
SINGING HYMNS TO THE MARTYRS:
THE ‘ANTIPHONS OF THE *SĀHDĒ*’ IN THE ASSYRIAN
CHURCH OF THE EAST



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In the Christian Church, hymns and antiphons are usually sung to God, for hymning is a thanksgiving to the Father for the economy of salvation fulfilled in Christ. On account of persecutions during the early centuries of the Church, the singing of hymns was also directed toward those men and women who died for the name of Christ. In this paper we will examine the development of the theme of ‘hymning to the martyrs,’ or the singing of antiphons in honour of those who gave their life for Christ, in the liturgical tradition of the Assyrian Church of the East. These antiphons, though seemingly glorifying the martyrs, are in fact hymns which glorify God.

MARTYRIA—
CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM

Christian *martyrdom*—the act of witnessing—is grounded in the New Testament where Christ is the ‘martyr’ *par excellence*, and where death for his sake is considered as ‘falling asleep’ in the Lord. This is the case of the proto-deacon Stephan in Acts 7:54-58—he saw a heavenly vision of the glory of the Son of God before his

martyrdom, as a foretaste of the heavenly bliss that he would eternally enjoy with all the saints of God in the Kingdom. Persecutions in the early history of the Church reinforced the sense of martyrdom in Christianity. It was Tertullian who uttered the famous diction: “The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church” (*Apologeticus*, Chapter 50).

Martyrdom was a phenomenon not uncommon to the Early Church, both in the West and in the East.¹ In 303, Diocletian, aided by Maximian, Galerius and Constantius, raised up a persecution of the Western Christians in the Roman Empire, under which the famous martyr of Lydda St. George was crowned.² In May of the same year, Diocletian ordered the destruction of the walls of Edessa the ‘blessed city’. On October 26, 303, Maxentius son of Maximian had declared himself the emperor of Rome, and ordered the end of the persecution of the Christians in his territories. On April 30, 311, Galerius Augustus published a decree ending the persecution in Nicomedia legalizing Christianity. In other parts of the East, however—in particular Alexandria—the Church continued to be persecuted

under Maximinus Daia.³ The great persecutions of the West officially ceased in June of 313, with the publishing of Constantine the Great's 'Edict of Milan' legalizing Christianity throughout the empire.

In the Persian Empire, on the other hand, with the accession to the throne of Shapur II son of Hurmizd (reigned from 309-379), the 'great persecution' took place in the East. In August of the same year (309), Edessa was still not spared from suffering (though it was within the limits of the Roman empire): the deacon Ḥabīb was martyred, along with Guryā and Shmōnā during the episcopate of Qōnā. The 'Great Persecution' of the East under Shapur II began around the year 339 and ended in 379. For forty years, Shapur put to death—as recorded in some annals—as many as tens, if not hundreds, of thousands of Christians.⁴ According to some, Shapur was aided by the Zoroastrian and Jewish constituencies within the royal court. This persecution reached its zenith on Good Friday of 339,⁵ when the catholicos of Seleucia-Ctesiphon Mār Šem'ōn bar Šabbā'e and 103 bishops and clergy were martyred at Karkhā d-Ledan (modern-day Sūs in Iran) on the same day of the Christ's passion.⁶ Later, on November 13 of the year 341, Mār Melīs the bishop of Sūs itself was martyred. Around the same time, in 340 the bishops Gadiab (Syriac-speaking) and Sabīnā (Greek-speaking) of Bēth-Lapat were martyred. The growing admiration for these martyrs of the 'Persian Church' under Shapur were later gathered into a collection titled *Acts of the Persian Martyrs*.

The second noteworthy persecution in the East was when Julian the Apostate (331/332-363) persecuted the Christians in the eastern half of the Roman Empire. Having the Latin name 'Flavius Claudius Julianus Augustus,' he ruled as Roman emperor from 361 to 363. Around the years

354-355 he apostatized from the Christian faith, while adopting Neo-Platonism, being formally initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries and essentially restoring paganism in the empire. In 361, Julian began to persecute the Christians of the East.⁷ The persecutions under Shapur II and Julian the Apostate, therefore, are the two most notable for the Church of the East. Among the Syriac writers, St. Ephrem is famous for his collection of hymns against the apostate emperor Julian.⁸

ACTS OF THE PERSIAN MARTYRS

The persecutions in Mesopotamia and Persia gave rise to the *Acts of the Persian Martyrs*, a massive compilation of Syriac accounts and stories on countless men and women martyred between the 4th and the early 7th centuries, some known by their names, places of origin, and employments. The *Acts* were generally thought to be the work of Marūthā bishop of Martyropolis (known in Syriac as *Maipharaqat*, modern-day Maifarqin, Turkey), who served as ambassador of the Byzantine emperor to Persia on several occasions (he died in 420).⁹ *Kitāb al-Majdal* (Book of the Tower) says about him as follows:

He gathered a great number of the bones of the martyrs who died in the East, wrote labels separately, and took the whole with him. He deposited some of the bones at the place of his see in Martyropolis (=city of the martyrs), and carried the rest to the West, distributing them among churches.¹⁰

But *Kitāb al-Majdal* also says that the patriarch of the Church of the East, Mar Aḥḥai (410-414) visited many of the sites of martyrdom too before his accession to the patriarchal throne and composed a certain number of *acts* of the martyrs:

He visited the graves of those who were martyred for the sake of Christ at the time of Shapur, wrote their accounts, and authored a book containing stories of the martyrs and reasons behind the death of each one of them.¹¹

There are also accounts of martyrdom written by other authors, some writing in the first person as the following statement indicates:

As for the other martyrs whose martyrdom, (including) judgment and death we wrote down, some were martyred in our own time and indeed we saw them; those who preceded us, we wrote their true stories on the basis of what we heard from trustworthy bishops, priests and lay people of old age, who saw them with their own eyes since the martyrs lived in their own time.¹²

Māruthā's role in keeping the memory of the Persian martyrs is undeniable given his ecclesiastical and diplomatic missions in Mesopotamia during the Sassanian period. Upon his return to Edessa he may have given the names of these Persian martyrs found listed at the end of the earliest dated Syriac manuscript—written in Edessa in November 411.¹³ He may also have “arranged for the collection and translation of some of these Acts into Greek.”¹⁴ Nonetheless, the sources given above suggest that many hands were involved in the composition and edition of the *Acts of the Persian Martyrs* before they reached us in their present shape,¹⁵ a fact that does not undermine whatsoever their literary and hagiographical values.

THE COMMEMORATION OF THE MARTYRS AND ITS 'ELTHĀ 'CAUSE'

The commemoration of the 'Persian Martyrs' who suffered with Mar Šem'ōn

bar Šabbā'ē during the Great Persecution under Shapur II seems to be part of the early core of the liturgical calendar of the Assyrian Church of the East. Because the holy fathers and martyrs suffered on Friday of the Passion (i.e. Good Friday), their commemoration was moved to the proceeding Friday, that is, the first Friday after Easter. However, this commemoration was most certainly observed by the School of Nisibis, where the doctor Īšai the Presbyter composed ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ “The Cause of the Martyrs,”¹⁶ a literary genre developed by the doctors and masters of this School. Here, the martyrdoms were not only included in 'lecture notes' of the professors, they also gave a theological *raison d'être* for the various feasts and commemorations which were observed at the School.

With regard to the nomenclature 'martyr' or 'confessor,' Mar Īšai states:

For on account of this, they are also called by us 'martyrs' and 'confessors,' that by this name of 'martyrs' they demonstrate concerning the truth of our faith. For this name of martyrdom is used in two senses: in the first sense that wherever there is doubt, witness is needed in order to confirm the matter, for 'On the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter stands'(...). And again martyrdom is said to be in a different manner, in order to caution the hearers that they might not be doubtful of anything concerning which they are commanded (...). Therefore, they call those who suffered for Christ 'martyrs,' for by their suffering they witnessed to the Resurrection of Christ—concerning which the errant pagans were doubtful—and they demonstrated their faith truthfully by the shedding of their blood for the sake of Christ, which was offered as a libation offering offered by

them to God. And by their death they proclaimed the truth of the eternal life which is given in Christ; and in the likeness of a sweet-smelling odor, they offered themselves joyfully to God in the place of the offering (...). And for this reason also this same name of ‘confessor’ is said concerning them because they confessed the truth of the faith of Christ before all men. For ‘whosoever confesses me before men, I too shall confess him before my Father in heaven (...). Therefore the name of confessor from that of martyr...’¹⁷

The major commemoration of the martyrs in the Church of the East is observed on the Friday after Easter, known as ܩܘܕܫܬܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ “Friday of the Confessors.” It is essentially a commemoration of the Persian Martyrs, though on that day all the martyrs and confessors may be commemorated. Another commemoration in the liturgical year is assigned specifically to Mār Šem‘ōn bar Šabbā‘ē on the Sixth Friday of the summer. The rubrics in the *Hudrā* for this commemoration indicate:

The commemoration of Mār Šem‘ōn bar Šabbā‘ē, Catholicos-Patriarch, the disciple of Mar Pāpā, and of the fathers who were crowned with him: They had been crowned on the Friday of the Passion, in the year 655 of the Greeks [= AD 344] in the country of Ledan at the land of the Huzites [modern-day Ahwaz], in the days of Shapur. Their commemoration was moved to the Friday of the Confessors, which is for the general [commemoration] of all the saints. However, this Friday [i.e. Sixth of the Summer] is observed, for in it the altar of Mār Šem‘ōn bar Šabbā‘ē was consecrated in the country of Ledan. Mar Šem‘ōn was buried in Elam, which is called in Arabic ‘Sūs’...¹⁸

It seems that the theological understanding of observing the commemoration of the martyrs and confessors on a Friday also helped shape the repertoire of the commemorations which take place on all Fridays between Nativity and Epiphany.

THE ANTIPHONS OF THE MARTYRS, ‘ŌNYĀTHĀ D-SĀHDE

In honour of the martyrs and in order to provide the faithful with sources of true and living Christian witness, the Church saw fit to extol and remember their sufferings for the sake of Christ and his Gospel. The martyrs, therefore, became ‘spiritual heroes’ who were put before the eyes of the believers to emulate and to follow their heroic examples. This concept became embodied in the liturgy of the hours of the Church of the East by the institution of a series of anthems (Greek, *sticheria*) known as the ‘Antiphons of the Martyrs,’ or ‘*ōnyāthā d-sāhdē*.’¹⁹ Concerning the question “Why do they daily recite at vespers and at matins the antiphons of the martyrs, [but] on Sundays and feasts and in Lent they do not recite [them]?” The 9th-century anonymous author most commonly referred to as Pseudo-Gewargis of Arbela,²⁰ in his *Commentary on the Liturgical Rites* (Memrā II, Chapter XIX), states the following:

But the holy fathers sought that we might be confirmed in our faith, they desired that at all times the triumphs of the forbearers—the prophets, apostles and martyrs—might be proclaimed in our hearing. And all of these, or the majority, died by being killed. And also [concerning] that at one time two tyrants arose—I mean Shapur and Julian the Apostate—and they killed many for the sake of the true faith. The fathers decided that they might be commemorated at the times of the liturgy, that the

believers might hear and be encouraged, and their memorial might be kept for their honor, and the believers, the spiritual sons, might be aided by their prayers. And even though one might suffer evils at the hands of the persecutors, let him learn from the martyrs through their antiphons and their remembrances, and let him endure his sufferings with joy.

And when they [i.e. the fathers] saw that it was not fitting that they [the martyrs] be remembered in the middle of the liturgy, for this ‘path of the beginning’ signifies the end, they desired that their remembrances be made after the liturgy. But on the days of the holy feasts when the dispensation of their Lord is fulfilled, the remembrance of the servants is not to take place on the day of the honoring of their Lord. And during the days of the Fast [i.e. Lent], which is the battle of our Lord with Satan, let us also in like manner remain with Him in the battle; let us not engage in a remembrance other than the battles of our Lord, but we may add an appendix in our service that would be close to the remembrance of the Passion. But on Sundays when we signify by a type the Resurrection, we are not able to commemorate in those days sufferings and afflictions.²¹

In the same work, Pseudo-Gewargis of Arbela makes the point that the ancient practice was to commemorate the martyrs on Fridays, for it was on that day that both the ‘Old Adam’ and the ‘New Adam’ (i.e. Christ) died—the former on account of his transgression and sin, the latter on account of the undoing of Adam’s sin. In the context of discussing why the commemoration of St. John the Baptist is observed on a Friday, he states as follows:

(The commemoration of martyrs) is observed on Friday on account

of the sin [of Adam] taking place on Friday—we said and it is said that the death of Adam took place on a Friday too. It is just that we may typify [*mrazzīnan*] the death of every saint on the same [day], Friday, that we might remember the uprooting of the sin of Adam. Also, when Shapur the accursed reigned and captured the Catholicos Mar Šem‘ōn [bar Sabbā‘e] and many bishops, metropolitans, presbyters, deacons and faithful—they numbered 153—who blossomed through martyrdom in the East, [Shapur] was told that the Passion in which Christ was killed was on Friday—the last [Friday] of the Fast. The accursed one [Shapur] commanded that those holy ones be killed on the very day in which their Lord was killed, and (indeed) they were killed on the Friday of the Passion.

Fittingly, the blessed [Mar Īšō‘yahb] decided that their commemoration should be observed on the Friday following the Passion. Firstly, so that we might remember and inquire that they were killed on this day and be encouraged by their proclamation. Also just as the accursed one [Shapur] mingled their death with the death of their Lord, we ought not to distance ourselves from our obligation: in the same way he extolled their death with that of Christ, we might magnify their commemoration with the Passion of our Lord. It is not comely that we should include the death of another man with his [i.e. Christ’s] death, (and thus) it [their commemoration] was left for the following Friday...²²

It is almost certainly the case that, liturgically speaking, the commemoration of the martyrs and confessors preceded the composition of the antiphons of the martyrs. However, according to the *Hūdṛā*

tradition, the antiphons are attributed to the afore-mentioned Mār Mārūthā the bishop of Martyropolis. We are told that he travelled all throughout the confines of the Persian Empire and upon seeing the vestiges of the Great Persecution carried out by Shapur II (which decimated the Christian population of the empire) he collected many relics and remains of these martyrs of Persia (see above). He is also said to have composed antiphons which extolled these martyrs for Christ (predominantly known as the ‘Persian Martyrs’) and the events of their heroic sufferings and deaths. Mārūthā, of course, is a key figure for the Persian Church at the important event of the Synod of Mar Ishaq (Isaac) I the Catholicos, in 410.²³ Acting as an emissary from the Roman territories (and a physician by profession), the famed bishop of Martyropolis made contacts with the Persian Church during the period of peace following the Great Persecution and the death of Shapur in 379. This period saw a marked tolerance of the Christians in the Persian territory during the reign of Yazdgird I (399-420/421).

THE ANTIPHONS IN THE LITURGY OF THE ASSYRIAN CHURCH OF THE EAST

The martyrs’ antiphons are observed during both vespers and matins, being appended to these two services—they are not recited on Sunday and feast days. At the end of the vespertine and matutinal office, the fixed antiphons are alternated by the choirs. Formerly, it seems to have been the case that when the offices (vespers and matins) ended—being signaled by the three-fold recitation of the Trisagion with doxology, and the Our Father—the two choirs proceeded to the martyrium (*bēth-sāhdē*) of the church, almost always located to the north of the diaconicon. The relics of the saints were found in the

martyrium, especially those of the patron saint in whose honour the church was dedicated. The relics were placed in often costly reliquaries made of precious metal or of marble (*glusqmā*); these were then placed in the walls of the martyrium with an engraved marble cover-piece.

The most commemorated saints in the series of martyrs’ antiphons are St. George of Lydda and St. Mary. In fact, in the whole collection of these antiphons, these two precede the antiphon which is marked by the *Gloria Patri* and *A Saeculo*. It is a true statement, therefore, that the most popular saints in the collection of antiphons are these. Other saints include the Maccabees and their mother Mār(y) Šmūnī, St. Cyriacus and his mother Julitta, Ss. Sergius and Bacchus, Rabban Hurmizd the Persian, and Rabban Pethyōn the martyr. In the service of matins for Friday, the desert and monastic fathers commemorated in the antiphons include St. Anthony of Egypt and St. Eugene of Clysma. In the same service, many of the monastic saints and martyrs of the Church of the East are mentioned; among them are Yōhannan the son of the Visionaries, Māran-‘ammeh, Rabban Hurmizd and Rabban Pranse. It is a common feature in the collection of these antiphons to commemorate Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Nestorius, as well as St. Ephrem, Mar Narsai of Nisibis, and Bar-šawmā, the metropolitan of Nisibis. Among this last list, many of the doctors of the School of Nisibis are commemorated, including Job, Yōhannān d-bēth-Rabban and Michael (the Interpreter).

SOME THEOLOGICAL THEMES COMMON TO THE ANTIPHONS OF THE MARTYRS

The first important theme concerning the martyrs as contained in the antiphons is the

fact that they are not dead but alive—in Christ. In Luke 20:34-38 we read:

Jesus answered and said to them, ‘The sons of this age marry and are given in marriage. But those who are counted worthy to attain that age, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage; nor can they die anymore, for they are equal to the angels and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection. But even Moses showed in the burning bush passage that the dead are raised, when he called the Lord ‘the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,’ for He is not the God of the dead but of the living, for all live to Him.

The martyrs, therefore, are as alive as we are, but—in God!

The second theme found in the martyrs’ antiphons is that their bodies and relics remaining upon the earth are a source of blessings and divine grace to the faithful who worship God in their presence. From the precious relics of the martyrs and saints, and originally from the earth upon which their blood was poured out, was taken the holy earth known as *ḥnānā*, lit. “mercy compassion.” This holy earth is used in the rite for the blessing of marriages, and as a remedy for the sick when the earth is mixed with holy oil. It is considered a source of grace for believers.

The martyrs are physicians who cure spiritual ills of humanity. The antiphons for the vespertine office of Fridays say:

The martyrs became true physicians in the universe, curing and rendering whole the souls which were stained by sin. Thanks be to the Lord who chose you and made his power to abide in your bones, that you may be to the race of mortals, the ‘Harbour of Peace’ inside the world.

The martyrs heal those who are spiritually ill by means of their prayers and the grace of the Holy Spirit which is imparted to the faithful by means of their relics.

Another important theological theme is the final reward which the martyrs will receive when Christ comes again in glory. In some antiphons, it is stressed that while their bodies are here on earth, their souls are mingled with the angels. At the final triumph of Christ over the world and also in a certain sense over the pagans who had the martyrs put to death, the final recompense of the martyrs on account to their self-sacrifice for Christ will be seen.

CONCLUSION

The martyrs hold a place of high regard in the liturgy of the Assyrian Church of the East. In both the office of vespers and matins they are commemorated by means of a series of antiphons, the *‘ōnyāthā d-sāhdē*, which are observed on ferial days. For feast days and Sundays, since the divine dispensation completed in Christ is observed liturgically, the antiphons of the martyrs are suspended in them. As living witnesses to the sufferings of Christ, through their own sufferings and persecutions, they become eminent examples of heroic virtue. For by suffering *for* Christ, they actually suffer *with* Christ; as one antiphon puts it: “Come in peace, O new bridegrooms, sons of the mystery of baptism, which grace has nurtured in the name of the Trinity.” Their commemoration in the liturgical year is meant to inspire a great faith and love for the things of God in the hearts and minds of the faithful. Their bodies and relics remaining upon the earth are sources of healing and spiritual comfort to the baptized faithful, for they are no longer mere human beings but temples of the Holy Spirit *par excellence*.

NOTES

¹ On martyrs and persecutions see S. P. Brock, "Martyrs and Persecution," in S.P. Brock et als., (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 271-273.

² On February 23, 303, Diocletian had decreed the destruction of all Christian churches and scriptures. The very first persecution of 64 under Nero, however, was at the time only a local matter.

³ Maximinus had Peter bishop of Alexandria martyred on November 25, 311. On January 7, 312, Maximinus had Lucian of Antioch martyred at Nicomedia. Lucian was the philosopher at Antioch, and had been the teacher of both Theodore of Mopsuestia and John Chrysostom.

⁴ According to Sozomen (Church historian, early 5th century), 16000 martyrs were the victims of Shapur; Sozomen XIV.

⁵ The exact date is according to most sources, but the *Ḥudrā* tradition places the year of martyrdom of the catholicos at 344. See the section 'The 'Cause' (*elthā*) of the Commemoration of the Martyrs' below.

⁶ On the martyred patriarch see lately Lucas van Rompay, "Shem'on bar Ṣabba'e," in Brock et als., *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 373-74; see also William Wigram, *Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church*, 64ff. Cf. David Wilmshurst, *The Martyred Church: A History of the Church of the East* (London, 2011), 14-17.

⁷ As a result, Mār Mattai along with four others fled Amid and settled in Persian territory, founding the monastery which bears his name some 20 miles northwest of Mosul (Iraq).

⁸ See Kathleen E. McVey (introduction & English translation), *Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns* (New York, 1989) 221-257. In Ephrem's hymn *On the Church* (1:1-2), the deacon of Edessa states regarding the triumph of the Church over Julian: "Rely on the truth and fear not, my brothers, for our Lord is not weak that He should desert us in trials. He is the power on Whom depend the creation and its inhabitants. On Him depends the hope of His church. Who is able to cut off its heavenly roots? Blessed is He Whose power came down and was mingled

with his churches! Bestow on yourselves, my brothers, the treasure of consolation from the word our Lord spoke about His church, 'The bars of Sheol cannot conquer her.' If, indeed, she is mightier than Sheol, who among mortals can frighten her? Blessed is He Who made her great yet has tested her that she might be greater!"

⁹ See lately S.P. Brock, "Marutha of Maypherqat," in Brock et als., *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 273.

¹⁰ R. Gismondi, *Akhbār Faṭārika kursī al-mashriq [History of the Patriarchs of the See of the East]* (Rome, 1899), 31.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Paul Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum Syriace*, vol. II (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1891; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms 1968), 396.

¹³ Ed. F. Nau, "Un martyrologie et douze Ménologes syriaques," *PO* 10/1 (1912), 7-26; Brock, "Marutha of Maypherqat."

¹⁴ Brock, "Marutha of Maypherqat," on the martyrs in Greek sources see H. Delehay, "*Les versions grecques des Actes des martyrs persans sous Sapor II*," *PO* 2 (1905).

¹⁵ Publication of the *Acts*: S.E. Assemani, *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum*, vol. I (Rome, 1748), based on the manuscript Vatican Syriac 160 (dated 747 AD). A new edition of the *Acts* was produced by Paul Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum syriace*, vol. II. The martyrdom of Mar Ṣem'on bar Ṣabbā'e was published by Michael Kmosko in *PO* 1/2 (Paris 1907), columns 715-960. *Studies on the Acts*: A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn, 1922), 55-57; O. Braun, *Aus-gewählte Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Munich, 1915); G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880); J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie Sassanide* (Paris, 1904); A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, vol. I (Louvain, 1958), 209-217; G. Wiesner, *Zur Märtyrerüberlieferung aus der Christenverfolgung Schapur II* (Göttingen, 1967).

¹⁶ Edited by Addai Scher, "Traités d'Isaï le docteur et de Hnana d'Abiabène sur les martyrs, le vendredi d'or et les rogations, et de foi à réciter par les évêques nestoriens avant

l'ordination," *PO* 7 (1911) 15-52. The present writer has consulted the Syriac manuscript of the *Causes of the Feasts* found in the Teutonic College of Campo Santo (Vatican City). The manuscript is given the number 44, and was written at Alqōš, dated 1897.

¹⁷ Manuscript Collegio Teutonico 44 (Vatican City), FF. 161v-161r.

¹⁸ *Ktābā da-qdām wad-bātar wad-ḥōdrā wad-kaškūl wad-gazzā w-qālā d-ūdrānē 'am ktābā d-mazmōrē* [The Book of Before-and-After, *Ḥōdrā, Kāškūl, Gazzā*, Hymns in Aid, Along with the Psalter], ed. Toma Darmo, vol. III (Thrichur, 1962), 370-371.

¹⁹ For the English translation of these antiphons, see: Arthur J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices. Translated from the Syriac with Introduction, Notes, and Indices and an Appendix Containing the Lectionary and Glossary* (London, 1894), 12-16; 25-29; 32-35; 37-41; 43-47; 51-54; 109-134.

²⁰ On him see S.P. Brock, "Gewargis of Arbela, Pseudo-," in Brock et als., *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary*, 176.

²¹ See R.H. Connolly (editor & Latin translation), *Anonymi Auctoris Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta*, I & II. R.H. Connolly (editor & Latin translation), *Accedit Abrahae Bar Lipheh Interpretatio Officiorum*, CSCO 64, 72-71, 76 = SS 25, 29-28, 32 (Paris-Rome, 1913, 1915; repr. Louvain 1960-1961). The Syriac text of the quotation is found in volume I, 192-193.

²² *Ibid.*, 130-131.

²³ "The synod [of Mar Isaac, 410 AD] was brokered by the Roman bishop Marutha of Martyropolis, Byzantium's ambassador to Persia, who had endeared himself to the Persian Christians by ensuring that the thousands of victims of Shapur's terrible persecution were remembered and honoured in the West. He had listed and published the names of some of the Persian martyrs, and had also collected the bones of many of the dead and buried them in Christian territory, at a site named Martyropolis ('city of martyrs') in the Roman border province of Sophanene." See D. Wilmshurst, *The Martyred Church*, 18.