Being written in faint red ink, these words a bit harder to read.

Fol. 70a

to God as the repentance of discernment and as prayer in which there is repentance or **confession of sins** and as mournful supplication for atonement of debts and forgiveness of sins – because of this, rightly and fittingly, this psalm of ‘Have mercy upon me, O God’ is arranged to be said by us in every morning, so as to supplicate God through it for our sins and our transgressions [and] also to ask mercies and pity and help and salvation through it, as we learn concerning these things from the psalm. For behold, all the words that there are [in the psalm] entreat mercies from God and confession of sins and supplication for forgiveness and prayer for things that are helpful.

Chapter Twelve: What does this arrangement here of the petition (*bāʿutā*) and of the litany (*kārozutā*) after it teach us?

With what wisdom are this petition and the litany after it done, and why are they arranged

[illegible]

^a In the margin, to the right of the line, is a λ . I am not entirely sure why; perhaps it is because the second λ in $\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda\lambda$ is not very clear.

Fol. 70b

to be said by us in the Church in the evening and in the morning? It is said by me [i.e., the topic of the petition and litany, in general, is already covered by Gabriel] in the First *Mēmṛā* concerning the arrangement of the Evening Service. Thus, it is right for us only to show with what aim they are arranged here – why they are said after the psalm of ‘Have mercy upon me’. For, because the aim of the sequence of the arrangement of this Morning Service [is] as I said before – it depicts before the eye, [and] we proceed [along it] as with some sign (*simion* < σημεῖον), the course of times from the beginning of the world and until its end – because of this, the psalm of ‘Have mercy upon me’ is arranged concerning the times in the middle, from after the holy apostles until the time of the coming of the Son of Perdition, those [times] in which the faithful, according to the natural course, are occupied with the world. And because in the time of the holy apostles and the missionaries after them, because they were surpassing everyone in the fervor

Fol. 71a

of their love towards God, [and] also again because of the newness of the supernatural discipleship with which they were conducting themselves, Christ was helping them because of his proclamation [i.e., the proclamation about him].

But those after them [i.e., after the apostles] were occupied as [with] the order of the natural course, sometimes sinning as human beings in the world and sometimes repenting because all the human beings in this world are occupied with these three orders (*ṭaksē*): with what is natural or [with] what is supernatural or with what is unnatural¹. What is natural: those who adhere to the spiritual or divine laws and because of weakness from mortality, sometimes incline towards sin and because of the fear of God are moved to regret and repent. What is supernatural: those who are wondrous in their way of life [and] also conduct themselves above the Law, as it is said, 'The Law is not ordained for the righteous'². What is unnatural: again, those who are outside of the

¹ Lit., 'preternatural', but 'unnatural' makes much more sense.

² Cf. 1 Timothy 1:9a.

Fol. 71b

whole fear of God: their souls are continually entangled in iniquity and continually dwell in wickedness; they are not at all moved to regret, nor do they repent. But true Christians, those who hear the words of the Scriptures, when they happen to sin as passible and mortal human beings, are secretly stung in their souls by the power of the Spirit that they received from baptism, and sorrow and compunction enter them, because of which they come to knock on the door of repentance, which, as soon as they knock on it, is opened to them.¹

For, [just as] the words of the [psalm of] ‘Have mercy upon me, O God’ fit those times in the middle and are arranged concerning them, [so also] here, the petition and litany are fittingly arranged concerning the bitter and grievous time of the Son of Perdition, in which the faithful who happen to be in an inhabited location will be in the midst of great persecution and much suffering, and [will be] like [those] whose

¹ Brock notes that this division of humankind into three classes, though not a formal quotation, is based on Mark the Monk’s *Opusculum* 2, section 83 (Brock, ‘Patristic Quotations’, 139).

Fol. 72a

eyes are []¹ to heaven and whose hands are stretched towards God and cry out and say, 'O our Lord, have mercy upon us'. And concerning this testify all the phrases of this petition, which immediately encourages all of us together to ask mercies from God 'with sorrow and with diligence'. And because, more than [in] all [other] times, the faithful will need mercies and consolation in that time, because of this, with the second phrase, we say, 'O Father of mercies and God of all consolation, we beseech you. O our Lord, have mercy upon us'. And thus, one after another, with all the phrases, we attach to the 'we beseech you', [the response] 'O our Lord, have mercy upon us'. And because all the faithful will be forced by the compulsion of the evil one in that time to be led as captives, fittingly, in the conclusion of the petition, we say, 'Save us all, O Christ our Lord, in your grace, and increase among us your tranquility and your peace, and have mercy upon us'.

Also again, the arrangement

¹ Clearly, the meaning of this word must be something like 'raised' or 'lifted', but the Syriac is not legible enough for me to be able to determine what the word is.

^d This word is redundant, as the previous word is already a contraction of *ḥm ḥm*.

Fol. 72b

Interpretation

of the litany that immediately follows this teaches us symbolically concerning the petition and prayer of those who are fleeing from the evil one and are hidden in high mountains or in caverns or in caves of earth, those who night and day pray and beseech God with much supplication concerning their brothers, the children of the Church who are afflicted by the evil one and by his servants who lay snares in [his] likeness, [and] also concerning those who are in captivity to his deception [who] persecute all the faithful according to his will. And the words of the litany testify concerning this; for after that, we 'pray and beseech God the Lord of all' for the Church and for the priests and for 'the entire chaste Covenant' with the rest. The herald adds and says, 'For those who err from this true faith and are held in the snares of Satan, let us pray and beseech God the Lord of all, that he may turn the hardness of their heart, "so that they may recognize that God, the true Father, is one,

[illegible]

^a Word started and restarted on next line.

Fol. 73a

of the Service

and his Son, Jesus Christ our Lord”¹’.

Chapter Thirteen: What is the reason that prevents the solitaires from saying the petition and the litany after it, in the morning?

For it is known that the chaste order (*tegmā* < τάγμα) of solitaires is separated from the world with all its things, as their habit (*eskēymā* < σχῆμα) and the tonsure of their hair and [the fact that they stay in] dwelling-places in the wilderness testify. Because of this, the arrangements of their services are different, according to the laws and the canons (*qānonē*) of their way of life. However, it is not right, because of this, for them to be considered separated from the Church – God forbid! – for it is not with regard to faith that they are seen to be different, but in the arrangements of the services and of the canons – things that are not even the same in every place.

For behold, a person can find that [people] act a certain way in one place and differently in another place, for the arrangements were arranged beforehand

¹ Not an exact quotation, but nevertheless a clear reference to John 17:3b-c.

^e Overlining here indicates deletion; word started and restarted on next page.

Fol. 73b

by each of the first rulers/bishops and were not changed by those who were instructed by them, so that they might not be considered as scorning their spiritual Fathers and treating their masters with contempt. Because of this, arrangements remained in the monasteries of the solitaries that varied in some ways from the ecclesiastical arrangements.

For, for the most part, we find in many places that those who were the earliest in the monastic way of life were laypersons, as for example blessed Antony the Great and Julian the Elder and those like them. These, because of their great humility, were not persuaded to receive the laying-on-of-hands of the priesthood but would occasionally go and receive the Eucharist (*quddāšā*) from the monasteries near them or from the churches in the villages, and because the rank of priesthood had not been received by them, but they were laypersons, they were not persuaded to say

Fol. 74a

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^a At the beginning of this word is a symbol I do not recognize, but it seems to have no purpose.

^b Should be ܐܡܝܢ.

^c Should be ܕܡܠܟܐ.

^d Overlining here indicates abbreviation, for ܡܠܟܐ.

^e Word started and restarted on next line.

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the petition and the litany after it. And those who were instructed by them and had received the arrangements of their masters in succession did not dare to change anything in their arrangements, even though afterwards some among them received the hand of priesthood.

But doubtless someone will say, 'If this is the cause, as you said, why do we proclaim [the petition and litany] in the evening and at night?' For the word that I said addresses it (i.e., this question): Neither in the evening and at night were the earlier spiritual Fathers proclaiming [the petition and litany], nor in the morning. But this (i.e., saying the petition and litany in the evening and night) is an arrangement that entered afterwards, when presbyters and deacons increased among the solitaires, coming from the churches to the monasteries, and they saw that the services of the solitaires were lacking. They (the newcomers) urged their masters to convince them (i.e., the solitaires) to say the petition and the litany in the evening and in the morning.

But our Fathers, when they observed the wearisome labors

Fol. 74b

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^a Should be ḡḡḡ.

^b Either this word should be plural, or the next word should be singular.

^c Either this word should be plural, or the previous word should have a singular suffix.

^d Something here has been erased.

Fol. 74b

of the way of life of the solitaries, how much they were suffering hardship in the nights in lengthy vigil, the labor of the service in common not sufficing for them, but [that] they were making various offerings in the nights, in the lengthy vigils, and from this, [that] the matter was burdensome to their bodies in the Morning Service – because of this, they (i.e., the Fathers) did not persuade them (i.e., the solitaries) to say the petition and litany in the morning as in the evening, except only in the days of the Fast, when all Christians conduct themselves especially. And feast-days testify to me that this is so, for on them (feast-days), some among the brothers are seen slumbering in the Morning Service because of the labor of their all-night vigil.

But what do I say about the labor of the spiritual Fathers and brothers in their time? For I, with my eyes,

End of quire 9.

Fol. 75a

Start of quire 10.

have seen a few years ago that [this whole matter is a source of division] for the diligent brothers on Sunday nights. They were not sleeping, but some of them were standing the whole night in the service in their cells, and some were engaged while sitting at the reading of the Scriptures. And some of them were distracted all night while serving, and some were carrying water to those whose cells were far away, and some of them were rushing into the house of prayer, and [some] were bearing dung on their heads¹. Others were going to the wise elders and were spending the whole night with useful questions. Others, while they were sitting, were weaving a plait (*sirā* < σείρά) and were meditating on the reading of the psalms and the hymns all night; they, and those like them, were acting with much fervor

¹ Gabriel probably means that these monks were disposing of the monastery's refuse or garbage, carrying it in baskets on their heads. My gratitude goes to Dr. Sebastian BROCK for this interpretation of an otherwise mysterious passage!

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^a Word circled in red ink to indicate deletion, as it is misspelled and replaced by the following word.

Fol. 75b

until the [ringing of the] sounding-board (*nāqoṣā*, cf. σήμαντρον) of the first *māwtbā* (i.e., a part of the Night Service served while sitting, cf. κάθισμα).

And as I was observing these holy ones in the morning time, I was seeing that it was burdensome to their bodies and [that] they [were] slumbering because of the weariness of the labor of their vigil. If, then, these things were seen that they do in our own time, lacking in the fervor for labors, how much more do you think our earlier Fathers were fervent to waste away the power of their body in the labor of the vigil! This, then, is the reason, as I think, that the solitaries do not say the petition and litany in the morning.¹

The fact that at other times – that is, at Compline and at midday and at night – it was permitted to the solitaries by the other spiritual Fathers to proclaim [the petition and litany], is because of this: because the holy spiritual Fathers saw that fervor grew cool among the brothers, and dissolute and weak people increased among the solitaries,

¹ That is, while the earlier Fathers were more zealous in prayer and might thus have welcomed the addition of the petition and litany, the current solitaries cannot handle a longer Morning Service (as evidenced by the fact they are already observed to be falling asleep during the service) and so, the Fathers permitted the solitaries not to say the petition and litany during the Morning Service.

Fol. 76a

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^a Should be ⲛⲓⲙⲉⲛⲓⲛ.^b The ⲁ is added below the line.^c Overlined to indicate deletion, as the word restarts on the next line.

Fol. 76a

those who stand in the service with their body alone, as with negligence and with compulsion, but with their souls, they are distracted in their thoughts and are waiting for when the service ends to go sleep. They (the Fathers) instructed that the petition be said like this, also for this reason, lengthening the service a little.¹

Also, we ask for mercies with our mouths while not wanting [them]; for example, other spiritual Fathers asked that responses (*ʿonyātā*) and psalms-with-refrains (*qānonē*) and particular chants of the vigil (*qālē d-šahrā*) be said. Just as, because of these things, many will persevere in the service while not wanting [to do so], so also they (the Fathers) instructed that the petition too be said because, [since the brothers were] dissolute and weak and slack, it was enough to lengthen the service a little [and] also for them to request mercies against their will.

However, [concerning the fact] that our earlier Fathers were not proclaiming [the petition or litany], nor were they saying the responses (*ʿonyātā*) or psalms-with-refrains (*qānonē*) or the chant of the vigil (*qālā d-šahrā*),

¹ That is, the spiritual Fathers slightly lengthened the services in midday, evening, and night by permitting the addition of the petition and litany, in order to prevent the solitaries from quickly going to bed.

^c Should be ၁၀၈၅၁၁၁၁.

Fol. 76b

the old and [] monasteries testify to us, those that were planted of old in this region of Persia, that is, the Great Monastery of Izla and the Holy Monastery [of] Rabban Šābur, those that even until now have not been persuaded to change the arrangements of the earlier spiritual Fathers [and] that do not say the responses (‘*onyātā*’) or psalms-with-refrains (*qānonē*) at Compline, nor in the first *māwtbā* of [the Night Service on] Sunday, nor do they say a psalm-with-refrain (*qānonā*) after the response (‘*onitā*’) of the second *māwtbā*, except the *šubbāhā* (i.e., a psalm with ‘Glory to you, O Lord’ or ‘Glory to you, O God’ as refrain). And concerning this, no one among the rulers (i.e., bishops) of the Church who came to them (i.e., to the monasteries) was able to change anything in their arrangements, because they ‘know that the Law is not ordained for the righteous’¹.

But the Three-Hundred Eighteen spiritual Fathers (i.e., of Nicaea) testify that the solitaries are innocent of the differences in the arrangement of their services from [those of] the Church, [for the Fathers of Nicaea,] in the arrangements of their canons, did not bind the ranks of the solitaries under the yoke

¹ Cf. 1 Timothy 1:9a.

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of their laws. For, after they defined in their canons that it is not allowed for a presbyter to consecrate the Eucharist (*quddāšā*) without a deacon, they added and said, ‘To those who sit singly and watchfully, it is permitted to do as they desire, and we have no law against them’¹. You have seen that there is no law concerning the change of arrangement of the solitaries. But if [they said] thus concerning the Service of the Holy Mysteries – those Things whose service requires much watchful care – and the holy spiritual Fathers did not bind the solitaries under the yoke of their laws, who would venture to find fault with them concerning the difference in certain things that there are in their [other] services? Therefore, it is not proper for anyone to reproach and find fault with the omissions [or] with the additions that there are in the arrangements of the services of the solitaries, nor is it right, rashly and without

[illegible]

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^a Word repeated from previous page.^b Written in the margin alongside is ܐܠܗܐ.^c Should be ܐܠܗܐ.^d Should be ܐܠܗܐ.

Fol. 77b

examination or common agreement, to change one of the arrangements of our holy Fathers, as it is said, 'Do not relocate a border' that your fathers placed 'in antiquity'¹. For those who venture to change the arrangements of our Fathers, they willingly remove themselves from the holy inheritance of the power of their prayers.

Chapter Fourteen (14): What aim does the arrangement of the 'To you be praise' possess, and why do we say it in the completion of the Morning Service?

The arrangement of this hymn of praise (*tešbohtā*) corresponds with the aim that has been ordained for us, as I have sought [to explain in] the sequence of the order, above: It is arranged concerning the time of the coming of Elijah, through whom will repent those who err [following] after the Son of Perdition, those who, knowing truly that that one was a deceiver, were acting as impiously as possible [against] God,

¹ Deuteronomy 19:14a.

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through which they betrayed him – and how patient he was with them in the evil deeds that they were doing! – and again, [they were doing so despite] considering the abundance of the mercies of God, who said, ‘I do not desire the death of a sinner but that he repent and live’¹. Also, he did not leave them to perish with the lost who erred [following] after him (i.e., the Son of Perdition), but sent to them a savior, the blessed Elijah, he who when he comes [will] overcome that one (i.e., the Son of Perdition) and [will] bring them back from error, as all of them together wake from heavy sleep to give praise and worship to God the Most High and to lift up thanksgiving to the hidden Eternal One on account of the salvation that they had from the hands of the enemy [who raged against] our race (*gensā* < γένος). And together, they [will] also ask mercies and pity and forgiveness of sins along with the rest of the other things that one is able to learn from the words of the hymn of praise

¹ Cf. Ezekiel 18:23a,c; 18:32; 33:11c-d.

and [from] what we depict every day in the morning in that lofty time before the eyes of our mind.

And with them (i.e., with those whom Elijah persuades to repent) we repent for our sins and for our offences, and we ask mercies and pity as sinful and poor human beings who journey in this world full of lapses and sins, as rational beings capable of discernment, first thanking and worshiping and praising that one who created us in his grace when we did not exist, and [who] magnified and honored our nature more than all [other] created things on the earth and [who] made us like him in freedom and in excellence and [who] satisfies our need in his lovingkindness and [who] broods over (*mrahḥep*) our wretchedness as over children and bears our provocation in the greatness of his patience. And when every day we regret and repent and (yet) every day we add to our sins and to our offences¹, he, in his pity, does not let go of us or neglect us,

¹A rather similar sentiment to the last words of the second fixed Response after the Responses of the Martyrs, chanted in today's ferial Morning Service: انا لله رب العالمين يا حي يا قيوم : انما انت الله لا اله الا انت . * وانا اعترف بك اليوم الذي اتوب اليك : دارمو هودرا ، مامو . ('Day after day, I confess to you that I expect to repent. My days have passed and gone, and my debts remain. Christ, have pity on me!')

Fol. 79a

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^a This word is circled in a red ink – perhaps to indicate deletion?

^b The ^a is inserted below the line.

^c In the margin is found another ^a, perhaps because the ^a in this word was seen as unclear.

Fol. 79a

such that the enemy, who is eager for our ruin, may have dominion over us, but he (God) preserves us from his (the enemy's) injuries for a hope of a life of repentance. Therefore, on account of all these things, we give praise to God, and we lift up thanksgiving to his majesty, and we bless the Creator of us and of everything, and we worship his lovingkindness, through this hymn of praise, in every morning, every day, trusting that he [will] turn to us.

We make requests from him that he may grant tranquility and peace, without which it is impossible to live well in the world, because there is nothing that benefits or helps human beings [as much] as tranquility and peace. And concerning this testify the holy Scriptures and the ecclesiastical arrangements and worldly customs. For behold, we learn about this from the holy Scriptures, that the priests in the Old [Testament], as it is written in the Book of Numbers, when they were blessing the people, the Children of Israel, were blessing

Fol. 79b

thus: 'May the Lord bless you and keep you. May the Lord shine his face upon you and work peace for you.'¹ For also God, through Isaiah the prophet, when he was showing those good things to come that Jerusalem would have after the return, along with the many things that he had promised to give, says, 'I will make peace your director and righteousness your ruler'². Thus also David said, 'Show us, O Lord, your grace and grant us your salvation, so that we may hear what the Lord our God is speaking, that he is speaking peace upon his people and with his righteous ones, so that they may not turn back'³, and again after a little, he says, 'Righteousness and peace will kiss'⁴, for where peace and righteousness are found, there are found all good things.

For also Christ our Lord, declaring the greatness of peace, after many things, ordered the holy apostles [and] said to them, 'These things I say to you, that in me

¹ Numbers 6:24-25a,26b.

² Isaiah 60:17e-f.

³ Pšittā Psalm 85:7-8 / MT Psalm 85:7-8 / LXX Psalm 84:8-9.

⁴ Pšittā Psalm 85:10b / MT Psalm 85:10b / LXX Psalm 84:11b.

Fol. 80a

you may have peace"¹. Also in another place, he said to them, 'Peace I leave you'², and to show that he was not speaking to them about worldly peace, he adds, 'My peace I give you'³. For also when he rose from the dead and first appeared to the women, he said to them, 'Peace to you!'⁴; in the way when he appeared to the apostles in the upper room, before everything [else], he said to them, 'Peace with you!'⁵. For also the blessed apostle, in all his letters, before beginning his teaching, blesses his disciples with peace: 'Peace with you, and grace!'⁶

Thus, in all the ecclesiastical services, before all the prayers, we are commanded to pray for peace: 'Let us pray, "Peace with us!" '. Again, also the priest, before he reads the book of the Gospel, blesses the people

¹ Cf. John 16:33a-b.

² John 14:27a.

³ John 14:27b.

⁴ Matthew 28:9c.

⁵ John 20:19e.

⁶ Ephesians 1:2a and Colossians 1:2c; cf. also Romans 1:7c, 1 Corinthians 1:3a, 2 Corinthians 1:2a, Galatians 1:3a, Philippians 1:2a, 1 Thessalonians 1:1d, 2 Thessalonians 1:2a, 1 Timothy 1:2b, 2 Timothy 1:2b, Titus 1:4b, and Philemon 3a.

Fol. 80b

with peace. And again in the offering of the consecration of the Holy Mysteries, the priest says this expression of peace two times to the people who stand behind him, and he¹ prays and supplicates God.

For we also learn about this from worldly customs, that when a person sees his friend, he first of all greets (lit., 'gives peace to') him, and when we write to each other, we write nothing before the greeting (lit., 'peace'): 'To so-and-so from such-and-such, peace!' And suffice it to say that there is nothing greater or better or more beloved for human beings than pure and unfeigned peace.

And what do I say? [Not only] human beings, but also the holy angels love it, as we learn from the Holy Scriptures. For, it is written that when Daniel fell upon his face from fear, an angel approached him and lifted him up and said to him, 'Do not fear, O beloved man. Peace to you!'² Again, also when Gabriel the angel [was] going

¹ It is not clear to me whether the subject of the verbs 'prays' and 'supplicates' is the priest or the people.

² Daniel 10:19b-c.

Fol. 81a

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^a Should be plural.^b Word written unclearly and restarted on next line.

Fol. 81a

to the blessed Mary to announce to her concerning the conception of Christ, before speaking with her, he said to her, 'Peace to you, full of grace!'¹ Likewise, when our Lord Jesus was born in Bethlehem, angels appeared to the shepherds and said to them, 'Glory to God in the heights, and on earth, peace and a good hope to people!'²

Behold, from the divine books and from the ecclesiastical arrangements and from the holy angels and [from] earthly customs, it is known how great and excellent peace is. Now, because peace is a good and excellent thing, [it is] good [and] excellent also for those who are far from the fear of God. Rightly, we earnestly pray for tranquility and peace every day in the morning, because if there is no peace, then there is also no love, which 'is the fulfillment of the Law'³. For just as where there is no peace,

¹ Luke 1:28c-d.

² Luke 2:14.

³ Cf. Romans 13:10b.

Fol. 81b

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^a Whatever was here has been circled in red and erased.

^b Whatever was here has been circled in red and erased.

^c Should be ܕܡܫ.

^d Overlining here indicates deletion; word started and restarted on next line.

^e The ܕ is inserted above the line and, since it is not clearly written, is repeated, perhaps in another hand, in the right margin.

Fol. 81b

there, there is strife and envy and hatred, so also where there is tranquility and peace, there, there is love and harmony and joy, and where these things are, Christ is there, as our Savior said, 'Where two or three are gathered in my name, I am there among them'¹, and again, 'If two people on earth agree to ask for anything, they will have it from my Father in heaven'². As someone among the saints said, 'If there is no tranquility with a neighbor, neither is God there'³.

Therefore, it is right [that] this hymn of praise is arranged in the completion of this Morning Service, first because the purpose of the aim with which it has been arranged is good, and second because we too sin every day, as mortal human beings prone to evil, and we ought to repent every day for our sins, asking from God mercies

¹ Cf. Matthew 18:20.

² Cf. Matthew 18:19b-c.

³ I do not know the source of this quotation.

^c The first , is inserted below the line.

Fol. 82a

and pity and forgiveness of sins, and third because there is in it (i.e., in the hymn of praise) the request for tranquility and for this peace. We do not say it one time, as [we do] all the rest of the words of the hymn of praise, but triply: 'O Hope of human beings, grant us tranquility and peace, that we may give thanks to your Trinity, O Lord of All, forever, amen.' That is, 'Grant us, O you good Hope of our souls, steadfast tranquility and lasting unfeigned peace, that we may virtuously and purely begin and complete all these actions, [and] that, becoming clear of wrath and strife and envy, we may give thanks to you and praise you all the days of our life'. And that they say these words three times is to make known the greatness of the request, as we make a triple petition and supplication to the Holy Trinity, to give us perpetual tranquility and lasting peace, all the days

Fol. 82b

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^a The ܐ is added above the line.

^b Should be ܡܡܠܟܐ.

^c Overlining indicates deletion, as the word restarts on the next line.

^d Here, the overlining indicates abbreviation, for ܡܡܠܟܐ.

^e Overlining here indicates deletion, as the word restarts on the next line.

^f Something originally here has been erased, and this word is written below the line. It should be ܡܡܠܟܐ.

Fol. 82b

of our lives.

Chapter Fifteen: Why, after this hymn of praise, is the chant of 'Holy' arranged to be said?

For also this chant (*qānonā*) of 'Holy' (i.e., the Trisagion), which the spiritual Father arranged to be said here, is for the showing forth of the praise [of] joy that the holy angels [will be] having on account of the return of the sinners from [following] after the Son of Perdition, as the testimony of Christ our Savior concerning them [says]: 'The angels in heaven rejoice over one sinner who repents'¹. If, then, the angels rejoice and give praise over one sinner who repents, how much more will they rejoice and praise God on account of the return of all those who turn from the error of Satan through the teaching of the blessed Elijah!

Now, because the chant of 'Holy' was composed by the angels and delivered to human beings – that [chant whose contents] teach us about the immutability

¹ Cf. Luke 15:7b,10b-c.

Fol. 83a

of the divine Nature and about the distinction of the Persons (*qnomē*) of the Holy Trinity and about the unity of the eternal and hidden Being, that which is as it is, without variation and without changes, and it (i.e., the Divine Being) has neither an opposite nor is there anything at all in comparison in any way whatsoever – it (i.e., the chant) has fittingly been arranged to be said here, as to make known concerning the invincibility of the divine Nature against that rebellious and cruel tyrant (*ṭrunā* < τύραννος) and enemy of all justice. And therefore, after we sanctify our lips with the angelic praises (i.e., after the Trisagion), we conclude this morning praise through the priestly prayers¹, to make known that after the return from the error of the Son of Perdition, every person [will] dedicate himself to continual and assiduous prayers, waiting for the manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven.

Chapter Sixteen: What is

¹ It thus seems that at the time of Gabriel, in the East Syriac Morning Service, the Trisagion was followed directly by the closing prayers.

Fol. 83b

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^a Word restarted on next line.

^b Written in the right margin is ܕܡܪܝܢܐ.

Fol. 83b

the reason that was arranged by the spiritual Fathers for giving thanks to and worshiping and praising the living God seven times (Chapter 16)?

Now, we spoke in the previous chapter about the return of those who err [following] after the deception of the Son of Perdition, and of how because of them the holy angels [will] praise God, and after these things, all people [will] dedicate themselves to continual and assiduous prayers, waiting for the manifestation of our Lord from heaven. Therefore, it is necessary for us now to expound concerning the services of the seven times of the rest of the day – for the arrangements [of the services] explain these things – concerning the persistence in prayers and the continual petitions of those who await the revelation of our Lord. Both those who are in that time and we who are in the present time await every day the manifestation of our Lord, rather than [awaiting] help from this temporal life, because

Fol. 84a

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^a Overlining indicates deletion, as the word restarts on the next line.

^b Perhaps this should be ܐܠܗܐܐܠܗܐ.

^c The three dots below ܐܠܗܐ and the three dots above ܐܠܗܐ probably mean that the order of the two words should be reversed.

^d The letter ܐ is inserted above the line.

Fol. 84a

the end of life of each of us is the end of the world. Therefore, it is appropriate for us, as [for] those who ask these things, to be diligent in prayers and in the services, in these seven times that were determined by our holy Fathers, and to beseech diligently for what is understood by us, this type, to give thanks and to worship God and to praise his name in a sevenfold way.

For the Holy Scriptures – the Old and the New – testify that this seventh number gives honor to the ones (i.e., the numbers?) before and after. We learn about this, first of all, from the first book of the Torah (*Orāytā*), that in six days, God created Creation, and on the seventh, he rested, and he blessed and sanctified it.¹ And with this seventh number, he arranged that the course of times of the world be [ordered]. Not only with days did this honor of the number seven remain, through the rest²

¹ Cf. Genesis 2:2-3.

² Or 'the suspension of labor'. Perhaps a reference to the (seven?) Dominical Feasts in the East Syriac Tradition? Or simply to the fact that work was forbidden on the seventh day?

Fol. 84b

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^a An incorrectly written (i.e., non-final) ൩ seems to have been erased before the final ൩.

^b The ൩ is inserted above the line.

^c Word repeated from the previous line, as the first instance was unclear.

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and repose¹ and the removal of leaven², but it also is the case with years, as [he arranged] that years would be honored as days. For as much as the Sabbath was honored through rest and repose with other things, [he arranged that] also the seventh year would be honored similarly, with the [withdrawal from] fields and with the emancipation from slavery.

And it is not only thus that the honor of this number was defined, but also thirdly in a third place: According to the seven of sevens (i.e., forty-nine), this rose up and was exalted, being composed upon itself³; the result is the number fifty minus one – which we determined beforehand from the world to come.⁴ Therefore, the first and the eighth are the same.⁵ [The eighth] is one more (*mallon* < μάλλον) [than the seventh] and is indissoluble – that in which all rational beings are circumcised⁶ and are set free from all inclination towards opposition. This, with which ‘a portion is given to seven and to eight’⁷, as what

End of quire 10.

¹ Perhaps a reference to the ‘rest’ of Christ, celebrated during the seven days after the Feast of Resurrection?

² Perhaps a reference to the seven-day Feast of Unleavened Bread?

³ The number forty-nine is ‘composed upon itself’ in that it equals seven times seven. Furthermore, the number forty-nine is itself ‘exalted’, since for example, the Jubilee occurs in the fiftieth year (Leviticus 25).

⁴ That is, fifty minus one is the same as seven times seven. I am puzzled, however, how Gabriel determined this ‘from the world that is to come’.

⁵ The first and the eighth are the same because of the cycle of seven days and of seven years.

⁶ Cf. the circumcision on the eighth day (Genesis 17:12, Leviticus 12:3).

⁷ Cf. Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth) 11:2a.

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Fol. 85a

*Start of quire 12.*¹

was pleasing to some people among our ancient Fathers to resemble the word of Solomon.

But it is also right for us to quote from the other Scriptures. Now, let us see what Isaiah says about the diversity of honors of this seventh number: 'the light of seven days'². What else? 'The seven eyes of the Lord that gaze upon all the earth.'³ And again, David, singing, says, 'The word of the Lord is a pure word, and is purified sevenfold'⁴, and God is praised in a sevenfold way by him (David)⁵, and 'wicked neighbors are avenged sevenfold in their bosom'⁶. And again, from these opposing things, all that there is in the Scriptures gives praise (*mqaalles* < QLS < καλῶς).

Cain was avenged in a sevenfold way, which is the punishment of full judgment against the murder of a brother.⁷ And what did Lamech define about himself? 'Seventy-seven' vengeance were required,⁸ because after

¹ The numbering has skipped quire 11. Since the discourse continues smoothly, it seems that the error lies in the quire numbering, rather than being due to a missing quire.

² Isaiah 30:26c.

³ Zechariah 4:10c.

⁴ Pšittā Psalm 12:6a,c / MT Psalm 12:6a,c / LXX Psalm 11:7a,c.

⁵ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 118:164a / MT Psalm 119:164a / LXX Psalm 118:164a.

⁶ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 79:12a / MT Psalm 79:12a / LXX Psalm 78:12a.

⁷ Cf. Genesis 4:15b. Gabriel, however, seems to understand this sevenfold punishment as being against Cain, rather than against anyone who would kill Cain.

⁸ Cf. Genesis 4:24.

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^a These two words are a repetition of the last two words on the previous page.

^b Should be ܐܠܗܐ.

Fol. 85b

the Law, I too was guilty [of being] a murderer.

And what [about] the wise one (i.e., Solomon?)? 'Wisdom built a house and supported it with seven pillars.'¹ And 'the barren woman [has become] the bearer of seven'², which oppositely was determined in comparison to that one who was not complete with children. And more righteous than the one [who] is saved in a sixfold way [is the one who is saved] seven [times] and is not even harmed. And what about the sinner? Not only in a sevenfold way is he forgiven, but 'seventy times seven times seven'³.

And in the old stories, it is right that we can consider Enoch, who is the seventh in the first births (i.e., the seventh generation), he who was honored by God with departure.⁴ And we consider Abraham, whose generation was numbered with three of the number seven (i.e., who was in the twenty-first generation)⁵, who is honored as a patriarch. And the weak word dares to bring the likeness in parable to the definition of the symbols of the prophets, our Lord and our Savior Jesus Christ,

¹ Cf. Proverbs 9:1.

² Cf. 1 Samuel 2:5c. Fascinatingly, Gabriel is not quoting here from the Pšittā, which has here ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܪܝܡ (‘the barren woman has borne and is satisfied’)! The Masoretic Text and the Septuagint, though, both do indicate that the barren woman has borne *seven* children. Thus, Gabriel’s source is another Syriac translation, the MT, the LXX, or an exegetical tradition that includes the number seven in this context.

³ Matthew 18:22b.

⁴ Cf. Genesis 5:24.

⁵ According to the list of generations found in Luke 3:34-38, not according to the lists found in Genesis 5 and 11.

^d In the right margin is a ف; I do not know why.

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the generation of whose humanity was numbered seventy-seven¹, [which] is a symbol of the fulfillment of fulfillments, which he grants to Creation with his coming.

Again, I remember the sevenfold nature of the cycle in the days of the year and the seven times on the seventh day that the seven priests bearing seven trumpets [blew them], with which Joshua bar Nun shook and overthrew the walls of Jericho². And again, I consider the seven returns of the watchman of Elijah, who 'with the seventh, saw a little cloud like the palm of a hand that was coming up from the sea'³. And again, I remember the seven hiccups of the son of the Shulamite woman, whom Elisha revived with his prayer⁴, and the leprosy of Naaman the Aramean who was purified with seven washings in the Jordan⁵. Again, also the temple of Jerusalem was completed in seven years⁶, and the Ark (*ārunā*)

¹ Cf. Luke 3:23-38.

² Cf. Joshua 6.

³ Cf. 1 Kings 18:44a-b.

⁴ Cf. 2 Kings 4:35.

⁵ Cf. 2 Kings 5:14.

⁶ Cf. 1 Kings 6:38d.

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entered it in the seventh month¹, and Solomon made a feast of the dedication of the House [of God] for seven days², and the candelabra (*mnārtā*) of the Holy [Place had] seven branches and was arranged with seven lamps³. And the priest was perfected with seven days⁴, and a leper was cleansed with seven days⁵. And the people returned from captivity [after] seventy years⁶.

As that is alone, so also this may be for the number ten, a number that may be honored [as] more perfect than the seventh number. To say briefly, this number seven was greatly honored with the Israelite people, just as the Pythagoreans honored the number four and made it an oath. These things are from the Old [Testament] concerning the number seven.

It is enough to look also at the New [Testament] and to see whether it similarly honors the number seven. Previously, from

¹ Cf. 1 Kings 8:2, 2 Chronicles 5:3.

² Cf. 1 Kings 8:65, 2 Chronicles 7:8-9.

³ Cf. Exodus 25:31-40 et al.

⁴ Cf. Exodus 29:35b.

⁵ Cf. Leviticus 13-14.

⁶ Cf. Jeremiah 25:11-12.

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our Lord and our Savior, we learn that not only with the simple number, he honored the number seven, but also with a simple composition, with which he satisfied four thousand from seven breads, and 'the rest of the pieces' were enough [for] 'seven baskets' (*espridē* < σπυρίς).¹ And with the composition, with the election of the seventy disciples², those whom he arranged to be after the twelve: Just as those would be in the number of the tribes, so also these would be arranged in the number of the seventy elders³, that through this, he would show the harmony with what was done by his Father through Moses. And also similarly, the holy apostles, imitating our Savior, honored the number seven by the election of those seven supporters for widows.⁴

Behold, from the Old [Testament] and from the New [Testament], and from the prophets and from the apostles, concerning the honor of the number seven, this is sufficient,

¹ Cf. Mark 8:1-10, Matthew 15:32-39.

² Cf. Luke 10:1-20.

³ Cf. Numbers 11:16-30.

⁴ Cf. Acts 6:1-6.

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and I think these things that testify concerning the honor of this number are enough. Therefore, our holy Fathers, when they were finishing all these things, they fittingly arranged for us that in a sevenfold way, we would give thanks to and worship and praise God, in order that they would imitate the blessed David and Daniel the prophet, who said, ‘Seven [times a] day, I have praised you for your judgments, O Righteous One’¹, and who ‘was kneeling five times on his knees and was praying before God’², [respectively].

But some people doubtless say, ‘Why did Daniel lessen the number of prayers? For it is not as the blessed David said.’ For we say thus about this: Because the people of Israel was commanded to pray [in] the two times of evening and of morning, and were commanded to offer up two lambs, a pure [and] whole [sacrifice] to God³, the blessed Daniel, when

¹ Pšittā Psalm 118:164 / MT Psalm 119:164 / LXX Psalm 118:164.

² Cf. Daniel 6:10d-e. However, the Pšittā, the MT, and the LXX all agree that Daniel did this three times a day, not five. Unless there exists an exegetical tradition in which Daniel prayed five times a day, it seems that Gabriel modified the number so that it would fit with the explanation that follows.

³ Cf. Exodus 29:38-39, Numbers 28:3-4.

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^a Why is this passive? Surely it should be the active participle, ܐܬܬܝܬ?

^b Should be ܐܬܬܝܬ.

^c The overlining indicates the deletion of the first ܐ.

^d This originally read ܐܬܬܝܬ, but the first ܐ has been erased.

^e Something here has been erased.

he was worshipping God seven times and praying, left the two times of evening and morning, those that were required of the whole community, and said the five others, those (times) that he was praying separately. And the prophecy of the blessed David testifies that this is thus, which he prophesied concerning the excellent one[s] in the captivity of Babylon, one of whom was the blessed Daniel, and the precept of the blessed Interpreter (Theodore of Mopsuestia) testifies that the great psalm is said on behalf (*men par̄soḡpā* < ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου) of these excellent ones¹; in their persons, it says, ‘Seven [times a] day, I have praised you for your judgments, O Righteous One’.

And concerning what is being discussed, did the holy apostles [pray] in these seven times? [They prayed] whenever they were at rest from the service of the Word. And the blessed Luke testifies concerning this, when he said, 'When Simon Peter and John were going up to the Temple in the time of prayer of the ninth

[illegible]

Fol. 88b

hour'¹, and again similarly another [time] he said, 'Simon Peter went up to roof to pray, and [it was] the time of the sixth hour'², and again, about Paul and Silas, he (Luke) said, 'In the middle of the night, they were praying and praising God in prison'³. For if in the sixth hour (i.e., noon) and in the ninth (i.e., three o'clock in the afternoon) and in the middle of the night (or at midnight) they were offering prayers and hymns of praise to God, it is known that also in other times, they were earnestly fulfilling this. But this is clear, that Scripture mentioned these three times alone and omitted the others, to show the marvelous events that occurred in [these three times].

But if, then, the holy apostles and our blessed Fathers were earnestly offering prayers and hymns of praise to God in these seven times, how may we neglect this and not emulate them? Therefore, we ought to emulate them, as their children and heirs, and to act like them, so that

¹ Cf. Acts 3:1.

² Acts 10:9b.

³ Cf. Acts 16:25a.

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^a Overlining indicates deletion; word restarted on next line.

^b The second ൨ is inserted above the line.

^c Overlining indicates deletion; word restarted on next line.

^d A letter has been erased between the ൨ and the ൨.

^e Word started and restarted on next line.

^f This word is written in the left margin and inserted in this location with a caret.

Fol. 89a

we may be partakers with them in that day in which they are rewarded for the labors of their way of life by Christ our Savior, who said, 'Pray always and do not become weary'¹, and again, 'Seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, and everything else will be given to you in addition'². And again, the apostle said, 'Our Lord is near; do not be anxious about anything, but always let your requests be known before God with prayer and with petition and with thanksgiving'³, and again, 'Teach and instruct yourselves with psalms and with hymns of praise and with spiritual songs; sing to God with your hearts'⁴, and again, he similarly says [in] another [place], urging us to continuity of prayer, 'Be steadfast in prayer, and be vigilant in it, and give thanks'⁵. And David, again, said, 'I will bless the Lord at all times

¹ Cf. Luke 18:1b.

² Cf. Matthew 6:33.

³ Cf. Philippians 4:5b-6.

⁴ Cf. Ephesians 5:19.

⁵ Colossians 4:2.

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^a In the right margin is written ܡܠܟܐ.

^b Should be ܡܠܟܐ.

^c Overlining indicates deletion; word restarted on next line.

Fol. 89b

and his praises [will be] always in my mouth"¹, and again, 'I will praise the Lord with my life, and I will sing to my God while I exist'², and 'May my praise be pleasing to him, and I will rejoice in the Lord'³, and again, 'I will speak the praises of the Lord with my mouth, and all fleshly beings will bless his holy name, forever and ever'⁴, and again, 'With every breath, let us praise the Lord!'⁵

Chapter Seventeen (17): Why do we serve three *šubbāhē* each in the times (of prayer) of the day, and nine at night, and four at compline (*subbā'ā*)?

It is said that the day is twenty-four hours, that is, night and day. And as the night is divided [into] four watches, each one being three hours, more or less – because of the waxing and waning of the times of days and nights –, so also the day is divided [into] four watches like the night,

¹ Pšittā Psalm 34:1 / MT Psalm 34:1 / LXX Psalm 33:2.

² Pšittā Psalm 145:2 / MT Psalm 146:2 / LXX Psalm 145:2.

³ Pšittā Psalm 104:34 / MT Psalm 104:34 / LXX Psalm 103:34.

⁴ Pšittā Psalm 144:21 / MT Psalm 145:21 / LXX Psalm 144:21.

⁵ Pšittā Psalm 150:6 / MT Psalm 150:6a / LXX Psalm 150:6a.

Fol. 90a

each one of them being three hours as well. And among them (i.e., among the eight watches in total?), [are] these four watches of the day.

Our holy Fathers were moved through the grace of the Holy Spirit, who was guiding them, that in the conclusion of each watch of the day, we would serve one time (of prayer), so that the times (of prayer) would be between the watches, other than the times of the Morning [Service] and the Evening [Service] – three, that is, Third Hour, Mid[day], and Ninth [Hour]. And it is arranged [that] in each time (of prayer), three *šubbāḥē* each are to be served, so that the Holy Trinity may be triply praised by all the holy ones dedicated to the honor of the praise of God – enough to be sufficient so that the praises of those who praise on earth may resemble the praises and the cries of ‘Holy!’ of the seraphim in heaven. When they proclaimed their cries of ‘Holy!’ to the prophet, he heard them triply chanting, ‘Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts (*ḥayltānā*); heaven and earth

Fol. 90b

	നമോ	നമോ	നമോ	നമോ
^a	നമോ	നമോ	നമോ	നമോ
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	നമോ	നമോ	നമോ	നമോ

^a Overlining indicates deletion.

^b Word started and restarted on next line.

^c Should be either നമോ or നമോ.

^d A contraction of നമോ.

Fol. 90b

are full of his glory!’¹ And similarly, [in] the chant (*qānonā*) of ‘Holy’ (i.e., the Trisagion), which was delivered by an angel to human beings, we say ‘Holy’ three times – ‘God’ and ‘Mighty’ (*ḥayltānā*) and ‘Immortal’, ‘Have mercy up on us’ – and the angel commanded concerning the chant that it be said three times.

Therefore, we too triply praise the Trinity, not only through the trinity of *šubbāḥē* (i.e., the three *šubbāḥē* that are served at each of the three times of prayer during the daytime), but [also], at the end of every *marmitā*, we give glory ‘to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit’. And at the end of every *šubbāḥā*, we conclude with a trinity of *hullālē* (i.e., with a triple chant of ‘Hallelujah’), and at the end of all the *šubbāḥē* (i.e., of each *šubbāḥā*), we add and say three times, ‘Hallelujah, hallelujah, glory to you, O God!’, but in the third time, instead of ‘glory to you, O God!’, we say, ‘O Lord, have mercy upon us!’ This also makes known, that on behalf of

¹ Cf. Isaiah 6:3.

Fol. 91a

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	ܐܬܝܬܐ	ܐܬܝܬܐ	ܐܬܝܬܐ	ܐܬܝܬܐ	ܐܬܝܬܐ

^a This should be either singular ܐܬܝܬܐ or plural ܐܬܝܬܐ.^b The word is inserted, somewhat unclearly, above the line.^c Overlining indicates deletion.^d The , is indicated by being written below and above the line.^e Should be ܐܬܝܬܐ.^f This word is circled in red ink to indicate deletion, as it is misspelled. The corrected word follows.

Margin:

^g ܐܬܝܬܐ ܐܬܝܬܐ^g Written in the left margin of this page, in faint red ink; the same comment is found on fol. 43a.

Fol. 91a

the soul and on behalf of the body, we say ‘glory to you, O God!’ two times, but we say ‘O Lord, have mercy upon us!’ one time on behalf of the unity of personal composition (*rukḱābā qnomāyā*) of human beings. And again, [just as] we triply add and say, ‘Thanksgiving to the one who opened our mouth etc.’¹, so also we praise [God] three times with the hymn of praise (*tešboḥtā*) and with the Holy (i.e., the Trisagion).

The fact that at Midday, we say a response (*‘onitā*) and a *šubbāḥā*² and a hymn of praise (*tešboḥtā*) is because we also do thus at Midnight – enough to be sufficient so that the day may be equal to the night in all its arrangements. For even if we do not serve the times [of prayer] in the night, because it is not easy for us to do this, because of the weakness of our body, nevertheless, we serve nine *šubbāḥē*, according to the number of *šubbāḥē* that are served in the times [of prayer] of the day (i.e., three *šubbāḥē* at each of the three hours of daytime prayer).³

The fact that at Compline (*subbā‘ā*), we serve

Margin:

Read and understand!⁴

¹ A reference to a *tešboḥtā* now used, not in the ferial Night Service, but rather in various services of the Fast; this phrase is not the incipit of the *tešboḥtā*, but the phrase does occur three times during the hymn.

² In this case, Gabriel’s use of the term *šubbāḥā* differs from his use in the rest of this chapter; here, the term corresponds to Mateos’s definition 2 on p. 499: a psalm with ‘Glory to you, O God/Lord’ as refrain.

³ Gabriel seems to be saying that even if the number of services during the night (one) is not as many as the number of services during the day (three), the number of *šubbāḥē* said at night (nine) is still equal to the number of *šubbāḥē* said during the day (nine).

⁴ Again, the scribe urges the reader to take special note of this passage.

5

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15

^b The κ is written in the left margin.

Fol. 91b

four *šubbāḥē*, and not three like the rest of the times [of prayer], is because [this] time is after nourishment, which is grown from and consists of the four elements (*eṣṭuksē* < στοιχεῖον), and [which] needs the four seasons of the year – I say: spring and summer and autumn and winter. And again, nourishment does not sustain and does not benefit without the soundness of the four powers of the body, which are attractive and retentive and digestive and expulsive.¹ Therefore, this time [of prayer], which is arranged to be after the nourishment that is after the Evening [Service], is called Compline (*subbā'ā* < *SB*^c = 'to be full or satisfied'); that is, this is the time of confession and thanksgiving for those things with which the body has been sustained and satisfied and refreshed. Again, with it (i.e., with Compline) we urge and entreat God in a fourfold way for the equality of the fourfold elements and for the equality

¹ Cf. Galen's theories on digestion.

Fol. 92a

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^a Either this word should be plural, or the , is unnecessary.

^b Here is a character that looks rather like a large S; perhaps it was meant to be the first letter of the next word, or perhaps it was meant simply to take up space.

Fol. 92a

of their mixture in our bodies, and for the health of the fourfold powers in us, without whose equality and preservation, it is not possible for our life to subsist. Again, we pray for the serenity of the course of the four rivers¹, and for the tranquility of the four quarters of the world.

We urge [God], again, because we are close to going to sleep and to resting from the toil and labor and work of the day, and we [will be] submerged in deep sleep. We pray and beseech God that we may sleep calmly and quietly in the four watches of the night, during which four evil things delight to injure our life; that is, commotion from human beings, and reproach from demons that are continually bent on our ruin, and evil thoughts that proceed from the heart and defile a person², and bodily passions that – how many times! – lead us by compulsion to sin. But that we may sleep

¹ Perhaps the four primordial rivers of Genesis 2:10-14?

² Cf. Mark 6:20-23, Matthew 15:18-20.

Fol. 92b

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^a Word crossed out for being misspelled. Corrected on next line.^b Word started and restarted on next line.^c Overlining indicates deletion.

Fol. 92b

and rest with watchful care and with holiness, we give thanks and say with the blessed David, 'I will sleep and lie down because you alone are my Lord; you will make me dwell securely'¹. And with these things, let us again pray that in the time of our service, we may wake to give thanks to and worship and praise God, and with David, let us cry out and say thus: 'I slept and lay down and woke because the Lord sustained me'², and again, 'In the middle of the night, I rose to give thanks to you for your judgments, O Righteous One'³, and again, 'I have remembered your name in the night, O Lord, and I have kept your commandments'⁴.

With these things, it is also right for this to be said: that what is done in the small monasteries, that they serve six *šubbāhē* at Compline and seven in the Night [Service], this is not the arrangement that [was made] by the spiritual Fathers. But [to] some people, because of the smallness of their monastery, it seemed [good] to do thus. And it has remained

¹ Pšittā Psalm 4:8 / MT Psalm 4:8 / LXX Psalm 4:9.

² Pšittā Psalm 3:5 / MT Psalm 3:5 / LXX Psalm 3:6.

³ Pšittā Psalm 118:62 / MT Psalm 119:62 / LXX Psalm 118:62.

⁴ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 118:55 / MT Psalm 119:55 / LXX Psalm 118:55.

Fol. 93a

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^a Word circled in red ink to indicate deletion.

^b These two words should be written separately: ܡܚܝܬܐ ܡܚܝܬܐ.

^c Here something has been written and erased.

Fol. 93a

the custom for it (i.e., for a small monastery) until now. The great and ancient monasteries, though, those that received their arrangements in succession from the famous and great spiritual Fathers, serve four *šubbāḥē* at Compline and nine in the Night [Service].

Observe closely, O discerning reader, with the wisdom of the grace of the Holy Spirit, that this was done through our Fathers, who directed that one Psalter be served as for one day – that is, a night and a day – this, which was [equal to] the number of its sixty *marmyātā*, with the canticles (*tešbḥātā*) of Moses and of Isaiah. Now, when these sixty are divided over twenty hours, it results that for every hour, its portion is three *marmyātā*, and the other four hours that are left over from the twenty-four hours of the day are left for the times [of prayer] of the morning and of the evening, and for the time of nourishment and its service.

Fol. 93b

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^a Should be ܠܡܢܐ. Originally misspelled ܠܡܢܐ and then corrected (incorrectly) to ܠܡܢܐ by erasing the ܐ and replacing it with an ܐ.

^b The ܐ is inserted above the line.

^c Something was written here and has been erased.

^d Something was written here and has been erased.

Fol. 93b

It is right to marvel at the wisdom of the Spirit that was guiding our Fathers, how not even one hour was left unoccupied by them with the service of God, when in the very act, they accomplished what was said through the prophet, 'With every breath, let us praise the Lord!'¹.

Is it not worthy of astonishment and wonder that a mortal and earthly human being, while yet on earth and dwelling with other human beings, may imitate the angels as much as possible and with this, may praise God his Creator unceasingly, and may sanctify his lips² with spiritual songs³, and 'may meditate on the Law of the Lord night and day'⁴? For truly, the word of the blessed David is fulfilled concerning this, who said, 'He will be like a tree that is planted by a stream, who gives his fruits

¹ Pšittā Psalm 150:6 / MT Psalm 150:6a / LXX Psalm 150:6a.

² Cf. Isaiah 6:6-7.

³ Cf. Ephesians 5:19 and Colossians 3:16.

⁴ Cf. Pšittā Psalm 1:2c / MT Psalm 1:2b / LXX Psalm 1:2b.

Fol. 94a

in his time, and whose leaves do not wither¹. What are his leaves, and what are his fruit? It is necessary to say, as for the teaching of those who do not know. For thus it is said by one of the holy ones²: that a person resembles the tree and his leaves resemble bodily labors, and his fruits [resemble] labors of the soul. And as a tree that does not first put forth leaves is unable to give fruits, so also a person does not give fruits of the awe of God, unless he first labors in bodily labors. As fruits are corrupted by blight, when the leaves of a tree wither, so also labors and observances of the soul decay, if a person neglects bodily labors. One who cares for these two kinds of labor and cultivates [them] in the night and in the day resembles those trees that the blessed Ezekiel saw,

¹ Pšittā Psalm 1:3a-c / MT Psalm 1:3a-d / LXX Psalm 1:3a-c.

² This teaching by 'one of the holy ones' is from an unidentified source, but Brock writes, 'The general idea of comparison with a tree is not dissimilar to that in the Syriac translation of Makarios, and the contrast between "bodily labours" and those "of the heart" or "interior" and "spiritual" is found, respectively, in Ammonius and Evagrius'. However, Brock also notes that Gabriel is the first Syriac writer to use the phrase *amlē napšanāyē* ('labors of the soul'). (Brock, 'Patristic Quotations', 145-146.)

❖ 1b ❖ 1b ❖

^e [عشر کرسی]

^b Overlining indicates that these two letters are deleted, as the word restarts on the next line.

^d Crossed out for deletion; word restarts on next line.

^e Very many thanks to Dr. Salam RASSI, as well as to Mourad TAKAWI and Andrew O'CONNOR, for their help in transcribing and translating the Arabic lines on folios 94b and 95a.

Fol. 94b

which were standing on the shore of the foot of the water that was going out from below the altar, whose fruits are good for eating and whose leaves are good for healing¹, in that he is visible to everyone in his way of life, and he is beneficial in his words, and he nourishes and supports all in his discernments and in his observances. For just as the body does not live or breathe without the soul, and the soul cannot do anything without the body, so also the way of life of a human being is unable to be complete [and] perfect, one without the other. And I say this, as it may be known, that without the continual repetition of psalms and hymns that a person continually offers up to God diligently in these seven times, spiritual prayer cannot be acquired. Our Fathers agreed [about] this, and they spoke many words about it.

What, then, is

[Twelfth] quire.

End of quire 12.

¹ Cf. Ezekiel 47:1-12.

Fol. 95a

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Fol. 95a

*Start of quire 13.***[] Interpretation []**

spiritual prayer? We learn from the blessed Basil, for he wrote thus in the letter to his brother: 'For a person ought to read in the Scripture until his mind is gathered from distracted thoughts. And when he has perceived in his understanding that he has returned to an inner place and has come unto it from the distraction that is outside of it, let him immediately put down the Scripture and turn to prayer. Now, I say prayer is not the singing (*zummārā*) of verses or the chanting of 'Hallelujahs' (*hullālē*), for these are letters and syllables for the authoritative reading of prayer. For until we perceive that the spiritual humanity, with all the ways of life that we have put on with baptism, is alive in us, we will not cease from the war against the old humanity, that one whom Christ killed on his cross, and whom every single one of us buries in himself (*ba-qnomā*) in baptism. Let us run after these things, then, and we will quickly perceive them. And you do not need to look at

Thirteenth quire.

Fol. 95b

these things closely, lest you do not find [them] and think for yourself that they do not even exist.’¹ And again, in another teaching, he says, ‘Knowledge from human beings occurs with us from continual meditation, and from assiduous study it is strengthened. But knowledge from the grace of God is with us [from] guarded righteousness, and without anger having risen, and [from] lovingkindness. And even those who are beneath the passions are able to receive that knowledge from human beings, [but] the recipients of the knowledge of God are those who are above the passions, those who in the time of prayer see the radiance of the light of their mind that shines forth over them.’² And again, in the ‘Questions to the Brothers’, he says, ‘God is not visible with the eyes of the body but is visible only with the soul and with the mind. And where his light is radiant in each of the holy ones, he leaves

¹ Brock writes that this first quotation from Basil is ‘from Basil’s Letter to Gregory (Letter 2 in the modern numbering) ... This letter was clearly widely read in monastic circles and a considerable number of manuscripts of the Syriac translation survive, but what is intriguing is the fact that the passage which is quoted by Gabriel comes from a supplement that features solely in a small number of manuscripts, all of a later date than Gabriel, who thus turns out to be the earliest witness to the supplementary text.’ (‘Gabriel Qatraya as a Witness’, 160.) To be specific, ‘Gabriel’s quotation represents a slightly abbreviated form of sections 52a, 53b, 54 and 55 of an edition of the Syriac translation of Letter 2 which is in preparation’ by Brock himself (Brock, ‘Patristic Quotations’, 130-131.)

² This second quotation from Basil is quoted by Evagrius in his *Gnostikos*, section 45. That is, Gabriel is quoting Evagrius, who claims to be quoting an unidentified work of Basil. (Brock, ‘Patristic Quotations’, 131-132; see also Brock, ‘Gabriel Qatraya as a Witness’, 160.)

Fol. 96a

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^a Word restarted on next line.

^b As Brock points out, this should probably be ܡܪܝܬܐ ('Patristic Quotations', 136).

^c Should be either ܡܪܝܬܐܐܘܪܝܬܐ or ܡܪܝܬܐܐܘܪܝܬܐ.

Fol. 96a

in them, out of his love, a passion that rages in them out of his ineffable love. And they were abstaining from temporal life, saying, “When will I come and see your face?” and “My soul is thirsty for you, the living God”^{1,2}

Thus, the holy Gregory, the bishop of Nazianzus, in his discourse against the impious Julian, comparing the things of Christianity and of the holy ones with the things of paganism, after other things, urged [and] says thus about the holy ascetics: ‘Those to whom already belongs the fount of light, to whom belong the rays, to whom belong the angelic songs and the watch throughout the night and the journey of their mind towards God, who have been diligent beforehand.’³ Again, in his apology for the fact that he fled from the ordination to the episcopate, he says: ‘For nothing

¹ Pšittā Psalm 42:2b,2a / MT Psalm 42:2b,2a / LXX Psalm 41:3b,3a.

² This third quotation from Basil is from the Syriac translation of Basil’s *Small Asketikon*, which survives also in Latin, but not in Greek (Brock, ‘Patristic Quotations’, 132-133; Brock, ‘Gabriel Qatraya as a Witness’, 160).

³ Gregory of Nazianzus, ‘Oration 4: First Invective against Julian’, 71. See also Brock, ‘Patristic Quotations’, 136-137.

[illegible]

^b As Brock points out, a root of *KRK* (something like ܟܪܟ) would have much more sense than the root *DKR* (ܕܟܪ) ('Patristic Quotations', 137), since the former would match the original Greek sense of 'roaming about'.

^c The $\circ$ is inserted below the line in a brownish ink.

Fol. 96b

seemed to me [as] pleasant as to close my senses and to be outside of the flesh and [of] the world, and to be occupied with my soul, and not to come in needless contact with any of these human things, and to speak to myself, and to live for God, above these visible things, and to bring pure [and] divine signs, not mixed with these erring images (yuqnē < εἰκῶν) of what is below, [in] every moment in my soul, being in truth a mirror of God and of divine things, and in every moment bearing light in light, and [growing from] what is more obscure [to] what is more evident, and already gathering in hope what is good of the world to come, and to roam about¹ with the angels, and being already above the earth, to leave the earth and to be placed above by the Spirit.²

Similarly, the blessed Evagrius, who in a little time, arrived at the perfection of the health of the soul,

¹ Assuming the correction above (ܝܒܕܐܠ); otherwise, it would be 'we are remembered'.

² Gregory of Nazianzus, 'Oration 2: In Defence of His Flight to Pontus, and His Return, After His Ordination to the Priesthood, with an Exposition of the Character of the Priestly Office', 7. As is clear from the title, this is not a defense of having fled from episcopal ordination, but a defense of Gregory's having fled after his presbyteral ordination. See also Brock, 'Patristic Quotations', 137-138.

Fol. 97a

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Fol. 97a

because of the great fervor of his love for God, says, ‘The stability of the mind is the height of intellectual things, which resembles the color of heaven, for at the time of prayer, the light of the Holy Trinity dawns over it’¹. Again, he says, ‘The mind, while in the labor of the commandments of God, will be led in the consideration of the affairs of this world, and while in prayer, it will be in the labor that is formless, where it is called “the place of God”’². Again, he says, ‘When the mind strips off the old human being and puts on the new one through grace, then also it will see stability in the time of prayer, resembling the “sapphire or the color of heaven”³, which was called “the place of God” by the elders of Israel, [and] which appeared to them on the mountain. The mind cannot see the place of God in itself, unless it (the mind) is elevated above all the visible

¹ Evagrius, *Skemmata* (also known as the *Capita cognoscitiva* or the *Supplement to the Kephalaia Gnostica*) 4. See Brock, ‘Patristic Quotations’, 134-135. For an English translation directly from the Greek, see William HARMLESS and Raymond R. FITZGERALD, ‘The Sapphire Light of the Mind: The *Skemmata* of Evagrius Ponticus’, *Theological Studies* 62, no. 3 (1 September 2001): 498-529, doi:10.1177/004056390106200303.

² Evagrius, *Skemmata* 20. According to Brock, the reference is to *Capita cognoscitiva* 21 (‘Patristic Quotations’, 134-135).

³ Cf. Exodus 24:10.

Fol. 97b

senses. But it is not elevated by these things (i.e., by the visible senses) without being stripped from the passions, which bind it through their memories with perceptible things. And it (the mind) drives out the passions from it through the virtues and also [drives out] wearisome thoughts through spiritual contemplation (*tēʿoriyā* < *θεωρία*). And again, this [will occur] when the light of the Holy Trinity shines forth for it in the time of prayer.¹ Again, he says, 'Prayer is stability of the mind, which [is] from the light of the Holy Trinity alone'.² Through these wondrous excerpts, he says these things and things like them and these pillars concerning the types of spiritual prayer, so that they may encourage us to constancy of bodily prayer, in order that a person may gain spiritual prayer from it (i.e., from bodily prayer).

Along with these things, it is right for this to be said: that this arrangement of one Psalter every night-and-day is served in common; it is arranged because of the neophytes and the weak and because of those who labor in common,

¹ According to Brock, this quotation is from the *Capita cognoscitiva* 25-26 ('Patristic Quotations', 134-135); however, while I have not been able to find this passage there, I did find it in Evagrius, *Peri Logismon* 39-40.

² Evagrius, *Skemmata* 27. According to Brock, the reference is to *Capita cognoscitiva* 30 ('Patristic Quotations', 134-135).

Fol. 98a

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^a Should be መሰረተ.

^b The 3 is repeated in a brownish ink above the word. Furthermore, the word should be መሰረተ.

^c Overlining indicates deletion, as the word restarts on the next line.

^d There should be a space between ነ and መሰረተ.

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but those who sit singly in their cells (*qelyātā* < κέλλα) and have power over their will have no precept (i.e., no obligation to serve the entire Psalter) when they serve. However, for every person, according to his strength and according to his fervor [and] according to the readiness of his will, there is [the obligation] that one Psalter be served in common, or a Psalter and a half, or again more than this. But those who are weak in their bodies, if they are accustomed to the illness that they have, they serve according to their strength, and they are not blameworthy, because every person is required [to act] according to his strength and ability and not above his strength. But those who stand with great moderation and have been deemed worthy of spiritual prayer serve [only] a little bit because whenever they stand in the service and the gaze of their mind is fixed upon Christ, in that very moment, their mind shines with divine grace, which descends (*maggnā* < GNN) upon them, and they are caught up

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^a There should be a space between ܡܬܬܝܬܐ and ܡܬܬܝܬܐ.^b Something here has been erased.

Fol. 98b

Interpretation

and taken away in their thoughts to the meditation of what is excellent. And they desist from the psalms, as I have heard about this from a holy person who was in our time: 'When I stand in the Night Service, while my mind is dimmed from the burden of the body, I serve a little from the psalm[s]. But when, little by little, [I] become lightened over my body, and my mind sheds light from the divine radiance, immediately, I desist from the reading of the psalms, and my mind is multiplied in things of which I cannot speak.'

Thus, from the constancy of the services of the seven times, and from assiduous prayers of prostration beyond those of the rule (*qānonā*), and from constancy and a tranquil life of silence, and from not being entangled in worldly deeds, and from avoidance of weak and disorderly people, and from not being in constant contact with attractive laypeople, and from continuous

Fol. 99a

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^a In the left margin is written ܐܬܝܬܐܢܐ or ܐܬܝܬܐܢܐ.

^b Something is written here, perhaps ܐ, but it seems to be a mistake.

^c Overlining indicates deletion here; the word restarts on the next line.

^d Whatever was here has been erased.

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of the Service

and assiduous study through the reading of the Holy Scriptures, and from fasting as much as [one's] strength is able, and from vigilant watching in the nights and the custody of the outer senses [along] with the inner [senses], and from reflection on the virtues, and from patient moderation and humility, and from reflection on the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, a person will arrive at purity of heart, and when the heart has been purified, in spirit he will see God, who is invisible. And this is what our Lord said, 'Blessed are those who are pure in their heart, for they will see God'¹.

But if, when a person is deemed worthy of this virtuous conduct, virtue is taken away in his heart and he does not behave humbly and he finds fault with others because of their weakness and he scorns bodily and spiritual labors and he does not stand vigilantly in his observances as before, not only will this (the vision of God) be taken away from him, but also he will be left to fall

¹ Matthew 5:8.

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into vile and abominable passions [and] deeds, if he is near to the world, [and] if he does not remain in silence, as to know his weakness and to be awakened from his negligence. [But] if he repents in what is right and returns to his virtues and his observances, the gift will be left to him and will return to him, and he will rejoice and receive consolation. However, if he does not repent and is [not] moved to regret, but remains in his pride and in his lapse, not only will he remain in his darkness, as before, but also he will go backwards from day to day, and his knowledge will be diminished and his silence will be troubled, and his mind will become blind, and listlessness will reign over him, and depression will befall him until he despairs.

Thus, I have said these things, O my beloved, as from the teaching of our holy Fathers, those

^b Overlining indicates deletion, as the word restarts on the next line.

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who in themselves experienced and wrote and left [these things] for us for the watchful care against lapsing.

Admonition concerning the matter:

Therefore, let us beware of negligence, for this is the cause of all evils, and let us take care, with all our power, to carry out the services of these seven times, that from them, we may attain to spiritual prayer and to holy discernment, which lead to the haven (*lmēnā* < λιμήν) of impassibility, at which all the holy ones who loved Christ have arrived. And let us yearn for the blessedness that is promised for the pure of heart, that we may be worthy to see with the eye of our mind that One who is invisible, and let us sanctify our bodies with our souls to be pure temples of the Holy Trinity, as our Lord said, 'The one who loves me keeps my commandments, and I and my Father come unto him, and we make [our] dwelling

[illegible]

^d Should be אֲנִי.

Fol. 100b

with him”¹. And as the apostle said, ‘The Lord is spirit, and wherever the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. And all of us, with revealed faces, we see the glory of the Lord, as in a mirror, and we are transformed to [that] likeness, from glory to glory, as by the Lord, the Spirit.’² And again, in the likeness of prayer, coaxing [us] towards this gift, he says, ‘It is God who said, “From darkness, let light shine forth”, [and] he/it shone forth in our hearts, that we might be enlightened with the knowledge of the glory of God, in the person of Jesus Christ’³. And again, to the Ephesians, he says, ‘Because of this, I too, behold, when I heard [of] your faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and your love for all the holy ones, I have not ceased to give thanks on your behalf and to remember you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory,

¹ Cf. John 14:21,23.

² 2 Corinthians 3:17-18.

³ 2 Corinthians 4:6.

Fol. 101a

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^a The ܐ in this word looks like a ܐ and so the letter ܐ has been re-written above the word.

^b These last two words are circled to indicated deletion.

^c The ܐ is omitted in the word and inserted below the line.

^d The second ܐ is omitted in the word and inserted above the line.

^e The ܐ is written in the margin.

^f Overlining indicates deletion, as the word restarts on the next line.

^g Word started and restarted on next line.

^h Overlining indicates deletion.

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may give you the Spirit of wisdom and of revelation through his knowledge and that the eyes of your hearts may be enlightened, so that you may know what is the hope of his calling and what are the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the holy ones and what is the greatness of the majesty of his power, in us, those who believe'¹. Again, he says, 'And I bend my knees unto God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, from whom is named all fatherhood in heaven and on earth, that he might grant you, as the riches of his gift, in power, to become established in his Spirit, that Christ may dwell in your inner humanity through faith and in your hearts through love, so that your root and your foundation may be firm, so that you may be able understand, with all the holy ones, what is the height and the depth and the length and the breadth, and you may know the majesty of the knowledge of the glory of Christ, and you may be fulfilled in the whole completion of divinity'². And behold,

¹ Ephesians 1:15-19a.

² Cf. Ephesians 3:14-19.

[illegible]

^d Word started and restarted on next page.

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it is clear that the Ephesians were baptized, and the Spirit of baptism in faith was mystically accepted by them. But in the likeness of prayer, the apostle was coaxing them, so that through labors and the observances of the Christian commandments, the eyes of their hearts would be enlightened, as [he was] bearing the veil of the garment (*estlā* < στολή) of passions.

And may the soul gain silence, as to know mystically in secret, what the hope is that is kept by the holy ones, which we have received as a pledge (*rahbonā'it* < *rahbonā* < ῥαββών) in baptism, with a hope that is not disappointed, as he said in that [letter] to the Hebrews, 'Faith, then, is the assurance (*pyāsā* < πεῖσις/πεῖσαι) about the things that are in hope – as these things had it (i.e., hope) indeed – and the revelation of the things that are invisible'¹. Thus, the blessed Paul said these things to make known that even if we have received the Spirit as a pledge in baptism, nevertheless, it does not show its power and its operation in us

¹ Hebrews 11:1.

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without the observance of the Christian commandments because, just as fire is hidden in iron¹ and its operation is not visible or perfected, except when it is beaten with flint, so also the Spirit that is hidden in us is not shown and [does not] accomplish its operation, except through laborious works of the body, and through the observances of the labor of the spiritual commandments, with which the holy ones were perfected. They were deemed worthy henceforth to receive, as a pledge, that impassability that is to come, so that we [too] may be deemed worthy of it in the grace and in the mercies of Christ our Lord, to whom, and to his Father, and to the Holy Spirit, be glory and honor and thanksgiving and worship, now and always and forever and ever, amen.

End of the Second *Mēmṛā*, about the arrangements of the Morning Service and of the rest of the times [of prayer] of ordinary days.

¹ The phrase 'as fire is hidden in iron' seems to appear also in the *Kalilag w-Damnag*. Perhaps the phrase originated in this book of tales, but it is also quite plausible that the expression is a common one, given that the image of flint and iron would have been familiar to readers.

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[illegible]

^a Word started and (presumably) restarted on the next line. Unfortunately, the beginning of the next line is lost.

^b Should probably be either **سَاقِقِي** ('burning') or **سَاقِقِي** ('seraphic').

^c The second, is inserted below the line.

Colophon:

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[] may they share in the Body [] of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory, and to his Father honor, and to the Holy Spirit thanksgiving, now and always and forever and ever, amen.

End of the writing of *Mēmṛā* Five, about the arrangements of the ecclesiastical services of ordinary days and of Sundays.

End of the writing of this book, full of burning life, on the interpretation of the services, done and arranged by the man in whom the Spirit dwelt fully, our master Gabriel the Qatari surnamed the son of Lipāh. May God Sabaoth (i.e., God the Lord of Hosts) grant rest to his soul [in] the dwelling-places of the holy ones, amen.

Glory to the Father who has strengthened [me] and thanksgiving to the Son who has helped [me] and supplication to the Spirit who proceeds from the Person (*qnomā*) of the Father, who leads my weakness and has coaxed

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my ignorance (*hedyututā* < *hedyut* < ἰδιώτης) to the haven of [] that I was beholding and observing, as [] to give rest to his ship in the tranquil and [] and quiet haven, amen.

Now, this book, full of many and various kinds (of things), has been finished and completed in the holy monastery and the house of rest of humility and shelter of Tabor and upper room of Zion and the fragrant (*hēromaytā* < *hēromē* < ἄρωμα) tabernacle (*škintā*) of the angelic human being, Mar Ḥananyā and Mar Ḥan[an]išo^c and Mar Bassimā and Mar Ḥabbibā, the holy ones, [the monastery] that is called 'of the Bear', which is placed [and] sits and whose completion is organized upon the side of the dwelling-place of Noah and of his children when they left the Ark (*qēbotā* < κιβωτός). And it is at the base of the mountain of the Ark (*kēwelā*). May their prayers [] remembered for all within []

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	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	]
	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	]
15	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	]
	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	]
	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ	]

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Now, [this book] has been brought to an end and completed [in the year] one-thousand five-hundred forty- [or seventy- or ninety-]nine of the Greeks (i.e., in the Seleucid era) on the last Friday in the month of July.

Glory to the one who causes to pass [years] and hours and days and seconds and small thing[s] and [the lengths of time of] two minutes (*puḍyātā* < πόδιον), for the incomprehensibility of [his] deeds, the one [who] is completely unchangeable from what he is eternally, amen.

Now, [he sat?] and made black and corrupted and stained [] this paper with the aim of resembling [], anyone who has willingly deceived himself [].

[] with his freedom [] he clothed [] monastic habit (*eskēym*) and [] the habit (*lbušā*) was put on [], resembling sheep and doing [] and is concealed/sheltered and symbolizes (*ṭāpēs* < *TPS* < *ṭupsā* < τύπος) [] and dwells and lives.

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