

Patrologia Pacifica Tertia
Selected Papers Presented
to the Asia-Pacific Early Christian
Studies Society

Seventh Annual Conference
(Luce Center, Presbyterian College
and Theological Seminary, Seoul,
South Korea, July 5–7, 2012)

and Other Patristic Studies

Edited by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ВГ	<i>Волшебная гора</i>
ЖМНП	<i>Журнал Министерства народного просвещения</i>
ПС/ППС	<i>(Православный) Палестинский сборник</i>
ТОДРА	<i>Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы</i>
ХВ	<i>Христианский Восток</i>
ЧИОИДР	<i>Чтения в Императорском обществе истории и древностей Российских</i>
AAH	<i>Acta Antiqua Hungarica</i>
AB	<i>Analecta bollandiana</i>
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AK	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
BBTT	Belfast Byzantine Texts and Translations
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BSAC	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte</i>
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
BHG	F. HALKIN, <i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i> , 3 vols. (SH, 8a), Bruxelles, 1957; IDEM, <i>Novum Auctarium BHG</i> (SH, 65), Bruxelles, 1984
CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina
CPG	M. GEERARD, <i>Clavis Patrum Graecorum</i> . 4 vols., Supplementum (CCSG), Turnhout, 1973–1998
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
ECF	The Early Church Fathers
ECS	Eastern Christian Studies
HTR	<i>The Harvard Theological Review</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JSP	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library

MANSI	J. D. MANSI (ed.), <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i> , t. I sqq., Florentiae, Venetiis, 1759 sqq.
<i>Mus</i>	<i>Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales</i>
OC	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OJC	Orientalia Judaica Christiana
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OrChr	Orientalia Christiana
PG	J. P. MIGNÉ (acc.), <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeca</i> , tt. 1–161, Parisiis, 1857–1866
PL	J. P. MIGNÉ (acc.), <i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina</i> , tt. 1–225, Parisiis, 1841–1864
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RÉB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
SA	Studia Anselmiana
SBLAM	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting</i>
SC	Sources chrétiennes
<i>Scr</i>	<i>Scrinium. Revue de patrologie, d'hagiographie critique et d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
SEA	Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum
SH	Subsidia Hagiographica
SOC	Studia Orientalia Christiana
SP	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
ST	Studi e testi
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
TCH	Transformation of the Classical Heritage
ThH	Théologie historique
<i>ThS</i>	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TM	<i>Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation byzantines</i>
VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
VC Supp.	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christiana</i>
VT Supp.	Supplement to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WBS	Wiener byzantinische Studien

WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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THE WARDĀ HYMNOLOGICAL COLLECTION

MANUSCRIPTS

So far the most complete data on the manuscripts containing hymns attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā is the data provided by Anton Baumstark in his *History of Syriac Literature*.¹ Altogether he gives about sixty manuscripts containing the chants attributed to this author.²

As the *Wardā Collection* is one of the chief hymnological books of the Church of the East, its manuscripts could possibly have been found in all churches. This list does not claim to be exhaustive, especially since not all the collections have been catalogued. Unlike Baumstark, we include only the manuscripts of the *Wardā Collection* and do not include the manuscripts containing only one or some works ascribed to this author, which amount to dozens or even hundreds. Among the manuscripts below there are some whose current location is unknown to us (marked with *).

Mard. 43 (1483, Mardin)³ *

Mingana 505 (14th–15th century (?), Birmingham, University library)⁴

Mard. 41 (1541, Mardin)⁵ *

Mard. 43 (1483, Mardin)⁶ *

Mingana 505 (14th–15th century (?), Birmingham, University Library)⁷

(1) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 304–305. See the complete bibliography at the end of this article.

(2) Ibid., S. 304–305.

(3) See the description in SCHER 1908, p. 78.

(4) See the description in MINGANA 1933, pp. 930–932.

(5) See the description in SCHER 1908, p. 77.

(6) See the description in SCHER 1908, p. 78.

(7) See the description in MINGANA 1933, pp. 930–932.

- Mard. 41 (1541, Mardin)⁸ *
- Add. 1983 (1550, Cambridge, University Library)⁹
- Dijarb 78 (1565, Diyarbakir)¹⁰
- Ms. 492 (1581, Baghdad, Chaldean Monastery collection)¹¹
- Mard. 42 (1586, Mardin)¹² *
- Vat. Syr. 567 (1568, Vatican Library)¹³
- Jer. Patr. 38 (17th century, Jerusalem)¹⁴
- Syr. 3 (16th–17th century, St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts)¹⁵
- Sachau 330 (16th–17th century, Berlin, State library)¹⁶
- Cod. 88 (1682, Mosul, Monastery of the Virgin Mary)¹⁷
- Ms. 493 (1682, Baghdad, Chaldean Monastery collection)¹⁸
- Add. 1982 (1697, Cambridge, University Library)¹⁹
- Ms. Orient. fol. 619 (1715, Berlin, State library)²⁰
- Ms. 494 (1724, Baghdad, Chaldean Monastery collection)²¹
- Ms. 108 (1727, Kirkuk, the Chaldean Church collection)²²
- Cod. 87 (1730, Mosul, Monastery of the Virgin Mary)²³
- Ms. 1 (1752, Baghdad, Archbishop's collection of the Church of East)²⁴
- Ms. 2 (1762, Baghdad, Archbishop's collection of the Church of East)

(8) See the description in SCHER 1908, p. 77.

(9) See the description in WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, pp. 265–282.

(10) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 304.

(11) See the description in HADDAD, ISAAC 1988, pp. 211–212.

(12) See the description in SCHER 1908, p. 77.

(13) See the description in LANTSCHOOT 1965, pp. 94–96.

(14) See the description in CHABOT 1894, p. 131.

(15) ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, с. 183–188.

(16) SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 239–244, no. 64.

(17) SCHER 1906, p. 512.

(18) See the description in HADDAD, ISAAC 1988, pp. 212–213.

(19) See the description in WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, pp. 193–264.

(20) SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 244–250, no. 65.

(21) See the description in HADDAD, ISAAC 1988, p. 213.

(22) See the description in HADDAD 2003, p. 84.

(23) See the description in SCHER 1906, p. 511.

(24) All the manuscripts of the Baghdad collection, as well as many others, were provided to me by my friend and colleague 'Abdišō', to whom I am deeply grateful.

- Ms. 495 (1824, Baghdad, Chaldean Monastery collection)²⁵
 Ms. 3 (1828, Baghdad, Archbishop's collection of the Church of East)
 Cod. 82 (1825 AD, Mosul, the Library of the Chaldean patriarchate)²⁶
 Sachau 188 (1882, Berlin, State library)²⁷
 Vat. Syr. 499 (1890, Vatican Library)²⁸
 Mingana 214 (1891, Birmingham, University Library)²⁹
 Cod. 83 (1896 AD, Mosul, the Library of the Chaldean patriarchate)³⁰
 Ms. 496 (1906, Baghdad, Chaldean Monastery collection)³¹
 Ms. 497 (1908, Baghdad, Chaldean Monastery collection)³²
 Ms. 107 (without date, Kirkuk, Chaldean Church collection)³³

The available manuscripts can be divided into several groups by their structure and content. The first group consists of the manuscripts of the liturgical collection that will be further called the *Wardā Collection*. They contain more than 132 hymns, most of which are 'ōnītā (pl. 'ōnyātā), attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā. The collection consists of parts corresponding to the liturgical calendar of the Church of the East; the main parts correspond to the names of seven-week periods (مخفجلا). The collection contains not only the Sunday chants for the entire liturgical year, but also the hymns of fixed calendar feasts. In addition, there are 'ōnītās dedicated to various saints, and to historical events. The latter are usually found in the part of the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, a special three-day fast, two weeks before Great Lent.

Two recensions of the *Wardā Collection* can be distinguished, each having a consistent body of hymns and text form.

(25) See the description in HADDAD, ISAAC 1988, p. 213–214.

(26) SCHER 1907, p. 247.

(27) SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 217–239, no. 63.

(28) LANTSCHOOT 1965, pp. 32–33.

(29) MINGANA 1933, p. 449–451.

(30) SCHER 1907, p. 247.

(31) See the description in HADDAD, ISAAC 1988, p. 214.

(32) See the description in *Ibid.*, p. 214.

(33) See the description in HADDAD 2003, p. 85.

FULL RECENSION OF THE *WARDĀ COLLECTION*

The vast majority of the manuscripts belong to the full, that is, the main recension. The earliest complete dated manuscript of this recension is the Mardin Ms. Mard. 41, made in the Mār Abā monastery in 1541.³⁴ The Vatican manuscript written in 1568 in Bēt Zabdāē, Ms. Vat. Syr. 567 belongs to the same recension.³⁵ Unfortunately, the beginning of the manuscript with the first hymns is lost.

The Cambridge manuscript Add. 1982³⁶ (copied in 1697 in Alkosh) should be considered among the manuscripts of this recension.³⁷ In content and readings it mostly coincides with the Vatican manuscript, but contains a great number of mistakes as well as hymns which might have been added later. Many copies of this recension contain a supplement which includes several hymns intended for performance on the memorial days of various saints. The content of the supplements of the Mss. Vat. Syr. 567 and Add. 1982 generally coincide. The Ms. Mingana 214 (1891), from the Mingana collection (currently in the Library of Birmingham University) made in Tel-Kepe not far from Mosul, seems to contain the same supplement.³⁸

In addition, the Berlin Ms. Sachau 188, copied in Alkosh in 1882,³⁹ as well as the Mss. Dijarb 78 (1565) and N-Dsem 87 (1789/90) contain the same supplement.⁴⁰ The St. Petersburg Ms. Syr. 3 (the end of the seventeenth–eighteenth century) belongs to the same recension.⁴¹ It coincides with the Cambridge Ms. Add. 1982 even in the number of errors, and both manuscripts obviously originated from the same protograph. The text of this manuscript ends abruptly, therefore it is not clear whether it had a supplement. The Ms. 493 (1682) from the Baghdad Chaldean monastery collection, seems to belong to the same recension, but one cannot judge the availability of the supplement on the basis of the catalogue description.⁴² The manuscripts preserved in

(34) SCHER 1908, p. 77.

(35) LANTSCHOOT 1965, pp. 94–96.

(36) WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, pp. 193–264.

(37) *Ibid.*, p. 264.

(38) MINGANA 1933, pp. 449–451.

(39) SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 217–239, no. 63.

(40) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 304.

(41) ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, с. 183–188.

(42) HADDAD, ISAAC 1988, pp. 212–213.

the same monastery: Ms. 494, copied in 1724,⁴³ Ms. 495, copied in 1824,⁴⁴ Ms. 496, copied in 1906⁴⁵ and Ms. 497, copied in 1908,⁴⁶ may belong to the same recension.

The Berlin Ms. Sachau 330 which the author of the Catalogue dates to the fifteenth–sixteenth century, represents a variation of the same recension of the *Wardā Collection*, but without the supplement.⁴⁷ The hymn by Šlibā Maṣūrī (first half of the sixteenth century)⁴⁸ which appears in the manuscript tells us that the manuscript was made no earlier than the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ Some hymns which are available in the other manuscripts in the supplement are here included in the main part (hymns suppl. 3 – suppl. 5 – on the Catholics of the Church of the East; hereinafter the hymn-numbers correspond to the numbers given in the Tables 1–4 below).⁵⁰

Another manuscript of the same recension without the supplement is the Vatican Ms. Vat. Syr. 499 copied in 1890 in Alkosh.⁵¹ In other respects, in its corpus of hymns it coincides with the Berlin Ms. Sachau 188, on the grounds of which the list of hymns in the Vatican catalogue is compounded. There seems to be no supplement in the Ms. Mingana 505 from the Mingana collection, which is dated to the fourteenth century by the author.⁵²

Two manuscripts preserved in the Monastery of the Virgin Mary in Mosul represent a similar type. The Cod. 87 includes 120 chants ascribed to Wardā; it was made in 1730 in Alkosh by the priest Joseph.⁵³ Like many other manuscripts, in addition to the hymns attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā, it contains works by other authors (Šlibā Maṣūrī, Šlēmōn of Baṣra, Mārī bar Mšīḥāyā etc.). The Cod. 88 from the same collection, was written in Tel-Kepe in 1682 by the priest

(43) HADDAD, ISAAC 1988, p. 213.

(44) *Ibid.*, pp. 213–214.

(45) *Ibid.*, p. 214.

(46) *Ibid.*, p. 214.

(47) SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 239–244, no. 64.

(48) See NAU 1917.

(49) *Ibid.*, p. 241.

(50) *Ibid.*, pp. 141–142.

(51) LANTSCHOOT 1965, pp. 32–33.

(52) MINGANA 1933, pp. 930–932.

(53) SCHER 1906, p. 511.

Kandō. There is no other data in the catalogue, only a note that it is the same as the previous manuscript.⁵⁴

The brief recension of the *Wardā Collection* is represented by at least two manuscripts: the Cambridge Ms. Add. 1983, copied in the village Bāšūrī in 1550,⁵⁵ and the Berlin Ms. Orient. fol. 619,⁵⁶ made in 1715 for the local church of the Darband settlement in Iranian Azerbaijan, about 50 km from Maraga.⁵⁷

As far as its corpus of hymns is concerned, this recension has two characteristic features: 1) absence of hymns which are not related directly to the liturgical calendar; 2) presence of dialogical *sōgītā* hymns; 3) presence of some hymns, particularly, of certain historical events, which are absent in the manuscripts of the other recension.

For example, the Ms. Add. 1983 lacks many chants which are related to the *Rogation of the Ninevites* (nos. 34–43, 45–51, 53–56 — mostly On the Misfortunes and on Myself), some of the chants for various feasts (no. 4 on the Nativity, nos. 6 and 10 — on the Virgin Mary, no. 13 — on the Epiphany, 62, 65 — on the Friday of the dead, 64 — on the Friday of the dead and the resurrection of Eliyā), part of the chants for Sundays of different weeks (67 — on the first Monday of Great Lent, 68–74 — on the second-fifth Sunday of Great Lent, 72 — on the middle Wednesday of Great Lent, 82 — on Christ's Resurrection, 90 — on the Ascension, 94 — on the Sunday of Pentecost, 118 — on the feast of the Cross, 125, 126 — on the third and fourth Sunday of Moses respectively, 127, 128 — on the Transfiguration), part of the chants on various saints (11 — on the Virgin Mary, 83 — on the Friday of the Confessors, 84 — on the martyrs of Bēt Slōk, 85 — on Jacob, 87, 88 — in the memory of George the Martyr, 16 — in the memory of the Apostles Peter and Paul, 17, 18 — in the memory of the Apostles, 19 — on the martyr Stephan, 20 — on the Greek Doctors, 21 — on the Syriac Doctors, 89 — in the memory of Pītiōn).

On the contrary, there are some *'ōnītās* in the manuscript, which are absent from the other manuscripts of the Collection, for instance, the hymns on Peter and Paul (no. 105b),⁵⁸ on Paul (no. 105c), on Great

(54) SCHER 1906, p. 512.

(55) WRIGHT 1901, T. 1, pp. 265–282.

(56) SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 244–250, no. 65.

(57) BORBONE 2010, p. 207.

(58) The hymns lacking in the Table of Contents of the *Wardā collection* are given with reference to the page number.

Saturday (no. 79a), and on the Cross (no. 116a). The Hymn on the Capturing of Tiflis (no. 44 a), recited on the memory day of the martyr Stephan, was found only in this manuscript.

In addition, there are two *sōgītās* in the manuscript. These include the *sōgītā* on Abel and Cain (no. 66a),⁵⁹ incidentally attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā. This *sōgītā* has been published by Sebastian Brock with another *sōgītā* on the same subject.⁶⁰ The second *sōgītā*, which is found in this copy, is on the sinner Mary (no. 81a).⁶¹ In the Cambridge manuscript its text is heavily cut and distorted, which, according to Sebastian Brock's observation, often happened to *sōgītās*.⁶² In the *Wardā* manuscript the entire introduction is omitted (4 stanzas); each stanza in the last 8 stanzas lacks the name before it.

Almost all hymns, present in the full recension manuscripts, but absent as in the Cambridge Ms. Add. 1983, are also missing in the Berlin Ms. Orient. fol. 619. The only exception is the hymn on the Wednesday of the *Rogation of the Ninevites* (no. 58) which is absent only in the Berlin manuscript. It is present in the Cambridge Ms. Add. 1983 but gives a form of the text so different from the other manuscripts that it forced us to put it in a special field in this edition, since putting it in the apparatus would not have been correct.

As with the Cambridge copies, the Berlin one contains a number of hymns absent from the other manuscripts. Among them there are two hymns on the capturing of Jerusalem, published by T. Noldeke⁶³ and the hymn on the capturing of Karmlīš by the Mongols in 1235.⁶⁴ In addition, there are eight hymns by Kāmīs bar Qardāḥē, not only one or two, as in most manuscripts.⁶⁵ The same manuscript contains two *sōgītās*. The first one is on Abel and Cain,⁶⁶ different from that of

(59) It is a different *sōgītā* than the one published by Mingana as attributed to Narsai (see MINGANA 1905, vol. 2, pp. 386–391).

(60) BROCK 2000, pp. 364–373.

(61) BROCK 1988, pp. 21–62. The second of the published hymns is a *sōgītā* which can be found in the Cambridge Ms. Add. 1983.

(62) Ibid., pp. 62–66.

(63) NOELDECKE 1873, S. 489–510, recently republished in MENGOZZI 2010.

(64) See DEUTSCH 1895, S. 15–22; HILGENFELD 1904, S. 14–17; BORBONE 2010.

(65) SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 244, no. 65.

(66) Ms. Orient. fol. 619, fols. 123v–124v; SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 247, no. 65.

the Ms. Add. 1983 (no. 66a); this is the first of two *sōgītās* of Abel and Cain, published by Sebastian Brock.⁶⁷ Another *sōgītā*, inserted into this manuscript of the *Wardā* — on Abraham and Isaac — has been also studied by this outstanding Syriac scholar.⁶⁸

As for the form of the text, the two manuscripts mentioned above give a large number of common readings particular only to them. For example: *ܘܗܘ ܗܘܐ* instead of *ܘܗܘ ܒܗܐ* (9:9); *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* instead of *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* (9:45); *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* instead of *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* (9:53); *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* instead of *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* (15:10); *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* instead of *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* (15:18); *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* instead of *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* (15:34), *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* instead of *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* (23:29); add. *ܘܗܘ ܘܗܘܐ* (23:1), etc.

In addition, each of these manuscripts contains numerous individual readings. Particularly, Ms. Orient. fol. 619 has two additional stanzas in the hymn on the Prophet Jonah (23:19, 20), absent in other manuscripts. These stanzas precisely render a certain place in the *Book of Jonah* from the Bible (Jonah 1:6) and without this fragment the narration would have been distorted.⁶⁹ Incidentally, a detailed rendering of Biblical subjects is characteristic of the hymns attributed to *Wardā*. The episode when the sailors came and asked Jonah why he did not participate in the prayers, is located near the similar episodes in the text. According to the text of the hymn and the Bible, the sailors came to Jonah two more times to find out why the lot fell upon him (23:23),⁷⁰ and also to throw him overboard (23:27).⁷¹ As all three episodes of the hymn begin with the same words, one of them could have probably been reduced by mistake, which is now to be found in almost all the manuscripts. Thus, the Ms. Orient. fol. 619 is supposedly the only *Wardā* manuscript rendering the author's original text. In the Aladar Deutch's publication based on this manuscript, this episode was naturally preserved.⁷²

Since both manuscripts representing this recension were made in provincial settlements, it is reasonable to suggest that they reflect some archaic form of the text which is characteristic of the provinces in general. This is confirmed by the presence of *sōgītās* in the manu-

(67) BROCK 2000, pp. 340–258.

(68) Ms. Orient. fol. 619, fols. 126r–128r; SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 247, no. 65; BROCK 1994, pp. 55–72; BROCK 1991, pp. 109–119.

(69) The text also often adds various details and interpretations.

(70) Jonah 1:8.

(71) Jonah 1:15.

(72) DEUTSCH 1895, S. 17.

scripts since this genre, as Anton Baumstark suggested, was a predecessor of the *ʿōnītā*.⁷³ The chants of both genres evidently coexisted over the course of the centuries. On the other hand, the availability of the hymns which are present only in some of the manuscripts and the abundance of individual readings (“local peculiarities”) witness the lack of uniformity within the recension. It might be supposed that those manuscripts reflected the state of the text before some sort of unification was done within the framework of expanding the hymnological collection up to the full recension.

Therefore, it might be supposed that during its first period of existence, the *Wardā Collection* represented a collection of hymns organized in accordance with the liturgical calendar without any facultative additions, that is, it was a sort of a hymnological supplement to the *Hūdrā*.

An important article on the early *Hūdrā* structure was recently published by Erica Hunter.⁷⁴ This scholar studied in detail the famous Turfan manuscript *Syr. HT 41-42-43*, datable to the 9th–10th centuries, which had been attributed by various scholars in different ways.⁷⁵ The reason for such uncertainty was the presence of the services for great calendar feasts, such as Nativity and Annunciation.⁷⁶ The British scholar argues that this structure corresponds to the earlier type of the *Hūdrā*, when the *Gazzā* book for the calendar feasts’ service did not yet exist.⁷⁷ The *Wardā* collection’s structure, including the hymns for these services, confirms that it was connected with the *Hūdrā* type predating the *Gazzā*.

Different additions are known in the extant *Hūdrā* manuscripts, for example, in the manuscript from the collection of Mingana (Mingana 512), which he dated to the end of the fourteenth century.⁷⁸ Such additions continued to exist even in the later period; as, for instance, in the *Hūdrā* manuscript from the Cambridge collection copied in 1607 by the rule of Dairā ʿElaita monastery, that is, following the most common pattern for the Church.⁷⁹ In any case, it must be noted

(73) See BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 303.

(74) HUNTER 2012.

(75) *Ibid.*, p. 300–305.

(76) *Ibid.*, p. 303–304.

(77) *Ibid.*, p. 338–339.

(78) MINGANA 1933, vol. 1, p. 490.

(79) WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 188.

that there are scarcely any hymns attributed to *Wardā* in the *Ḥūdrā* before the eighteenth century.

Apart from the manuscripts of the collection, there are many manuscripts containing the hymns ascribed to *Wardā* for some part of the year, where they are often united in one collection with works by other poets. The Cambridge Ms. Add. 2813 (probably from the nineteenth century) containing the hymns for the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, where along with the hymns of *Wardā* there are hymns attributed to Bar Ɔardāḥē, belongs to the same sort of collection.⁸⁰ Such collections represent a hymnographical supplement to the liturgical collection, which contains the service of these days.⁸¹ The Cod. 89 without a date, which is preserved in the library of the Monastery of the Virgin Mary in Mosul, contains works of various poets, among them nine repentance hymns by Gīwargīs *Wardā*.⁸²

THE GAZZĀ BOOK AND THE HYMNS OF THE WARDĀ COLLECTION

A part of the hymns of the *Wardā Collection* is included in *Gazzā*, a liturgical book containing services of the main fixed calendar feasts for the entire liturgical year. Accordingly, all other hymns, including those for Sundays, are not included. The Vatican manuscript of *Gazzā*, Ms. Bor. Syr. 60, copied in 1687/88, contains the whole surviving text. The St. Petersburg copy, in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, is dated to 1659.⁸³ The Berlin Ms. Or. 620 has been revised and consists of two parts: one copied in 1537 (fols. 57–72, 74–376) and the other part supplemented in 1836 (fols. 1–56, 73, 377–446).⁸⁴ It is also important that while the manuscripts were copied in different places, there are notes that they were made in accordance with the rule of the monastery of Mār Gabriel and Mār Abrāhām near Mosul (Dairā ‘Elayta),⁸⁵ as is the case with the Cam-

(80) WRIGHT 1901, vol. 2, pp. 643–652.

(81) For instance, St. Petersburg Ms. Syr. 4 (see ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, c. 167–170) as well as the Baghdad Mss. 318–328 (HADDAD, ISAAC 1988, pp. 138–141). For the earliest dated manuscripts of this service see KRÜGER 1933, S. 33.

(82) HADDAD, ISAAC 1988, p. 512.

(83) ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, c. 162–167.

(84) SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 159–163, no. 43.

(85) *Ibid.*, S. 198; ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, c. 163.

bridge Ms. Add. 1980, made in 1723.⁸⁶ The body of the hymns attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā in the different manuscripts of *Gazzā* coincides significantly. Particularly, these are hymns on the Virgin Mary (nos. 5, 8, 9), on the Epiphany (no. 12), on John the Baptist (no. 15), a “single person” service (no. 59), on the Friday of the Confessors (no. 83), to the martyr Tahmazgerd and martyrs of Bēt Slōk (no. 84), in the memory of the martyr George (no. 88), on the Ascension (no. 91), in the memory of the Apostles (nos. 104, 105); some hymns attributed to other authors in the *Wardā Collection* are attributed to the same authors in the manuscripts of *Gazzā*: on the Baptism by Ḥakīm of Bēt Ḳaš (no. 14), on the Day of the Greek Doctors by Šlībā Maṣūrī (no. 20b).

Some hymns are found in two copies of *Gazzā* out of the three mentioned; thus, the hymn for the service to the apostles Peter and Paul (no. 105b) is present in the Vatican and the Berlin manuscripts. In the Vatican and the Cambridge manuscripts of *Gazzā* there are three hymns on Nativity (nos. 1, 2, 3), a hymn on the Virgin Mary (no. 6), on the Church ranks and on a “single saint” (no. 60), on the sixth Sunday of the Lent (no. 61), on Peter and Paul (no. 75), in the memory of the Martyr George (no. 87), on the Epiphany (no. 95), on the Feast of the Cross (no. 118), on the Transfiguration (no. 127).

Part of the hymns included in the *Wardā Collection* can be found only in one of the mentioned manuscripts of *Gazzā*. These include the anonymous hymn attributed in *Wardā* to Mārī bar Mšīḥāyā (no. 29) as well as the hymn on the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, the anonymous hymn in the *Gazzā* and the hymn attributed to Ephrem the Syrian in the *Wardā* (no. 50), the hymn on the Apostle Paul (no. 105c), the anonymous hymn in the *Gazzā* and the hymn attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā in the *Wardā Collection*, and in addition the anonymous hymn of the service to a “single saint” (no. suppl. 12). Hymns no. 10, 52, and 64 are available only in the Cambridge manuscript. It is curious that two hymns present only in the *Wardā* short recension in the Ms. Add. 1983 (nos. 105b,⁸⁷ 105c) can be also found in manuscripts of the *Gazzā*.

From the fact that the hymns attributed to Wardā are also included in part of the Berlin manuscript, dated precisely to 1537

(86) WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 148.

(87) The hymns lacking the index number in the Table of contents of the *Wardā* collection are given with reference to the page numbers.

(fols. 57–72, 74–376),⁸⁸ it follows that the hymns of this author came to *Gazzā* no later than the first half of the sixteenth century. The presence of those hymns in the *Gazzā* seems to be secondary. As it was shown above, the structure of the *Wardā* collection reflects the archaic state of the *Hūdrā* preceding the invention of *Gazzā*. The origin of the *Wardā* collection remains a serious problem altogether, as no copies of the *Wardā* have survived earlier than 1483 AD, but nothing is known of the early dated copies of *Gazzā* either. In any case, the of the *Wardā* collection meant for the entire yearly cycle, including all Sundays, while *Gazzā* includes only main feasts services.

The fact that some of the 'ōnītās cited above are attributed in *Wardā* and *Gazzā* to different authors⁸⁹ confirms the unreliability of the attributions. There are also anonymous hymns in the manuscripts of *Gazzā*, attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā (nos. 2, 5, 128) in the *Wardā Collection*. Part of them can be found in the only manuscript of *Wardā* (Ms. Add. 1983, nos. 105b, 105c). All this could reflect a tendency to add anonymous hymns to the *Wardā Collection*, attributing them further to this author.

In general the textual form of the hymns contained in *Gazzā* corresponds to the text of the full recension of *Wardā*. However, there are a number of common readings with the manuscripts of the brief recension (Ms. Add. 1983, Ms. Orient. fol. 619). There are much more of them in the Berlin manuscript of *Gazzā* Ms. Or. 620 than in the Vatican manuscript, almost entirely coinciding with the readings of the full recension. The examples of the common readings of Berlin *Gazzā* and both of the manuscripts of *Wardā* of the brief recension are the following: ܠܝܢ instead of ܠܝܢܐ (9:8); ܠܝܢܐ ܠܝܢܐ ܠܝܢܐ instead of ܠܝܢܐ ܠܝܢܐ ܠܝܢܐ (9:14); ܠܝܢܐ ܠܝܢܐ ܠܝܢܐ instead of ܠܝܢܐ ܠܝܢܐ ܠܝܢܐ (15:45); ܠܝܢܐ ܠܝܢܐ instead of ܠܝܢܐ ܠܝܢܐ (15:12), etc. The latter indicates the lack of uniformity among the manuscripts of *Gazzā* and also the fact that part of them could be collated with the manuscripts of the brief recension of *Wardā*.

(88) SACHAU 1899. T. 1. S. 159–163, no. 43.

(89) Or anonymous as, for instance, the hymn attributed to the Archdeacon Mārī bar Mšīhāyā in the *Wardā* (see no. 29).

LITURGICAL CONTEXT AND THE ORIGIN OF THE COLLECTION

Many scholars, including P. Kannookadan, have shown that the system of the *Upper Monastery* (Dayrā 'Elaytā) of Mosul was the dominant system of the East Syrian Church.⁹⁰ *Hūdrā's* manuscripts, most of the lectionaries, and other liturgical books, among them the printed books, follow it.⁹¹ The monastery itself, called the monastery of Mār Gabriel and Mār Abrāhām, was located in the north-western part of the city, on the bank of the Tigris.⁹² The saints, in whose honor it was named, lived in the eighth–ninth centuries.⁹³ Adolph Rücker believed that year 1224 was the last time the monastery was mentioned, and it might have been destroyed during the raid of Hulagu Khan in 1261.⁹⁴ The last unification of the liturgical manuscripts, also related to this monastery, probably took place in about 1250. The reform, however, which is primarily mentioned in the book by George Badger,⁹⁵ requires special research. In any case, the reform of the thirteenth century is not mentioned by Adolph Rücker who wrote a special article on this monastery and who was acquainted with the book of Badger.⁹⁶

The *Upper Monastery* existed already in the seventh century, when under the guidance of Patriarch Īšō'yahb III (647–657) who resided there, a liturgical reform was made, which resulted in the development of the main liturgical books, including the *Hūdrā* and the lectionaries.⁹⁷ As opposed to the book for the priests *Ṭeksā d-kahnē*, containing priests' prayers and exclamations, the *Hūdrā* was intended for the choir.⁹⁸ It included the hymns (*madrašē*) by major church poets such as Ephrem the Syrian, Jacob the Bishop of Nisibis, Mārūtā of Maiparḳat, Mār Narsai, Bābāi the Great, assigned to certain festive and Sunday services.⁹⁹

(90) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 198; RÜCKER 1932, S. 181–183; KANNOOKADAN 1991, pp. 23–62.

(91) *Ibid.*, p. 22; RÜCKER 1932, S. 180–182.

(92) KANNOOKADAN 1991, pp. 23, 24.

(93) *Ibid.*, p. 24; in more detail see RÜCKER 1932, S. 183–184.

(94) RÜCKER 1932, S. 185–186.

(95) BADGER 1852, vol. 2, p. 22; МЕЩЕРСКАЯ 1998, с. 155.

(96) RÜCKER 1932.

(97) KANNOOKADAN 1991, p. 161; IOAN 2009, S. 32; MOOLAN 1985, p. 11.

(98) MACOMBER 1969, p. 120.

(99) KANNOOKADAN 1991, p. 161; BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 198.

Among the researchers the word *'ōnītā* (ܐܘܢܝܬܐ — “response,” root ܐܘܢܝܬܐ “response”) is generally accepted to mean a verse from a Psalm performed by the choir as a refrain after each stanza of such a hymn.¹⁰⁰ In the modern Church of the East this verse is read only before the text of the hymn, as it is usually written in the manuscripts. Later such refrain used to be added to poetical texts of various forms intended for church performance, when it was required by the liturgical context. That could probably have been the case with the manuscripts of the hymns by Ephrem the Syrian.¹⁰¹

Later the term of *'ōnītā* was metonymically transferred to the poetical text itself and thus a new genre emerged. The liturgical place of the performance of *'ōnītās*, which make up the *Wardā Collection*, is the first or second *mautbā* of the night service (*tešmeštā d-lelyā* ܬܝܫܡܝܫܬܐ ܕܠܝܠܐ).

In the modern Church of the East such *'ōnītās* are performed by two choirs in turn, two stanzas each. The introduction and conclusion are recited by the priest. In medieval times performance of the hymns was closely connected with the *bēmā*, a U-form structure at the center of the church, which was used in the Church of the East for different purposes. The choir, the reading of the Apostle, and the bishop's throne were located there.¹⁰² In fact, the altar was used only for the Anaphora. The *bēmā* is reputed to have vanished after the fourteenth century and entailed serious redistribution in the performance of liturgical texts.¹⁰³ It may be supposed that the refrains (namely, *'ōnītā*) performed on the *bēmā*¹⁰⁴ ceased to exist along with the disappearance of the bema. Such refrains were still copied for centuries, but gradually they have disappeared from the manuscripts.

Earlier mentions of this genre can be found in Dādīšō' Ɔaṭrāyā's (d. 604) commentary on the book of Abba Isaiah.¹⁰⁵ This author should be distinguished from Dādīšō' Ɔaṭrāyā of the monastery of Mār Abrāhām on Mount Īzlā.¹⁰⁶ As opposed to the latter, the former

(100) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 303; REININK 2010, p. 67.

(101) For example, see BECK 1955; BECK 1959.

(102) TAFT 1968, p. 331; TAFT 1993, p. 229.

(103) Ibid., pp. 229, 230, 337.

(104) REININK 2010, p. 67.

(105) DADIŠO QATRAYA 1972, pp. 182–185; ABRAMOWSKI 1991; TAMCKE 1991; for his other work also see SIMS-WILLIAMS 1994.

(106) TAMCKE 1991, p. 177.

Dādīšō' lived in the seventh century in the monasteries of Rabb Kennārē and Rabban Šābōr.¹⁰⁷ The book contains the precepts on the most important issues of the monastic life and mostly represent the retelling of the ascetic views of the Egyptian monks.¹⁰⁸ In the space of several pages the monk disapproved of the abundance of 'ōnītās (ܐܘܢܝܬܐ) used in the prayers in the monasteries, considering that 'ōnītās were more suited for school clergimen (ܡܠܬܝܬܐ ܡܠܬܝܬܐ).¹⁰⁹ As follows from this commentary, the hermit is distracted from his penance by such chanting.¹¹⁰

As Dādīšō' reports, Bābāi the Great, the Head of the Great monastery of Īzlā, blessed only one 'ōnītā to be read after some *kathismata* of Psalms (ܡܝܫܘܒܐ). The monk Šābōr did not allow the reading of 'ōnītās at Vespers not only on weekdays but also on Sundays.¹¹¹ At this time only one 'ōnītā was performed at the second *mautbā* of the night service.¹¹²

From these arguments it follows that: 1) 'ōnītās became an integral part of monastic praying; 2) they were performed in the same liturgical context, as it is noted in the later liturgical books (at *mautbā* of the night service ܡܘܬܒܐ ܕܠܝܠܐ ܡܘܬܒܐ); 3) the attitude toward them in ascetic circles is ambiguous.

In the book of Dādīšō' along with 'ōnītās, "Canons" (ܡܩܢܐ)¹¹³ are often presented in a negative context, as well as strophic pieces, connected with the verses of the Psalms and performed at the night service. On the whole, Dādīšō's attitude toward strophic works is quite similar to the views of the other, even earlier, monks, above all, the Egyptian monks, contraposing the "new-fangled" strophic works to the examples of the Biblical poetry: Psalms and Biblical Odes.¹¹⁴ For instance, as it is reported in a *Paterikon*, an anchorite of the fifth century forbade his disciple to chant canons and *echoi* according to the worldly custom which corrupted people. Abba Pamvo of the fourth

(107) BROCK 1999/2000.

(108) ABRAMOWSKI 1991, p. 67.

(109) Here the word ܡܠܬܝܬܐ may probably mean "school-children" (ABRAMOWSKI 1991, p. 70).

(110) DADIŠO QATRAYA 1972, p. 183; ABRAMOWSKI 1991, p. 70.

(111) DADIŠO QATRAYA 1972, p. 184; ABRAMOWSKI 1991, p. 71.

(112) DADIŠO QATRAYA 1972, p. 184.

(113) Ibid., p. 182–184.

(114) ABRAMOWSKI 1972, p. 72.

century sent his disciple to Alexandria to sell handicrafts. The disciple stayed in the city for sixteen days at St. Mark's cathedral and learned *Troparia*. Pamvo asked him how he was. The disciple asked why they did not sing canons or *Troparia*. The old monk replied that times were near when nobody would pray, but perform *echoi*. For what penance is born of *Troparia*? What penance, when the monk raises his voice like an ox? God requires praying in humble (or moderate) *echos*.¹¹⁵

According to one *Paterikon*, the monks John and Sophronius came to the monk Nilus on Mount Sinai. They recited Psalms without *Troparia*. Next they switched to Psalms and Biblical Odes. Then one of them asked the old monk why he did not sing Canons.¹¹⁶

Undoubtedly, the 'ōnītās of the *Wardā Collection* represent a later stage of evolution of 'ōnītās, performed in the times of Dādīšō' Ҡaṭrāyā. As it is known the East Syrian liturgical year consists of nine "weeks" (ܩܘܨܬܐ) — seven-week long (ideally) periods: 1) Annunciation and Nativity (6 weeks = 4+2), 2) Epiphany (7 weeks), 3) Great Lent (7 weeks), 4) the Resurrection (7 weeks), 5) the Apostles (7 weeks), 6) the Summer (7 weeks), 7) Elijah and the Cross (7 weeks), 8) Moses (7 weeks), 9) Church Consecration (4 weeks). The main liturgical books, including the *Wardā Collection*, are based on this pattern. The hymns 'ōnītās, as it is seen from the structure of the *Wardā Collection*, are required at all Sunday services, services of movable and immovable feasts, at the service of the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, at the commemorations of the saints on Fridays, and also at the services in honor of some saints. The hymns of the Friday commemoration of the saints as well as the corresponding readings in the lectionaries are not regularized in the *Wardā Collection*.¹¹⁷ Friday services in commemoration of various saints can be found only in one lectionary, mentioned by P. Kannookadan, namely in a manuscript from the British Library 246, dated to 1074; others can be found in other manuscripts.¹¹⁸ Concerning the Friday commemorations, given in liturgical manuscripts, only the following ones are available in the *Wardā Collection*: Friday IV of the Nativity — to the Virgin Mary, Friday I of the Epiphany — to John the Baptist, Friday II — to Peter and Paul, Fri-

(115) CHRIST, PARANIKAS 1871, pp. 28–30.

(116) Ibid., pp. 30–33.

(117) KANNOOKADAN 1991, pp. 30–62.

(118) Ibid., p. 28.

day IV — to Stephan, Friday V — to the Greek Doctors, Friday VI — to the Syrian Doctors, Friday VII — to a single saint, Friday VIII — to the deceased, Friday I of the Resurrection — to the Confessors, Friday VII of the Pentecost — to the 72 disciples.

In the Church of the East during the period of Lent no services in commemoration of saints are performed. During the periods of Summer or Eliyā they are provided, although the corresponding hymns are lacking in the *Wardā Collection*.

Many of the hymns of the collection, intended for Friday commemorations of the saints, formally differ from the hymns of the rest of the collection. For instance, those in the memory of the Apostles Peter and Paul (no. 16), in the memory of the Evangelists (nos. 17, 18), in the memory of the Greek Doctors (no. 20), in the memory of the Syrian Doctors (no. 21) are anonymous and rhymeless. In case the author (authors) of the collection would like to use hymns which were already common, and insert them in the corpus, they would do it systematically without leaving the gaps for the most of the Friday commemorations. Accordingly, this can be supposed to be a later addition to the collection.

Some hymns appeared later than the main corpus of hymns, and therefore they became a part of a supplement which is present in not all manuscripts. Such is the case with the hymns in the memory of Mār Eugene and his disciples (no. suppl. 1), on the Patriarchs of the East (nos. suppl. 3 — suppl. 5), on Saint Hōrmīzd (nos. suppl. 9, suppl. 10), on Mār Mīkāēl (no. suppl. 7), on Sabrīšō' of Bēt-Ḳōḳā (no. suppl. 8), on Mār Ḳūryāḳōs (no. suppl. 11). The function of the supplement was probably to add the missing hymns of the saints to the collection. Mār Mīkāēl, on whom the chant attributed to 'Abdīšō' bar Ša''rā is written (no. suppl. 7) was, according to A. Baumstark, the prior of one of the monasteries near Mosul and the disciple of Eugene.¹¹⁹

The history of how the services of Friday's commemorations of saints were composed is beyond the scope of this research, but it could be noted that in the *Wardā Collection* they were not designed as a regular weekly element. As it is reported by Jean-Morris Fiey in a special study on the issue, there can be found two groups of sources, containing services to the saints: of the eleventh–thirteenth centuries

(119) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 238.

and of the sixteenth century.¹²⁰ And from 57 days of various commemorations of the saints, present in the manuscripts of the first period, many are of local character.¹²¹ Friday commemorations amount to 51.¹²² After the Alkosh liturgical reform in the beginning of the sixteenth century some part of the services of commemoration of the saints have vanished.¹²³

It is a different case with the service, commemorating Martyr George (Gīwargīs). It has a fixed date of April 23 and the date is testified to in numerous lectionaries. In addition, as George is one of the most revered saints, numerous hymns were traditionally dedicated to him,¹²⁴ which is also reflected in the *Wardā Collection* (nos. 87, 88).

This hymnological collection, obviously, was an attempt to unify the genre of 'ōnītā for the liturgical year. The closest analogy of the current collection, confirming our assumption, is the *Ktābā d-tūrgāmē* attributed to the Metropolitan 'Abdīšō' bar Brīkā,¹²⁵ which includes poetical pieces to be chanted at liturgy after reading the Gospels and intended for the entire liturgical year. Unlike 'ōnītās, they are written in twelve syllable metre and have the same rhyme for the whole poem. Stanzas, consisting of two verses (or rather semi-verses, as they would be called in the case of Arabic and Persian poetry) are structured by alphabetical acrostics. *Tūrgāmē*, comprising the collection, are notable for their high degree of unification. The content of the collection precisely corresponds to the liturgical calendar and parts of the *Hūdrā*. The tasks which the author of the book set for himself are obviously close to those of Gīwargīs Wardā — to create a corpus of hymns, written in a new modern form (rhyme + unification) for the yearly Church cycle in addition to the *Hūdrā*. But unlike the *Wardā Collection* the language of the *Tūrgāmē* is not so simple and its poetical structure resembles that of *mēmras*. Besides, as the *Ktābā d-tūrgāmē* might have probably been not as popular as the *Wardā Collection*, not so many supplements were added to it, and it has retained the rigid structure of the Church year.

(120) FIEY 1963, p. 26.

(121) Ibid., p. 26.

(122) Ibid.

(123) Ibid., p. 42.

(124) FOLKMANN 1896.

(125) KTĀBĀ D-TŪRGĀMĒ.

The *Wardā Collection* lacks the Sunday hymns on the Nativity and Epiphany periods (“weeks”) entirely, while for all the other periods they are regularly noted. There is a similar pattern in the *Ktābā d-tūrgāmē*, intended for the whole liturgical year.¹²⁶ As follows from the book by J. Mulan, dedicated to the East Syrian liturgy of the Annunciation–Nativity period, there are no *’ōnītās* for the night services in the manuscripts on the usual Sundays of this period.¹²⁷ Thus it should be considered a general liturgical pattern.

For reconstructing the primary structure of the collection, we made a table of hymns according to the main dated manuscripts of the *Wardā Collection*. One may see from the Table that the hymns attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā and comprising the basis of the collection are quite consistent in terms of form — their rhyme and metre (see Table 1). The hymns, attributed to other authors (see Table 3), or the anonymous hymns (see Table 2) often differ in form, presenting a great variety of metres and rhyme arrangements. The hymns of the collection, attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā (see Table 1), are arranged according to Sundays of the liturgical year, major movable and immovable feasts. Anonymous hymns, as well as the hymns attributed to other authors, are either dedicated to other subjects or duplicate the already available hymns for major feasts, attributed to Wardā.

Another liturgical collection designed for the whole calendar year is a book of priests’ prayers at Vespers, ascribed to the East Syrian Patriarch Eliyā, nicknamed Abū Ḥalīm (1176–1190), which was edited by Gustav Diettrich.¹²⁸ As Diettrich has shown, they were partly composed by Abū Ḥalīm himself, and partly completed and unified later.¹²⁹ Although these prayers were composed without strict rhythm, their influence upon the liturgical poetry, primarily in terms of its poetical and theological figures, was evidently very strong. The introductions and conclusions of the *’ōnītās* are a variation of such prayers. For that reason these parts are chanted by a priest and not sung by the choir. That possibly explains their rhythmical freedom.

(126) KTĀBĀ D-TŪRGĀMĒ, p. ٤ - ٥.

(127) MOOLAN 1985, p. 221.

(128) DIETRICH 1931.

(129) *Ibid.*, S. 15–17.

CYCLE OF THE ROGATION OF THE NINEVITES

Among all periods of the liturgical year, the three days of the *Rogation (Supplication) of the Ninevites*, celebrated three weeks before Great Lent, are thematically the richest and the most diverse (nos. 22–58). The East Syrian tradition traces the origin of the *Rogation of the Ninevites* to the time of the Sassanian dominance. Liturgical books report that the Fast was introduced in the sixth century by Sabrīšōʿ, the Metropolitan of Bēt-Slōk, during a severe plague epidemic, which spread in Bēt-Garmay, Ātōr and Nineveh and ceased after the fast had been imposed.¹³⁰ The event took place during the Patriarchate of Ezekiel (557–577).¹³¹ In the East Syrian lectionaries, dated to no later than the seventh century, there are the pericopes, read in the days of the *Rogation of the Ninevites*.¹³² Perhaps, such a fasting, anticipating Great Lent, emerged before the fifth century, as it can be also found in the West Syriac and the Coptic Churches.¹³³ In addition, it is mentioned as the “Ninevites’ fasting” in the Georgian-Palestinian calendar by the monk Zosima.¹³⁴

The *mēm̄rās* on the Draught (prayers for rain) by Ephrem the Syrian, either in full or abridged, are present in the service of the *Rogation of the Ninevites* in both Syrian Churches. Thus, there can be traced a thematic connection of the *Rogation of the Ninevites* with natural and social disasters, sent as a punishment for sins. The usage of the *mēm̄rās* by Ephrem is studied at length in a special article by Paul

(130) See, for example, KRÜGER 1933, S. 34–35; see also the manuscripts of the Rogation service in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St. Petersburg (ДИТРИХ no. 4, fol. 1v); see also ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, no. LXI, c. 167) as well as the printed liturgical book of the Church of the East: KHUDRA 1960, vol. 1, p. 275; MOOLAN 1985, p. 21.

(131) KRÜGER 1933, S. 38.

(132) For example, in the liturgical “Apostle” of the 7th–8th century (Dorn 621) in the collection of the Russian National Library (ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, no. XXI, c. 85).

(133) See, for example: KRÜGER 1933, S. 14–32; SEVERUS IBN AL-MUQAFFA’ 1975, p. 18; MOOLAN 1985, p. 21; NILLES 1896–1897, vol. 2, pp. 645–646; TAFT 1981, pp. 20, 27.

(134) Thus, Stig Frøyshov believes that it is a reflection of the East Syrian tradition, brought to Palestine with the Georgian one (FRØYSHOV 2012, p. 262).

Krüger who gives numerous parallels from liturgical books.¹³⁵ Although the text of the service is contained in the *Ḥūdrā*, the special collections, containing the service for the days of the prayer, have been known at least from the thirteenth century. The earliest of them, the manuscript from Diyar-Bekir with an Arabic translation, is dated to 1240,¹³⁶ the second manuscript from the collection of the British Library, is dated to 1249.¹³⁷

Theologically the *Rogation of the Ninevites* is a commemoration of the prophetic mission of Jonah, who, according to the Biblical text, preached in pagan Nineveh threatening the destruction of the city if the citizens would not repent. As is known from the Book of Jonah, which is also read after this service, the Ninevites turned to repentance and the city survived. There are two hymns on this Prophet and his mission (nos. 23, 24). Other hymns of the cycle contain the descriptions of various disasters, borrowed from the Biblical narrative: the Flood (no. 53), the Destruction of Sodom (no. 22). Besides, there are hymns in the cycle, containing the descriptions of events, possibly contemporaneous to the author, most often of various catastrophes, which present a kind of dreadful document of the epoch (nos. 54–57). The plain naturalism is amazing not only for the liturgical texts, but for the literary monuments in general. However, it might be not so surprising in the medieval literature. The “naturalistic” descriptions are quite standard and repeat from hymn to hymn the description of global catastrophes. Therefore it is perhaps to be considered as canons of the genre of “catastrophe” hymns. On the whole, the hymns of the *Rogation of the Ninevites* are notable for thematic diversity and it is for the short liturgical period for which most of them are composed.

The disaster described took place in the same region as the events of the Book of Jonah — in Mesopotamia (medieval Iraq), where, by the way, this fast was already introduced in Christian times. The article by Martin Tamcke is dedicated to the connection of the Biblical story with the events, contemporary to the author and the audience.¹³⁸ The connection between the contemporaries of the author

(135) KRÜGER 1933; for the discussion of the purport of their usage in the Church see TAMCKE 2009, S. 142–150.

(136) *Ibid.*, S. 33.

(137) *Ibid.*

(138) TAMCKE 2008b; TAMCKE 2010. See also TAMCKE 2009, S. 142–150.

of the hymns and their ancestors — the Ninevites — is emphasized in a number of hymns and is a sort of a compositonal pivot for the chants of the cycle. God says to Jonah:

لَا تَتَّقِ السَّائِقِينَ . اَتَلَعْتُمْ عَجْدًا جَا يَتَّقِي
 ♦ فَمَا تَتَّقُونَ لِأَجْلِكَ سَائِقِينَ . فَتَمَدُّوا بِأَسْجَارِ بَعْتَقِي

I do not shun sinners
 Repenting, listen, Jewish offspring!
 And to the last times
 The Ninevites will testify to my mercy!
 (no. 24, stanza 42).

Then on behalf of the author of the chant:

أَنْتَ الَّذِي قَبِلْتَ ذَلِكَ الْبَلَدَ . وَأَنْتَ الَّذِي قَبِلْتَ ذَلِكَ الْبَلَدَ
 ♦ فَجِئْ لَنَا يَا رَبِّ . وَأَنْتَ الَّذِي قَبِلْتَ ذَلِكَ الْبَلَدَ

O, you who accepted that praying,
 And who was propitiated for that city,
 Accept this praying
 And have mercy on this village!
 (no. 24, stanza 43).

Two hymns about Jonah are intended to be recited on Wednesday — the last day of the service of the Praying, when the Book of Jonah is recited. According to the part of the books it is recited entirely (the *Hūdrā* and the printed lectionary), and in some books there is only part of it.¹³⁹

Obviously, all the hymns (nos. 22–58) could not have been recited during all the three days and therefore most of them were added later. The great majority of these hymns were written without an indication of a certain day of their performance. An exception is the hymn in the form of a litany (no. 58), which, as it is indicated, should be recited on Wednesday and finish this hymnographical cycle in the manuscripts.¹⁴⁰ In the manuscripts of *Wardā* it appears to be anonymous or attributed to Šlēmōn of Aḥklāṭ (no. 58; see Table 3).

The hymn represents a list of every possible group of population as well as various regions, which the author includes in his concept of the Christian Church. It includes not only the Crusaders who lost Jerusalem (no. 58: 27), but also the Orthodox *Alans*, the “Monophysites” — the Copts and the Ethiopians, as well as the Chinese and the

(139) TAMCKE 2009, S. 39–40; KANNOOKADAN 1991, p. 36.

(140) For the details, see ПРИТУЛА 2006.

Indians (no. 58: 29, 30, 32). It is known that the general good attitude of the East Syrian tradition toward the Crusaders, presented as Christian heroes,¹⁴¹ also found its expression in hymnography.¹⁴²

Among the hymns of the days of the Praying there are some, representing a kind of dialogue. The terrible devastation and massacre make the author doubt God's justice, which is expressed in a number of questions (no. 44a, stanzas 50–55). At the end the Just (that is, God) reproaches the author and explains to him His will, namely, the testing of people before the transition to eternal life (no. 44a, stanzas 56–61). Such composition can be found in other hymns, attributed to Warda, where the role of expositor and interpreter can be taken by God's Justice as in one of the hymns on the natural disasters (no. 57)¹⁴³ or the author's Reason, as in the hymn on people's inequality (no. 64)¹⁴⁴ or someone else. Thus, this type of hymns may be considered apologetic, although in all these chants the disasters are described at length.

The origination of the Syrian genre of *'ōnītās* from the dispute poem *sōgītā* cannot be doubted.¹⁴⁵ Both genres represent the category of the *madrašā* strophic hymns, mainly in seven-syllable metre and are performed by a church choir.¹⁴⁶ Similar to the *'ōnītās*, the *sōgītās* were performed at the *mautbā* of the night service; it is significant that in some manuscripts of collections of *'ōnītās*, there are also *sōgītās* in the same context. The genre of the verse dispute is rooted in literature from many thousands of years ago; it descends from the Sumerian and the Akkadian literature,¹⁴⁷ from where it was adopted by the Aramaic tradition.¹⁴⁸ Several poem-disputes are known in the Middle

(141) TEULE 2003, p. 102; see also TEULE 1996.

(142) NOELDECKE 1873; MENGOZZI 2010.

(143) See HILGENFELD 1904, S. 16–20.

(144) See ПРИТУЛА 2009, С. 167–178.

(145) See BAUMSTARK 1911, S. 102. There are some exceptions, as for instance, the famous *sōgītā* on the Edessa Cathedral, which does not have a dialogue form (GOUSSEN 1925).

(146) For more details about the classification of *madrašā* see МЕЩЕРСКАЯ 1986, с. 174.

(147) LAMBERT 1960, p. 7.

(148) MURRAY 1995, p. 157–187. The scholar also deals with Sumerian and Akkadian dialectical poems (Ibid., p. 158–160). Poem-disputes available in *targūms* are also mentioned, particularly, the dispute of the months, where

Persian literature, for example, the famous “Babylonian (Assyrian) tree” — the date palm disputing with a goat.¹⁴⁹ Sebastian Brock believes that traditional Syriac dispute poems have become a connection between the ancient Mesopotamian tradition and the Arabic *munāẓara*.¹⁵⁰

Sebastian Brock considers the fifth–sixth centuries to be the most fruitful period of the creation of *sōgītā* in the Syriac literature.¹⁵¹ Seven dispute poems appear in the liturgical books of both East and West Syrian Churches, and Brock dates them to the beginning of the fifth century.¹⁵² Those books which appear only in one of these traditions, Brock dates to the sixth century.¹⁵³ In the Islamic time, *sōgītās* were probably composed much more rarely; however there were attempts to impart poetical novelty to this genre. For example, in the famous Paradise of ‘Eden by ‘Abdīšō’ bar Brīkā there is a *sōgītā* on a well-known subject — the dispute between the soul and the body. In this work a regular rhyme is used¹⁵⁴ — an achievement of the new stage of Syriac literature — “The Syrian renaissance” (the eleventh–fourteenth centuries).

Among a number of *sōgītās*, published by Brock, there is a poetical dialogue with the soul, written apparently by Jacob of Serugh.¹⁵⁵ It consists of three parts with a long speech of one of the characters in each part. This is a strophic work, written in eight-syllable metre, three verses in each stanza.¹⁵⁶ In early manuscripts it is defined as a *madrašā* and is attributed to Jacob of Serugh, and in the later ones — as a *sōgītā* and is attributed to Ephrem the Syrian.¹⁵⁷ But, as Sebastian Brock has shown, there are a number of dialogical poems, written in

an acrostic is also used (Ibid., p. 156). The dispute of the months was performed in the Palestinian liturgy on Easter; the dispute of the months with Nissan at the head is included in the Easter cycle (Ibid., pp. 163–168). The same kind of poems can be also found in the Judeo-Persian tradition (ASMUSSEN 1973).

(149) BRUNNER 1980, pp. 191–202, 291–302.

(150) BROCK 2000/2001, p. 8.

(151) BROCK 1985, p. 188.

(152) BROCK 1987, pp. 35–36.

(153) Ibid., p. 36.

(154) BROCK 1991, p. 113.

(155) BROCK 2003, pp. 349–354.

(156) Ibid., p. 353.

(157) Ibid., pp. 350–353.

the form of *mēm̄rās*.¹⁵⁸ In his typology of the poem-disputes he assigns them to the fourth and fifth type.¹⁵⁹ Apparently the composition of the mentioned hymns genetically descends from the fifth type of dispute poems according to that typology. The availability of an apologetic element and irregular division of the characters' speeches, as well as the dramatic development of events is characteristic of the latter.¹⁶⁰ It confirms our thesis that 'ōnītās and those from the *Wardā Collection* in particular — are a kind of a synthesis of the genre of *sōgītā* and the genre of *mēm̄rā*.

It might be of some importance that 'ōnītās received a thematic continuation in the Neo-Aramaic literature, namely in the genre of *dorekta*. As the brilliant Aramaic scholar Alessandro Mengozzi has shown, the Neo-Aramaic hymns follow the tradition of the 'ōnītās in three aspects of their contents: the description of historical catastrophes, rendering of apocryphal literature, as well as theological and exegetic content.¹⁶¹ According to this scholar, the Neo-Aramaic hymns were also used in the liturgy.¹⁶²

AUTHORS OF THE 'ŌNĪTĀS FROM THE WARDĀ COLLECTION AND DATING

It is obvious that in order to show the specific features of Wardā's works, we should briefly mention the preceding research in the major trends of development of the Syriac strophic poetry of the time. As many hymns as possible should be reliably dated. As it was pointed out above, some of the hymns are ascribed to authors whose dates of life are known with more or less certainty. As a rule, one would have been careful while attributing the pieces, but as the hymns became a part of the *Wardā Collection*, there was a strong tendency to ascribe more and more hymns to Gīwargīs Wardā himself. That is why the connection of the hymns with the names of other authors in the manuscripts would be considered more reliable.

According to A. Baumstark, a *mēm̄rā* on the life of Rabban Hōrmīzd by 'Emmanūēl of Bēt-Garmai (d. 1080) accidentally ended up in

(158) BROCK 1995, p. 60.

(159) BROCK 1987, pp. 137, 138.

(160) Ibid., pp. 137, 138, 142.

(161) MENGOZZI 1999, pp. 478–479.

(162) Ibid., p. 479.

the *Wardā Collection*,¹⁶³ although it is not quite clear which of the two hymns he meant: suppl. 9 or suppl. 10 (see Table 4).

The hymn for the *Rogation of the Ninevites* (no. 51), contained in the majority of the manuscripts, is attributed to Eliyā, the Metropolitan of Nisibis.¹⁶⁴ E. Zachau suggested that it was Patriarch Eliyā III (1175–1190) who was mentioned in the manuscripts.¹⁶⁵ However, it is quite possible that the hymn belongs to Eliyā bar Šīnāyā (975–1049), one of the first writers of the “Syriac renaissance,” who was also the former Metropolitan of Nisibis and, according to A. Baumstark, wrote a hymn for the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, which became a prototype of the ‘*ōnītā*.¹⁶⁶

The hymn dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which can be found in the Mss. Add. 1982, Syr. 3 (no. 9a) is attributed to Patriarch Yahbalāhā II (1190–1222).

There are a number of anonymous hymns in the collection, part of which are “bound” to certain historical events. The two chants of the disasters of the twenties of the thirteenth century are examples of that.¹⁶⁷ At the same time it must be noted that two other hymns on the disasters¹⁶⁸ are not dated and could have been written in another period, which is indirectly proved by their poetical and compositional differences from the first two hymns. We must also keep in mind that such hymns might not have been written right after the events they are dedicated to had taken place. T. Noeldeke made such a suggestion concerning one of the hymns on the capturing of Jerusalem, which was written considerably later, judging by a great number of historical inaccuracies.¹⁶⁹

This point of view is confirmed by the hymn on the capturing of Tiflis (Tbilisi), which took place in 1225–1226; the hymn appears only in one manuscript of the collection, Ms. Add. 1983 (no. 44a).¹⁷⁰ We

(163) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 288

(164) SCHER 1908, p. 77; Syr. 3, fols. 78v–79v; ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, с. 185, 188; WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 217; SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 224, no. 63.

(165) Ibid., S. 224.

(166) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 288.

(167) Vat. Syr. 567, fols. 93r–98v; Add. 1982, fols. 106r–109v; Add. 1983, fols. 41r–43v, only the second hymn is present in this manuscript.

(168) Vat. Syr. 567, fols. 88r–93v; Add. 1982, fols. 102r–105v.

(169) NOELDECKE 1873, S. 489–510.

(170) Add. 1983, fols. 48v–52r.

suggested closeness of the genre of *'ōnītā* with the epic genre, and therefore some distance may be natural between the hymns and the corresponding events.¹⁷¹ Thus, only *post quem* is reliable concerning their dating.

The Berlin Ms. Orient. fol. 619 contains a hymn in which the events are dated to 1547 of the Seleucid era / 1236 A.D.¹⁷² It is also ascribed to Gīwargīs Wardā. It is a famous hymn on the destruction of Karmela (Karmliš) by the Mongols, which was published by Aladar Deutsch,¹⁷³ Heinrich Hilgenfeld,¹⁷⁴ and Pier Giorgio Borbone.¹⁷⁵

An unrhymed hymn, performed on Wednesday of the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, is present in all manuscripts of *Wardā* (no. 58). In the Ms. Vat. Syr. 567 it is ascribed to Šlēmōn of Aḥlāṭ, the Metropolitan of Basra, who lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. This famous Church writer is also known to have been present at the ordination of Sabrišō` IV to Patriarch in 1222.¹⁷⁶

The hymn is written in a strophic form in seven-syllable meter (7–7–7–7). However, this author is known as the author of prayers, and the chant itself is written as a kind of imitation of a litany or stylization which could have made some impact on its form, particularly, on the lack of rhyme.¹⁷⁷ The latter seems possible since there is a hymn on the Virgin Mary (no. 9b), ascribed to the same author, possessing a monorhyme in each stanza, as well as an alphabetical acrostic.¹⁷⁸ However, these two hymns have a common specific feature — in the introduction and at the end of all the semiverses — seven syllables in each, instead of the usual alternation of seven- and eight-syllable semiverses. Thus it might be suggested that it is a peculiarity of the works by this poet and therefore such attribution can be considered reliable.

(171) PRITULA 2012.

(172) Ms. Orient. fol. 619, fols. 239v–242r; SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 244, 249, no. 65.

(173) DEUTSCH 1895, S. 15–22.

(174) HILGENFELD 1904, S. 23–49.

(175) BORBONE 2010.

(176) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 309; BUDGE 2006, p. III.

(177) See ПРИТУЛА 2006, с. 147–159.

(178) Add. 1982, fols. 26r–27v; WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 217; Syr. 3, fols. 22r–24r; ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, с. 184, 188.

However regardless of whether the author of the unrhymed hymn was Metropolitan Šlēmōn, judging by the content this text should be dated to the end of the twelfth–first half of the thirteenth century. The hymn mentions the destruction of Jerusalem (no. 58, stanza 27), which occurred twice at this time. The first destruction took place in 1187 by the armies of Šalāḥ ad-Dīn, and the second destruction was in 1244 by the armies of Najm ad-Dīn ‘Ayyūb. The hymn mentions the flourishing of the Turkish and Chinese Dioceses (no. 58, stanzas 29, 31), which is characteristic of the twelfth–first half of the thirteenth century.

The *Wardā Collection* contains some hymns which clearly show the influence of the *Book of the Bee*, a work by Metropolitan Shlēmōn of Aḥlāṭ (see Table 3), including hymns on John the Baptist (no. 15),¹⁷⁹ on the Twelve Apostles (no. 105),¹⁸⁰ on the Seventy Apostles (no. 104),¹⁸¹ and probably on the Magi (no. 2).¹⁸² If this is the case, these hymns should be considered to have been composed not earlier than the first quarter of the thirteenth century, that is, at the time when the *Book of the Bee* was created.

In many manuscripts the hymn on Great Lent (no. 73) is attributed to Sabrīšō‘ bar Paulōs, who in 1189 was appointed the counselor in Michael’s Monastery in Mosul.¹⁸³ Some other works are also ascribed to this author, including the prose *scholia*, containing excerpts from various Church authors.¹⁸⁴

Some manuscripts of the Collection include the hymn for the martyrs Sergius and Bacchus, attributed to Patriarch Sabrīšō‘ V bar Mšīḥayā (1226–1256),¹⁸⁵ and missing from many early manuscripts of *Wardā*.

The hymn of the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, invariably attributed to the Archdeacon Mārī bar Mšīḥayā, can be found in a considerable

(179) BUDGE 2006, pp. 88, 90, 91.

(180) Ibid., pp. 103–107.

(181) Ibid., pp. 107–113.

(182) Ibid., pp. 84–86, ٤٥٥.

(183) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 290; also in the Ms. Mard. 41 (SCHER 1908, p. 77).

(184) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 290.

(185) Syr. 3 (ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, с. 186, 188); SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 242, no. 64; see also BAUMSTARK, 1922, S. 306.

number of manuscripts (no. 29).¹⁸⁶ The hymn, dedicated to Mar Pētīōn (no. 89) can be found in the Mss. Syr. 3¹⁸⁷ and Ms. Sachau 188; it is also attributed to that author.¹⁸⁸ This famous physician and man of letters is believed to have been the brother of Patriarch Sabrišōʿ V and, accordingly, his contemporary (the thirteenth century).¹⁸⁹

The hymn on the Baptism is attributed to Ḥakkīm Bēt Ḥašš, with the exception of the Ms. Add. 1983 where it is ascribed to Gīwargīs Wardā. According to A. Baumstark, Masʿūd ibn al-Ḥass, the personal physician of Khaliph Mustaʿsim (1242–1258), is meant.¹⁹⁰ The Arabic word *ḥakīm* is usually used to indicate a physician. Thus, it can be affirmed that the poets of the capital circle in Baghdad also participated in the creation of the *ʿonītā* genre, before the capture of the city by Khan Hulagu in 1258.

Two hymns from the Collection are ascribed to the famous poet Ḥāmīs bar Ḥardāḥē (second half of the thirteenth–first half of the fourteenth centuries).¹⁹¹ One of them, on the Sunday after the Ascension, is present in all the manuscripts of the Collection and is invariably ascribed to this author (no. 93).¹⁹² One more hymn on the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, attributed to the same author, is contained in a small part of the manuscripts (no. 52a).

The problem of identifying the lifespan of Ḥāmīs is solved in a recently published brilliant article by David Taylor, dedicated to the “wine” poems by this poet,¹⁹³ which the author himself called *sōgītās*.¹⁹⁴ Ālā-Ṭāḳ, mentioned in one of the poems by Ḥāmīs, was the headquarters of the Ilkhans in the last decades of the thirteenth century. The participation of the Christian poet in the Khan’s feasts and ceremonies, which is also mentioned in the poem, testifies that it was written before Gazan Khan had adopted Islam in 1295.¹⁹⁵ Thus, this

(186) See also Mard 41 (SCHER 1908, p. 77); Сир. 3 (ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, с. 185, 188); Sachau 188 (SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 222, no. 63).

(187) ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, с. 187, 188.

(188) SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 228, no. 63.

(189) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 303, 306.

(190) Ibid., S. 306.

(191) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 304–305.

(192) See also Ms. Syr. 3, fols. 141r–142r (ПИГУЛЕВСКАЯ 1960, с. 187, 188).

(193) TAYLOR 2010.

(194) Ibid., p. 36.

(195) Ibid., pp. 47, 49.

poet was 'Abdisho's (d. 1318) contemporary. Contrary to many other spiritual authors of the monastic rank, Ḥāmīs served as a priest in Arbela and had children, as he himself reports in a poem on the death of his son.¹⁹⁶ Recent years show growing interest in this author, and several articles about his works were written.¹⁹⁷ In the poems by Ḥāmīs two trends can be observed: he wrote the *'ōnītās*, where he followed the *Wardā*, maintaining simplicity and clarity of language, and elitist verses, composed under the strong influence of Persian poetry, where he used intricate poetical figures.¹⁹⁸ The *'ōnītās* were written for Church chanting and had to be comprehensive for all parishioners, while the second type of verses was addressed to the well educated Church elite, such as the author himself, or his contemporary, the West Syrian mafrian Bar 'Ebrōyō or the Arbela monk and East Syrian poet Gabriēl Ḳamṣā, later the Metropolitan of Mosul.¹⁹⁹ The collection of poems by Ḥāmīs, which was based on a small number of manuscripts and not complete, was recently published in Iraq.²⁰⁰

The manuscripts of the *Wardā Collection* contain hymns, forming a part of the supplement to the main body, which are dedicated to the Patriarchs of the Church of the East. In the first hymn,²⁰¹ Timotheus II (no. suppl. 3)²⁰² is mentioned as the last Patriarch; we know that he held the rank of the Patriarch from 1318–1332.²⁰³ In the second hymn (no. suppl. 4) the list of the Patriarchs mentions Eliyā IV (d. 1437).²⁰⁴ Furthermore, the hymn ends with a wish of long life to him as the current Patriarch in office.²⁰⁵ In other words, the hymn should be

(196) TAYLOR 2010, p. 38; MANNA 1901, vol. 2, pp. 329–330.

(197) MENGOZZI 2011; MENGOZZI 2012a; MENGOZZI 2012b; ПРИТУЛА 2012a; ПРИТУЛА 2012b.

(198) See MENGOZZI 2011; MENGOZZI 2012a; MENGOZZI 2012b.

(199) See ПРИТУЛА 2012a; ПРИТУЛА 2012b.

(200) ḤOŠABBĀ 2002.

(201) Vat. Syr. 567, fols. 250v–252v; Add. 1982, fols. 228v–230r.

(202) Add. 1982, fol. 230r; WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 260.

(203) BAUM 2000, p. 152. For a detailed analysis of the hymn see ТАМСКЕ 2004, pp. 203–229; ТАМСКЕ 2006, S. 139–152. This hymn has been also published by the Russian scholar Nikolai Seleznyov, in connection with Patriarch Nestorius, to whom one of the stanzas of the hymn is devoted (SELEZNYOV 2010, pp. 183–184).

(204) Ibid., p. 152.

(205) Add. 1982, fol. 230v; WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 260.

dated to earlier than 1437. Both poems are also present in the Berlin Ms. Sachau 188.²⁰⁶

The long hymn in the memory of the Greek Doctors, on the life of Nestorius, marked in the Ms. Add. 1982,²⁰⁷ is ascribed to the priest Šlibā Maṣūrī (no. 20b). This hymn, published by F. Nau,²⁰⁸ is also included in the Mardin manuscript of *Wardā* Mard. 41,²⁰⁹ as well as in the Mss. Orient. fol. 619, Sachau 330 and other manuscripts, where it is also ascribed to that author.²¹⁰ The priest Šlibā Maṣūrī (from Maṣūrīya in Jazira) lived in the first half of the sixteenth century and left works dedicated to the persecutions of the Christians of his time.²¹¹ He also wrote some works on Biblical subjects in verse. The fact that the hymn is present in the Mardin manuscript of 1541 probably means that it was included in the collection when the author was still alive.

The hymn on the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, found only in the Ms. Add. 1983, is ascribed to the priest Askō (Ishaq) Šbadnāyā (fol. 52v).²¹² There are different views on the time of life of this author. He might have been a contemporary of Patriarch Timotheus II (1318–1360).²¹³ However A. Baumstark dated the time of his life to the fifteenth century, relying on the date of the creation of his poem, which is available in the text (1439/1440).²¹⁴ One of the given dates of his death is 1480. A poem, written in twelve-syllable metre, which constitutes a treatise on *Divine Economy*, is also ascribed to this author.²¹⁵

The works of this poet were studied in a recently published article by Thomas Carlson.²¹⁶ It was proven by this young scholar that Askō and Ishaq, are undoubtedly one person, although it is not quite clear if the first name a variation of the second. It is possible, that it is an

(206) SACHAU 1899, T. 1, S. 233, no. 63.

(207) Add. 1982, fols. 48v–56v.

(208) NAU 1917.

(209) SCHER 1908, p. 77.

(210) NAU 1917, p. 177.

(211) *Ibid.*, p. 288.

(212) Add. 1983, fols. 71r–73r.

(213) MACUCH 1976, S. 33.

(214) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 330.

(215) *Ibid.*, S. 330; MACUCH 1976, S. 33.

(216) CARLSON 2011.

abbreviation of the abovementioned work, which is called in the manuscripts also *Eskōl* (probably an abbreviation of *Eskōlīōn*).²¹⁷ About the position of *Iṣḥaq* there is evidence that he was a smith (ܣܘܝܐ). From which *Carlson* concludes that he might have been a priest, who originated from a smith's family.²¹⁸

Besides the poem about the *Divine Economy* three more liturgical poems are ascribed to *Iṣḥaq Šbadnāyā*.²¹⁹ In one of his texts numerous quotations from the fundamental poem *Hexaemeron* by 'Emmānūēl al-Šaḥḥār.²²⁰

In both Cambridge manuscripts there is an *'ōnītā* in the section of the *Rogation of the Ninevites*, ascribed to *Gīwargīs*, the metropolitan of Elam, in the Ms. Add. 1983, and to *Gīwargīs Wardā* in the Ms. Add. 1982 (no. 52).

The Mardin Ms. Mard. 41 includes a hymn ascribed to 'Abdīšhō bar Ša'ārā.²²¹ The content and the location of the hymn in the manuscript are unknown to us, because the manuscript was not available and there is no further information in the catalogue. However, it is possible that it is a hymn on *Mār Michael*, ascribed to the same author and placed in the supplement to the *Wardā Collection* (no. suppl. 7). According to *A. Baumstark*, this author should be considered the brother of 'Emmānūēl aš-Šaḥḥār, who lived in the tenth century.²²² There is even a precise date of his death, 971, in the anthology of Syriac poetry.²²³

Even from these few relatively precisely dated hymns, one can see that the *Collection* includes the works by authors of the twelfth–sixteenth centuries, who, respectively, lived over the span of at least four centuries. A number of hymns seem to have been added to the *Collection* in the course of its existence. Thus, a conclusion can be drawn that it is the most significant monument of East Syrian hymnography of the late period. The further study of stylistic and poetical peculiarities of different dated and attributed hymns of the *Wardā Collection* should reveal the main tendencies of the development of

(217) CARLSON 2011, pp. 195–196.

(218) *Ibid.*, pp. 199–200.

(219) *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 201.

(220) NAPEL 1989, pp. 203–210.

(221) SCHER 1908, p. 77.

(222) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 238.

(223) CARDAHI 1875, S. 138.

East Syrian strophic poetry. It is also clear that most authors of the collection lived in the thirteenth century. This century, in spite of its tragic events, should be considered the flourishing of the genre of the *'ōnītā*, and also the time when the core of the collection was created.

GĪWARGĪS WARDĀ: AUTHORSHIP AND ATTRIBUTION

Gīwargīs Wardā is mentioned in all the existing *Histories of the Syriac Literature* as an author of the thirteenth century. William Wright connected the time of the poet's life with the events of 1224–1227 described in the hymns.²²⁴ Ruben Duval briefly noted that the hymns ascribed to Wardā were dedicated to the events of 1224–1228 and of 1235.²²⁵ Anton Baumstark also dated his life by the hymns on the events of 1220s–1230s which were attributed to him.²²⁶ Based on this, he considers Wardā's date of death of around 1300, which is given in the Anthology of Gabriel Qardahe,²²⁷ to be too late.²²⁸

Jean-Baptiste Chabot, the author of the last classical *History of the Syriac Literature*, carefully placed Wardā's lifetime in the middle of the thirteenth century and believed him to be a contemporary of Bar 'Ebrōyō and Ḳāmīs.²²⁹ Modern reference books on Syriac Studies contain different opinions about Wardā's time of life. In the book, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, by Sebastian Brock, Wardā is mentioned as a poet contemporaneous with the first raid of the Mongols (that is, to the 1230s),²³⁰ while Alessandro Mengozzi in the *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* follows more careful datings.²³¹ Sebastian Brock also stated that the hymns by Wardā were *adopted* for Church services.²³²

Curiously enough, there is almost nothing known of Gīwargīs Wardā's life and personal circumstances. The information that this

(224) WRIGHT 1894, p. 283.

(225) DUVAL 1907, p. 403.

(226) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 304.

(227) CARDAHI 1875, pp. 51–55.

(228) BAUMSTARK 1922, S. 304.

(229) CHABOT 1934, pp. 137, 138.

(230) BROCK 2009, p. 63.

(231) MENGOZZI 2011, p. 177.

(232) BROCK 2009, p. 63.

author came from Arbela, which is usually reproduced by scholars,²³³ relates to later manuscripts and printed liturgical editions.²³⁴ None of the more or less early manuscripts report his place of birth or life. In an article dedicated to Gīwargīs Wardā's *autobiographical hymn*, I made a suggestion that Gīwargīs Wardā was connected with Arbela due to the identification with the well-known author of the tenth century, Gīwargīs of Arbela.²³⁵ This hymn of repentance is read at the service of the *Rogation of the Ninevites* and has a note in the headline *By the Teacher Gīwargīs Wardā. On Himself* (no. 45).

In the same article on the basis of the autobiographical hymn, I made an attempt to clarify some circumstances of the author's life. From the text it follows that the author was famous and respected in society:

ܡܡ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܪܘܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ . ܗܘܐ ܗܘܪܘܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ
 ܗܘܐ ܗܘܪܘܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ . ܗܘܐ ܗܘܪܘܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ

Mim: I am celebrated by everyone as a sage,
 And I am acknowledged by everyone as well-known.
 And I am encouraged by everyone as a man of courage.
 But I am greatly corrupted: woe, woe is me!

(no. 45, stanza 14)

He also might have had a high place in the church hierarchy:

ܘ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܪܘܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ . ܗܘܐ ܗܘܪܘܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ
 ܗܘܐ ܗܘܪܘܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ . ܗܘܐ ܗܘܪܘܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܘܫܒܘܢܝܐ

Semkath: The ranks of priests will cry for me,
 And deacons will weep for me.
 For higher than all of them I have risen,
 And I was strongly blamed: woe, woe is me!

(no. 45, stanza 16)

However, presently this theory seems to have some problems. This hymn definitely does not belong to Gīwargīs Wardā. The fact is that some biographical information of higher Church hierarchs usually survives. The case of Wardā is totally different. Thus, the hymn could have been written by some Church hierarchs, for instance, by

(233) BROCK 2009, S. 304–306; HILGENFELD 1904, S. 7. Here Heinrich Hilgenfeld gives a passage from the book of the Urmian edition, where Gīwargīs Wardā is connected with Arbela.

(234) PRITULA 2004, p. 230.

(235) Ibid., p. 231.

Shlēmōn of Aḥlāṭ or Yahbalāhā II. The manuscripts of the brief recension Add. 1983 and Orient. fol. 619 do not have this hymn and it may be a later addition.

I would rather agree with Alessandro Mengozzi, who has not been persuaded by my conclusions.²³⁶ The Italian scholar pointed out that such hymns reflect almost nothing personal, as they are composed for church singing, and the author's "I" of those hymns is very impersonal. For example, Israel of Alkosh (the seventeenth century) composed in the Neo-Aramaic *a dorekta*, containing self-reproof, is very similar to the above mentioned hymn of the *Wardā Collection* (no. 45).²³⁷

The absolute absence of any biographical information about Wardā theoretically may have the following explanation. There was no such author at all. In the Syriac language an incoherent attribute can express belonging as well as the name of the book. In other words, ܪܘܕܐ ܪܘܕܐ, as the current Collection is called, might mean "The Book by Wardā" as well as "The book [called] Wardā." The word ܪܘܕܐ as such, meaning *rose*, is quite suitable for the title of a medieval work, as the book ܪܘܕܐ ܝܘܢܝܢܐ (*Pearl*) by 'Abdīšō' bar Brīikā. A whole team of church authors of, for instance, one of the leading monasteries, who received a commission to make a more or less unified corpus of hymns for the entire year (with the same meter and rhyme), might have worked on its development. So it is not by accident that unlike many other authors, no other works by Gīwargīs Wardā except the hymns have survived.²³⁸ On the other hand, it seems more unreasonable to doubt the existence of Giwargis Wardā, since both names Giwargis and Wardā are widespread in the East Syrian Church. For example, there is a Martyr Wardā, the sister of the priest Daniel (ca. 334), who lived in the city of Rai in Iran; her memorial day is on February, 25.²³⁹ In the reference book by Philippe Gignoux, her martyrdom is dated to 341 and her name is written as Vardāy (wrd') with a different etymology. Gignoux considers the

(236) MENGOZZI 2008, p. 7.

(237) MENGOZZI 2002, vol. 1, pp. 74, 75, 175–179.

(238) The poem on the microcosm, studied by G. Reinink, makes an exception (REININK 2007, pp. 123–149); however firstly, Wardā's authorship is not evident, and, secondly, the poem could be related to 'ōnītās in its form.

(239) FIEY 2004, p. 67.

form *vard*<*vrda (rose) to be secondary.²⁴⁰ He argues that the form *gul* (rose), which is an appropriate phonetic development of the word, had been widely used since the third century; therefore the form *vard* would have been archaic.²⁴¹ The form *gul* for *rose* has been the only one found in MacKenzie's dictionary of the Middle Persian (*pahlavi*) language.²⁴² However there is a parallel form *vard* in the New Persian language. This form is present in many medieval texts and can be found in all Persian dictionaries. Paul Horn's *Etymological Dictionary of the New Persian Language* gives two parallel Middle Persian forms: *gul* and *vartā* (*varda*). The form *vard* is also present in Armenian.²⁴³ Unlike the word *gul* with a regular reflex *gu*<*vr for the New Persian language, this word reflects the reflex *var*<*vr of the North-Western group of Iranian languages and may be of Parthian origin.²⁴⁴

It is also curious that the well-known master of toreutics in Mosul was called Ismā'īl b. Ward. He made a brass inlaid pyx with an Arabic inscription dated to AD 1220.²⁴⁵ An Arabic manuscript connected with Islamic theology is also made by his hand, which proves that he was a Muslim.²⁴⁶ In addition, there is one or more villages called *Wardā* near Bēt-Garmai.²⁴⁷ It is quite possible that the poet or at least his ancestors came from one of these villages.

When dating the life of Gīwargīs Wardā, the scholars usually rely on the hymns attributed to him, which tell of the disasters dated to the 1220s–1230s and are placed in the section of the *Rogation of the Ninevites* (nos. 54, 55, 56, 57); only one of these hymns can be found in the Ms. Add. 1983 (no. 57). Although all the rest of the three hymns may be a later addition to the Collection, the most creative time for the *'ōnītā* genre was undoubtedly the thirteenth century. It is at that time that most of the authors whose hymns can be found in the Wardā manuscripts lived (Yahbalāhā II, Šhlēmōn of Aḥlāṭ, Sabrīšō' V bar Mšīhāyā, Ḥakkīm of the Kašš, Ḥāmīs bar Ḥardāḥē). Therefore, it

(240) GIGNOUX 2009, pp. 136, 170.

(241) *Ibid.*, p. 170.

(242) MACKENZIE 1971, pp. 38, 131.

(243) HORN 1893, S. 206, 207.

(244) CIANCAGLINI 2008, p. 167.

(245) RICE 1953, pp. 61–63.

(246) JAMES 1980, p. 318.

(247) FIEY 1965–1968, vol. 1, p. 67; vol. 2, p. 736; vol. 3, p. 14.

is most likely that the hymnographer Gīwargīs Wardā also lived in that century. And, finally, the consistency with which the hymns describe the tragic events of the first half of the thirteenth century makes it possible to believe that it was historically motivated.

Hymns concerning later events can be mostly found in the supplement to the *Wardā Collection*, consisting of the hymns on the Patriarchs of the Church of the East (nos. suppl. 3, suppl. 4). An article by Martin Tamcke is devoted to the first of those hymns (no. suppl. 3). Due to the mentioning of Timotheus II (1318–1360) in the hymn, this scholar questions the time of life of Gīwargīs Wardā,²⁴⁸ or, in his opinion, one should doubt Wardā's authorship of this hymn. Thus, in general this scholar leaves the question about the attribution of the poem open.²⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it is evident that the supplement with the corresponding hymns was added to the Collection later and is not found in all manuscripts. Even the titles of those manuscripts do not mention the name of Wardā. Only the later manuscripts, such as Berlin Ms. Orient. fol. 619, dated to 1715 (fols. 113r–114v), include this hymn in the main body of the book, which is undoubtedly a late interpolation. In the Ms. Sachau 330 (fol. 93v–95v) it is also located in the main part of the text, but this manuscript is rather different from the rest of the manuscripts, since it does not have a structure following the calendar year.

There is one more question, which was posed by almost every researcher of Wardā's work: why did 'Abdīšō' bar Brīkā (d. 1318) mention neither Gīwargīs Wardā nor Ḥāmīs bar Ḳardāḥē in his catalogue of Church books? According to Martin Tamcke, this fact once again proves that the authors lived in a later period.²⁵⁰ For example, the same catalogue mentions a work by the author of the first half of the thirteenth century, Šlēmōn, the Metropolitan of Basra, which was not used liturgically.²⁵¹ While the problem of dating the Ḳardāḥē' life is solved by David Taylor,²⁵² the time of life and biography of Gīwargīs Wardā are still disputable.

(248) MACUCH, 1976, S. 33; TAMCKE, 2006, pp. 139–152.

(249) TAMCKE, 2006, p. 145. This hymn has been mentioned by a Russian scholar Nikolai Seleznyov, as one of its stanzas was devoted to patriarch Nestorius (SELEZNYOV 2010, pp. 183–184).

(250) TAMCKE, 2004, S. 212.

(251) BUDGE 2006, p. III; ASSEMANI, 1625–1628, T. 3, pt. 1, p. 309.

(252) See TAYLOR, 2010.

Since I do not consider the reasons for dating Wardā's life later sufficient, another explanation should be found. One possibility is that the Collection was composed after the author's death by Church scribes in order to create a unified hymnographical collection for the whole year. It is possible that a number of individual hymns were assembled and put together with hymns of the same style. If this is the case, completely reliable attribution is not possible at all. As it follows from the notes in the headline of each hymn, only the hymns of similar structure are attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā. Therefore it is possible that a certain type of *'ōnītā* was connected with his name, which in general is typical for Syriac poetry. This phenomenon is even more widespread in the West Syrian Church. For example, all the hymns written in a certain metre are related to the name of a certain author, for example, Jacob of Sarug. The major West Syrian liturgical book — *Penḳītā* — is also organized according to this principle.²⁵³

**CONTENTS OF THE WĀRDĀ COLLECTION
ACCORDING TO THE MAIN DATED MANUSCRIPTS**

The contents of the *Wārdā* collection are divided here into four Tables (according to the three dated manuscripts):

Table 1. Hymns ascribed to Gīwargīs Wardā

Table 2. Anonymous hymns

Table 3. Hymns ascribed to other authors

Table 4. Content of a special supplement, present in some of the Wārdā manuscripts

All manuscripts except for the Ms. Add. 1983 represent the full recension the *Wārdā Collection*. In the footnotes, references to the *Gazzā* are given in the cases when the hymns from the *Wārdā Collection* are found in the *Gazzā* manuscripts. They are the Vatican Ms. Bor. Syr. 60, the Berlin Ms. Orient. 620 (1537) and the Cambridge Ms. Add. 1980 (1723).

Several hymns from the *Wārdā Collection* are to be found in the hymn collection for the *Rogation of the Ninevites* (for instance, in the Cambridge Ms. Add. 2813).²⁵⁴ We also registered them in the footnotes.

(253) PENḲITA, 1990.

(254) WRIGHT 1901, vol. 2, pp. 643–652.

Table 1. Hymns ascribed to Gīwargīs Wardā

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vatican Vat. Sir. 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
1	ܘܒܪܝܢܐ ܕܘܚܪܐ ܕܘܚܪܐ ²⁵⁵ ܘܚܪܐ	The beginning is missing	3v–6r	2r–5r
2	²⁵⁶ ܘܠܘܠ ܕܠܘܠ ܘܠܘܠ		6r–8r	1v–2v
3	²⁵⁷ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ		8r–11v	7v–8r
4	ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ		11v–14r	
5	²⁵⁸ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ		14r–16r	11v–14v
6	²⁵⁹ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ		16r–18r	
7	ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ . ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ		18r–20r	5r–7r
8	²⁶⁰ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ	1r–4v	20r–22v	8r–11v
9	ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ²⁶¹ ܘܚܪܐ	4v–8r	22v–25r	14v–17v
9 B	ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ . ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ ܘܚܪܐ		28v–30r	

(255) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 75r–79v; Add. 1980, fols. 37v–39r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 149).

(256) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 81r–84r; Add. 1980, fols. 39r–40v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 150).

(257) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 84r–89r; Add. 1980, fols. 40r–50v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 150).

(258) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 174r–177r; Ms. Orient. 620, fols. 73v–75v; Add. 1980, fols. 86r–87v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 151).

(259) Ms. Orient. 620, fols. 80v–82v.

(260) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 170r–174r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 77v; Add. 1980, fols. 72v–86r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 151).

(261) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 177r–180r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 75v; Add. 1980, fols. 87v–82r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 151).

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vatican Vat. Sir. 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
10	ܘܢܘܢ ܘܡܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ²⁶²	8r–12v	30r–33r	
12	²⁶³ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	14r–16r	34r–36r	17v–20r
13	ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	16r–17r	36r–37v	
15	²⁶⁴ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	20v–23v	39r–41v	26r–29r
22	²⁶⁵ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	36r–39r	58v–60v	52r–54v
23	²⁶⁶ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	39r–41r	60v–62r	54v–56v
24	²⁶⁷ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	41r–43v	62r–63v	56v–58v
25	²⁶⁸ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	43v–45v	63v–65r	58v–61r
26	²⁶⁹ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	45v–47r	65r–66v	61r–62r
27	²⁷⁰ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	47r–48v	66v–67v	62r–63v
28	²⁷¹ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	48v–50r	67v–68v	63v–65r
30	²⁷² ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	52r–54v	69v–72r	66v–69v
31	ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	54v–56v	72r–73v	94v–96v
32	ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ ܘܚܘܨܘܢ	56v–58r	73v–74v	93r–94v

(262) Add. 1980, fols. 57r–72v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 151).

(263) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 201r–203r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 108r; Add. 1980, fols. 193v–101r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 151).

(264) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 289r–291r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 137v; Add. 1980, fols. 141r–143r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 152).

(265) Add. 2813, fols. 78r–81v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 2, p. 649).

(266) Add. 2813, fols. 81v–83v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 2, p. 649).

(267) Add. 2813, fols. 83v–86r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 2, p. 649).

(268) Add. 2813, fols. 86r–89r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 2, p. 649).

(269) Add. 2813, fols. 89r–90v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 2, p. 647).

(270) Add. 2813, fols. 90v–92r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 2, p. 650).

(271) Add. 2813, fols. 92r–94r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 2, p. 647).

(272) Add. 2813, fols. 96r–99v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 2, p. 651).

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vatican Vat. Sir. 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
33	כִּי נִרְאָה לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ	58r–59r	74v–75v	96v–97v
34	מִתְחַלֵּץ לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ	59r–60v	75v–76v	
35	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	60v–62r	76v–77v	
36	אֵלֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ	62r–63r	77v–78v	
37	בְּרִיבְרִיבָהּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ	63v–64v	78v–79v	
38	בְּרִיבְרִיבָהּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ	64v–66r	79v–80v	
39	כִּי נִרְאָה לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ	66r–67r	80v–81v	
40	מִתְחַלֵּץ לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ	67r–68v	81v–82v	
41	יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	68v–70r	82v–84r	
42	יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִתְחַלֵּץ	70r–71v	84r–85r	
43	יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִתְחַלֵּץ	71v–73r	85r–86r	
44	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	73r–74v	86r–87r	47r–48v
44 a	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ		–	48v–52
45	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	74v–76r	87r–88r	
46	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	76r–77v	88r–89v	
47	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	77v–79r	89v–90v	
48	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	79r–80v	90v–91v	
53	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	85v–88r	100v–102r	
54	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	88r–90r	102r–104r	
55	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	90v–93r	104r–105v	
56	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	93r–96r	106r–108r	
57	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	96v–98v	108r–109v	41r–43v
59	כִּי תִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ	100v–102r	111r–112v	85r–86r

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vatican Vat. Sir. 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
60	²⁷³ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	102r–104v	112v–114r	86r–88v
61	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ²⁷⁴ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	104v–107r	114r–115v	103r–105v
62	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	107r–109v	116r–117v	
63	ܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	109v–111v	117v–119r	91r–93r
64	²⁷⁵ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	112r–113v	201r–202v	
65	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	113v–117r		
66	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	117r–119v	119r–121r	97v–100r
66 a	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	–	–	100r–103r
68	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	121v–123v	122v–124r	
69	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	123v–126r	124r–125v	
70	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	126r–127v	125v–127r	
71	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	127v–129r	127r–127v	
74	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	132r–134r	130r–131v	
75	²⁷⁶ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ	134r–136r	131v–133r	29r–31r
–	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ²⁷⁷ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ No text, only reference, see no. 61	136r	133r	

(273) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 537r–539r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 276r; Add. 1980, fols. 269v–271r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 155).

(274) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 540r–542r; Add. 1980, fols. 271r–272v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 155).

(275) Add. 1980, fols. 316r–321r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 157)

(276) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 305r–307r; Add. 1980, fols. 149v–150v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 151).

(277) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 540r–542r.

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vatican Vat. Sir. 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
76	כרס נגד נגד ללמנו	136r–139r	133r–135r	105v–108v
77	בן חן לך יתן	139r–141r	135r–136v	108v–110v
78	חללה נחמה נחמה	141r–142v	136v–138r	110v–112
79	כעצ נחמה נחמה	143r–145v	138r–140r	112r–115r
80	כחמה נחמה נחמה	146r–147v	141r–142v	117v–119v
81	כענכמה נחמה נחמה	147v–149v	142v–144r	119v–120v
82	כחמה נחמה נחמה	149v–152v	144r–145r	
83	²⁷⁸ כחמה נחמה נחמה	152v–155r	145r–146v	
84	כחמה נחמה נחמה ²⁷⁹ כחמה	155r–157r	146v–148r	
85	כענכמה נחמה נחמה	157r–159v	148r–150v	
86	כחמה נחמה נחמה	159v–161r	150r–151v	121v–123v
87	כחמה נחמה נחמה ²⁸⁰ כחמה	161v–163v	151v–153r	
88	²⁸¹ כחמה נחמה נחמה	163v–165v	153r–154v	
91	²⁸² כחמה נחמה נחמה	169v–171v	158r–159v	126r–128r
92	כחמה נחמה נחמה כחמה	171v–174r	159v–161v	123v–126r
94	כחמה נחמה נחמה	175v–178r	162v–164v	

(278) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 673r–675r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 307r; Add. 1980, fols. 336r–337r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 158).

(279) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 675r–677r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 308v; Add. 1980, fols. 337r–340r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 158).

(280) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 698r–700r; Add. 1980, fols. 347r–348r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 159).

(281) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 700r–702r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 320r; Add. 1980, fols. 348r–353r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 159).

(282) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 778r–780r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 377r; Add. 1980, fols. 383r–384v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 159).

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vatican Vat. Sir. 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
95	ܘܒܫܘܚܐ ܘܒܫܘܚܐ ²⁸³ ܘܒܫܘܚܐ	178r–181r	164v–167r	20r–23r
96	ܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ	181r–183r	167r–168v	129v–132r
97	ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ	183r–185v	169r–170v	132r–134v
98	ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ	185v–187r	170v–172	134v–136v
–	ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ No text, only refer- ence, see no. 47	187v		
99	ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ	187v–190r	172r–174r	136v–139r
100	ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ	190r–192r	174r–176r	139r–141v
101	ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ	192r–193r	176r–177r	141v–142v
102	ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ	193r–195r	177r–178r	142v–144v
103	ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ²⁸⁴ ܘܠܗܘܐ	195r–196v	178r–179v	144v–146v
104	ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ²⁸⁵ ܘܠܗܘܐ	196v–199v	179v–182r	43v–47r
105	²⁸⁶ ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ	199v–201v	182r–183v	31r–33r
105b	ܘܠܗܘܐ ܘܠܗܘܐ ²⁸⁷ ܘܠܗܘܐ		–	33r–36v

(283) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 203r–206r; Add. 1980, fols. 101r–103r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 149).

(284) Add. 1982 ܘܠܗܘܐ

(285) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 368r–371r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 186r; Add. 1980, fols. 183r–188v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 149).

(286) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 300r–302r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 184v; Add. 1980, fols. 150v–154r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 149).

(287) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 330r–333r; Ms. Orient. 620, fols. 163r–165v.

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vatican Vat. Sir. 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
105c	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ²⁸⁸ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ		–	36v–41r
106	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	203r–205r	185–186v	146v–148v
107	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	205r–206v	186v–188r	148v–150v
108	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	206v–208v	188r–190r	150v–152v
109	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ	208v–210r	190r–191r	152v–154r
110	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	210r–212r	191r–192v	154r–156r
111	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	212r–213r	192v–193v	88v–90r
112	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	213r–214v	193v–194v	90r–91r
113	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	214v–216r	194v–196r	156r–157v
114	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	216r–218v	196r–198v	157v–160v
115	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	218v–220r	198v–199v	160v–162r
116	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	220r–221v	199v–201r	162r–163v
–	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ No text, only refer- ence, see no. 64	221v	201r–202v	
116 a	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	–	–	165v–166v
–	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	222r	202v–205r	79r–82v
117	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	222r–223v	205r–206v	163v–165v
118	²⁸⁹ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	223v–225r	206v–208r	
–		225r	208r	
119	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܘܢܐ ܩܘܡܘܢܐ	225r–227r	208r–209v	166v–167v

(288) Ms. Orient. 620, fols. 165v–168v.

(289) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 869r–872r; Add. 1980, fols. 430r–440v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 162).

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vatican Vat. Sir. 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
120	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	227r-228v	209v-211r	168v-170r
121	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	228v-231r	211r-213r	170r-173r
122	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	231r-233r	213r-214v	179r-180r
123	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	233r-234r	214v-216r	173r-174v
124	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	234v-236v	216r-218r	174v-178r
125	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	236v-238r	218r-219v	
126	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	238r-240v	219v-221v	
127	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ 290	240v-242v	221v-223r	
128	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ 291	242v-244v	223r-225r	

Table 2. Anonymous hymns in the *Wardā Collection*

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vatican 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
16b	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ		27v-28v	
11	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	12v-13v	33r-34r	
16	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	23v-25v	41v-43r	
17	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	25v-26v	43r-44r	
18	ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ ܘܠܗܝܢ	26v-28v	44r-45v	

(290) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 838r-841r; Add. 1980, fols. 411v-417r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 161).

(291) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 841r-843r.

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vatican 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
19	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ	28v–30r	45v–46v	
20	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ	30r–33r	46v–48v	
21	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ	33r–36r	56v–58v	
49	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ	79v–81v	91v–92v	
67	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ	119v–121v	121r–122v	–
72	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ	129r–130v	127v–129r	
79 a	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ			115r–117v
81 a	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ			120v–121r
90	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ	167r–169v	155v–158r	

Table 3. Hymns ascribed to other authors in the *Wardā Collection*

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	The name of the author according to the manuscript	Vatican 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
14	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ ²⁹²	Ḥakkīm of Bēt Ḳašš Add. 1983 — Wardā	17v–20v	37v–39r	23r–26r
9 a	ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܡܘܢܐ	Patriarch Yahbālāhā II		25r–26r	

(292) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 222r–225r; Ms. Orient. 620, fols. 102v–103v; Add. 1980, fols. 111r–116v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 152).

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	The name of the author according to the manuscript	Vatican 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
9b	ܩܠܡܢܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ	Šlēmōn of Basra		26r–27v	
20b	ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ²⁹³ ܩܘܪܒܐ	Priest Šlibā		48v–56v	
29	ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ²⁹⁴ ܩܘܪܒܐ	Mārī bar Mšīḥāyā	50r–51v	68v–69v	65r–66v
50	ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ²⁹⁵ ܩܘܪܒܐ	Mār Ephrem	81v–84r	92v–94r	
52a	ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ²⁹⁶ ܩܘܪܒܐ	Hāmīs		98v–99v	69v–71r
51	ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ	Eliyā, metropolitan of Nisibin	84r–85v	99v–100v	
52	ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ²⁹⁷ ܩܘܪܒܐ	Add. 1983 — Gīwargīs the metropolitan of Elam Add. 1982 — Gīwargīs Wardā		94r–98v	73r–79r
52b	ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ . ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ ܩܘܪܒܐ	Askō Šbadnāyā			71r–73r

(293) Bor. syr. 60, fols. 201r–203r; Ms. Orient. 620, fol. 235r; Add. 1980, fols. 229v–235r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 154).

(294) Ms. Orient. 620, fols. 218v–222r; Add. 2813, fols. 94r–96r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 650).

(295) Ms. Orient. 620, fols. 356v–359r.

(296) Add. 2813, fols. 52r–54r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 647).

(297) Add. 2813, fols. 71v–78r (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 647).

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	The name of the author according to the manuscript	Vatican 567 (1568), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1982 (1697), fol.	Cambridge Add. 1983 (1550), fol.
58	ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡ ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡ ²⁹⁸ ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡ	Šlēmōn of Basra	98v–100v	109v–111r	82v–85r
73	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	Sabrišō' bar Pāulōs	130v–132r	129r–130r	
89	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	Mārī bar Mšīḥāyā	165v–166v	154v–155v	
93	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	Hāmīs	174r–175v	161v–162v	128r–129v
105 a	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	Hāmīs	201v–203r	183v–185 r	

Table 4. Supplement to the *Wardā Collection*

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vat. Syr. 567	Add. 1982
suppl. 0	ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡ ܐܘܪܘܫܝܡ	245r–246v	
suppl. 1	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	247r–248r	225r–226v
suppl. 2	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	248r–250v	226v–228v
suppl. 3	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	250v–252v	228v–230r
suppl. 4	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	252v–257r	
suppl. 5	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ		230v–233v
suppl. 6	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ		233v–240r
suppl. 7	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ		240r–244r
suppl. 8	ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	260v–261v	244r–245r
suppl. 9	²⁹⁹ ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	257v–258v	245r–246r
suppl. 10	³⁰⁰ ܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܗܘܬܐ	258v–259v	246–248

(298) Add. 2813, fols. 99v–101v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 651).

(299) Add. 1980, fols. 298v–299v (WRIGHT 1901, vol. 1, p. 155).

Number	Incipit of the Hymn	Vat. Syr. 567	Add. 1982
suppl. 11	ܢܦܘܥ ܦܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ	261v–263	
suppl. 12	³⁰¹ ܕܗܘܐ ܦܥܡܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ	263–266	

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SUMMARY

As the *Wardā* collection is one of the chief hymnological books of the Church of East its copies could be possibly found in all the temples. Available copies can be divided into several groups by structure and content. The first one consists of the copies of the liturgical collection that will be further called *Wardā collection*, which contain more than 132 hymns, most of which are *’ōnītā* (pl. *’ōnyātā*), attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā. The collection consists of the parts corresponding to the liturgical calendar of the Church of the East (so-called ‘nestorian’); the main parts correspond to the names of seven-week periods (سبوع). The collection contains not only the Sunday chants for the whole of liturgical year, but also the hymns of fixed calendar feasts. This collection might be designed as a new hymnological attachment to the *Hūdrā*, the basic liturgical book of the Church of the East.

The vast majority of the copies belongs to the full i.e. the main recension. The earliest complete dated copy of this recension is the Mardin copy **Mard. 41**, made in the Mār Abā monastery in 1541 AD. The Vatican manuscript written in 1568 in Bēt Zabdāē **Vat. Syr. № 567** belongs to the same recension.

The brief recension of the *Wardā* collection is represented by at least two copies: the Cambridge one **Add. 1983** copied in the village Bāšūrī in 1550 AD, and also the Berlin one **Ms. Or. 619** made in 1715 AD.

The presence of the hymns ascribed to Wardā in the *Gazzā* seems to be secondary. The structure of the *Wardā* collection reflects the archaic state of the *Hūdrā* preceding the invention of *Gazzā*. The origin of the *Wardā* collection remains a serious problem altogether, as no copies of

the *Wardā* have survived earlier than 1483 AD, but nothing is known of the early dated copies of *Gazzā* either. In any case, the of the *Wardā* collection meant for the entire yearly cycle, including all Sundays, while *Gazzā* includes only main feasts services.

When dating the life of Gīwargīs Wardā, the researchers usually rely on the hymns attributed to him, which tell of the disasters, dated 20–30-th years of the 13th century and are placed in the section of the *Rogation of the Ninevites* (№ 54, 55, 56, 57); only one of these hymns one can be found in the copy **Add. 1983** (№ 57). Although all the rest three may be a later addition to the collection, the most creative time for the *'ōnītā* genre was undoubtedly in the 13th century. It is in that time, that most of the authors, whose hymns can be found in the *Wardā* copies, lived (Yahbalāhā II, Šhlēmōn of Aḥlāṭ, Sabrīšō' V bar Mšīḥāyā, Ḥakkīm of the Ḳašš, Ḥāmīs bar Ḳardāḥē). Therefore, it is most likely that the hymnographer Gīwargīs Wardā lived in that century. And, finally, the consistency with which the hymns describe the tragic events of the first half of the 13th century makes us suppose this to be historically motivated.

Besides, there is one more question, which was put by almost every researcher of Wardā's work: why 'Abdīšō' bar Brīkā (†1318 r.) mentioned neither Gīwargīs Wardā nor Ḥāmīs bar Ḳardāḥē in his catalogue of church books? Since I do not consider the reasons for dating Wardā's life later sufficient, there should be found another explanation to the fact. One the possible ones is that the collection was composed after the author's death by church scribes, to create a unified hymnographical collection for the whole year. It is possible that a number of separate hymns were brought together and added with hymns of the same style. Then the completely reliable attribution is not possible at all. As it follows from the notes in the headline of each hymn, only the hymns of similar structure are attributed to Gīwargīs Wardā. Therefore it is possible that a certain type of *'ōnītā* was bound with his name, which is generally peculiar of the Syriac poetry.